

THE MILITANT

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Photo by Della Rossa

ON GUARD. National Guardsmen who invaded ghetto of Watts in Los Angeles stand before store left undisturbed during uprising. Sign in window says "Brothers Let Me Slide, Negro Owner." Negro businesses were generally not molested.

Cops Committed Murder During L. A. Outbreak

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 29 — Now that the uprising in Watts has subsided, some of the facts about the shooting and terror by the Los Angeles cops are becoming known. Typical of the police terror was the murder of Aubrey Griffin, 38, who was killed by a fusillade of police bullets as he stood — unarmed — in his lighted doorway, in the early hours of Aug. 16. He had

been awakened by a noise and turned the light on to investigate. As he fell, he called to his wife, "I've been shot. Call the police." But it was the police who killed the innocent man. One of them said to his wife, "I'm sorry."

The daily press had just a one-paragraph story on the killing, quoting the police as saying Griffin had a gun. "It's a lie," says Mrs. Griffin.

I talked to a group of 16- and 17-year-old youths who had been in the midst of the uprising, at the Savoy Roller Rink at 78th and Central Ave. on Aug. 21. Somebody had painted "Burn, Watts, burn!" on the wall. One boy told me, "There was one kid named 'Bulldog'; he's 16. The police told him to stand against the wall, and then they shoved him through the

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L. A. Cops Victimize Muslims

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — In the early morning hours of Aug. 18, as the Negro ghetto uprising was ending here, the Los Angeles police shot their way into the Black Muslim mosque at 56th St. and Broadway. They had not been provoked and met no resistance, but they shot out the whole row of second story windows and peppered the whole front of the building with gunshot.

Inside, the cops arrested 59 Muslims, eight of them bleeding from cut glass. Nineteen were charged with "assault to commit murder"; this charge was based on an unverified report that a shot came from the building. No gun was found in the mosque. The Muslims have a well-known policy of prohibiting all weapons inside their mosques, and a theological principle against the use of arms by their members.

The cops said they attacked the mosque because they had a tip that guns were being unloaded from a truck there. The newspapers played up this report rather than the fact that no guns were found.

It is evident that the cops used the ghetto revolt as a long-awaited excuse to once more attack the Muslims, make false arrests, and steal membership lists and private records. The police admitted they took away a "mass of material."

Meaning of the Los Angeles Ghetto Rebellion

By George Novack

"This is the Negro Revolution. We want the world to know." These simple sentences spoken by one of the participants define the essential nature of the Los Angeles ghetto uprising of 1965. This is the most momentous event in the past century of Negro struggle. Watts stands out as a colossal landmark in the self-assertion of black Americans as the turbulent national and social revolutionary process through which they will win emancipation continues to unfold.

The world watched an entire community come out in defiant protest against the caste system maintained by the monied masters of America which denies them the necessities of life, any just share in the nation's wealth, the rights of U.S. citizens, and the dignity of human beings.

The hated Los Angeles police could no longer hold them down. For a few days, while the feet of the cops were off their necks, the people of Watts could feel free in their own neighborhood. It took 13,000 National Guardsmen with

U. S. Talks "Peace" While It Accelerates Bombings in Vietnam

By Harry Ring

SEPT. 1 — Within 24 hours after Washington leaked information that it had made overtures to Hanoi for a "de-escalation" of the Vietnam war, it was announced in Saigon that giant B-52 bombers would conduct daily saturation bombings in South Vietnam.

According to information made available to the *New York Times* by an "informed source" in Washington, the U.S. "peace bid" consisted of this: If Hanoi withdraws an army division now stationed — according to unconfirmed U.S. reports — in South Vietnam, the U.S. will consider slowing down and perhaps eventually stopping the bombing of North Vietnam.

Calculated Move

The Washington leak was obviously calculated to placate continuing domestic and world opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam. There is no way of determining if there is any substance to the new crop of unconfirmed reports of possible peace negotiations by U Thant, Nasser and others. But it is clear that even if Johnson should be compelled to enter into some form of negotiations, the process would be dragged out over a period of years, as were the negotiations in Korea. Meanwhile, the U.S. will continue to try to "improve" its military position by a step-up in the war.

Plan Long War

On the very day the *Times* was reporting the alleged de-escalation moves, the paper's associate editor, James Reston, reported from Saigon: "All the available information here indicates that both sides are planning for a long war . . . The United States bases and supply areas are being constructed on a scale far larger than is necessary to care for the present level of American forces — therefore it is assumed that the build-up will continue well beyond what has been announced so far."

Meanwhile, desperate U.S. efforts to cope with the popularly based South Vietnamese guerrilla movement is bringing terrible suffering to the people of that coun-



Johnson

try. More than 400,000 people have been made homeless by the bombing and burning of their villages. And the number will increase.

Opposition to Vietnam War Strong in Teachers Union

A significant minority of the American Federation of Teachers hotly contested the majority's support of the Johnson administration's foreign policy at the AFT's convention in Los Angeles on Aug. 27. A resolution charging that current U.S. policy was escalating American involvement in Vietnam and increasing the danger of a third World War was defeated by a vote of 144-55.

This is the first time that an important AFL-CIO union has been a battleground on the issue of the Vietnam war. The minority's anti-war stand represents a breath of fresh air when one considers the groveling posture of the AFL-CIO tops before the Johnson regime.

In reporting that the B-52 bombers will regularly saturate areas of South Vietnam with huge loads of bombs, it was made known to newsmen that populated civilian areas may well be included among the targets. Assurances were made that leaflets would give the residents advance notice.

Heated Debate

Meanwhile, Arnold Beichman, special correspondent to the *New York Herald Tribune*, reported from Vietnam Aug. 28 that a heated debate is going on in military circles as to the worth of the present bombings of North Vietnam. He writes:

"The toughest question raised by an Air Force officer who has made a careful study of the controversy is whether aerial bombardment alone without ground troops to exploit the aerial assault has much meaning against a country with a rural economy. This is another way of saying that a decision about a ground invasion of North Vietnam may be at hand."

Clearly it would be the height of folly for the antiwar forces to relax their efforts by the slightest.

Many delegates felt disgusted that the AFT majority took no stand other than deploring war and imploring peace — but supported Johnson in whatever he might do.

Martin Lobenthal, a member of the United Federation of Teachers of New York, complained that the majority resolution was "designed to absolve our consciences" but not to indicate a sincere position.

The AFT did, however, pass a resolution favoring "teach-ins" on the Vietnam question, indirectly slapping George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, who has taken a stand against them.

themselves but for the millions of Negroes in the United States who fiercely resent 300 years of servitude and 100 years of crawling emancipation. Many migrants from other sections consciously retaliated for Selma, Tuscaloosa and the regime of terror in the South.

For them "Freedom Now!" is not a hollow huckster's slogan. It is the guiding light, the overriding purpose, the immediate aim of the present phase of the Negro struggle. The black masses, North and South, are increasingly determined to throw off every form of discrimination and conquer liberty and equality for themselves and by themselves. They want these not two or ten years from today but here and now. They demand payment, not in dribbles, but in full and at once, on all the promises given them since Reconstruction. And if this is not forthcoming, they intend to take their rightful due.

The Los Angeles eruption has highlighted the two sides of the Freedom Now movement: its revolutionary nationalist and its working class characteristics. The cries

and deeds of the demonstrators against "Whitey," that is, their white dominators and extorters, showed what a mighty and dynamic force black nationalism has become among the ghetto population. To them black nationalism means black power, control over their community, racial dignity, self-defense.

Indissolubly fused with these powerful nationalist sentiments are the working class aspects of the insurrection. The inhabitants of Watts are among the lowest paid of the poor in Southern California; economic necessity compels them to do the menial chores for the big corporations and opulent citizens of Los Angeles — when they can find jobs. They do not want to be at the bottom of the heap any longer.

Describing the overturning and burning of an automobile with a white driver, one reporter testified: "There were women in the gang and they say they have been scrubbing floors for \$1.25 an hour and they are tired of it." Richard Starnes, *New York World-Tele-*

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A VARIED CURRICULUM

Art and Politics at YSA School

By Morrie Jasin

For the past three summers the Chicago chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, in joint sponsorship with the Socialist Workers Party, has held classes in subjects relevant to Marxism and revolutionary socialism — the materialist conception of history, the history of American radical politics, black nationalism, etc. The intention is to educate young revolutionists in the fundamental Marxist method by holding discussions based on particular books and having lectures by noted revolutionary thinkers. Similar summer schools were held this year in Philadelphia, Boston, Minneapolis, Detroit, New York, Bay Area, Los Angeles, Madison, and Washington, D. C.

This summer's program began with discussions based on tapes made by Malcolm X and George Breitman, showing Malcolm's political development towards revolutionary socialist politics.

Over the July 4 weekend the Chicago branch took 35 people on a trip to a Midwest conference sponsored by the Detroit YSA and SWP. Here we heard Frank Lovell speak on "The History of the Trade Union Movement and Where It Is Going"; Tom Kerry spoke on "Leninist Organizational Principles," analyzing the "new left" of today; and Jan Garrett discussed "Guerrilla Movements in Latin America."

Back Home

Then back to Chicago for a series of four lectures by Evelyn Sell, entitled "Marxist Theory and the Negro Struggle." She went into Marx's analysis of the Negro under capitalism, American Negro history and the progressive nature of black nationalism.

The next session was entitled "The Artist's Relation to the Revolutionary Socialist Movement" — two informal discussions which marked a high point in this summer's school. Noted sculptor Duncan Ferguson, drawing on his experience as an artist and participant for over 30 years in revolutionary politics, explained the importance of art in society, quoting from such figures as Marx, Trotsky and James P. Cannon. He explained why there is no "proletarian art" and discussed the Marxist position of complete freedom for the arts. To facilitate discussion, we visited the Art Institute where 19th century post-impressionism, 20th century cubism and modern abstract art were given special attention by Mr. Ferguson.

While the group examined a particular painting, Mr. Ferguson explained not only the artist's technique but the period in which the artist lived. This social background contributed a great deal to a better appreciation of the work. Many paintings were revolutionary in content without actually depicting a revolutionary scene. Not everyone shared Mr. Ferguson's



AT MUSEUM. Chicago Young Socialist summer school students visit art museum with sculptor Duncan Ferguson (first from right facing camera).

son's opinions of the various paintings, but art tends to generate controversy.

After the inspiring cultural classes, Harry Ring, staff writer for *The Militant*, gave a stimulating series of lectures on "The History of the SWP Since 1940." Based on his experience in the movement, he lectured on the Minneapolis trial, World War II, the 1946 labor upsurge, regroupment, the Cuban revolution, and black nationalism.

The final series of classes, which extended through August, were based on Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. The series

started with Lenin's *Imperialism* and the theory of the permanent revolution itself, given by two local revolutionary socialists. The subsequent lectures dealt with applications of the theory to Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, Santo Domingo and the Congo. A theory, in order to remain valid, must be tested. Recent events in the world today provide a fine laboratory in which to test the theory of the permanent revolution.

The classes have been well attended by YSA and SWP members and others interested in revolutionary socialism.

DAR Hits Below Belt

By Harry Ring

It's time to blow the whistle on the Daughters of the American Revolution. They have become a perfect example of how overzealous people can defeat the very cause they're supposed to be promoting.

For years the DAR has been virtually synonymous with Old Glory. Yet they have been instrumental in barring the flag from a whole new area. "Stars 'n Stripes," the biggest thing to hit the panty-girdle field since two-way stretch, is being withdrawn from the U.S. market as a result of fierce protest by the DAR.

"Stars 'n Stripes" is one of four models in a new line known as Pop Pants. It has blue stars on a white background and red and white stripes. The others are: "Crying Eyes," "The Big Zip" and "Hamburger 'n Soda Pop." There have been no complaints about the others.

But several thousand "Stars 'n Stripes" girdles are being yanked from store shelves and no more will be made available in the U.S.

The DAR action came just as the manufacturer was readying an advertising campaign urging Miss and Mrs. America to "be the first on your block to go completely mad" by shelling out \$7 for the star-spangled girdle.

Mrs. W. Carl Crittenden, national chairman of the Flag of the United States Committee of the DAR, heard about it and all hell bust loose. She whipped off a letter to the company demanding the girdle be taken from the market forthwith, denouncing it as a "desecration" and a "shocking caricature" of the flag.

She further asserted: "Patriotism should be encouraged by proper respect for the Stars and Stripes, the symbol of this great

country and the many opportunities enjoyed here."

But that's precisely the point. An old-fashioned hustling American entrepreneur saw an opportunity to expand his bankroll and spread patriotism at the same time. For a modest \$7, millions of American women could have learned that it's not only necessary to support the flag but that the flag can be a true source of support to the individual. And just consider the dazzled reaction of amorous American men. Who knows how many would have taken one look at the Stars 'n Stripes Pop Pants and volunteered for duty in Vietnam?

Company Buckles

But the DAR has seen to it that this won't happen. Under its fire, the company buckled like a worn-out girdle and announced their unconditional surrender.

"We'll burn the damn things or send them to some foreign country where our flag isn't involved," growled an embittered spokesman. He was so upset that he even talked about giving them away "as charity gifts to people in other parts of the world." (It would be a really smash addition to the U.S. aid program.)

But it's a discouraging business. We have a president who is really determined to show the flag in every part of the world and right here on the home front our forces are divided, with one group of patriots forcing another to haul down the colors.

"The American system of ours, call it Americanism, call it Capitalism, call it what you like, gives each and every one of us a great opportunity if we only seize it with both hands and make the most of it." — Al Capone

Los Angeles Forum Hears On-the-Scene Watts Report

LOS ANGELES — "As a black man, I say that this was the best thing that ever happened in Los Angeles," said Robert Hall, co-chairman of the Non Violent Action Committee, to the Militant Labor Forum here on Aug. 20. Hall spoke on "The Ghetto Revolt."

Hall said that the uprising united the ghetto and showed the oppressed knew how to fight back. He indicated that the shortcoming of the uprising was that it was without demands or direction. "Our problem is not what happened to the stores along Central Ave, but that this lack of direction not happen again," he said.

The civil rights leader, who grew up in Harlem, told the whites in the audience, "Keep your goddam dollars if that's all you have for us. Your job is to talk to your friends, talk to your neighbors."

Need Leadership

Asked who he thought were the real leaders of the Negroes, Hall said, "Baby, we don't have a leader. We need a leader, we need a leader like Malcolm X."

Hall was in the thick of the uprising from the beginning and got wide publicity for saving a white newspaperman's life. But he said the kids in the ghetto told him, "Don't come around here with that nonviolent crap!"

"We've got to get rid of Chief Parker," Hall said. "But getting

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glass window. The flesh was hanging down the back of his head. Then they shoved him into a squad car.

"Then I saw a lady come out of a liquor store with some bottles," the boy continued. "They didn't tell her to stop. They just shot at her. But they missed."

Bail was set outrageously high for the more than 4,000 black people who were arrested and imprisoned during the six days — at about \$4,000 for most of them. Only a handful could raise the \$400 needed to buy a \$4,000 bail bond.

About half of the prisoners are under 21. Of those arrested, half are charged with felonies; three are charged with murder.

Many of those arrested had broken no law. They were arrested simply because they were black. That was the case for Los Angeles Times reporter Robert Richardson. He had been taken from the advertising department and pressed into service as a reporter when the explosive events began, because the Times had no Negro reporter. He wound up in the Lincoln Heights jail.

A request from American Civil Liberties Union attorneys that all prisoners be released without bail has been rejected. CORE and the Committee of Unrepresented People have been picketing the Police Administration building, protesting the arrests and supporting the grievances of the ghetto.

Seek Amnesty

The Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party has asked for a general amnesty for all prisoners, on the grounds that they are not criminals. It issued a statement Aug. 19 which reads in part as follows:

"This protest was provoked by the police who habitually treat Negro citizens as subhuman . . . we call for the firing of Police Chief Parker and for the recall of Mayor Yorty . . . The National Guard and police must be withdrawn and the black community must be allowed to determine for themselves measures affecting their own lives.

"Punitive expeditions, such as the latest Gestapo-like foray against the Black Muslims, must be stopped."

rid of Parker without changing the system doesn't do a damn bit of good . . . In fact, let's start with Washington, D.C. . . . If you think that I came here tonight to say that we feel guilty about what happened, you're wrong. And we don't need baskets of food, we don't want any crumbs — we want equality."

Group to Defend Watts Prisoners

LOS ANGELES — The South Side Citizens' Defense Committee has been organized here to aid the victims of the continuing mass arrests of Negroes in the wake of the ghetto uprising.

The SSCDC is seeking out the families of the thousands in jails and hospitals in order to acquaint them with their rights and help them apply for legal aid. The defense organization is also mounting a campaign called "Let My People Go," to win the release of those caught in the huge police dragnet.

The newly formed committee is not duplicating the work of existing civil rights and legal aid organizations, but is supplementing their efforts by mobilizing the largely unorganized families and neighbors of those who were killed, wounded or jailed.

The SSCDC is temporarily located at: 326 W. 3rd St., Rm. 318, Los Angeles, 13. Phone: MA 5-2169 and MA 5-2160.

More on Trial Date In Malcolm X Case

NEW YORK — The Aug. 23 *Militant* quoted an article by Les Matthews in the July 31 *Amsterdam News*, reporting, on the basis of information from a spokesman for District Attorney Frank Hogan, that "no assistant D.A. is currently assigned" to the prosecution of three men being held for the assassination of Malcolm X on Feb. 21. Matthews was also told, "No date has been set for the trial."

A later and different version from a Hogan spokesman was reported by Selwyn Raab in the Aug. 11 *N.Y. World Telegram*. According to this, "Hogan has assigned Vincent Dermody, an assistant district attorney and one of the most highly regarded homicide prosecutors on his staff, to handle the case. Dermody, who will be on vacation until mid-September, was unavailable for comment."

Hogan's aide "denied that the prosecution was having any trouble or that the trial was being purposely delayed," and said, "We expect that a trial date will be set in September."

Raab also spoke with one of the six attorneys assigned by the court to represent the defendants (Talmadge Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson), who asked that his name be withheld, and who said, "Something is wrong with the DA's case or he would have moved before this to get a trial date. I understand the chief prosecution witness has died." He said the witness was a police informer and that he believes the trial may never take place.

"Don't get the idea that I'm one of these goddam radicals. Don't get the idea that I'm knocking the American system." — Al Capone

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

LOS ANGELES

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his biweekly radio commentary. Tues. Sept. 14, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed. Sept. 15, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

THE MOUNTING ATTACKS OF THE ULTRARIGHT. Speaker: William Martin, SWP campaign committee. Fri., Sept. 10, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

... Los Angeles Ghetto Rebellion

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gram columnist, spent seven days talking to Negroes who joined the black rebellion. "Without exception, their reply is 'jobs' when they are asked to state their aims."

Governor Brown has appointed a seven-man commission headed by former Central Intelligence Director McCone to inquire into the causes of the confrontation. It doesn't take much intelligence, central or otherwise, to uncover the sources of discontent. Every Negro community, North and South, suffers from the same chronic and legitimate grievances, nurses the same frustrated hopes, broods over the same unfulfilled expectations. The lesser conflict which simultaneously broke out in Chicago indicates this. Rent-gouging, substandard housing, segregated education, unemployment, inadequate hospital, dental, recreational facilities, filthy streets and littered alleys, police brutality and harassment, indifference on the part of city, state and federal authorities — until and unless the ghettos give them trouble. All these evils add up to second-class citizenship and first-

class exploitation.

The Los Angeles explosion has served to rip the mask from Johnson's Great Society and expose its ugliest features. The "American Way of Life" may be heavenly for the rich and the suburban elite. But it is more likely to be hellish for the poor, especially if their skins are black. It is highly significant that this violent expression of working class discontent broke out in the center of Los Angeles, the most prosperous city of the country, in the 55th month of the biggest and longest boom of our time. The seamy side of capitalist America is ordinarily hidden from the sight of most observers.

There have been complaints that a delay of a few months in accepting Federal antipoverty appropriations may have hastened the riots. The truth is that any relief of impoverishment has been held up for decades. The emergency \$20,000,000 now released will not go very far to change the underlying conditions which produced the outburst. That's much less than the cost of the cops which it has been proposed should be added to Chief Parker's force

to harass the Negro community from now on.

The ultimate program of the authorities for dealing with the problems posed is not to eradicate the social and economic causes of discrimination and inequality but to use forceful measures to suppress mass protest against them. The failure to make any fundamental improvements in Harlem or the Bedford-Stuyvesant areas of New York since last summer testifies to this.

The urban guerrilla warfare they initiated has points of affinity with the civil war in Vietnam. The peasants of Southeast Asia are fighting against U.S. imperialism and its puppets for independence, liberty, land and the right to a better life. Every opponent of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, which causes more destruction of life and property in one day than occurred in Los Angeles for an entire week, should note the connection between the freedom-fighters of Watts and what's happening in Vietnam.

Some of the young militants involved in the battle of Watts were well aware of this tie-up. "Why should we go to fight overseas against a colored colonial people rather than fight against our oppressors here at home for our rights and needs?" they thought and said.

After the Harlem events last summer we wrote: "The outbursts in New York are only the beginning — the first of their kind in the Northern cities. Whatever the laments of Negro and white liberals, they will be succeeded by others even more stormy and protracted, so long as the ruling rich and their political servitors refuse to remove the conditions that have generated them and make their recurrence virtually mandatory." (*The Militant*, Aug. 10, 1964.)

Second Warning

For anyone aware of the situation and mood of the black ghetto, no powers of second sight were needed to foresee this. Watts has confirmed that prophecy.

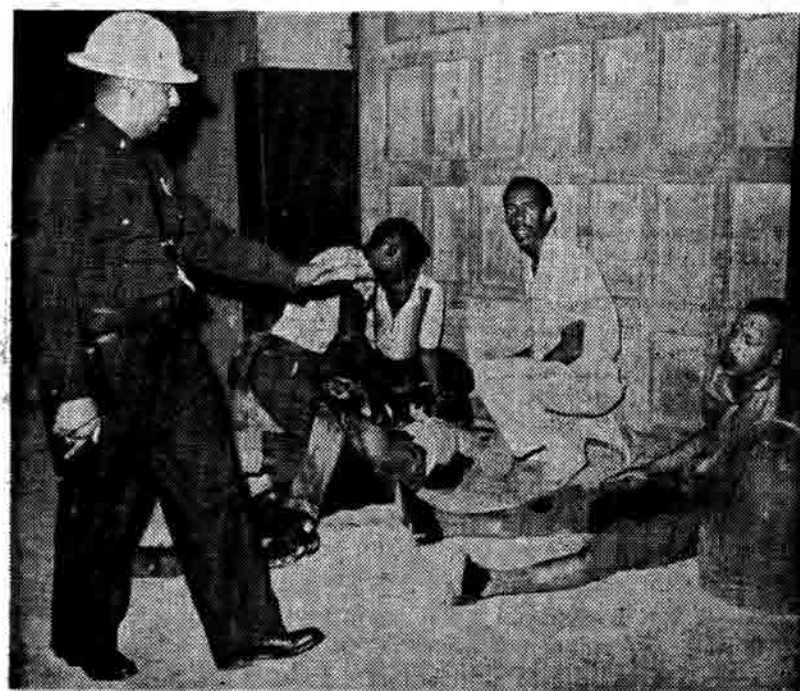
Watts is a second stern warning addressed by the ghetto population to the powers that be; Harlem was the first. The gist of the message is plain. "Our patience is not inexhaustible; it is fast running out. Either take care of our major grievances without delay or take the consequences."

Watts is a signal of the mounting impatience of the Negro masses. Three years ago when Chief Parker's police gunned down and murdered Black Muslims in front of their temple, the Los Angeles Negro community was angered — yet it did not rise up in arms. This August a traffic incident, in which police roughed up and arrested a young man, set off the most massive, violent and sustained insurrectionary movement of the present century in this country.

New Level

The Los Angeles uprising was on a qualitatively higher level than the Harlem actions last summer. This time an entire community took the offensive against the existing order and could not be quelled without the National Guard. Next time or the time after, when infuriated inhabitants of the crowded slums of Chicago, New York, Birmingham or Washington will be heard from, nothing less than federal troops will have to be called in. Occupation troops will be seen, not only in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, but in the principal cities and possibly even the capital of the United States.

Who will be responsible for this? Not the long-suffering black people of the ghettos, but the blind, brutal, stupid agents of the ruling class who are under the delusion they can buy off the Ne-



GHETTO, USA. Scene in Harlem during July 1964 outbreak. Cops played same brutal role in suppressing Watts rebellion.

gro struggle for equality cheap with petty concessions and big promises. Or, in the last extremity, suppress it with official force. Short of a South African apartheid method, which has already proved ineffectual in the American South, they cannot halt the Freedom Now movement which is so deep-rooted and has right and justice on its side.

Many whites have been shocked and alarmed by the Watts explosion. They don't realize what "grapes of wrath are stored" in their own cities. They mistakenly believe that, while conditions are manifestly bad for the Southern Negro, they are better in the North.

They fail to understand that over 20,000,000 American Negroes are fighting not merely for civil rights but even more, as Malcolm X emphasized, for human rights. It is no anomaly that Watts blew up in the same week that the new Voting Rights Act went into effect. This law may place the ballot in the hands of numerous Southern Negroes. But it gives nothing to the Northern ghetto-dwellers. It doesn't touch a single one of their burning problems.

Johnson's Boast

The men and women of Watts answered Johnson's boast that the Voting Rights Law is a tremendous boon to all black citizens. Northern Negroes already have such rights, at least on the statute books. What they don't have are the same real rights as the rest of the American population or the basic rights of human beings: the right to work, a decent home, adequate educational opportunities, cultural advantages and equal treatment. What they want, according to reporter Richard Starnes, is "freedom from economic thrall-dom, freedom to aspire to the best that the nation can offer, freedom to achieve human dignity." Starnes rightly warns that what happened in Watts "can be repeated at any hour of any day in any city in this country."

The misfortune of the Los Angeles rebels is that their movement lacked any centralized or coordinated organization, authoritative leadership or program which could most effectively orient their resistance and lead to enduring gains. Almost all their local and national leaders left the demonstrators in the lurch or, what is

worse, backed up their oppressors. Rev. Martin Luther King hastened to throw off his white robe of pacifism and endorse the use of force and violence by the authorities against his own people.

Watts once again pointed up how wide a gap exists between the militant ghetto masses and the middle-class Negro leaders. These are oriented along different lines and find themselves on different sides when the showdown comes.

As Langston Hughes observed through his celebrated character Simple in a column captioned "Hello, L.A.": "If Dick Gregory had been running toward the Negroes instead of toward the cops he would not of got shot. He was running in the wrong direction. It's a wonder them white cops did not shoot him before he got behind their police car."

Picketed Police

We are proud that at the height of the conflict members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, together with other radicals, picketed before the Central Police Station in Los Angeles with demands that the cops and troops be withdrawn from Watts and that Chief Parker, the arch-symbol of local white racism, be removed.

Now the many victims under arrest need to be defended and supported. They are guilty of nothing but seeking to obtain "a redress of their grievances" with the same methods as the Sons and Daughters of Liberty who won our independence from Great Britain.

The main task facing the black freedom-fighters is to create community organizations and a national leadership which can properly direct the immense revolutionary energies simmering within the ghettos. These need to be equipped with a program of mass struggle and independent political action aimed at establishing Negro control over their own communities and finding the necessary allies among the more radical whites to combat and abolish capitalism and racism. Such leaders, in the mold of a Malcolm X, are undoubtedly now being formed and tested among the more thoughtful and daring militants within the black ghetto. They will come forward to give American Negroes the kind of leadership required to build black power at all levels and win equality and emancipation.

Springfield Demonstrators Demand Curb on Racist Cops

By Gus Horowitz

SPRINGFIELD, Mass. — Over 1,000 demonstrators marched through this New England city on Aug. 22, chanting "police brutality must go," "racist cops must go," and "Jim Crow must go." Thousands of others lined the streets, as the demonstrators marched one and a half miles to Court Square, where a rally of 5,000 was held.

Demonstrators poured into Springfield from New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts in response to the call of Springfield's Council of Organizations for Civil Rights. They came in spite of the presence of 1,000 National Guardsmen who lined the streets, their bayonets fixed. They came in spite of the cops who blocked off all main roads leading into the heart of the city, and in spite of scare warnings by Mayor Ryan and Police Chief Lyons, and in spite of a 10-foot cross burned the night before.

The demonstration climaxed more than a month of protest which focused attention on police brutality here.

On July 17, at the Octagon lounge, the cops beat up and arrested 18 people, 17 of whom were black. Many in the black community think the incident was set up in advance by cops because the lounge was integrated.

The Council of Organizations for Civil Rights protested, de-

manding that known racist and brutal cops be reassigned, that name tags be worn by cops, and that a civilian review board be established.

After Mayor Ryan, who had posed as a liberal, reneged on his promise to reassign the club-happy cops, demonstrations began. Twenty-four people were beaten and arrested at a peaceful demonstration on August 13.

The next day, 600 people met to protest the renewed brutalities. Some 200 marched to Court Square, and were surrounded by cops. A number of the cops removed their badges so they couldn't be identified. Some demonstrators decided to stay there during the night.

Suddenly the cops launched a vicious attack. The Civil Rights council described it as follows:

Unexpected Assault

"At 2:00 a.m., Sunday morning — after many demonstrators had gone home and after all reporters had withdrawn — the 44 remaining people were set upon like dogs. They had been given no notification by the police that they were violating any law. They were clubbed, kicked, hit with fists, and packed like animals into two police vans.

"The most inhuman and barbaric act of the police concerns Betty Belton. Miss Belton is a physically handicapped woman. Police officers grabbed her and threw her cane away. She was then pulled, twisted and dragged and thrown into a police van. The van door was then slammed on her foot. She shrieked so hard that the whole Court Square area echoed with her voice. Miss Belton is now suffering shock in a hospital.

"At the police station, officers pushed each other for a chance to club and beat the prisoners as they were brutally taken from the vans. All along the way, before they were physically thrown behind gates, the 44 men and women were again exposed to clubbing and beating."

This outrage led to a call for a huge demonstration. Massachusetts Governor Volpe called a conference of civil rights leaders and city and state officials to try to head it off. But Mayor Ryan again reneged on the agreements that were reached and today's demonstration was held as a stirring rebuke to the racist city administration.

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'We Shall Overcome'?

When President Johnson likened the insurgents of the Watts district of Los Angeles to the Ku Klux Klan, he not only slandered the people of Watts but stood matters on their head.

The militant Los Angeles Negroes were fighting for the freedom and equality they have long been promised and denied. Their elemental uprising was aimed at getting that heavy white foot off their neck. The Ku Kluxers use terror to keep the Negroes down-trodden, to perpetuate the conditions the Negroes of Watts rose up against. The black masses are fully justified in their actions; the white-robed killers are not.

While he condemns the "violence" of the Negro freedom fighters, Johnson gave full sanction to the brutality of the trigger-happy police and National Guard who murdered over 30 Negroes in suppressing the uprising. This violence he calls "law and order," and he made it clear that "law and order" will be maintained at whatever cost to the Negroes.

Johnson equated the Klan and the masses of Watts not only to justify the police suppression. He also was telling the racist whites of this country that those "we-shall-overcome" speeches are strictly sucker bait and that he does not intend to grant freedom, justice and equality to the Negro people. He intends to oppose them — to keep them in their "place," and to use whatever official violence is necessary to do so.

To win freedom, the Negro people must oppose Johnson and every other political representative of this racist capitalist system. That means building a movement to develop independent black political power in this country.

Canadian Labor Youth Parley Marked by Spirit of Militancy

By John Wilson

TORONTO — The July 10-11 federal convention of the New Democratic Youth, youth movement of the New Democratic Party, laid the basis for its growth into an effective national youth movement. The New Democratic Party is Canada's labor party.

The pronounced radicalism of this convention reflected the process of radicalization that is taking place in Canadian universities and high schools around such issues as the U.S. Negro struggle, the war in Vietnam, and the rights and needs of students in the educational structure and in society. The convention also witnessed the most effective bid for power to date of the NDY's socialist left wing.

The left's increased strength was obvious in the rank-and-file resolutions sent to the convention, which were anticapitalist and socialist in their great majority.

For the first time, the left was organized on a federal basis and might well have taken the majority of the leadership positions if not for the flagrant manipulation of delegates' credentials by the outgoing executive. Bill Lennihan, left caucus candidate for presi-

dent, was defeated by only two votes on the first ballot, polling 41, to 43 for the right wing's candidate. The left won four positions on the federal executive to five for the right wing.

The "Federal Convention Call," issued by the left caucus a month before the convention, called for the adoption of a socialist program and the election of a socialist leadership. Its programmatic demands included Canada's immediate withdrawal from all military alliances, opposition to entry into the Organization of American states, withdrawal of Canadian troops from all foreign countries, and withdrawal of all foreign bases and troops from Canada.

Liberation Struggle

It called for the "fullest economic and moral support to the world's newly free countries" and support for liberation movements in the colonial world; the recognition of French Canada (Québec) as a nation with the right of self-determination; and the reorganization of the educational system "so that students and faculty are fully represented on all governing bodies." Since being a student is a full-time occupation, it demanded that "students be paid an adequate living wage."

Furthermore, it called for immediate nationalization of key sectors of the economy under the control of the workers themselves to lay the foundation for a socialist society.

Despite strong support for this program among delegates, the only issues to hit the floor were Québec, international affairs and high schools. At the insistence of the Québec delegation, a policy statement recognizing Québec's right of national self-determination was adopted.

In the debates, the delegates, representing a broad cross-section

of university students, high schoolers and young workers, expressed strong support to the colonial revolution, opposition to U.S. foreign policy (particularly in Vietnam), and the strike struggles of the trade union movement.

Militant high school students presented the need and opportunity for the NDY to become solidly committed to the fight for the right to form political clubs in the high schools and for an equal voice for students in the school administration.

NDY Autonomy

The convention passed a constitutional amendment calling for the autonomy of the youth movement in relation to the New Democratic Party.

Despite their opposition to public ownership of the main sectors of the economy, to say the least, the right-wing delegates felt pressured to protest that they too were "socialists." A shift to the left on the part of a large section of the right wing was evident in the areas of foreign policy (especially with respect to the colonial revolution), youth autonomy, and concrete support for the trade union movement.

Largest Youth Group

At the time of its convention, while the NDY was still small relative to its potential as the youth movement of Canada's labor party, it numbered 2,000 members, the largest youth group in the country by far. This is not an inconsiderable achievement in view of the politically sterile and organizationally incompetent leadership in control of the organization for the past two years.

The election of a federal executive which, in general, is far more serious and far more political than its predecessors also augurs well for the future growth of the New Democratic Youth.

A Key Speech by Castro

By Dick Roberts

Fidel Castro's July 26 speech, commemorating the 12th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks, is a major statement of the key problems and significant new measures being considered for the socialist construction of Cuba.

Castro deals primarily with the problems of bureaucratization of the administrative apparatus and he proposes important steps for the decentralization of certain economic institutions. The speech also relates Cuba's internal development to the international struggle against imperialism. It is an inspiring reaffirmation of revolutionary internationalism.

Stressing unconditional support for the Vietnamese liberation struggle and the struggle of oppressed people throughout the world, Castro acknowledges that in an immediate sense such a position endangers Cuba herself. The United States may well strike at Cuba if a revolution develops elsewhere in Latin America, Castro suggests. But Cuba does not hesitate to extend its moral and political support to the spread of revolution in this hemisphere.

As in other recent addresses, Castro emphasizes Cuba's political and ideological independence, stressing that Cuba must build upon her own experiences and not blindly copy from other countries.

Discussing the changes of government administration which the United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS) is proposing to the people, Castro points to the importance of separating the role of the party from that of the administration of the state: "We are not seeking to have the party administer," he stated, "No, on the



Fidel Castro

contrary, the functions of the party are those of leadership in every field, of encouragement in every field, of continued work with the masses."

It is through the party, he stresses, that the problem of bureaucracy in the administration — which he characterizes as a petty bourgeois tendency — can best be solved. In a bold assertion of the value of revolutionary experience over that of bourgeois technical training, the Cuban premier stated, "When we can have a combination of a technician and a revolutionary, that is better. But when there is no revolutionary technician to take charge of that post, then we must have a revolutionary cadre even if he is not a technician."

Wishes of People

The party's job is to express the wishes of the people at the grass-roots level and to ensure that the administration carries these wishes out:

"The party has the right and obligation," Fidel continued, "whenever it finds a man who does not have these virtues and these characteristics to inform the superior administrative body and request the replacement of that official."

"The mission of our party is not that of appointing officials, of favoring anyone, of promoting friends. No. The administration should make appointments and promotions from its best cadres, asking the party's advice when it so desires."

"But it is the job of the party to express disagreement, to protest, to supervise and take the necessary steps so that the locality, whether a region or a province, does not suffer the consequences of an inefficient functionary, of a nonrevolutionary functionary."

Decentralization

In this spirit, the Cuban leader proposed a decentralization of state functions to municipalities — not to allow petty-bourgeois bureaucrats on the local level to have greater autonomy, but to enable the masses to intervene and control the government directly where they are most closely involved.

Municipal administration would cover local services such as groceries and laundries, the upkeep of the town, its schools and parks. "An infinity of things interest the locality," Castro said. "A school may be falling down, and with limited resources, a few bags of cement, and a little good will and effort, the school can be repaired."

"To wait for central bodies to solve these problems is to condemn the locality to inertia, to inactivity. It is to waste the possibilities of the people taking many initiatives, even to condemn the party to inaction." The provincial, regional and municipal administrators would be appointed by the ranks of the party.

Local administrators would have to report to the people in their areas every six months, Fidel suggested, "so that everyone may propose or suggest what he con-

siders appropriate, may complain about what he believes is not functioning well. In this way each administrator will know that in his locality he has to give an account to the population, to those workers he represents."

Discussing the question of adopting a constitution, he emphasized that "when we draw up our socialist constitution we don't want it to be a formal constitution but one in which form and content are united, that corresponds to the reality and is the juridical expression of revolutionary thought."

This question, he stated, will be treated further at a forthcoming party congress, but in the development of institutions of the state and the economy, Castro stressed, "we must seek our revolutionary institutions, our new institutions, starting from our conditions, our peculiarities, our customs, our character, our spirit, our thinking, our creative imagination..."

Creative Spirit

We are saying that to copy is a bad habit, that to copy weakens the creative spirit and the intelligence of the people... We need to say, even once more, that we must be a people who develop to the maximum our capacity to think."

To underline the evolutionary process of institutionalizing the revolution, Fidel ended by pointing out that the Marxist character of the revolution itself had not been an accomplished fact before the revolution began, but evolved as a product of the direct experience of struggle.

"On July 26th 1953, what were we?" Fidel asked, "We could not then call ourselves conscious Marxist-Leninists. But the group of young people who organized the July 26th Movement were studying Marx and Lenin, and among the books that were taken from us at the time of the attack on the Moncada barracks were works of Marti and works of Lenin."

"Could we call ourselves Marxist-Leninists? No. We had much to learn, we had much to understand. And if we were capable of understanding some of the essential principles of Marxism, the reality of a society divided into exploited and exploiters, if we had been capable of understanding the role of the masses in history, we still had not raised our revolutionary consciousness and culture enough to understand in all its depth and magnitude, the phenomenon of imperialism..."

"We read about the phenomenon of imperialism in books, but we did not understand it from books. We learned about it, and understood it, in our own flesh. We learned about it in the blood shed by the workers, in the crimes committed by imperialism, we have learned about it in the history of the revolutionary process. We learn about it every day in the conduct of the imperialists all over the world..."

Marxism in Life

"We have learned Marxism in books, but above all, we have learned it in life. And that is why we are more socialist every day, that is why we are more Marxist every day. And we will struggle with more fervor every day for a world of good men, of generous men, for a people that will be like a great family, in which each man and each woman has not one brother, but millions of brothers and sisters..."

"We are not like the capitalists who believe that man is selfish and brutal like a wolf. We believe in man, in the sentiments of man, in the good will that can be enclosed in a human heart, and we believe that these feelings can grow indefinitely, without limit. Therefore we can call ourselves fighters for communism, fighters for a better world. And we are sure that we will achieve it."

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REPORT FROM ATHENS

Greek Political Crisis Sharpens

[The following article was released by the Paris-based labor press service, *World Outlook*. In an accompanying note, *World Outlook* writes: "In this report from Athens, it is mentioned that Sotirios Petroulas was expelled from the United Democratic Left (EDA) for 'Trotskyism' just two months before he was killed by the police. Sotirios Petroulas was the student whose funeral was held in Athens on July 23."]

[*World Outlook* further reports that a leader of the Greek section of the Fourth International writes that Sotirios belonged to a group of students expelled from the EDA for Trotskyism, and with whom the Greek section is collaborating.]

By George Sinos

ATHENS — The most outstanding feature of the current political crisis in Greece has been the spontaneous action of the masses. For the first time in twenty years, the traditional left-wing leadership of the EDA [United Democratic Left] and the Greek Communist party does not have full control over the masses.

The principal reasons for this are: (1) A young generation is entering the political scene free from the sins and burdens of Stalinism. (2) The broad masses lost faith in the EDA and CP leadership. (3) Many militants, formerly with these movements, left them, leading to a series of splits in the EDA. (4) The leadership of the EDA is dominated by veteran bureaucrats concerned mainly about their posts and salaries. (5) These officials adapt themselves completely to Papan-dreou's bourgeois policies. (6) There are a number of militant tendencies active in the mass movement, including the powerful youth movement of the Center Union, and farther to the left, the Trotskyists and the pro-Chinese Communists.

This situation has opened favorable opportunities for the revolutionary Marxists. Tens of thousands of militants, especially the youth, have taken up the slogans advanced by the revolutionary Marxists. This has led to a good deal of fright among the bureaucratic leaders.

On July 17 at the huge mass meeting in the Panathinaikos stadium, where 80,000 people turned out, the slogan in favor of a referendum, a slogan directed against the monarchy, was launched by the revolutionary Marxists.

Dominican Freedom Fighter Deported from United States

NEW YORK, Aug. 27 — Marcelo Bermudez, a Dominican who has spoken out against the Imbert junta and in favor of the Constitutionalist government, is being deported from the United States by the U.S. Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Bermudez was arrested and imprisoned Aug. 16, given a hearing on Aug. 23, and deported immediately after to Venezuela, where he was denied admittance. He was then sent to Puerto Rico, which he was ordered to leave within 30 days.

The Immigration Service charged Bermudez with participating in demonstrations protesting U.S. intervention, and with speaking at various meetings where he "denounced United States policy in the Dominican Republic, uttering such expressions as 'Yankee Imperialism.'" He was charged with being a member of the 14th of June Movement and collecting funds for that organization.



ATHENS, 1947. Workers demonstrated outside Acropolis Hotel where United Nations Inquiry Commission stayed, during Greek civil war. Among the banners was one which read: "British Troops Must Leave Greece." While the Commission held hearings, the Greek government executed its political opponents. Current demonstrations are renewal of those struggles.

The bureaucrats tried to oppose this but failed to gain support. They then tried to dissolve the huge meeting, "prohibiting" a demonstration from being held. The masses paid no attention. The mammoth demonstration adopted the slogan favoring a referendum.

Two days later a crowd of about 1,000,000 turned out to hear Papan-dreou. Demonstrating and picketing went on for hours. The EDA leaders tried to halt all this, but without success.

On July 21 when the students turned out, clashes occurred with the police. It was in this demonstration that our young comrade Sotirios Petroulas was killed.

The EDA leadership found itself in an embarrassing position. Only two months before this it had expelled Sotirios and a group of youths from the EDA on grounds that they were "Trotskyists."

The EDA bureaucrats had no choice but to participate in the funeral ceremony at which 300,000 people turned out.

The slogans continued to escalate. Besides the slogan for a referendum, spread at the funeral,

the slogan was launched for fraternization with the soldiers. The cry, "King, here is your victim!" was heard. For the first time since 1945 the strains of the workers' mourning song were heard.

On the eve of the July 27 general strike, Nefelondis, a leader of the EDA, an old Stalinist who is a deputy, made a deal with Police Chief Archondoulakis to peacefully end the strike meeting. But after the meeting ended, thousands of workers and students staged a huge demonstration and marched through the main thoroughfares of Athens to parliament, shouting slogans, mainly for a referendum.

All the older leaders and deputies of the EDA were in the streets trying to bring things to an end. But in vain.

Next day *Avgi*, the daily organ of the EDA, denounced "the Trotskyists" as being behind the "provocations" and shouting for a "red revolution."

The Press Howls

Throughout the crisis, the reactionary bourgeois press had been saying similar things, denouncing "Trotskyism" and "the Trotskyists" for their role.

The Stalinists continued their attacks against "the Trotskyists" until the reactionary press came out with praise for the EDA leadership and their papers "because they have at last understood that the Trotskyist Communists are provoking riots and disturbances as we long ago predicted."

The EDA publications stopped their open attack on "Trotskyism" and turned instead to "educational" discussions to alert the ranks to the "role of Trotskyism" in the crisis.

The struggle is continuing; but a compromise at the expense of the mass movement is being cooked up. There is a real possibility it can be put across because of the lack of a mass revolutionary party.

But in the magnificent struggles now going on, a new generation of militants is appearing who have already begun to fight independently, although in a confused way, for big objectives. This generation, free from the contaminating influence of Stalinism, has big possibilities. Many of them have become acquainted with Trotskyism during the recent hectic weeks. In Trotskyism they will find the program which they are seeking, the program of genuine Marxism and militant class struggle.

Trotskyist Leader in Bolivia Murdered by Military Junta

AUG. 20 (*World Outlook*) — We have just received the shocking news that César Lora, a well-known leader of the Bolivian Trotskyists, was murdered after being arrested by an army contingent on July 29. He was the brother of Guillermo Lora, editor of *Masas* and head of one of the two Trotskyist groupings in Bolivia that have recently been seeking to unite their forces.

When the military junta decided to move against the political opposition last May, ordering army occupation of the key centers and exiling prominent trade-union and political figures as part of a repressive action directed primarily against the working class, the miners responded with a general strike.

At Siglo XX, one of the biggest mines, where César Lora worked as a miner, a meeting of the Miners Federation was held as the troops approached. In face of the news about the shooting of workers, both Trotskyist groupings argued that the miners should defend themselves with armed action. The followers of Juan Lechín and the Communist party opposed this.

No Deal With Junta

César Lora called for the militants to leave at once and not to agree to any kind of deal with the repressive forces of the military junta.

By the time the armed forces entered the area, the Trotskyists of both groups at Siglo XX had gone underground. Since then the army has been trying to hunt them down. The government claims that they are fomenting guerrilla war.

On July 29 a contingent of troops commanded by one Captain Zacarias Plaza took César Lora prisoner at San Pedro de Buena Vista, a town in the northern part of the province of Potosí. Lora was tied up; a revolver was placed at his right eyebrow and fired, killing him instantly.

His body was then buried secretly, not even his executioners being informed of the place.

Numerous political and trade-union organizations denounced the government-sponsored political assassination. The miners at Siglo XX called a 24-hour work stoppage as a form of protest.

"The death of César Lora is a blow to Trotskyism," writes a member of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Bolivian section of the Fourth International). "He was a mature leader and a strong partisan of unifying the Trotskyist forces. He was an active, capable and brave man. I was with him in jail many times because of union or political activities and he always conducted himself firmly and courageously."

The murder of César Lora is not considered to be an isolated incident. One of the leaders of the construction workers, Adrian Arce, was recently slain in similar style. He was arrested at the Excelsior broadcasting station by a contingent of the Waldo Ballivián regiment. Without further ado, he was tied up and shot in the head.

The military junta has other working-class leaders on the list marked for death, particularly Trotskyists and those who think like them. "Nevertheless we will carry on our revolutionary work," declare the Bolivian Trotskyists. "But if we fall, others will take our posts. We are working to create an organization and cadres capable of continuing the struggle."

On August 4, the miners at Siglo XX called a demonstration and general meeting that began at 8:30 a.m. and lasted for three hours. The evening before they had sent trucks to San Pedro de Buena Vista to seek the body of César Lora and bring it to the meeting. However, the trucks were intercepted by the army.

The miners began with a "Si-

lent March" through the shops at Cancañiri, the Siglo XX offices and the Sink and Float plant. To prevent them from going to Catavi, armed troops were posted around the mining camp but the workers did not try to break through.

Carrying banners and pay receipts, which they waved, they shouted slogans against the military junta as they marched toward the Plaza del Minero. They exploded sticks of dynamite to emphasize their shouts.

At the Plaza del Minero they heard speakers who paid tribute to César Lora and his revolutionary-socialist ideas and who explained why the junta wanted him out of the way. They bitterly attacked the wage slashes put through by the junta, the massive layoffs, the absence of trade-union freedom, and the intervention of the Junta's Movimiento Popular Cristiano in the workers' problems.

They passed the following eight-point resolution: "(1) Immediate restoration of the former wage system and other economic benefits. (2) A normal amount of provisions to be carried by the stores. (3) Immediate return to work of all workers fired since the first of June. (4) That the government military junta grant full guarantees to the miners' trade-union movement and the workers in general. (5) That the persecution against the mine workers be halted. (6) The immediate return of exiled mine leaders and workers. (7) Immediate withdrawal of the armed forces from all the mining centers in the country. (8) That César Lora's remains be brought to Siglo XX and those responsible for his death be punished."

Algerian Militia To Be Disbanded

(*World Outlook*) — A spokesman of the Boumedienne regime announced August 12 that the Algerian government planned to disband the 30,000-man popular militia set up by Ben Bella in 1963 to help combat the counter-revolutionary uprising in the Kabylie.

Two days later it was announced that the militia had already been disbanded. They were being merged into the army, gendarmes and other military or paramilitary bodies, a spokesman of the regime said. He added that the militia only served to "duplicate" the army's role and were an "illustration of the confusion" that marked the Ben Bella government.

The truth is that the popular militia were never developed and extended as they should have been. In face of Boumedienne's resistance to organizing a militia in the example set by the Cuban Revolution, Ben Bella permitted the promising beginning he had made in this direction to be circumscribed and reduced to a caricature. Thus Ben Bella failed to create a possible counter to the base which Boumedienne was developing in the army for his own purposes.

Boumedienne is now following up his coup d'état by systematically reducing all possible centers of resistance to the course he has in mind. The militia, feeble as it was, thus became one of his targets.

Another sign of the rightist direction of the Boumedienne regime is its attitude toward the freedom movements throughout Africa which have representatives in Algeria. Ben Bella followed a policy of helping them. Boumedienne appears to be following a policy of cutting them off.

Thus news of their activities and of their views is appearing with less and less frequency in the Algerian press.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

KARL LIEBKNECHT

By Theodore Edwards

Karl Liebknecht was born in 1871 in the Germany of Prince Bismarck. When he was a boy of seven, the federal parliament passed the Socialist Law of 1878, proscribing socialist activity. Thousands were imprisoned and exiled. After a heroic 12-year struggle, the movement succeeded in bringing down this law and with it the Iron Chancellor Bismarck. Liebknecht was 19 at the time and a law student.

After 1890, the German Social Democratic party became the most important party of the Second International. It had one million dues-paying members, 91 daily papers, 110 members of parliament and it received 35 percent of the total vote.

The tumultuous growth of German capitalism prior to World War I permitted the German capitalists to grant better living standards to a minority of the working class. These improvements were won not without struggle, but the daily battle for small gains in the material situation of a relatively narrow layer of skilled workers had consequences of its own.

The socialist-led trade unions blossomed and the material acquisitions of the party organizations grew apace. A strong right wing inside the party began to give vent to the moods of class collaboration and of a peaceful, nonviolent evolution towards socialism.

Fought Right Wing

The right wing was defeated periodically at party conventions but its size and influence continued to grow. The centrist party leadership still paid lip-service to Marxism but, reflecting the organizational routinism of the large party staff, it gave way increasingly to purely parliamentary considerations.

Of all the German socialists, Karl Liebknecht, least of all, succumbed to the feeling that conditions would change only slowly and that the upward curve of capitalism would continue unabated. Moreover, he did not merely weigh theoretically the forces of imperialism at work that would soon plunge Europe into World War I. He became the leading exponent of mass action, of activity to stir and to prepare the working class to fight imperialism.

In 1907, Liebknecht published his pamphlet "Militarism and Antimilitarism," in which he agitated for the propagation of class struggle ideas in the armed forces and among the youth. The party leadership dissociated itself publicly from his views and removed him from leadership of the youth movement.

Liebknecht was sentenced to one-and-a-half years in prison for "high treason." But the workers of Berlin elected him the same year to the Prussian state legislature and in 1912 to the federal parliament as well as to the city council.

Then came the war and the betrayal of Aug. 4, 1914. The Social Democratic fraction in parliament voted for war credits and approved the Kaiser's war. Liebknecht had voted against this in the fraction meeting but during the actual balloting obeyed fraction discipline and voted yes.

Only a few days later, Liebknecht realized that August 4 was more than a sad episode; it was the collapse of the movement. He entered into an alliance with Rosa Luxemburg and a small group around her. They endeavored to gather together the left-wing forces and to make their opposition to the war known at home and abroad.

On Dec. 2, 1914, another vote on war credits was due in parliament. With all his might, Liebknecht tried to get the other dissenters to vote against the war.



Karl Liebknecht

When it came to the vote, he was the only man in the whole parliament to vote against. The bourgeois press howled "high treason."

Liebknecht had not been allowed to read his statement motivating his vote in parliament nor was it printed in the record or in the press. But news of his courageous stand spread through the country and abroad, the first signal of opposition to the war inside Germany, greeted with elation by Lenin in Switzerland.

In retaliation, Liebknecht was conscripted into the German army as a private and sent to the front, where he was wounded in October 1915. He received furloughs to attend sessions of parliament, however. Making of parliament a tribunal from which he denounced the war and the official party policy and leadership, he also wrote illegal pamphlets, such as "The Main Enemy Is At Home."

Through his wife, Liebknecht sent greetings to the Zimmerwald Conference in Switzerland (September - December 1915), containing the formulation: "Not civil peace but civil war!" Lenin liked this slogan so well he repeated it over and over in private.

Spartacus Group

On Jan. 1, 1916, the underground Spartacus group was founded in Liebknecht's law office. It adopted theses sent from Luxemburg's jail cell and for the remainder of the war published and circulated the illegal Spartacus letters. The same month, Liebknecht was expelled from the parliamentary fraction and from the party. In April, he was excluded from attending sessions of parliament and of the state legislature by action of those bodies.

On May 1, 1916, the Spartacus group organized May Day celebrations throughout Germany. Ten thousand workers attended in Berlin where Liebknecht was arrested as he shouted: "Down with the war! Down with the government!" He was sentenced to four years in prison, but his audacity had gauged correctly the war-weariness of the German workers. In Berlin, 55,000 munitions workers struck in protest against his imprisonment and tens of thousands more struck throughout the country.

Liebknecht spent the rest of the war in prison. From his cell, he hailed the Russian October Revolution of 1917, supporting it without reservations. With great anguish he followed the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations, writing to his co-thinkers from prison that "Germany is the key, the lever, the focal point of the world revolution... Only the German revolution can save the Russian revolution... Everything, everything depends on the German proletariat..."

On Oct. 23, 1918, Liebknecht was released from prison, amnestied by the government in fear of the approaching revolution. One of his first tasks was to go to the Russian legation from where Bu-

kharin cabled Lenin that Liebknecht was in complete solidarity with the Bolsheviks.

On November 3, the fleet mutinied and the uprising spread by leaps and bounds. By November 9, soldiers and workers councils formed in most major cities of Germany. The German revolution was on the order of the day.

But the Spartacists consisted of only relatively small groups that had been formed during the war under illegal conditions. Despite Liebknecht's immense popularity and his large personal following, the Spartacus group was no match for the machinations of the Social Democrats who entered into a coalition with the German General Staff to smash the revolution with counterrevolutionary mercenaries.

Luxemburg and Liebknecht founded the Communist Party of Germany on Jan. 1, 1919. But before the newly organized party could get on its feet, the Social Democrats goaded the Berlin workers into a showdown struggle with the soldiery assembled by the Social Democrat Noske. In a week of bloody fighting, the Berlin workers were decimated.

In the aftermath, both Luxemburg and Liebknecht were taken into custody and brutally murdered by the counterrevolutionary troops. This unspeakable crime beheaded the German revolution. It never recovered from this mortal blow. Without realizing it, the Social Democratic leaders Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske had opened the road that led ultimately to Hitler and to World War II.

Heroic Struggle

In a leaflet entitled "Against All Odds!" written only hours before his death, Liebknecht wrote his own epitaph: "Spartacus overwhelmed! Yes! The revolutionary workers of Berlin were beaten! Yes! Their best massacred by the hundreds! Yes! Many hundreds of the most faithful imprisoned! Yes! They were beaten..."

"And it was historic necessity that they were defeated. Because the time was not ripe. And yet — the battle was unavoidable... But there are defeats that are victories, and victories more ominous than defeats... 'Spartacus overwhelmed!' But Spartacus — that means fire and spirit, that means heart and soul, that means will and action of the revolution of the proletariat. And Spartacus — that means all the need and the search for happiness, all the fighting determination of the class-conscious proletariat. Because Spartacus — that means socialism and world revolution..."

"The waves of events are beating to the skies — we have become accustomed to being thrown from the summit to the depths. But our ship will steer proudly a straight course to its destination. And whether we are still alive, when it will be reached — our program shall live; it shall rule the world of emancipated humanity. Against all odds!..."

Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and Marxism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

[Below are the answers Robert Himmel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit, gave to questions put to the candidates by *Lower East Side Headlines*, a monthly paper published by Franklin Settlement House located in a Negro ghetto area on Detroit's East Side.]

What steps do you envisage to improve the economic situation in our low-income area?

What is needed is a program for more jobs, better pay, lower taxes, improved housing and schools, and increased city services. Some specific proposals would be: 1) A public works program to provide jobs and job training at union wages. 2) A 30-hour workweek at 40 hours pay to create additional jobs. 3) An end to all city taxes on incomes under \$7,500 a year. 4) Free nurseries for families who need them.

Because of racial discrimination, Negroes bear even more than their proportional share of poverty. It is also necessary, therefore, to wage an unrelenting struggle against all forms of inequality.

Lastly, I would call attention to the fact that the federal government spends more than \$60 billion every year for war. The city should demand that this war spending be stopped and the money used to provide for the needs of poor people in America.

If elected, what measures would you take to improve the police-Negro relationships in our community? Do you support a citizen police review board? Why?

Poor people, especially Negroes, who are constant victims of police brutality, have nothing but contempt for the police — and properly so. The police department must be controlled by the people in the community. For this reason I would favor a police review board, elected by the community and truly representative of its interests.

Also, I believe that policemen should be disarmed before more innocent people are killed by trigger-happy cops. The police don't carry guns in England. A recent article in one of the Detroit papers indicated that they resist all efforts to get them to carry them. If I'm not mistaken, Russian policemen don't use guns either. And Russia is supposed to be a "police state."

The Negro community needs to protect itself from the police, whatever "boards" are set up. In Seattle, Negro organizations have created special civilian "patrols" to follow the police and keep them under constant scrutiny. I think



Robert Himmel

this would be a good idea for Detroit.

Most important, though, is the city government itself. Any real solution requires that the Negro community, along with those whites who believe in democracy, take over the reins of government. Four years ago Mayor Cavanagh was elected to office by the votes of the Negro community. Ever since then, the same people who worked hardest to elect Cavanagh have had to picket time and time again against the brutality of Cavanagh's cops. This doesn't make sense.

Genuine independent political action by the working people, employed and unemployed, Negro and white, is the only way to get off the merry-go-round of picking one or another "lesser evil" or "liberal friend of the Negro people and labor" only to be sold out the day after the election.

Independent political action is best expressed this year in the campaign of Rev. Albert Cleage for Common Council and our campaign for mayor.

Do you favor a Fair Housing Ordinance? What steps would you take to eliminate discrimination in housing?

Of course a Fair Housing Ordinance should be passed. It should be noted that every incumbent councilman, with the exception of the liberal Ravitz, voted against such an ordinance. And Ravitz opposed a police review board.

But an ordinance must not only be passed — it must be enforced. Just as in the case of police brutality, poverty and all other problems facing us, only a city government directly responsible to the poor people and controlled by them, can provide the right kind of action.

Our neighborhood urban renewal projects have been criticized because of the relocation of the people from "slum" to "slum." What concrete steps would you take to solve this relocation problem?

As long as the urban renewal program throws poor people out of their homes to make way for luxury apartments for the wealthy, it deserves the name it is popularly called — Negro removal. This kind of program should be stopped!

What is needed is a good, low-cost housing program for the present residents of the center city. No evictions should be permitted until new housing is provided for those being relocated.

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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.]

From a Good Friend

Chicago, Ill.

For a newspaper your size, one finds more invaluable information about the Vietnam situation, the civil rights and student peace movements than in all our commercial papers combined. Please keep up the excellent work.

With the administration's refusal to face the facts of life in Vietnam and with more and more of our "objective" and "impartial" correspondents abdicating their responsibilities to their readers, we shall need a progressive press more than ever.

What a tragedy about Dorothy Johnson. The article was so warmly and understandingly written that I am sure everyone must have felt as if they had known her personally. It was a very fitting tribute to a most deserving worker.

Nellie De Schaaf

P.S. No receipt necessary for the enclosed contribution.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

A NEGRO VETERAN, who lost his left leg and right foot in Korea, was acquitted of the charge of drunk driving by a Los Angeles jury. The California *Eagle* reports that the veteran, John J. McCarthy Jr., charged that two officers kneed him in the groin, twisted his artificial leg under him and dragged him to the police car. The policemen accused him of being drunk because he "staggered" when he walked. — Sept. 5, 1955.

20 Years Ago

SOLDIERS PETITION CONGRESS TO HALT PACIFIC TRANSFERS — Soldiers from three army divisions last week protested against being sent to the Pacific, and their pressure forced Congressmen and Senators to intervene on their behalf.

The first protest was reported from the combat-hardened Ninety-Fifth Division, now at Camp Shelby, Miss. The White House Aug. 21 announced that it has received a telegram of protest signed by 580 members of this division.

Next came a protest from about 500 soldiers of the Eighteenth Airborne Division, now at Camp Campbell, Kentucky. A delegation of nine of these soldiers called on Congressman Gregory (Dem. Ky.) and asked him to file a protest.

Then the San Francisco *Chronicle* announced that veterans of the Eighty-Sixth (Blackhawk) Division, now on the West Coast, had asked the newspaper's columnist, Robert O'Brien, to telegraph various Congressmen, broadcast companies and newspapers a protest on behalf of 500 soldiers of the division.

Protests of some 3,000 men in the Twenty-Ninth Division, now in the European theatre, resulted in setting an earlier date for return of the division to the United States, the Aug. 23 Washington *Post* reported. — Sept. 1, 1945.

Labor-Negro Alliance?

Bronx, N.Y.

Recently the New York *Herald Tribune* had an article from Washington about a powerful political alliance which the writer said is being forged between organized labor and the Negro community.

This is misleading and totally unjustified. The Negro movement has serious doubts about white labor and it will take more than token concessions (which have been given since the days of the end of slavery) to eliminate this.

The writer said with great assurance that this alliance has been developing ever since John F. Kennedy entered the White House. The Negro masses know full well that nothing has ever come from the White House without their fighting for it, and whatever they have forced has been grudging and caused the White House much pain.

Right after the Civil War, Negro workers began to organize. By 1869 Negro labor organization had been so rapid, that they began to consolidate into statewide bodies. Conventions of Negro workers were held in states in the North and South, and delegates came from virtually every trade in which Negroes were employed. In December of 1869 about 300 delegates from every section of the country met in Washington in a convention that organized the National Colored Union. It was said that never before or never since did the South know such a period of progress and democratic attainment. The civil rights of the Negroes were secured, public school systems established, fair labor relations assured, the landless were given homesteads.

But the Negro people and their white allies made one big mistake. They gave their support to the Republican Party which betrayed them. We can learn from this that if any alliance is to be made, the Negro people must have a party of their own. They must choose from the white community and militant labor forces, the socialists and Marxists who have been the vanguard of every united front here.

The white working class must learn to accept the black masses whose liberation struggle has been carrying the fight for the liberation of the whole working class. But I wish to warn black labor that it must develop its own leadership to protect its rights, for the performance of the top leaders of the unions is like a heavily weighted ship floundering in high seas. If possible, it should be sent down and new leaders, from the rank-and-file should replace them.

Ruppert Hannibal

Post Office: Please Read

Detroit, Mich.

A friend and I recently arranged to keep tabs on when each of us got his subscription copy of *The Militant* delivered. Here is the record:

He got his July 12 issue on July 12; I got mine on July 16. His July 26 issue reached him July 26; mine came July 30. On Aug. 9 he had his Aug. 9 issue; I got mine on Aug. 12.

Now my friend does not live in New York or vicinity. He lives in Detroit, as I do. And he does not

live on the other side of Detroit. We both live in the same house.

His copy and mine are placed in the same mail bag in New York and arrive in the same bag in Detroit. What happens then?

George Breitman

Fan-Mail Dep't

Hollywood, Calif.

Enclosed is check for \$3 for a subscription renewal to your informative paper. I would not want to miss any issue.

E.L.

A Criticism

Long Island City, N.Y.

I wish to thank you for printing Fidel Castro's speech on the Algerian coup. Your newspaper is at its best when providing information otherwise unavailable.

I feel that your analysis of Peking's opportunism in the editorial in the July 26 issue was quite valid and correct.

But, speaking of opportunists, I was sorry to see the splash given the "police brutality issue" on the last page of that same edition. CORE and other such nonrevolutionary organizations must manufacture and search for issues such as "civilian review board" in order to exist. They have no answers to the big problems of most of the people of the world. They choose to exist within the capitalist framework.

They can't bite the hand that feeds them. Their issues have to get publicity and victories. However, these shallow victories mean very little since the issues don't question basic evils of capitalism. Revolutionary socialists have the important problems to concern ourselves with: lack of opportunity for our brothers as a result

of bias and bigotry by both business and the capitalist unions, accepted corruption throughout this profit-motivated way of life, and wretched housing because of greedy landlords, lack of maintenance, and the indifference of city officials.

As a humanist, I abhor anyone getting hurt, but instead of viciously attacking a particular policeman for doing his job and defending his own life when attacked, we should publicize the crooked cop who takes bribes, the one who lives like a leech off shopkeepers, the one who is paid by the hoodlums so that they can operate with impunity, stealing the money that should be buying food and clothing, and most of all the bourgeois politicians (Democrats, Liberals, Republicans, etc.) for promising so much to so many for so long and still not substantially solving any of the real problems of this city.

We don't need to use any of CORE's manufactured "issues." There are too many concrete and ever-present problems of this city that may be forgotten during the noise.

Socialism is the way of the future; the people shall make it so.

R.M.

[We sharply disagree with the notion that police brutality is a manufactured issue. The ghetto explosion in Los Angeles is the latest testimonial to the fact that for the black people the issue is a very real one. Socialism is, of course, the way of the future and the ultimate guarantee of the abolition of such barbaric practices as police brutality. Meanwhile, people are living with the problem and anything they do to alleviate it — including the de-

mand for civilian review boards, to establish some measure of control over the police — deserves the full support of all those concerned with social progress. Editor.]

Wants to Help

Rochester, N.Y.

As a Christian Catholic I am very concerned about the waging of unjust wars. The U.S. government is, in my opinion, in such an unjust conflict in Vietnam.

I agree wholeheartedly with Fred Halstead's article in *The Militant* of Aug. 9, 1965, entitled "Root Causes of the Vietnam War," in which he shows how capitalism will always have propensities toward war and the need for the elimination of national sovereignty for the establishment of a world society where national selfishness will have no longer any need for existence.

I think perhaps people fear that this would stifle cultural diversity and imaginative, creative impulses of individual thinkers. But am I not correct in believing that it would really nourish creativity since economic and political strife would be put in its proper place, thus leaving more advantage for pursuing real human values?

Would it be possible for you to suggest an organization in my area where I could learn more about international socialism and help contribute in some way to make known to the people around me here just what our government is hiding from their eyes.

I wish there were a way for me to help spread the truth about the objectives of capitalist governments. How does one overcome the apathy of working people to their bad situations at work? I would appreciate your reply.

G.G.K.

It Was Reported in the Press

No Police Brutality in L.A.? — An Aug. 23 news release from the American Civil Liberties Union reported: "A suit for damages totaling more than \$150,000 has been filed against the city and county of Los Angeles by a Negro lawyer, who charges police with illegal search and arrest and brutality. The brief, written by ACLU of Southern California lawyers, charges that the police refused to produce a warrant upon entry, extremely damaged the lawyer's home, took him to the Los Angeles central jail where he was mugged, fingerprinted, booked and imprisoned, and when he was later released, they informed him that no charges were filed against him."

Jumped the Gun? — U.S. military authorities in Saigon announced Aug. 20 that two Marines had been court martialed and found guilty of trying to steal a loaded jet bomber at Danang airbase last month for a raid on Hanoi. One was given three years at hard labor, the other a year.

The Upper Bracket — Sociologist John Cuber and his wife spent five years interviewing men and women in the \$20,000-a-year and up bracket. They found that about half of them practiced adultery but regard marriage as "the bedrock on which success and social position rest." The

Cubers concluded that the marriages of most "successful" Americans seem to be "cool, detached and almost loveless."

What Ever Gave Them That Idea? — Reporting that landlords take a dim view of a possible New York City move to install water meters in buildings, the *New York Times* says: "Some landlords have even feared reprisals by aggrieved tenants who might turn their faucets on and waste water to run the landlord's water bill up."

Thoughtful — Canadian utilities magnate Frank McMahon is the kind of a house guest we would enjoy having. He and his wife recently visited friends in Saratoga Springs (arriving in their private jet plane) and the first thing they did was to rent an extra room for Mr. McMahon at a local hotel. This was so he would have a place to make long-distance phone calls. "He doesn't like to tie up other people's phones," Mrs. McMahon explained.

Removed — The leader of a Socialist Youth vacation camp in West Germany was removed after complaints that the flags of Cuba and the South Vietnam Liberation Front were flown over the camp. The 23-year-old camp leader said the problems of these countries invited thought and discussion.

Note to Addicts — When we returned from vacation, a fellow staff member who is under the impression that we have been waging a campaign against the tobacco industry, handed us a clipping he had been saving for us since several months before we went away. Dated from South Africa last March 28, it reports that a two-year-old boy there is addicted to cigarette smoking. "We just can't stop him," his mother says. It all began when someone blew smoke in the young fellow's face and he picked up the cigarette and blew back. After that he would scrounge butts and beg for a light.

—Harry Ring

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Thought for the Week

"The Saigon government does not have a popular political base among the people; it has seldom had one. Saigon has not been responsive to their problems. The wealth of this country lies in its agricultural production, yet the people on the land and in the hamlets have benefited very little from their own production or from American aid. They regard their leaders in Saigon as merely the successors of the French colonial regime, with upper class urban Vietnamese replacing the French." — James Reston in the *New York Times*.

Detroit Socialist Urges Anti-War Protest Vote

[The following is the transcript of a radio talk by Robert Himmel, socialist candidate for Detroit mayor, broadcast on Detroit radio station WXYZ AM-FM on August 16, 1965. Himmel's name will appear on the ballot in the city's run-off primary on September 14.]

Good evening. This is Robert Himmel. Unlike the other candidates, I'm a socialist and I'm campaigning with the active support of the Socialist Workers Party.

We socialists believe that any question of immediate concern to the people of Detroit is an issue in the city election and should be discussed.

For that reason I want to talk with you tonight about a subject of prime importance — American involvement in the war in Vietnam. The course being followed by the federal government is supported by virtually every Democratic and Republican politician right down to the present Detroit city administration. If it is not stopped, it is a sure road to disaster and worldwide atomic war.

American soldiers are devastating another people's country and inflicting death and destruction on helpless women and children.

Hated Dictatorship

American money and weapons, paid for by the taxes of ordinary people like us, are being used to prop up a hated military dictatorship in South Vietnam, whose head of government says publicly that his personal hero is Adolph Hitler.

American boys are themselves losing their lives in a war against a guerrilla army they outnumber 10-1 but cannot defeat even after four years of armed struggle.

Let no one claim that we are defending democracy in Vietnam. Even the most reactionary congressmen in Washington admit that, if a free election were held today in South Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh would win hands down.

The war against the so-called Vietcong is a war against poverty-stricken peasants fighting for some land. It is a war against an entire people demanding the right to run their own country the way they see fit.

Nobody benefits from this war except the handful of rich and greedy rulers in Vietnam and in the United States.

Threatens Civilization

It is in their interest that President Johnson calls for more guns, more men and more money to escalate a hopeless and unjust war, and to threaten the very existence of human civilization.

We, who have no stake in this war, who have nothing to gain and everything to lose, must raise our voices and demand that this suicidal course be stopped.

Withdraw the American troops

DETROIT

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hear

Robert Himmel
candidate for mayor

Rev. Albert Cleage
candidate for council

8 p.m., Fri., Sept. 10
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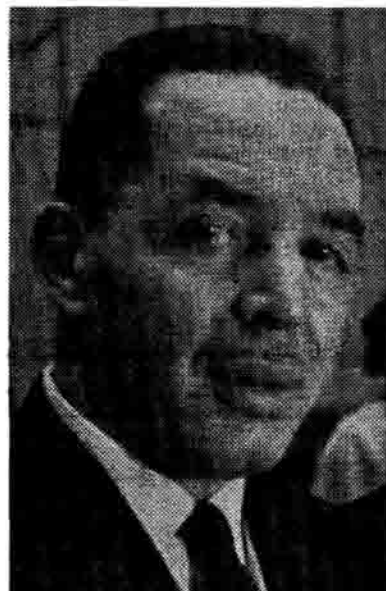
and bring them back home. Let the people of Vietnam work out their problems. We have plenty of our own here.

We ask you to vote for Robert Himmel for mayor because it is one way of protesting against the war in Vietnam.

But, however you vote, raise your voices against this crime before it is too late.

Join with the tens of thousands of students, with the Negro freedom fighters in the South, with the many thousands of ordinary people who are protesting the war. The protest movement must become so big, so loud that even the power-mad rulers in Washington will no longer be able to ignore it.

VOTE URGED FOR CLEAGE IN DETROIT



Rev. Albert B. Cleage

DETROIT, Aug. 31 — Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., militant Negro candidate for Common Council, will climax his very active campaign next week.

Cleage's campaign for independent Negro representation on the Council has been supported by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, both of whom endorse his struggle against the candidates of Detroit's power structure. He has urged his supporters to interrogate the other Negro candidates and to refuse to vote for any that would agree to appear on a slate with any of the white (Democratic) incumbents.

He has demanded that the Common Council act as a review board in all cases of police brutality and has promised to carry on an endless filibuster if a white majority should continue to sabotage attempts to curb the provocateurs in blue.

Cleage was one of the organizers of the mammoth 250,000-man March on Detroit in June 1963, a sponsor of the Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference in November of that year, and the gubernatorial candidate of the Michigan Freedom Now Party in 1964.

In Detroit
Vote on Sept. 14 for:
ROBERT HIMMEL
Socialist candidate for mayor
No. 70 on the ballot
REV. ALBERT CLEAGE
Militant Negro candidate
for council
No. 104 on the ballot

Rights Leader Assails Johnson For Permitting Racist Killings

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has bitterly assailed President Johnson for failure to act against racist killers in the South. The declaration by the militant rights group came on the heels of a new outbreak of violence and death against Southern Negroes and white civil rights workers.

On Aug. 20 John Lewis, chairman of SNCC, issued the following statement on the murders of freedom fighters in Alabama and Mississippi:

"Fred Lee Thomas is dead in Mississippi. John Daniels is dead in Alabama. The ink was barely dry on the latest civil rights law, when these two were added to the lengthening list of murders committed by Southern racists. Of what use is it to guarantee a man the right to vote, when there is no guarantee that he will not be murdered before he can get to the courthouse?"

"These last two murders only emphasized the question that is daily growing in the minds of Negroes all over America. What is the use of a government which does not govern? Harsh as it may seem, this is the basic question. Do we have a government which guarantees the inviolability of human life or do we not? From the point of view of the Southern Negro, the answer, on the facts, must be — no. For there have occurred at least 11 racial murders in the past three years in Alabama alone, and countless murders in Mississippi. And there are 11 murderers going free today because of police who won't arrest them, prosecutors who won't prosecute them, courts and juries who won't convict them.

Who Terrorizes?

"President Johnson has spoken often and eloquently of his concern for the rights of Negroes. However, words, no matter how eloquent or often spoken, will not deter the murderous racists of the South. President Johnson took occasion only a few days ago to remind American Negroes that 'terror and violence' would not bring them freedom. But American Negroes know only too well that terror and violence are the means by which they have been kept the subjects of the whites of the South.

"If President Johnson believes, as he said in his statement to Los Angeles, in 'the essential right of every citizen to be secure in . . . the streets of his town,' he must see to it that the legal machinery of the U.S. government finds the killers of Fred Lee Thomas and John Daniels, arrests them, charges them, tries them, convicts them, and punishes them.

"Law and Order"

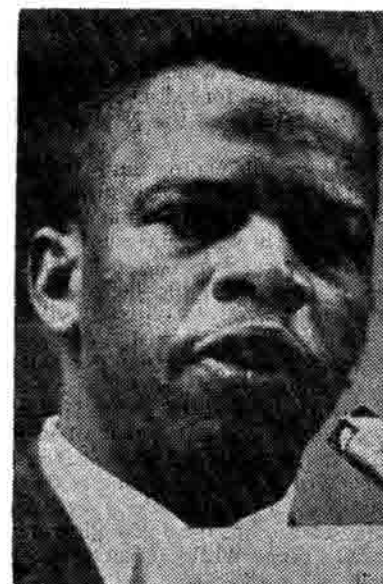
"If we are to have law and order, we are blessed.

"If we are not to have law and order, then so be it."

The Selma office of SNCC issued a statement on the same topic on Aug. 21 which reads in part as follows:

"Reverend Daniels, the Mississippi trio — Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner — Jimmy Lee Jackson, Rev. Reeb, Mrs. Liuzzo, Louis Allen, Medgar Evers, Emmett Till and Charlie Parker will continue to appear in the annals of our history as long as the federal government is willing to wet nurse the cancer of lawlessness . . .

"The root of the cancer lies in a president who will placate the nation with the voting rights bill and at the same time leave as executors of that bill those very men who made an institution of those inequities which the bill proposed to eliminate; a president and congress which attempt to isolate and destroy that group which most



John Lewis

militantly seek to make a reality out of the intent of the bill. That group is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party . . .

"The pattern of racial murder in the South in the past years leaves little question that the wheel of justice has stopped. Congress must make all murders a federal offense so that such cases may be removed to the federal court when it is clear that local and state courts practice racial discrimination. Lives of all citizens are as important as that of the president of the U.S. We demand the nullification of all the elections of 1964 and 1965 in the Black Belt counties of the South. We demand that the federal government, through the use of federal registrars and, when necessary, federal troops, supervise free elections for all political offices in the Black Belt counties."

Racist attacks in the South have increased in recent weeks during the stepped-up voter registration drive. Some of these were:

Jonathan Daniels, 27-year-old seminarian, was shot and killed, and 26-year-old Father Richard Morrisroe was critically wounded by Tom Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff in Hayneville, Ala., on Aug. 20. Both victims were white civil rights workers. The four witnesses to the murder have gone into hiding because they fear for their lives.

Disabled Veteran

Joseph Daniel Williams, a 50-year-old Negro disabled veteran who has a steel plate in his head and is a victim of epilepsy, was beaten nearly to death by local police officials in Eufaula, Ala., on Aug. 18. He was beaten over the head repeatedly with night sticks.

Fred Lee Thomas of Greenwood, Miss., 16 years old, was thrown from a speeding car by white racists on a road outside Greenwood on Aug. 19. The racists then backed the car over the young Negro to make sure they had killed him.

On Aug. 23 Rev. Donald A. Thompson, a Unitarian minister who was known for his efforts for integration in Jackson, Miss., was critically wounded in the back by a 12-gauge shotgun blast. The head of the Jackson FBI office said his men were "trying to determine whether the shooting involved a violation of federal law."

In Baton Rouge, La., an explosion ripped a hole in the roof of a crowded Negro nightclub on Aug. 25. Two hotels housing civil rights workers were bombed on Aug. 12. Though the buildings were damaged, no one was injured by the bombings.

Freedom Patrols in Seattle Trail Cops in Ghetto Area

By Robert Vernon

One of the most effective responses by a Negro community to the lawless behavior of the policemen occupying their neighborhood has occurred in the city of Seattle. Under the leadership of the locally organized Central Area Committee on Civil Rights, a "Freedom Patrol" has been walking the beats in the Seattle ghetto, keeping a watchful eye on the cops.

Seattle Negroes had their last straw on June 20, when off-duty cops Larsen and Jannell shot an unarmed Negro, Robert Reese, to death in a brawl which followed the yelling of "Nigger" and other choice racist epithets by the reportedly intoxicated peace officers. Larsen, who fired the fatal shot, was cleared by an inquest jury. The peace officers had been wearing sports shirts with guns tucked underneath, and were themselves each loaded with at least five drinks.

Record Incidents

"Freedom patrols" shadow the cops from 8 p.m. to 2 a.m. each night, do not interfere with police activities, but make a record of all incidents and of the behavior of the cops. The CACCR is aiming at a force of 200 or more volunteer patrolmen "so that no person will have to be on duty more than two nights per month," according to Rev. John Adams, a Seattle civil rights leader. "If the city does not establish a civilian review board, we'll do it ourselves," Rev. Adams stated.



Like Watts, Calif., Seattle has been said to be a haven in the North for black people, a community where if Negroes did have to live confined in a ghetto, at least it was a pleasant, tree-lined ghetto, with all the attributes of the "good neighborhood." The way black people in Seattle are handling their police problem, a commendable tactic worthy of emulation in other communities throughout the nation, shows otherwise.

Proof of the effectiveness of the "Freedom Patrol" is evident in the displeasure of Seattle's police chief Ramon, who threatens that "the good, sympathetic people are enraged at the idea of the Freedom Patrols," and admonishes that such tactics are "a retrogression of the Negro movement."