

# THE MILITANT

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## Halstead, Sheppard interview Palestine commando fighters

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# Huey Newton must be freed!

## Boutelle urges support to Newton

*The following statement was issued by Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, in response to the unjust conviction in Oakland, Calif., Sept. 8 of Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton on a charge of "voluntary manslaughter."*

The conviction of Black Panther Party minister of defense Huey P. Newton in Oakland, Calif., was a racist decision by a racist court.

Huey P. Newton has been brutalized, wounded and now falsely convicted of manslaughter for one reason and one reason alone—because he is a leader of the Black Panther Party and a revolutionary fighter for black liberation. The authorities wanted to get Newton, and by getting him, hurt the movement he represents.

Their attempt must be turned around. The entire movement for human rights—black and white—must now develop a powerful campaign to win freedom for Huey P. Newton. Thousands of people should be enlisted in a massive national and international defense effort.

Along with the growth of the black liberation movement, there has developed, on the other side, the forces of organized racism as typified by such movements as that of George Wallace. These white supremacists must be fought on an uncompromising, militant basis. A giant campaign on behalf of Huey Newton can be a powerful lever in advancing the struggle.

And it can make it possible to free an innocent man.

## Panther H.Q. is shot up by Oakland cops

By Paul McKnight

OAKLAND—Only two days after the city of Oakland succeeded in securing a "voluntary manslaughter" conviction in its attempts to frame Black Panther Party minister of defense Huey P. Newton on a phony murder charge, two Oakland cops shot up the national headquarters of the Black Panther Party here.

About 12 bullets were fired through the large front window of the Panther headquarters. Many of the shots were aimed at a large poster picture of Huey Newton that hung in the center of the window. An eyewitness to the action said that the shots were fired from a police car in the street in front of the headquarters.

Oakland police chief Charles Gain, acting under heavy pressure, fired officers Richard Williams and Robert Farrell for their part in the attack, which occurred at 1:30 a.m. on Tuesday, Sept. 10.

According to Gain, both of the cops had been drinking. Other Oakland policemen have expressed the opinion to the press that the attack occurred because of "frustration" in the Oakland police force due to the verdict in the Newton trial.

The jury in the frame-up trial ruled that Newton was guilty of voluntary manslaughter in the death of John Frey, an Oakland cop. The jury declared him innocent of the charge of having wounded Officer Herbert Heanes in the same incident.

Voluntary manslaughter was the least serious of the three possible guilty verdicts that the jury had been instructed to consider. The other two possible guilty verdicts were first-degree murder and second-degree murder. The prosecuting attorney had requested the verdict of first-degree murder.

The verdict was announced about 10:30 Sunday evening. The following day Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, held a press conference in San Francisco.

Boutelle demanded the immediate release of Huey Newton. He called for the formation of a broad, international defense committee to work for this goal. He declared that the police, not Huey Newton, should be placed on trial:

"The police are guilty of shooting three Panthers in Los Angeles; they murdered Bobby Hutton in Oakland; and they viciously attacked a group of Panthers inside a court building in New York. The racist cops are the ones who should be tried, not Huey Newton."

Boutelle had visited Huey Newton in the Alameda County jail while the jury was in session.

There was an almost uniform reaction to the verdict of the jury in the black community of Oakland, according to a survey made by the *San Francisco Examiner* the day after the verdict came down. The great majority of black people interviewed by the *Examiner* expressed the feeling that Huey Newton got a raw deal.

Berkeley student activists were quick to react to the verdict. At 5 p.m. Monday a press conference was held in the Berkeley headquarters of the Young Socialist Alliance. Black Panther chairman Bobby Seale, Berkeley student leader Peter Ca-



Huey P. Newton

mejo and others called for an action to protest the frame-up.

A picket line has been set for Thursday, Sept. 12, at the Alameda County courthouse. This is the day the judge, Monroe Friedman, will take motions from the defense attorney, Charles Garry, for a new trial. He will also rule on whether

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## Brass up tight about S.F. GI peace march

SAN FRANCISCO—On Oct. 12, GIs here will lead their biggest demonstration yet against the Vietnam war despite moves by top military brass to stop the action. The GIs, followed by reservists, veterans and supporters, will march along the same route used by the April 27 antiwar march this year.

A rally in the Civic Center with GI speakers will be held after the march. GIs are working with veterans and peace organizations in building the march. A broad base of support is being built. Endorsements and financial support have been obtained from labor unions and churchmen.

Lieutenant Hugh F. Smith and Airman First Class Michael R. Locks of Hamilton Air Force Base are among the GI leaders building the demonstration. Both worked on the GI contingent for the April 27 march and on the Aug. 10 GI teach-in in Berkeley.

That the military brass is concerned about the Oct. 12 march was revealed by a leaflet being distributed to servicemen in the Bay Area. The leaflet reproduces the text of an unclassified message received at the Air Force communications center in the Pentagon Aug. 28.

The message is headed "Personal for General McConnell from General Estes." Gen. McConnell is chief of staff of the Air Force; Estes is chief of the Military Airlift Command.

The message says, in part, "Strongly believe this demonstration should be quashed if possible because of possible severe impact on military discipline throughout the services."

Estes points out in the message that there is now no Air Force regulation against men demonstrating against the war while in uniform. The only pertinent regulation, AFR[Air Force regulation]35-78, bans wearing a uniform during civil rights demonstrations only.

Estes, in the message, "reluctantly" recommended that Smith be honorably discharged, but on Sept. 9, Smith was instead ordered to a new duty station on Taiwan and is, of course, to report prior to Oct. 12. Smith, however, has said that the march

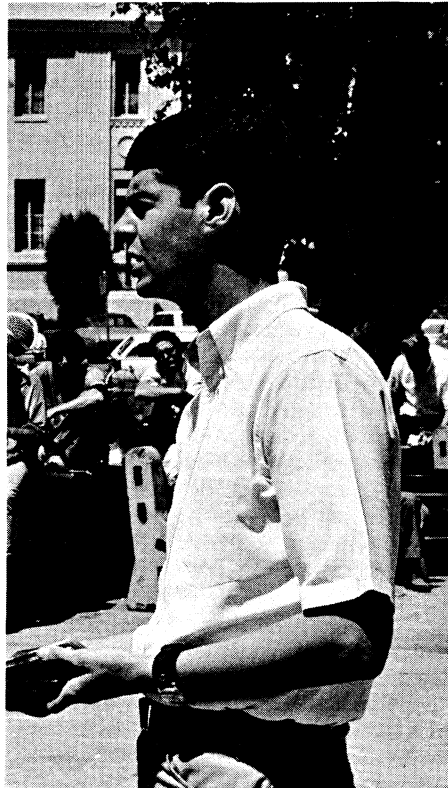
will not be stopped even if he and Locks are shipped out or confined. "Others will step in to take our places as soon as we leave," he said.

Lawyers in the Bay Area have volunteered their services to help Smith fight what they consider an illegal move by the Air Force in shipping Smith out.

Smith and Locks see mass action as the best way of expressing opposition to the war and say that broad support already obtained indicates a new stage for the antiwar movement. "We see a new and broad link-up of GIs and civilians, something which has not happened before, coming out of this march," Locks said.

The two servicemen have also been active in forming the GI Association, or GIA (the

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Airman First Class Michael R. Locks

## 22,500 petitions filed by N.Y. SWP for ballot place

ALBANY, N.Y.—The Socialist Workers Party filed 22,500 signatures of registered voters on independent nominating petitions here Sept. 9 to put its presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, on the ballot in New York.

The petitions were filed by Judy White, SWP candidate for Congress from New York's 17th congressional district.

The signatures were collected by Halstead and Boutelle supporters from all over the state and were carefully checked by legal advisers.

New York laws require that 50 signatures of registered voters be obtained in each of 62 counties. With record-breaking speed 18 teams of petitioners finished the petitioning in all the upstate counties in four days. The remaining signatures were collected in New York City on two Saturday mobilizations. Only 12,000 signatures are legally required.

The Socialist Workers Party has filed in 15 states, and has already been officially certified on the ballot in 12. By the end of September it will have filed in 21 states.

In addition to the Socialist Workers Party, petitions were filed for George Wallace, Socialist Labor Party, Peace and Freedom Party, Freedom and Peace Party, and the pro-McCarthy Coalition for Independent Candidates. A period of nine days is permitted for documented challenges to be made against the petitions before the candidates are officially certified for the ballot.

# THE MILITANT

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## Letter of thanks from Alain Krivine

*The following letter was sent to The Militant Aug. 26 by Alain Krivine, the French revolutionary student leader, a few days after he and eight other former members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) were provisionally released from prison. They face up to two years in jail if tried and convicted on the charge of "reconstituting" the JCR. The JCR was outlawed by de Gaulle for its role in leading student demonstrations this spring.*

As we leave prison, in the name of all my comrades, I must send you our fraternal thanks for the magnificent solidarity campaign you organized for our release. We knew of your campaign in prison and it was a great support for us.

Our provisional release was the result of this international campaign and the manifold actions carried out in France. All the student left organizations in our country, with the exception of the UEC [Union des Etudiants Communistes—Union of Communist Students—the Communist Party youth organization] put the authorities on notice that there would be no resumption of classes unless the repression was halted. Our release is an initial victory, but the repression continues. Hundreds of foreign nationals have been expelled from France, thousands of workers have lost their jobs, and the revolutionary organizations remain banned. It is still possible that we will be brought to trial.

In any case, after the May days an irreversible situation has been produced in France. A strong revolutionary vanguard exists in this country and our task in the coming months will be to create a powerful Marxist-Leninist organization here. The bourgeoisie and the Stalinists are aghast to see the resurgence of the specter of Trotskyism which they thought they had liquidated forever. Their troubles are only beginning. The situation has opened up throughout Europe and a revolutionary vanguard is developing.

We know the difficult and courageous fight you are waging in the USA and you have our full solidarity. In particular, we wish you great success in your election campaign for Halstead and Boutelle.



Alain Krivine

Our most fraternal revolutionary greetings,

A. Krivine

## Fed up with the police-club and tear-gas politics of Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace?

Help get out another million pieces of socialist campaign literature

\$10 will pay for 1,000 brochures or 2,000 stickers.

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873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

# Young socialists at student parley

## 'Must change system'

Minneapolis, Minn. The 21st annual congress of the National Student Association was held Aug. 17-26 at Kansas State University in Manhattan, Kan. Between 800 and 1,000 students, representing some 250 campuses were present, and there were 500 to 600 voting delegates.

Two members of the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle attended the congress. Over \$100 worth of literature was sold at the YSHB table, three NSAers became sponsors of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign, and 57 asked to be placed on the YSHB mailing list.

The NSA is generally viewed, especially since the CIA-funding disclosures, as conservative and government-service oriented. While in the main this may still be true, the pressures of national and worldwide events have created a mood for change within the ranks.

Nearly all delegates are officers of their schools' student governments, many of them student-body presidents and vice-presidents. In large part, they are anxious to institute reforms within the university. This rather narrow outlook for university reform was broadened somewhat at the congress by the oft-repeated statement, "You can't change the university without changing the system."

Even in the fraternity caucus, where frat men worried over the fraternities' continuing loss of membership, the statement was made, "We cannot change the fraternity without changing society."

There were five European students at the congress who had been active in the student movements in their home countries—one each from France, Germany, Italy, England and Czechoslovakia. All declared themselves revolutionary socialists fighting to destroy capitalism, and they all met with a good response from the NSAers.

The Halstead-Boutelle campaign was looked upon with interest and was taken seriously. A great many of the students present, probably a majority, had heard of our campaign, and many told of hearing the candidates and other SWP speakers on their campuses during CHOICE 68. We were not red-baited at any time, although we hung up all the posters we have and were the only socialists there.

The NSA is obviously in the throes of change, and that change is very definitely to the left because of the pressure that has been exerted on NSA and the desire of the leadership to keep NSA from losing its influence. N. S.

## Wants foreign news

Madison, Wis. I like your paper, although I wish you would broaden your international coverage, especially student revolutionary developments (as in Africa, Uruguay, etc.).

D. K.

## Election 'peace' in Vietnam?

West Nyack, N. Y. During the recent Democratic convention, Johnson, Humphrey & Co. and their minions, the police, flagrantly violated the constitutional rights of antiwar fighters and went out of their way to alienate the McCarthy faction, while forcing the nomination of Hubert Humphrey, who is so unpopular that many newsmen se-

riously speculated that LBJ, the mastermind behind the proceedings, didn't want the Democrats to win this year. And there was near-unanimous agreement that all that could save Hubert was a Vietnam peace.

Mix this together, and what have you got? Perhaps a Vietnam "settlement" proclaimed in Paris a few weeks before the U. S. elections! Results?

1. Humphrey gets elected, without
2. any obligation to the McCarthy forces, while
3. (they hope) destroying the antiwar movement.

Of course, it doesn't take much of a prophet to predict the aftermath of this "settlement": The U. S. reneging after the election on its end of the deal, while, of course, pursuing its imperialist policies in all other quarters of the globe.

The U. S. antiwar forces should be prepared for this eventuality. E. R. S., Jr.

## Hunger and houses in Sunflower, Miss.

Sunflower, Miss. Since there was some publicity about starving people in Mississippi last year, some of the big plantations here have begun building brick houses for some of the people on the plantations. Billups Plantation has three brick houses for black families, but there are 16 more families living in rundown shacks.

The white agent lives in a wooden house, but it is well insulated and comfortable. He doesn't have to pay rent for it, while he is well paid and gets a paid vacation; the black families pay rent for the brick houses they live in. [Senator James] Eastland has also built a few brick houses on his plantation for black families. (Eastland and Billups receive \$157,930 and \$101,040, respectively, for what they don't grow.)

When a group of children wish it, we hold Freedom School class-

# 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.

es for them where they come and learn about Negro history. We have a sewing cooperative for unemployed women, who come and sew patchwork jackets in the community center.

We are now raising the money to build a supermarket in the town of Sunflower. Sunflower needs a store that offers lower prices. When we first open we would give eight people part-time jobs and later we would give 16 people full-time jobs. The profits would be used to finance our work and new ways of improving the living conditions in Sunflower County.

We need your help now so that people of Mississippi can one day stand up on their feet like men and women. You can help by giving money to build the supermarket and build new programs to help the people. You can give us all kinds of gift stamps so that we may spend those instead of money for needed items.

Your ideas, comments and questions are always welcome.

Otis Brown, Jr., President  
Sunflower County Improvement Association  
(Contributions and correspondence may be sent to: Sunflower County Improvement Association, P.O. Box 398, Sunflower, Miss. 38778.)

## Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

**CALIFORNIA: Atascadero:** YSA, Bill Blau, P.O. Box 1061, Atascadero.

**Berkeley-Oakland:** Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

**Colusa:** YSA, John Montgomery, 1107 Jay St., Colusa 95932.

**Los Angeles:** SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

**San Diego:** San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2221, San Diego 92112.

**San Francisco:** Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S. F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

**Santa Rosa:** Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

**GEORGIA:** YSA, P.O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 873-1368

**ILLINOIS: Carbondale:** YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

**Champaign-Urbana:** YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

**Chicago:** SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

**INDIANA: Bloomington:** YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

**Evansville:** YSA, Ronald Hicks, c/o Lyles, 638 E. Missouri, Evansville.

**Indianapolis:** Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P.O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** YSA, Toby Rice, 2402 Calvert St., Baltimore.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Boston:** Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

**MICHIGAN: Detroit:** Eugene V. Debs Hall,

3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

**East Lansing:** YSA, Mike Maniscalco, 614 Michigan, Apt. 2. 351-0970.

**MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul:** SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

**MISSOURI: St. Louis:** Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

**NEW YORK: Albany:** YSA, Irving Sherman, 26 Willett St., Albany 12210.

**New York City:** Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

**OHIO: Cleveland:** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

**Kent:** YSA, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

**Yellow Springs:** Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

**OREGON: Portland:** c/o Tonie Porter, 5203 S.W. Pamona, Portland, 97219.

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

**TEXAS: Austin:** YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

**Houston:** YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

**UTAH: Salt Lake City:** Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

**WASHINGTON, D. C.:** YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

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

**WISCONSIN: Madison:** YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.



# The Panther-Peace & Freedom alliance

By Derrick Morrison

The alliance that the Black Panther Party has established with the Peace and Freedom Party poses a number of questions and problems for the black liberation movement. What is the nature of this alliance? Does it help or hinder the growth of the Black Panther Party as a vanguard formation?

Key to this question is how it relates to the building of a mass independent black party that can serve the people in the struggle for self-determination.

In the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed black nation, alliances and coalitions of varying types will be constructed along the way. Revolutionary black nationalist formations, such as SNCC, the Black Panther Party, and some black student organizations, seek to identify and align themselves with revolutionary movements and countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

When Stokely Carmichael, formerly of SNCC, and two other SNCC members participated in the OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity) conference last summer in Cuba, a symbolic alliance was created by OLAS with SNCC and other revolutionary elements in Afro-America. Cuba has since publicized and supported the activities of the Black Panther Party and the case of Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the BPP. Just recently, the Black Panther Party has established close collaboration with the Brown Berets, a revolutionary Mexican-American group.

One of the central features of the alliances mentioned so far is that these coalitions involve revolutionary groups, or groups moving in a revolutionary direction. All of these alliances were formed to directly further and deepen the revolutionary struggle of Afro-America. They are political, or long-range alliances. The components of all of these alliances shared the common experience of being oppressed by and in opposition to the racist North American capitalist exploiters.

There are other types of alliances which develop around one or another particular issue. These specific or single-issue coalitions are formed on a short-term basis. These alliances may involve unity in staging a specific demonstration, such as a protest against the Vietnam war; or they may involve a committee to defend the victim of a frame-up or the rights of political groups that are attacked.

The Student Mobilization Committee is an example of a single-issue coalition. In this organization, people of varying political persuasions, from pacifism to revolutionary socialism, are united in an effort to end the war in Vietnam by bringing the troops home now. NBAWADU, the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, was a coalition of black organizations and people who wanted to organize the black community against the war and the draft. It was built mainly through the student strike of last April 26.

Last December, antiwar alliances were built to stage a week of demonstrations against the draft. In February of this year, a coalition was built to support Professor Harry Edwards' call to boycott a track meet held by the lily-white New York Athletic Club.

Two years ago, the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee arose to defend the rights of three GIs who refused to go to



Photo by Shannon

IN CHICAGO. Oakland Black Panther leader Bobby Seale, holding microphone, addressing a Huey Newton defense rally sponsored by Peace & Freedom Party during Democratic convention.

Vietnam. Because one of the GIs was an Afro-American, and another a Puerto Rican, nationalists and black-power advocates participated in the defense.

After the brutal attack on LeRoi Jones by Newark police during the rebellion last year, an Ad Hoc Committee of Afro-American Artists and Writers was formed. This committee's function was to raise funds for the legal defense of Jones and rally public support for him.

#### Specific purpose

All of the above united-front alliances and coalitions were established to fulfill a specific purpose or carry out a specific action. These alliances did not involve any attempt to gloss over the political and ideological differences of the participants.

Many times, white radicals and black militants confuse this single-issue or united-front type of alliance with a political or long-range type of alliance.

A case in point is the defense of Huey P. Newton. From a specific alliance to defend Newton, the Panther Party's working relationship with Peace and Freedom evolved into a political alliance that is supposed to aid in the liberation of the black nation.

A specific alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party to defend Newton is justifiable. In fact, each and every organization that is willing to defend Newton's constitutional rights, even if they do not agree with Newton's political views, should be incorporated in a legal-defense organization. Such a defense organization should include black liberals as well as white liberals. In this way, the task of raising funds and getting publicity would be made much easier.

In my opinion, the transformation of this specific alliance into a political or electoral alliance was a mistake. This was done, according to the Panther Party leadership, because the Peace and Freedom Party is a "revolutionary" organization.

Even if Peace and Freedom were revolutionary, it would still be a tactical question when and what type of working relationship should be established.

But evidence to justify such a characterization is almost nonexistent when you get down to the facts. The Peace and Freedom Party is a zoological collection of liberals and so-called white radicals. The party was able to meet ballot-status requirements in California by tapping anti-Johnson, anti-war sentiment without really winning people to any meaningful program.

As revealed by Peace and Freedom's national convention in Ann Arbor last month, Eldridge Cleaver's presidential campaign has been the major factor keeping the party from disintegrating. While the majority could agree on the nomination of Cleaver as their presidential candidate, none of the contesting factions could even agree on a vice-presidential candidate.

The Radical Caucus, one faction of the Peace and Freedom Party, is fighting for a program that comes down to verbal anticapitalism and support for the Cuban and Vietnamese Revolutions. The Independent Socialist Clubs, another faction, wants a milder program, such as fighting for reforms and limiting itself to such demands as bringing the GIs home now. The ISC,

in an anticommunist stance, does not support either the Vietnamese or Cuban Revolutions.

After the California Peace and Freedom Party convention last March, Cleaver, disgusted, worked with the party through the Radical Caucus. After the national convention, Cleaver denounced both factions and moved toward the Youth International Party, the Yippies, which is not a part of the Peace and Freedom Party.

When it comes down to it, the Peace and Freedom Party is the worst electoral expression of white middle-class liberalism and faint-hearted radicalism.

North American capitalist society is divided into two nations, white America and black America, and into two main classes, the capitalist class and the working class.

It is obvious that the masses of Afro-America have radicalized in a manner that puts them far ahead of the white laboring masses. There is now the potential in the black community for building a powerful, mass black political party. Among white workers the situation is different. The masses of white workers have not radicalized to the point where the building of a mass labor party is possible. In no way can it be said that Peace and Freedom represents the beginnings of either a mass party of working people, or a vanguard socialist party which is organizing today to put together a party which can play a leading role in the future mass radicalization of the workers.

To categorize the Peace and Freedom Party, we have to place it programmatically between the parties of the capitalist ex-

ploiters and the vanguard parties of Afro-America and labor.

To dilly-dally in a political alliance with Peace and Freedom is to be diverted from the revolutionary highway into the swamp of middle-class politics. The building of a mass black political party cannot be achieved in a political coalition with Peace and Freedom. The Panthers have become a nationally known party because of their actions, not because of any association with Peace and Freedom. If the Panthers are to continue to grow, they need to cut the electoral strings tying them to this party.

While Panther Party leaders got involved at the Peace and Freedom convention in Ann Arbor, they did not intervene seriously at the Philadelphia Black Power Conference. Over 4,000 black people gathered together at this conference. Predominantly youthful, the thrust and sentiment was for the creation of an independent black political party. Participation by the national Panther leadership in the workshops and in the discussions would have made much headway in organizing this sentiment.

Instead of attending Peace and Freedom conventions, the BPP should be setting up Panther Party conventions. It would be better to run the political campaigns of Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, Kathleen Cleaver, and Huey Newton on a write-in basis rather than through Peace and Freedom. Electoral activity is only one of many activities along the path toward a revolutionary party.

It is hoped that this article has made some contribution to the understanding of alliances in building a black party.

## New York P & F picks Mage

By Jon Britton

NEW YORK—Judith Mage, former president of the Social Service Employees Union, was named vice-presidential candidate of the N.Y. Peace and Freedom Party at a meeting held here Sept. 6. Only 80 PFPers showed up for the meeting, which was called due to the failure of the national PFP convention held Aug. 17-18 in Ann Arbor, Mich., to agree on a vice-presidential candidate.

Two other nominees were proposed at this very dispirited gathering: Jerry Rubin, who was PFP presidential-candidate Eldridge Cleaver's choice in Ann Arbor; and New Left guru Herbert Marcuse, proposed by one PFPer to counteract the impression he said was widespread that the PFP was simply a "white caucus of the Black Panther Party." The final vote was: Mage 59, Rubin 8, Marcuse 1, and abstentions 15. Six Yippies showed up to plug Rubin, but only one was allowed to speak and none was allowed to vote.

Mage was present to accept the nomination though she was first contacted about being a candidate only two hours earlier. Her decision to accept the nomination was a reluctant one, she said, and only made after being told that the situation was

desperate and "no one else was available."

An indication of the "radicalism" of the vice-presidential candidate is her public stand on the war in Vietnam. At the very time her union membership was in the process of taking a position for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, she spoke at the Labor Leadership for Peace Assembly in Chicago last November in favor of the much weaker position, for "immediate cease-fire."

The PFP filed petitions containing about 20,000 signatures in Albany, N.Y., on Sept. 9 to place Cleaver and Mage on the Nov. 4 ballot.

### MURDER IN MEMPHIS

Martin Luther King and the Future of the Black Liberation Struggle

Articles by Paul Boutelle, George Novack, Joseph Hanson, and Clifton DeBerry

25¢

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873 Broadway  
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NOMINEE. Derrick Morrison is the Socialist Workers candidate in New York's 20th congressional district.

# Hanoi states support for Czech invasion

In a short statement reported in the Sept. 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Premier Pham Van Dong made it official that North Vietnam supports Moscow's invasion of Czechoslovakia. The report came several days after criticism of Moscow's moves had appeared in the Peking press and as debate over the Czech events deepened in a number of Communist parties.

"It is clear," Pham Van Dong stated, "that a serious danger threatened socialist Czechoslovakia. The American Imperialists and the West German retaliationists feverishly intervened in Czechoslovak affairs, in collusion with Czechoslovak counterrevolutionaries, in order to convert Czechoslovakia into a capitalist country dependent on the West, thus constituting a danger to the security of the Warsaw Pact countries and to peace in Europe and the world.

"The threat, which bore on the very existence of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, necessitated the Soviet Union and four other socialist countries taking all measures, including the employment of armed forces, in order to defeat the intervention of the American imperialists and West German retaliationists, accomplices of the Czechoslovak counterrevolutionaries."

A statement of the Maoist position on Czechoslovakia appeared under the title "Washington and Moscow Collaborate as Well as Contend over Czechoslovakia" printed as a Hsinhua dispatch Aug. 25 and reprinted in the Aug. 30 issue of *Peking Review*, indicating that it represents the official view.

This article emphasized that in spite of Washington's official condemnation of the Kremlin attack, "the Soviet revisionists' armed occupation of Czechoslovakia was carried out with tacit U. S. consent."

"On the Czechoslovak question," *Peking Review* stated, "the United States and the Soviet Union have put on a shabby show, fighting each other on the one hand and collaborating on the other. It fully exposes

their imperialist nature of close collaboration in a vain attempt to dominate the world."

Meanwhile in France, Louis Aragon, the elder statesman of the French Communist intellectual world and a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, delivered a sharp attack on Moscow in the Sept. 2 issue of *Les Lettres Francaises*. Aragon compared the Soviet moves with the French occupation of Algeria.

"Who could endure an occupied Czechoslovakia on the thirtieth anniversary of Munich?" Aragon asked. Answering him in the Sept. 4 issue of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Moscow stated, "Only politically myopic people could place on the same plane, if only indirectly, Hitler's occupation of France and the aid brought by the troops of the allied countries to the Czechoslovak people in their struggle against counter-revolution."

Support of Moscow's invasion has also brought trouble to the leaders of the Luxembourg and Greek Communist parties. In Luxembourg, 60 city councilors of Sassenheim and Differdange demanded that their Communist colleagues resign. The CP of Luxembourg was the only CP in Western Europe to endorse the Soviet invasion.

The Greek Communist Party, already badly split, has become further divided on the Czech question. Its political bureau, headed by Koliyannis, approved of the intervention. But the central committee, headed by Partsalides, took the opposite stand.

"The military intervention in Czechoslovakia," Partsalides stated Aug. 23, "constitutes an act contrary to the principles which must regulate the relations between Communist parties.

"It undermines the unity of the international Communist movement. It deals an additional blow to struggles like that of the Greek people against regimes set up by material force and by foreign imperialist intervention."



From "Revolt in France": Photo of high school students by Hermes.

## BOOK REVIEW:

# Revolt in France

REVOLT IN FRANCE, MAY-JUNE 1968. *Compiled from* Intercontinental Press and The Militant. *Edited and published by* Les Evans. New York, 1968. 168 pp., \$1.95.

Regular readers of *The Militant* are familiar with the reportorial and photographic coverage it gave to last spring's revolutionary upsurge in France. This material, along with reports that appeared in the weekly news service, *Intercontinental Press*, has been collected in *Revolt in France* to form what is probably the most extensive political coverage of the May-June events that has yet appeared in English.

Here are to be found the exclusive reports from Paris by *Militant* correspondents Joseph Hansen—the editor of *Intercontinental Press*—and Mary-Alice Waters; the work of Helena Hermes and Brian Shannon, *The Militant's* photographic team; and reports and analyses by such leading European revolutionists as Pierre Frank, Ernest and Gisela Mandel, Livio Maitan, and Sirio Di Giuliomaria. Some important implications for American readers are drawn by political analysts such as George Novack.

Included is also the remarkable essay by Trotsky, "'Committees of Action'—Not a 'People's Front,'" which is as relevant in 1968 as in 1935, the year it was written. In addition to the photographs, the book is illustrated with a selection of cartoons from the French revolutionary students' satirical magazine *l'Enrage*, and drawings by Copain, a regular contributor to *Intercontinental Press*.

Perhaps the most astonishing thing about the French events is that the contradictions of advanced capitalist society exploded with such force in just that country at just that time. France was not engaged in any costly, unpopular war; it had within its boundaries no oppressed national minority struggling for liberation; its working class had for some years enjoyed a level of consumption second only to Sweden's on the European continent; its economy possessed a national-planning apparatus envied by technocrats throughout the capitalist world; the inefficiencies of parliamentary horse trading had been largely suppressed by the authoritarian regime of de Gaulle.

Yet, in this country at the height of the upsurge this May, 10 million workers were on strike; hundreds of thousands of them were occupying plants; a substantial part of the peasantry was in rebellion; the universities were closed and most were occupied by students; the police were restive and the reliability of the army was in question. In at least two cities,

governmental functions were completely in the hands of strike committees; and for two weeks, the central government was paralyzed.

Why this occurred at this time in France will be a subject of study and debate by social scientists for years to come, although this volume points to many of the elements which will have to be included in any explanation. But the book makes perfectly clear the reason for the second most astonishing feature of the May-June days, which is that a social movement of such magnitude and dynamism did not fulfill its promise, that there is not today in France a workers' government leading the country toward socialism.

The reason is simply that there was no revolutionary leadership of sufficient weight to guide the movement toward its proper goal. The traditional workers' organizations—above all, the Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labor—not only did not lead; they did everything in their considerable power to dissipate the revolutionary initiative of the masses.

They have temporarily succeeded. But, as *Revolt in France* makes equally clear, out of the achievement and the betrayal, the exhilaration and the disappointment, of May and June a young, vigorous revolutionary vanguard, conscious of its tasks and armed with a correct program, is being born. Next time, the result may be quite different.

—Robert Langston

## Revolt in France May-June 1968

168 pages, with photographs

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## Black Liberation Notes

### More police attacks on L.A. Panthers

Since the killing of three Black Panthers by Los Angeles police last month, the cops have continued to harass the Los Angeles Panthers.

On Sept. 1 three Panthers, Walt Turner, and John and Malcolm Perkins, were walking down the street near the Panther headquarters when a squad car stopped them. While the cops asked for identification, another squad car came.

According to Walt Turner, "By the time I got out my I. D., the cops didn't want to see it. We started asking the cops questions like, 'Why are you bothering us,' when five pigs grabbed John around the neck and brought him to his knees, choking him. With all the yelling, other Panthers came from the office and started yelling at the police. One cop got nervous and started to pull his weapon, but it stuck in his holster. Finally, they let the brother go. They handcuffed us, and put us in the squads."

Turner said that after he and Malcolm Perkins were put in a car together, the cops drove to a dead-end street and "started calling us 'niggers' and clubbing us."

Later, at the police station, when the Panthers protested against the clubbings, the cops accused them of lying. After another beating, Walt Turner was released. Malcolm and John Perkins were booked on assault and battery charges.

In discussing how the Panthers would react to this attack, Shermont Banks, Panther assistant deputy minister, said, "We need lawyers and money for defense and bail, and we have to get the political support of the people."

In another incident in Los Angeles Sept. 1, three young black men were arrested and accused of setting up an ambush for the cops. The three were identified by news broadcasts as members of the Black Pan-

ther Party on the basis that they wore "Panther-style haircuts," Panther buttons, and carried books of "Mao's thoughts." Black Panther spokesmen in Los Angeles say they do not know as yet whether the three are members of the Panther organization.

### The 'Plainfield Twelve'

A frame-up case which has received little publicity in relation to its importance is that of the 12 people in Plainfield, N. J., who face charges of murdering a cop during the 1967 Plainfield rebellion.

At the trial which began on Sept. 9, the state is pressing for a verdict of first-degree murder and the death penalty.

On Saturday, Aug. 12, thousands of people turned out for a demonstration in support of the "Plainfield Twelve," and a number of stores in Plainfield were closed by a community boycott.

### Solidarity

Harry Edwards, chairman of the committee which is organizing a protest by black athletes at the Mexican Olympics, has sent a letter of solidarity to student protesters in Mexico.

Mexican students are fighting the appropriation of \$70 million in government funds to support the Olympic extravaganza to be held in October.

### Stokely on elections

Stokely Carmichael is in Senegal. As he boarded the plane at Kennedy Airport this week, he stated that he thought black people should not vote in this year's elections, because "conventional politics does not speak to the needs of black people."

—Elizabeth Barnes



# Wallace's campaign enjoys wide support among racist cops

By Doug Jenness

On Sept. 4 about 200 off-duty cops in Brooklyn, N. Y., a number of them wearing Wallace-for-President buttons, mobbed and blackjacked a small number of Black Panther Party members and white sympathizers in the Brooklyn Criminal Court. (For a full report of this incident see *The Militant*, Sept. 13.)

Immediately preceding the attack the cops conducted a Wallace-for-President rally on the sixth floor of the courthouse. They waved pro-Wallace signs, shouted slogans such as "White Power," "Win With Wallace," and "We're White Tigers — Tigers Eat Black Panthers."

It was clearly established that the off-duty cops involved were tied in with a newly formed protofascist police organization called the Law Enforcement Group, which argues that cops shouldn't obey orders that allegedly keep them from enforcing the law.

This incident is a particularly brutal example of the widespread support that Wallace is receiving from racist cops nationwide and how organized bands of quasi-fascists and hoodlums are gaining political inspiration and confidence from Wallace's campaign.

New York Times journalist Ben A. Franklin, who has been following Wallace all over the country for the past few months, reported Sept. 8 that "reporters who have interviewed scores of policemen on such assignments [guard duty at Wallace meetings] in a number of cities have failed so far to find one who was not a committed Wallace supporter."

Many cops on duty at Wallace's motels or at the halls where his rallies are held have been seen wearing gold "Wallace 68" tie clasps. Policemen on and off duty seek his hand and his autograph at airports and outside hotels. "Policemen in small towns and large cities," Franklin reports, "have been turning out in what

seems to be very large numbers to convoy Mr. Wallace's motorcades."

Franklin further indicated that the affection which many cops have for Mr. Wallace is shown in their rough manner of handling dissenters at the candidate's rallies.

He recalls a packed rally in Louisville, Ky., where Wallace's praise for the vicious conduct of the Chicago cops during the Democratic Party convention drew one small boo.

"Policemen sprinted from every direction to the gallery section from which the jarring sound had come but were not immediately able to pinpoint the troublemaker in the throng.

"Point him out to me," one policeman commanded. Fingers were pointed, and three cleanly dressed teen-agers, two boys and a girl, were paraded down the aisle and out of Louisville's Freedom Hall to a chorus of cheers and jeers."

*Cops and Coughlin*

The fanatical support that a racist demagogue like Wallace is receiving from the cops is not new in American history. In the late 1930s Father Charles E. Coughlin, a Catholic priest and the most prominent fascist demagogue of that period, enjoyed widespread support among cops, especially in New York City, for his fascist Christian Front. Like Wallace, Coughlin demagogically attempted to create the image that he was for the common man and the working man. And like Wallace, his major theme was racism — though in Coughlin's case he primarily emphasized anti-Semitism.

At that time, James Wechsler, writing in *The Nation* ("The Coughlin Terror," July 22, 1939), described the fraternal relationship between Coughlin and the cops.

"On several occasions," he wrote, "observers have seen policemen preserve the posts of *Social Justice* [Coughlin's magazine] salesmen until they returned from lunch, barring anti-Coughlin vendors who try to step in. In some cases police have even held magazine bundles for the Coughlin salesmen. Traditionally, New York police have displayed an occupational allergy to pickets and picket lines, but Coughlin pickets are different. The more sympathetic police frequently converse with them behind their hands, joke in subdued tones, and display an authentically fraternal interest in their activities."

The fascist-like attitude of the cops in the present-day Law Enforcement Group was similarly expressed by pro-Coughlin cops in 1939. When an anti-Coughlin demonstrator was arrested for carrying a sign quoting Cardinal Mundelein's repudiation of Coughlin, the arresting cop told him:

"You people have gone too far and we are going to stop you. We have 30,000 men and when the time comes I'll resign from the force and we'll settle the question



our way." Lindsay's Wallaceite cops are not even waiting to resign from the force.

Wechsler recounts numerous examples of how cops brutally attacked, and condoned attacks on, anti-Coughlin pickets and salesmen while Coughlin thugs were allowed to go scot free.

Wherever Wallace speaks he never fails to include an impassioned, "Let's hear it for the local police" — and his crowds always applaud on cue, sometimes with a standing ovation. He solidarizes with the demands of many cops that recent Supreme Court decisions protecting in some measure the rights of accused persons should be revoked, all civilian review boards should be abolished, and cops should have greater leeway in breaking up antiwar and black liberation demonstrations and rallies.

"If you walk out of this hotel tonight and someone knocks you on the head," he tells his audiences, "he'll be out of jail before you're out of the hospital, and on Monday morning they'll try a policeman instead of the criminal . . . That's right, we gonna have a *police* state for folks who burn the cities down. They aren't gonna burn any more cities."

It's Wallace's ruthless, police-state approach to the just struggle of 22 million Afro-Americans that has won him the racist hearts of America's cops. He articulates clearly and sharply the mood of the cops, and his campaign is inspiring

them with the confidence that there is at least one national politician who states openly that he is willing to put down the black revolt by any means necessary. He has inspired some of them to start taking extralegal action on their own, as in the attack on the Panthers in Brooklyn.

This ominous development among the cops is one more compelling reason for building a revolutionary force capable of thwarting the development of Wallace's movement.

## Minnesota denies Communist Party place on ballot

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The secretary of state of Minnesota refused to accept petitions Sept. 9 to place the Communist Party on the state ballot here. Citing a memorandum from the state's attorney general, the secretary of state refused to accept the petitions on the basis of sections of the McCarran Act, the 1954 federal witch-hunt act which denies civil liberties to the Communist Party.

In a press conference here Sept. 10, Mike Zagarell, the Communist Party's vice-presidential candidate, stated that the party intended to fight this ruling. The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union has pledged support to the legal fight. The MCLU announced today that it will ask a three-judge federal court for an order requiring the secretary of state to accept the 2,394 nominating signatures (only 2,000 are required by Minnesota law) to place the Communist Party's candidates on the ballot.

In a statement released Sept. 9, David Thorstad, Socialist Workers Party state chairman and candidate for Congress from the fifth district, stated, "The Socialist Workers Party defends the right of the Communist Party to place its candidates on the Minnesota ballot in the November elections.

"Secretary of State Joseph Donovan's decision to reject the CP's petitions on the basis of invoking the unconstitutional McCarran Act is an attempt to revive the anti-democratic and thoroughly discredited witch-hunt measures of the McCarthy era.

"The Socialist Workers Party has always upheld the right of freedom of expression of all political points of view, and it unequivocally opposes any infringement on that basic democratic right."

## St. Louis jails SNCC leaders on phony, trumped-up charges

On Saturday, Sept. 7, Phil Hutchins, national program secretary of SNCC; John Wilson, national deputy chairman of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU); Charles Cohen, SNCC representative; and four members of the St. Louis-based Black Liberators were arrested in St. Louis, Mo.

Hutchins and Wilson had just spoken to a crowd of over 500 Afro-Americans in a St. Louis park. While they were on their way to the airport, they were stopped by the St. Louis police. The cops at first said that they were looking for guns; when they didn't find any, they charged the black leaders with unlawful assembly. Unlawful assembly — hours after the rally had been held in the park!

The four members of the Black Liberators and Cohen, the SNCC represen-

tative, were released a couple of days ago, but Hutchins and Wilson have been taken from the jail to the county workhouse. With this shift has come an escalation of the charges against them; Hutchins and Wilson are now being charged with "inciting to riot."

Bail has been set for each of them at \$3,000. Since it has been impossible to obtain bail bonds for Hutchins and Wilson in St. Louis, the New York SNCC office has sent out an appeal for funds.

To fight this gross and illegal action by "law officers," the bail money is urgently needed, based on the possibility that the charges might be escalated again, thus raising the amount of bail. Send all contributions to: SNCC, 100 Fifth Ave., Rm. 803, New York, N. Y., 10011. If checks are sent, they should be made out to SNCC.

## New issue of ISR features special French report

The September-October *International Socialist Review* is a special issue on "May 1968: First Phase of the French Socialist Revolution." It is entirely devoted to a history and analysis of the French events by Pierre Frank, secretary of the outlawed Internationalist Communist Party (PCI).

Frank takes up the key questions raised by "May": What role did students play in the revolt? Why did workers enter the mass upsurge? What can be learned from the activities of the French Communist Party? What are the immediate and future perspectives of French revolutionaries?

These and other questions are in the forefront of radical discussion and debate throughout the world today. Pierre Frank's treatment of them in a single, comprehensive article offers a valuable starting point and guide to the discussion.

Frank has a long and exemplary career in French revolutionary politics. At one time a secretary to Leon Trotsky, he was a founder of the Left Opposition movement in France. He participated in the 1936 general strike, the postwar working-class upsurge, and more recently in the struggles against French imperialism in Vietnam and Algeria.

Not without reason, Frank was one of the first victims of de Gaulle's repression beginning in June. He was arrested June 14, the day following de Gaulle's ban on revolutionary organizations, and held incommunicado for 10 days.

The September-October issue of the *ISR* may be obtained for 50 cents from the *International Socialist Review*, 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y., 10003. A full-year subscription (six issues) is \$2.50.

## SPECIAL INTERVIEW:

# Palestine's Al Fatah

By Fred Halstead and Barry Sheppard

*Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and Barry Sheppard, editor of The Militant, were in Egypt the last week in August as part of a world political tour. Following is an interview they obtained with a commando of the Al Fatah, the Palestinian guerrilla organization.*

CAIRO, Aug. 27—Last night we had the opportunity to interview Akram Abdulmajeed Abu Bassam of the information center of the Palestine Liberation Movement, also known as Al Fatah.

Abu Bassam is a young man in his twenties, who had planned to come to the U.S. to continue his studies in political science before he joined the movement. His family lived in Jerusalem before the artificial creation of Israel. His father worked in Haifa. After the establishment of Israel in 1948, his home was taken from him. The family, like hundreds of thousands of others, was forced to flee its homeland. In this respect Abu Bassam is typical of the central cadres of the Al Fatah. "The refugees of 1948, the young ones, are the Al Fatah commandos of 1968," he says.

The goal of Al Fatah is the liberation of Palestine from Zionist control through armed struggle against the Zionist state of Israel. "But we must make it clear that there is a difference between Zionism and Judaism. Our aim is not to eliminate the Jewish people. Before 1948 we lived in peace with Jewish people, and they will have equal rights without discrimination in a liberated Palestine," he told us.

In discussing this point, Abu Bassam said he disagreed with statements made by some Arab leaders during the June, 1967,

war that the Arab objective was to "drive the Jews into the sea." The goal Al Fatah is fighting for is to rid Palestine of the Zionist control fastened upon it in 1948 and to repatriate the Palestinians who were forced to leave their homeland. In fighting for this objective, Al Fatah views itself as the vanguard of the struggle of all the Arab people against the expansionist policies of Zionist Israel and against Western imperialism, especially the United States, which uses Israel as a tool against the Arab people.

"The British Balfour doctrine, under which Israel was established, was another example of imperialism's 'divide and rule' method," Abu Bassam said. "As you know, the British Empire reigned throughout the area and had wide control over the Arab countries. The Balfour doctrine was a tactic to build an imported society in the middle of the Arab countries, to be a bridge and base for imperialist operations (such as the invasion of Egypt by Britain, France and Israel in 1956) and to help keep the Arab people divided.

"The existence of Israel helped to physically divide the eastern and western Arab states. And Israeli foreign policy is to consciously keep the Arab countries divided, which is in the interests of the U.S. and other Western imperialist powers. It does this through its propaganda, through its agents in the Arab countries and through indirect cooperation with the more reactionary Arab regimes.

"For example," Abu Bassam explained, "before the June, 1967, war, the Jordanian government indirectly cooperated with Israel in the persecution of Al Fatah members. It is well known that the Jordanian



Al Fatah commandos (above and right) training somewhere in

police are connected with the CIA also. When the war began, 1,800 Al Fatah people were imprisoned in Jordan, while only 10 were imprisoned in Israel.

"When the Israelis occupied the West Bank in Jordan after the June, 1967, war, they found Jordanian police papers that informed on Al Fatah members.

"Israeli propaganda is directed especially against the progressive Arab regimes. The 1956 and 1967 aggressions had as an important aim the overthrow of the regimes in the United Arab Republic and Syria.

"During the Algerian revolution, Israel gave support to the French terrorist Secret Army Organization, or OAS, in the form of mine experts, etc., and their propaganda was openly in favor of the OAS.

"Israel is useful to the imperialists in other ways. It helps to keep the Arab countries backward, which increases their dependency upon imperialism.

"For example, at the Arab summit conference in 1964, it was decided to utilize the waters of the Jordan River to help bring irrigation and electricity to millions of Arab people. But Israel attacked the installations of the project and forced its abandonment.

"Israel is a base for imperialism, a threat to any intention of any of the Arab countries of becoming truly independent. This nature of Israel makes it an island of three million imported people in an Arab sea, and this forces Israel to be like South Africa, a military society.

"There is racial discrimination inside Israel itself, with the European immigrants on top, the eastern Jewish immigrants, who are discriminated against, in a middle position, and the Arab residents on the bottom. We have a radio program, one hour each day, in Hebrew, directed to the Jewish people, appealing to them as brothers and exposing the racial discrimination and exploitation that exists in Israel."

Al Fatah does not consider itself opposed to any political party or group in the Arab countries. Its main distinguishing feature is its insistence that the only road to the liberation of Palestine is through an armed struggle based among the masses of Palestinian people. Al Fatah is independent of all Arab governments, although it is receiving some measure of support from almost all of them at present.

"Our movement began in 1958," Abu Bassam said. "The objective at first was to spread awareness among the Palestinian people that they should unite in the Palestine Liberation Movement in order to achieve the goal of liberation. Between 1948 and 1958, experience convinced many Palestinians that they couldn't rely on the Arab states for liberation, but only on themselves. The Arab states raised the Palestine question from their own narrow viewpoints, and we could see that they were not really determined to free Palestine. That can only be done by the Palestinian people themselves standing in the forefront of the struggle.

"That was the first stage. The second stage was the launching of the organized armed struggle in 1965. It was not easy to prepare for the second stage, because of the difficulty of organizing in the refugee camps

where people do not have jobs, etc., and are under a kind of surveillance.

"We were very few in 1965. We began with only 20 commandos. Abu Ammar, spokesman for Al Fatah, was one of these original commandos.

"The atmosphere in the Arab countries at this time was negative. We were called saboteurs and terrorists, without any political goals, by some of the Arab journalists and traditional leaders of the Palestinian people. Many of our comrades were jailed and tortured in Lebanon and Jordan.

"Only Algeria and Syria supported the Al Fatah at this time. But from 1965 up to the June, 1967, war, we experienced an important growth both in quantity and quality of our fighting units.

"The third stage was after the defeat and scandal of the June, 1967, war."

We asked Abu Bassam what, in his opinion, was the reason for the Arab defeat. "Al Fatah's strategy is people's war," he said. "But the Arab countries built their armies as classical armies. The military class was isolated from the people. They built their strategy on surprise attack, depending upon air power. But the June war showed how this can backfire, when Israel staged the surprise attack and wiped out the Arab air force.

"After the defeat, we were the only light in the occupied territories. We did not recognize the truce, and we kept fighting. This provided inspiration and hope to the masses of Arab people."

As a result, Al Fatah has now moved into the center of the struggle, Abu Bassam said, and is leading the resistance in Palestine. The Al Fatah now enjoys great popular support among all Arab people. Abu Bassam showed me a huge pile of applications to join the Al Fatah from the UAR alone. Not only does Al Fatah enjoy popular support, but it now has the support of most of the Arab governments.

Abu Bassam credited this fact in part to the military record of Al Fatah in continuing the fight when the armies of the Arab countries were defeated. Another example occurred in March of this year when Israel attacked Al Fatah bases in Karameh, Jordan. "In this battle," Abu Bassam said, "in spite of our casualties, we proved that the Arab people can make a successful stand against the Israeli armies and win a victory. You remember that after the June war, there were stories that Arab soldiers would not fight, but run. But in the Karameh battle, we showed we could stand and fight.

"The second factor in the changed attitude of the Arab governments has been our ability to keep the situation from becoming stabilized, through our military actions. And, the enemy has recognized our activities, as the attack at Karameh showed.

"Also, the Arab governments were very much afraid of their own people after the June defeat. Since their people supported us, they were obliged to do likewise. Any of the Arab states that attacks us will be overthrown. Even in Saudi Arabia we are allowed to collect funds from the people. We are enjoying the material and moral support from all the Arab peoples now."



Photo by Barry Sheppard

INTERNATIONAL TOUR. Fred Halstead, SWP presidential nominee, addressing Japanese antiwar conference last month. He is slated to return from world tour Sept. 20.





# U.S. Arab Student Union parley

By Jan Garrett

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — Ziyad Husami, outgoing president of the Organization of Arab Students in the U.S. and Canada, declared his solidarity with "the colored peoples, the oppressed peoples of the world," in his address to the opening banquet of the organization's convention, which was held here Aug. 25-31.

Attending were three to four hundred Arab students from North American universities and colleges and invited guests from fraternal organizations, including the Organization of Syrian Students (based in Syria), the Iranian Students' Association in the U.S., the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance, and the Black Panther Party.

In an incisive analysis entitled "Reflections on the State of the Arab Nation," Husami outlined a strategy for the pan-

Arab struggle for liberation: the Arab revolution must seek allies among oppressed peoples on all continents, he said. The Organization of Arab Students calls for the formation of people's militias in the Arab states to enable the peasants and workers to challenge the authoritarian structures with arms in hand. "A cry for the heaven-sent savior is a cry of futility," he declared, as he pointed out the duty of the Arab intelligentsia to assist in the construction of a revolutionary pan-Arab party based on the masses.

Solidarizing his organization with the revolutionary war being waged by Al Fatah, the militant Palestinian guerrilla group aimed at the destruction of the racist Israeli state, Husami emphasized that the goal of the struggle was to establish "a multiethnic society in Palestine free from

the exploitation of man by man"—a socialist Palestine in a "free, socialist and unified Arab East."

Husami introduced the keynote speaker, Stokely Carmichael, prime minister of the Black Panther Party, as a representative of "the most revolutionary party in the United States." He pointed out that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had opposed the 1967 Israeli aggression before being contacted by the Arab students. This fact, Husami said, testifies to the close spiritual ties between the oppressed blacks and the oppressed Arab nation.

Both Husami and Carmichael received a standing ovation.

Carmichael described the evolution of the black nationalist position on the Arab-Israeli conflict and explained his experiences in countering the Zionist propaganda offensive in this country. Like Husami, he stressed the international and anticapitalist character of the liberation fight.

The banquet was the high point of the English-language section of the week-long convention, a gathering which reflected the deep radicalization of the Arab students since the June, 1967, war. Exceptionally well organized, the convention devoted a day and a half to a lecture-discussion series on the origins, intellectual and social, of Zionism and the Israeli state. These were led by Dr. Fayez Sayegh, the learned Arab scholar and political commentator. Another day was spent on aspects of the anti-imperialist struggles in Vietnam, Cuba and the Arab world. Authors Paul Sweezy and Eqbal Ahmad participated in these sessions. The tactics and strategy of the Arab liberation struggle were discussed in Arabic in a further session.



## Ken Shilman enters Calif. state contest

BERKELEY, Calif. — The Socialist Workers Party announced here the candidacy of Ken Shilman, an activist in veteran and GI opposition to the war in Vietnam, for State Assemblyman from the 16th assembly district—Oakland - Berkeley - Piedmont.

Shilman is one of the editors of the GI newspaper *Task Force*, written and published by GIs and veterans against the war. He is active in the Student Mobilization Committee and is helping to organize the Oct. 12 March Against the War to be held in San Francisco, which was initiated by GIs.

Shilman also helped organize the contingent of GIs for the San Francisco anti-war rally of 30,000 April 27.

In addition to being active in the anti-war movement, the socialist candidate was one of the principal organizers of the June-July Telegraph Avenue demonstration in support of the French students victimized by the de Gaulle regime, and the subsequent rallies during the week-long "Battle of Berkeley."

Shilman will be running against Ken Meade (Dem.), and Don Mulford, (Rep.). Mulford is the author of the reactionary "campus trespass" bill known as the "Mulford Act."

Ken Shilman began his political activity in 1961 when he participated in the Freedom Rides. He went to Monroe, N. C., and worked with Robert Williams and with SNCC. Williams is the NAACP leader who advocated self-defense of the black community and is presently living in exile.

In 1962 Shilman joined the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party in New York, where he helped to conduct a hospital workers' strike.

The socialist campaign will be waged around the slogan "Support our GIs in Vietnam—Bring them home now," carrying this message to Army bases and campuses in the local area, and for "Black control of black communities" and support for the defense of Huey Newton, Oakland Black Panther leader.

The Berkeley-Oakland SWP campaign committee has its office at 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, phone 849-1032.

## Socialist Scholars hear Mandel

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J. — Ernest Mandel, the noted Marxist economist, began his two-month speaking tour of the United States and Canada with two talks to the three-day Socialist Scholars Conference held here Sept. 6-8 at Rutgers University. He was the principal invited foreign guest at this fourth annual gathering of radical American intellectuals.

The central theme of the conference was "The Socialist Perspective in the Advanced Countries." In line with this, Mandel presented a comprehensive analysis of the May-June upheaval in France at the Friday evening dinner the first day of the sessions.

He cited the tendencies displayed in that country as forceful evidence that a socialist revolution is possible in the industrial countries of the West, even though the workers did not take power this time in France. However, they evinced enough readiness to do so, and would have gone much farther and faster in that direction if the Communist Party and General Federation of Labor (CGT) leaderships had not barred the road.

What happened in France, he said, cannot be dismissed as an exceptional experience. All the basic trends of neocapitalism have been strongly and clearly at work in France over the past 20 years. Just as England and the United States have been the classic countries of capitalist economic development, so France remains the classic country of its political development. It provides the other neocapitalisms with a preview of their own future.

What must now be built there is a revolutionary leadership and organization which will include in its cadres and followers enough militants in the key plants to indicate to their fellow workers what must be done at decisive turns in the struggle.

One feature of the mass upheaval in France stood out in sharp contrast with the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, which associates Communism with the crushing of workers democracy. Never have the French people been so free as they were in May and June. They felt free to speak, assemble, discuss, act.

The audience rose to a standing ovation as Mandel concluded: "The French revolt shows that socialism promises, and can give, more freedom, more democracy, than bourgeois society at any stage has ever given."



Photo by Shannon

AT CONFERENCE. Ernest Mandel addresses socialist scholars.

The following morning Mandel presented a paper on "The Working Class Under Neocapitalism," which will be published in the next issue of *International Socialist Review*.

After analyzing the main trends of contemporary capitalism, he stated: "Neocapitalism in the long run strengthens the working class as much as laissez-faire capitalism or monopoly capitalism in its first stage. Historically, it makes the working class both grow numerically and in respect to its vital role in the economy. It thereby strengthens the latent power of the working class and underlines its potential capacity to overthrow capitalism and to reconstruct society on the basis of its socialist ideal."

The two commentators on his presentation had far more pessimistic views on the revolutionary future of the industrial workers of the West. They were Prof. Alexander Ehrlich of Columbia and Prof. Shane Mage of Brooklyn Polytechnical Institute.

Gisela Mandel sketched the development of the German SDS (Socialist Student Union of Germany) at a lively discussion held by student activists Sunday afternoon.

Other panels which attracted sizeable audiences were those on "The Role of the Intellectuals in Social Change"; "Black Power and Socialism"; and "The Preconditions for a Mass Socialist Party in the United States."

The conference registered 525 people. In response to the appeal for solidarity from Czechoslovak intellectuals, after some debate, the concluding business meeting adopted, with five dissenting votes, a resolution condemning the Soviet occupation as a blow against socialism in Czechoslovakia and against the world socialist movement and stating that socialism cannot flourish without freedom of expression.

# N.Y. teachers led into conflict with black, Puerto Rican peoples

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK, Sept. 12—The teachers' strike, which began here Sept. 9, is not a strike to defend the rights of teachers, as is claimed by the United Federation of Teachers leadership. The issues of teacher protection and due process are being cleverly exploited by Albert Shanker, UFT president, to cover up the real nature of this so-called strike, which is an attempt by the union leadership to thwart the development of community control of the schools in black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods.

This past year has seen the formation of hundreds of local community organizations in New York whose demand is for control of the educational system by the community. Literally every black organization in the city supports this demand. These organizations understand clearly that the board of education is not interested in providing for the education of their children. People in the community have watched closely for many years as their children were shuffled through the school system and turned onto the streets without the skills to survive or find employment.

From the very beginning the UFT has aggressively fought against all proposals for decentralization and community control, arguing in essence that if the black and Puerto Rican communities win the right to control the schools, the UFT's contract would not be enforced and various "vigilantes" and "unrepresentative" community groups would take over the schools and victimize the teachers.

At union meetings Shanker has fanned racist hostility by holding up unsigned leaflets, allegedly written by community people, which were anti-Semitic and anti-white. The supposed writers of the leaflets were never identified, but it was claimed that these same "racists and vigilantes" would be the ones who would run the schools under community control.

An atmosphere of fear and suspicion was created which stifled rational discussion of the issues within the union.

The teachers' strike resulted from a decision by the union leadership to focus this struggle against community control of the schools in a dispute in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn, over an experiment in community control set up under the auspices of the Ford Foundation and agreed to by the city.

Using the issue of 19 teachers who were fired last year by the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community governing board as final "proof" that the community could not run its affairs without arbitrarily endangering the rights of teachers, the Shanker leadership moved toward a strike showdown around the demand to rehire the teachers.

What is not well known is that the UFT's

enmity toward the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board preceded any claimed grievances against it. In fact the union went into court in an unsuccessful bid for an injunction to block its creation.

The UFT leaders chose the controversy at Ocean Hill to deliver what they hope will be a decisive blow to the idea of community control. The strike was called by the union's executive committee, with two black members voting against it. Then, in a vote which only 30 percent of the membership participated in, the UFT voted 9-1 to strike.

The Council of Supervisory Organizations, which includes school principals and superintendents, and which has opposed every other strike by the union, voted to support the UFT this time and to close the schools.

On the other hand, black teachers, who comprise only 8.8 percent of New York teachers, crossed the picket lines and entered the schools along with numerous white teachers, many of them militant unionists who understand that the UFT is not interested in due process but was conducting a fight against the black and Puerto Rican communities and community control.

These teachers know that the UFT leadership in the past has had a consistent record of lack of concern for "due process" and the rights of teachers who are arbitrarily fired. There over 55,000 teachers in New York, and 40 percent of these are non-tenure, which means they have no protection whatsoever against arbitrary actions by their principals and the board of education.

This year alone, 2,800 teachers were not rehired or were fired or transferred by the board of education. And, it is generally agreed, it is no mere coincidence that many of those were teachers who on April 27 were out on the picket lines with the students protesting the war in Vietnam, or were teachers who were outspoken supporters of community control of schools.

When two black teachers were fired and transferred from their schools for taking students to a Malcolm X memorial meeting last year, the UFT tops never raised the least protest, despite the fact that their cases received prominent coverage in the press.

The teachers' strike has been 90 percent effective for the first two days, with some schools being closed down by principals in the face of teachers who wanted to enter.

At Ocean Hill and at the I.S. 201 complex in Harlem, another experimental school district which was the scene of violent confrontations between teachers and the community last year, the strike had no effect. Attendance by teachers at I.S. 201 was 100 percent.

The black and Puerto Rican communities reacted to the strike in districts all over the city. Union picket lines were counter-picketed at many schools and a demonstration was held at the board of education.

Two hundred and fifty teachers picketed



Photo by Shannon

**FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL.** Community and teachers' groups picket at polling place where strike vote was taken. They urged teachers not to be misled into action against school decentralization.

the UFT headquarters on the first day of the strike, calling on the UFT to stop its war on the community. The picket line was called by the New Coalition, an opposition party within the UFT. A meeting of several hundred teachers which the night before met at the Community Church voiced the same demand.

The New Coalition has opposed the strike from the start and warned that the UFT was taking another step to drive a wedge between itself and the black community.

The Shanker leadership has not only consistently fought against community control, but it has refused to join with the black and Puerto Rican communities in any significant effort to change the schools.

There are 1,200,000 students in the New York school system; 52 percent are black and Puerto Rican, and yet only four percent enter New York's municipal colleges. In many districts more than 70 percent of the students drop out of high school.

In the three-week teachers' strike last year, the UFT heads made great claims for the More Effective Schools program and the limitation of class size which were won in the contract. But both these were rendered void from the start since the contract contained the usual "if" clause which provided that these provisions would only go into effect "if" funds were available and "if" there were space for students in classes under the limit. In effect, nothing was gained but the publicity which poured out of the UFT office to cover up its failure to win changes in the school system.

Last September's strike was the first time many civil-rights and community organizations refused to support a UFT strike. In previous years these groups had been in the forefront as defenders of teacher unionism and the UFT.

Last year it became clear to many groups in the black community that the UFT brass was not interested in changing the schools. The major demand of the 1967 strike was for the removal of so-called disruptive children from class. The black community rightly saw this as an attack on their children—the victims of the rotten educational system—and not on the real culprit, the board of education.

In effect, the UFT was arguing that real

progress could be made in education only if these "disruptive" children were removed from class.

On top of the hostility generated last year between the union and the black community over the "disruptive child" issue, came this year's dispute over community control.

In response to pressures from the black community, the state legislature began to discuss the question of decentralizing the New York City school system and accepted various proposals for at least token decentralization.

Not one of the proposals put forward fundamentally altered the present control of the board of education. They were, in effect, dodges to avoid the real question of who should control the schools.

The proposal submitted to the legislature by the UFT bureaucrats was one of total opposition to all community control and was the most conservative of those presented. The UFT argued that the community was not ready to control the schools!

The teachers' union spent half-a-million dollars lobbying in Albany against decentralization proposals. It spent tens of thousands of dollars in ads warning against the schools being taken over by "extremists."

Finally, when a white teacher was fired by his principal for striking a student, Shanker responded by putting a \$7,000 ad in the *New York Times* and *New York Post* claiming that because of "extremist pressure" from the community, the board of education was no longer able to give fair hearings to teachers.

What all these incidents indicate, and the present strike confirms, is that Shanker and the other leaders of the UFT have been playing a dangerous and destructive game of exacerbating the racist-induced fears of the white teachers within the union in order to rally the membership behind them. In doing this, they have served the purposes of all the worst antiunion and antiblack elements in the city—the cops, the city administration and the board of education.

And they have done a great service to Mayor Lindsay, who cannot, and will not, agree to any community control of the schools—except phony substitutes. They have taken Lindsay off the hook and have made teachers, who in reality also suffer from this rotten school system, look like the real enemy.

By strengthening these antiunion and antiblack forces, and by dividing the union from the black community, Shanker's policies ultimately endanger the union itself.

## CALENDAR

### DETROIT

**THE ALGIERS MOTEL INCIDENT.** Speaker: Lonnie Peek. Fri., Sept. 20, 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information, call 831-6135. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

**WHAT HAPPENED IN CHICAGO.** A Marxist analysis of the Democratic Party convention. An eyewitness account of the police-demonstrator confrontation. Speakers: Max Goldman, socialist lecturer; James Boggio, coordinator, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; John Gray, SWP candidate for Congress. Fri., Sept. 20, 8:30 p.m. Militant Labor Hall, 1702 East Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### MINNEAPOLIS

**MEXICO: Youth Revolt Against Political Oppression.** Speaker: Mike Garza. Sat., Sept. 21, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

**LATIN AMERICA—Mexico, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.** Speakers: Richard Garza, Andres Sanchez, and a further speaker to be announced. Fri., Sept. 20, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



Photo by Shannon

**OPPOSES FALSE POLICY.** New York teacher distributes leaflet at strike-vote polling place opposing action directed at thwarting development of community control of schools in black and Puerto Rican communities.

## Whither France? by Leon Trotsky

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# Berkeley view: Mass action vs. terrorism

By Robert Augustine and Patti Iiyama

As the radical movement in the U.S. grows, and as it clashes more often with cops and other repressive agencies, heated debates take place within the movement on the strategy and tactics of achieving fundamental social change. The struggle that has taken place in recent weeks in Berkeley, Calif., is no exception.

While the majority of the movement there has attempted to rally as broad a defense of elementary democratic rights as possible in the face of the cop assaults, a small number of individuals have begun to argue the efficacy of acts of terrorism or sabotage as useful tactics of revolutionary struggle in that situation.

Following is a reply to this idea written for the Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance by Robert Augustine and Patti Iiyama, both graduate students at the University of California and members of the Berkeley YSA.

A few years ago, the radical movement in this country functioned on the assumption that reasonable change was possible legally within the system. In 1964, the entire left chose Johnson as the "lesser of two evils," who would halt the war and the drift to the right. When the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party warned against Johnson, we were considered "ultraleft sectarians." A decade ago, when the movement first faced the problem of vicious Southern racism, they did so as advocates of pacifism, appealing to the morality of men of good will to change the society. When Malcolm X advocated the right of self-defense for Afro-Americans against the attacks of vicious racists, he was considered a fanatic.

We have learned and changed a great deal. The continuing reality of Vietnam, racism, police brutality, poverty and repression has laid bare these utopian illusions. Radicals in the movement have realized that, given the intransigence of this society in relating to demands for change, basic change will come only when people have enough power to change the society themselves. The radical movement

is now—somewhat hesitantly, somewhat rashly—burgeoning forth into a new stage of development.

The debate has shifted. We are no longer debating between pacifism and self-defense. We all accept not only the right, but the need, of self-defense.

But new currents favoring sabotage and sporadic terrorism as a revolutionary strategy are now appearing in the radical movement from New York to Berkeley. The question we are now debating is *when* certain forms of struggle are appropriate as a tool in the process of transforming society.

We are well aware that the ultimate questions of power and rule will not be decided by a process of rational debate, discussion and election. We do not applaud this fact but predict it on the basis of historical experience. The French Revolution, the American Civil War, and the Russian Revolution all tell us that revolution is the midwife of every new society in birth.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized that the degree of violence depends not on the wills and desires of revolutionaries, but rather, in the words of Che Guevara, "on the reactionary forces of the old society; it depends on their resistance against allowing the new society to be born."

We must discuss the question of violence not in the abstract, in an historical vacuum, but in relation to the concrete needs of the movement. In the words of Lenin, "to attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position."

The relationship of forces in the present context of American society must be examined in order to understand the role of violence. The major violence in this society is perpetrated by the people who control the institutions. Capitalist society is built and defended with violence—the psychological violence of alienation, the military violence of repression.

American capitalism and imperialism is built upon the perpetuation of this worldwide violence. Yet our LBJs, Rockefellers and Reagans denounce as violent the black militants, the Viet Cong, the radicals—those very people who are struggling to defend their people from the violence of capitalist society.

The vast majority of American people, however, do not realize this. They still believe that police are called in to stop violence and that there is not enough respect for "law and order." They still believe that change can be effected within the existing institutions. *They are not oppressed militarily; they are chained by their minds.* The fact is that the power structure in this country still rules primarily through deception, not repression.

The task of revolutionaries is not, at this time, to organize guerrilla warfare and prepare for the seizure of state power. Our task rather is to break the power that bourgeois ideology has over the majority of Americans.

Our task is to isolate the ruling class politically by developing the understanding



Photo by Dave Warren

**VICTORY.** Scene on Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue during July 4 celebration of free speech victory won by mobilizing support of entire community.

among all working people that change in this society is necessary and that they must act together to bring about this change. Since we are still in a minority, our power is political power, and lies in building our numbers and our social base so that we become a genuine mass movement. (Note the example of the French student movement and its impact in May.)

The experiences of Berkeley illustrate the context in which we are working. In the course of the June 28-July 4 struggle, the vast majority of people in this area sympathized with us. They understood that the police had attacked the peaceful demonstration. Therefore, when people broke windows and threw rocks at the police, they were legitimately defending their rights against brutal attack.

In the past week, however, the breaking of the same windows in a different context has had the opposite effect. It alienated support. It shifted all politics to the right, *even within the movement.* It gave the reactionaries a club with which to attack the entire radical movement.

It is clear that in the present context, individual acts of terrorism and sabotage, devoid of political content and independent of the mass struggles, play a thoroughly reactionary role. They isolate revolutionaries from the people, the majority of whom still believes in the possibility of reform of this system.

Individual terrorism provides the ruling class with a "legitimate" cover to intervene and repress our movement. It is no accident that the most common tactic of police agents infiltrating the radical movement is to urge radicals on to terroristic acts. They are well aware of the nonrevolutionary consequences these acts produce.

The basic question to be posed is: how does revolutionary change come about? Marxists argue that change comes about not through the intervention of gods, great men or dedicated grouplets, but through the intervention into the historical process of the great masses of the people. Only through the political understanding and revolutionary action of the oppressed can society be transformed. Tactics must be

subordinated to and in harmony with our overall strategy.

This position distinguishes us clearly from those who argue that the McCarthys, the Kennedys or a revolutionary elite can change society. The proponents of the "revolutionary deed" feel that the bombing of a building, the breaking of a window by individuals have *inherent* in them a revolutionary significance even when these actions are devoid of political content.

These people believe that their individual acts of violence can change the course of people's consciousness of society. What exactly they expect to do, whom they expect to follow them—all of this is left unclear. The "revolutionary deed" is glorious unto itself. The participation of the mass of people is an unimportant detail.

There is an historical pattern in the emergence and popularity of these views. When students have radicalized ahead of the rest of society, they find their initial attempts to transform society thwarted by the powerful forces confronting them.

Frustrated by this initial impotence, some people give up the difficult but necessary task of working to build a movement that can change society, and instead they lapse into acts of destruction which only serve to satisfy their individual egos. They attempt to substitute their individual acts of nihilistic violence for mass action.

Marxists categorically reject such conceptions. We do not conceive of ourselves as an elite who can substitute for mass actions by the "short cut" of sabotage. We consider ourselves rather as a vanguard whose goal is to develop the consciousness in the people of their own self-interest (which is to change this society).

Our perspective is one of sustained and often tedious effort to win the majority of the American people to this revolutionary realization. Our tactics are based upon this long-range goal. It is only through the revolutionary action of masses of people—and not through sporadic, futile acts of desperation and violence by a few—that we can change the course of history.

**VENCEREMOS!**



Patti Iiyama

## L.A. Chicanos at Board of Ed.

By Antonio J. Rios

LOS ANGELES—Over 1,000 members of the Chicano community were present at a demonstration Aug. 29 at the Los Angeles board of education. They filled the board's room and overflowed into the halls. The confrontation, called by the Educational Issues Co-ordinating Committee (a Chicano community group concerned with education in the L.A. barrios), was held to present the demands of the community for the reinstatement of Lincoln High School teacher Sal Castro by Sept. 16, the opening day of the fall school term. (Significantly, Sept. 16 is also Mexican Independence Day.)

Sal Castro, who teaches social studies at Lincoln, is one of the 13 Chicanos indicted for conspiring to commit a misdemeanor in connection with the massive school boycott here last March, when thousands of students stayed away from classes to protest intolerable conditions in the

barrio schools. (The drop-out rate at one high school is 57 (!) percent, and that school is still overcrowded!)

Castro is a symbol to Chicanos. He is a man who refused to sell out his people when offered a \$50,000-a-year desk job. He has been "reassigned" to a job—watching old films—at the board of education; but if the voice of the community means anything, he'll be at Lincoln, or else!

After an hour of dealing with trivia, the board finally condescended to hear representatives of the community. One likened the board members to Mayor Daley of Chicago and the principals and teachers to the Chicago cops, bashing heads. It was pointed out that while 19.2 percent of the students in L.A. schools are Mexican-American, only 2.7 percent of the teachers are Chicanos. After hearing the people, the board, with characteristic disregard for the will of the community, voted to consider the matter in private session.

# Fourth Int'l takes issue with Castro Czech stand

The following statement was issued Sept. 1 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.

In categorically rejecting Fidel Castro's endorsement of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet and other troops, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International undoubtedly expresses the opinion not only of the international Trotskyist movement but also of the very great majority of militants who have defended socialist Cuba most resolutely.

In his statement, Fidel Castro argues for his position essentially as follows: (a) There was a danger of capitalist restoration in Czechoslovakia. (b) This danger was produced and fostered by the erroneous policies not only of the Czechs but of the Soviets themselves. (c) The appeal made by Czechoslovak "top personalities" for help cannot be advanced as a valid basic reason for intervening; "the sole justification can only be the simple political fact that Czechoslovakia was moving toward a counterrevolutionary situation and that this seriously affected the entire socialist community." (d) Castro raised the question whether this intervention marked the beginning of a rectification in Soviet policy which would be expressed in its defense of Vietnam and Cuba, etc.

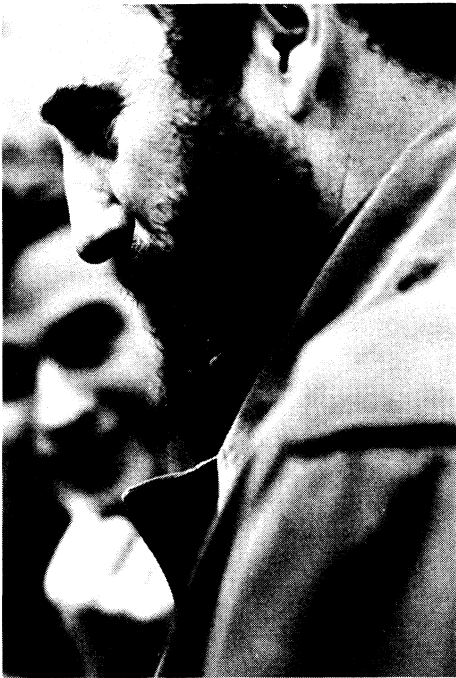
The United Secretariat of the Fourth International has shown in other documents that there was no danger of capitalist restoration in Czechoslovakia. A right-wing course, even a reactionary international policy, as for example, Yugoslavia's policy toward several countries in Latin America, cannot be equated with the danger of capitalist restoration. Such a danger can only arise from social forces having the capacity to organize themselves sufficiently to impose the reestablishment of capitalist private ownership by force—which was not at all the case in Czechoslovakia.

To the contrary, the Czechoslovak masses as a whole are dedicated to maintaining and developing the forms of collective ownership. These masses mobilized to transform the "liberalizing" course introduced after the elimination of Novotny into a course culminating in real socialist democracy.

Defense of the "socialist camp" was not what made the Soviet government act, but its fear that the antibureaucratic upsurge in Czechoslovakia would be echoed in the other workers states, including, most importantly, the Soviet Union itself.

There was no rectification of the Soviet policy toward American imperialism in this intervention. It was carried out with the assurance that the American government would regard it as the expression of the policy of a great power striving to maintain "order" in its sphere and would limit itself to propagandistic condemnations—that it would do nothing to increase international tension and would continue seeking partial agreements with Moscow, for example, in regard to nuclear armaments.

Washington exploited the invasion of Czechoslovakia to "justify" its own aggres-



Fidel Castro

sions, and the Soviet intervention dealt a blow to the movements throughout the world against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International draws attention to the fact that among the few Communist parties supporting the Soviet invasion are the Latin-American parties which, as Fidel Castro well knows, are sabotaging the revolutionary struggle on that continent. It is the Escalantes of all these countries who endorsed their Kremlin bosses.

The Soviet government's propaganda about an appeal from a group of Czechoslovak party and state leaders cannot be minimized. One can be certain that in case of a real threat of capitalist restoration in a workers state, the great majority of workers and especially the Communists would be mobilized to counter this danger and would, if they thought it necessary, openly call for military aid. Cuba's example is eloquent in this regard. But in no case can it be accepted that the government of a workers state has the right to decide on a military intervention in another workers state behind the backs and against the wishes of the great majority, if not all the workers, in that country.

Furthermore, this "justification" advanced by the Kremlin shows how much the Soviet leaders are abusing the Soviet masses themselves in the first instance.

While rejecting the position Fidel Castro has taken on the Czechoslovak events, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International reminds the international Trotskyist movement, all revolutionary militants, and the working masses that their tasks of solidarity toward the workers of Czechoslovakia must in no way lead them to slacken in defending socialist Cuba against the blockade, the machinations, and the threats of American imperialism, in advancing the OLAS line in Latin America, and in defending the Vietnamese revolution more vigorously than ever against American aggression.

# Significant activities on many strike fronts

During the past several months, while national and international events have preempted the columns of *The Militant*, many significant happenings have taken place within the American labor movement. A brief summary of a few of these seems in order.

● Garbage continues to pile up in both Baltimore, Md., and Atlanta, Ga., as striking garbage and trash collectors continue their fight for better wages and working conditions. In Baltimore, despite an injunction forbidding them to do so, the strikers are keeping up their picket lines in front of city hall and sanitation department garages.

On Sept. 7 leaders of the Atlanta strike reported to the strikers on that city's latest offer for a strike settlement—an increase of 18 cents per hour (to \$1.49) for starting trash collectors and 20 cents per hour (to \$2.07) for garbage pickup men. As of Sept. 10 the men were still picketing.

● New York City municipal-hospital nurses called off their threatened mass resignations when the city capitulated and granted them a annual wage increase of approximately \$900.

● The California table-grape boycott gained impetus (See *Militant*, Sept. 6 for Cleveland union action) when the mayor of Baltimore joined several other big city mayors in issuing "Don't buy" orders to various purchasing departments.

The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor executive secretary called on all members to "not only not buy grapes" themselves but to carry the boycott message to the stores in which they trade.

The Canadian Congress of Labor pledged support to the movement to "withhold patronage from California table grapes."

Meanwhile, the forces of reaction, headed by the state's Governor Reagan and state (Dem.) senate leader H.M. Burns, and the state chamber of commerce have united to fight the boycott as "illegal."

● The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee won a signal victory when the Paul Masson Wine Company capitulated after a long strike. Grape pickers and soil tenders will receive a 95-cent-per-hour pay increase, from the present level of \$1.80 to \$2.75 per hour; paid vacations; three paid holidays; and a company-financed health plan. All new employees will be required to join the union within 10 days.

● In April, 1968, a dissident group within the National Maritime Union won a suit to invalidate the 1966 national executive board elections on the grounds that 99 percent of the union was ineligible to run for office under present consti-

## The National Picketline

tutional provisions. Judge Constance Baker Motley agreed with the dissidents and ordered new elections to be held in January and February of 1969. Now James M. Morrissey, chairman of the dissident group, charges that "back-door meetings" between the Curran NMU leadership and the U.S. Department of Labor are laying the groundwork for flooding the election with nonseagoing members, who, according to Curran's own constitution, are ineligible to vote.

● New York City is in the throes of labor problems. Contract negotiations are going on between the city's labor-relations department and the sanitation workers, the police and the firemen, all of whom are asking substantial wage increases as well as drastic changes in working conditions. All contracts expire by Sept. 30.

● Airline hostesses have won their fight against dismissal for age or marital status. On Aug. 10 the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission ruled that three stewardesses who had been fired had been discriminated against because of their sex.

● Mass unemployment has already begun in the steel industry as shipments of orders dropped 50 percent in August as against July. Raw steel production has dropped 32 percent from the high of the first six months of this year.

— Marvel Scholl

## SWP slate files in Utah

SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 9—Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President, will appear on the Utah ballot in the November elections.

At a state nominating convention held here yesterday, four presidential electors and a vacancy committee were selected. Today 950 signatures of qualified voters were submitted to the secretary of state confirming the nominations made at the convention. Only 500 signatures are legally required.

This is the first time the Socialist Workers Party will have a place on the Utah ballot since 1960.

## The Great Society

**EASES TENSION**—It didn't surprise us to learn that Chicagoans lead the nation in bourbon consumption, belting down 4.5 million gallons last year.

**BRAIN DRAIN**—"Obsolescence in Executives Tied to Premature Senility."—Headline in the *New York Times*.

**THAT'LL LEARN HIM**—The Saigon judiciary sentenced a newspaper publisher to 10 months for publishing a letter deemed injurious to the prestige of the judiciary.

**HOW SIMPLE CAN YOU GET?**—One reason we enjoy the various society columnists is their wonderfully nonslobbering attitude toward the wealthy. For instance a "Suzy" wrote in the *San Francisco Examiner*: "The most beautiful house in Athens may well belong to Dolly and Nico Gouladriss. Only a Greek shipper could afford it. Dolly and Nico are known and loved everywhere there is an international set. . . They entertain beautifully in all countries and languages and are simple and unaffected as the couple next door, and about 100 million times more cultivated." Wonder what Suzy cultivates?

**FREE-ENTERPRISE**—Noting that the night deposit box in the Somerset Trust Company's branch in Watchung, N.J., is recessed, ingenious person or persons unknown placed an additional one in front

of it over Labor Day weekend. They netted an estimated \$30,000 in deposits.

**FOR SMALL APARTMENTS**—Women who might prefer to have smaller babies could consider increased cigarette consumption. A British survey found that women who smoke generally have smaller babies. Some don't have any. The miscarriage and still-birth rate is nearly double for women who smoke during pregnancy.

**THE MARCH OF CULTURE**—By keeping in step with the development of America's cultural revolution, TV commercials are getting better all the time, says Victor Bloede of Benton and Bowles. He predicted that, reflecting the society it serves, TV advertising would feature a lot more nudity and sex.

**PREDICTION**—Pretty soon in your local Loew's theater you'll be able to smoke in the orchestra as well as the balcony. Loew's is planning to acquire the Lorillard cigarette company.

**DOUBLE WHAMMY DOUBLED**—First they reported that the noise in New York permanently impairs hearing. Then they found it also induces psychoses. Now they've established that horn blowing in the city is twice as bad as it was four years ago.

— Harry Ring

----- clip and mail -----

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# CUBA TODAY (II):

## Shortages, planning and structured democracy

By Harry Ring

*This is the second of four articles on Cuba today. Militant staff writer Harry Ring spent three months in Cuba, from Dec. 23, 1967, to March 23, 1968.*

The most acute problem in Cuba today is that of shortages. There is a shortage of labor in the countryside, a shortage of material and equipment necessary to the development of the economy. Perhaps most pressing is the scarcity of consumer goods, beginning with food and clothing.

While these shortages are extensive, there is no sense of desperation in Cuba. Food rations, for example, are limited but there is no hunger in the country, as there was prior to the revolution and as there still is in imperialist-dominated countries.

During my three months in Cuba I was approached on the street for money just twice. In Mexico, the most prosperous country in Latin America, to be approached only twice in a single day by beggars would be a unique experience.

While in Cuba I read a report by a Mexican public health official which estimated that each year a half-million children in Latin America die of malnutrition. In Cuba, rationing is extensive, but from everything I saw I am convinced that no children die of malnutrition.

Yet life is hard for the people of Cuba today. They have to work very hard, endure a number of privations and have little to show for it in an immediate material sense.

A variety of factors have combined to create a serious shortage of agricultural labor. Prior to the revolution hundreds of thousands of landless, unemployed field workers scrambled across the country to get a few months work during the sugar harvest. With the revolution providing land and jobs, this "natural regulator" of the labor supply is no longer operative. And with the opportunities opened by the revolution there has been a major exodus from the isolated rural areas to the towns and cities.

Coupled with the acceleration of agricultural activity and still modest progress in mechanization, this labor shortage has meant that hundreds of thousands of city dwellers—untrained and relatively inefficient—must be mobilized yearly for the sugar harvest and other agricultural activities. Many adults from the city spend as much as three months each year working under the tropical sun in the countryside. Thousands of teenagers participate in a 45-day school-goes-to-the-countryside plan.

### Housing Shortage

In the urban areas, the swift growth of the city population has created a housing shortage. (Havana has grown from 1.5 million to 2 million since the revolution.) The extensive housing program begun when the revolution came to power had

to be curtailed because of the labor and material shortages.

Restriction of imports to items essential for the development of the economy means that only a necessary minimum of consumer goods are brought into the country. Items that glut the U.S. market (e.g., ballpoint pens) are not available in Havana.

Clothing is rationed. Many items—women's dresses, skirts and blouses; men's pants; etc.—are rationed at the rate of one per person per year. Women's stockings, men's socks, etc., are available in quantities of but a few per year. (One thing I was unable to find an adequate explanation for is how, despite the clothing shortage, everyone manages to look neatly and even attractively dressed. Among international travelers, Cuban women are still rated among the most attractive anywhere.)

Fish is unrationed and available in neighborhood stores once, and sometimes twice, a week. Meat is available at the rate of about a pound a month per person. Rice and beans, previously a staple of the Cuban diet, are rationed at three, and one-and-a-half, pounds a month, respectively. Coffee is under a pound a month per person and butter about a half a pound for two people. Since I was there, I am told, eggs have been added to the ration list.

During my stay, the shortage of fresh milk had increased, and it was available only to children, old people, and where medically prescribed. Fruits and vegetables are unrationed and available in varying quantities at various times.

### Dining Out

Although severe, this rationing is not altogether as drastic as it appears. People in the smaller towns generally have access to some farm products, and in the cities the restaurants provide an important dietary supplement. Many of the rationed foods and a number not available on rations are obtainable in moderately priced and expensive restaurants. Because there is full employment, because education and medical care are free, and because rents have been drastically reduced, it is possible for a good number of city dwellers to stretch their rations by eating out once or perhaps twice a week.

Why is Cuba plagued with shortages nine years after the revolution?

One reason is the weather, which during these past nine years has been unusually bad. There have been more storms and more droughts since the revolution than in any previous comparable period. This year, for example, during the period decisive for the sugar harvest, the rainfall was 24 percent below normal. In Oriente province, a major sugar-producing area, the drop was 37 percent. As a result, instead of harvesting the seven million tons planned for, it is anticipated that the crop will be about 5.5 million tons.

In addition, for the past two years, the price of sugar on the world market has been at an all-time low of less than two cents a pound.

Intensifying these difficulties have been the outrageous policies of Moscow, which is doling out its trade with Cuba on an increasingly restricted basis. One crucial example should suffice to demonstrate the point.

On Jan. 2, Fidel reported to the Cuban people that although Cuba's need for oil had increased substantially as a result of its accelerated agricultural production, the USSR had advised that it would be unable to increase its sale of oil to Cuba.

A month later the Cuban press reprinted—without comment—a front-page article from the Feb. 3 issue of *Izvestia*, and a similar front-page article from the Feb. 6 issue of *Pravda*. The *Izvestia* article was headed: "Oil Workers Out to Rack Up 300 Million Tons." The one in *Pravda* was headlined: "A Growing Torrent of Petroleum."

The Soviet articles reported in glowing



Photo by Harry Ring

**UNLOADING.** Soviet ship unloads cargo in Havana. Scrap lumber on deck was part of shipment.

terms how, as a result of newly discovered deposits and the development of improved methods of extracting oil from the ground, the Soviet oil industry had overfilled its 1967 production quota by 22.7 million tons, producing a record 288 million tons. It was anticipated that production would reach the 300-million mark this year.

This is not all needed for internal consumption. A while back it was reported that London gas stations are waging a price war on the basis of selling low-cost Soviet fuel.

Meanwhile Cuba has been compelled to introduce rigid rationing of gasoline and shelve a number of construction projects for lack of fuel. (Oil was struck just outside Havana in January, but it has not been reported how extensive the deposit is.)

### Peking's Role

Cuba has also been hit by the blindly factional attitude of Peking. Several years ago China refused to renew its rice agreement with Cuba, compelling it to slash rice rations in half. Apparently piqued because Havana refused to line up like Albania behind the duel with Moscow, Peking also eliminated other exports to Cuba. I was told that for a period quantities of inexpensive ballpoint pens had been coming in from China, but this came to an abrupt halt. I saw several excellent electric fans which had come from China, but these too are no longer available.

But the biggest fact responsible for the shortages in Cuba has been the U.S. blockade. Washington has used whatever forms of pressure are available in its drive to starve out the Cuban people. "Free World" ships that bring goods to Cuba are barred from U.S. ports. Countries dependent on U.S. aid are clearly advised that trade with Cuba is definitely frowned on.

While Cuba has skillfully exploited contradictory interests within world capitalism and developed some trade with England, France, Canada, Spain and other countries, it is a fact that the U.S. blockade has created serious problems.

These, in the main, are the principal factors responsible for Cuba's present economic difficulties. In addition, there are also problems of lack of trained administrative and technical personnel. There are also almost inevitable problems of bureaucratic mismanagement and just plain, old-fashioned mistakes in the planning and execution of production and distribution. Many of the Cubans I talked to seemed to feel that lack of trained personnel and mismanagement in the sphere of distribution were especially hard problems.

While I could not gain a completely comprehensive picture of this very big and complex problem, one important political feature struck me as decisive in the situation.

To cope with all the inherited and externally imposed difficulties, it appeared to me a prime necessity to establish as rapidly as possible a structured socialist democracy. It is essential, I believe, for Cuba to involve the maximum number of people possible in planning and decision making in all spheres of production, distribution and broad political policy.

The U.S. propaganda claim that Cuba is a "totalitarian" state is, of course, a monstrous falsification. In a whole series of fundamental respects the ordinary people of Cuba have far greater freedoms than the masses of this country.

But it is a fact that up to this time, most decision making in Cuba is done at the top, principally by the party leadership. There has been a growing development of the process of "local power" in Cuba, including many responsibilities assumed by the block-based Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and through such things as the election of local judges. But these are still mainly in the realm of administration rather than policy making.

For a period of time now, work has been carried on in Cuba for the development of a revolutionary constitution which will establish the structure for popular rule. Fidel has stated that such a constitution will be introduced by 1970.

In my view, Cuba's situation makes this a top-priority project. Cuba's limited resources and manpower can be far more effectively utilized if there is a maximum participation in planning how to use them.

Further, I think such democratic participation, in a structured way, is essential for maintaining revolutionary morale in so difficult a situation. The Cuban people are being called upon to make real sacrifices in defense of the revolution and for the sake of the nation's and the world's future development. They must work very hard and do so without many material things.

The most effective way of maintaining popular revolutionary morale in such a context is to have the maximum possible understanding of the political necessity for every move and measure. And the best way of ensuring such necessary understanding is to involve people in the decision making related to the solution of the revolution's problems.

Such structured democracy will, I am convinced, develop even further the remarkable capacity shown by so many of the Cuban people to do what is required for the sake of their revolution. And it would add even more to the impressive progress made by the revolution in the face of such extreme difficulties.

(Second of a series.)

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# Berkeley authorities end 'State of Disaster'

BERKELEY, Sept. 12—The "state of civil disaster" declared here last week disappeared Sept. 10, a few hours before a city-council meeting scheduled to discuss the "disaster" decrees. The city council lifted its ban on public meetings and the 8 p.m. curfew in order to head off a major demonstration at the council meeting itself.

In spite of the official bans and in protest against them, Berkeley activists held a series of demonstrations during the week. While these were peaceful and orderly, there were a number of incidents of right-wing violence against the movement.

Cops continued their past weeks' policy of sporadic arrests and beatings; the windows of the offices of the Student Mobilization Committee and the Peace and Freedom Party were broken, possibly by bullets; shots were fired into the window of the apartment of Sandy Young, a member of the International Socialist Clubs; and two Oakland cops fired 12 shots into the headquarters of the Black Panther Party (see story, page 1).

On Thursday, Sept. 5, two days after the ban was decreed, a mass meeting of 1,500 persons planned to picket a Berkeley market the following day. The pickets protested the sale of scab-picked table grapes, in support of a boycott by striking farm workers.

The police did not attack the Friday picket line, stating that "Picketing, as such, is legal." Further, the market removed scab grapes from its shelves, so the picket line was moved to city hall to demand the lifting of the ban.

This rally was disbanded at 10 p.m.,

the time permits for sound equipment usually expire. As the sound equipment was being taken into a car, 20 cops descended and confiscated it as "evidence." This was evidently an act of harassment, since no one has yet been arrested for speaking at the "illegal" city-hall rally.

Even after the ban had been lifted, there was an overflow attendance at the public city-council meeting Sept. 10. The city officials pretended that they had lifted the ban because there had been no more violence during the week.

But Jack Bloom, speaking for the demonstrators, pointed out that there had been continued police provocations, the shooting of Sandy Young's window, and the breaking of the SMC and PFP office windows.

"The mayor says there is no violence in Berkeley," Bloom declared, "because the violence now is against the people and that to him is normal." Bloom is a PFP spokesman.

The demonstrators presented a number of demands aimed at preventing police violence to the council. Among them was the demand that the city repeal the law under which the city manager is able to declare a phony "state of civil disaster," in reality aimed at repressing demonstrations of dissent.

Today and yesterday there have been pickets and rallies to demand that Huey Newton be freed on bail following his frame-up conviction in an Oakland courthouse last week. The judge declared that he intended to postpone ruling on the question of bail until Sept. 27—the day previously announced for sentencing.



Photo by Jon Britton

AT PRESS CONFERENCE. Chairman David Brothers (left) and Captain Joudon Ford of New York Black Panther Party at Sept. 10 announcement of their suit of police for brutal attack on Panthers in Brooklyn court.

## N.Y. Panthers seek court curb on cops

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The New York Black Panther Party asked a federal district court here Sept. 10 to place the New York City police department under community control and to enjoin any further police harassment of Afro-Americans.

The petition filed with the court details the cops' persistent attempts to intimidate the Panthers since the party established its New York branch last May. The harassment culminated Aug. 4, when some 200 off-duty cops, many wearing "Wallace-for-President" buttons, attacked a group of Panthers and white supporters in a Brooklyn courthouse. (See *The Militant*, Sept. 13.)

The Panthers' suit is being sponsored by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Law Center for Constitutional Rights, and the National Lawyers Guild.

Defendants named in the suit include the New York City police commissioner, Howard Leary; the so-called Law Enforcement Group, a semisecret group of extreme right-wing policemen; the Enforcement Group's chairman, Officer Robert Raggi; three policemen who were present at the Sept. 4 attack; and the Kings County (Brooklyn) district attorney, Aaron Koota.

In addition to calling for community control of the police department, the suit

asks for an injunction against the department to prevent further acts of violence, intimidation and humiliation against black people. It demands that all policemen be required to wear name tags and that off-duty policemen be prohibited from carrying arms when engaged in political activity or when they are in or around a courthouse.

The petition refers to the frequent use by cops of racial epithets and the handcuffing of black prisoners in open court as typical of the humiliating actions it seeks to end. The suit also demands an end to police surveillance of the Panthers' activities and the frequent illegal searches of their premises.

In explaining the petition for community control of the police force, Panther Captain Joudon Ford stated, "Racism in the police department will never be stopped until decentralization is achieved, and decentralization means community control."

## ...Newton

(Continued from page 1)

Huey Newton will be freed on bail while his appeal is being made. The demonstrators will demand that Newton be released on bail.

The request for a new trial will revolve around the confusion surrounding the transcript of a statement given to the police by the star witness of the prosecution, Henry Grier. The transcript that was originally presented to the court read, "I only had my lights on. I couldn't . . . I did get a clear view of his face."

While the jury was deliberating, the defense amplified the sounds from the original recording made by the police department and convinced the judge that Grier had actually stated, "I *didn't* get a clear view of his face."

The corrected version of the transcript was then sent to the jury. But according to one of the jurors, they were not informed that a change had been made in the transcript.

In other words, when the jurors made their decision, they were still under the impression that Grier had told the police that he had clearly seen Newton's face during the shooting last Oct. 28. Since Grier's testimony was the main pillar in the shaky prosecution case against Newton, there certainly are grounds for a retrial.

## ...GI march

(Continued from page 1)

name is a take off on CIA). According to Locks and Smith, GIA membership is widespread and includes men stationed in Vietnam, Korea and elsewhere. "We need our own organization which will look after our own interests and allow us to take common action to our common problems," Locks said.

Civilian support for the Oct. 12 march includes "miniskirt" and "mom" brigades of women to leaflet at bases and at service centers in cities. Broad mass support is seen by Smith and Locks and their veteran and civilian supporters as the best way of encouraging GIs to march and to protect them from retaliation by the brass.

The leaflets are being distributed quoting General Estes' message to show servicemen that the brass knows it cannot legally punish them for participation and to convince the troops that their best way of preventing illegal action against them is to make the march and rally as large as possible.

## General takes dim view of slated GI peace march

(Opponents of the Vietnam war, including servicemen, are circulating this leaflet as part of the preparations for the Oct. 21 San Francisco GI march against the war. Gen. McConnell is Air Force chief of staff. Gen. Estes is Military Airlift Command chief.)

\* \* \*

The following is a reprint of the original text, unclassified message, received 28 August, 1968, at headquarters, USAF Communications Center. All details of text are exactly as originally transmitted.

Personal for General McConnell from General Estes.

SUB. 2nd Lieutenant Hugh F. Smith FV3179560. I am informed that facts and circumstances of this matter have been discussed with you by General Manss and Capucci and that there is secretarial interest. Smith is organizing a 'Peace in Vietnam' demonstration for men in uniform to take place in San Francisco. He applied for and received a permit for a demonstration to be held on 21 September. Subsequently, permit changed to 12 October. Strongly believe this demonstration should be quashed if possible because of possible severe impact on military discipline throughout the services. There is no AFR specifically proscribing this type of activity. AFR35-78 is pointed solely to civil rights demonstrations. Since there are national policy considerations in such an order it should emanate from DOD [Department of Defense] or at least Air Force level. I recommend this be done at once so that Smith will realize that if he proceeds he subjects himself with certainty to criminal punitive action.

In the absence of a regulation or order specifically prohibiting such activity believe any criminal prosecution would be tenuous to say the least, particularly in view of the political climate of the day.

If the foregoing is unattainable, I reluctantly recommend that we be given authority to proceed with dispatch with the AFR36-3 action which has been recommended by the commander 349MAW and concurred in by General Sherrill, commander 22AF. I realize this would result in a discharge under honorable conditions, but the disposition of Smith is relatively unimportant as compared to the highly undesirable impact on military discipline if armed forces personnel are permitted to demonstrate in uniform against national defense policies with impunity.

BT

NNN#

The Pentagon, Washington D.C., 29 August, 1968