

# Interview with Yugoslav student rebels

-see page 6

## THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 32—No. 39

Friday, September 27, 1968

price 15c



Photo by Shannon

**UNION DEMAND?** Racist character of school shutdown called by New York teachers' union officials is indicated by sign carried by this demonstrator at city hall Sept. 16. Target of "law and order" demand is black and Puerto Rican communities. See stories page 4.

## GIs press plans for peace march

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 18—The Air Force suffered a defeat here earlier this week in its attempt to stop the Oct. 12 GI March for Peace. It was forced to revoke its orders to transfer Airmen First Class Michael R. Locks and John Bright to Utah for 45 days of temporary duty.

Locks and Bright, who have been active in organizing the antiwar march, received orders removing them from the Bay Area Sept. 13. The following day they held a press conference making public this attempt to prevent them from exercising their constitutional rights.

They were accompanied by a panel of ministers, doctors, lawyers and teachers who support the right of GIs to protest the war. Telegrams of support came from the New York Veterans for Peace and the national office of the Student Mobilization Committee.

**CP reporters rebut party's Czech line**

page 3

**Newton interview**

page 7

**Set Chicago march**

page 12

The Air Force revoked the transfer orders Sept. 16 after legal moves by attorneys representing Bright and Locks.

However, another GI leader is still threatened with punitive transfer. Lieut. Hugh Smith has received orders for Taiwan. He has asked courts for a restraining order against the Air Force, and the case is still pending.

All three soldiers have declared that the march will not be stopped by such tactics. Other GIs have volunteered their help and are now working in the office of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church, the organizing center for the march.

Top military officials hope to quash the march. This was revealed in a "personal" message from Gen. Estes, chief of the Military Airlift Command, to Gen. McConnell, Air Force chief of staff.

Estes stated there would be a "highly undesirable impact on military discipline if armed forces personnel are permitted to demonstrate in uniform against national defense policies with impunity." (See *The Militant*, Sept. 20.)

Building the size of the march and increasing civilian support for it is seen by the GI organizers as their best protection against retaliation. Endorsements have come from Local 4 of the painters' union and WACO (Western Addition Community Organization, a predominantly black neighborhood group).

More than 15 ministers and medical doctors have also endorsed the march and the GIs' right to express their opinions. Other labor and black support is expected.

The publicizing of the march has included leafleting, putting up posters and

(Continued on page 12)

## Panther leaders attacked by cops in Seattle court

By Paul Boutelle

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, is in Seattle on the first leg of a national campaign speaking tour. On Sept. 17 he was the principal speaker at the state conventions of both the Black Panther Party and the SWP. (See stories, page 5.)

SEATTLE, Sept. 19—About 10 racist cops beat and tear-gassed Black Panther Captain of Defense Curtis Harris and Captain of Information William Jackson in a public courtroom here yesterday. After the brutal attack Harris and Jackson were arrested on phony charges of making "oral threats" against the police. The arrest came one day after Harris was nominated as candidate for the state legislature by the state convention of the Black Panther Party.

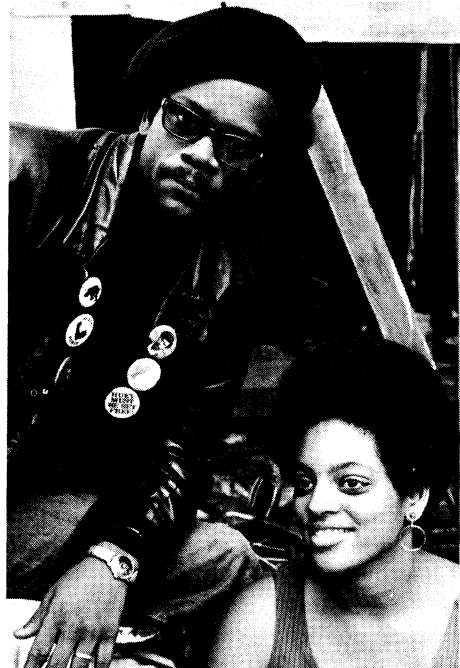
At noon today Harris, Jackson, and two other Panthers filed a complaint of assault with intent to kill against six cops.

The Panther leaders were in the courtroom observing the trial of Panther member Buddy Yates, who was falsely accused of committing armed robbery. Yates was acquitted for lack of evidence when the prosecution could not produce a single witness to his alleged crime.

During the trial, Harris said, a plainclothes detective came up to him and threatened to kill him. The two exchanged words, and at that point 10 cops attacked Harris, using tear gas or Mace. He was choked, kicked and had his eyes gouged. When Billy Jackson came to Harris' defense he was also beaten. The two were roughed up further as they were taken to the booking desk.

Harris was charged with threatening to kill the cops! Jackson was charged with interfering with an arrest and threatening to kill cops. Harris was initially held under \$2,500 bail and was then released with no bail on personal recognizance.

Today Harris, Jackson, Buddy Yates and another Panther brought charges of assault with intent to kill against Sergeant Ivan N. Veason, Detective Vernon Yourston and Sergeant C. Church. They asked for



Curtis and Joanne Harris

John Doe charges against three other cops they had not yet identified.

This brazen assault closely parallels the Sept. 4 attack on a group of Panthers and their supporters by 200 off-duty cops in a Brooklyn courthouse. Arresting the victims is a flimsy cover-up for the illegal actions of the police.

Racist vigilante police are on the rampage against black leaders all over this country. They know that they are practically immune from prosecution by the capitalist rulers of this land. It is only by a united defense that this savage onslaught can be beaten back.

As part of my campaign for the vice presidency I intend to do all I can to expose such crimes and to rally support for Curtis Harris, Billy Jackson and the Seattle Black Panther Party in their fight against this unjust prosecution. I urge all fighters for black liberation, and all defenders of elementary human rights, to rally to the defense of Curtis Harris and Billy Jackson.

## Student Mobilizer reports plans for fall action

Through the pages of the September issue of the *Student Mobilizer*, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has launched the organization of the Oct. 21-27 Week of International Solidarity Against the War in Vietnam. Calls for international action against the war have been issued by major peace forces in Japan, Britain and Canada (see story, page 3).

The *Student Mobilizer* urges all organizations and individuals opposed to the war in Vietnam to unite in the streets throughout the country in mass actions on Oct. 26 to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

A central focus of the action, agreed on by a national conference of the SMC in Chicago, Labor Day weekend, will be support to the rapidly mounting antiwar sentiment among GIs and defense of GIs victimized for their opposition to the war.

The *Student Mobilizer* offers a series of suggestions of what kind of activities can be organized during the week of Oct. 21-27. These include:

- GI teach-ins
- Demonstrations on campus against Dow, Marine and ROTC recruiters, etc.
- Campaign against war research on campus.
- Campus referendums on war recruiting, ROTC, etc.
- Showing of antiwar films.
- Rallies and leafleting campaigns building toward Oct. 26.
- Leafleting the nearest Army base. Distributing antiwar GI papers on campuses and at Army bases.

The *Student Mobilizer* lists a variety of organizing and educational material available from SMC that can be used in building the week's activity, including buttons, posters, stickers and literature.

The issue of the *Student Mobilizer* is the brightest and liveliest yet and should prove very valuable in promoting campus antiwar activity.

Copies (five cents, two cents in bulk) may be ordered from the SMC national office at 9 South Clinton St., rm. 225, Chicago, Ill. 60606.

# THE MILITANT

Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD      Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$4 a year; foreign, \$5.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$10.50; all other countries, \$15.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$15.00; Latin America, \$24.00; Europe, \$28.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$33.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 32—No. 39

126

Friday, September 27, 1968

## A revolutionary coup in France by Halloween?

By Alain Krivine

*The following are excerpts from a letter by Alain Krivine, the leader of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) of France, which was dissolved by order of the French government in June. The letter was published by the French daily Combat on Sept. 2. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.*

During the months of May and June, Monsieur Marcellin [commander-in-chief of the French police, appointed Minister of the Interior May 30] displayed his talents as an impresario of clubs and grenades. Today, he is revealing great aptitude in the field of literature. In the book he has just published and in his "knowledgeable" articles for the press, the "Minister of Repression" engages in witch-hunting of a kind seldom seen in our country. . . .

What did we have? A vast plot spawned by a devilish brew of terrorists, anarchists, Trotskyists, PSU [United Socialist Party] members, pro-Chinese, and a lot of others besides. The argument is simple. The May demonstrators retaliated with paving stones against the clubs of the CRS [Republican Security Companies—elite state-security troops]. That proves there was a paramilitary organization. Similar demonstrations broke out in several countries. That proves there was an international plot. . . .

Unfortunately for our Bobbies, the first accusations fell flat. Since no proof could be produced of the existence of armed groups, the first wave of "preventive arrests" in June ended without a single indictment. Now they are switching to a witch-hunt in hope that will be more successful. The May days were only an hors d'oeuvre, you are going to see a "Red October." The reactionary press is ready to reveal the plans of the insurrection. . . .

In promoting the notion of a "Red October," the bourgeoisie has two aims in mind. The first aim is to discredit the revolutionary vanguard by claiming in November that the attempt at a revolution in October, after being isolated, ended in failure. The second aim is to condition public opinion for stepped-up repressive measures against this vanguard.

Thus we are offered an occasion to reveal our secrets. For revolutionary Marxist militants, a revolutionary situation is created by the conjuncture of various objective factors.

Without going into the events of May-June in detail, it is an established fact that the student movement was able to set the working class in motion by its exemplary struggle because a revolutionary potential existed within the working class to which none of the bureaucratized parties had given expression. . . .

The vanguard was not sufficiently prepared to take power and hold it. There was no alternative leadership recognized by the workers. Consequently the pendulum swung back the other way with the balance of forces again momentarily turning in favor of the bourgeoisie. . . .

Saying that the system has entered a phase of crisis and profound shake-ups does not mean that it will be possible to overthrow it in October as it was possible in May. The student movement must set objectives in accordance with this situation and with a responsibility all the greater because it now represents a rather considerable political force. The government has understood this situation and is now trying to regain the initiative by choosing its own ground to fight on. . . .

Divide and rule, isolate the students from the workers and the revolutionary students from the student mass in order to pursue an essentially anti-working-class policy, that is the objective of the parliamentary majority.

In meeting this, the students of May have sufficient maturity to avoid the traps and choose their own ground to fight on, in accordance with the opportunities offered by the class struggle in this country. Marcellin, weapons ready, is waiting for October to crush the vanguard; but we are not going to give him that satisfaction.

The objective of the first battles will be to preserve the gains of May, both the political freedoms in the university and the ties between the workers and students in the Action Committees. . . .

In the period opening up, regroupment of the revolutionary Marxist vanguard is imperative. The question is whether this will occur legally. Marcellin has said that he "was not attacking political ideas." Good. Now the government is on the spot and must decide whether it wants to assume the responsibility of driving thousands of militants underground by banning any new formation to the left of the PCF [French Communist Party].

In conclusion, I will tell Marcellin another secret. We have discovered who was responsible for the revolts in Paris, Mexico, and Berlin. There is really an International at work, the capitalist International.

## Gls write from Vietnam, Korea

### 'I would like to help'

Vietnam

I received some literature concerning the SWP campaign for Fred Halstead. I especially appreciate it as it was very informative and has given me some ideas. I shall be writing to you in the future concerning the SWP, as I would like to help if possible.

It is necessary for those of us of a socialist attitude, yet in the military, to avoid being seen with any type of literature that could be called "anti-American" in the eyes of the establishment. As you can imagine, the majority of the people in my outfit believe the war is just and necessary and look with great disapproval upon persons like myself. They have eyes, yet are blind in a sense.

By harassing us with petty things they feel they are hurting us and at the same time satisfying their patriotic urges. They cannot see that their harassment serves to inspire us further.

### 'I only wish I could take an active part'

South Korea

I feel that my thoughts and convictions are mine alone, and the Army cannot change them. I have heard of the positive things which your party has done in regards to the war. I wish to express my gratitude to you for your almost endless efforts.

I hope all your candidates can achieve their goal this election year. I would appreciate any information you could spare on the war and on your candidates. I only wish I could be home to take an active part.

### SWP—'last hope'

New York, N.Y.

I am absolutely disgusted with all the presidential candidates and look to you as my last hope. Would you send me as much information as possible. Let me know if there are any mailing charges.

### 'Farce in Chicago'

Cheney, Wash.

I would appreciate very much if you would place me on your mailing list and send me some of your pamphlets and literature. The Socialist Workers Party and I seem to hold very similar views on black power, the Vietnam war, peace and poverty. I was a supporter of Senator Gene McCarthy, but the shameful farce that occurred in Chicago proved to me how much the Democratic Party is controlled by machines and party bosses, and how deaf the party is to the voice of the people.

### The Brothers use McCarthy pamphlets

Albany, N.Y.

We at the Brothers could use as many of those booklets on the McCarthy campaign as you can afford to send us. There are several colleges in the area, and hundreds of would-be radical students are being co-opted, not to mention the possible effect on the man in the street. McCarthy has several campaign headquarters in the city.

Our newspaper, the *Albany Liberator*, would like to reprint some of the facts on McCarthy from the booklet, like his voting record.

*The pamphlet, "The Truth About the McCarthy Campaign," can be obtained for 25 cents a copy, or 15 cents a copy in orders of 5 or more, from the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.*

### Unionist supports socialist campaign

Newton, Mass.

I have just seen your candidates for President and Vice President [Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle] on "Firing Line" with William Buckley. Since my own political bent seems to find a refuge in your party, I would appreciate any literature you could make available to me. As a member of the United Auto Workers, I would desire those tracts which pertain to labor's place in the struggle for a socialist system in the United States.

### Socialist campaign in Md. high school

Bethesda, Md.

I am a high-school student in Montgomery County, Maryland, the county with the highest per-capita income in the world. I just arrived here, and I'm sorry to say most of the students have never heard of the SWP. In fact, most think of nothing but clothes and sex. There are, however, quite a few frustrated McCarthy supporters and various confused antiwar people.

While I don't agree with everything the SWP stands for, I feel I can easier support it, more than any other party. I would like to distribute brochures—"Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle," "The Socialist Candidates in '68,"

## Letters to socialist campaign

*In place of the usual "Letters from our readers" column, this week we are printing a selection of letters recently received by the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee.*

*The Socialist Workers Party is running Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President, in addition to many state and local candidates.*

"Vote Socialist Workers in '68," or any others you have—in great enough quantity to reach enough people to have an effect on my upper-middle-class, segregated high school. They would be most gratefully received.

### Vt. socialist youth

Proctor, Vt.

Among the Proctor youth there are a small number who are very interested in any political buttons and literature which could be obtained from the Socialist Workers Party. We are more than dissatisfied with the two major parties—and, of course, Wallace's extreme right group. Any help from you would be more than appreciated.

Could possibly 10 buttons and 10 or more pamphlets be obtained? They would be put to use, I assure you. If there is a price, let us know. We hope to, and expect to, have more members in our small committee [the Proctor Socialist Youth Committee] soon. You will be hearing from us, and good luck.

## 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.
- Los Angeles:** SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.
- Sacramento:** Sacramento State College YSA, John Montgomery, West Bridge, #192. 1025 University Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95825.
- 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 Maniskalco, 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, Carol French, 194 Jay Street, Albany 11210.
- 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.



# Prague correspondents of 'Daily World' hit Gus Hall's Czech line

A bitter denunciation of Moscow's policies in Czechoslovakia and the American Communist Party's subservience to the Moscow line has appeared in Southern California circles of the American CP in the form of an open letter to the CP leadership by its own longtime correspondents in Prague, Eleanor and George Wheeler. The full text of the Wheeler letter was reprinted in the Sept. 23 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Written before the Aug. 21 invasion, the letter reveals that the Wheelers had submitted a number of articles favorable to the democratization measures of the Dubcek regime, none of which had appeared in either the CP newspaper *Daily World* or the CP magazine *Political Affairs*.

Indicative of the deep split in leading ranks of the American CP is the fact that the West Coast CP newspaper, *People's World*, published a telephone interview with George Wheeler Aug. 31, after his sharp letter had been written, and after the Soviet invasion.

"There was no counterrevolution here," Wheeler told the *People's World*, "only plans for better socialism, for democratic socialism . . . The intervention is a tragic mistake—one of the most tragic in history." The *People's World* described Wheeler as a "veteran American Communist and a resident in Prague for two decades."

In their open letter, the Wheelers note that "From Portugal to Norway the Czechoslovak Party received messages of support from the Communist parties of those countries, as well as from Yugoslavia and Rumania."

"Our pleasure in the correct and wise solution of this crisis [the apparant cooling of the crisis at Bratislava, two weeks before the invasion] was clouded by our anxious waiting for the U. S. Party to speak up—then in the July 26 issue of the *Daily World* the editorial spoke up . . . but on the wrong side. This has had a sad effect on the prestige in Europe of the U. S. Party, and we wonder what effect it will have in the United States."

The July 26 editorial of the *Daily World*, mentioned by the Wheelers, was written at the high point of world tension about Soviet troop moves in and around Czechoslovakia. The *Daily World* declared that reports in the American press about the "so-called conflict" between Moscow and Prague was actually a "smokescreen" to cover the "real conflict" between West German militarists and Warsaw Pact forces.

The Wheelers take strong issue with the *Daily World's* whooping up of anti-Nazi sentiment as a cover for Moscow's Czech invasion preparations. They single out a July 30 front-page article by Joseph North in which North quotes as authoritative a report by a Peter Lust from West Germany headed "Neo Nazis Infiltrating Sudetenland."

"North knows so little about the situation," the Wheelers declared, "that he refers to 'Prime Minister Alexander Dubcek.'" Actually, Dubcek is first secretary of the Czech Communist Party.

North reported that Lust "says the dream of Sudetenland once again being German remained a dream until 1968 when the Czechoslovak Prime Minister ordered the removal of all armed posts during his liberalization program. Then infiltration began."

The Wheelers write, "Here the liberalization program is directly linked to the sell-out of the homeland . . . What is the truth?"

"First the defense of Czechoslovakia is far more secure than before, army morale has jumped with the democratization program . . . The frontier defenses were not dismantled, but instead were strengthened by replacing the unsightly barbed wire and electric fences with electronic devices that are more effective."

"Previously tourists, who came in by thousands along the road from West Germany, had seen in those fences the visible 'proof' that Czechoslovakia was one vast concentration camp. Many Americans commented on them to us. Now, with the new

freedom of all to travel as they wish, the concentration camp argument is gone—along with the easily visible part of the fence."

"As for North's conclusion: 'Then infiltration began.' This, too, is bunk—(to use a printable term) . . ."

The Wheelers directly attack the Soviet press. They write, "A good part of the smoke for the crisis originated in *Pravda*. Let us take an example from a field which we know best. On July 26 *Pravda* carried an article by Juri Zhukov on the dangerous tendencies here."

"He wrote: 'Practical actions going on in Prague speak for themselves. One of the leading officials O. Sik spoke on television asking for "encouragement for developing middle and small private businesses."' In order to get the words for the part of a sentence he fabricated into quotation marks, Zhukov had to use three paragraphs of Sik's text!"

"Sik in reply, *Rude Pravo*, July 28, merely quoted what he had actually said: 'I don't see any reason why, let us say, a few (e.g. four to 10) skillful citizens could not form *cooperatives* either of producers or artisans.' His only reference to middle-sized private business enterprises was to those now existing in the *German Democratic Republic*."

"As far as we know *Pravda* did not print any correction to this or any other of these scare stories."

"Are such journalistic practices such an inherent part of building socialism that they cannot even be talked about without one being accused of being anti-Soviet?! In our opinion these arbitrary methods, giving only one, distorted side of the argument harm the Communist movement deeply."

Passing from this condemnation of Soviet policies to the American CP, the Wheelers ask "But what of our party in the U. S.? For many years we have resisted the idea that the CPUSA was an irrelevant clique. We still think it is not. But we are seriously worried about the effect of the blunders in the Czechoslovak crisis. How many more shocks to its prestige can it stand?"

They take strong exception to another front-page slander in the *Daily World*. This was the Aug. 2 issue which declared in a banner headline, "Details of Plot On Prague Bared." Featured on the front page was an article that appeared in *The Militant* of the same date entitled "Left Communist group forms in Czechoslovakia."

The *Daily World* caption on this was "Provocation in Czechoslovakia: The Militant, an American Trotskyist paper, proudly displays this example of Trotskyist treachery in Czechoslovakia."

Participants in the "subversive conspiracy" were supposed to include "Prime Minister Couve de Murville of the Gaullist government of France; the Catholic parties of neighboring countries, particularly Austria; the leadership of the Socialist International . . . Radio Free Europe; the Central Intelligence Agency of the U. S. . . . [and inside Czechoslovakia] former Nazis, Trotskyites, the Social Democratic party [sic]," etc.

In a postscript to their open letter, the Wheelers rejoin, "After we had written this we received the Aug. 2 issue with its shocking articles—completely undocumented and inconsistent, a wild collection of assertions of the McCarthy-Beria type. We cannot answer them in detail because every paragraph has its distortions, misstatements and misinterpretations."

"For example, there is no Social Democratic party. There is no slogan 'Absolute Freedom.' The slander against the Slovaks was a mark of the Novotny era. Now the breach is healing. Dubcek himself is a Slovak . . ."

"We think, in fact, that you owe an apology to the Czechoslovak party. But, written just on its eve, the Bratislava meeting gave the full and final refutation of the Aug. 2 analysis."



**WILL HORSES DO?** Even Britain's financial magazine, *The Economist*, considers planned Oct. 27 anti-Vietnam-war demonstration in London in current issue. Photo of recent protest is from *The Economist's* front cover. Inside, the editors recommend using water hoses on crowd.

# Britain, Canada set Oct. actions

Plans are under way in Britain and Canada for major anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations in coordination with international antiwar activities set for the last week in October. Mobilizations have been scheduled by the Zengakuren in Japan and by the Student Mobilization Committee in this country.

The British protest is planned for central London on Oct. 27. Sections of the British press are predicting that the turnout may be 100,000; they have launched a crude red-baiting attack on mobilization organizers in the hope of heading off the protest.

In London Sept. 3, Scotland Yard detectives raided the office of the *Black Dwarf* newspaper and the following day the *Evening News* reported in a front page banner headline: "Yard in Terror Bomb Hunt."

Actually all the intrepid men from Scotland Yard found at the newspaper office was a drawing of a molotov cocktail scribbled on the wall. The *Black Dwarf* is edited by socialist antiwar activist Tariq Ali.

Notable in the organization of the London demonstration is the widespread support. Its basic slogans are "Defeat U. S. Aggression in Vietnam," "Victory to the National Liberation Front and the Vietnamese Revolution," and "End the Labor Government's Complicity in the War."

The London protest is being planned by the Vietnam Ad Hoc Committee set up after a national appeal by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. Among British left tendencies participating in the committee are: International Socialism; the International Marxist Group (affiliated to the Fourth International); the Communist Party and the Young Communist League.

A breakthrough in building the Canadian International Week of Protest, Oct. 21-27, came with the decision of the 100,000-member Canadian Union of Students to support the protest at its recent congress in Guelph, Ontario. The union is the equivalent in English-speaking Canada of the National Student Association in the U. S.

Joe Young, chairman of the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam, persuaded the congress to join the antiwar demonstrations set for Oct. 26, after returning from the U. S. Student Mobilization Committee conference held in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend.

# SWP on ballot in Wisconsin

MADISON, Wis.—The secretary of state's office announced here Sept. 17 that the Socialist Workers Party had qualified for the Wisconsin ballot.

Bob Wilkinson, Vietnam veteran and SWP candidate for governor, presented the nominating petitions to the state supervisor of elections, Leo Fahey, the previous day. Two separate petitions were submitted: one containing 4,921 signatures to put Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle on the ballot; the other with 4,669 signatures in behalf of Wilkinson's candidacy. A minimum of 3,000 signatures was required on each petition.

A press conference was held after the presentation which received good coverage in the newspapers and on channel 3 television in Madison.

Nominating petitions have also been filed on behalf of George Wallace, the Socialist Labor Party and Eugene McCarthy. The latter petitions weren't accepted, however, because they weren't accompanied by a letter of acceptance from McCarthy.

**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

merit publishers

873 Broadway  
New York, N.Y. 10003

25¢

# "You just have to contain them"

By Ethel Bloch

NEW YORK — Public School 63 on New York's Lower East Side, with a composition of 85 percent black and Puerto Rican children, and a teaching staff (including principal and assistant principals) 100 percent white, is caught up in the vortex of the struggle for community control of the schools.

For years there have been reports of teachers heaping indignities upon Puerto Rican and black children at P. S. 63. One kindergarten teacher was known to be very free in slapping the five-year-olds and also remarking to the class that certain children

"smell bad." Another teacher was heard by many to say, upon hearing of the death of Martin Luther King, "Too bad they got one of their good ones."

A Puerto Rican mother related to me how her child's teacher told her that her little girl was crazy, mentally unbalanced, and how she, taking this remark seriously, became very concerned about her child's health and took her to Beth Israel Hospital's psychiatric department for an examination.

Her concern turned to fury when the doctors told her that her child was completely normal and that she should never have brought her there.

I got another insight into the school from the remarks made to me inadvertently by white mothers and white teachers, because I was a mother who was white and lived in a middle-income co-op.

Last year, on the first day of school, when I brought my six-year-old girl to first grade, I was astounded at the lack of organization. The children were pouring up to the locked door, all dressed for the exciting event of the first day of school. But when the doors were opened there was no effort to talk to the children, no instructions about where to go.

I spoke to the assistant principal about this situation. She smiled knowingly. "You know," she said, "these are different kinds of children from those we used to have here. You can't have any organization with them. You just have to contain them. They are not the same as us."

One white mother told me how her little boy's third-grade class in P. S. 63 was like a private-school class. She told me there were 30 children in the class, but that about half of the class were "dummies," who could hardly speak any English, and the teacher "didn't have to bother with them." That left about 15 which, she pointed out to me, is a very good student-teacher ratio. Her little boy came by at this moment and she called to him, "How many dummies are there in your class?" He stopped and thought and then said, "Well, I think about 14; one Chinese kid can say 'hello' in English now."

These reactionary whites feel that with the present set-up they have a good thing. Anything that's good in the public school system will be theirs. The white middle-class children will, after the first grade, be segregated into the "bright" classes with the best teachers.

Things came to a head last school year when a white kindergarten teacher prevented the hiring of a black man as her assistant after he had been accepted for the job by the principal and had been recommended by the Negro Action Group, a community group that screens applicants for jobs in this area.

When the Negro Action Group began picketing the school in protest, the PTA president came out with a leaflet stating that "Outside militants are trying to take over the school. Come and defend your principal."

At this point a group of parents set up a caucus in opposition to the PTA executive committee. We ran a short but spirited campaign, but lost because the teachers, threatened with the specter of black nationalism, voted as a bloc against the new slate.

On Sept. 9, the first day of the current United Federation of Teachers strike against community control, I arrived at P. S. 63 with my child. The teachers were out on the picket line in force.

I walked through the small courtyard and informed the principal that I was bringing my child to school. He told me the school was closed for two reasons. One, there were no teachers, and two, it was unsafe, because of renovation (which had been going on for over a year). The second reason was a real joke, since all the past year the school had been open while in the most unsafe condition, with many fire exits closed off, wires dangling from the ceiling, and power saws left plugged in in the hallways.

I joined the other parents who had come with their children through the picket line. They were mainly Puerto Rican, black, and the consciously radical whites. After setting up a committee of three to go into the school to find a "safe" place to carry on classes, we decided to leave and return the next day.

The following morning Ralph Poynter, a black teacher who was fired last year for his militant activities, was at our school door when I arrived. The teachers' picket line was out front. We expected the principal to let us in, but we were refused; the many parents and children who crowded in front of the door were barred by police from entering.

One of the leading mothers, with her year-old baby on her back, started to move through the door — and then all hell broke loose. The cops with their usual ferociousness went for her, ignoring the baby with her, throwing her down. They tackled Ralph Poynter, who tried to aid her, beating him to the ground. A maintenance man grabbed a hammer and also went for Poynter, but instead was thrown on top of a three-year-old child.

At one point a young teacher on the picket line broke through his own line to rush into the courtyard and scream at the police to use their clubs on Poynter. Within a minute dozens of police arrived and dragged Poynter off.

The cops left as quickly as they had arrived, apparently realizing that the mothers had not broken any law. Then the school doors were opened and we all went in and held a class in the auditorium.

Wednesday, Sept. 11, school was open and the teachers returned under a short-lived agreement between the board of education and the UFT. I tried to talk to some of them. They had witnessed the violence and abuse heaped upon the mothers and Ralph Poynter the day before. I hoped that maybe some of the teachers would see that something very important must be involved for people to put their bodies on the line. They answered with declarations of how much they've tried to help the children.

School lasted two days, and on Friday the building was locked again. We decided to march to the local school board and demand that our school be opened.

P. S. 63 is part of a "decentralization" experiment by the board of education. It is run by a local school board which is nominated from the area. All its members, however, must be approved by the board of education, which makes the actual appointments.

The night before, the local school board, under tremendous pressure from angry people and organizations in the community, jumped the gun on decentralization and held an election in which the district superintendent, a white middle-class woman, was voted out.

At the local school board there was tremendous activity. Contingents from schools, children and their parents, would be ushered in. Teachers were directed to accompany the parents and children to their schools so the schools could be opened. Cheers went up as one school after another was staffed with teachers and even a principal where necessary.

Our group got swift results. We got teachers and an acting principal. Classes were held. More mothers brought their children.

The fight is just beginning. We hear that the reactionary white mothers from various District 1 schools are organizing. But we are organizing too. We have set up an official Parents Association separate from the one controlled by the white minority and the all-white teachers.

Some of the teachers on the picket line have shouted that we are being cruel to our children by subjecting them to this struggle. I disagree with them. I know my children have learned much this week. They have gained knowledge I doubt any teacher could teach them: that there are things in this world one must fight for.



Photo by Shannon

**ANTI-BLACK.** Teachers striking at PS 63 in New York show their outlook in picket signs. Black community drive to end racist education in schools is called "race hatred" and "mob rule."

## New York UFT strike sharpens in second week

NEW YORK, Sept. 19 — As the New York City teachers' strike against community control of the schools enters its second week, no settlement is in sight. Although the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) leadership continues to assert that this strike is in support of teachers' rights, the action remains, in fact, an attempt to break the growing movement for community control of the black and Puerto Rican communities. (See Sept. 20 *Militant*.)

The actual effect of the strike has been to increase the demand for community control of the schools, and community organizations have begun to mobilize against the strike.

Siding with the UFT leadership is the Council of Supervisory Associations, an organization of school principals and administrators, which has closed the schools, locking out numbers of teachers and students who have tried to enter. But groups of parents and teachers have opened many schools, and the number is increasing daily. Meanwhile, in many areas, opposition to the strike has been so great that teachers' picket lines have been abandoned.

There are 1,200,000 students in the New York school system. Fifty-two percent are black and Puerto Rican, while approximately 90 percent of the 55,000 teachers are white. Ten to 15 thousand of these teachers turned out for a rally called by the union leadership this week. The UFT leaflet advertising the rally called for an end to "mob rule" of the schools and an end to the teaching of "race hatred." By "race hatred" they mean the teaching of black history and black pride to children in the black community. "Mob rule" is the union bureaucrats' racist description of the attempts of the black community to control its own schools.

A possibly significant development was

the announcement of the formation of the UFT Black Caucus on Sept. 15. The caucus is headed by Richard Parrish, the assistant treasurer of the union and a member of its executive committee.

The Black Caucus attacked UFT president Albert Shanker for his "irresponsible action in calling a strike against the community" and declared "unequivocal support" for Rhody McCoy, the black unit-administrator responsible to the community governing board of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district in Brooklyn. The governing board is an experiment in community control. A central issue in the strike has been the UFT demand that the Ocean Hill community board rehire 10 teachers fired by the board last year.

State commissioner of education James Allen intervened in the strike Sept. 14 and ordered the board of education to temporarily take control of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district, suspending the local board. He ordered the 10 teachers in question transferred to other areas.

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board has not accepted Allen's directive, while Shanker has indicated that the proposal would be acceptable if guarantees were provided for its enforcement.

Not only does Shanker want a guarantee that the authority of the governing board will be effectively suspended, but he would like to oust the Ocean Hill board from the school system permanently. The UFT leaflet advertising the Sept. 16 teachers' rally made this explicit when it called for the "removal of McCoy and the governing board."

Meanwhile, on Sept. 19, Rhody McCoy announced that the governing board would refuse to enter into negotiations with the board of education and the UFT so long as the suspension order is not revoked.

## Panthers framed in Indianapolis

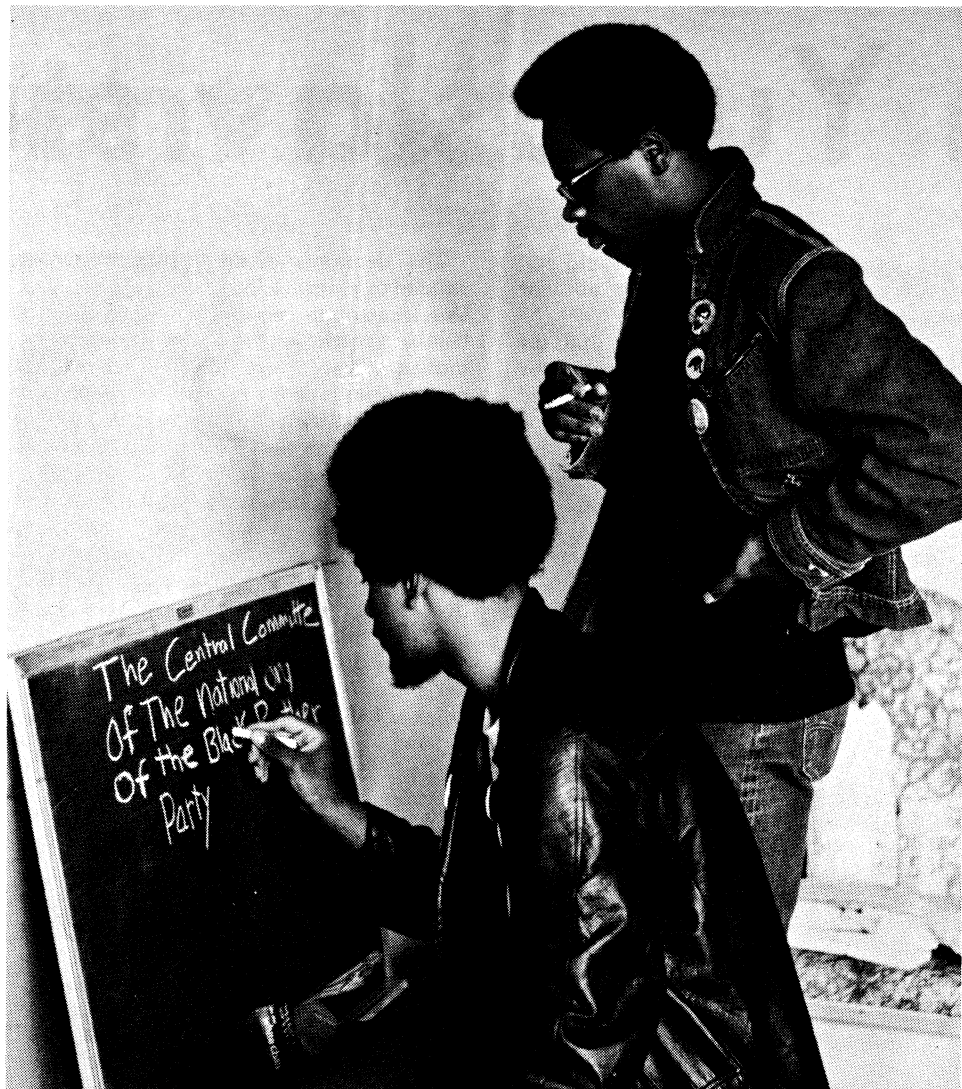
INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — Three black militants have been held in jail here since June 23 on frame-up charges of conspiring to assassinate the Indianapolis police chief and burglarize a Marine Corps armory. The three — Melvin Johnson, 25; Eldridge Morrison, Jr., 23; and Leon A. Gomillia, 18 — are alleged to be members of the Black Panthers. Bail has been set at the excessive figure of \$70,000 each.

At a bail-reduction hearing on Sept. 12, the chief state witness was a police informer, Allen R. Watkins, who had infiltrated the Panthers. Watkins is now a regular policeman here.

The three militants were arrested at a Marine training center where, according to the police agent, they "had planned to get automatic weapons."

Watkins evidently believes himself to be the object of numerous "plots." The informer testified at the Sept. 12 hearing that while the three militants were in jail someone had planted a bomb in his car, shot at him on Indiana Avenue, and that he single-handedly fought off five men who had dragged him from his car Aug. 15.





PANTHERS. Seattle Panther nominee Curtis Harris observes Panther Captain Aaron Dixon conduct political action class.

# Seattle Panthers nominate Harris

SEATTLE—Black Panther co-captain Curtis Harris was nominated for state representative at a nominating convention of the Black Panther Party here Sept. 17. He will run in the 37th district, position B.

To place a candidate on the ballot, a nominating convention must be attended by 100 registered voters. Despite the constant, ugly harassment of the Panthers by Seattle police, some 300 people attended the convention.

The convention restricted itself to the nomination of Harris and did not name a candidate for President or other offices.

Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information of the national Black Panther Party, who was nominated for President by the Washington Peace and Freedom Party, was scheduled to address the Panther convention but was unable to be there.

Authorities in Oakland prevented Cleaver from leaving the state, asserting it would violate the terms of his parole. He accepted the Washington Peace and Freedom nomination by phone.

In accepting the Panther nomination, Curtis Harris pointed to the significance of the fact that this was the first time a black party was contesting for office in the state. He presented the Black Panther's

national 10-point program as well as the local 10-point program formulated by the Seattle Panthers. He vigorously assailed the police attacks on his party.

Aaron Dixon, a Panther leader, his brother Elmer Dixon, and several guest speakers addressed the convention. Among the guest speakers were Jill Severen of the Freedom Socialist Party; Carolyn Black, national field secretary of the DuBois Clubs; Walt Crowley, a local Peace and Freedom candidate; and Marcy Hall, of the Black Student Union at the University of Washington.

The principal guest speaker was Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers vice-presidential nominee. He recounted to the interested audience the development of the movement for a black political party, including the experience of the Michigan Freedom Now Party, his own experience as a founder of the New York Freedom Now Party in 1963, and the work of the Lowndes County, Ala., Freedom Party. He also discussed the development of his socialist views.

Curtis Harris' campaign is going ahead despite the brutal courtroom attack on him by the police the day following the convention. (See story page 1.)

# SWP ticket selected at Wash. convention

**By Bruce Houston**

SEATTLE, Wash.—Despite a bomb threat that briefly forced over 175 delegates out into the rain, the Socialist Workers Party held a successful state convention here Sept. 17 to place its candidates on the ballot for the Nov. 5 general election. Over 200 people, most of them youth, attended the all-day convention. The convention nominated Fred Halstead for President, Paul Boutelle for Vice President, Debbie Leonard for U.S. Senate and Will Reissner for state legislature.

Any party wishing to be on the ballot in an election in Washington must hold a state convention attended by at least 100 registered voters who do not vote in a primary on primary day, Sept. 17. The SWP obtained more than the required 100 signatures on nominating certificates. An unusually large number of parties are trying to get on the ballot in this manner this year, including the Peace and Freedom Party; the Black Panther Party; the New Party, a pro-McCarthy group; the Socialist Labor Party; and the Free Ballot Party, which is supporting the Communist Party presidential ticket.

The convention was addressed by Paul Boutelle; Peter Camejo, Berkeley student leader; Will Reissner; and Debbie Leonard. Tom Leonard, chairman of the convention, read a statement supporting the idea of independent black political action and congratulating the Black Panther Party for running an independent campaign in Washington. Debbie Leonard announced publication of a pamphlet on the case of Aaron Dixon, a Seattle Black Panther Party leader who is being framed by the cops on a charge of "grand larceny by possession."

Boutelle explained how socialists view black nationalism and the black-power movement. He told the mostly white audience that Afro-Americans would be in the vanguard of the revolution in America.

He went on to explain the importance of building an independent black political party in the United States and stated that the Black Panther Party represents an important step in this process.

Camejo's speech was interrupted by a phone call saying that a bomb had been placed in the building and would explode in 10 minutes. Everyone left the building and returned after that time had passed. Camejo talked about the recent situation in Berkeley and stressed the need to build an organization to win the struggle for socialism in America.

He went on to explain that just as students and black people were once quiescent and now are radicalizing, so white workers also will start to move against the present social system. He urged students and young people not to lose sight of that perspective.

## Boutelle raps in Seattle

SEATTLE, Sept. 19—In addition to speaking at the Socialist Workers Party and Black Panther Party state conventions here in Seattle, SWP vice-presidential candidate Paul Boutelle kicked off his nationwide fall campaign tour with a talk Sept. 18 to 1,000 students at Garfield High School.

Boutelle and a representative of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee spoke at the school on the invitation of the Black Student Union.

After the meeting, Boutelle led a discussion group on education and later spoke to two classes on the SWP campaign. A lively discussion period followed his remarks, and many students expressed interest in the campaign.

# Michigan cops jail 200 in ADC protest action

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—Almost 200 people were arrested here Sept. 6 after police broke up a sit-in at the Washtenaw County Building. The demonstrators were supporting demands by mothers receiving funds under the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program for increased payments.

One hundred seventy University of Michigan students were among those arrested. The sit-in had been decided on earlier the same day at a campus rally of more than 1,200 called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Support Welfare Rights. The committee is composed of members of VOICE, the campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society; the Young Socialist Alliance; and the New Politics Party. Its actions have been endorsed by the university's

Student Government Council (SGC) and the campus newspaper, the *Michigan Daily*.

An indication of the widespread support for the action in the university community is the fact that the SGC contributed \$1,500 to the bail fund for the arrested students and that the university's president, Robben Fleming, felt compelled to inform city and county officials that the university would not interfere with students who act in off-campus affairs not directly involving the university.

Mothers dependent on ADC were demanding sufficient funds to adequately clothe their children for the beginning of the school year. They finally accepted a county offer of \$70 per child.

## WEEKLY CALENDAR

**BOSTON**

**CAMPAIGN '68.** Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Fri., Sept. 27, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

•

**DETROIT**

**BIAFRA AND/OR NIGERIA?** Speaker: Henry Austin. Fri., Sept. 27, 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information, call 831-6135. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

•

**LOS ANGELES**

**ELECTIONS 1968—WHAT CHOICE FOR THE LEFT?** Panel discussion. Speakers: Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Vice President; Milton Zaslow, member, Los Angeles county council, Peace and Freedom Party; Joyce Miller, McCarthy supporter. Fri., Sept. 27, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

•

**MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY**, now weekly, by Theodore Edwards, Socialist Workers Party. Mondays, 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesdays, 10:15 a.m. KPFK (90.6—FM).

**NEW YORK**

**THE NEW YORK BLACK PANTHERS SPEAK.** Captain Joudon Ford, New York Black Panther Party; Fred Richardson, deputy minister of information, New York Black Panther Party; Jorge Aponti, lieutenant, New York Black Panther Party. Fri., Sept. 27, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

•

**PHILADELPHIA**

**REVOLUTION AND REPRESSION IN FRANCE.** Speaker: Helena Hermes, national secretary, Committee to Defend the French Students. Fri., Sept. 27, 8:30 p.m. 686 North Broad St., Broad and Fairmount. Donation: \$1; students, 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

•

**TWIN CITIES**

**FROM STUDENT REVOLT TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Carol Lipman, editor, the Young Socialist magazine. Fri., Sept. 27, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240, Minneapolis. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

## NEW MATERIALS FOR THE FALL CAMPAIGN

New and attractive Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle Brochure. (Describes young socialist activities until Nov. 5, and after.)

Halstead and Boutelle posters. (Halstead poster, blue and white; Boutelle, red and brown; each 11" by 17", with space for advertising local meetings.)

**Order now!**

YSHB brochures, \$1.50 per hundred; posters, \$2.00 per hundred.

NAME . . . . .

ADDRESS . . . . .

CITY . . . . . STATE . . . . . ZIP . . . . .

Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee  
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

# A talk with Yugoslav stu

By Barry Sheppard

BELGRADE, Sept. 7—Having read the reports of the student demonstrations here last June, and not knowing anyone in Yugoslavia, upon my arrival in Belgrade this morning I went directly to the department of philosophy building of the University of Belgrade. This department has been at the center of the student movement here.

Classes have not yet begun, and most students are studying for exams which are to take place next week, so there aren't many students around the university. But in the courtyard of the department of philosophy building I happened to meet a group of students who have been active in the movement. Two of these, Milan Nikolic and Svetlana Vidakovic, speak English.



MILAN NIKOLIC. Student activist speaking in courtyard of University of Belgrade during student occupation in June.

I explained that I was from *The Militant* and that I would like to interview them about the movement here. Although they all had to return to their studies, they agreed to take time out, and we went to a student lounge for a discussion over a thick, sweet, black Turkish coffee and plum brandy.

Svetlana explained that the student movement really began in 1966. "We had student organizations before that," she said, "but they were formal and rather bureaucratic."

In December, 1966, students organized their first major action. The issue was the same one which has been instrumental in radicalizing students the world over—Vietnam.

The demonstration began at the department of philosophy building. The students planned to march from there to the U. S. library, a short distance away. But the police came and blocked the students from marching through the streets, which resulted in a sharp clash between the 3,000 to 6,000 students and the cops.

"This was the first time we realized what the true nature of the police is," Milan said. "We saw that our police is not a true militia, the armed people, but a repressive force."

"And," Svetlana added, "we saw them protecting American imperialism."

There were other actions before the big demonstrations in June. On April 6, there was an officially sponsored demonstration against the Vietnam war in which the students participated, but in their own fashion.

A ship from the U. S. Sixth Fleet was scheduled to make a stop in Dubrovnik, a Yugoslav port. The students on the April 6 march continued the demonstration after it was officially over, marching to the department of philosophy building. They threatened to occupy the building if the U. S. ship was allowed to dock. The government acceded to the student demand, and the ship was turned away.

Earlier, students collected signatures in support of Polish students demonstrating for greater democracy. They did the same in support of West German students demonstrating against the Springer newspaper monopoly and in support of the West German struggle against the new "emergency laws." On May 10, the eve of a big West German demonstration against the police-state laws, 600 Yugoslav students staged a sit-in in front of the West German embassy.

"When we supported the German students," Svetlana explained, "the government was with us. But not when we supported the Polish students. Then, government representatives came and spoke with us and told us that things were not clear in Poland, that we should wait and see

what happens, and that we should not 'interfere in the internal affairs of another socialist country.'

"But it was very clear to us that the Polish students were demonstrating for democratic rights supposedly guaranteed by the Polish constitution."

"This was important," Milan added, "because for the first time the students' stated political objective was different from the government's."

The June demonstrations developed from an "unimportant incident," Svetlana explained.

The University of Belgrade campus, where the student dormitories are, is not directly adjacent to the university buildings but is across a river, in New Belgrade. On the night of June 1, a traveling outdoor show had been scheduled to appear in New Belgrade. However, since it began to rain, the show was moved into a hall. Thousands of students who had come for the show were not able to get into the hall and milled around outside. The police then attempted to clear them from the area by force.

"The students and the police fought," Svetlana said, "and the students were forced back to the campus. That night they met and decided to march into Belgrade the next day to protest the police action."

"About 3,000 students began the march the morning of June 2. But the police were waiting for the students at a passageway that goes under a railroad and attacked them there. This was the worst attack we have experienced. The police had water cannon and also used pistols. During the two or three hours the battle lasted, the students fought back with paving stones and succeeded in setting fire to a vehicle with a water cannon, but they were finally driven back to the campus."

"We estimate that 136 people were hurt, with 105 of these being students. Two students were wounded by gunfire."

"There were important politicians at the scene of the battle, including the mayor, the chiefs of police of Belgrade and Serbia, and others. From this we know that the police were not acting on their own."

"At the campus, the students decided to occupy the university. By going into Belgrade individually or in small groups the students were able to get past the police. By that time, many more students, some who do not live on the campus, came to the university. Over 24,000 joined the occupation, which was successful in all departments."

"Action Committees were formed in each department, and a Central Action Committee was also formed." Milan was a member of the Action Committee at the department of philosophy.

The demands of the students now escalated to embrace the key social questions. One immediate demand was that the politicians present at the police attack be removed. There were other demands for better conditions for the students, "but these were subordinated to the general social demands which were now raised," Svetlana said.

The students met in assembly all day and late into the night during the occupation. They renamed the university the "Red University of Karl Marx," and put forward the slogan, "Down with the red bourgeoisie!"

This slogan, and the political position of these students in general, has nothing in common with the theories of Milovan Djilas. Djilas himself was dismissed with contempt by Milan, who said Djilas has been blown up in the West all out of proportion to his influence in Yugoslavia.

"Down with the red bourgeoisie!" referred to a number of things, Milan and Svetlana told me, all related to the growth of social differentiation. "We don't want equality in poverty," Svetlana said, "but we also don't want social differences to increase."

Svetlana explained that certain petty capitalists, small shopkeepers, shoemakers, those engaged in aspects of the tourist industry, etc., are permitted to operate, and that some have accumulated a certain amount of capital. Others have accumulated money in underhanded or illegal ways. There have been moves by a few such people to set up factories on a capitalist basis.

"While this hasn't happened yet," Svetlana said, "there was a danger the government would allow this. One of our demands was that this should not be permitted, and we raised the slogan, 'No capitalism here.'"

Svetlana also said that since the 1964-65 economic reform, individual enterprises have begun to raise money by borrowing at interest rates above what banks offer. "We are very much against people making such investments. We do not want people to make money through investments and not by working," she said.

Another source of inequality is the wide range of salaries. "Administrators of factories receive a guaranteed fixed wage, plus a bonus if the factory does well. If the factory does not show a profit, however, they never fall below their guaranteed wage," Svetlana said. "But the workers in the same factory will get much less than their official wage if the factory does poorly, down to the national minimum wage of 35,000 dinars a month. Many politicians and administrators receive 600,000 dinars a month, so you see this is quite a spread."

"The 'red bourgeoisie' refers to all the privileged and rich, those bureaucrats and politicians with high salaries, those who have become richer as a result of petty capitalist operations, or those who have gotten their money in more unsavory ways," they said.

One of the student demands was for the creation of new jobs to end unemployment, which has become a serious problem. This can be seen in a casual walk around Belgrade on a working day, where you find able-bodied men obviously idle. (The social differentiation is also obvious, for example, in terms of the kinds of cars different people drive. Many workers cannot afford automobiles. Some have small Fiats, and then there are gradations up to the sleek Mercedes driven by top officials.)

"The growth in unemployment," Milan said, "is related to the economic reform of 1964-65, which allows individual enterprises to compete with each other in a modified market system and to make policy decisions like hiring and firing on the basis of profitability (although of course the factories remain nationalized). While there is a degree of workers control and self-management within each enterprise, this market system has meant a differentiation between richer and poorer enterprises, the growth of unemployment, and a weakening of the general economic plan."

"The Stalinist method of bureaucratic centralization produced bad results. When the government tried to solve the problems caused by bureaucratic centralism, they implemented this idea of the individual enterprises competing in a market economy."

"This goes back to Adam Smith and the concept that the working of the market

## Statement of Belgrade Univ. students

*The following statement was adopted at a student general assembly in the faculty of philosophy and sociology at the University of Belgrade on June 5. It was adopted by the students after consultation with professors and then published in the newspaper The Student.*

In order to make possible the most rapid and effective solution to the major problems facing our socialist society and self-management community of free and equal people and nations, we find the following to be necessary:

1) Adoption of measures which will quickly reduce the great social differences in our community. In connection with this we demand that the socialist principle of distribution according to work be systematically applied; that criteria for determining personal income be clearly and exactly established; that minimum and maximum personal incomes be determined; that differences in personal income based on monopolistic or other privileged, non-socialist positions be abolished; that action be taken against the accumulation of private property by nonsocialist maneuvers; and that improperly gained private property be immediately nationalized.

Privilege in our society must be liquidated. Measures are necessary to progressively tax incomes above the determined maximum.

2) In order to make possible a rapid and effective solution to the problem of unemployment, a long-range development concept of our economy must be adopted, based on the right to work for all people in our country.

Following this, it is necessary to adopt a corresponding investment policy in order that full employment will be created along with improved material and cultural conditions for all our people. Measures must be taken making possible the employment of young qualified workers. To this aim, honorary and overtime work must be reduced to a minimum or prohibited altogether. Unfilled work places must be filled only by those possessing the necessary qualifications.

3) Measures are required for the rapid creation of self-management in our society and for the destruction of those bureaucratic forces which have hampered the development of our community. Self-management relations must be systematically developed not only in working organizations but also at all levels of our society, communal and federal, in such a way as to make possible real control by producers over these self-management organs.

The essential point in the development of real self-management is that workers independently decide on all important conditions of work and on the distribution of their surplus-value.

All self-management organs must be responsible for the completion of their particular tasks and must be held responsible in case they fail to complete these tasks. Personal responsibility must be given its full importance.

4) In coordination with the development of self-management organs, all social and political organizations, in particular the League of Communists, must adopt democratic internal reforms. Most importantly, a basic democratization of the means of public communication must be carried out. Finally, the democratization of all freedoms and rights foreseen in the constitution must be achieved.

5) Decisively stop all attempts to disintegrate or turn social property into the property of stockholders. Energetically stop all attempts to turn private labor into the capital of individuals or groups. Both of these tendencies must be clearly made illegal by appropriate laws.

6) The housing law must be immediately amended to prevent speculation in social and private property.

7) The educational system must be immediately reformed so as to answer the needs of development of economic, cultural and self-management relations.

8) To adopt a constitutional guarantee for the rights of all young people to equal educational conditions.

9) To write into law the autonomy of the university.



# dent rebels



**DURING JUNE REBELLION.** Students meet in department of philosophy, Belgrade University.

will solve all problems, but this is no more true in a socialist country than in a capitalist one. The whole economic reform was a piece of stupidity by the top officials.

"When people objected to the reform, they were accused of being Stalinist. But there is a third way different from either bureaucratic centralism or the free-market arrangement between individual enterprises, and that is genuine self-management of the *whole* society.

"Democratic self-management now is practiced in theory in each individual enterprise, although in practice it is limited by bureaucracy and because it is isolated to each separate factory. The laws of the market tend to dominate the decisions taken in each enterprise.

"A section of the central bureaucracy supports self-management limited to the individual factory level, because such 'self-management' doesn't threaten the bureaucratic privileges of the central bureaucracy.

"What we are for is self-management of the whole economy, a centrally planned, socialist society with the whole working class participating in planning the economy through a 'parliament of workers' representatives.'

"The state apparatus would be subordinated to this workers' parliament, and this is how the state would begin to wither away.

"Scientists, economists and technicians would be employed by the workers' parliament so their knowledge could be used in planning the economy. Scientists and other intellectuals would be similarly integrated in all other aspects of social life."

The student demand reflecting this general idea was for "Self-management from the bottom to the top" of society.

Of course, the students acting alone were not able to win these demands through this university occupation. But after seven days of the occupation, the government made general promises for action to eliminate some of the conditions the students were protesting, and a number of reforms have been initiated as a result of the student action. For example, the minimum wage was raised from 25,000 dinars to 35,000 a month. As a result, the occupation was ended.

"It was a compromise, arranged by student negotiators acting under pressure," Svetlana said. "But we are not satisfied,

and the movement will continue."

We then turned to a discussion of international questions. Milan said that the students generally demand that the government be more active in providing moral and material support to the colonial liberation movement.

"Our government has made economic and cultural contacts with the dictatorship in Colombia, for example," Milan said. "But we know of the the existence of the guerrilla movement in that country which is fighting that dictatorship and we are on the side of the guerrilla fighters. We are opposed to this pragmatism in the government's foreign policy."

Milan said that the French May events and the recent process of the democratization in Czechoslovakia had raised his hopes, because "both France and Czechoslovakia are relatively advanced countries, while Yugoslavia remains backward, and they could provide the material foundations for a genuine socialist humanism.

"The process which had begun in Czechoslovakia had made it the foremost socialist country and showed the way to the future. But I am afraid the Soviet aggression has halted this process, although resistance can and must continue."

"They are now attacking those who are most radical, most left, in Czechoslovakia," Svetlana said.

Milan expects increased Soviet pressure on Yugoslavia, especially economic pressure. "This can make it more difficult for the students. A member of the Serbian Communist Party's central committee told us that in the new situation the government could not permit the same kind of demonstrations as occurred last June."

The students, like Yugoslavs in general, are firmly behind their government's stand in opposition to the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

"If the situation becomes very hard for Yugoslavia," Milan said, "if the Russians invaded us, we would put aside our internal differences and unite to resist."

But he does not think such an invasion is likely. "For the USSR to attack Yugoslavia would be very difficult," he said. "We have a fighting tradition, not only in the partisan struggle against the Fascists in World War II, but in our whole history. We are good fighters and we are ready to fight."

## After the trial: interview with Huey P. Newton

The following interview with Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton was obtained Sept. 10, two days after his frame-up conviction on a charge of voluntary manslaughter for allegedly killing Oakland policeman John Frey last October. The black liberation fighter is scheduled to be sentenced Sept. 27. At that time the judge will also rule on whether Newton will be released on bail while his case is being appealed.

The morning of the interview two Oakland cops had fired 12 shots into the Panther headquarters. Newton began by commenting on this racist attack.

*Huey P. Newton.* Well, I wasn't surprised that this happened; it's the police modus operandi to engage in such activities. It's not the first time it has happened. About 13 months ago the police shot into our headquarters on 58th and Grove St. This was never reported to the police because I can't see any point in reporting a criminal to a criminal.

I had ordered the Black Panthers to withdraw or evacuate all headquarters throughout the country, because I anticipated the police to make a vicious attack upon us, attempting to stimulate or spark a rebellion in the community, or defense in the community, so they could move their troops in and brutalize and murder our people. So it wasn't a surprise to me that this happened. We had taken it under consideration and we had prepared for self-defense. A hasty withdrawal is sometimes the best defense mechanism.



**Huey P. Newton**

the compromise. I think he did this in good faith.

He worked on the basis, the basis of his decision was that if I would be tried a second time, that because of the nature of the racist society I would be convicted of first degree murder, because of racism. So, rather than to hang the jury up, he engineered and persuaded the jury to compromise.

This is only speculation. This is the only way I can see the verdict. The verdict doesn't reflect the evidence at all. So I think it was a compromise verdict, and this is illegal in itself, but I am asking that the black community not hold any hostility against Brother Harper or the other people who believed in my innocence on the jury.

Brother Harper stated earlier in the trial during the jury selection that he had planned to teach at Merritt College, or Oakland City College next semester. I'm asking the students at Merritt College to respect him and not hold any hostility against him because he was operating in good faith even though it was a matter of ignorance, because I don't believe that he knew that he was delivering me to a penal institution that would probably keep me every day of 15 years. He had no way of knowing this; most jurors are ignorant of the law. If he had known, I don't believe he would have compromised. But now that it has happened, I am asking the black community not to feel badly towards him, because as the saying goes, "Forgive them because they know not what they do." I think that Harper falls under this category, and I'm asking the community to forgive him.

*Q.* If, on appeal, the higher court finds that there has been a reversible error in this trial, and orders a new trial, what do you think will be the outcome?

*A.* In the first place, we feel that we might not have to appeal, that the judge is the thirteenth juror and that he has the power to correct the injustice at this level, at the level of the Superior Court. He could set aside the verdict or order a new trial. If he does not do this, we have no way of knowing what he's going to do, it's strictly in his discretion; if he does not do this we plan to appeal.

### Urgent!

The date for a ruling on whether Huey Newton will be freed on bail while appealing his case has been set for Sept. 27. Telegrams, messages of support and petitions should immediately be sent to Judge Friedman and the Probation Department, Superior Court, Oakland, Calif. Copies to Huey Newton Defense Fund, Box 318, Berkeley, Calif.

*Q.* Will the Panthers react in any way to this police attack?

*A.* No, I have admonished the Panthers not to respond to this vicious attack, and I'm asking the community in general not to respond. I'm asking the community to restrain itself because the police only want an opportunity to murder our people and we will not give them that opportunity.

*Q.* According to California law, you can be granted bail now since you've only been convicted of manslaughter. Do you believe you'll be out on bail in a few days?

*A.* Just speculating, this is true in an ordinary case, but as far as political prisoners are concerned, they make it as difficult as possible for you to be released on bail. I don't believe that I will be released on bail even though we're going to fight for this right which we have.

*Q.* If you do get released on bail, what will be the projects that you will work on, what will you do?

*A.* I will go on and organize the community as I was doing before I was arrested, and there will be very little change in my operation.

*Q.* Some of the jurors have reported that they did not notice the change in the transcript, when the bus driver Grier reportedly said that he did see your face and then later the tape indicated that he said he didn't see your face. Do you think that this had any effect on the decision?

*A.* Yes, my first reaction to the verdict was that it was a racist sellout, and that the jury did not have the guts to decide the case on its evidentiary merits. After I got this information that the jury did not receive all of the evidence, they did not view all the evidence, this mitigated my feelings toward them. I still believe that it was a compromise verdict. I believe that some people on the jury wanted to be fair and just and acquit me. I believe that others on the jury held a racist attitude and wanted a conviction of first degree murder. I think that the foreman, Brother Harper, who is a black man, engineered

### Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

by  
**George Breitman**  
25 cents

**merit** publishers  
873 Broadway  
New York, N.Y. 10003

# New step toward scrapping antiwar coalition

**By Harry Ring**

The moves to dismantle the coalition which has built the antiwar movement are continuing. This process was particularly evident at a Sept. 14 Washington, D. C., meeting of the administrative committee of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Plans for future activity and proposals for restructuring the Mobilization made there can only be regarded as further narrowing the base of the committee and limiting its capacity for broad, mass action against the war.

Although the Mobilization received wide publicity as a result of the brutal attack on Chicago demonstrators by the Humphrey-Daley machine, its base is now narrower than it has been at any time since its inception some two years ago.

This has not been the result of any decline in antiwar sentiment in the country or a lack of will and desire among antiwar activists to participate in actions against the war. Rather it has been the product of a bureaucratic stifling of the coalition by a sector of it whose politics are marked by a combination of ultra-leftism and opportunism.

The first action of the Mobilization was the organization of the April 15, 1967, national demonstrations in New York and San Francisco, which turned out a half-million people. Those demonstrations grew out of two conferences held in Cleveland and attended by some 300 people from a broad spectrum of organizations. Then an even broader conference of 700 in Washington organized the massive Oct. 21 confrontation at the Pentagon.

*Take-over*

The success of these two coalition actions, one might assume, would have given the Mobilization further impetus in the same direction. But such a course was resisted by pacifist leader Dave Dellinger and some of his associates. Taking the Mobilization's apparatus into their own hands, they have proceeded since Oct. 21 to make unilateral decisions that would change its character and purpose.

What they wanted to do was to convert the Mobilization into a vaguely defined, new "movement" which would, they hoped, win the allegiance of unaffiliated radical youth on the basis of organizing smaller, resistance-type "confrontations" with the authorities.

Along with Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden, former SDS leaders, Dellinger committed the Mobilization to such a course in Chicago. The opportunist aspect of the "confrontation" was the attempt to capture the allegiance of the pro-McCarthy youth by avoiding anything even suggesting a political attack on him.

It was this opportunist adaptation to a capitalist politician that stood in the way of broadening the fight for the right to the streets after the Humphrey-Daley forces launched their violent attacks on the constitutional right of public assembly. At no point did Dellinger and his associates put McCarthy on the spot by calling on him to speak out against the attacks on the demonstrators, to say nothing of demanding that he participate in a massive march asserting the rights of the people to the streets.

At the Sept. 14 Washington meeting of the administrative committee Dellinger and his associates spoke of the need of rebuilding the coalition, which they conceded had been sharply reduced. But their actions belied their words.

There were only about 50 to 60 people present, including a number who were not members of the administrative committee and who did not appear to represent any particular organization.

None of the veterans groups was there. Neither were such groupings as SANE, the Committee of the Professions, the various professors' committees, the Quakers and various other constituencies that have participated in the Mobilization in the past. There were no current leaders of SDS present.

A number of proposals for action were made by Dellinger, Davis and Hayden. There was general agreement on a proposal that the Mobilization urge local groups to organize demonstrations against Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace when they appear in their cities.

They further proposed a week of activity culminating on election day and including activities directed toward GIs. There was extensive disagreement at the meeting as to the best dates for such activities, and by a vote of about 20 in favor and the rest abstaining, it was agreed to refer the question to what is in fact a defunct steering committee. (Prior to the Pentagon action a steering committee had been established which included officers of the Mobilization and chairmen of committees organizing that action. The steering committee has never been reorganized, even though a number of officers are no longer active in the Mobilization, and the Pentagon organizing committees, of course, don't exist.)

*Officers' decision?*

Despite the complete absence of agreement on a date for the proposed week of activity, Dellinger reported to a subsequent meeting of the administrative committee of the New York Vietnam Peace Parade Committee that the week of Nov. 1-5 had been decided on. Queried on this, he said "the officers" had made the decision.

At both the National Mobilization and



ON MOBILIZATION PLATFORM. Eugene McCarthy speaking from National Mobilization platform in Chicago. To observe proprieties, Mobilization rally was formally adjourned and facilities turned over to him. Principal Mobilization spokesmen avoided any criticism of Senator who remained silent during attacks on demonstrators. He received standing ovation at rally.

Parade Committee meetings, Dellinger described the projected "National GI Week" as intended to "support the right of GIs to come home." He was asked if this was intended to counterpose efforts to persuade GIs to leave the armed forces individually to a massive political campaign outside and inside the Army to get the U. S. forces out of Vietnam. In reply, he said it would be a campaign to bring the troops home, but that supporting the right of individual GIs to come home would be a "focus" of the drive. The issue was left in this ambiguous state, even though the movement would be sharply limited if the emphasis were on trying to promote individual acts by GIs.

An apparently key proposal by Dellinger and his associates was for demonstrations on election day at the polling booths used by Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace. This was presented by Rennie Davis as having the quality of "confrontation" with the police such as occurred in Chicago. He depicted a "scenario" of the candidates trying to make their way to the polls through crowds of police and "screaming demonstrators."

A major political flaw in this proposal, it was pointed out, is that Humphrey votes in the town of Waverly, Minn., and Wallace votes in Montgomery, Ala. The only candidate against whom a significant number of demonstrators could be mobilized would be Nixon, who votes in New York.

This means that the "confrontation," for all practical purposes, would be with Nixon, not with the three capitalist candidates, and would be the kind of action that could well be approved by pro-Humphrey forces. This could be part of the calculations of Dellinger and company. After all, their whole concept of the Chicago action was based on the assumption that it would have the support of pro-McCarthy forces.

At the same time their sectarian manner of presenting this confrontation as a "disruption" of the polls can serve only to narrow participation by other forces.

*Favors "filtering out"*

This is apparently of no particular concern to them. At an "informal gathering" organized by Dellinger in New York in preparation for the Washington administrative committee meeting, Steve Hallowell, a Columbia University SDSer, expressed the view that the Mobilization must now seek further "confrontations" like Chicago and that in reorganizing the mobilization it is necessary to "filter out" of the coalition those "political" organizations not ready for "action" as he defines it.

While Dellinger and those associated with him did not voice approval of this blatantly exclusionary proposal, they came into the administrative-committee meeting with a proposal to restructure the Mobilization in a manner that basically carries out Hallowell's "filtering out" concept.

The structure of the Mobilization established at two national conferences was that

there be an administrative committee composed of one representative from each national organization, plus prominent individuals, with space left open for new constituencies. The steering committee was conceived as a subcommittee of that body, responsible to it.

The proposal by Dellinger, Davis and Hayden was to establish a new steering committee "reflecting the present stage of the movement" and that this be a selection of individuals representing not organizations and constituencies, but various regions of the country.

*Scrap coalition*

Such a proposal would in practice convert the Mobilization from a coalition of organizations into an organization itself, since it would not provide for a policy-making voice by the associated organizations. Further, it is not unrealistic to assume that the selected "regional representatives" would be people sympathetic to the aims of those who have taken control of the Mobilization apparatus.

There were serious questions about this proposal. Dellinger then proposed a study committee on the question and succeeded in naming one composed largely of proponents of the measure.

Meanwhile an undefined group of "officers" are making decisions in the name of the Mobilization.

The principal lesson they seem to have learned from Chicago is not that broader forces than ever are needed to beat back the attacks on the movement, but that such savage attacks on demonstrators are in fact the key to building the movement. They seem to look forward to more of the same.

Meanwhile, the Student Mobilization Committee and other forces are moving ahead with plans for significant, united mass actions against the warmakers.

## N.Y. MLF hears Gisela Mandel

NEW YORK—Gisela Mandel, who as a student was active in the formation of the German Socialist Student Federation (SDS), began a two-month speaking tour in the U. S. and Canada with a talk on the European student movement at the New York Militant Labor Forum Sept. 13.

The tour is being sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance in the U. S., and in Canada by the Young Socialist-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Analyzing the student radicalization in both Eastern and Western Europe, Gisela Mandel pointed to the common characteristics of the student struggles in all the various countries—the fight for democracy against authoritarian regimes, the struggle for equality, the struggle against alienation, and a growing internationalist outlook. In addition she explained how the long-run goals of the movement in Eastern Europe differ from those in the West, the former being a political struggle for workers' democracy and the latter "moving toward an anticapitalist revolution."

Gisela Mandel has participated in the many demonstrations and conferences that have marked the rise of student radicalism in Europe, and she has come to know many of the leaders of other radical European youth organizations. She was an eyewitness to the famous battle of the barricades between the Sorbonne students and police in Paris the night of May 10-11.

In the question period Gisela Mandel



Photo by Shannon  
Gisela Mandel

drew on these experiences as she answered questions on such varied topics as the nature of the German SDS, the relationship between the workers' and students' struggles in Italy, the perspective for a "youth international," and the nature of the Spanish student movement.

### Intercontinental Press

Intercontinental Press, published weekly, specializes in political analysis and interpretation of world events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements.

Subscriptions are \$7.50 for 26 issues. Mail your subscription to:  
Intercontinental Press, P. O. Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Name . . . . .

Address . . . . .

City . . . . . State . . . . . Zip . . .





**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNING.** Getting signatures to put SWP on Pennsylvania ballot in Philadelphia last Feb. (above). Paul Boutelle at literature table in Queens College, New York (right).



# SWP launches fall campaign tours

By Caroline Lund

The Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters have launched a fall offensive designed to confront and expose the capitalist "law and order" candidates—Humphrey, Nixon, and Wallace—and to win thousands of new supporters for the socialist candidates—Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President.

Paul Boutelle has already begun a national speaking tour which will take him from Seattle to Florida. Fred Halstead will begin a speaking tour Sept. 27, one week after he returns from a worldwide tour where he spoke to American GIs in Vietnam, and European, Asian, and Arab revolutionaries.

In addition to addressing campus meetings, Halstead and Boutelle will be speaking at conferences of young socialists in all major cities. These conferences will discuss the perspectives of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, chart out the last stretch of fall campaign activities, and discuss the perspectives for socialist activity after the elections. These gatherings will contribute to the building of a new, larger socialist youth movement which will emerge out of the 1968 election campaign period. This movement is made up of youth who see the need for revolutionary change and cannot stomach any of the capitalist or reformist candidates.

The conference being planned for the October 4-5 weekend in the San Francisco Bay Area will feature Ernest Mandel, the prominent Belgian Marxist economist; a workshop on GIs and the antiwar movement led by Fred Halstead and antiwar GIs from the Bay Area; a workshop on the black power movement led by Paul Boutelle; and a campaign rally followed by a party with rock band and light show. On Sunday the conference will conclude with a discussion of the European student movement by Gisela Mandel and a talk on the socialist movement in this country by Peter Camejo.

While Halstead and Boutelle are touring, dozens of young socialist field organizers and SWP candidates for local offices will be visiting hundreds more campuses, high schools, and Army bases with socialist ideas.

For instance, young socialists in the Indiana-Illinois-Missouri region will be running two simultaneous campaign tours in addition to Halstead's and Boutelle's stops there.

Dan Styron, 27-year-old Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senator from Illinois, will be speaking in 13 cities in Illinois. Ralph Levitt, Indiana candidate for U.S. Senator, will be touring 10 cities in Indiana. Ralph Levitt is a well known figure in Indiana politics because he was one of three student members of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana U. in Bloomington who were indicted in 1963 under a local subversion act passed during the McCarthy period. The case was won after a national defense effort, and Levitt continues to build the socialist movement in Indiana.

The upper-Midwest campaign committee aims to set up meetings for SWP spokes-

men on every school where there are Halstead-Boutelle supporters.

Seth Wigderson, campaign coordinator, wrote in a letter to all upper-Midwest endorsers of Halstead and Boutelle: "We have already sent letters to student-body presidents of over 100 schools in this region, including yours, asking them to arrange speaking engagements for campaign representatives. That's just a start, though, and we need your help to follow through. If it would help you in setting up a meeting, perhaps you could talk to the student-body president or whoever it is at your school who makes speaking engagements and convince him or her of the necessity of hearing all points of view in this election period."

David Thorstad, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, will especially emphasize speaking at high schools in Minneapolis and St. Paul during his campaign.

Thorstad grew up in Thief River Falls,

Minnesota, an area with a large Scandinavian population. He speaks fluent Norwegian.

The new brochure put out by his campaign committee contains a statement by Thorstad on the plight of the American Indians in the upper Midwest.

The Minnesota campaign committee publishes a regional newsletter for all those in the area interested in helping the SWP campaign.

If you would like to receive regional campaign newsletters published in your area, just write to the national campaign committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle will also be expanding their activities during the fall period. The October issue of the *Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle Newsletter* will be coming out soon. It will deal with "Black Indepen-

dent Political Action in 1968: A Balance Sheet."

The *Newsletter* will discuss all the candidates in the field from the point of view of the interests of black people. It will evaluate the Humphrey, Wallace, Nixon, Peace and Freedom, Black Panther, and SWP campaigns from the angle of the prospects for building an independent black political party.

All this intense activity will not cease after the November elections. The Young Socialist Alliance and Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle are holding a broad national conference over the Thanksgiving weekend. The purpose of this conference will be to draw together the new, larger vanguard of socialist youth in this country who agree with the necessity for a complete break with capitalist politics and to plan the continued building of the socialist youth movement in this country.

## Chicago transit workers strike

CHICAGO, Sept. 16—The Concerned Transit Workers (CTW), the black caucus within the United Transit Workers union here, called its adherents back to work today ending the second round of continuing disputes between black workers, the Transit Authority and the union leadership. The first round began during the Fourth of July weekend, when the CTW went out on strike against the company, city, and their own union leadership. The July strike was mediated by Mayor Daley, but in the weeks following, James Hill, chairman of United Transit Workers Local 241, made it clear that the union leadership would not accept agreements arrived at through arbitration.

The second strike began on the eve of the Democratic Party convention. Once again the Concerned Transit Workers demanded better hours and conditions for all drivers, internal union democracy, and greater representation of black workers in policy-making positions within the union. This strike lasted 20 days, and as the drivers return to work the most important questions in dispute still remain unresolved.

At the present time, the international union is moving to expel the CTW leadership on charges of dual unionism. The courts are threatening to try the leadership for contempt of court, and the Chicago Transit Authority has fired 18 of the CTW's executive-committee members along with 24 others, while suspending 143 additional drivers for their role in the walk-out.

Chicago's United Transit Workers Local 241 is made up of three distinct groups. First, a majority of the drivers are black, and are organized in the CTW. Second, from 30 to 40 percent of the drivers are white workers, who tend to be older than

the blacks. Thirdly, there are the retired members. Under present union policy, retired workers vote on all issues involving the union and are more able to attend union meetings than the drivers themselves, since many drivers work second shift.

The white drivers and retired workers have blocked against the black workers, maintaining complete control of the union leadership. All union officers are white, and only four blacks are on the 26-member executive committee.

The recent 20-day strike initially shut down 78 percent of all Chicago buses and cost the city over \$2.5 million in fares alone.

Each evening the CTW held mass meetings in South Side churches which regularly attracted between 500 and 1,000 workers and their wives. At these meetings reports were made concerning the strike's progress. The leadership encouraged the men and their wives to go from the meeting to various bus barns throughout the city to resume the picketing.

These mass meetings were indispensable to the organization of the strike. They provided a place where strikers could meet every day to learn of the most recent developments. They served as a great morale booster during difficult times, and by featuring guest speakers from the black community, they lessened feelings of isolation. In addition, they were a source of money necessary to pay the operating expenses for the CTW. Most important, these meetings were a place for rank-and-file workers to raise their ideas and share experiences during the strike.

The CTW was extremely successful in involving the drivers wives in the day-to-day activity of the strike. The women's auxiliary did not limit its role to serving

coffee and donuts and tidying up around the hall. Instead, the women have participated on the picket lines, manned the phones at the CTW's headquarters, and addressed the mass meetings as partners in the union struggles.

The CTW leadership made great efforts to enlist support from white drivers within the union. At first, a scattering of white drivers attended the mass meetings in active support of the strike and appeared on the picket lines. However, as the strike progressed even those token numbers diminished.

The first strike, held during the Fourth of July weekend, gained considerable support from organized sections of the black community. Elevated trains came to a stop as black "el" drivers walked off spontaneously in solidarity with the CTW. However, in the most recent strike the "els" remained running. This had more than a psychological effect on the strike; it meant that transportation to and from the suburbs remained relatively unimpaired.

The strike slowly lost ground and became more isolated as the days passed. At the time the CTW agreed to return, 90 percent of the city buses were running.

The length of the strike hit the CTW members hard. They received no wages during the period, and many were forced to return to work before the CTW leadership had called off the action.

In any case, the union contract for all drivers is to be negotiated by Nov. 30. The CTW, as well as the Chicago Transit Authority, is looking ahead to these negotiations as another confrontation seems likely.

# What did Ernest Mandel say?



Photo by Shannon

ERNEST MANDEL delivers paper at Socialist Scholars Conference.

## The Great Society

**SELECTIVE SURVEY**—We read with interest the announcement by the American Jewish Committee that they had made a survey in "the heart of Harlem" which showed that 60 percent of the stores are owned by black people. We rubbed our eyes in astonishment, however, on reading that the survey was made in two ten-block areas—one from 110th to 120th streets, the other from 126th to 136th streets. Omitted, curiously, was 125th St., Harlem's principal thoroughfare and location of most of the gouging credit furniture, appliance, jewelry and clothing stores.

**IT MAKES SENSE**—The UPI reported Sept. 3: "People in mental asylums vote virtually the same way as everybody else. . . The only differences seem to be that a higher percentage troubles to vote and a smaller percentage invalidates his ballot by some mistake. These were the conclusions of two studies of inmates of Bronx State Hospital, New York. . . ."

**WAYNE BOMBS WITH BERETS**—Even the Green Berets broke up watching John Wayne's hoked-up version of "The Green Berets." Georgie Anne Geyer of the *Chicago Daily News* reported from South Vietnam that "about 50 Green Berets roared and guffawed their way" through a showing of the film. The kindest comment was, "It was meant to be a joke."

**OPIATE OUTPACED**—According to the 19th edition of UNESCO's *Index Translationum*, the writings of Lenin are the

most widely translated in the world. In 1966 there were 201 translations of his work. The Bible slipped to second place with 197 translations.

**CANINE CARE**—A new line of gourmet dog food has been introduced, featuring such items as beef bourgionne (with wine). Meanwhile another dog-food company is supplying the Army with a special "stress diet" for dogs on duty in Vietnam, where they get nervous and lose weight on the usual GI and local fare. There is no word on what the GIs are getting.

**AS SAHL SEES IT**—Commenting on liberal fears of a Republican victory, Mort Sahl said, "It's like I got cancer and somebody tells me I might catch bronchitis."

**SECOND COMING NEARS**—The American Newspaper Publishing Association is turning out a special paper to promote a new color reproduction technique. Page one features a full-page color reproduction of Michaelangelo's Sistine Chapel painting of God the Father. Under His outstretched hand is the message "Come alive with color."

**THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK**—"CASTEL GONDOLFO, Italy, Sept. 15 (Reuters)—Pope Paul VI said today that selfishness had exaggerated for many couples the burden of having a large family."

— Harry Ring

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

## Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory four-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$4.)

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a 4 month introductory subscription.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$4 for a 1 year regular subscription.

NAME .....  
STREET .....  
CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....

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

By Dick Roberts

Three widely divergent views of the 1968 Socialist Scholars Conference, held in Rutgers University Sept. 6-8, have appeared in recent publications: the Sept. 10 *Daily World*; the Sept. 14 *Guardian*; and—believe it or not—in a lengthy front-page article in the Sept. 16 issue of the Wall Street weekly, *Barron's*.

There is one point of agreement: the central significance at the scholars conference of two speeches by Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche*.

In a dinner speech Sept. 6, Mandel gave an inspiring account of the May revolt in France, and the following morning he presented a paper on the role of the working class in advanced capitalist nations, drawing the lessons of the French events.

Completely in keeping with the enthusiastic response to Mandel's talks and the discussions which followed them, *Guardian* staff correspondent Carl Davidson declares: "The 1968 SSC might have been a total flop were it not for the presence of the Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel."

"An atmosphere of boredom and frustration characterized the meeting until Mandel injected life into the proceedings Sept. 6 with a dramatic presentation and analysis of the May-June upheaval in France.

"Mandel, who virtually alone managed to integrate activism with scholarship, was influential throughout the remainder of the conference, particularly in discussions dealing with the question of the revolutionary potential of the working class in highly advanced capitalist, or neocapitalist nations."

Richard Greenleaf, writing for the American Communist Party newspaper *Daily World*, was not so impressed. Dismissing Mandel's talk on the French revolt as "ultraleft," Greenleaf bemoaned the fact that "the overall burden of the papers delivered . . . was still, as it was last year, heavily weighted against the views of Soviet theoreticians and spokesmen for the Communist parties in the U. S. and elsewhere."

Greenleaf recalled that at the last SSC, the program included "an economist and a sociologist from the Soviet Union." If he had remembered what these two Soviet academicians said last year, he might not be so surprised or concerned by their absence this year.

The two gentlemen had praised at length the "democratic" and "parliamentary" paths of the French Communist Party—precisely the reasons for its disastrous role in the May 1968 upheaval. Mandel, indeed, had no mercy for the counterrevolutionary role of French Stalinism.

If Greenleaf was disappointed at the Rutgers meeting, longtime professional anti-Communist Alice Widener was virtually flabbergasted. "Had the public heard what Mandel said," she contended in *Barron's*, "statistics in an opinion poll of approval or disapproval for security and riot control

action taken during the recent Democratic National Convention would rise to 99.9 percent in favor of Mayor Daley. . . .

"Mandel said the main strategy for overthrowing neo-capitalism in advanced industrial nations today, including the U. S., is 'to put forth through mass strikes and mass movements, concrete demands and goals which are unacceptable to the capitalist system and cannot be granted within the capitalist system.'"

". . . Applauding loudly, the Socialist Scholars rose to pay homage to the speaker. Certainly, if they and their associates have their way, American society will be so changed that private enterprise cannot exist."

After presenting a review of the main points of Mandel's paper on neocapitalism, *Guardian* writer Davidson ends on a somewhat sour note: "The nonsectarian style and content of [Mandel's] presentation and intellectual work contrasted sharply with the experience most radicals in this country have had with American Trotskyists."

But Davidson fails to cite a single major theoretical or political point of disagreement between the Belgian visitor and his Trotskyist cothinkers in this country. Maybe distance lends enchantment to the view.

The full text of Ernest Mandel's controversial "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism," presented at the Socialist Scholars Conference Sept. 7, will be published in the November-December issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

Advance orders for copies, 50 cents each, may be placed with the ISR, 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10003. A full year subscription (six copies) costs \$2.50.

## Black bookstore in Indianapolis a big success

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — The Afro-American Bookstore here, which only opened this summer, has become a gathering place for black militants and a leading source of radical literature and newspapers.

The bookstore, located at 2264 N. Meridian, one of the city's main streets, is adjacent to the large black ghetto. Its establishment reflects the growing spirit and consciousness of black people here.

The Afro-American stocks a variety of books and pamphlets, ranging from "Malcolm X on Afro-American History" and "Two Speeches by Malcolm X" to more detailed historical works on Afro-America. Posters of well-known black figures and basic pamphlets on socialism and Cuba are on sale. Among the periodicals are *Muhammad Speaks* and *The Militant*.

# L'ENRAGÉ



"A vile publication in unprintable four-letter words . . ."  
— *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*

A reprint of a cartoon magazine put out by French students (Action Committee No. 1) on the revolutionary developments there.

Order from: Granma Bookstore  
2519A Telegraph  
Berkeley, Calif.      or      Merit Publishers  
873 Broadway  
New York, N. Y. 10003



# CUBA TODAY (III): The Escalante case

By Harry Ring

*This is the third of four articles on Cuba today. Militant staff writer Harry Ring spent three months in Cuba at the beginning of this year.*

The need for the highest degree of political consciousness and maximum participation in decision making by the Cuban people is, I believe, particularly acute because of the difficult and complex problems besetting the revolution.

Cuba is caught in a very tight bind as a result of its determination to resist the U. S. efforts to destroy it and, at the same time, to maintain political independence from Moscow, despite its heavy reliance on Soviet trade.

Cuba has become deeply convinced that the sole hope for the long-range survival of the revolution is its extension into Latin America. Yet it is compelled to cope with enormous pressure exerted from Moscow to abandon that revolutionary perspective. The Kremlin is trying to pressure Cuba to fall into line with its treacherous policy of seeking a "peaceful coexistence" accommodation with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the world revolutionary process in general, and the Latin American revolution in particular.

To force Cuba onto that class-collaborationist path, the Kremlin is not only using economic pressure. It is also actively interfering in Cuba's internal political life and has apparently even explored the possibility of the development of some kind of a puppet formation within Cuba.

This is the essential meaning of the convictions in Cuba last January of Anibal Escalante and 36 others. They were charged with approaching Soviet, Czech and East German representatives with the aim of having those governments exert economic and political pressure on the Cuban regime to force a reversal of its political line.

The trial was a subject of intense interest among the Cuban people. Escalante is one of the most thoroughly discredited figures in revolutionary Cuba. In 1960 it was decided to merge the July 26 Movement, the Popular Socialist (Communist) Party and the Revolutionary Directorate. This united movement is now constituted as the Communist Party of Cuba. The initial form of the merger was created under the name, Integrated Revolutionary Organization. (Its initials are ORI in Spanish.) Escalante was the organization secretary of the ORI.

## Bureaucratic machine

A long-time Stalinist hack in the old Cuban CP, Escalante proceeded at full steam to build a thoroughly bureaucratized machine within the party, manned by individuals whose sole qualification for office was their unquestioning loyalty to him. He demanded the same blind support for his policies that he had, over the years, given the Kremlin's.

His appointees were distinguished by lack of qualification for the various offices they were entrenched in and by arrogance and contempt for all those compelled to deal with them.

To secure their privileged positions, Escalante and his henchmen drove hundreds of genuine revolutionaries out of office.

Things reached a near-outbreak when, on March 26, 1961, Fidel delivered his historic address to the nation, savagely denouncing Escalante's bureaucratism and sectarianism. Escalante departed for Czechoslovakia and his Stalinist cohorts became the targets of a nationwide public housecleaning.

A few years ago Escalante was permitted to return to Cuba and was put in charge of a farm devoted to experimental poultry breeding. He immediately assembled a group of frustrated has-been and would-be bureaucrats around him and through methods of back-door intrigue and gossip began to press again his pro-Moscow reformist line, repeating his long-held view that Fidel's refusal to knuckle under to Moscow was an expression of a "petty-bourgeois tendency."

The group Escalante assembled around him (dubbed a "microfaction" by Fidel) were mainly minor officeholders in various government enterprises. With few exceptions, they were old-time Stalinists strongly opposed to the revolutionary line of the Fidelistas and particularly aggravated by the persistent Cuban efforts at political independence from Moscow.

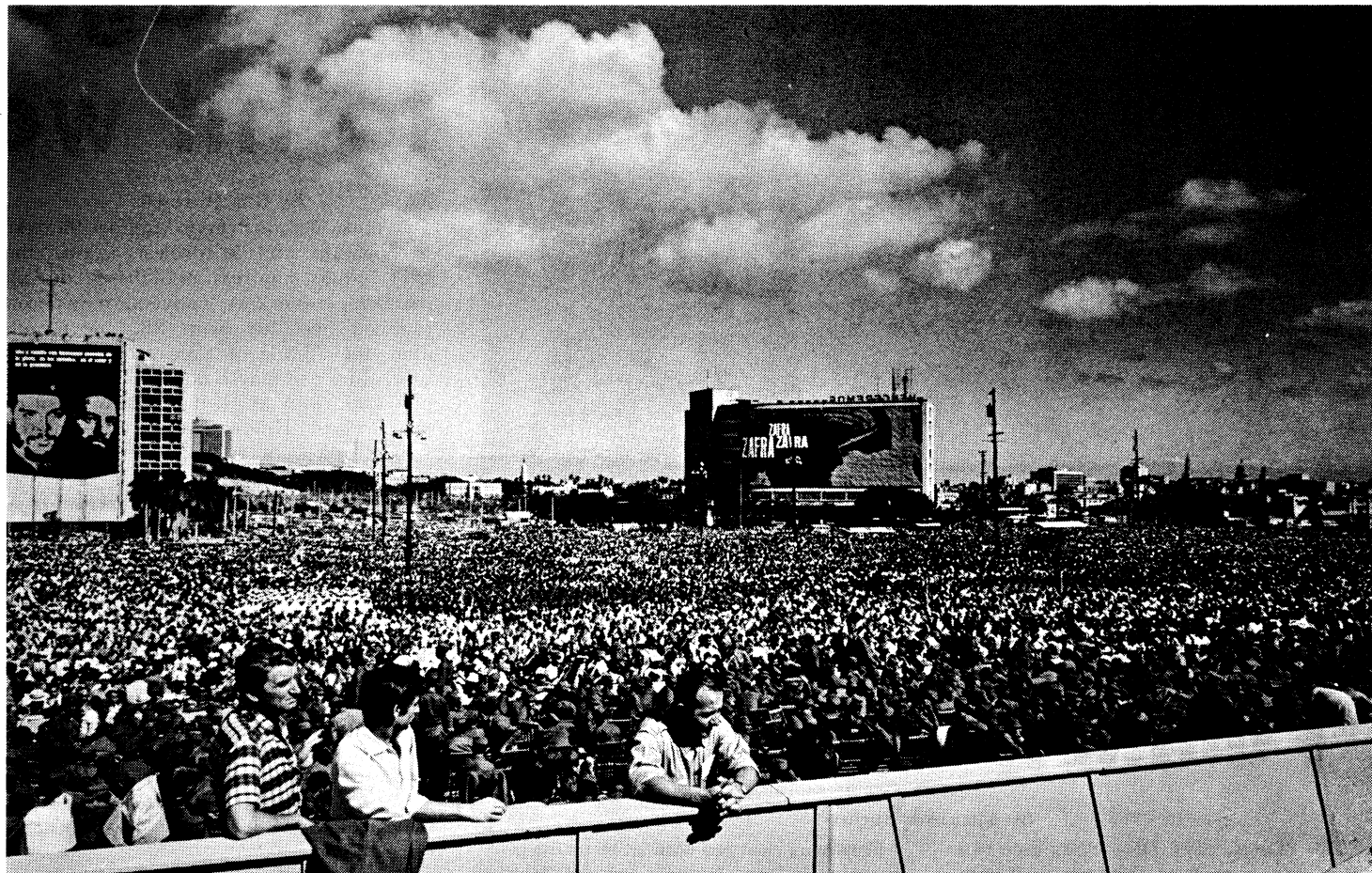


Photo by Harry Ring

**MASS RALLY.** More than a half-million Cubans gathered in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution last Jan. 2 to celebrate the ninth anniversary of the revolution's advent to power.

They were opposed to a whole range of Cuban domestic policies, principally that of relying primarily on moral incentives rather than material ones to achieve greater productivity.

They were distressed by Cuba's support of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America and its exposure of the reformist policies of the pro-Moscow leaders of the various Latin American CPs. (At the 1967 Havana conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, Fidel blasted the treacherous line of the right-wing leadership of the Communist Party of Venezuela. A public reply was made by a Venezuelan CP leader. It was a prime example of Stalinist arrogance, demagoguery and crookedness. The Venezuelan CP document was reproduced and circulated by Cuban counterrevolutionaries in Miami—and by the Escalante group in Havana.)

## Personally aggrieved

An additional stimulus to the Escalante group's activity was a deep resentment at its own lack of a central role in Cuban political life, something they pointed to as proof of discrimination against "old Communists."

Seeking to alter these trends, Escalante and members of his group began meeting with various individuals from Soviet-bloc countries to fill them in on what they presented as Cuba's catastrophic "anti-Soviet" policies.

Among those involved in these meetings were members of an East German commercial mission; a Soviet journalist who agreed to transmit a report from the Escalante group to the central committee of the Soviet CP; two Soviet advisers to the Cuban security police; a Czech official responsible for relations with Cuba; and the then second secretary of the Soviet embassy in Havana.

The purpose of these meetings, a member of the Escalante group explained after his arrest, was to bring about Soviet-bloc economic and political pressures that would force a change in Cuban policy.

In a statement written Nov. 27, 1967, a principal figure in the Escalante group, Dr. Emilio de Quesada, declared:

"The opinions were expressed that the objective factors were decisive, especially the external factors. By this we meant economic realities that tended to lead the Revolution along the road we considered the best. Bluntly speaking, we even wished for a certain degree of political pressure and that economic factors come into play that would help us in this sense.

"This may sound monstrous, but it is understandable from the point of view that we believed that the path of coincidence [with Moscow] would, in the long run, save our revolution; that a little pain was preferable to a course that would lead to serious dangers."

These and other statements by the defendants were submitted to the central com-

mittee of the Cuban party in a special report by Raul Castro. Evidence substantiating the charges were also made available to the members of the central committee. These included documents, photos and tape recordings, including transcripts of some of the meetings with the Soviet-bloc representatives involved.

One example of the effect of this activity was reported to the central committee of the Cuban party by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, a long-time leader of the old Popular Socialist Party and today an important member of the government.

## Czech campaign

Discussing Raul's report to the central committee, Rodriguez said in part:

"... There are two suggestions that I will make as a member of the central committee. The first is that the problem of relations with foreign functionaries, functionaries of other socialist countries, be taken up in open discussion with those parties.

"I believe that it is impossible to neglect this situation any longer, one in which a whole series of functionaries and members of socialist organizations, socialist countries, work against the Cuban Revolution here and in their own countries.

"When I returned from Europe I submitted a report on certain things I had learned in Czechoslovakia to certain comrades. [This was during the time of the Novotny regime—H. R.]

"In Czechoslovakia there was a veritable campaign within the party circles on this issue of the microfaction. This campaign had been directed by none other than a person who has responsibilities in relation to Cuba on the central committee of the party, although he himself is not a member of the central committee. . . .

"I believe that these problems must be discussed openly, as the attitude of certain

foreign functionaries, such as Rodolfo, the Soviet citizen [Rodolf P. Shliapnikov, former second secretary in the Soviet embassy in Cuba—H. R.], are completely intolerable in our country. In my opinion such things must be discussed and an end put to them."

Fidel made a special, very lengthy contribution to the discussion of Raul's report, but its contents were not divulged. Later, in a March 13 speech, Fidel referred to this and said that problems of diplomatic relations (obviously with the USSR) made it necessary to withhold the text of his remarks. However, he added, he hoped the speech would be published in the not too distant future.

On the basis of Raul's report and the evidence submitted, the central committee voted to remand the group to a revolutionary tribunal where they were tried and convicted. Escalante was sentenced to 15 years. Thirty-six members of the group were given sentences ranging from 12 years in prison to two years house detention.

The central committee also acted against two members who had collaborated with, but apparently were not part of, the Escalante group. One, Jose Matar, was removed from the central committee; the other, Ramon Calcines, was removed from the committee and expelled from the party.

Among the Cuban people, insofar as I could determine, the most general response was that of approval of the prosecutions and convictions. Some individuals I spoke with did express concern that both Raul's and the prosecutor's presentations included charges of the promotion of ideas as well as having relations of a criminal nature with the Soviet-bloc representatives. This issue of the promotion of ideas is so important that it deserves further discussion.

(Third of a series)

## 3 KEY SPEECHES BY FIDEL CASTRO

**The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought .20 cents**

(1962 speech against Escalante)

**Fidel Castro denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism .50 cents**

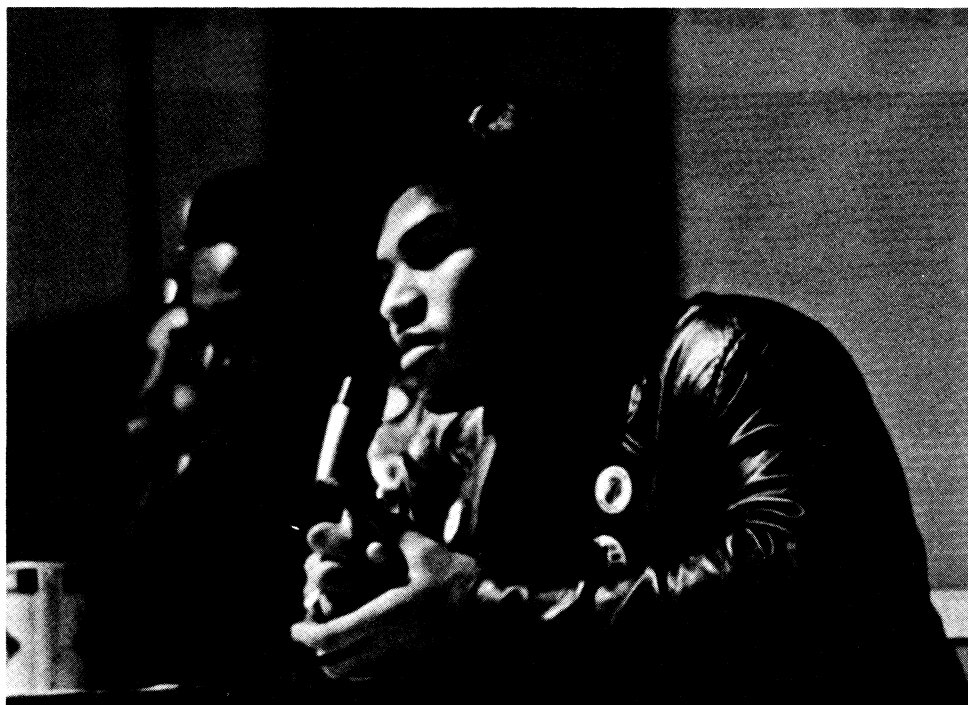
(1962 attack on falsification of history)

**Those Who Are Not Revolutionary Fighters Cannot Be Called Communists .50 cents**

(1967 polemic against leaders of Venezuelan Communist Party)

NY State residents please add 2% tax; New York City 5%

**MERIT PUBLISHERS 873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003**



Black Panther photo

New York Black Panther Captain Joudan Ford

## Panthers victimized

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK, Sept. 19 — It has been two weeks since a mob of right-wing off-duty cops attacked and beat up a group of Black Panther Party members inside the halls of the Brooklyn Criminal Court Building, but as yet no action has been taken against the guilty cops and no cops have been arrested.

On the contrary, police harassment of the Black Panther Party has been stepped up, and a number of Panthers, including New York Panther captain Joudan Ford, have been arrested and framed up on phony charges.

Captain Ford was arrested Sept. 12 while passing out leaflets during a Panther demonstration at the 73rd Police Precinct. The Panthers were protesting police attacks on community groups taking part in the struggle here for community control of the schools.

Ford was charged with "obstructing public property," and "resisting arrest". His trial is set for Nov. 14.

At a preliminary hearing on his case held Sept. 19, Ford told *The Militant* that the charges against him are false and that the Panthers "will fight this as far as it goes."

In another frameup, police have arrested four New York Panthers on a charge of "unlawful flight to avoid prosecution." The arrest is in connection with an attempt by authorities in Baltimore, Md., to extradite the four Panthers for arson, a crime supposedly committed by them while they were visiting relatives in Baltimore last August. The four were unaware that charges were being brought against them in Maryland until after they had returned to New York.

## Oakland Panthers in court as officials press frame-up

By Paul McKnight

OAKLAND, Sept. 18 — The continued attacks by the Oakland authorities on the Black Panther Party went one step further yesterday when Eldridge Cleaver and six other Panthers were brought to court on charges resulting from a police ambush on them last April 6, in which the Oakland cops murdered 17-year-old Bobby Hutton and wounded Cleaver and another Panther.

Cleaver faces three charges of attempted murder and three charges of assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. Panthers Warren Wells, 21; Wendel Wade, 23; Terry Cotton, 21; Donnell Lankford, 18; Charles Burfey, 21; and John Scott, 18, face two counts each of the same charges.

## ...GI march

(Continued from page 1)

stickers, and holding rallies in civilian settlements outside bases. March organizers are urging antiwar organizations around the country to include the Estes message and the cases of Locks, Smith and Bright in their own publicity for Oct. 21-27 antiwar actions.

In the Bay Area, GIs and civilians have volunteered to help build the march in greater numbers than has been seen in any antiwar action here since April 15, 1967. Fund appeals have been highly successful and endorsements are still coming in.

Speakers at a rally after the march will include General Hugh Hester, Ret., and Donald Duncan, former sergeant in the Green Berets.

The press has given good coverage to the march. On hearing about the threat to transfer Locks and Bright, one reporter, a Korean war veteran, said, "This brings out the enlisted man in me."

MONTPELIER, Vt. — The Socialist Workers Party filed 1,805 signatures of registered voters on independent nominating petitions here Sept. 17 to put its presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, on the ballot in Vermont. The total number of signatures required to obtain ballot status is 1,300.

# Chicago march to hit war, cops

By Gus Horowitz

A mass demonstration against the war in Vietnam and in protest against the brutal police suppression of dissent during the Democratic Party convention has been planned here for Sept. 28, one month after the "Battle of Chicago." The demonstrators will march down Michigan Avenue and rally at Grant Park in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel, scene of the violent police attack that millions watched on TV, Aug. 28.

An ad hoc committee, "Citizens for a Free Chicago," is co-sponsoring the demonstration together with the Chicago Peace Council.

A leaflet distributed by the two organizations declares, "If you were revolted by police behavior in front of the Conrad Hilton August 28, come and be counted September 28." The call for the demonstration also demands amnesty for those arrested during the convention week, as well as amnesty for the black GIs at Fort Hood, Tex., who refused to come to Chicago to help put down the convention-week demonstrations.

Max Primack, a leader of the Chicago Peace Council, and a spokesman for the demonstration, said the demonstrators want a peaceful march. "We are applying for a permit," he said, "but we will demonstrate with or without one."

Discussion of the pros and cons of Daley's police repression of the demonstrations

## St. Paul blacks organize patrols to control cops

By David Thorstad

The author is Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Minnesota's fifth district.

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Members of the black community here plan to form volunteer patrols to observe St. Paul police in confrontations with black people and to protect black youth from the police.

The need for such patrols was vividly demonstrated during the Labor Day weekend by a series of events which began with two off-duty St. Paul policemen moonlighting as security guards at a teenage dance in the city auditorium.

According to these policemen, they attempted to disarm a young man in the men's room, were beset by onlookers, and "saved" by one black man who stood between them and the angry crowd. Ten more police appeared on the scene, and a patrolman fired Mace into the crowd. A scuffle ensued and a policeman was wounded by a gunshot.

Police pursued the teenagers as far as two blocks from the auditorium, and the final group, mostly young women, was forced shouting and screaming up Fourth Street by helmeted officers.

The young people returned home and gathered in groups on street corners, expressing outrage at the use of Mace and the treatment of the young women. Large groups of policemen in full riot regalia entered the neighborhood and were greeted with cries of "Home, pigs!" and showers of rocks.

People present at the dance said doors were locked on them when police set off the tear gas, and that at least four girls were struck by the police. One girl, who is pregnant, says she was hit two blocks away from the auditorium and hit or kicked several times after she was on the ground. Three black organizations are investigating the events and say they are still looking for people who were hit or injured.

A spokesman for the volunteer black patrol said, "It is proven that the black community cannot depend on the police for adequate, just protection. The police cannot conduct themselves in the black community without racist and brutal methods."

last month has dominated the Chicago news media ever since. Up to 1,000 demonstrators and bystanders were injured and 700 arrested during the week of protest. But the news media have played up the relatively few and minor "injuries" to the police, as well as the scare stories about black-widow-spider-bombs, or demonstrators charging police lines. In addition the Chicago *Tribune*, an influential, arch-conservative newspaper (Chicago's largest), has been spearheading a campaign to have the leaders of the demonstrations last month indicted on felony charges. Many of the news media that were critical of Daley at the time, have toned down and turned away from their earlier criticism.

In this context, the Sept. 28 demonstration, if it is as large and broadly based as planned, can be influential in mobilizing public sentiment behind the right of the antiwar movement to protest in the streets. Already the *Chicago Daily News*, which has been critical of Daley all along, has written a fair report on the proposed demonstration, giving it front-page, banner headline treatment.

Mike Maggi, of the Chicago-based national staff of the Student Mobilization Committee, has called for full support to the proposed Sept. 28 demonstration. "The student antiwar movement in Chicago, and all over the country, has a stake in building Sept. 28 into as massive as possible a display of solidarity with the antiwar movement," he said. "It will be an important factor in laying the groundwork for successful mass action during the internationally-called days of protest against the war, Oct. 21-27."

## Young Socialists set two national speaking tours

"From Student Revolt to Socialist Revolution" will be the topic of two extensive national speaking tours organized by the Young Socialist Alliance this fall. Dan Rosenshine, New York State chairman and a national field secretary of the YSA, will kick off his tour of the East coast and Southeast in Philadelphia this week. Carol Lipman, editor of the *Young Socialist* magazine and a national field secretary, will start her tour in Minneapolis-St. Paul and go on to the West Coast and Southwest. Both tours will wind up in the Midwest.

These speaking tours are part of a campaign to strengthen and build the young socialist movement in the U. S. this fall which will culminate in a National Conference during Thanksgiving weekend in Chicago.

For information on the tour schedule and openings for meetings in your area contact the YSA national office, Box 471, Cooper Station, N. Y., 10003, (212) 989-7570.



Carol Lipman