

THE MILITANT

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Nat'l antiwar conference
to be held in Cleveland

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A defense attorney's analysis:

Strategy of the attack on Panthers

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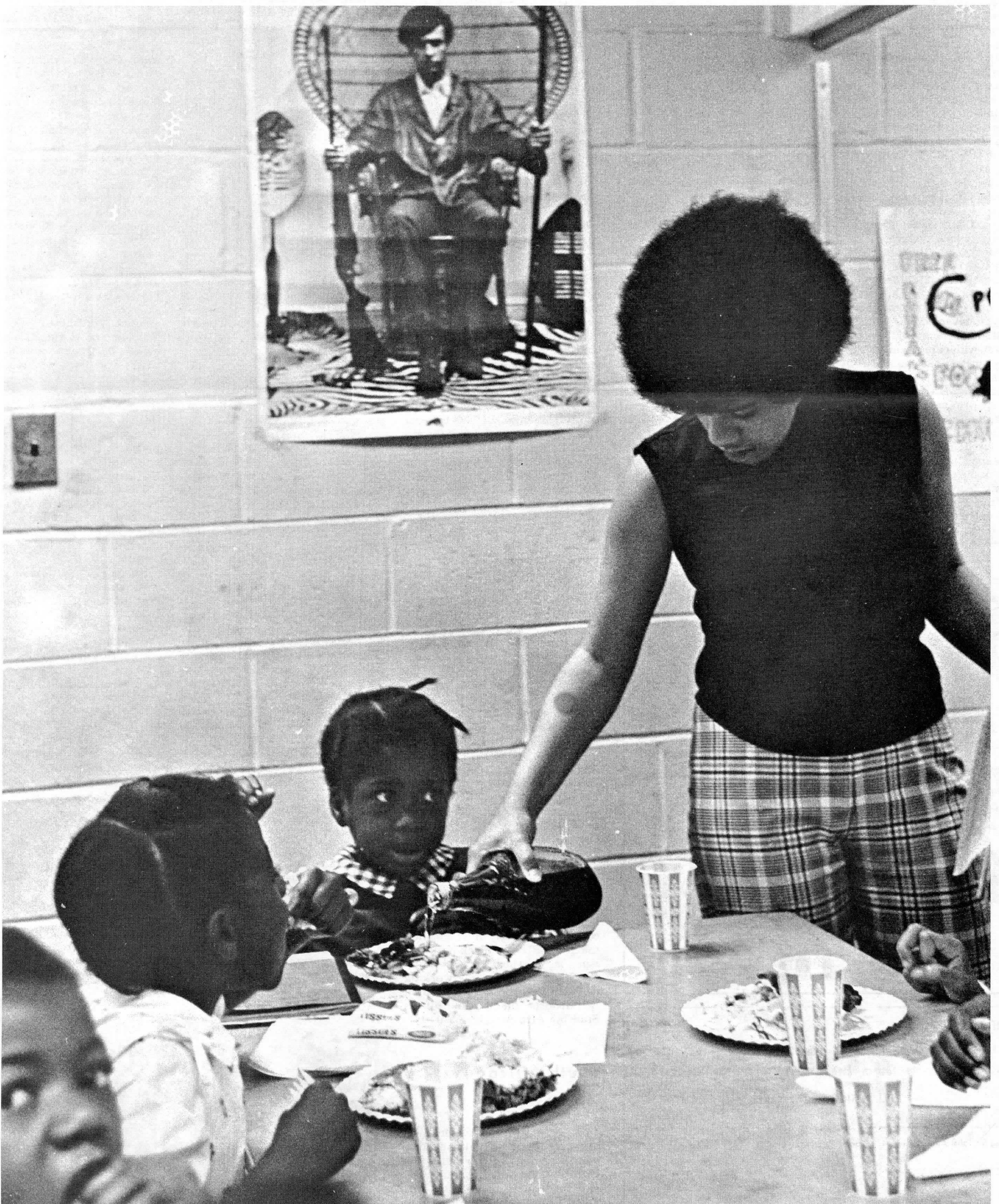


Photo by Barbara Rothkrug/LNS

Terrorist activity? The Black Panther free breakfast program for children

The Columbia SDS controversy

A criticism (I) . . .

Bronx, N. Y.
A fruitful debate among members of the left would necessitate an accurate presentation of facts. I respectfully submit that the article in the May 16 issue of *The Militant* on Columbia SDS was so full of inaccuracies that it was totally worthless. In the first place, the article gives the impression that the split in Columbia SDS was between independents on the one hand and PL on the other. In fact, the independents in Columbia SDS are split, and red-baiting right-wing elements use the same false analysis of ignoring the fact that there are a great number of independents in SDS who back the concept of worker and community alliances.

Secondly, it was not PL members nor the SDS expansion committee who stopped the fight against ROTC as the *Militant* article asserts. In fact, it was exactly the reverse. The expansion committee, consisting of a large number of independents and a few PL members, has struggled to maintain the attacks upon ROTC — and has had to work against the red-baiting right-wing of SDS which has played down the fight against Columbia's links with the military in order to avoid any conflict with the anti-Marxist leadership of the SAS black nationalists.

The black leadership of the SAS, [Students Afro-American Society], which has been blindly following the SDS right wing (but apparently not obsequiously enough for the YSA), revealed the counter-revolutionary nature of its share-the-power-with-capitalism program when its spokesman, in front of a major rally at Low Library, declared that Marx was wrong about the workers — that the workers are nowhere — and that any revolution will come from the campuses. Surely YSA members must have heard this public pronouncement. But the program of the YSA of tailing black nationalism does not admit such things into its mental universe. So the YSA has

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

to back a program while suppressing its content from its own cognizance. Let's put the facts on the table. Then we can discuss issues.

Hal Levin

A criticism (II) . . .

New York, N. Y.
Paula Reimers' article in the May 23 *Militant* contains three statements about the Labor Committee which are not only false but known to be false to *The Militant* editors and staff generally.

These may be summarized as follows: (1) The Labor Committee is a now-dissident element of PL's efforts to "wrack" Columbia SDS during a period of "at least two years." No PLer was ever permitted to join or otherwise support the N. Y. Labor Committee, founded in May, 1968, that is, permitted to participate by PL. (2) The Labor Committee did not support the "racist (?) Shanker bureaucracy" during the Fall, 1968 teachers' strike. What the Labor Committee did do is well-documented, and you have those documents in your possession, as well as the knowledge that the Labor Committee's practice exactly coincides with its written statements on the subject. (3) The Labor Committee did not pack an SDS meeting "with every mem-

ber and sympathizer from Boston to Philadelphia." Had the Labor Committee done so, the motion in question would have been defeated by about 200 votes, as *The Militant's* editors and staff generally would immediately realize.

Under the circumstances, it is mandatory that you publish a statement by the editors acknowledging Miss Reimers' three allegations to be mere loose gossip picked up, contrary to known facts. Otherwise, you would be guilty of a deliberate libel.

L. Marcus

. . . and a reply

New York, N. Y.
I wish to reply specifically to the charges of factual inaccuracy.

First of all, regarding the letter from L. Marcus:

1) The SDS Labor Committee at Columbia was originally organized by members of the Progressive Labor Party as their means of intervention in SDS. Later, in the spring of 1968, the Labor Committee was organized by supporters of L. Marcus, and, as my article states, PLers who remained in the Labor Committee were expelled from PL.

2) It is true that the Labor Committee had some criticisms of the manner in which the Shanker bureaucracy conducted the school shutdown last fall. But the fact remains, the Labor Committee did support the strike, which was a racist strike against the demands of the black and Puerto Rican community for control over their own schools.

3) I obviously cannot provide documentation that there were "x" many non-Columbia SDSers present at the meeting in question. However, my article stated an opinion that is insisted upon by many Columbia SDSers who are not PLers or members of the former Labor Committee. They recognized a number of people who they had never seen before at a Columbia SDS meeting, and they recognized a number of people who they had seen previously at regional SDS meetings.

Secondly, regarding the letter from Hal Levin:

1) My article does not imply that there are no independents supporting the PL line inside SDS — it states that PL is one of the major political elements in SDS. Neither does the article make any attempt to whitewash the other factions, and I pointed out that the independents have at times resorted to red-baiting against PL.

2) I never said that it was the PL-Expansion Committee that stopped the fight against ROTC. Neither faction of SDS has made any meaningful attempt to organize the masses of Columbia students who oppose ROTC.

3) Hal Levin's political attack on the Students Afro-American Society (SAS) reveals what is really involved in his criticisms of my articles. It is not simply a question of interpretation of minor facts. He has major political differences with the YSA on the question of black nationalism, and is echoing the utterly false position taken by PL that black nationalism is a reactionary ideology which only divides the working class. In the process, he thoroughly distorts the position of the Students Afro-American Society.

Paula Reimers

South African oppression

Madison, Wis.
I wish to bring to your attention some startling facts about the fascist apartheid policy in South Africa. Since the Act of Union, this racist policy restricts Africans to unskilled jobs in farms and mines; and from the very outset the mines have dictated the depressed wage-level of Africans. The African's

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Vol. 33 — No. 25

Friday, June 20, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was June 13.

wage is 1/19 of the white man's!

Regarding literacy, South Africa is unique in its misery, as it is only there that "the education of a child by a parent is illegal and punishable by imprisonment," according to *Sechaba*, March 1969, No. 3, page 14.

Such racist regimes as those in South Africa, Zimbabwe, occupied Palestine and the Portuguese colonies consistently apply a fascist policy to the natives whether or not they take to arms.

If, however, the ruling racist regime is militarily superior to the freedom fighters, it is only a question of time, and so long as there is a unified, coherent vanguard, armed with a well-defined socialist ideology, the balance of power will eventually tilt in favor of the masses as they launch their long protracted war of liberation.

M. D.

On Nigerian civil war

New Orleans, La.

Could your paper present a true view of the Nigerian-Biafran civil war? I am completely confused over the accounts in the Western "news" reports and the anti-Biafran articles that I have read.

L. C.

[Because of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information on the exceedingly complex situation in Nigeria and Biafra, we have not been able to adequately cover the events there. The December 13, 1968 issue of *The Militant* contains a lengthy article on the background leading up to the civil war, reprinted from the Belgian socialist weekly, *La Gauche*.

— Editor]

The pace of history — a correction

New York, N. Y.

In last week's *Militant* an error appeared in my letter replying to a question about Cuba's trade relations with Spain.

It was much less than 40 years from the Bolshevik victory in 1917 until the next socialist revolution, which occurred in Yugoslavia in the mid 1940's.

Mary-Alice Waters

Canadian workers vs. railway barons

Toronto, Ont.

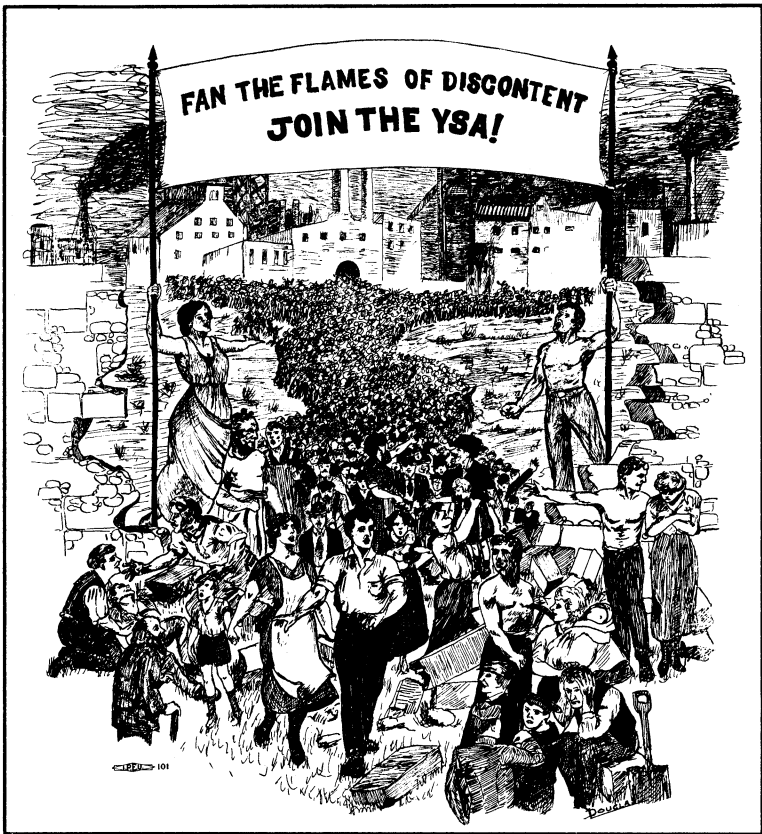
Reading your account of the Indians' counterceremony on the centennial of completion of the first transcontinental railroad, I was reminded of one historical precedent for their action.

When the continent's fourth transcontinental, the Canadian Pacific, was completed in 1885, the railway barons gathered to drive a symbolic golden spike,

to officially complete the railroad. But later, the workers who actually built the line held their own ceremony.

The picture of the pompous CPR pirate chieftains is known in all Canadian schoolrooms. But a picture of the workers' ceremony also survived, and was reproduced in *Young Socialist Forum* two years ago.

John Riddell



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I would like more information I want to join the YSA

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Nat'l antiwar conference slated

A national antiwar conference has been called for Cleveland, July 4-5, to plan co-ordinated national antiwar actions for the fall. The conference is being hosted by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, a coalition of some 30 antiwar groups in the Cleveland area. It has received the initial endorsement of leading figures from many of the regional antiwar coalitions, as well as the Student Mobilization Committee and other national antiwar organizations.

"The Nixon administration is engaging in the same duplicity as the previous Johnson administration," the call to the conference declares. "Despite his pre-election promises and occasional lip-service to the withdrawal of American troops, Nixon has actually intensified the war. There is no question now that massive opposition to the war must be further escalated to achieve the demand of the American people for an immediate and unconditional end to the United States' military presence in Vietnam."

"People are growing impatient in their desire to see the war end. The GI death toll is nearing 40,000. Taxes for the military are a huge burden, and the inflationary character of military spending is felt in every household. The black community in particular is most oppressed by the continuing military aggression in Vietnam. In spite of the tremendous antiwar senti-

ment in the United States, the war in Vietnam continues, with no end in sight.

"New sectors of the population are more open today to involvement in the decisive struggle to bring the GIs home from Vietnam now. Important new dimensions to the struggle against the war have developed among GIs and high school students. If we can project effective action by a unified antiwar movement, these forces may well be joined in the near future by significant numbers of workers, professionals, churchgoers and others. The development of a massive coalition of people against the war also represents the best way to meet the pattern of political repression now directed at the movement."

Invitations to the conference have been sent out to an initial list of delegates representing various local and national groups against the war and to some individual figures. The list is open for additional groups who wish to write in for delegate status. Observers are also welcome so that a good cross-section of antiwar activists can take part in the conference. A steering committee, composed of conference initiators, announced that decisions will be made after full discussion and democratic vote, based on a general consensus of the body to reflect the coalition character of the antiwar movement.

Those who plan to attend, or who desire further information, should write:

Cleveland Area Peace Action Council; 13101 Euclid Avenue; Cleveland, Ohio 44112. Phone (216) 761-5574 or (216) 249-6834.

Initial endorsers of the conference are: Norma Becker, New York; Prof. Thompson Bradley, Philadelphia; Prof. Charles Cairnes, Texas Coalition Against the War; Stephanie Coontz, Seattle GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace; Dave Dellinger, National Mobilization Committee; Prof. Doug Dowd, Ithaca; Al Evanoff, District 65, Retail and Wholesale Workers; Rev. Richard Fernandez, Clergy and Laymen Concerned; Attorney Jerry Gordon, Cleveland Area Peace Action Council; Prof.

Robert Greenblatt, New York.

Also, Prof. Donald Kalish, Los Angeles; Sidney Lens, Chicago; Carol Lipman, Student Mobilization Committee; Attorney Arthur Kinoy, New York; Stewart Meacham, Philadelphia; Dean Pappas, Baltimore; Prof. Sidney Peck, Cleveland; Max Primack, Chicago Peace Council; Andrew Pulley, Ft. Jackson Eight; Msgr. Charles O. Rice, Pittsburgh; Carl Rogers, Presidio Twenty-Seven Committee; Irving Sarnoff, Southern California Peace Action Council; Ken Shilman, San Francisco GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace; Dr. Benjamin Spock, New York; Cora Weiss, Women Strike for Peace; Dagmar Wilson, Women Strike for Peace; Prof. Howard Zinn, Boston.

Defiant Tartars press Kremlin for their rights

By Mary-Alice Waters

Five Crimean Tartars and Miss Irian Yakir were arrested in Moscow on Friday, June 6 following a silent demonstration protesting the continued discrimination and repression of the Crimean Tartars.

The five Tartars and Miss Yakir, who is the daughter of Pyotr Yakir, a leading Soviet intellectual active in the protest circles, timed their demonstration to coincide with the congress of world Communist parties currently being held in Moscow. The Tartars had earlier addressed an appeal to the congress.

According to reports appearing in the *New York Times*, the demonstrators carried portraits of Lenin and signs demanding an end to the repression and freedom for Pyotr G. Grigorenko. Grigorenko is a former major general who has been one of the most outspoken critics of the Soviet bureaucracy. He was arrested last May 7 when he flew to Tashkent to act as unofficial council for 11 Tartars being tried for "anti-Soviet" activities.

Unidentified "onlookers" in the "crowd" threw themselves on the demonstrators, shoved them to the ground, trampled on them, and tore up their signs. They were then pushed and dragged "by the crowd" to a nearby unmarked police station and arrested. The "crowd" also managed to stifle cries of "Long live freedom," shouted by the demonstrators.

All six were reportedly released the following day, and the five Tartars sent back to their home town in the Ukraine.

This latest demonstration represents one more step in the efforts of the Crimean Tartars to regain their rights as a national minority within the Soviet Union. Under the Leninist policy of self-determination for national minorities several hundred thousand Crimean Tartars established the Crimean Tartar Autonomous Republic in the early years after the revolution. This policy, however, was reversed by Stalin.

To assure his bureaucratic rule, Stalin had destroyed the soviets, which were the institutions of workers' democracy. He also systematically suppressed the freedoms and national rights won by the various national minorities in the USSR as a result of the 1917 Revolution.

In 1944 the Tartars were falsely accused of collaboration with the Nazis, and they, along with several other national minorities living in the Crimea were deported to Soviet Asia en masse. It is estimated that as many as 100,000 Tartars died in exile or during the arduous journey.

In 1967 the charge of collaboration was officially retracted by the Soviet government, but the Tartars were refused permission to return to their homeland in Crimea, which has some of the richest deposits of natural resources in the entire Soviet Union and is also a major tourist



Stalin

center.

Since 1959 more than 200 Tartars have been imprisoned for various activities protesting their national oppression, but the last few years have seen a significant increase in large-scale protests, and also a growing collaboration between revolutionary-minded Soviet intellectuals and the Tartars.

Two of the most significant demonstrations occurred last year. One was a mass demonstration held on Lenin's birthday, April 21, 1968, which was brutally repressed by the Soviet authorities. The choice of date, of course, made it clear that the Tartars were raising the banner of the Bolsheviks and condemning the Stalinist repression of national minorities.

Following those demonstrations, close to 800 Crimean Tartars traveled to Moscow in mid-May and peacefully occupied the offices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Supreme Soviet. Those who escaped arrest in that action held a demonstration in downtown Moscow the following day. Following that demonstration, police arrested anyone in the district who even looked like a Tartar. All were then deported back to the Uzbek Soviet Republic where the majority of the Tartars are still exiled.

The continuing struggle of the Crimean Tartars and the large numbers involved make it an extremely explosive issue. Were the defiant spirit and courage of the Tartars to take root in the fertile soil of the other oppressed national minorities in the Soviet Union, the Soviet bureaucracy would be faced with one of the most serious challenges ever. It can safely be said, it's only a matter of time.

We do need your help

The New York Times Company

Report of earnings for the three months ended March 31, 1969

Consolidated net income for the three months ended March 31, 1969, was \$3,436,000, or 39c per share of common stock outstanding during the period, compared with \$2,757,000, or 32c per share in the same period in 1968. Earnings per share earnings give effect to the four-for-one split that became effective on October 3, 1968.

Advertising in the first quarter totaled 21,543,998 lines, a gain of 286,402 lines over the same period last year. This was a record both in lineage and dollar volume. Significant gains were made in the Help Wanted classifi-

HARD FACTS. Radical papers often point out to their readers that they don't have the same kind of income as the capitalist press and that's why they must rely on their readers for financial support. This is just in case you were never really persuaded of that fact.

Back in 1960 we decided that during the summer months *The Militant* would be published every other week. This accomplished two purposes. It enabled the members of the editorial and business staffs to take a vacation without the added strain brought by a smaller vacation-period staff. And, also, there was the not insignificant fact that such a schedule saved us the cost of five issues a year.

The importance of the latter consideration was indicated in 1961 when even with this retrenchment we had to reduce our size to four pages.

The changing times are reflected in our steady upward climb since that period. (Our circulation at that time was around 3,500 as against 10,000 today.) By 1962 we had gone to an eight-page paper and a year ago, as we reported last week, we expanded to a 12-pager (with about 10 special 16-pagers included so far.)

Last year we pushed forward in another way which we propose to continue this year. We gave up the practice of publishing every other week during the summer. This year like last year, we will appear every week during July and August.

The added five issues do mean a certain additional strain on the staff and they definitely mean a greater financial obligation. With the increased growth of the revolutionary movement, however, our staff is younger than it used to be and the events now taking place have given it added energy, so we can cope with that problem.

We can cope with the added financial problem too. Provided, of course, that we have the support of our readers.

If you like the idea that we'll be coming out every week this summer and want to register your view in a material way, fill in the blank below and send it in with your contribution. Do it today.

With thanks and revolutionary greetings,
The Staff

Yes, I want to help

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Send to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

The attack on the Black Panthers

Attorney William Kunstler, for many years one of the leading civil rights lawyers in the country, is currently defending 14 of the 21 Black Panthers under indictment in New York on conspiracy charges. Kunstler spoke on the case at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on June 6. The following are excerpts from his speech.

* * *

The Panther case here in New York, as most of you have heard, is the latest of the Panther cases throughout the country. The emphasis has switched from Oakland, where the attack on the Panthers was on an individual basis—like Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver—to an attack on the general membership of the Black Panther Party. This is not unrelated to attacks on white radical groups in various parts of the country, but the attack on the Panthers is particularly vicious. And it has been brought to a fine point here in New York City.

The attack on the Panther 21 here in New York City has reached such a low level that no decent man or woman can watch this thing in operation without feeling a sense of revulsion. The unfortunate thing is that many decent people do watch it without that feeling, and that is the tragedy thus far of the Panther situation.

The indictments in this particular case were returned early on the morning of April 2. The Black Panthers concerned were rounded up at 5 a.m. by a squad of some 200 detectives. Of the 21, they arrested only 12 on those 5 a.m. raids.

The 13th was a man in a veterans' hospital—an epileptic—who was receiving

treatment at the veterans' hospital in New York. They grabbed him out of his hospital bed despite the protest of his physician that he was subject to grandmal seizures, which meant that without proper medication he could die by swallowing his tongue during a seizure.

The 14th is a young man by the name of Lonnie Epps who walked in and surrendered himself on the next day. That gave them 14 in custody. Two were already in custody in Newark, awaiting trial on other matters. That made 16. Five are still at large.

That was all April 2 and 3. The indictments were announced by a press conference, the first press conference I can recall District Attorney Frank Hogan ever giving, certainly the first one in any case in my memory. He recited this horrendous,

Panthers were probably going to hijack planes to Cuba—which Black Panthers always do—and that they were guarding the major airports in order to protect the stockholders of National Airlines and Eastern Airlines.

On April 5 high government sources in the city announced that the Black Panthers were probably guilty of stealing HRA funds. It was no longer the famous Durham Gang, it was now Black Panthers.

So if you're a prospective juror in this city, if you're fond of Cuba, you may not be fond of stealing from HRA. If you're fond of stealing from HRA, then you may not be fond of something else. They're going to try to shut every gap for every prospective juror. There is no pet hate that is not going to be exploited in these subliminal attacks on prospective

Post of May 29 jumped ahead of the game, and carried an article that the Panthers were involved in the CCNY situation.

Well I won't go into the rest of the material. Anyone who listened to the radio yesterday heard that two Black Panthers were arrested by the FBI in Denver yesterday. According to all the radio stations which I listened to, they were arrested in connection with the New Haven situation and every station informed the public that the New Haven situation was related to the New York situation.

All this terrifying mass of publicity is far more than that which caused a retrial of Dr. Samuel Sheppard in the Cleveland murder of his wife. But even more important, it has been foisted and perpetrated with a direct intent to destroy the right of these human beings to have any kind of a trial,

Illinois Panther HQ attacked by Federal agents

CHICAGO—At 5:35 a.m., June 4, FBI agents armed with machine guns, tear gas and no search warrant, broke into the Chicago headquarters of the Illinois Black Panther Party and arrested eight party members there. The street door of the second floor headquarters was battered down with sledge hammers while agents stood guard on the street and on the roofs of adjoining buildings armed with machine guns. Before the raid started, the Chicago police cordoned off a two block area. Deputy Minister of Defense, Bobby Rush, said that he had expected a raid to take place because plainclothes detectives had been spotted during the past few weeks making movies of the building and a police helicopter had been seen circling the building several times recently.

The only pretext the feds had for their actions was that they were searching for a fugitive, George Sams of New York, who allegedly has a connection with a murder in Connecticut last year. The FBI said they had received a "tip" that Sams was hiding out in the Panther headquarters. Apparently, they felt that their "tip" was so good that they didn't need a search warrant. During their "search" for the fugitive, the federal cops confiscated several typewriters, a mimeograph machine and about \$3,000 in cash which was to be used for the free medical clinic the Panthers were to set up this week on the West Side. Membership lists, mailing lists and names of contributors were also stolen. Desks and files were rifled and their contents strewn around the building. A large amount of food being stored there for the Free Breakfast for Children Program was also destroyed. A Panther spokesman estimated that about \$20,000 damage was done.

It is interesting to note that if anyone besides federal or city cops had launched such an attack on an organization, they could be charged with: "breaking and entering," "armed robbery," "grand larceny," "kidnapping," "vandalism," "disturbing the peace," and, of course, "conspiracy" to commit these crimes.

At a press conference, Rush said that these agents could have been admitted to the office had they troubled to contact party members and present a search warrant, but they chose to use these illegal tactics instead.

Rush also stated that the vandalism of the office, the destruction of the food and the robbery of the money would be setbacks for the Breakfast for Children Program and the medical clinic but the party would reply to this terrorist intimidation by intensifying their work on both programs.



Photo by Barbara Rothkrug/LNS

Attorney William Kunstler address New York "Lawyers for Justice" rally April 30.

bizarre crime which, as you remember, was to blow up five department stores (only one of which I can understand, and that would be Abercrombie and Fitch; the rest would have destroyed a great many black people had they gone up), the Botanical Gardens in the Bronx (which I fail to understand completely), the right-of-way of the New Haven railroad above 145th Street, and some police precincts in the Bronx.

That was the crime. It was all alleged to be a conspiracy because those of you who follow this kind of crime know by now that black people must be the worst planners in the world. All of the conspiracies—Herman Ferguson's; the so-called conspiracy in New Haven to blow up the Federal Reserve Bank, notwithstanding the fact that there is no Federal Reserve Bank in New Haven; the conspiracy here to blow up the department stores, etc.—are nipped in the bud by shrewd police work.

Only white people know how to set off bombs correctly. That's white superiority in this day and age. Remember the ex-marine in Chicago who detonated a bomb in Goldblatt's department store, killing a salesgirl and injuring some 10-12 other people? He had no trouble going in, planting the bomb, and having the bomb explode. The district attorney in New York County tried to link that bomb blast with the plot here in New York until he discovered that a white man had set the bomb. Then he announced that this conspiracy was nipped in the bud by efficient police work.

There were no bombs found at Macy's, at Korvette's, and Bloomingdale's or the other places. Because the police apprehended everyone. That's what District Attorney Hogan told the assembled multitude of the news media in his press conference at 11 a.m. on April 2.

On April 3 all of the newspapers carried a story from "high police sources" which indicated that the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was financed either by Fidel or Mao—take your choice—and that it was guided from both places. That was April 3.

On April 4, in order to add to the misery, some of the newspapers carried the news item released by sources close to the investigation that the five missing Black

jurors for this case.

On the next day, or maybe a day later, it was announced that a black church in Ozone Park had been firebombed, and, of course, there was the announcement that police suspected it was the work of Black Panthers. You may have noticed, to speak parenthetically, a little squib in the *New York Times*, that they had arrested five people for the firebombing of that church and the five people happened to be, not Black Panthers, but five gentlemen who were engaged in a struggle for poverty funds with the pastor of the Ozone Park church. The *News*, which had a major headline about this when it occurred, didn't carry a word about the arrests of the five non-Panthers for the Ozone Park church bombing.

Following that, the U.S. government jumped into the act. A major story broke in the *New York Times*—front page—that two members of the Cuban Mission to the U.N. were being denied their re-entry visas because they had been too close to the Black Panther Party. The sources, revealed as high government sources who refused to identify themselves, told the *New York Times* this remarkable story. But when you read through to the inside page, you discovered that the entry visa for one of the Cubans had been revoked 18 months ago, and the other one four months ago. But it was positioned in the paper as though it were a fresh news story, and associated in some way with the arrests of the Black Panthers here in New York.

Shortly after that a major story broke in Connecticut, in New Haven, that the body of one Alex Rackley had been found in the Middlebury River. He was identified as a Panther who, according to the chief of police of New Haven, had been executed by Black Panthers after a kangaroo trial because he had apparently been informing on the Panthers. To whom had he been informing? To the New York City police about the bombing of the department stores, and the railroad tracks, and the Botanical Gardens? This story was carried in all the New York newspapers, with a cryptic reference to the definite link between the New York Black Panthers and the New Haven Black Panthers, and the case pending here in New York.

I just noticed in passing that the *New York*

much less a fair trial, to have anything which merits the name "trial." It's been done deliberately.

High police sources that talk to the press and tell them about so-called connections with Cuba and China do so criminally and illegally, and they know what they are doing. And there's a reason why their names do not appear in the articles, why no sources are ever revealed, except "high police officials," "informed government sources," etc. They know that this stuff is as deadly as a machine-gun bullet and that it destroys people just as effectively.

Well, coupled with all of this has been the activity of the prosecutor. Taking advantage of all of this deliberately fomented publicity, he has asked for and received horrendous bail—\$100,000 for everybody. Four of those have been lowered, after months of bail hearings. Two have gone down to \$50,000 apiece; one to \$25,000; and one, the high school student who walked in and surrendered himself voluntarily, to \$10,000. The last is the only one who is out.

But the district attorney has gone further than that. He took the initial 14 and scattered them throughout New York. The only borough he missed was Richmond. Some were at the Men's House of Detention. The women, of course, are at the Women's House of Detention—we can't fault them for that; it's the only place they could be. But the rest of the men are scattered about—in Queens, in Brooklyn, on Rikers Island, in the Bronx. And that's done deliberately.

This is a conspiracy indictment, and to take your conspirators and spread them around like that, then impose high bail, means that the lawyers can never get them all together at once.

In fact, for a long time we could only see one at a time even if more than one were incarcerated at a particular prison.

Coupled with that, they were subjected to the most inhumane treatment in jail that I have ever heard of. Black Panthers can be put in jail and denied all privileges. Many of them must have their lights on all night long. They can be denied visiting privileges, reading and writing, letters, subjected to constant searching, etc. And I have yet to hear of any judicial inquiry or anguished cry of protest from anybody



Shotgun-bearing cops arresting Curtis Powell, one of the Panther 21.

Photo by Roz Payne/LNS/ Newsreel

other than the Panthers themselves about this type of condition.

It's been moderated somewhat, but only slightly. Several still have lights on all night. All of them are on what we call daily and continuous lockup. They never leave their cells. No exercise. No television. No radio. And remember, they're all people presumed to be innocent. Persons convicted in this state and sent to the penitentiary have much better treatment than the people who are being held for trial on a presumption of innocence.

Added to this you have the actions of the prosecutor in court. He stands in front of a judge who is supposedly going to be fairminded on the bail situation, and he waves a pipe and says that this type of pipe was found in the home of one of the defendants. It's the exact same thing that blew up Goldblatt's department store in Chicago. That was before he knew that an ex-Marine of Caucasian ancestry had detonated that bomb. When he was challenged and asked if he had compared them at all, he said, "No, we haven't compared them because the other was detonated." Then how can he possibly inform the court that it's the same pipe?

But the court didn't need much compulsion, as you know, because they also arranged to switch the judges around and made sure that the right judge was at every hearing. They went so far as to do the following—and I have never heard of this in my 21 years practicing in this city, or anywhere else.

A writ of habeas corpus was obtained to test the validity of the \$100,000 bond set by Judge Marks. The writ was signed by Judge Ross, and it ordered the wardens to produce the defendants before Judge Ross for a hearing on the bond set by Judge Marks. When we appeared for that hearing before Judge Ross, Judge Ross said the case was being transferred across the hall, where Judge Schweitzer is sitting. So we traipsed across the hall, and all of a sudden, Judge Schweitzer left the bench, and who did we see sitting in his place to review the bail? The very man who had set the bail, Judge Marks!

So Judge Marks sat as an appellate court on his own bail, and of course the result was foredoomed. He did not disturb a single dollar of any bond. What he did do was threaten to hold the lawyers in contempt for protesting this rape of the constitution

Bk'l'n Afro group to present 4 plays

BROOKLYN, N. Y. — The Brothers and Sisters for Afro-American Unity and the African-American Students Association will present the Black Quartet, four one-act plays, at I. S. 271 at 7:30 p.m. June 20 and 21. The quartet includes "Gentleman's Caller," by Ed Bullins, "Jello," by Leroi Jones, "The Militant Preacher," by Ben Caldwell and "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition," by Yusef Iman.

The donation for the performance is \$2. For tickets and information call 638-9494, 789-3700 or 341-1674. Tickets are available at 1115 Fulton St., Brooklyn; 1064 Fulton St., Brooklyn; 274 W. 125 St., Manhattan; and 193-01 Linden Blvd., St. Albans, Queens.

that was going on in front of their eyes.

I complained about this to myself and the muses one day, sitting in the little park across from 100 Center Street, when who should walk towards me but Judge William Booth, the former head of the City Commission on Human Rights. As you remember, instead of standing firm when he was attacked in this city, he knuckled under and accepted his promotion-demotion to a criminal court judge to get him out of the Commission on Human Rights. But I've known him for a long time; I like him; we're friends. And I recognize what pressures do to all human beings at particular times in life.

He came out of the criminal court in an extremely excited frame of mind. And he saw me and he said, "You know what they did to me today?"

Three Black Panthers, one man and two women, were arrested with the 14 because they were in the apartment of one of the defendants at the time of those 5 a.m. dawn raids. They had been arrested and charged, not with conspiracy but with the crime of possessing weapons. They were held under bail not as horrendous as the other bonds, but pretty high. And a bail hearing was set for this very day that I saw Judge Booth come bounding out of the criminal court building.

He said to me, "I must tell you this. There were three Panthers coming up before me today for a bail hearing and the chief judge moved me out for an hour so that a white judge could come in and sit on that case."

Well I was astounded by this so, among other things, I put this in a habeas corpus to the federal courts. And the newspapers contacted Judge Booth, who told the newspapers, yes, he had said this, but that he had investigated it further, and found that it was completely innocent—his being moved—because the Panther case had been adjourned anyway and wasn't heard that day.

The only problem is that the Panther case was not adjourned. It was heard that day, and the bails were doubled by the judge who replaced Booth. He called me yesterday, because I had sent him a copy of the writ of habeas corpus containing his statement and he told me the same story he had told reporters from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. And I said, "Bill, that's not so. Would it surprise you to know that the hearing did go on, did take place, and that the bails were raised in your enforced absence?" He said, "It certainly would surprise me."

So tonight just by coincidence Murray Kempton called me before I came down here. I gave him that part of the story, and he is going to follow up on it. If Judge Booth would stand his ground he could cause a minor revolution in this city. It's the kind of thing that even those who dislike the Panthers might come to grips with if that did take place. And I assure you, I have given you the conversations as they occurred.

But in any event, that is unimportant in the great scheme of things. What is important is that all of these things have been done in a concerted effort to destroy this political party, in a concerted effort to put people in jail for considerable periods of time so that all recruiting stops,

all organizing stops, and the Panther Party dies in an abysmal fashion with rank and file members in jail for long periods of time.

There are Panther cases now of a similar nature all over the United States—another one in Charlotte, North Carolina last night; Denver you read about today; Chicago three days ago, with the massing of FBI officers around the Panther headquarters and the arrest of eight Panthers. The ostensible purpose of the arrests was that they were looking for another Panther wanted in New Haven in connection with the so-called murder of Alex Rackley after the kangaroo court decision.

If you notice what the bonds were in Denver, they even outdid New York. \$200,000 per man, which is no bond at all. Preventive detention is what we are observing here.

It is very interesting that the President wants people to observe law and order, wants people to do things in a legal fashion when the law is used to lynch.

These charges are deliberately picked and selected. In New Haven I told you the charge was to dynamite a bank that didn't exist. There were two other banks involved in that conspiracy that do exist. The interesting thing was that at the trial it was discovered that although the police knew of the plot months before the arrests they did not inform the two banks concerned.

You would think that the first thing you would do would be to say to the president of the First National Bank and Trust Company of New Haven, "We've uncovered a plot to blow up your bank. Be on the watch if you see anyone dropping packages." But the president of each existent bank testified that he had never heard from the police as to any plot against his bank. One of the defense attorneys said, "Were'nt you surprised to learn later that there was a plot, and that you hadn't been informed?" And the answer that stands out in the transcript is beautiful. "You're damn tootin'."



Photo by Miriam Boesker/LNS

Lonnie Epps

But despite that, the jury convicted two of the gentlemen involved, all of whom were workers with the Hill Parents Association, which is one of the few viable civil rights groups in New Haven.

In this city we've had two mammoth episodes. Black people also "conspired" to knock off Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young. But, of course, like everything else they failed, and the two gentlemen walk around today, because the police nipped it in the bud, when they rounded up Herman Ferguson and 16 others. And that bizzare crime now stands on the books.

All the "crimes" are bizarre, and yet they have method in their madness. What better way to excite a property-minded society than to raise the threat of destroying Macy's, Korvette's and other enterprises? What better way to frighten people in general, white and black alike, than that they might be detonated in their department store? What better way to excite the middle-class black man than to tell him the militants are out to destroy the leaders of the more moderate organizations? What better way to excite white liberals as well?

These are calculated. No longer do we have the arrests of people for disorderly conduct or breach of peace—the 1961-1966 garden variety of crime. Everything's a felony these days. No more petty crimes. For one year, from 1966-1967, the police worked on the narcotics bust for the civil rights movement. The joint stashed here, or the tablets found there. But these did not prove to be effective. While they might give some people some prison terms that wasn't the objective.

They didn't excite the great inert mass of Americans to any type of revulsion against black militants, or white militants. You had to get things that came close to home, like destroying the Botanical Gardens where I watch my orchids every Sunday, or the department store where I shop, or the right-of-way of the commuter. My god, what more can you do than to destroy the commuter! The bastion of American civilization!

These things are designed deliberately to create fear, chaos, distrust and hatred, and they are doing it. They are effective. . . .

On June 11, the Panther 21 will be brought before Judge Murtaugh, a specially selected judge. Believe me, in New York County the District Attorney has the power to select what judge tries what case. Most counties it's done by lot—you're name is picked out of a drum, or they have a rotation scheme. But not in New York County. If you want a hanging judge, you get yourself one, and Judge Murtaugh is a hanging judge. He proved himself in the very first day.

We appeared before him a month and three days after the indictments, and he said, "I want you ready to go to trial immediately. After I finish one case in front of me, we go to trial."

Never in the history of the state of New York has a serious felony prosecution ever gone to trial one month and three days after indictment—before a single motion had been made, before we had even seen all of our clients! I would say that the average span is probably eight months, 10 months, a year more. We did a little survey of our own, and found that of all the calendars that day, the average span was a year and a half between indictment and trial.

But not in this case. This case was going to go to trial in one month and three days—give or take a few—because Judge Murtaugh had his instructions, and he was following them. He was carefully selected for this case.

The rigged trial of Ahmed Evans

By Syd Stapleton

(Syd Stapleton is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland.)

CLEVELAND—Ahmed Evans, a black nationalist, has been condemned to the electric chair for murder. The charge arose out of the Glenville "incident" of last summer, when a police attack on July 23 left ten dead—three white cops and seven black people. A ghetto rebellion in response to the racist attacks of the Cleveland police followed, sweeping Hough and Glenville.

Evans was framed up and charged on four counts of first-degree murder (policemen Wolff, Gononka and Jones, civilian Chapman) and three additional counts of first-degree murder for killing policemen on duty.

Assistant County Prosecutor Laurie was forced to admit, "There is no direct evidence that Evans killed anybody. . ."

The prosecution's case thus was based on Ahmed Evans' alleged "conspiracy" to murder the policemen. In reality, the trial was a racist attack on Evans' black nationalist ideas and a blatant frame-up.

John J. Ungvary, head of the Cleveland police subversive squad, testified that Evans' philosophy dealt with "revolution through force and violence." To buttress the charges, witchhunt attacks on black nationalism were launched during the trial itself. Thirty specially trained cops, some wearing body armor, raided a "suspected black nationalist" headquarters on May 7, but failed to find the "large cache of automatic carbines" they had hoped to discover.

The rigged and racist nature of Evans' trial was evident from the beginning. Of the 130 original candidates for the jury only ten were black, and these few were all excused by either the prosecution or the judge. Evans was tried by an all-white jury.

Defense attorneys asked that the trial be moved from Cleveland, citing past newspaper editorials calculated to deny a fair trial. One example: "These are brutal men with hate-twisted minds. . . Their cry is 'kill!' Their targets are policemen, whitey, fellow Negroes who do not share their extremist views." Judge McMonagle denied the request.

During the trial, the prosecution called the black defense attorneys "boys." Assistant Prosecutor Laurie shouted at one witness who was testifying about being beaten by police, "You hate all white people, don't you?"

Unauthorized material was sent to the jury. Photostats of clippings about a 1965 disbarment proceeding against chief defense attorney Tolliver were tucked into a County exhibit. (The proceedings against Tolliver had been dropped.)

Nevertheless, Judge McMonagle termed the case a "model for trial in this community."

The police chronology of the events of July 23 reveal serious discrepancies and point to the fabricated nature of the prosecution's case. The official report states that the gun battle began at 8:25 p.m., when a police tow truck was fired upon in front of Evans' home. Yet patrolman Gononka was pronounced dead in the hospital at 8:40 p.m. Gononka was not initially on the scene. It would have been necessary for him to hear the tow truck's radio request for help sometime after 8:25, respond to it, arrive at Auburndale, be shot, rescued, transported to the hospital and pronounced dead—all in no more than 15 minutes!

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* reported on Wednesday, July 24, that the shooting began at 7:30 p.m. Yet the police radio tapes are not available before 8:25 p.m. The missing tapes may well have contained evidence that the police had initiated the shoot-out, attempting to cover their tracks by making the official report begin at 8:25.

Mayor Stokes' official report on the shootings stated that the source of the first shot "at 8:25 p.m." was *unknown*. The report also stated that the "violence started as a spontaneous action," there being no conspiracy or planning of a trap. Yet despite the reports hostility to black nationalism and support for the police, it was ruled inadmissible as



Photo by Muhammad Akbar

Occupation forces in Cleveland's Glenville area after police shoot-out

evidence because its contents were not gathered under oath. But the evidence taken under oath was clearly fabricated.

Walter Washington, the key prosecution witness used to "prove" that Ahmed Evans conspired to kill policemen, testified that he was a "Black Panther" and described the Panthers as a social group! He stated that Evans had organized a group of 40-50 people for the purpose of "killing cops."

But Washington was far from being a disinterested and impartial witness. According to the Cleveland *Press*, Jan. 23, 1969, he had admitted six fire-bombings, and was charged with arson. In addition, under the alias of Walter Brown, he was charged with first-degree murder for the Sept. 12 stabbing of Willie T. Davis. His life, or at least a long prison term, was at stake.

Here is an example of Washington's testimony under cross-examination by the defense:

Q. What were you taken to the Central Police Station for?

A. To be charged.

Q. With what?

A. First degree murder.

Q. Are you now charged with first degree murder?

A. No.

Q. First degree murder in connection with what?

A. A stabbing on 105th.

Q. When did this stabbing occur?

A. September 12th.

Q. What happened to the charge?

A. I got a 'no bill.'

Q. Is the arson case still pending?

A. If I don't go into the Army.

Q. What do you mean, if you don't go into the Army?

A. If I don't go to the Army, it's still pending. I am going to the Army, sir.

Other prosecution witnesses on Ahmed Evans' role in the shoot-out were equally questionable. The police tow truck driver, McMillan, told an X-ray technologist at the hospital the night of the shooting that he did not know who shot him. In court he testified that he positively remembered Evans' face—but he could not recall what Evans was wearing.

An East Cleveland patrolman, Charles Teel, said he saw Evans loading a carbine as he walked through a night full of gunfire. Under cross-examination, however, Teel said he couldn't be positive that the man he saw was Evans.

Ahmed Evans was also convicted of killing James Chapman, a 22-year-old black man portrayed by the media as a hero who lost his life while aiding the police. Abundant powder burns were found in Chapman's fatal wounds, and testimony by Dr. Wecht stated that Chapman was shot "from very close range—certainly less than six inches." Despite the fact of powder burns, the cor-

oner's verdict said that "death in this case was the end result of gunshot wounds sustained when shot by a *sniper* during racial disturbances and was homicidal in nature." (emphasis added.)

The original autopsy report on Lt. LeRoy Jones indicated that he was hit by a shotgun blast. This report was later changed to read a gunshot wound. The change should be viewed in light of the fact that only the police were using shotguns on July 23.

The prosecution, with a ballistics lab at its disposal, was unable to show which weapons were actually used to kill the four men. Ahmed Evans' conviction was based totally on contrived evidence concerning the alleged "conspiracy."

The actions of the police, however, reveal the state they were in on July 23 and indicate what was really behind the Glenville "incident."

Two of the three policemen killed, according to the coroner, had consumed between 13 and 15 ounces of alcohol each, shortly before death. The other had also been drinking that evening, as were four of ten wounded cops from whom blood samples were taken.

Patrons at the Lakeview Tavern were forced to take cover in the basement when the shooting began. They heard cops upstairs talking and laughing. One man, John Pegues, was walking up the stairs when three cops opened fire on him—one with a shotgun and two with .38s. The police then threw tear gas into the basement, dragged the 11 patrons upstairs, beat them, and threw them into the patrol wagons.

Arthur Reden, Jr. testified at the trial that, "They beat me and dragged me across the street. One of them said, 'You're black pigs. We're going to kill every nigger on Lakeview.'" Another man suffered three broken ribs during the attack on the bar's patrons. All of them were taken to the police station, and with the exception of Pegues, confined in a single cell without medical treatment until dawn when they were released.

Reden also testified that he saw the cops taking liquor from the bar and distributing it among themselves. The next day \$200, 10 cases of beer and 36 bottles of whiskey were found missing by the owner of the bar.

Yet it was Evans who was tried and convicted of murder rather than drunken, racist cops who openly stated that they were out to kill and brutalize black people in the area. Mayor Stokes, a black man, still has not commented on the racist travesty of justice in the Evans trial. Stokes, however, has played a consistent role throughout the Glenville incident, the disturbances afterwards, and the now-completed Evans trial. His role has been that of a typical liberal capitalist politician.

Ohio's Governor Rhodes had mobilized the National Guard. By 12:45 a.m., some four hours after the first shots were officially

reported, there were 900 guardsmen in the area. This was the first time that the entire Ohio National Guard had been mobilized since the Dayton flood of 1913.

In what was called a "dramatic" move, Stokes pulled the guard and all white policemen out of large sections of Glenville and Hough on Wednesday, July 24. But as the "drama" unfolded and black people continued to liberate goods from numerous white-owned stores in the area, Stokes reversed his decision less than 24 hours after he had ordered the guard withdrawn. Like other capitalist politicians, Stokes puts property rights before human lives.

Stokes' office issued a report on the Glenville incident. A section of the report, called "Timetable of Terror," gives a minute-by-minute version of the events, resurrecting the old method for making the victim appear the criminal and the criminal the victim.

Stokes' program to eliminate future disorders did *not* include massive federal housing and job programs, did *not* call for black control of the cops in the black community, did *not* call for withdrawal from Vietnam so that federal funds could be made available for such projects.

What Stokes did call for was stricter gun control legislation. His report urged a crack-down on curfew violations because "Teenage gangs represent a threat which reaches serious proportions in time of civic disorder." He called for a reevaluation of all "present police emergency procedures and [a] study of ways to improve police communication and coordination in this kind of situation." He said "sniper fire on police has become a new kind of violence that requires extraordinary safeguards."

Since then Stokes has gone on to provide such "safeguards" as bullet-proof vests and armed "riot control vehicles" for the cops. The city administration is also well aware that the cops on the beat carry their own high-powered rifles.

City hall provided several key witnesses for the prosecution during Ahmed Evans' trial, but the mayor has said nothing and done nothing to intervene against that racist trial. He has not even pointed out that Evans was not tried by a jury of his peers.

Ahmed Evans was condemned to death by an all-white jury to justify the police attacks on the black community. Not only did the police brutalize the black community, killing seven black people, but a black man has been sentenced to death for their crime. This is an attempt to intimidate with the threat of legal lynching any and all black militants who are trying to end the racist oppression of their community. Ahmed Evans was in reality tried and convicted for being a black nationalist. We must fight for his immediate and unconditional freedom.

Che Guevara
Socialism and Man

35¢

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A transitional program for the black liberation movement

It is becoming more and more clear to increasing numbers of Afro-Americans that nothing less than a revolution in this country will bring about the liberation of black people. As a result, a great deal of discussion is going on over how to make a revolution and how to relate present-day struggles and demands to the goal of changing society as a whole. In providing answers to these questions, the experiences of the rest of the world revolutionary movement can be immensely helpful. They teach that the most effective road to revolutionary victory is through developing a rounded program of mass struggle—and organizing a mass political party around militant action on that program.

How can these lessons best be applied at the present stage of the struggle for black liberation in the United States? That is the all-important question this document proposes to discuss and answer.

* * *

What do the developments of the past 15 years demonstrate? The struggle for black liberation has taken giant steps forward since the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott touched off the contemporary phase of the movement. It has given Afro-Americans a heightened sense of dignity, worth and destiny as a people. It has made the claims of the black masses into a paramount and unpostponable issue in American life and politics. It has acquainted the whole world with the intolerable condi-

The document presented here, 'A Transitional Program for the Black Liberation Movement,' is a draft resolution presented by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the members of the party for discussion and adoption by the Party's convention to be held this fall.

Along with other resolutions and documents, this resolution is being considered by the Party membership as part of its pre-convention discussion which is now taking place. We publish it here with the view that it will prove of interest and value to our readers, particularly those involved in the black liberation struggle.

Our pages will be open to discussion of the resolution and we welcome comments on it, either about the specific proposals included in the program or about its general conceptions. Needless to say, pro and con views are equally welcome.

tions of the more than 22 million Afro-Americans and their determination to end the racist system and to win self-determination.

More recently, it has propelled black nationalism from deeply felt resentment against injustice and inequality into a powerful and ascending force in the Afro-American communities.

In the conclusion to his biography of Sammy Younge, Jr., the first black college student to die in the black liberation movement, SNCC leader James Forman summed up the situation in the following terms: "The history of resistance to the most unique colonization experience known to mankind shows that the '60s must be recorded as an accelerating generation, a generation of black people determined that they will survive, a generation aware that resistance is the agenda for today and that action by people is necessary to quicken the steps of history."

Black Americans have participated in plenty of actions since 1955—and these struggles have been responsible for whatever advances have been achieved. But it is painfully evident that all the struggles over the past decade and a half have not succeeded in improving the living and

working conditions of the masses of black people or eliminating the worst abuses inflicted daily upon them. Only a few favored individuals from the black upper crust have benefited from the tokenism through which the white possessors of power and wealth have tried to dampen or buy off the militancy of the masses.

A pile of economic statistics confirms what almost every Afro-American knows from personal experience. Blacks are subjected to many forms of discrimination, have much lower incomes and fewer job opportunities, get lower wages, live in rotten housing, have bigger rates of unemployment and receive inferior education. Just one figure from the bottom of the heap shows what the score is. Forty percent of the nation's 9,500,000 citizens on welfare are black. In some states monthly welfare payments amount to as little as \$40 for a family of four. In New York City, 80 percent on welfare are blacks or Puerto Ricans.

Despite the heightened consciousness of the nature of this oppression and the awareness of the failure of the policies pursued in the past, no clear alternative conception has yet emerged from the black community on what has to be done to bring better results. Although repeated uprisings in the black communities have indicated time and again the existence of a deep-going mass radicalization, little headway has been made in organizing the ghetto masses into an effective force for struggle. Instead, the gunning down of black leaders, the assassination of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., the repression of the Black Panther Party and the lack of mass agencies of struggle have bred a widespread feeling of frustration which exists in the black community on all levels.

The fraud of black capitalism

Meanwhile the chief political representatives of American capitalism are not silent or inactive. They have no intention of removing the causes of discrimination, poverty and misery. These are built into their system of racist oppression and economic exploitation. They have shown by the use of police, state and federal troops over the recent years that they are ready to resort to the most brutal and bloody repression to put down black protest. In order to maintain their rule they strive to keep black people divided themselves and separated from potential allies among the whites. They expect to keep blacks in their place by alternating cheap concessions ("tokenism") with repressions.

The Kennedy and Johnson administrations banked on the passage of a few civil-rights bills and a fakewar-on-poverty to calm and appease the growing militancy. These have not worked. Now the more conservative Nixon administration has announced the development of a "black capitalism."

The essence of this program is that the principal lending institutions, backed by government loan guarantees, are supposed to help set up and encourage different sorts of small business enterprise by black individuals or groups. Not much has yet been done along this line. But the idea of creating a puny black capitalism alongside the gigantic edifice of white capitalism and in competition with it is a pure fantasy and a cruel hoax. While it may benefit a few black businessmen, it will fool very few black people.

Today almost all black businesses are tiny family operations, catering to a ghetto clientele and providing a meager income for their owners and a few jobs for others. About 25 percent of black firms are barber shops and beauty parlors. One out of every 40 Americans is a proprietor, while only one black in 1,000 is.

For show-window purposes, Nixon and his henchmen may aid and establish a few more black-operated enterprises—which will remain in debt to their financiers. But they will not narrow the colossal discrepancy between white capitalist ownership and the layer of black proprietors.



Students in Sylvester, Georgia

The predominant trend of American economy is toward accelerated concentration of business and industry in fewer and bigger monopolies. This cuts down small white business as well as blocking the growth of black business. A sprinkling of new black firms cannot alter or reverse this process. They will remain petty and shaky marginal enterprises while the major banks, industries, insurance companies, chain stores and real estate interests stay in white hands and keep on fleecing the black communities.

Nor do the corporations which control the job market have any compelling reasons to better wages or working conditions for their black wage-slaves or eliminate the higher rate of unemployment among black workers and youth.

So long as the capitalist system prevails, Afro-Americans have the right to demand equal, if not greater, access to capital resources, credits and loans so they can go into business on their own as well as into factories, offices and government positions. Cooperatives may help some black communities to lessen the parasitic grip of the white bloodsuckers and acquire a larger measure of autonomy over minor aspects of their economic life. But this is quite different from expecting that the present owners and controllers of the United States will satisfy the needs of the black community or that black capitalism will solve or even alleviate the most pressing problems of black people, such as housing, education, employment, and poverty. A fundamental transformation of the whole economic, social and political system is required for this.

The liberal approach

The liberal black leaders, from Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins to Ralph Abernathy and Bayard Rustin, advocate extensive reforms for the benefit of black people. The trouble is that they expect to see these concessions come from Democratic and Republican party politicians, the very agents of the capitalist ruling class which has bred racism for centuries, upholds it and is its main beneficiary at home and abroad.

These gradualists and reformists keep their ideas and activities within the limits of the established order which they are committed to serve. They resemble the house-slaves and handkerchief-heads who came cap in hand begging "massa" for favors.

The more astute white capitalist politicians and their black stooges are aware that any breakaway from the two-party system to the left is a danger to them. That is why they back the campaigns and build up the reputations of black Democrats like Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland and Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary. Such black men are nominated and put in office, not to serve the welfare of the black community, but to head off the mounting demands for change, to co-opt and corrupt black nationalist sentiment if possible, and turn it back into channels which are safe and secure for the white supremacists.

The first major action of Mayor Stokes was to increase payroll taxes to raise money so that more cops could be hired

to maintain control over the black community. And Mayor Hatcher admitted his administration has little control over what happens to black people in Gary. "There is much talk about black control of the ghetto," he said. "What does it mean? I am mayor of a city of roughly 90,000 black people—but we do not control the possibilities of jobs for them, of money for their schools, or state-funded social institutions. These things are in the hands of U.S. Steel Corporation, the county department of welfare and the State of Indiana."

The positions of the revolutionary nationalists

To one degree or another almost every Afro-American shares the sentiments if not the ideology of black nationalism. The spectrum of the black nationalist movement comprises a wide variety of political positions and trends, ranging from those on the extreme right, who want to build black business, through the purely cultural nationalists, to the revolutionary left wing.

Today hundreds of thousands of black men and women look forward to the black revolution as the road to liberation. In the vanguard are the rebellious black youth in the ghettos, the streets and the campuses who are absorbing ideas and inspirations from the "Third World" revolutions, the teachings of Malcolm X, and their own experiences in struggle. The most advanced recognize that capitalism is the source and support of racism and that it is necessary to abolish capitalism in order to attack racism at its roots.

This rapidly growing revolutionary consciousness means that increasing numbers of black people, especially among the youth, are ready to devote their lives to the building of a revolutionary movement to win power for the masses and overturn this system. They are now forced to grapple with the extremely complex problem of how this can be done. Without a correct and realistic perspective for carrying on the liberation struggle, based on a clear understanding of the objective conditions in the United States today, thousands of excellent revolutionary cadres run the risk of disorientation or wasting time and energy while trying to reach the goal of emancipation.

Numerous revolutionaries see the necessity and desirability of breaking away, once and for all, from both the Democratic and Republican parties and forming an independent black party which will not only enter candidates in election campaigns but mobilize the Afro-American communities in actions to attain community demands.

However, they do not yet see clearly how to link struggles for the pressing immediate needs of the black people with the revolutionary goal of overturning the whole racist capitalist system. In their search for an answer to this difficult problem they swing from one extreme to the other without finding a logical and practical connection between the two ends. Thus at one time they talk about armed struggle by small, highly disciplined, and trained groups of militants as the only really revolutionary method of action.

The solution lies in developing

When they run up against the unrealism of guerrilla-type actions in the United States, where the scale of revolutionary struggles demands huge and much more complex commitments of forces, they fall back to spasmodic and uncoordinated activities associated with the largely spontaneous struggles that flare up in the community over issues that often do not appear to be far-reaching. Many militants who have grasped the need to overturn the system as a whole feel that in participating in such battles they are merely marking time while they search for the formula that will put a successful revolution on the agenda in the United States.

In order to work out a strategy and tactics that can realistically hasten a revolutionary showdown, it is necessary first of all to understand where the black liberation struggle actually stands today. What stage is it in?

In the country as a whole, a struggle for government power by the working class is not an immediate perspective. This obviously holds true for the white workers, who remain relatively quiescent politically and still tied in with the Democratic Party machinery through the union bureaucracy.

Without the white workers, the movement for black liberation cannot realistically pose an immediate struggle for government power. It is true, of course, as the mass uprisings indicate, the black masses are far more ready to fight for their rights against the authorities than any other sector of American society. But it requires the active backing and participation of the majority of the population to achieve government power. This stage has not yet been reached in the United States. Moreover, the political understanding of the black masses today is far less advanced than their combative frame of mind. Despite their bitterness, nine-tenths of the black voters cast a ballot for the Democratic candidates for president in 1968, as they did in 1964.

The truth is that we stand in a preparatory period. Once this is thoroughly understood, the problems begin to fall into place.

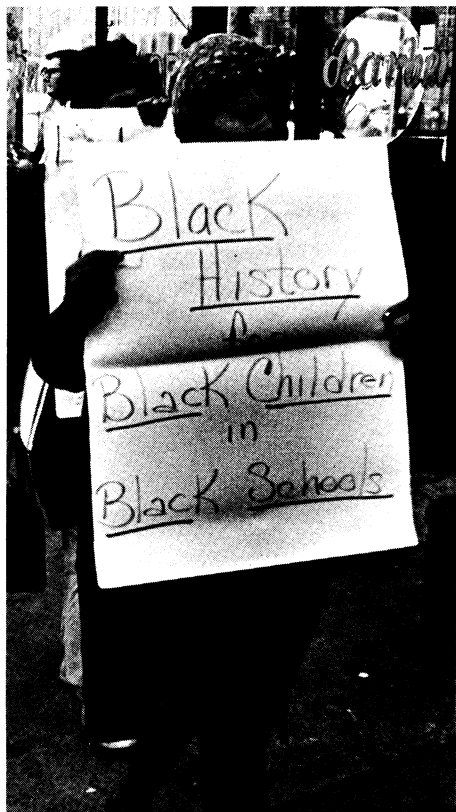
The first big problem is how to break the hold of the white supremacist capitalist politicians upon Afro-Americans. The solution lies in promoting the formation of an independent mass black political party.

The second big problem is how to get Afro-Americans in their majority to move faster and farther along the road to revolution. The solution lies in formulating and fighting for a program that can help transform the general discontent and general militancy of the black masses into an organized, cohesive, consciously revolutionary force. By presenting and fighting for such a program, a small vanguard can transform itself into an influential power among the masses.

The next section of this document presents proposals along this line, many of which have already been brought forward by various elements in the movement.

Suggested program of mass struggle

The motivation for a program of revolutionary mass struggle must be the self-determination of Afro-Americans. Like all oppressed nationalities, black people can achieve their freedom only by taking their destiny in their own hands: "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."



This means that black people must form and unify their own organizations of struggle, take control of the black communities and all the institutions within them, and conduct a consistent fight to overcome every form of economic, political and cultural servitude and inequality generated and enforced by the decadent, racist capitalist society.

A. Black control of the black community

It is a basic democratic principle that a people should have the right to decide its own affairs. Therefore the central demand of the liberation forces is for black control of the black community. This is an indispensable step towards freeing the black masses from domination by the white racists who benefit from their exploitation.

The demand for black control of the black community has a number of attributes which give it an extremely powerful potential for mobilizing the masses in a revolutionary direction.

The demand for black control has been raised spontaneously in thousands of struggles across the country. It is obviously a demand which speaks directly to the needs and present understanding of black people. At the same time, black control of the black community is a democratic demand. It is based on something which even the ruling class says it believes in—the right of people to have democratic control over their own lives and communities. Thus the resistance the power structure puts up against this struggle will help to expose the hypocrisy of the ruling class on one of the central issues which it uses to brainwash and enslave the masses—its proclaimed adherence to democracy.

At the same time, the struggle for black control is profoundly revolutionary, because it poses the question of who will have decision-making power over black people: themselves or the capitalist rulers. The realization of this aim can build black fortresses which will be centers of black counterpower to the white power structure in the principal cities of the United States.

As they develop within the black communities, struggles targeted to win control over specific institutions and agencies can pave the way and prepare increasing numbers of people for the all-inclusive goal of total control of their community. These partial struggles, carried out around issues such as black control of the schools, can be extremely important because through them encouraging victories can be won. These victories, even if limited to specific areas, can help to raise the confidence of the community in its own power and lay the basis for broader future struggles.

The following demands can help promote this process:

1. Replace police occupation of the black community with a community-controlled police force drawn from residents of the community.
2. Black control of all government funds allocated to the black community and control over all plans for renovating and constructing housing and other communal facilities and improvements.
3. Community control over all institutions in the black community, such as hospitals, welfare centers, libraries, etc.
4. Establish community councils to make policy decisions and administer the affairs of the black community. These councils should be composed of representatives elected by workers in various community institutions—factories, hospitals, educational institutions—as well as delegates elected on a block basis.

The local councils or boards of control should be joined together on regional, state and national levels, the aim being to create a National Council of Black Communities. This should be composed of elected, not appointed, delegates representing the local constituencies.

Such a National Council could work out common policies and speak with one voice on all matters affecting the communities as a whole and their relations with all other forces and agencies. It would thus exercise far more authority than any single community could. To prevent the National Council from bureaucratic usurpation of power, elections should be held regularly and delegates should be subject to recall at any time so that they remain under the control of the local committees they represent.

B. Formation of a black political party

The indispensable instrument for organizing and carrying on effective struggle for such demands, achieving complete control over the black community, and moving

forward to black liberation is an independent black political party. Its program would be designed to use the immense wealth created by working people, black and white, not for imperialist war and the enrichment of a few but for the needs of the majority.

The main purpose of a black party is to lead Afro-Americans in political and mass action. But its progressive proposals would attract support from other sections of the population which suffer from the evils of capitalist rule.

A black party would expose and challenge the do-nothing policies of the Democrats and Republicans and present an alternative to them not only by participating in elections but by organizing effective community actions. It would take the initiative in promoting the self-mobilization of the black people and forming alliances with students, poor white people, workers and all other forces interested in radical change. It could play a vanguard role in bringing revolutionary ideas to all sections of the country.

C. Key planks in a party program

Domestic policy

1. It is the duty of society to provide well-paid jobs for all. A shorter work week with no loss in pay to spread the available work. Unemployment insurance at full wages for everyone 18 or over whether or not they have held jobs before.

2. Transfer the funds from the war budget to launch a multi-billion-dollar crash program of public works to build schools, hospitals, better public transport, parks and recreation facilities, nurseries, libraries, and housing. Give black workers priority on all jobs connected with the construction program.

3. A \$3 an hour minimum wage with guaranteed protection of this minimum against increases in the cost of living.

4. Put an immediate end to hunger and malnutrition through a guaranteed annual income which can assure everyone, including the old, sick and disabled, adequate living standards.

5. Abolish all taxes on incomes of \$7,500 and under. Abolish all sales taxes which discriminate against the poor.

6. Make free quality medical care available to all citizens. Expropriate the drug monopolies and medicine profiteers. Undertake a large-scale program to train black people as doctors and nurses.

7. Organize self-defense units to protect the black community and its organizations. Oppose guns laws which leave black people defenseless and unarmed while white cops and racists assault members of the black community.

8. Investigate the financial records of all landlords and businesses operating in the black community and tax their superprofits to help finance improvement projects for the community.

9. Extend credits to black cooperatives and small businesses.

10. Enforce and tighten all existing housing codes. No tenants to pay rent exceeding ten percent of his total income.

11. Expropriate any firm which discriminates against black people.

12. Elect price committees to inspect and police prices in the neighborhoods.

13. Review the cases of and release all black prisoners because they have not received fair trials. All black people to be tried by a jury of their peers as guaranteed by the Constitution, that is, by other black people.

Military and foreign policy

1. End the draft. Exempt black youth from military service.

2. Bring the GIs home from Vietnam immediately. The black man's struggle is here at home.

3. Take a referendum on the attitude of the black community toward the Vietnam war and all foreign wars.

4. Support the constitutional right of GIs to speak out against the war and discrimination in the armed forces. An immediate end to all discrimination in the armed forces.

5. Self-determination for the Vietnamese and all Third World peoples. Solidarity with the liberation struggles of all oppressed nationalities.

6. End government assistance to all oppressive regimes from South Africa to South Vietnam. Dismantle all foreign military bases.

Black education

The black community should have control of its entire educational system from

the nursery school through college. This can be accomplished in the following ways:

The educational system

1. Election of community control boards to supervise schools in the black community.

2. The establishment of an educational system and curriculum which meets the needs of black children, prepares them for future economic security, gives them a knowledge of themselves and an understanding of the true history and culture of black people.

3. Parent involvement in every phase of school life.

4. Institute a crash program to train black administrators and teachers. Preferential hiring of black teachers and administrators.

5. Community groups should be entitled to use school facilities to promote activities



of benefit to the community and the black liberation struggle.

6. Offer a full program of adult education.

7. Dismiss all school officials who victimize or insult students on racial grounds.

8. Introduce special tutoring programs for all students who have fallen behind in their studies.

High schools

1. Establish student policy-making boards to run student activities in the high schools, handle disciplinary problems and participate in the general supervision of the schools.

2. Hold regular full assemblies to discuss school problems and ascertain the will of the students.

3. Maintain the rights of all students and teachers. These should include: freedom of expression, freedom to organize, to pass out literature, freedom from censorship of school newspapers, freedom of assembly and the right to invite any outside speakers regardless of their political views.

4. An end to disciplinary expulsions.

5. An end to the tracking system—special tutoring for all students who fall behind.

6. A rounded black studies program which will teach Afro-American history and literature truthfully and throw light on the real nature of capitalist racism.

7. Upgraded job training programs. Adequate preparation for all students desiring to attend college.

8. A guaranteed job for all high school graduates.

A black university

The black community should have universities which are related to the needs of black people, to their struggle against oppression, and to their development as a nationality. Third-world university students and faculty should be able to shape their own educational destiny and provide

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training in all the skills and professions required by the black community. The following demands to accomplish these ends have already been raised in the campus struggles:

1. Autonomous black studies and third-world studies departments, adequately financed and with complete control of curriculum, facilities and policies in the hands of third-world students and faculty.

2. Representatives of third-world groups on all policy-making bodies.

3. Availability of university facilities for use by the community and their expansion in the black community.

4. Free university education for all third-world students who desire it, with full expenses paid by the government and scholarships available to all who need them.

5. Guaranteed jobs for all graduates.

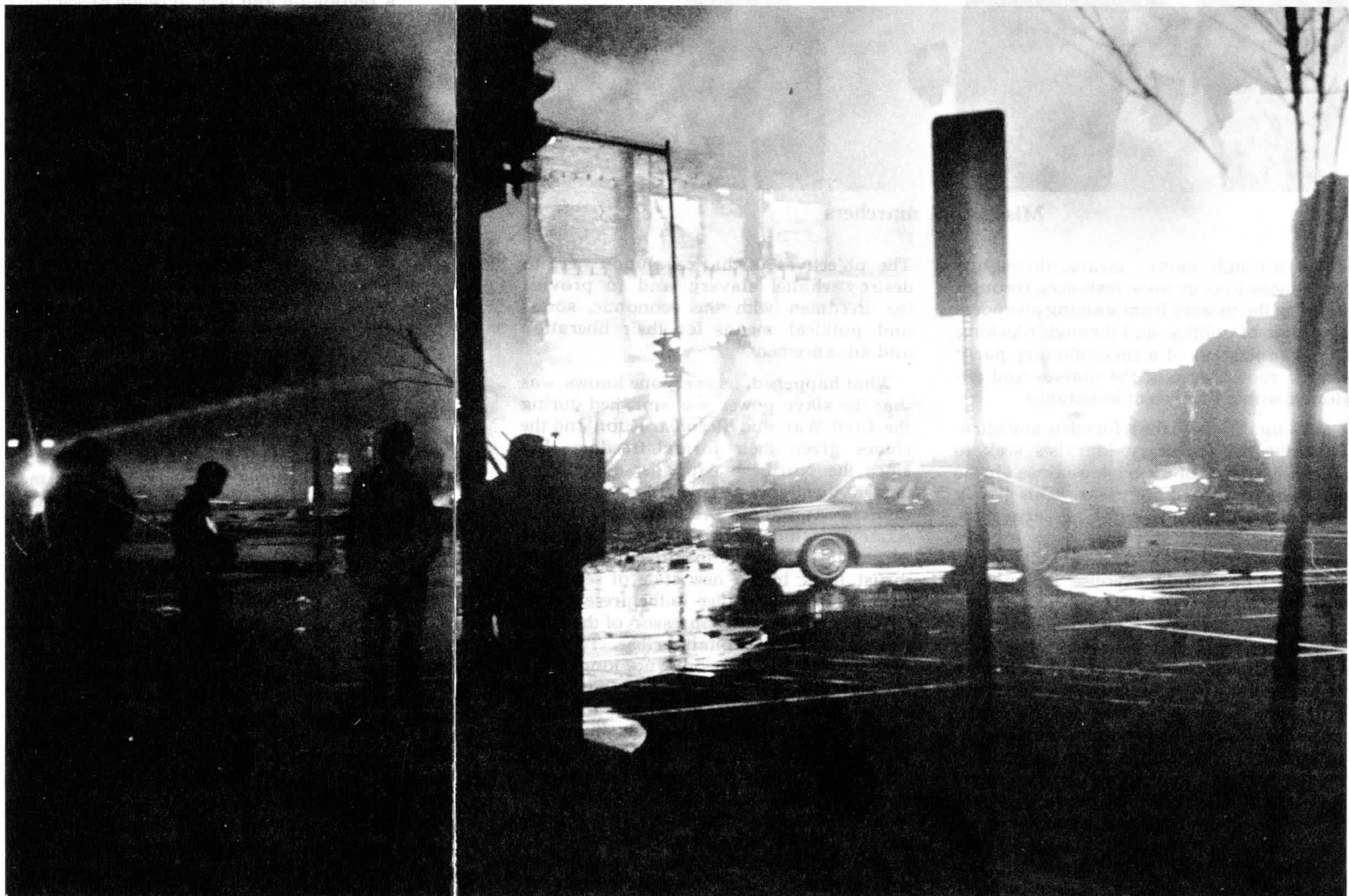
from government interference. Repeal of all antilabor laws.

8. Workers control of industry through factory committees elected by the workers on the job.

* * *

Most of the proposals listed above have been brought forward at one time or another in the course of the black liberation struggle over the past years; others are taken from the experiences of the masses elsewhere in fighting against capitalist domination. A program of this sort cannot be fully finalized or frozen. It has to remain flexible and open-ended with plenty of room for additions and improvements as the struggle develops and new problems come to the fore.

The whole point of the program is to provide a guide for the organization and action of the Afro-American masses



Washington, D. C., May 1968

Photo by Joe Miles

Organizing a party and a program

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Other points concern guaranteeing jobs, hourly wages, annual income, a 30-hour week, social benefits such as adequate medical care. Others involve independent political action, the defense of the black community, organization of black power. For reasons which will be explained below, these can be defined as "transitional demands."

Taken point by point, the program can seem modest, perhaps even feasible under capitalism if one were to take at face value the propaganda about capitalism standing for democracy, a good living, and a free world.

Particularly to be noted about the demands is that they have either already appeared in the black communities, in some instances with quite broad backing, or they are easily understood and appreciated by wide groups and, with correct leadership, could serve as rallying slogans for very massive struggles. This is a first prerequisite for any program for revolutionary struggle. That is, above all, the program must be based on the objective needs of black people.

But how does such a program tie in with the struggle to overturn capitalism and build a socialist society in America?

To understand this, it is necessary to bring in some general considerations. On a world scale, capitalism and an internationally integrated system for the production and distribution of basic necessities is in its death agony. It offers little to most of humanity but grinding poverty, hopeless insecurity, declining opportunities, increasingly repressive regimes, and endless wars, each more horrifying than the last.

A number of countries have already torn loose and set out on the road to building socialism, whatever the difficulties, hardships and setbacks caused in the final analysis by the poverty-stricken level at which they had to begin and the efforts of the capitalist powers to injure and destroy them. The relationship of forces between capitalism and socialism on a world scale has changed to such a degree in the past 50 years since the first successful socialist revolution in Russia that even the United States is, at bottom, on the defensive. That is the basic reality despite the decades of prosperity arising out of the victory in World War II and the preparations for World War III, and despite the colossal military force at the command of the American capitalist rulers.

What is to be observed all over the world is that mass struggles of any considerable scope now tend to collide with the capitalist system and, with proper leadership, have the potential to break through the barriers of capitalism and cross over into struggles for socialism.

This tendency is so strong, so deeply imbedded, that examples can be cited throughout the third world where a struggle for such democratic demands as national independence and a thoroughgoing agrarian reform has moved in the direction of a struggle for socialism. In Cuba, Vietnam, and China these struggles have cul-

minated in actual revolutionary overturns of the capitalist system.

While the tendency for big mass struggles to move toward socialism is especially striking in the third world, it is also operative—with certain modifications—in the industrially advanced capitalist countries. Under the impulse of serious problems affecting their lives in general and standard of living, masses of working people can become engaged in struggles of a militant nature, the logic of which is to disregard the limitations of capitalism and to seek solutions that can actually be worked out only if socialism is instituted.

This gives these struggles a "transitional" nature. Beginning with a limited challenge to the rule of capitalism, they move logically toward the creation of a new revolutionary power in opposition to the capitalist government.

The key demands being raised in the black liberation struggle today, such as black control of the black community, jobs for all and self-determination of third-world peoples have this quality of being transitional in nature. They are rooted in the needs and present understanding of the black community, yet they have a revolutionary logic because the capitalist system does not have the capacity to meet them. A new, more rational, more productive system is required.

On the ideological level such transitional demands constitute a means of bringing the level of understanding of the broad masses under capitalism to the higher level required to understand consciously the need for socialism. The present-day struggles around these demands for changes in the system can lead to and become part of the overall struggle for power. The mobilization of the masses thus takes place as a process, with each struggle awakening, educating, inspiring and organizing new layers toward revolutionary consciousness and action.

Several examples will suffice to show this logical development.

Unemployment is a familiar enough phenomenon in the black communities. It is easy for a black youth, for instance, to understand why he should have a guaranteed job opportunity. When great numbers of youths face the same situation, a point can be reached where they can engage with some militancy in common action in support of jobs for all.

The problem is obviously no longer an individual problem, as the capitalists seek to picture it and to maintain it. Its true nature has come to the surface. It is a problem involving society as a whole, demanding an overall solution.

Where are the jobs to be found? One possibility is to take all the current jobs and reduce the hours on each job sufficiently to make room for everyone seeking employment. To maintain living standards, however, currently yearly incomes must be guaranteed despite the reduced work week.

What power can enforce such a solution?



Washington, D. C., May 1968

Photo by Joe Miles

The black workers

Because of the role they play in production, black workers are potentially the most powerful sector of the black community in the struggle for liberation. As the victims of inequality in the economy, black workers have already begun to organize separately on the job to advance their interests and protect their rights.

The unity of black and white workers is indispensable to combat and overthrow capitalism. But where white workers are privileged and black workers are penalized, black unity in action must precede and prepare the ground for black-white unity on a broad scale. Black caucuses in the unions can fight against discrimination in hiring, firing and upgrading and for equality of treatment in the unions themselves, as DRUM and other black caucuses in Detroit and elsewhere are undertaking to do. Where they are part of organized labor, they should strive to democratize the unions, regenerate their progressivism, and eliminate white job-trust conceptions and practices.

These aims can be furthered through the following demands:

1. Rank and file democratic control of the unions. Elimination of all racist practices in the labor movement.
2. Preferential hiring and advancement of black workers and free access to apprentice training programs, the skilled trades and higher-paying supervisory posts.
3. For an escalator clause in all union contracts to assure automatic wage adjustments to keep up with the rising costs of living.
4. For a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay.
5. For speedier grievance procedures. No restrictions on the right to strike.
6. Equal rights and treatment for all black union members.
7. Complete independence of the unions

which can lead toward the goal of black liberation with the maximum of gains en route.

The black liberation movement is bound to play a vanguard role in the coming American socialist revolution both by its example of combativity against the racist power structure and by the stimulus its struggles will give to actions of other sectors thrown into opposition to the ruling capitalist class.

The strategy of the black liberation movement hinges on the achievement of two tasks. One is the unification and mobilization of the black masses for revolutionary action. The other is the weakening of the enemy forces.

Since Afro-Americans constitute a minority of the population in the United States, it will be necessary to find ways and means to take advantage of potential social divisions among the whites and thereby reduce the original unfavorable odds. This can be done by drawing one part of the poor and working class whites, as well as sympathetic students and intellectuals, into an alliance of action while some other sections of the white population are neutralized. Those parts of the program suggested above which not only correspond to the needs of the blacks but will likewise benefit prospective political allies among the white majority can serve to further these long-range aims of a realistic revolutionary strategy.

Revolutionary strategy and tactics

How does the program outlined above fit into the strategy and tactics of a socialist revolution in the United States?

At first sight most of the points appear limited in nature. Many of them concern rights and liberties guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitution. Or they propose broadening these rights, as, for example, establishing the right of black control of the black community. They can be defined as "democratic demands."



New York poverty demonstration

Photo by Alan Mercer

The fight for decent jobs for all

Quite clearly, only the government can do this. Since the present government will resist this collective way of solving the problem, the question arises as to who it really represents, and why it should not be removed to make way for a government that will guarantee jobs for all.

More questions arise. The solution demands economic planning on a national scale and the placing of human needs above profit-making. Consideration of the socialist alternative to capitalism has thus been placed on the agenda.

Thus the demand for jobs, can, under certain circumstances have very far-reaching consequences.

The actions spearheaded by black students on campuses across the country give another indication of the potential role of struggles around transitional demands. The demand for increased or open enrollment of Third World students has already been shown to have far-reaching implications. Significant gains towards increasing black enrollment can and have been made within the present educational structure, but the struggle for open enrollment—that is, for college education for all who want it—will not be so easy for the system to fulfill.

Certain key questions are immediately raised by this demand: Where are the resources for such a vast expansion of educational facilities to come from? How will adequate jobs be found for all the students upon graduation?

If persistently pursued, struggles around this demand call into question the capitalist economic structure itself. Because of its built-in need for large pools of low-paid, unskilled labor, capitalism is not constructed to absorb the costs and consequences of higher education for the most exploited sector of the working force.

From the standpoint of moving the revolution forward, struggles such as those that have been taking place on the campuses—whether they end in victories or not—can inspire and lead to demands with more far-reaching implications than was apparent in the original issues. The black community as a whole has supported and received inspiration from the example set by the black students in struggles for self-determination.

The fight for autonomous black studies departments, for example, has helped pave the way for struggle for control of other institutions in the black community. If there can be black control of black studies

departments in the universities, why not black control of the public schools, black control of the police and black control of the community?

The impact which these black student struggles have already had can be seen in the fact that they have succeeded in bringing about unprecedented unity in action between blacks and other national minorities including Chicanos, Oriental-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Indians. They have likewise attracted support from many radical white students and even, in one small but significant instance, from a progressively-led union local of oil workers in the Bay Area.

The movement of black and Third World students is a clear example of how a struggle in a limited arena under present conditions can help to expose the system and lead to bigger and broader efforts. Struggle is the school of the masses and the means for clarifying their consciousness of what has to be done. All the demands that bring them into action for their own aims are worth raising, fighting for, and incorporating into an overall revolutionary strategy and program.

The strategy of advancing the black liberation struggle through the development of transitional demands is fundamentally different from both the reformist and ultraleftist concepts of what to do.

The reformists view capitalism as so powerful and entrenched that it cannot be overturned, at least for a long time to come. From this pessimistic outlook, they conclude that the best that can be accomplished is to improve the lot of the poverty-stricken masses a little, either by persuading or pressuring the rulers.

The ultralefts see capitalism as completely finished, not only as to perspectives but in capacity to survive. They see it as standing by inertia, requiring only a slight push to make it collapse. They dream of bringing this about by galvanizing the masses through clever or extremely revolutionary propaganda—which often times turns out to be mere rhetoric—or by a small heroic group undertaking a spectacular action which, by setting an example, will prove contagious, setting the masses in motion in some kind of spontaneous way.

Against both the reformists and ultralefts, revolutionary Marxists view capitalism as having entered the epoch of its death agony, yet as still retaining considerable capacity to defer the final show-



Mississippi marchers

down through violent means, through a few concessions in some instances, through keeping the masses from gaining an understanding of politics, and through blocking the organization of a revolutionary party deeply rooted among the masses and endowed with a competent leadership.

And against both the reformists and ultralefts, the revolutionary Marxists seek to take advantage of the basic weakness in the position of the ruling class. This lies in the deep-going tendency of all serious social struggles in this epoch to involve government power and to raise the question of who should exercise this power, no matter how limited these struggles may be, or may appear to be, at the beginning.

The revolutionary Marxists propose a strategy based on this fact. The succession of transitional demands suggested above corresponds to the course of struggle repeatedly observed in the world today. To pose these demands in their logical succession, to try to organize battles along this line, helps to develop an understanding of the main existing tendency in the class struggle, thereby advancing the political understanding of the masses and hastening the stage when a final showdown with the racist capitalist system becomes a realistic possibility.

The goal of liberation: capitalism or socialism?

The program of a movement or a party is a means to an end—and for a revolutionary movement that end means the replacement of the prevailing system of racist oppression by a free and equal society. What kind of socioeconomic organization can enable the black liberation movement to achieve self-determination and a better life for all Afro-Americans?

Black nationalists have very varying attitudes on this crucial question. On the right are some who believe in building up black capitalism. To the left are those revolutionaries who have come to understand that only a socialist society can solve the fundamental problems of the black masses. Many nationalists are disinclined to take any definite position on this matter. We will settle that when we come to it, they say. However, this is not the sort of issue that a movement seriously committed to the abolishment of racist oppression can evade or leave indefinitely hanging in midair.

A realistic decision on what kind of economy can succeed the present system of exploitation in the United States cannot be made in an arbitrary manner. The possibilities have been restricted by great historical factors which have been at work over a long stretch of time. Foremost among these factors is the level of economic development which determines the character and the goals of the contending forces.

This point can be made clearer by comparing the situation which confronted the movement for black emancipation in the mid-19th Century with that of today. At that time the main immediate oppressors of the black people were the Southern slaveholders, while the Afro-Americans in bondage were mostly cultivators of the soil.

The objectives of that revolution were to destroy chattel slavery and to provide the freedmen with the economic, social and political means for their liberation and advancement.

What happened, as everyone knows, was that the slave power was smashed during the Civil War and Reconstruction and the slaves given their formal freedom. But since the Northern capitalist conquerors denied them the promised "40 acres and a mule" and other prerequisites for their economic independence and the exercise of political power, the blacks could be thrust back into a new state of servitude from which they suffer to the present day.

Today, the main oppressor of the Afro-American is the capitalist class. The vast majority of black people no longer live on plantations in the rural South or work in the fields. They are packed into city slums where they make their living—if they are not thrown on welfare—by working in capitalist enterprises. They are surrounded on all sides by the capitalist owners who fleece them as employers, loan sharks, bankers, landlords and merchants.

In order to win liberation, the revolutionary movement must overthrow these exploiters whose system breeds and sustains racism and oppression. Because Afro-Americans are both an oppressed nationality and the most heavily exploited segment of the American working class, the black liberation movement has a twofold character. It is at one and the same time a nationalist movement for self-determination and a proletarian struggle against the capitalist possessors of wealth and power.

Afro-Americans have been the principal victims of the profit system at all stages of its development in North America over the past 400 years. They were enslaved and shipped across the Atlantic to raise staple crops to enrich the planters. They are still laboring for the profits of others today, although in the cities rather than the countryside and for capitalists rather than slaveholders.

The hour has struck when an end must be put to all forms of exploitation and servitude. Full and definitive liberation cannot be achieved except through abolishing the private ownership of the means of production by the corporations and banks.

This measure is mandatory whether Afro-Americans decide to exercise their right of self-determination through the creation of a separate black nation or within the context of the creation of a single socialist republic along with insurgent white workers and other anticapitalist forces.

The transitional program of a genuinely revolutionary movement must have a clear and conscious goal which guides all its activities and lights the way for its followers. It must be designed to satisfy the needs of the working masses and place them in control of their own affairs. While promoting a transition from national oppression to self-determination, it will of necessity advance the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Through this second emancipation black America will not only have effected its own liberation, but promoted the liberation of all oppressed peoples from racism, capitalism, and imperialism.



Photo by Randy Abbott

Newark, 1967

Democratic Party move

Will a black mayor keep Detroit cool?

By Frederick J. Lang

DETROIT—Extensive efforts to find a black candidate for mayor of this half-black city with sufficient financial and political support to make serious bid for the office culminated here June 4 in the announcement by Richard H. Austin, a prominent Democrat, that he will file for the Sept. 9 primary election.

Austin's bid to become Detroit's first black mayor appears to have the backing of most black business and professional groups here. He made his announcement at a press conference at the impressive offices of the Negro-owned Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company. Present among his supporters were Kenneth Hylton, a vice-chairman of the state Democratic Party; Robert Millender, a prominent attorney who will manage Austin's campaign; and Myron Wahls, president of the Wolverine Bar Association.

The Chronicle, Detroit's leading Afro-American newspaper, will surely endorse his candidacy.

Austin hopes to get the support of the United Auto Workers, and this is indicated. He has worked closely with the UAW in the past and received the union's backing when he lost by less than 40 votes to John Conyers in the 1964 Democratic primary election for Congress. In 1966 he received UAW endorsement for Wayne County Auditor, a post which he presently holds.

Although Horace Sheffield, a black UAW officeholder and a leader of the Trade Union Leadership Council, is among those from TULC who have endorsed Mayor Cavanagh for re-election, it is well-known that Sheffield

acts on orders of the UAW bureaucracy and he and TULC will fall in step should UAW president Reuther decide to back Austin. Cavanagh's candidacy is still dubious despite early promises of UAW support for him.

In addition to the pledged support of prominent black leaders of business and the professions, and the signs of some union backing, there are also clear indications that important sectors of the white ruling class seek a man like Austin.

Since the Detroit ghetto uprising of July 1967 the financial and commercial giants of this city have lived in dread that they may not be able to get through another summer without a recurrence of the now famous burn-out. They managed to get by the summer of 1968 with the aid of such hastily established agencies as New Detroit, Inc., which was

headed initially by the merchant prince, J. L. Hudson, Jr., and which promised to rebuild the city and to provide jobs and low-cost housing for black workers. The auto corporations began to pay some attention to the need to hire blacks in the factories.

Now they hope to get through the present summer in the much same way, with a little more. William T. Patrick, who was Detroit's first black member of the city council, is now president of New Detroit, Inc. It has big-money backing and devotes considerable attention to the black community. Also the cops are devoting some special attention to the black community, and not only the usual kind of attention for which they have become infamous. The police department has launched a broad campaign for improved community-police relations, and they have rookie cops playing basketball with the kids to promote "better understanding." But the more serious side of the adjustment by the real rulers of this city is the campaign for a black mayor providing he is "safe."

The possibility that a black man can be elected mayor of this racist-ridden city with its stinking factories, shoddy-goods merchants and rent-gougers presents a hopeful prospect for the victims of this present set-up. Black people here will be caught-up in the campaign and they will begin to think about the possibility of self-improvement when and if a black man becomes mayor of the city. This is no doubt the way the campaign is viewed within the leading councils of Detroit's ruling class. Whatever the final result, they are hoping the primary campaign will get them through the summer up to September.

There is ample evidence that Austin is their man. He is no young Turk. At age 56, this certified public accountant has performed adequately if not brilliantly in minor public office, and throughout has been a loyal and devoted member of the Democratic Party, supporting all its candidates and chicanery.

There has never been a candidate for any city office who received so much publicity on the occasion of his announcement to run. The *Detroit Free Press* gave the story full treatment—a big front-page article, two featured side-light pieces, and an editorial.

The editorial accurately expressed some of the very basic considerations of the white rulers here. "The campaign will certainly have its extremists, but on the whole—beginning with the tone Mr. Austin established Wednesday—we can look forward to a campaign that will strengthen Detroit and give us renewed faith in the political process. It promises to be a fascinating summer—and fortunately for the city, a summer in which we can be proud of our political system and optimistic about the future."

As the editorial says, Austin makes a good beginning. He announced himself as a "conciliation" candidate. "I offer myself as a candidate, for I humbly feel that I can bring to the city a new era of understanding, a climate of conciliation and cooperation by which we can resolve the problems of all our people."

It appears as if candidate Austin is off to a running start with support and goodwishes from all quarters, including black businessmen, the Michigan Democratic Party, some labor leaders who have yet to declare their support, and—most important of all—a sizeable and influential section of the white ruling



Photo by Gerald Simmons/Ulozi photographs

VOICE COMMUNITY STAND. Demonstration by Detroit black citizens in support of Judge Crockett after racists tried to get him off bench because he dared enforce rights of imprisoned black people. Asked where he stood in the fight around Judge Crockett, Richard Austin, black Democratic mayoralty hopeful, ducked the issue in the manner of a true capitalist politician.

BOOK REVIEW

Racism's psychic toll

BLACK RAGE. By William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs. 213 pp. \$4.95. Bantam paper \$.95.

The two black psychiatrists who have written this book describe the manner in which white America has done its utmost to drive black America to the brink of insanity. The authors give case histories, fascinating and complex. But they do much more. In explaining what caused the trouble of their patients, they show how it is necessary to first subtract what part of their trouble comes from being black in racist America. What is left is their illness, which in almost every case the individuals have tried heroically to overcome on their own.

For me, even the works of James Baldwin, Richard Wright and other great writers do not carry the impact that this book does. The authors are themselves angry, and they express it clearly in non-psychological jargon. Going back to slavery, they trace the influence it has had right up to the present on the lives of black people. They describe the development of womanhood, manhood, marriage and family, mental illness and many other subjects. The authors believe that paranoia (persecution complex) is not only very likely under such conditions but that it is a survival mechanism of blacks against whites. Even "making it" in white America is no safeguard, as the authors illustrate with case histories of successful blacks who break down because they feel themselves constantly threatened by the hatred of the whites over whom they may be advanced. Like Frantz Fanon, the brilliant black psychiatrist from the West Indies who gave his last years in the Algerian struggle, they laugh at the idea of adjustment. Adjustment to what? In present day society, it means adjustment to the status of inferiority and powerlessness.

Doctors Grier and Cobbs prophesy a great bloodbath as the final end to the anger and frustration that is building up to the boiling point. A number of the reviewers of this book tend to regard their prophesy as an exaggeration—things, they say, are not that bad. They charge that the authors have no "creative solution."

Incidentally, none of the critics pick up one of the few errors which I noted in the book. That is the characterization of Malcolm X as having outgrown his ideas of revolution and black nationhood before he died. In *The Last Year of Malcolm X*, George Breitman painstakingly documents the direction in which Malcolm's ideas were moving—towards internationalism and socialism as the only solutions for black people as well as the rest of oppressed mankind.

Many of the catastrophic miseries that the authors describe—such as the self-hatred of blacks—are now in the process of change. Although the authors do not go into it, participation in the movement in which the blacks have proven their courage to stand up against the white police and government is bringing them a new pride in being black. Women are taking pride in accentuating their black beauty rather than copying the white movie stars. Men who have put their lives on the line again and again in confrontation with armed cops no longer have any doubts about their masculinity. Even youngsters in school are standing up against violation of equal rights.

Because of the demonstrations in colleges, many universities are opening their doors to small percentages of black, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American students. Young men and women of the oppressed minorities are entering college with the idea of going back into their own communities to arouse, educate and serve the masses there. That is one reason they are so insistent today on a curriculum that applies to them and is relevant to their aims.

Some will feel the authors don't sufficiently understand the deep impact that the development of revolutionary militancy is having in doing away with the sense of inferiority that had been instilled in black people and which caused so much of their suffering and psychological damage.

Yet *Black Rage* is certainly well worth reading. Well written and clear in its explanation of the psychological process, it has a powerful impact.

— Constance Weissman

Is fascism now imminent in the United States?

By Elizabeth Barnes

There is a growing notion in radical circles about the possibilities of an imminent fascist take-over in this country. People speak about the "fascist" repression in Berkeley and about "fascist" Ronald Reagan. The **Black Panther** newspaper of May 31 carried a lead article entitled "Berkeley: Ronald Reagan creates the Fascist state." In that and subsequent issues they announced a revolutionary conference to be held in July to build a "united front against fascism."

In the May 20 **New Left Notes**, Michael Klonsky, national secretary of SDS, warns against the "emerging" fascism.

"When people begin to organize for what is rightfully theirs," he wrote, "the state can only respond with fascism."

This fear of fascism, which exists in the minds of many radicals, is partly a reflection of a greater general awareness in the movement of the basic instability of the capitalist system. People see big changes and social explosions taking place, as well as the resulting repressions, and they begin to realize that giant social contradictions are involved which have the potential not only of leading to socialist revolution, but of going in the opposite direction as well.

But, a recognition of the potential dangers of fascism will prove useful only if we are able to identify it correctly, and to distinguish it from other forms of reaction and repression. As with all social phenomena, Marxists always try to be very precise in their terminology when analyzing the different forms of reactionary governments which appear under capitalism. This is not, as some assume, because of an inclination to theoretical "hair-splitting." To oppose something effectively, you have to know what its basic nature is.

Significant distinction

What is fascism? Is there a clear, significant distinction between fascism and other forms of political rule?

Fascism is, to begin with, a form of capitalist rule just as are bourgeois democracy and military dictatorship. The differences between fascism and bourgeois democracy are readily apparent and fairly easy to define. Under bourgeois democracy, as it functions in this country, the people have certain rights — some of them illusory, some very real and some a combination of the two. (It's an illusion to say the people choose a president. Other rights won by the people, such as the right of unions to organize, have a good deal more substance.)

Under a dictatorship, such as exists in Greece today, or in most Latin American countries, the people have none of the legal rights associated with a democracy, and, in proportion to the strength of the dictatorship, people are jailed or shot for trying to exercise such rights.

Fascism, too, is a form of capitalist

dictatorship. But it is more complete, more barbaric and horrifying than any other kind. The slaughter of millions of people in Nazi concentration camps is the most somber reminder of this. And there are other extremely significant features of fascism which we will discuss later. For now, let's return to the question of bourgeois democracy and whether it has been, or is about to be, ended in the U. S.

Two aspects

Marxists make a point of understanding the two basic aspects of bourgeois democracy. We recognize that to the extent it really does exist, people do have certain meaningful rights — rights that can be utilized in the struggle for a better world and that should be seriously defended whenever the capitalists try to curb or eliminate them.

On the other side, we have no illusions about the fact that bourgeois democracy is a form of capitalist rule. And as with any other form of class rule, a response from the rulers can be expected when any action is taken that is contrary to their interests. The response may vary in character, depending on the seriousness and scope of the attack and the ability of the rulers to take action at the particular moment. Sometimes capitalists will respond to an attack with a concession that they hope will cool the struggle. Other times they will respond with repressions. And often their strategy will consist of a combination of the two.

Such responses to movements for reform or basic social change can be made within the framework of bourgeois democracy, and even though a response can be quite savage, it does not necessarily herald the end of that particular form of capitalist rule.

The thing which has led many people to decide that fascism has arrived in the U. S., or is very close at hand, is the repressive responses to the actions of the black liberation movement and the campus movements.

There has been, in fact, a certain disorientation within the movement as a result of the rulers' attacks. One almost gets the impression that, at least among many students, their response to these counter-attacks expresses a certain naivete, if not illusion, about the character of bourgeois democracy. It's as if they're astonished that in a "democratic" country the rulers will strike back, and strike back quite brutally.

Consider a concrete case — Berkeley — where, we're told, fascism holds sway.

What happened in Berkeley was truly horrible. After some people applied their time, money and labor to turn an idle dump into a people's park, they were met by a massive police attack, including guns, clubs, gas and one cold-blooded police murder. It was a rather shocking indication of how sensitive some sectors of the ruling class have become about even small threats to their "way of life." But it wasn't fascism.

To say that in no way lessens the indictment of the Berkeley and California authorities for the savage crime they committed. It's simply a matter of making a precise estimate of the situation of the two conflicting forces in order to fight the enemy more effectively.

Despite attempts to impose martial law in Berkeley, there were protest demonstrations involving tens of thousands. Delegations of citizens put heavy pressure on the Berkeley City Council. Thousands mobilized in the state capitol to vent their protest. Ordinary capitalist newspapers like the **San Francisco Chronicle** and **Berkeley Gazette** wrote editorials condemning the actions of the authorities. Community publications exposed the crimes of the police, and even, with good effect, proselytized the National Guard.

The fact is that in a fascist state most of these activities would be impossible. Under fascism it would have required a full-scale insurrection to carry through such a response to a police attack.

Tiny minority

In capitalist society, the ruling class



Photo by Angela Virther

SOLIDARITY ACTION. Meeting of students at University of California at Los Angeles who staged mass strike in support of embattled Berkeley community. Such actions make clear that capitalist rulers are still far from the situation where they can stamp out all opposition at will.

is a tiny minority of the population. It can maintain its rule only if the masses do not recognize the class oppression which is embodied in and supported by the state apparatus. (The great virtue of bourgeois democracy from the capitalist viewpoint is that it helps to veil this basic class reality.)

But when capitalism reaches the point of political and economic crisis where the masses begin to rebel against it to the extent of threatening the very existence of the system — then the rulers will try to destroy bourgeois democracy and look for another, stronger form of rule. In the advanced capitalist countries where there is a strong labor movement and an established democratic tradition, it is not easy for the ruling class to simply switch to some form of direct military dictatorship in order to put down the opposition. And that's where fascism comes in.

What the capitalists must do is to find some other social class whom they can win as an ally in smashing bourgeois democracy and the organizations of the working class and the radical forces which stand in the way of imposing a dictatorship. In turning in such a direction, the capitalists support and finance fascist movements to which they assign the task of winning significant sectors of the middle class, and others, in an assault on the radical and workers' movements. In this way, fascism seeks to make the middle class the battering ram for the destruction of democracy.

But the big capitalists do not just snap their fingers and say, "O.K., we need a mass fascist movement," and one comes into existence. A fascist movement is only successful when a crisis in the system becomes so deep that the masses of people become desperate for a solution to their basic economic and political needs. In order to get the storm troopers into action, the fascists have to use social demagoguery. They must pose as a "revolutionary" movement, promising the people that they will be able to make big changes in the existing corrupted system, if only the "communists" and other "troublemakers" can be gotten out of the way.

It is the involvement of masses of people in the actual repression which gives fascism its power and finality as a reactionary force. Once the working class and radical organizations have been decisively and physically destroyed by the fascists, it takes a long time to turn this around.

Lesson

There is another important lesson about fascism to be learned from history. In every instance where a fascist movement has developed, and has begun to attack the rights of the working-class movement, the first instinct of the workers has always been to oppose it by any means necessary. Moreover, such efforts have had the sympathy and support of other sectors of the population who seek democratic solutions to their problems and are repulsed by the extreme violence of the rising fascist

movement.

How is it then that fascism has been able under certain conditions to win out? The answer to this question is found in an examination of what the radical and working-class movements have done in response.

In any kind of deep social crisis, the masses of working people are going to take part in waves of strikes or other types of struggles through which they hope to better their conditions. In such a situation, the key question becomes whether there is a revolutionary socialist vanguard which is strong enough and audacious enough to mobilize the workers and other rebellious forces in the direction of making a revolution. If there is no revolutionary party which can lead the masses toward a basic resolution of the social crisis, then the working-class and revolutionary movements as a whole become discredited in the eyes of the people. Then the middle class falls prey to the propaganda that the workers and socialists are mere disrupters who have no serious intention or ability to solve the problems of the masses.

What happens is that the middle class not only loses patience with working-class movements, but they are persuaded by demagogues that the organized workers and minority groups are actually responsible for their misery. This was the pattern in both Italy and Germany.

The U. S. today is at the very center of a profound world-wide social crisis, which is challenging the capitalist system internationally. If this crisis continues to deepen, as there is every indication that it will, and if the progressive forces are unable to resolve the crisis in a revolutionary fashion by doing away with capitalism once and for all, the threat of fascism will become a real one.

But, fortunately, the problems which the movement faces today are markedly different than those we would have if fascism were on the agenda. Now we have the development of a radicalization which far outweighs any corresponding polarization on the right. The task ahead is to build a revolutionary socialist movement strong enough so that we can make a revolution when the objective conditions make that possible. And in doing this, we must first learn to defend the movement from the onslaughts of a very present danger — the elected politicians who are using their courts and cops and other "traditional" methods to undemocratically attack us.

To be continued

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

Protest SACB hearing! Defend Cliff Fried of SDS and David Mares of UMAS. Picket line beginning Tuesday, June 17, 10 a.m. Old Federal Bldg., 312 N. Spring, L. A.

MARKISM AND CHRISTIANITY: ARE THE TWO COMPATIBLE? Speakers: Father Blase Bonpane, expelled from Guatemala for aiding guerrillas; Theodore Edwards, educational director, L. A. SWP. Fri., June 20, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St., A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

Join **MORTON SOBELL** in honoring the innocence and courage of **ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG** on the 16th anniversary of their electrocution: **VIGIL**, 12 noon to 1:30 p.m., Thurs., June 19, Foley Sq.

THE BATTLE OF BERKELEY AND PEOPLE'S PARK. Speaker: Peter Camejo, eyewitness and leader of campus struggles at Berkeley. Fri., June 20, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib. \$1, H. S. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

**Fascism: What It Is
How To Fight It**

Leon Trotsky 50c

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Mass actions force retreat from Berkeley 'pacification'

By Lew Jones

BERKELEY, June 9—Confronted by mass opposition as shown in the Memorial Day march here, the University of California, the city of Berkeley, and Governor Reagan have made a series of retreats from their "pacification" tactics. Peoples Park, however, remains fenced-in and unaccessible.

Within days of the 30,000-strong Memorial Day march, the state of emergency was rescinded, the National Guard withdrawn, and the cops from surrounding areas removed. With their show of strength the Peoples Park supporters have won a number of key victories but they have been unable so far to win back the park.

The Berkeley City Council has offered to lease the land from the University, but the Board of Regents has not decided yet if they will accept the offer. Their next meeting occurs on June 20 at the Berkeley campus.

In the meantime, the park supporters and the opposition are regrouping their forces. A demonstration is planned at the Regents meeting. Should the Regents refuse to grant the park, further massive demonstrations are sure to resume.

Already, Gov. Reagan, who says the Park is a "phony issue... seized upon as an excuse for a riot," has gone on record as being unalterably opposed to any plan that would return Peoples Park to "spontaneous development." Reagan is an ex-officio member of the Board of Regents.

While numerous attempts have been made to appease the demonstrators without giving them the park, the Berkeley city officials have also not abandoned their violent policies of recent weeks.

On June 6, after preventing a torch-light parade of 1,000 people to the park from the university, several squads of Berkeley police without warning stormed into Peoples Park No. 2, a recently constructed park, cleared several hundred people from the area, arrested several dozen, and then destroyed many of the recently planted trees and shrubs. Moreover, they toppled the children's play equipment and collapsed a recently constructed office and tool shed.

Outrage at the police violence flared again. Over 100 complaints were filed in



Gov. Reagan

that one night. On Monday, liberal city councilman Ron Dellums demanded a full investigation of the police attack.

While the police violence continues, the city and the University have begun to bring charges against some of the activists. For starters, they chose the incoming student-body president, Dan Seigel, who has steadfastly supported the park. The University Student Conduct Committee has recommended he be put on "disciplinary probation" for a year, which means he will not be able to take office. Seigel also faces arraignment on June 24 on a criminal charge of inciting to riot.

In the meantime, in violation of his agreement, Chancellor Heyns of the University has allowed the fenced-in grass in Peoples Park to die.

In order to get past the fence to revive the grass and get the park going again, and on the assumption the university administration is not terribly bright, a few Berkeley activists have proposed among other things, building a large wooden horse...

Des Moines Panthers in tour of Twin Cities

By Nancy Strebe

MINNEAPOLIS— "The Black Panther Party is a minority within a minority—but if anyone doubts that a minority can wage a struggle and win the support of the people, he should look at the NLF in Vietnam," Charles Smith, Deputy Minister of Defense, Des Moines Black Panther Party, told a rally of over 500 people at the University of Minnesota May 23.

The rally was a highlight of a speaking tour Deputy Minister Smith made of the Twin Cities May 22-24. He told people what has been happening to the Panthers in Des Moines recently, including the bombing of their headquarters (The Militant, May 9) and the jailing of their Deputy Chairman, Mike Harris, for 25 years for parole violation. Groups at Macalester College (St. Paul), the black community in St. Paul, and the Twin Cities Socialist Forum, as well as the rally at the University, listened intently and gave their support for the Black Panthers' work.

"The major problem," Smith told them, "is not racism. Racism is a product of capitalism. Once we've dealt with capitalism, we can deal with racism."

At the meeting in St. Paul, a brother asked Smith why, with the constant harassment they face, the Panthers don't go underground. Deputy Minister Smith replied, "If you're underground, you can't reach the people and you can't be active in the community. No organization should go underground unless it is absolutely impossible for it to operate otherwise. We won't stop our work just because we're uncomfortable."

During their stay in the Twin Cities, Deputy Minister Smith and his two comrades, Lt. Steven Greene and Pvt. Clive De Patten, met and talked with nearly all the black groups in the cities as well as the newly-founded chapter of the Brown Berets, who attended the rally at the university.

The Des Moines Panthers stress education; first, continuing self-education in the party's classes, then education for the community on what this system is all about and in whose interest it's being run.

Smith said, in response to a question of

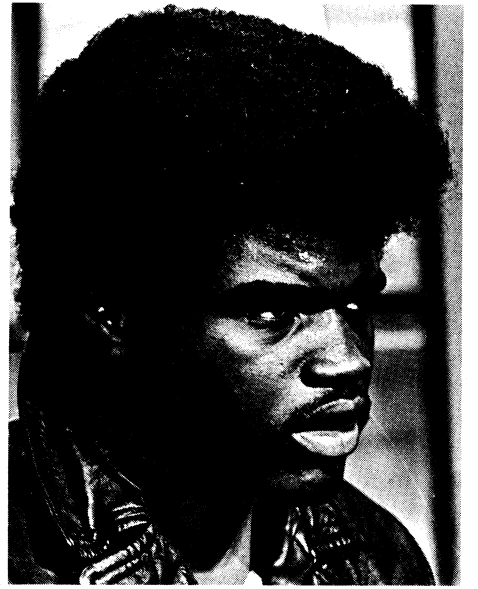


Photo by Lionel Denby

Charles Smith

what the Panthers study, that they have no one book or person they look to, but try to study all revolutionaries and their ideas, so that they can pull out and assimilate what is most relevant to them. When asked by the press if the Panthers had played a role in campus explosions, Smith replied, "Students don't need the Black Panther Party to show them the miseducation that's going on."

Originally, Deputy Minister of Education Charles Knox had been planning to make the speaking tour, but because of indictments and trials hanging over him (The Militant, January 10), he could not get permission from the "authorities" to leave the state.

The tour, organized and sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, was a success. Deputy Minister Smith talked directly to over 700 people and reached thousands more through the extensive press and TV coverage received. This heightened the understanding of many people in the Twin Cities, black and white, on what the Black Panther Party is, strengthened possibilities that a Black Panther Party will be built here soon, and won support for the Black Panther Party in their fight for black liberation.

How racism won out in L.A. election

By Gordon Bailey

LOS ANGELES—By arousing all the forces of bigotry and racism in the most vicious campaign in Los Angeles history, Mayor Sam Yorty has defeated his black opponent, City Councilman Tom Bradley. In a record voters' turnout, Yorty won 447,030 votes, (53%) to Bradley's 392,379 (46%).

By all norms of municipal politics Yorty should have been swept out of office. In two terms, his administration has been revealed as incompetent and corrupt. Yorty himself has been junketing around the world on "city business" while Los Angeles has floundered in a morass of unsolved problems. The powerful Los Angeles Times feuded with Yorty all through his second term in office and vigorously opposed him in the election.

In the primary election March 4, Yorty was beaten by Bradley. Since none of the candidates got a majority in the primary, the two top contenders were forced into a runoff election. This convinced a number of political pundits that Yorty was doomed. No incumbent, they said, had ever won a third term if he failed to win a majority

in the primary. Add to this fact that public opinion polls showed Bradley 15 percent ahead of Yorty, the outcome of the election might have seemed certain.

Bradley projected the image of a safe and sound politician. A former cop for 21 years, he defended the police department and deplored unrest in the schools. In two terms on the City Council he had done nothing to seriously shake up the status quo. In his campaign he struck at graft and corruption and promised an honest and efficient administration. By all standards, but one, Bradley was a model reform candidate who could easily triumph over the corrupt and discredited incumbent.

But Bradley is a black man, and in racist America, that can cancel out every political advantage.

For Yorty this was the key to victory. For seven weeks he viciously slugged his opponent with the two weapons of racism and redbaiting. Despite Bradley's record as a police lieutenant, Yorty charged that a black mayor would be soft on demonstrators. He predicted a mass exodus from the police force if Bradley became mayor. Every campus demonstration throughout the country was linked by innuendo to Bradley's campaign. Some members of Bradley's staff were "exposed" as former "reds."

Mayors Stokes of Cleveland and Hatcher of Gary expressed support for Bradley. This was seized upon by Yorty as part of a black plot to gain control of the nation's major cities. Yorty's campaign literature dwelt at length with the supposed troubles these cities have been having with black mayors.

Bradley chose the defensive from the very start of the runoff campaign. Instead of unfolding a program to meet any of the city's many problems, he tried to counter Yorty's wild accusations. To Yorty's charge that there were ex-Reds on his staff Bradley countered that Yorty himself had associated with Reds early in his political career.

Bradley's defensive and conservative

campaign disheartened many of his active supporters. Young people who had campaigned for McCarthy and Kennedy made up much of his campaign troops. However, Bradley's opposition to the student protests turned off a number of potential young campaigners.

The Black Panthers and Brown Berets publicly opposed Bradley as an Uncle Tom who would continue the basic policies of the present administration. Bradley made no effort to answer their charges.

Bradley won the support of the great majority of the black voters, but he was not really their representative. He was not selected as a candidate by the ghetto residents themselves. Instead he was chosen by the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and supported by a coalition of labor, liberal, and business interests. He was chosen to head off the development of a black party that would give minority people an independent power base in their community.

By declaring that he was going to represent "all the people" Bradley was telling the black and brown people they could solve their problems by relying on the old white political machines—that there was no need to build a black or brown power movement.

In spite of this, Bradley won a majority of the votes only in the three predominantly black districts, and the one mainly Mexican-American area of the city.

Bradley's defeat has given a sobering jolt to the advocates of coalition politics. The outcome of the election proves that being moderate and working through the liberal Democrats did not appease the racists. It only disarmed those who want fundamental changes in our society.

Now the people will have to endure four more years of Yorty's misrule. It is certain that race and class tensions will intensify. Now that reliance on capitalist coalition politics has been proven a failure the advocates of black power and brown power and independent working class politics are bound to get a wider hearing.

Japan peace leaders heard in New York

By Susan Christie

NEW YORK—Two leaders of the Japanese and Okinawan antiwar movements addressed over 150 New Yorkers active in the fight against the Vietnam war June 9. The speakers were Ryoshin Nakayoshi, chairman of the government employees' union in Okinawa and managing director of the Okinawa Prefecture Council Against A- and H-Bombs, and Shimpei Fujimaki, secretary of the foreign policy committee of the Japan Socialist Party. Both are leaders of the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs (Gensuiken), which, with trade-union support, has led mass antiwar demonstrations in Japan.

The major speech, given by Nakayoshi, was interrupted repeatedly by enthusiastic applause. He stressed the illegal, colonialistic nature of the American occupation of Okinawa, relating the terror suffered by the Okinawan people as American B-52 bombers leave 24 hours a day for Vietnam and the tension created by having nuclear weapons stored only a few hundred feet from their homes.

Mr. Nakayoshi called upon the American people to continue their struggle against the Vietnam war and to respond to a call by Gensuiken for international demonstrations next November, when the Japanese and Okinawans are planning a general strike as part of the escalating struggle against renewal of the U. S.-Japan "security treaty."

The trade-union leader also stressed the importance of continuing to pressure the U. S. government to halt its policy of aggression in Vietnam and throughout Asia, and was enthusiastic about the American antiwar movement's plans to hold massive demonstrations around August 6-9, the days on which the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**Writings of
Leon Trotsky
(1939-1940)**

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Significance of the initial election returns in France

By Pierre Frank

PARIS, June 2 (IP)—This article will be essentially a commentary on the results of yesterday's presidential election.

In the first presidential election minus de Gaulle, we were faced with a mode of election introduced by him and designed primarily for his purposes. This type of election has the aspect of a plebiscite. It favors first of all reaction and secondarily incumbents and candidates with a machine behind them, as was well verified yesterday.

In the first place, the fight was primarily between two bourgeois candidates—Pompidou and Poher—both of whom got votes from a spectrum ranging from the reactionary and profascist extreme right to that part of the left composed of the Radicals [middle class liberals] and Socialists. In the runoff election, according to the constitution, the two bourgeois candidates will confront each other.

This result clarifies the meaning of the May 27 referendum. The "no" vote was not a victory by the workers or the so-called left. It was a crafty operation by the capitalists to put in a new, more dynamic figure to replace de Gaulle, whose credit was worn out and who was becoming more and more uncontrollable. In the first round, Pompidou succeeded in garnering 44 percent of the vote, outdistancing Poher by more than 20 percent. As a result, he starts the runoff race with a substantial advantage because it seems quite unlikely that his rival will be able to win the votes of all the other candidates.

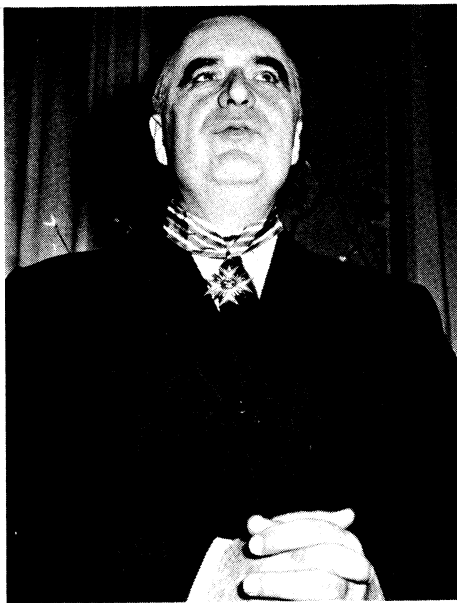
What was the reason for this outcome? Right after the referendum, Poher, who had been a champion of the "no" vote, seemed to have a serious chance of edging out Pompidou. But a section of the bourgeois politicians who advocated a "no" vote were frightened by the perspective that the election of Poher would lead in a short time to the dissolution of the National Assembly, which now has a large Gaullist majority, and to the election of a new National Assembly lacking a stable majority. In the face of that, they preferred to keep the present assembly, which plays no great political role. And at the same time Pompidou seemed to be more reasonable than de Gaulle was.

Let me add another word, however, about Poher. During his campaign preceding the first round election, he turned more toward the right. For the second round, he will try to win the votes of the left.

The most striking result of the June 1 election was the debacle—and that is not too strong a word—suffered by the Socialist candidate Defferre. He barely got the 5 percent necessary to recover his deposit. What were the causes of this debacle?

The start of the campaign came at a bad time for the Socialists, who were in the course of reorganizing, replacing the old SFIO [Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière—French Section of the Workers' (Second) International] with a new party whose potential components showed scant enthusiasm for the projected "renewal."

Defferre's constant policy for years has been to extend the following of the Socialist Party to the right, to build a "broad federation," encompassing not only the Radicals but even certain Centrist [pro-American politicians] figures. His objective has been to reverse the situation that has existed



Pompidou

in France since the end of the second world war, that is, the Communist Party preponderance over the Socialist Party on the electoral front.

All these factors could not help but repel the Socialist voters. One group preferred to vote for Poher in the first round, and the others—who were far more numerous—gave their votes to Duclos or to the PSU [United Socialist Party—left Social Democrats] candidate Rocard. And that is how such a debacle, almost unprecedented for a Socialist candidate, came about.

The PCF [Communist Party] seemed to emerge as a big winner from the June 1 election, its candidate, Jacques Duclos, winning 21.4 percent of the vote. For several years now the PCF has considered it a great victory when it has kept its vote at a level only a few percentage points below what it won right after the war. The PCF militants worked very hard, and also more enthusiastically, because this time they were working for a party member and not the candidate of some other party.

Duclos got quite a few votes from Social Democrats who were fed up with Defferre. As these Socialists saw it, there was no chance for Duclos to be elected or even to come in second, and therefore voting for him was only a way of registering a more effective protest vote.

The PSU candidate Rocard got 3.6 percent of the vote. In his postelection statement, Rocard expressed his gratification over his vote relative to that of Defferre, promising that he would do much better next time.

During the campaign, Rocard neglected the leftist language that attracts militants standing to the left of the PCF. He even neglected to bring in the other members of the PSU leadership. He waged a personal campaign over radio and television, whose political content was very right wing.

Our comrade Alain Krivine got about 239,000 votes, or a little more than one percent. This figure was well above what we were expecting (we figured on 100,000 to 200,000 votes). But clearly these votes were by no means the objective of this candidacy and the campaign that was waged. Our aim was to use the provisions of the electoral law—which the bourgeoisie will now certainly amend—to wage a revolutionary propaganda campaign based primarily on the May 1968 crisis in order to prepare the way for tomorrow's inevitable battles.

This campaign had an impact that obviously could not be reflected in the voting outcome. Mass meetings were held throughout the provinces and the Paris region. They were well attended not only by youth but also by adult workers. And the impressiveness of the mass meeting in the Palais des Sports in Paris cannot be overemphasized. More than 10,000 persons were present. The spirit of the meeting was such that it reminded *Le Monde* of the atmosphere of May.

Moreover, the campaign enabled the Communist League [Ligue Communiste—the French section of the Fourth International] to draw new activist forces around itself and to penetrate into cities and regions where it had no contacts before.

Nor should it be overlooked that the Communist League demonstrated in action to the young vanguard of today, in which the influence of ultraleftism ought not to be underestimated, that there is no incompatibility between a revolutionary program and participating in elections.

Moscow press assails fight for Arab freedom

By Gus Horowitz

Pravda, newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, has attacked the Palestinian guerrilla movement on the grounds that it has helped "to frustrate a political settlement" in the Mideast. *Pravda's* blast came on June 6, second anniversary of the Israeli attack on Syria, Jordan, and the UAR, and at a time when the Palestinian liberation movement has been gaining strength.

Denouncing the liberation fighters as "nationalists and revenge seekers," *Pravda* stated that in the UAR, "a sober and realistic approach to the conflict's solution by political methods will ultimately open the road to a restoration of the country's territorial integrity . . ." (emphasis added). This was meant to be directly counterposed to the line of armed struggle.

Pravda also attacked Arab political figures who have associated with China. This was a veiled criticism of Syria, which recently sent a military mission to Peking, and of the Palestinian guerrilla movement, which has received the public support of China.

According to the *New York Times* of June 7, "The Soviet position, as outlined both publicly and privately to diplomats, envisages a **stage-by-stage** Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories, the return of a United Nations peacekeeping mission to the area and then a pledge of nonbelligerency by all participants." (emphasis added)

This is all in keeping with the Kremlin's line of peaceful coexistence with imperialism. The Soviet bureaucrats have been seeking to establish influence in the Mideast, not with revolutionary struggle of the Arab masses, but solely on a governmental level. They have consistently taken a dim view of the Palestinian liberation struggle, which has been intransigently opposed to a dictated settlement and which threatens the status quo in the Arab states as well as Israel. Moscow's search for a Big-Four-imposed settlement runs counter to

the interests of the Arab revolution.

By a "sober and realistic" approach, Moscow means nothing less than an imposed settlement. Rather than supporting the revolutionary struggle, Moscow calls for "political" methods; i.e., the road of negotiations with the imperialists, a course which will not even "ultimately" bring victory.

The Moscow line is not new and has drawn sharp rebukes from the Palestinian liberation struggle. In a statement released earlier, on April 10, the Palestine Liberation Organization said, in part:

"We are not surprised at the stand of the imperialist powers, particularly the United States and Britain, for they are in collusion with world Zionism in view of their organic relationships and the unity of expansionist exploitative interests—and mutual enmity toward the Arab people.

"But we are surprised at the stand of the Soviet Union, for in spite of our respect for the varied Soviet aid to many Arab countries, our national obligation now demands that we put on the record that the Soviet Union has continued to be mistaken in its stand on the Palestinian question and its ignoring of the rights of the Palestinian people in their entire homeland—Palestine, and in their inalienable rights to liberate it, to the return to it, and to self-determination inside it . . .

"The Palestinian people emphasize once again their rejection of the Security Council resolution . . . the Soviet plan, the American working paper, and all solutions and plans that are based on the perpetuation of the political existence of Israel. . . .

"The Palestinian people are totally resolute in their determination to pursue armed struggle and to escalate and develop it to totally liberate their land, Palestine, and to establish a free democratic state on the entire land of Palestine. Palestine in its entirety is for its people and the entire Arab nation, of which it forms an undivided part and lies in the heart of."

Argentina junta steps up brutal police repression

By Gerry Foley

(IP)—In reply to massive demonstrations of popular opposition, the Onganía dictatorship is sharply stepping up the repression in Argentina. Police and military brutality have reached new levels since the general strike that paralyzed the nation May 30.

Special military tribunals have taken over from civilian courts in cases involving opposition to the regime. Hundreds of demonstrators and labor leaders have been arrested and many have already been sentenced to long prison terms in summary military trials.

A sweeping new "anti-Communist" law was decreed June 4. Under the provisions of this act, as cited in the *New York Times* June 5, "anyone holding an indubitable Communist ideology" can be jailed up to six years.

On June 1, the government arrested Raimundo Ongaro, the head of the "rebel" faction of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] for the third time since the development of the latest upsurge. He was released June 6.

The opposition seems to have coalesced around the unions and the student movement. *Le Monde's* correspondent wrote June 7 that the traditional political parties had been bypassed:

"In the events of the last two weeks neither the Radicals, nor the Christian Democrats, nor the Peronists, nor the Communists have intervened as such."

The regime seems unable to offer any major economic concession. The pressure of the worker-student radicalization has made it very difficult for even the most opportunistic union bureaucrats to temporize with the military.

The so-called "participationist" CGT, which was prepared to collaborate with the government, joined the "rebel" CGT in calling the general strike. Conservative leaderships like those of the light and power unions supported the action.

The student-worker front of opposition to the government has won substantial mid-

Battle police in Montevideo

(IP)—Workers and students clashed sharply with police in Montevideo, Uruguay, June 5 after the government sent in troops to operate the struck meat-packing industry. The workers cut down trees to build barricades reinforced with barbed wire. Groups of students set impromptu "toll zones" throughout the city and forced well-to-do motorists to contribute to the strike fund. The packinghouse workers had been on strike for more than 40 days when the battle occurred.

middle-class support. Before the national strike, statements defending the student protesters had come from high Catholic church officials, including Msgr. Juan Carlos Aramburu, the auxiliary bishop of Buenos Aires.

Middle-class support of the struggle against the dictatorship has been shown by small businesses closing their doors in support of the demonstrations and strikes against police excesses that led up to the May 30 national strike.

In Mendoza, the La Franco Andino store, a branch of a nationwide drug chain, was bombed when it remained open. The heightened repression following the strike seems to have further broadened middle-class opposition to the regime.

In face of such widespread opposition, the military may strike out blindly. Even before the current upsurge, the repressive forces in Argentina showed signs of becoming trigger-happy.

For example, on December 7, 1968, *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm Browne reported an incident in Buenos Aires in which police pursued a kitten suspected of having rabies. They used tear gas and submachine guns, killing a bystander in the process.

Ex-Pvt. Pulley of Ft. Jackson 8 to speak in Phila.

By Lea Tammi

PHILADELPHIA — Ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson Eight will be the featured speaker at a public meeting here June 25 to celebrate the Ft. Jackson Eight victory. Sponsored by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, the meeting will also include speeches by an attorney for the Ft. Jackson Eight and Matilde Zimmermann, national secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

The meeting will be held at the Germantown Community Presbyterian Church, Greene and Tulpehocken Streets, at 8 p.m.

The meeting will seek support for the continuing work of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee in protecting the constitutional rights of GIs. The committee may be contacted at its Philadelphia office, 1011 Chestnut St., (215) WA 3-0261.

The Great Society

Anti-pollution drive—Fearing an outbreak of hepatitis, the Seattle Water Department drained, refilled, and rechlorinated a 20-million-gallon reservoir after it was subjected to possible grave contamination. City officials are also considering a cover for the reservoir that could cost up to \$1-million. Action came after a report that a "hippie"-type person had taken a dip in the reservoir. No one actually saw the hippie in the reservoir but he was reportedly seen inside the reservoir fence soaking wet. A probing question was raised, however, by Mrs. Harlan Edwards, president of the City Council. "Why would a hippie want to go in anyway?" she asked. "I thought they didn't take baths."

Didn't expect to marry him—Residents of San Clemente, the exclusive California beach town, are reported dismayed at the news that Nixon bought a house there. One young man confided to a newsmen: "I heard a couple of adults say they wouldn't have voted for him if they knew they'd have to live next door to him."

And you thought you had problems—A report from India in the May 28 *New York Times* on the state of agriculture there describes a farm owner who had been hit by drought. He managed to cut his losses, he explained, by not taking in the landless laborers he normally employs during harvesting. The *Times* reports: "Asked if this was not hard on the laborers, most of whom already had the gaunt look of hunger, he replied with a shrug, 'They have only to beg, borrow or steal. We have to uphold our prestige, pay our servants and save our cattle. We are really much worse off.'"

Progress report (I)—Connecticut legislators are in the process of amending the state penal code and will probably emerge with a set of laws which, among other things, eliminates criminal penalties for fornication or homosexual acts between consenting adults. Meanwhile, contraceptives are still illegal in the state.

Progress Report (II)—Connecticut has enacted a law permitting women to sit, but not stand, at bars. Previously they could sit at a table provided they didn't get within three feet of the bar.

An honest-to-god American town—A former bible salesman who's active in the Boy Scouts and wears an inch-square rhinestone-encrusted flag in his lapel, Maynard Sensenbrenner, mayor of Columbus, O., says his is an "all American" town. This was confirmed by federal probers who reported the city's vice squad takes regular monthly payoffs; the mayor has a "\$100 Club," comprised of unnamed donors; and there are "flower clubs" whose members are political appointees. Club activity consists of kicking back part of each week's pay to the boss.

Foolproof—On your next flight, if you notice the fellow across the aisle is toting a gallon jug, don't just assume he's a dangerous lush. It's only an Army messenger delivering a container of germ warfare agents. The Pentagon recently conceded it does occasionally ship such items as anthrax, a scourge of the Middle Ages, that way. But, a spokesman assures, it's all perfectly safe since they never ship more than a gallon and the container is triple thick. Which, we understand, is the same thickness as a Pentagon skull and almost as impenetrable.

The cure—If you're concerned about your kid being on pot and/or belting cops, you have the choice of having him bang the ivories all day. According to Dr. Irl Allison of Austin, Texas, a poll of teachers of participants in the National Piano-Playing Auditions "shows not one of the 76,000 participants smoke marijuana or riot." This, he explained, is because concentration on great musical works "uplifts the piano student." Dr. Allison is founder of the National Guild of Piano Teachers.

Finds Barb too much—The *Berkeley Barb* apparently had quite an effect on Gladys O'Donnell, President of the National Federation of Republican Women. She proposed that all women stay out of downtown San Francisco as long as sale of the *Barb* is permitted on the city's streets. Describing her reaction to the underground publication, Mrs. O'Donnell said: "I couldn't sleep after I saw that thing." She didn't say if it was the politics, the pictures, the swinging classified ads, or a combination of the three.

— Harry Ring

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, 1010 Lemon St., #12, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-4025.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: YSA, c/o Bill Williams, 897 Vista Grande, Apt. 4, El Cajon, Calif. 92020.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Chuck Melien, 648 University, Boulder, Col 80302.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Doug Lord, 610 N. Calhoun, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA and Bookstore, 187 14th St., Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-3887.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359-1333.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 939-2667.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Steve Sappanos, 111 Carroll, De Kalb, Ill. 60115.

Peoria: YSA, c/o Mike Ghelfi, 1522 N. Bradley, Peoria, Ill. 61606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Rick Congress, 207 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

MAINE: Brunswick: YSA, c/o Ted Parsons, Senior Center, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine 04011.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 9251, East Lansing, Michigan 48909.

Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor: YSA, c/o Dave Davis, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 240, Mpls. 55403. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, Schardell

Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt Brod, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

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NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Bob Friedman, H6 Camelot Apts. Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514. Tel: (919) 942-3024.

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Tel: (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Peter Graumann, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Tel: (513) 767-5511.

OKLAHOMA: Norman: YSA, c/o Sudie Trippet, Rt. 2, Box 453, Norman, Oklahoma 73069. Tel: (405) 321-2594.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 5203 S. W. Pomona, Portland, Oregon, 97219. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 134 Benefit St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA c/o Tom Kincaid, 2201 B Nueces, Austin, Texas 78705.

Houston: YSA, c/o Fred Brode, 5420 Olana, Houston, Texas 77039.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E. 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, c/o Kathy Coram, 3218 Wisconsin Ave. N.W. #3. Tel: (202) 362-0037.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WEST VIRGINIA: Beckley: YSA, c/o John Milan, Box 906, Beckley, W. Va. 25801.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, 912 E. Ogden Ave., #608, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202.

Reading for revolutionaries

Key chapter in labor history



LABOR SOLIDARITY. Returned World War II veterans from plants in Stamford, Conn., leading Stamford workers in sympathy parade in support of Yale & Towne workers' militant struggle against would-be open shop during 1945 strike wave.

LABOR'S GIANT STEP, by Art Preis. Merit Publishers. 538 pp. \$7.50

This is the only complete history of the CIO, taking in the period of 1935 to 1955. It has a two-fold advantage over other works that deal only with one or another aspect of this history. First, the author was present at many of the events either as a participant or reporter; second, he writes from the standpoint of a revolutionary Marxist.

Those who have written off the American workers as a force that will ultimately lead the greatest revolution in history can do no better than study this book. It tells the story of how the American industrial workers lifted themselves from the torpor of prior years and rose up en masse to defeat the strongest capitalist class in the world in a series of great strike battles. If this account does not convince them that the workers will have the last word, then nothing will.

Labor's Giant Step is not just an account of the strikes and sit-downs, how they were won and sometimes lost. It goes much deeper and further by explaining the background of the events themselves, placing them in the context of the depression of the 1930's, the Second World War and the postwar period.

It deals at great length with the Roosevelt and Truman administrations and their influence upon the new union movement. Especially important for the new generation of revolutionaries is the role really played by Roosevelt who is represented by present union leaders, the Communist Party and others as a friend of labor who, according to some, actually organized the workers almost single-handedly.

The nature of the bureaucratic regimes that in our day rule the unions is analysed by Art Preis. He explains how they developed and gained control of the unions, how they were able to overcome almost all opposition to their rule, and who helped them achieve this result.

The role of the Communist Party is fully documented. This is by no means an unimportant aspect of this history. Although it has no influence to speak of in

the unions today, at one time the CP represented a strong force in the CIO and even a decisive force in some unions.

What is particularly inspiring to revolutionists, and equally instructive, is the fact that the American workers in the mass production industries, who had never known union organization and were at the complete mercy of the rapacious capitalist class with its anti-union gangs, stool pigeons and government support, brought off a great victory with their bare hands.

People who care to look into the future and not to be satisfied with the present, which is constantly transformed into the future, will see that the American workers, quiescent though they are at this moment, will rise again.

It was so after the long sleep of American labor in the 1920s; it will be so again. We have only to look at what happened in France in May and June 1968, when no less than two thirds of the working class conducted a general strike, the largest in history. When the American workers move again, it cannot be but on a massive scale and with the aggressiveness and militancy that are native to them. Also, they will stand on the shoulders of their parents who built the CIO.

The history of the CIO is an important part of the history of the United States. It may very well turn out that the historian of the future will have to go back to the early days of the CIO as the great turning point in this history, when the mass of the American workers appeared on the stage in their own name.

Although sceptics may not be convinced that the workers will rise again, the logic of both their history and their particular condition in society strongly suggest that they must and will.

— Milt Alvin

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Token GI cutback by Nixon seeks to cool antiwar heat

By Dick Roberts

JUNE 11— President Nixon's announced decision to withdraw 25,000 U.S. troops from South Vietnam by the end of August is designed to relieve the intensified antiwar pressure on his administration by appearing to be seeking peace in Vietnam.

This pressure escalated in the two weeks preceding the June 8 withdrawal announcement when Nixon had come under heavy criticism for the waste of American GIs in the battle of Apbia. At that time, announcement of U.S. troop withdrawal became certain.

The withdrawal of U.S. troops (the figure of 70,000 by the end of 1969 has been mentioned) also confirms and underlines the fact that Nixon is continuing the policy adopted by the Johnson administration over one year ago at the time of the first Tet offensive.

That policy is to exert maximum military pressure in South Vietnam while stalling the negotiations in Paris.

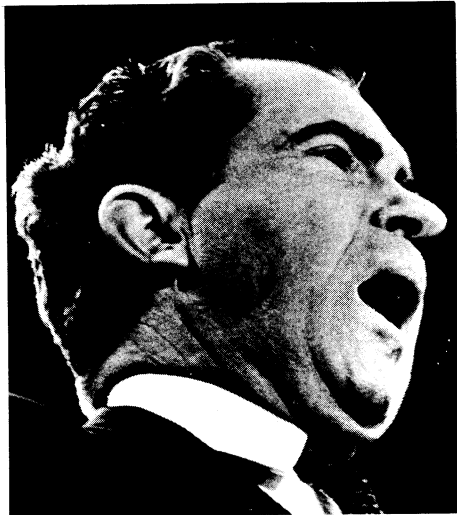
Nixon and his advisers gave repeated assurances that this withdrawal of U.S. troops would in no way weaken the U.S. military effort:

The fundamental problem for the imperialists is to forestall public criticism. The battle of Apbia taught them that there was a limit on the battlefield casualties the American people will tolerate. It comes down to buying time, and the use of the word "time" is becoming more and more frequent in discussions about Washington's options.

New York Times chief correspondent in Washington, Max Frankel, put it this way when Nixon returned to the capital June 10:

"The public reception here for President Nixon on his return from Midway Island today emphasized the time he had gained to keep searching for a path out of Vietnam."

Frankel sees Nixon's dilemma as follows: "Strengthening the ruling group in Saigon could permit very gradual but far from total American withdrawal from the conflict. Diluting the Government there could



promote a negotiated but far from desirable political settlement."

To put it bluntly: the Saigon clique couldn't last without U.S. support. This is why Washington must continue its military offensive. "To win further concessions from the enemy," says Frankel, "Mr. Nixon is counting on North Vietnam's fatigue in battle and the threat of a progressive strengthening of the Saigon leadership."

But, Frankel points out, "The enemy, in turn, is counting on the exhaustion of support for the war in the U.S. and the inability of the Saigon leaders to survive any sizable withdrawal of American power."

Consequently the Nixon administration must do whatever it can to ward off antiwar sentiment in this country.

It is to be noted in Frankel's analysis that Paris plays an entirely secondary role. There are two main battlefronts for the White House: the military lines of South Vietnam and the lines of public opinion in the U.S. "The doves and diplomats who think the war can be settled in Paris," Frankel observes rather drily, "are free to probe within the present loose terms set by Mr. Nixon."

In other words, "They can take their Paris plans and stuff them." The war is not taking place in Paris.

The real battle against the war is also not in Paris. It is in the struggle to mobilize public opposition. This is what the administration pays attention to, thus emphasizing the importance of such events as the conference in Cleveland, July 4-5, to map out plans for new and bigger antiwar mobilizations.

Army backs off on prosecuting Vietnam veteran

By Howard Scoggins

AUSTIN—Pfc. Robert Bower, Ft. Hood antiwar GI, announced June 3 that pending charges and court-martial proceedings against him have been dropped. Bower was charged with "unauthorized distribution" of antiwar literature, a violation of Ft. Hood post rules.

Bower was formally charged on May 31. The Texas Coalition Against the War and Attorney Ben G. Levy immediately began a coordinated campaign of publicity and legal defense. Fact sheets, with covering material on how to reach the local media were distributed to all antiwar groups and individuals active around the state. Petitions were circulated and sent directly to General Powell, commanding officer of Ft. Hood. Telegrams, telephone calls and local press coverage were added to the barrage against Ft. Hood authorities.

Bower's attorney, Ben G. Levy, was in contact with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. Coming on the heels of the victory of Ft. Jackson, the threat of a determined defense escalated the Army's problems.

On June 3, less than four days after being formally charged, the Army notified Bower that the charges were dropped.

The TCWA staff workers believe that the historic victory at Ft. Jackson, plus intensive local publicity, made the difference between a railroad conviction and Bower's victory.

Move to block transfer of antiwar GI to Arctic

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee has issued a special appeal for letters and telegrams protesting the scheduled punitive transfer of antiwar GI Pvt. Joe Miles to a base north of the Arctic Circle, and demanding that all court-martial charges against him be dropped.

Miles, a leader of the Ft. Bragg GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, and a founder of the GIs United at Ft. Jackson, has been ordered transferred to an Arctic Circle post in Alaska in contradiction to all the norms governing such transfers. Meanwhile, the brass has initiated court-martial proceedings against him, on a fabricated charge that he was AWOL on Memorial Day weekend.

The brass will have a hard time substantiating the AWOL charge. Miles is on "permanent party" assignment at Ft. Bragg, which allows him to sign out whenever he is off-duty, as he did on the Memorial Day weekend, when his name was not on the duty roster.

Miles is supposed to report to Ft. Lewis, Washington, on July 14. His court-martial is scheduled for June 23 at Ft. Bragg, N. C., where he has to remain in the meantime. This is contrary to normal transfer procedure for permanent parties in his situation, which allows for three weeks preparatory time before leaving his original post, 30 days leave, and five days travel time.

Attorneys for the GI CLDC have been trying to obtain a "show cause" court order against the Army, requiring the brass to show if there is any reason why they shouldn't be prevented from carrying out their punitive transfer of Miles to the post in the Arctic. But so far, the judge has refused to sign the "show cause" order, claiming that civilian courts have no jurisdiction in the matter.

He is the same judge who threw George Anderson ("Andy") Rose, a Chapel Hill student and member of the Young Socialist Alliance, into jail for six months for leaf-

BULLETIN

JUNE 12—The federal court in North Carolina issued a "show cause" order today directing the Army to show why it should not be restrained from transferring Pvt. Joe Miles to the Arctic region. The hearing will be held next week.

letting GIs at Ft. Bragg last November. Rose was jailed for supposedly violating parole, although he was not on parole and is appealing the case. A hearing on Rose's case was set for June 11; but he was released on June 10, a clear indication that the judge had been flagrantly out of order.

In a statement released June 3, Joe Miles stated, "The Army couldn't find any excuse to jail me, so they are sending me into exile, to the American Siberia. This move only shows how low the Army will stoop to crush legitimate dissent, to maintain its dictatorial grip over the lives of enlisted men. . . ."

"Even after Ft. Jackson, the brass still don't seem to understand that they cannot transfer or jail ideas. They can't court-martial the massive feeling of opposition to the war in the Army. They should have learned from the Ft. Jackson case that GIs United is bigger than any individual or group of individuals. GIs United is struggle. And the struggle against the war in Vietnam is going to go on at Ft. Bragg no matter what happens."

Telegrams and letters of protest against the scheduled transfer of Miles and demanding that all charges against him be dropped can be sent to: Commanding General, Lt. Gen. John Tolson, Ft. Bragg, N. C. 28307; and to Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor at the Pentagon, Washington, D. C. Copies should be sent to the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee; Box 355, Old Chelsea Station; New York, N. Y. 10011.

Presidio case setback for brass

Fourteen of the Presidio 27 were sentenced on June 7 to prison terms ranging from three to 15 months. Charged with mutiny, which carried a possible death penalty, the light sentences represented a significant victory for GI and civilian antiwar forces.

The sentences of three others, originally given 14, 15, and 16 years, have been reduced to two years by higher Army authorities. Two more GIs remain to be tried in July.

The Presidio "mutiny" case began last October when Richard Bunch, imprisoned in the stockade, was shot to death by a guard who claimed Bunch was "fleeing" a work detail. Three days later the 27 organized a sit-down to protest the murder of Bunch and the other intolerable conditions in the Presidio stockade.

The sit-down occurred two days after

the massive GI-civilian antiwar march on Oct. 12 in San Francisco, and the Army brass decided to use the incident to crack down on the growing GI antiwar movement. Despite the advice of the pre-trial investigating officer, the top brass decided to proceed with the mutiny court-martial and impose the kinds of sentences that would hopefully strike terror in the hearts of potential GI antiwar protesters.

The blatant injustice of the charges, and the first sentences handed down, created such a storm of nationwide indignation that the brass beat a retreat. The latest sentences confirm their virtual rout.

There is a possibility that the sentences may be further reduced by higher review boards.

For the GI and civilian antiwar movement, the outcome of the courts-martial represents an historic victory.

Ga. high schoolers hear viewpoint of socialist nominee

By Doug Jenness

ATLANTA, Ga. — About 40 ninth graders at North Springs High School in Atlanta heard a socialist for the first time last week, when Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, spoke to their political science class. One student asked how it was possible to immediately withdraw troops from Vietnam. "It's pretty easy," she responded. "I'd send enough ships over there to bring all 600,000 of them home."

She also appeared on WRNG-Radio, a local call-in station, for an hour last week. When one person challenged her to name a country where socialism works she cited the example of Cuba where she visited for a month last January. A woman called who felt that many of the other callers were prejudiced. She asked whether people would be able to own their own homes and cars under socialism. When she was assured that they would she said that she would vote for Linda Jenness.

ATLANTA, June 9 — Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, issued a statement to the Board of Aldermen today urging them to repudiate a proposed ordinance that would impose restrictions on the use of city parks.

She attacked the proposed ordinance, submitted by Alderman Everett Millican, "on the grounds that it is motivated by prejudice and abridges the democratic use of city facilities." She called for an investigation into the police harassment of youth in the 14th Street area.

She charged Alderman Millican with whipping up a "hysterical atmosphere against youth in the 14th Street area" and "trying to make the victim appear to be the criminal."



CLEARED. Pfc. Robert Bower, whose slated court-martial was dropped for lack of evidence, and the armored personnel vehicle which he drives at Ft. Hood.