

# Socialist Workers Set Presidential Campaign

## THE MILITANT

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CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT. Paul Boutelle, prominent spokesman for black power, is Socialist Workers nominee.

## War Confrontation Set For Washington Oct. 21

NEW YORK — H. Rap Brown, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee chairman, declared his organization's support for the massive mobilization against the Vietnam War called for October 21 in Washington, D.C. The declaration was made at an Aug. 28 press conference called by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam to announce plans for the Oct. 21 confrontation.

### Board Support

The National Mobilization Committee, organizer of the mammoth April 15 demonstrations in New York and San Francisco, assembled a broad spectrum of supporters to launch the October 21 action. Some of those present at the press conference, in addition to H. Rap Brown, were: Dick Gregory; William Pepper, executive director of the National Conference for New Politics; Jerry Rubin, former co-chairman of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, just named project director of the Oct. 21 demonstration; Msgr. Charles Owen Rice; Father Thomas Lee Hayes, executive director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship; Amy Swerdlow of Women Strike for Peace; Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization; and Fred Halstead of the

New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

The conference was covered by all the major radio stations, news services and several TV stations. Rev. Thomas Lee Hayes, in a statement to the press, declared:

"We in the antiwar movement who are moving toward massive confrontation this fall in Washington are identifying with the American boys, black and white, who are sent to Vietnam to kill and be killed. The only way to support these men is to bring them home now.

### Fight Is at Home

"The fight for freedom is in America's cities. We in the American antiwar movement are committed to building a mass movement that can end racism and militarism no matter how long it takes and no matter how deep the sacrifices."

Father Hayes declared that, "Today the National Mobilization Committee announces a major advance in opposition to the war: a step moving from simple protest to collective resistance; from petition which has gone unheeded to direct action which is determined to escalate the opposition. We call on all Americans who oppose our government's aggression in Vietnam." (Continue on Page 2)

## Antiwar Leader and Fighter For Black Power Nominated

### Halstead, Boutelle To Run

NEW YORK, Aug. 30 — The national committee of the Socialist Workers Party announced here today that it has nominated Fred Halstead, a leader of the New York antiwar movement, and Paul Boutelle, a Harlem black power spokesman, as the party's candidates for President and Vice President respectively.

The announcement was made at a press conference held at the headquarters of the Socialist

THE GHETTO REVOLT.  
For a special analysis  
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Workers National Campaign Committee here. The conference was covered by NBC-TV, WABC-TV, WNEW-TV, WOR-TV, WOR radio, the Associated Press, United Press International, UPI Newsfilm, Agence France Presse, and reporters for the *New York Times*, *Daily News*, and *El Tiempo*.

Halstead, one of the principal organizers of the massive April 15 antiwar demonstration in New York, said that the war in Vietnam would be a central issue of the campaign. He explained that, "Johnson's continued escalation of the Vietnam war is bringing this country closer to the brink of a war with China and the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

"The only way to end the war is to bring the U.S. troops home immediately," said Halstead. "That," he continued, "is what the American people want and that's what the troops want. As recent polls show, on this issue we speak for more Americans than the Republican or Democratic parties."

Halstead said he intended to appeal to GI's as voters "to vote for our ticket on this issue as a vote for getting themselves and their

### 20,000 in Mich. Sign for SWP

NEW YORK, Aug. 30 — Jack Barnes, national campaign manager of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket, announced here today that 20,000 signatures of registered voters have already been filed to put the SWP on the ballot in Michigan. This was considerably over the required 12,000. Barnes said the party was confident of achieving ballot status in more states than in any previous election, in spite of highly restrictive ballot laws.



PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers nominee, at antiwar rally in New York.

buddies out of this illegal, immoral and useless slaughter."

Boutelle, a prominent public spokesman for black power in Harlem, declared: "This lying government is telling its biggest lie when it tells black people that the oppressed peasants of Vietnam are their enemy. The truth of the matter, however, is that America is our battleground. The enemy of black people is here at home in Washington, Wall Street, and in every state and local government in the country.

"The use of Federal troops, National Guardsmen, and police against the black community by politicians of both the Democratic

and Republican parties demonstrates the bankruptcy of these parties to deal with the gigantic problems of unemployment and sub-standard living conditions. The use of repressive force against black people must be strongly condemned."

Boutelle continued, "The black communities should be controlled by the black people who live there. We should have our own party independent of the racist policies of the Democrats and Republicans, that represents our interests."

Boutelle condemned the legal harassment of H. Rap Brown, (Continued on Page 8)

## Announce Youth Campaign For Halstead and Boutelle

NEW YORK, Aug. 30 — Plans for organizing a nationwide youth campaign to back 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidates Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle were announced here today.

Melissa Singler, an initiator of "Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle," reported they would campaign for the antiwar and black power spokesmen nominated by the Socialist Workers Party. The announcement was made at the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee press conference that launched the party's '68 campaign.

Miss Singler said that a meeting is being planned sometime this fall for young people from all over the country who are interested in

supporting the Socialist Workers ticket.

This meeting will discuss how young supporters of Halstead and Boutelle can best be organized and how to take this socialist campaign onto every college campus and high school in the country.

Several attractive posters put out by the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle were displayed at the press conference and each reporter received a call urging youth to support Halstead and Boutelle in 1968.

The call pointed out that "In the 1968 presidential campaign the Democrats will be running Johnson, defending his four year record of brutal oppression at home and abroad. The Republicans, support- (Continued on Page 8)

# Evelyn DeBoer Dies at 47; Was Fighter for Socialism

By Charles Scheer

MINNEAPOLIS — Evelyn DeBoer died Aug. 10, of a massive cerebral hemorrhage, at the age of 47. Recurring headaches and lung trouble had kept her in bad health for the last few years and limited her activity. Previously, throughout her entire adult life, she had been an active participant in the labor movement and in the Socialist Workers Party.

Evelyn DeBoer grew up in the atmosphere of the victorious struggles that converted Minneapolis from a citadel of the open shop into a union town. Her father, Ray Rainbolt, played a leading role in the 1934 Minneapolis General Drivers' strikes and later served as an organizer for Local 544, until the government attack on that union and the Socialist Workers Party in preparation for World War II.

## Worked for Union

As a high-school girl Evelyn would do typing for the union after school. Once out of high school, she went to work for the union full time. She was a top-notch secretary. Evelyn married Harry DeBoer, another strike leader and drivers' union organizer and one of the 18 leaders of Local 544 and the Socialist Workers Party who were indicted in 1941 under the Smith Act and eventually sent to prison.

Evelyn acted as an aide to defense attorney Albert Goldman in the famous sedition trial of the labor and socialist leaders. The defendants and their lawyers acted as a disciplined team. The questions of Albert Goldman and the answers by James Cannon on the court record have been reproduced in an important textbook for socialism entitled *Socialism on Trial*. Goldman's closing argument is an effective sequel, called *In Defense of Socialism*. As a skilled secretarial hand, Evelyn played an important role in this team effort for defense of socialist ideas and socialist leaders.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee defended these victims of the capitalist system and lined up massive support for the defendants throughout the labor movement of the entire country. Evelyn DeBoer was a tireless worker for the CRDC. She also took responsibility for organizing visits to the prisoners.

In the SWP Evelyn served as the Twin Cities branch secretary for several years. She served for a long period as chairman of the branch social committee. In the 1944-46 labor upsurge when the Minneapolis branch of the SWP put on regular Sunday afternoon forums, she took leadership in organizing hot meals after the forums, a key factor in enabling workers to attend.

As the McCarthyite witchhunt took over, contacts for open forums became few and far between. Evelyn then put a heavy emphasis on social affairs, which were fun and kept spirits up through the tough days. She was instrumental in putting on annual Christmas parties for the children. Skilled in cooking, sewing and crafts, she worked hard and effectively in organizing numerous fund-raising projects for the party.

## Pitched In

In 1951, a substantial section of the operating railroad workers attempted to break out of their entrapment inside five decadent and feuding "brotherhoods" and build a new semi-industrial union, the United Railroad Operating Crafts. The Minneapolis Regional Office was a key organizing center for the UROC.

Evelyn, with her experience in and dedication to the union movement, became office secretary. Her mimeographed handbills and meeting notices were always eye-catching, and the little cartoons on them would bring an involuntary chuckle.

The combined opposition of the railroads, the established organizations, and the government boards and courts in a period of reaction

had naturally discouraging effects on those trying to fight for an effective union. Evelyn's buoyant good humor along with a little heat to get going on the main effort was a big lift to flagging spirits.

Although the UROC failed in its objective, it did mobilize the rails sufficiently to stall off the carriers' slaughter of working conditions for several years.

In her later years Evelyn worked on quite a variety of jobs, but one thing stood out — her outspoken defense of the exploited workers and her confidence in their ability to "make it" for socialism.

She always had a lot more spirit than physical stamina. She was very sensitive to blows to the labor and revolutionary movement, particularly to the cadre. The blows from American imperialism were like a blow to her personally. These, added to her physical ailments, laid her low just at a time when the revolutionary opposition is beginning to stage a comeback.

Evelyn always cherished the memory of her and Harry's visit to Leon and Natalia Trotsky in Mexico and their warm concern for Evelyn's physical condition.

Her untimely death was a blow to her comrades and to many workers in the labor movement, who knew her as an able and devoted fighter for the union and for socialism. She is survived by her husband and comrade, Harry, her children Jim and Jean, and her parents, sister, and brothers.

## Students Stage Burn-In to Back Pants Strikers

ATLANTA, Ga. — On Aug. 12 a crowd of 175 supporters and newsmen gathered at Atlanta's Piedmont Park to watch 25 Atlanta students and workers take off and burn their Levi pants.

The "burn-in", sponsored by the Southern Labor Action Movement (SLAM), marked the kickoff of a nationwide boycott of all Levi Straus products. The boycott is being organized in support of the 400 workers now on strike at Levi Straus' Blue Ridge, Ga., plant.

The workers have been on strike for over a year to protest unacceptable working conditions which have been allowed to prevail at the plant under Levi Straus' present contract with the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU).

Sam Shirah, SLAM field secretary, told the crowd that their participation in the boycott, along with thousands of other students and workers, was a necessary step toward winning the Blue Ridge strike, and thus toward building a free and human environment for Southern workers, students, and for all Americans.

The Atlanta activity is the first in a series of "burn-ins" and other types of support demonstrations which will be held all over the country to build support for, and participation in the boycott.

The boycott, originally handled by the Temporary Levi Boycott Committee, has now been adopted as a SLAM project. It has been endorsed by several student organizations, most notably the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC).

In conjunction with the boycott there will be a nation-wide petition campaign demanding that Levi Straus recognize the rights of the strikers.

# THE MILITANT

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## Build for October 21!

Since Aug. 10, Washington has undertaken a major new escalation of the air war in North Vietnam. This includes bombing targets only a few miles and even fewer seconds flying time from the Chinese border (Aug. 10-13) and bombing directly in the center of Hanoi (Aug. 22-25) forcing a massive civilian exodus from that city.

New record numbers of air attacks have been registered, and new highs in plane losses and pilots killed or captured. At least four bombers have been shot down over China, and one pilot captured by the Chinese army.

The new escalation increases the danger of war with China. This reckless step has not been accompanied by a single cogent explanation from Johnson or anyone else in the Democratic administration. It is occurring precisely when more and more American people are becoming disillusioned and fed up with the war itself.

The line that Hanoi is committing "aggression" in South Vietnam convinces fewer and fewer people. The travesty of the Saigon regime and its "free elections" is making a laughing-stock of Johnson's claim to be supporting democracy in South Vietnam.

Even more important, millions of Americans have begun to realize that Washington is militarily deadlocked in South Vietnam and they are not at all convinced that more bombing, more murder and more troops is the way to break it.

This deepening opposition to the war was reflected in the Harris Poll, reported in the Aug. 28 *New York Post*. According to Harris, only 24 percent of those interviewed favored "total military victory"; 37 percent favored a "fight to get negotiated peace"; and 34 percent — an increase of 10 percent since July — favored "get out as quickly as possible."

"The number who feel military progress in the war has not improved, has risen from 42 to 63 percent," Harris states, and "President Johnson's rating on his handling of the war has slumped from 47 percent approval to 33 percent since early July."

This significant shift in popular opinion about the war offers the antiwar movement an excellent opportunity to strike a major blow at Washington's aggression in Vietnam, by building the Oct. 21 National Mobilization in Washington.

If 34 percent of the people Harris interviewed told him we should "get out as quickly as possible," it means there are literally tens of millions of Americans dead against the war and there are millions among them who can be reached with the urgent message of demonstrating their opposition.

## Iranian Students Picket Shah in Washington D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Iranian Students Association held three spirited demonstrations here against the visiting Shah of Iran and the complicity of the U.S. government in the Shah's repressive rule. On Sunday, Aug. 20, 65 of the students demonstrated at the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency, protesting the CIA's role in the overthrow in 1953 of the nationalist government of Dr. Massadegh in Iran.

On Tuesday afternoon, Aug. 22, the Iranians were joined by members of Students for a Democratic Society and the Young Socialist Alliance in a militant protest demonstration of 75 people. Chanting slogans against the Shah's regime the demonstrators marched through downtown Washington to a park opposite the White House, to which they were restricted by police.

After attempting to get closer to the White House, they regrouped and marched around the Treasury Building to get to the White House by the back way but were met by another line of police with clubs in hand. The demonstrators challenged the police who replied by clubbing those in the front ranks. Two Iranian students and one American girl required hospitalization as a result of the brutality of the cops.

On Tuesday night at 11:20 p.m. about 30 of the demonstrators ran

along Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House attempting to block the Shah's car as it left the front gate. Police beat seven of the students, two of whom required hospitalization. One of those hospitalized was Khosor Kalantvi, president of the ISA. The majority of the Iranian students wore masks on the demonstrations to avoid identification by the Shah's secret police who were photographing the participants.

The demonstrations were a focus of the 14th annual convention of the Iranian Students Association. There were 65 delegates representing 29 chapters of the association in the U.S.

The Iranian students have organized themselves in spite of frequent attempts by their government to silence them by intimidation. They have "found it to be our duty to bring the real situation in the Shah's Iran to the attention of the American people and to protest the U.S. meddling in the internal affairs of our people."

On the last day of their convention the delegates of the ISA passed a resolution addressed to SDS, YAWF, and the YSA expressing gratitude for the "invaluable sympathy and assistance from the American youth" and commending the leadership role of radical students in the fight against the Vietnam war.

## ... Oct. 21 Confrontation

(Continued from Page 1)  
nam to converge on that city of war, Washington, D.C., on October 21 and 22 for a direct, personal and collective confrontation with the warmakers."

"We are now organizing," Hayes said, "for scores of thousands of Americans to come to

Washington on those days, by plane, train, car and foot; from Maine to California. Americans will come to protest in whatever way they want."

There was discussion of the Pentagon as a focus of activity for Oct. 21.

The National Mobilization has also announced plans for a direct action project in Washington to begin Sept. 11, the day Congress reconvenes and to continue daily until Oct. 21. Teams of people from all over the country will confront both the Selective Service headquarters and the Congressional Armed Services committees.

## Weekly Calendar

### DETROIT

CRISIS IN AUTO. Speaker, Frank Lovell, member, UAW Local 160. Fri., Sept. 8, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

No forum Sept. 8.

REPORT ON NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS CONVENTION. Speaker to be announced. Fri., Sept. 15, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

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## THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

## Auto Negotiations and the UAW

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Aug. 27 — Something new is happening this time in the United Automobile Workers contract negotiations with the auto corporations. The established pattern of the negotiations has not proceeded according to schedule.

Over the years since the 1946 strike of 113 days against General Motors, the Reuther leadership of the UAW and the auto companies have established a "working relationship" which lends the appearance of relative "industrial harmony." Both sides proceed from the basic assumption of a "common interest" between capital and labor.

When the time for a new UAW contract rolls around the guidelines for negotiations are clearly understood by the principal participants on both sides. Each knows what "the package" will be. Consequently, a pattern for the negotiations has developed.

The contract expires in September, so sometime in the spring (it was April this year) the UAW calls a Special Convention to draft union demands. All demands are carefully adopted, and then the convention votes for a "flexible policy at the top negotiating table" and empowers Reuther and his staff to select the "hard core demands."

Then follows a public relations job by the UAW publicity department to explain the UAW bargaining position and key demand. This year the "guaranteed annual wage" was again emphasized as it was in previous negotiations. No matter if the auto workers fail to learn from all this exactly what they are asking for in the way of wages — the auto corporations know in advance, just as Reuther does, what the limits are.

Reuther opens the negotiations by setting forth the union position. The UAW negotiating committees meet with the companies, but nothing much happens. Then the UAW, sometime around the middle of August, takes a strike vote of the membership, authorizing a strike "if necessary."

Now come the corporation spokesmen with their sad tale of woe, explaining how ill-prepared they are to grant concessions in these trying times, but hinting at what they might be willing to give for the sake of harmonious relations.

## Bargaining Begins

Next the union selects a "target company" for strike action if no settlement is reached.

Very quickly after this, the broad outlines of agreement on "the package" are established and the serious bargaining begins over how much shall be allotted for wages, health plans, for disability income protection, etc.

After the national agreement has been finalized and each side has congratulated the other on a job well done, there remains the "local issues." These have to do with working conditions and the relations between local union committeemen and plant management. This is where the class struggle between worker and boss is most sharply defined. By the time the old contract ends, workers are so dissatisfied with the old conditions that they often walk out — refusing to accept the new contract until their local grievances are settled.

This is a more important stage in contract negotiations than is generally recognized. It is understood by both management and UAW bureaucrats as a necessary "safety valve." After a week or so

on the picket line the UAW regional director appears at strike meetings to "explain" the new contract, and management expresses a willingness to make some local concessions. Votes are taken. The majority decides to go back to work, and the struggle over working conditions begins all over again. Sometimes the most militant leaders in the plant are reprimanded; some may be fired.

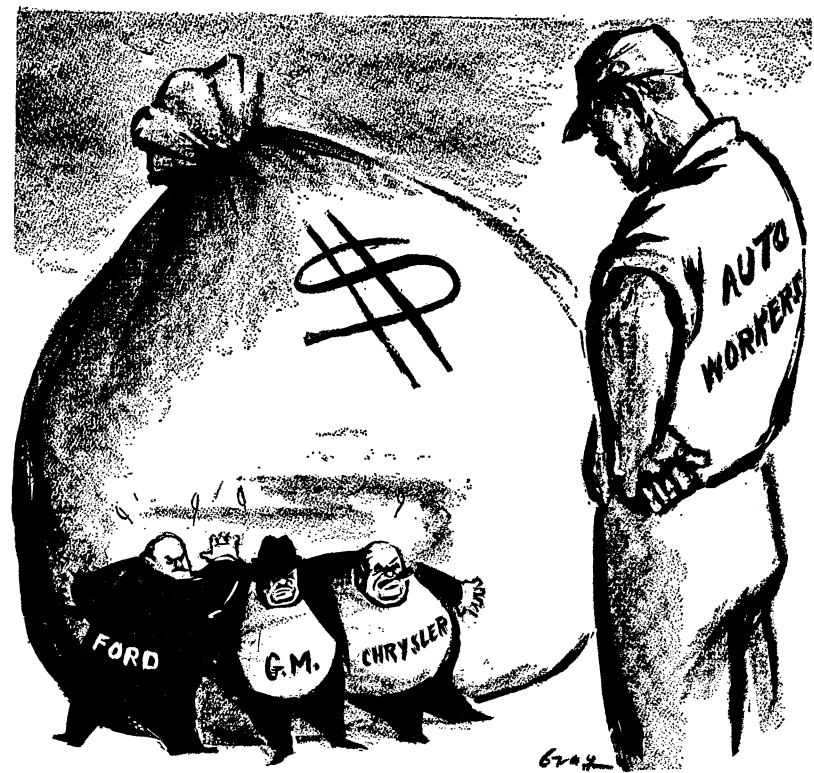
This, then, is the normal pattern of UAW negotiations — the formula for "industrial peace." But there comes a time when this formula fails. Now may be the time.

All the stages in the negotiations have been passed up to the point where the auto barons are supposed to come forward with their position. It is less than two weeks before the expiration of the contract on Sept. 6, and the auto companies refuse to say just what they intend to do.

Both sides pretend not to know why negotiations have bogged down. But there are powerful social forces at work and great changes in the making, which both sides cannot fail to be aware of even if they fail to understand them.

The war in Vietnam casts its long shadow over the negotiating table. The steady rise in prices cannot be checked as long as the war continues. While auto prices are going up, the corporations have indicated that they want more control over the price of labor. They want to see wages regulated, and are dissatisfied with the escalator clause in the UAW contract. The escalator clause provides for an automatic increase in wages when the cost of living goes up.

The union promptly responded to the companies' position. UAW Vice President Leonard Woodcock



told General Motors, "This union will not allow the corporation to weaken the cost-of-living protection of GM workers." He added, "This protection is not adequate now, and must be strengthened."

Despite the brave talk, "we will not allow the corporations to weaken the cost-of-living protection..." the UAW leadership at Solidarity House is very fearful of what the future holds. For the first time in many years they are proceeding cautiously, unsure of what they can do. The bureaucrats are worried about the demands of the skilled workers for wage increases now. When Reuther talks about a "substantial wage increase," this is immediately interpreted by the skilled tradesmen in the UAW to mean \$1 an hour more now and \$1 an hour additional for every year of the life of the contract. The United Skilled Trades Committee of the UAW was organized to advance this \$1-an-hour-now demand, and is leading big demonstrations of the skilled workers in support of it.

As the \$1-an-hour-now movement developed, it happened that one of its chief spokesmen was Joe Malotke of UAW local 160 who was also serving as a member of the UAW national negotiating committee, GM division, and had further been elected chairman of that negotiating committee.

Reuther is one of those who believes that actions speak louder than words sometimes, and he wanted to make sure that General Motors did not get the idea that he was asking or encouraging others to ask for a \$1 an hour raise in wages. So Malotke was promptly removed as chairman of the UAW negotiating committee.

## Leading Spokesman

An interesting part about this episode is that Malotke continues to serve as a member of the negotiating committee, though no longer its chairman, and remains a leading spokesman for the \$1-an-hour-now movement. He has declared his support of demonstrations by UAW skilled tradesmen, which is what the Reuther leadership sought to head off.

Skilled workers are already severely hit by the jump in prices. Many became accustomed to a higher standard of living than their hourly wage rate allows because of continuous overtime work over a long period. Now much of the overtime has been cut out and the \$1-an-hour wage increase is a pressing need for them to meet their credit payments. This explains why the skilled workers now appear to be more militant than production workers.

The production workers haven't yet been heard from. Half the total membership of the UAW has belonged to the union less than five years. This is more than half a million workers, concentrated for the most part in production. They are young, in their 20s and early 30s, and completely unknown to the leadership of the UAW. But

the Reuther machine is acutely aware of their presence.

Their existence is one of the reasons the top UAW leaders are fearful. They don't know what this great mass of organized workers may do.

The recent uprising of black workers in Detroit's inner-city, where a large block of UAW production workers live, was a sharp reminder of the elemental power of the underprivileged. This power, when channeled through the organizational structure of the UAW, which combines the striking force of deprived workers, both black and white, is beyond the scope of anything the ruling class of this country has yet encountered. The UAW leadership senses this.

The UAW, in accordance with past practice, is now taking strike votes in all the locals. But the last thing the top union leadership wants is a strike, and they will do everything in their power to postpone and prevent it.

## Employers

But these UAW leaders are not in complete charge. The employers now have the initiative in the negotiations. It is within their power to provoke a strike if their present uncertainty gives way to recklessness. They are deliberately trying to create the impression that they think now may be a good time for them to risk an open struggle. Thus the *Detroit News* leaked the information that "it was learned Saturday [Aug. 19] that top executives of the auto firms have been holding secret meetings on an industry-wide level for several weeks."

"And they have discussed an abrupt change in the pattern of negotiations — one that could force UAW President Walter Reuther to make the next move."

Such "strategy" at this juncture could very well backfire. Instead of forcing Reuther to make the next move, it might prompt the rank and file to move. There is already talk of "no contract, no work."

The UAW officialdom, through an announcement by Leonard Woodcock, has warned that there will be no extension of the contract after the Sept. 6 expiration date. However, it is likely that Reuther will plead for time as the deadline approaches and that the strike date will be postponed. But such an extension of the old contract cannot continue for long. The rapidly rising cost of living spurs the demand for more money now.

The political alliance between the Johnson administration and the UAW bureaucrats is already under heavy stress because Johnson's labor experts have made it clear that they intend to hold any wage increase in the auto industry within the five percent guidelines.

This limits Reuther's maneuverability and restricts him to a much smaller settlement than is expected by the auto workers. The rank and file may yet have the last word.

## Prospects for the U.S. Economy

By Dick Roberts

There is considerable discussion these days about the present state and prospects of the American economy. Last January the Johnson administration confidently predicted that July would see the end of the temporary downturn and bring on the beginning of a new boom.

August is nearly over and the economy is still in trouble.

Government economists have a new term to describe the situation which has prevailed for the first half of the year: "high level stagnation." It's obviously not a "boom" since production is declining but it's not a "recession," either, they claim, since unemployment remains "relatively low."

Whatever it is called, they agree that the current indeterminate state can't last. Although opinion isn't unanimous, most economists claim the end of the year, or early next year will see the beginning of a new upswing.

On the other side, a minority holds that the "high level, stagnation" could turn into an actual recession.

The optimism seems to be based more on past experience than present trends.

Some spokesmen even say recessions will never happen again.

Left out of consideration is a unique and very significant feature of the present development. The slackening in the U.S. occurs at the same time as recessions in the three major European countries, England, Germany and France. This is something new.

In every previous postwar American downturn, the European economy was booming. Vice-versa, during the few minor downturns in several European countries and Japan, the American economy was in an upswing.

This absence of synchronization between the American and European downturns enabled world capitalism to right itself and move into recoveries without much inconvenience. American corporations found expanding markets for capital surpluses and overproduced goods in Europe.

The situation is quite different today. Not only is there a simultaneous slowdown in the four major capitalist powers, but the European downturn is far more extensive than any set-backs to its economy in the postwar decades.

Europe has undergone an unprecedented boom, building on the vast destruction of World War II and taking advantage of special economic agreements of the European Economic Community.

Important among these agreements was the importation of workers from the economically depressed European nations — Spain, Greece, Portugal, southern Italy, etc. — into the booming industrial nations of the continent.

As the boom has tapered off in recent years, many foreign workers have lost their jobs and been forced to return to their native homes.

Overproduction is taking its toll in the major industries, notably autos, steel and coal. In June, German Finance Minister Schiller asked for recognition by the European Coal and Steel Community of a "manifest crisis."

French production as a whole has stagnated since March 1966; German production has fallen for a number of months; and production continues to decline in Britain. In all three countries, high levels of unemployment are registered, and these are increasing.

The European downturns not only threaten to deprive this country of a "safety valve" for needed

exports; they are mutually reinforcing.

The simultaneous downturns on both sides of the Atlantic are all the more unsettling in view of some basically unfavorable trends in the U.S. economic picture.

Short of a qualitatively increased escalation of war spending, reinvigoration of the economy could come from only two sources: capital spending in the domestic sector or increased consumer spending.

But indications point to a continued downward rate of capital investment. In the first place, there has to be substantial reason to invest. With consumers reluctant to spend, and shrinking markets abroad, the capitalists are hesitant to undertake major new construction here.

Possibly more important, the prodigious capital spending of 1965 and 1966 may have laid the basis for sufficient capacity in the next years and undercut urgent need for new large-scale capital investment.

On the other side, the mass of consumers can hardly be expected to undertake vigorous personal spending when their real wages are actually going down. On the contrary, American workers have recently shown a marked tendency to save money and cut down on installment buying.

Increased saving and decreased resort to credit demonstrate that, even with the so-called "low" unemployment level, American workers are not confident about their job situation and are hesitant to take chances on spending money or mortgaging their future income.

These are the big question marks over the contentions that the present downturn is superficial and temporary and that the economy will soon embark on a new boom.

## "Peace" Candidate Proposal

# Is King-Spock Ticket Answer in '68?

By Harry Ring

A growing number of opponents of the Vietnam war are coming to recognize the need for developing a political alternative to the pro-war Republicans and Democrats. One of the ideas which has been put forward is of a "peace" ticket in the 1968 presidential race.

Thus far the only names seriously suggested for such a slate have been that of Dr. Martin Luther King and Dr. Benjamin Spock. It is assumed, for example, that there will be considerable sentiment for a King-Spock ticket at the Chicago Labor Day gathering of the National Conference for New Politics.

Implicit in the talk of a King-Spock ticket is the assumption that such a ticket — or even a third "peace" party — would differ from the Republicans and Democrats only in degree, not in any fundamental way. That is, the nominees would be more critical of the U.S. role in Vietnam and would be generally more liberal on other social issues. But

such a ticket would not offer a basic challenge to the major parties in the sense of challenging the warmaking capitalist interests they represent. They would, in fact, share the procapitalist premises of the Democrats and Republicans.

That a third capitalist "peace" party or ticket would not be a meaningful alternative to the warmakers is indicated by an examination of the King-Spock ticket idea. Both King and Spock have made contributions to building the antiwar movement, but neither are anything more than liberals. Both have been at home in the Democratic Party for a long time. And, if that party should ease its pro-war stand, they would continue to be at home in it.

Dr. King is the country's leading advocate of nonviolence, but his pacifism has been based on a rather curious double standard. His insistence on nonviolent behavior has been addressed solely to his people and not to their oppressors. For example, his pacifism did not stand in his way during the Mideast crisis when he joined with other liberals in demanding, in a public advertisement, that the Johnson administration "honor its commitments" to keep the Gulf of Aqaba open.

### King on Watts

Again, during the Watts rebellion, Dr. King put aside his Gandhian philosophy and supported the use of federal troops to crush that rebellion. And it was demonstrated that this was not an aberration on his part when he declared during the Detroit uprising that it was necessary for the government to use force to quell the "rioters."

Yet, while favoring such use of force by the government, he has continued to lecture black people on the "fallacy" of defending themselves against racist violence. While every serious partisan of black progress was recognizing the ghetto uprisings as a heroic and wholly progressive resistance to racist oppression, Dr. King bemoaned this development:

"This is not the way," he declared in Charleston, S.C., on July 30. "A riot does more harm to Negroes than anyone else."

It is necessary to cite these declarations of Dr. King to indicate what the character of a presidential campaign headed by him would be.

Would a campaign by Dr. Spock prove any better? To establish that it would not it is necessary only to cite a few recent newspaper articles.

The July 16 *New York Times Magazine* featured a rather glowing political appraisal of Dr. Spock by Richard Reeves, a staff reporter for the *Times*.

Entitled, "Peace, Man, Says Baby Doctor Spock," the article carefully explains that while Dr. Spock is ready to accept a peace ticket nomination, that "hardly makes him a political radical."

### May Vote Republican

The article continued: "I'm hoping that the Republicans will put up a candidate pledged to end the war," the doctor, who has been a Democrat since he shocked his family by voting for Alfred E. Smith in 1928, went on. "But I think there will be a national peace ticket if the Republicans are foolish enough to back the war."

Further: "We should stop bombing, de-escalate in other ways and deal with the Vietcong in negotiations," said Spock, sounding no more like a radical than, say, Robert F. Kennedy."

"I haven't said anything about an immediate withdrawal of American troops. I want a supervised armistice . . . Look, we've got to get out, but as a practical matter we can't go and leave our allies to be slaughtered."

Reeves goes on to make clear that Spock's very moderate views

on Vietnam are consistent with his general political outlook.

"He supported American military action in Korea," Reeves explains, "and has said America would have to stop communism by force if it became as aggressive as Nazism. He said he would have backed President Johnson if the President had decided to come to the aid of Israel last month during the short war with the Arab nations."

Earlier at a press conference reported in the July 18 *Times*, Spock emphasized that even if he were to run as a peace candidate this would not represent a break with the two-party system.

### Supports Senators

"Dr. Spock mentioned nine senators that he and other SANE members would support for reelection," the paper said. "These were Ernest Gruening of Alaska, George McGovern of South Dakota, J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, Wayne Morse of Oregon, Frank Church of Idaho, Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania, and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, all Democrats, and John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky and George Aiken of Vermont, both Republicans."

These are the Senate "doves" who issued a declaration last May advising the Vietnamese people that their criticisms of Johnson's conduct of the war should not be misinterpreted as meaning they favored U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

Spock is so deeply committed to the two-party system that for him the idea of a third peace ticket is largely a pressure move to get "good" candidates out of the ma-



Dr. Benjamin Spock

job parties. He spelled this out in an interview in the July 23 issue of *The Worker*.

The interviewer, Douglas Archer, reported: "Spock said the Aug. 31-Sept. 4 Chicago convention of the National Conference for New Politics, which King will keynote, will no doubt put forward 'standby' peace candidates for president and vice president. . .

"The New Politics presidential candidates will be standbys, he said, until it is clear what the Republicans will do at their convention next summer.

"If they put up a strong peace candidate I am sure our candidates will not run," he stressed. . .

"He added: 'We must have another political movement beyond 1968 to force the two parties to give up some of their reactionary and self-deceptive practices.'"

Spock's view of a peace ticket as a mere pressure move against the Republicans and Democrats is shared by influential figures in the National Conference for New Politics. For them the sentiment within the peace movement for a break with the war parties is simply a force to be manipulated for their goal of establishing a liberal power base within the two-party structure.



HAVANA. Sign on Havana Libre hotel greeted delegates to OLAS conference with slogan: "The Duty of the Revolutionary Is to Make the Revolution."

## 'The Worker' Attacks Havana OLAS Parley

By Ben Tangen

The first conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) ended Aug. 10 in Havana. It marked a significant step forward in the regroupment of revolutionary forces in Latin America and reaffirmed the line of uncompromising struggle against imperialism that was championed at the conference by Fidel Castro and the Cuban delegation, and leaders of Latin-American guerrilla movements.

In this country, however, at least one section of the radical movement seemed far from pleased with the success of the conference.

*The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party USA, carried one brief report on the OLAS conference which appeared unsigned in the Aug. 15 issue. It does not even mention the views of the Cuban delegation.

The essential thrust of the OLAS conference was the affirmation of the impossibility of defeating imperialism through peaceful means in Latin America and a rejection of the Stalinist theory of the supposed revolutionary role of the "national bourgeoisie." The OLAS attitude on armed struggle was summed up by Fidel Castro in his closing speech Aug. 10:

"Let no one harbor any illusions about seizing power by peaceful means in any country of this continent. . . Anyone who tries to sell such an idea to the masses will be deceiving them completely."

*The Worker* doesn't mention this view, which was adopted by the conference. It quotes at length from a Chilean Communist who felt that armed struggle "cannot be made an absolute form." *The Worker* made no mention of Castro's characterization of the national bourgeoisie, either.

On another major issue, Fidel Castro, in his closing speech, summarized the dispute between the Cuban leadership and the Communist Party of Venezuela. The Venezuelan CP was not invited to the OLAS conference, a fact reported without explanation by *The Worker*. Fidel stated:

"This party, or rather the rightist leadership of the Venezuelan Party, has come to adopt a position which smacks of an enemy of revolutionaries, an instrument of imperialism and the oligarchy. And I do not say this for the sake of talking; I am not a slanderer, I am not a defamer. . .

"They committed one of the vilest deeds that a revolutionary party can commit: they began to act as informers, as public accusers of the guerrillas. They took advantage of the case of Iribarren

Borges [a government official assassinated in March, allegedly by guerrillas]. They utilized that episode to begin speaking out openly and publicly against the guerrilla movement, practically throwing it into the claws of the government beasts."

*The Worker* does not report these charges. But the same issue of *The Worker* features a call from the Venezuelan CP for a rival conference to OLAS of "Latin-American progressives!"

An open attack on OLAS was launched in the Aug. 20 *Worker* under the title "French CP Criticizes 'Ultra-Left' Latin-American Solidarity Parley." *The Worker* chooses to let its comrades in the French Communist Party speak for it.

### Slight Omission

The article does not mention the name Cuba; it does not mention where the conference took place; it does not mention that Fidel Castro attended or took part in the deliberations!

With its readers thus well equipped to understand the dispute that took place, the French CP and *The Worker* inform us that "participants" in the conference were "representatives of ultra-left 'splinter groups,' given to anti-communist and anti-Soviet diatribes."

Distorted versions of the main points of Castro's closing speech are attributed to various guerrilla leaders and then denounced, in a thinly veiled attack on the Cuban leadership.

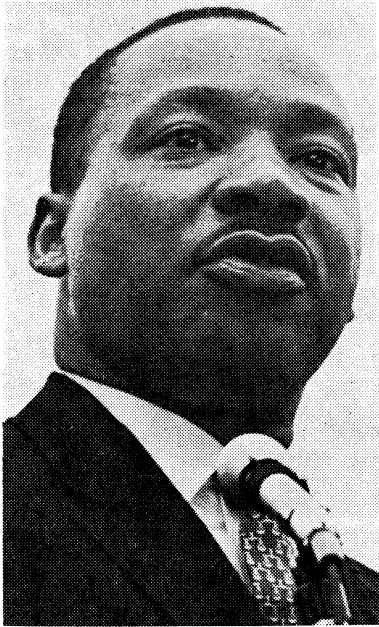
The French CP and *The Worker* then venture a defense of the Venezuelan CP and its class-collaborationist line:

"Having weighed in the balance five years of armed struggles and bravely seeing the conclusions of that balance, [the Venezuelan CP] resolved to modify their tactics. . ."

The guerrillas are dismissed as "worshippers of the Peking theories," and this in the face of the well-known independence of the leaders of the Venezuelan guerrilla movement from both Moscow and Peking.

Fidel replied to these gentlemen in advance in the closing session of the meeting of solidarity:

"And the OLAS Conference has been held — true representation of a genuine revolutionary movement, whose ideas are solid because they are based on reality. OLAS is the interpreter of tomorrow's history, interpreter of the future, for OLAS is the wave of the future, symbol of the revolutionary waves sweeping a continent of 250 million."



Dr. Martin Luther King

## N.Y. Parley By Socialist Scholars Set

NEW YORK — The third annual Socialist Scholars Conference is scheduled to take place here Sept. 9-10 at the New York Hilton Hotel. A number of distinguished radical and Marxist scholars will contribute to a wide variety of panels, symposiums and lectures on a range of social and political topics.

Participants will include such well-known radical figures as Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review*; Far Eastern scholar Owen Lattimore; Ivanhoe Donaldson of SNCC; George Novack, Marxist author and philosopher; writers Philip S. Foner and Michael Harrington; and Yuri Zamoshkin and Timus Timofeev, two Soviet academicians.

Discussions will take place on such topics as Marxism and Sociology; Economics of Poverty; the Ruling Class; Class, Party and Revolution; the Welfare State; Political Economy of Black Power; and Marxism and International Economic Relations.

George Novack will speak Sunday afternoon on "Radical Intellectuals in the 1930s."

The conference will be held on the second floor of the New York Hilton Hotel at Rockefeller Center. Registration will begin at 9 a.m. Saturday morning. For further information write: Socialist Scholars Conference, Box 462 Brooklyn, New York 11201.



# The Meaning of the Ghetto Uprisings

By George Novack

The capitalist rulers of the United States are waging war upon insurgent colored peoples on two widely separated fronts. One is across the Pacific in Southeast Asia; the other is in the core of its major cities from the East Coast to the West. And, despite its panoply of powers and massive means of repression, the titan of world imperialism is not winning either of these wars.

As the diplomatic correspondent of the *New York Times*, C. L. Sulzberger, observed July 30: "Today our nation is a fractured giant; incomparably huge and mighty when viewed from without, but deeply ailing from within."

The quandaries besetting the American ruling class should not be underestimated but rather constitute the point of departure for the freedom fighters and their supporters. While they will have to make heavy sacrifices and solve complex problems, the difficulties of their antagonist are already enormous and are bound to multiply as the struggle unfolds.

## Liberty or Death

In the black revolts which have erupted throughout the country, the Afro-American masses are acting in accord with that honored battle cry uttered by Patrick Henry of Virginia in 1775: "Give me liberty or give me death!" And in the same spirit as the Cuban revolutionary slogans: "Fatherland or death! We will win!" These sentiments were echoed even by one of the most conservative Negro spokesmen, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, when he told a Senate committee: "Exterminate us or liberate us."

The uprisings come as no surprise. They climax a series which began four years ago in Birmingham, the principal industrial city of the South. Ironically, that year, 1963, marked the one hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Birmingham came nine years after the U.S. Supreme Court decision illegalizing segregation in the public schools and eight years after the bus boycott in the former capital of the Confederacy, Montgomery, Alabama. This was the city-wide action of the black people of Montgomery, which launched the civil rights movement and propelled Reverend Martin Luther King into the limelight.

After Birmingham the outbursts spread to the North. Harlem in 1964, Watts in 1965, Chicago in 1966, and now Newark and Detroit in 1967, are the main milestones along this road to revolution.

The authorities and their flunkies black and white try to besmirch the participants as "criminals": lawless rioters, hoodlums, looters and killers. In reality, the black rebels represent the vanguard of the Afro-American revolution which is in turn a harbinger and

stimulator of the coming socialist revolution in the United States.

SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown told a cheering crowd in Queens, New York, that the uprisings were "dress rehearsals for revolution." And CORE leader Floyd McKissick noted: "History will likely record the explosion of this summer as the beginning of the black revolution."

The determined demonstrations by so many black working people constitute an ultimatum to the upholders and beneficiaries of the white supremacist system. "You enslaved us for three hundred years; held out the vision of equality and democracy to us for over a century; tantalized us with lavish promises and then tricked and treated us to miserly tokens throughout this decade. We're fed up with all your deceit and double-talk. The time of reckoning is at hand. If you won't give us what we need, we'll take what belongs to us by right. Or else, we'll make it impossible for you to operate your system."

One Newark resident exclaimed: "The Negro is the most disgusted person in the world; some of them think it's better to be dead than hungry." Another black rebel there cried out: "I don't care about dying; I'm hardly living." They want liberty or death.

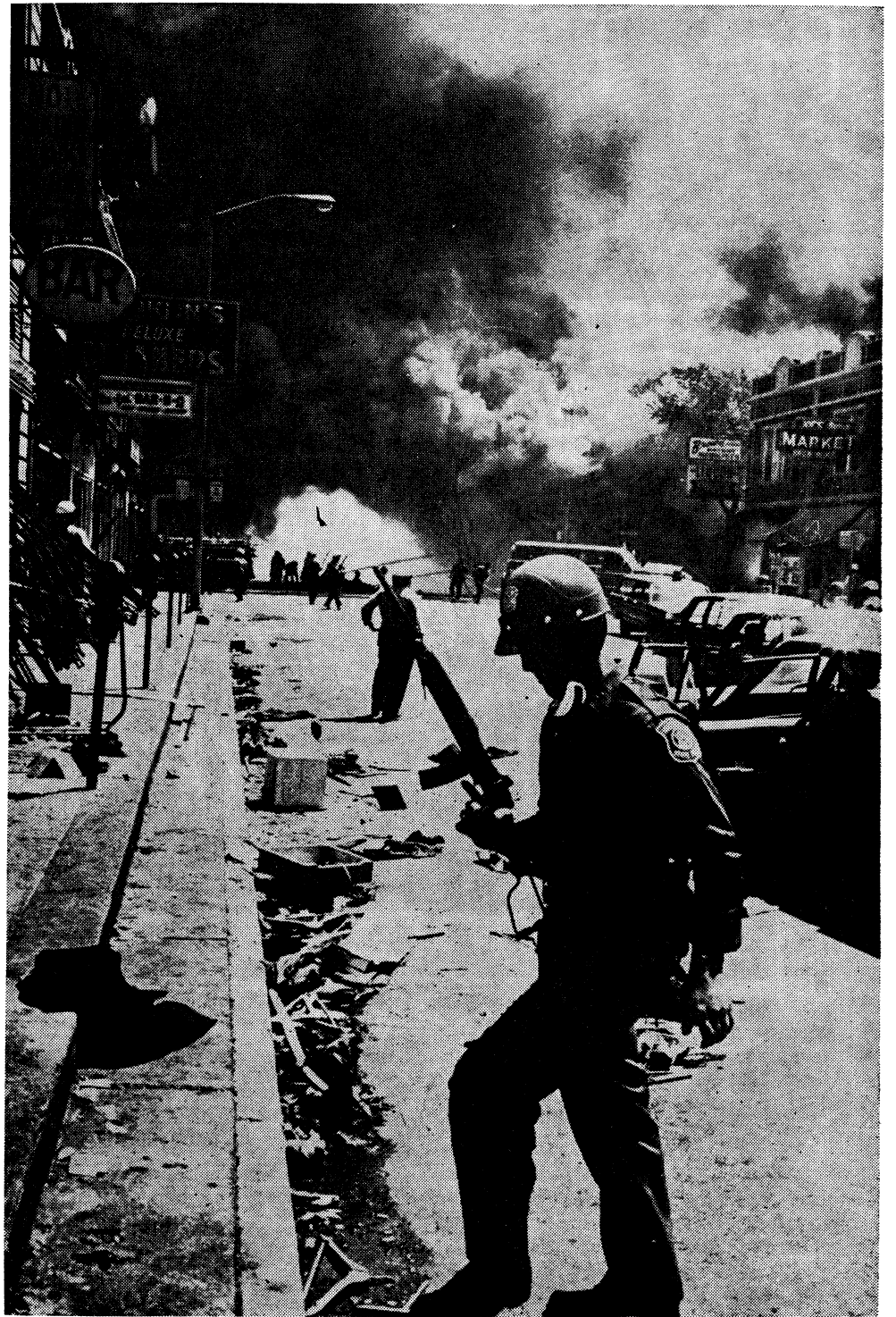
These confrontations were foreseeable and foreseen. This spring a diversity of black spokesmen predicted more upheavals during this fourth of the "long, hot summers." Before his assassination Malcolm X declared it would take the most violent exertions to get the heels of the white masters off the necks of the black masses.

## Only the Beginning

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

The heedless governors of the United States thought they could buy off discontent cheaply by allotting a few millions for anti-poverty projects here and there as fire insurance against further large-scale flareups. They preferred to reserve the lion's share of the federal budget for the Vietnam war. Meanwhile they kept adding fuel to the fires of indignation simmering in all the black districts from New York to San Francisco. They get an escalation of the revolts as a result.

The authorities were well aware that eruptions were building up in many localities and had prepared to deal with



them. They put their contingency plans into operation as well as they could. However, their measures of suppression ran into far more cohesive, fierce and deep-going resistance than they expected.

The white rulers of capitalist America are like the representatives of all outmoded master classes in history. They are blind to the surging power of a national and social revolutionary process. Like King George III and his men, they rush to seal off the insurgency and subdue it as quickly as possible. But no sooner do they stamp it out, or it burns out in one place, than it bursts forth in another. The nationwide revolt hit 70 or more cities (40 in one week).

It made no difference what combination of tolerant or tough tactics they used in the formative stage. Detroit, for example, has been praised as a model of race relations. Its city government boasted that it has done more for its black population than any other metropolis, though that is not saying much. Certainly, its record is better than that of Newark which has been aptly described as "a basic training camp for the poor."

## Underestimation

Detroit Afro-Americans have some influence in municipal politics and the unions. Unlike the Newark officials, the Detroit mayor and police commissioner hoped to contain the explosion without the immediate use of maximum force. That policy did not work because they had seriously underestimated the scope and speed of the explosion.

The basic causes of the current upheavals are the same as those that produced their precursors: racial segregation and injustice; rent gouging; price extortion; substandard, rat-infested housing in crowded, dirty slums; inferior and racist education; bad health facilities; few recreational areas and opportunities; police harassment, insults and brutality; indifference on the part

of city, state and federal officials who are as long on promises as they are short on performance. Out of this misery comes frustration, anger, anguish, despair — and unrestrainable rebelliousness.

Each black community is goaded by special grievances. In Newark, for example, the administration plans to build a state medical complex on 150 acres in the middle of the Central Ward without providing new housing for its residents. Where were the thousands of displaced people to move in a segregated, high-rent, scarce-housing area? Afro-Americans are constantly reminded that they do not get high posts because so few of them have the requisite training. Imagine the indignation when the Newark mayor named one of his henchmen as secretary of the board of education over a much more qualified black candidate favored by the black majority of the city.

## Police Viciousness

Again, in most cases, incidents of police brutality first incensed the people and brought them into the streets. In Newark the arrest and manhandling of a black cab driver and the rumor that he was beaten to death in a station house touched off the conflict. The story was so readily believed because this past year the cops wantonly killed at least nine men in that district, behaving as "trigger-happy" as any Southern sheriff's deputies. And the police, state troops and national guards did not show much mercy as the conflicts intensified. In Detroit, under cover of the curfew, they brutally lynched three young men at the Algiers Motel, and more such cases are coming to light.

The Vietnam war has injected two more grounds for discontent into an already overheated atmosphere. The mounting military budget has led the White House and Congress to slash anti-poverty and social welfare appropri-

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# ... The Meaning of the Re

(Continued from Page 5)

tions which were scanty enough at best. President Johnson has asserted that the United States is rich enough to carry on the war in Vietnam and handle its urban problems at home. These outbreaks controvert his lying assurances.

Black parents are growing angry because their sons are being drafted and dying in disproportionate numbers. More and more young Afro-Americans are saying, "Hell, no, we won't go!"

Congressmen clamor to know where so many so-called "snipers" are coming from. Instead of blaming "outside agitators," they should address themselves to the Pentagon. Thousands of servicemen are coming back from Southeast Asia with excellent military experience and poor job prospects.

The uprisings have other noteworthy features. One has been the high degree of unity of the black communities in their battles against the racist system and its armed defenders.

Another has been the mood of elation animating the participants. Their festive spirit shocked Governor Hughes of New Jersey, and Detroit Mayor Cavanagh deplored the "carnival" atmosphere at the start of the revolt in his city. These obtuse liberal Democratic politicians cannot understand how urgently the frustrations which are part and parcel of the unremitting racial, economic and social repression suffered by all Afro-Americans seek some outlet.

## No Credit Cards

The counter-attacks upon their foes afforded relief and release from incessant personal indignities. When they broke into stores and supermarkets and took consumer goods, they felt they were at last getting back a tiny fraction of what white shopkeepers extort from them every day in the week. They wanted then and there a little share in the bountiful American Way of Life pictured in TV commercials and magazine ads. It was an elemental attempt to alter the extremely unequal distribution of worldly goods in the most affluent capitalist country where the gap between rich and poor has widened as the economic boom has proceeded. The so-called "looters," said one black spokesman, were simply shoppers without cash or credit cards.

They also seized the occasion to strike back hard at their most obvious oppressors, the agents of "law and order." Frantz Fanon has explained how peoples long subjugated by an alien power tend to turn their anger and frustration inward against their own fellows and themselves, until entry into a movement of national and social emancipation permits them to redirect their violence toward the creators and sustainers of their misery and servitude. In this way the victims can transform themselves into victors, as the Algerians did. Such a political-psychological conversion process powers all popular uprisings.

Perhaps the most distinctive and important aspect of the events is the leading role taken by the youth in the street actions. Not only children from eight years old up, but Southern college students, who now prefer reading Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon to Gandhi and Camus, have spearheaded the struggles.

The members of this new generation are very different from their elders. They are the offspring of the specific circumstances of our time, a characteristic American expression of the youth radicalism burgeoning the world over. They have been brought up in the atmosphere of the colonial revolution, the resurgence of Africa, the awakening of the black masses, and the black freedom movement which has been progressing step by step since 1954.

Their militancy has spurred the revolts forward. These youthful rebels have found a sacred cause: the fight for black liberation — and they are resolved to fight to the death for their just rights. Their heroes are Malcolm X, Muhammad Ali and the SNCC leaders who have directly defied the power structure and told Whitey to "go to hell."

The officialdom on all levels from the besieged localities to the national capital have had a rigidly repressive attitude, tempering their harsh punitive measures with fear and caution only as long as the ghetto dwellers were united and up in arms. The one-sided casualty statistics of the wounded and dead indicate how recklessly the police, state troopers and panicky national guards fired upon the insurgents, hitting many innocent victims.

The trumpeter of "The Great Society" in the White House first kept silent and passive, hoping the storms would blow over in New Jersey so that he could focus full attention on Vietnam. But the extension of the insurrections forced him to send paratroopers to Detroit. Johnson stands ready to dispatch armed forces to occupy other cities when necessary. The President organized prayers on Sunday, to make it easier for the powers he represents to prey on the black communities for the rest of the week.

Finally, to give the appearance of action, he appointed a committee of notables to look into the causes of the disorders and bring back recommendations to prevent their recurrence. Meanwhile, the administration announced there would be no increased grants to the riotous cities, although the need is greater than before.

## Tries to Victimize Militants

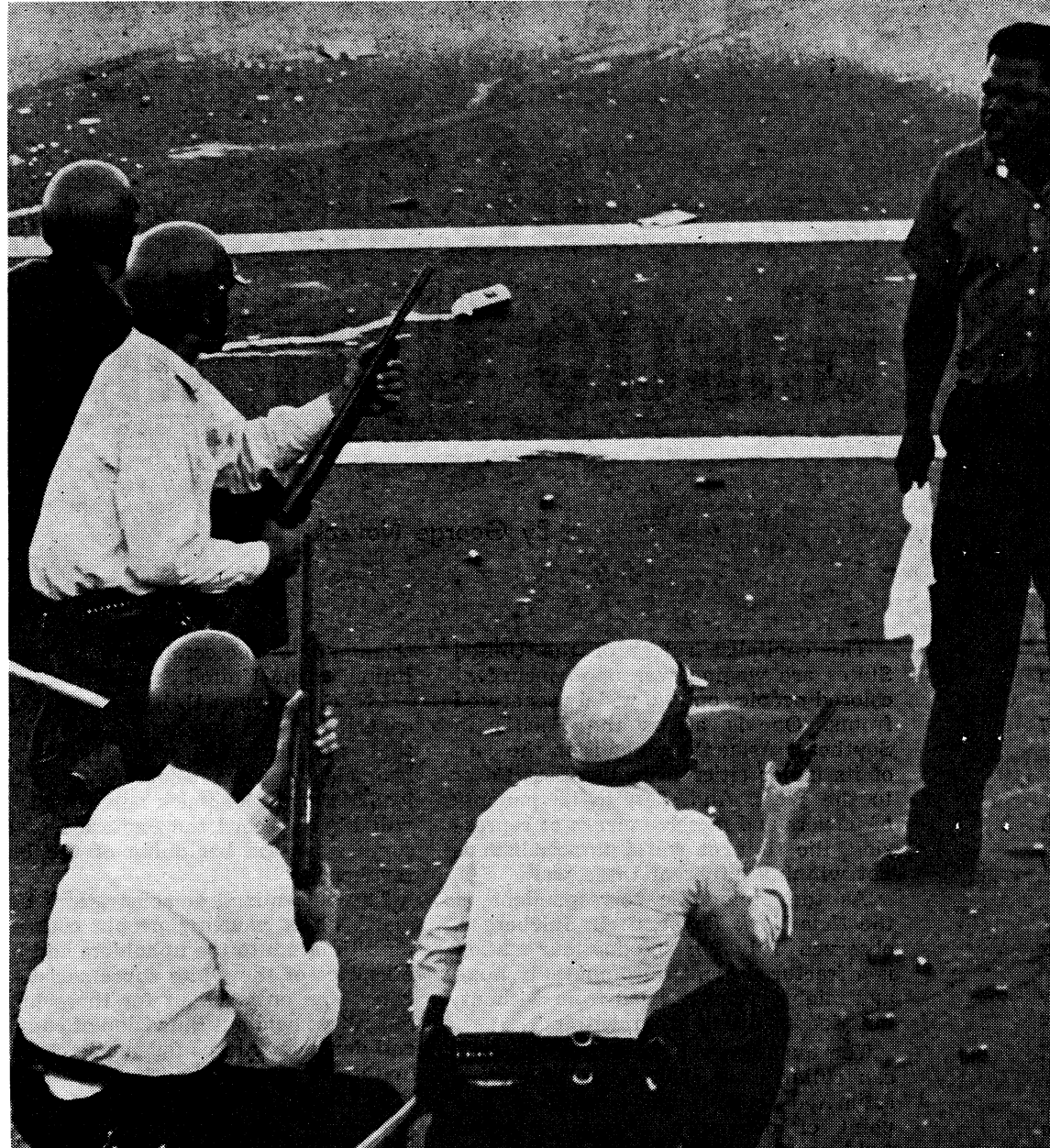
Instead of moving to provide the jobs, education, housing, health services and other essentials whose lack has brought about the revolts, the House gave priority to an anti-riot bill making it a crime to cross state lines to incite violence. The House Committee on Un-American Activities scheduled hearings to expose the alleged subversives who presumably fomented the uprisings.

Rather than eliminate the crying causes of agitation, they want to get all agitators out of the way and put the SNCC and other aggressive leaders behind bars. The House, which had killed rent supplements earlier this year, callously voted down a plan to eradicate rats in the nation's slums.

Most Negro leaders ran true to form. Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young issued a statement condemning the acts of the ghetto rebels as "criminal," while calling upon Congress to enact legislation to protect civil rights and relieve the unutterable wretchedness. One prime motive for their concern was candidly confessed by Bayard Rustin who justified "whatever force is necessary" to stop the rioting because "if the rioting continues, an atmosphere will be created in which the established civil rights leadership will be robbed of standing" and the direction of the masses will fall to more extreme elements.

Many of the militants were present at the four-day National Conference on Black Power held in Newark following the explosion there. The nearly one thousand delegates, mostly in their twenties, extended from the Urban League, the NAACP and SCLC on the right through CORE, SNCC, the OAAU and the Black Muslims to the ultra black nationalists.

Among the resolutions they adopted, one condemned white responsibility for the riots and their violence. Another



requested the United Nations to investigate conditions in Newark under the authority of its charter on colonial territories, an application of Malcolm X's project to internationalize the struggle for human rights. A third demanded the release of all prisoners and indemnities for the victims.

Perhaps the most significant was a resolution which ratified the right of black people to revolt when they have no other alternative. Every great popular movement for freedom and progress has explicitly affirmed this democratic principle as the Declaration of Independence did in 1776. The boiling rebelliousness of the black masses is reflected in the endorsement of this abstract right by some leaders who don't mean it or intend to go all the way with it. But their half-heartedness does not diminish the symptomatic character or the historical import of the pronouncement.

## Malcolm X

These developments in the freedom struggle vindicate the ideas and foresight of Malcolm X. He is the spiritual, ideological and political inspirer of the best of the black warriors. His bold views have taken hold of the minds of the insurgents and become increasingly influential in a remarkably short time after his death. "We lost our great Malcolm," one black militant in Newark said, "but in return we've gained a lot of little Malcolms."

With the uprisings the movement for black emancipation has crossed a Great Divide. It has passed from the stage of petitioning, praying, nonviolent attitudes and hopeful reliance upon the glib promises of capitalist politicians to the most aggressive actions, including forms of armed warfare in the major cities.

Regardless of the censures and moanings of the Kings, Rustins and other moderate leaders, there will be no re-

version to the previous ways which have been transcended by the most combative and dynamic force. The maturing black revolt is advancing step by step with an implacable drive powered by the same impulses that imbued the Algerian, Congolese and Vietnamese freedom fighters. Its course and pace are being determined by objective laws of struggle which are more compelling than the wishes of its would-be directors or the present ideas of most of its participants.

## Crisis of Capitalism

From their experiences over the past period the bitter and impatient ghetto dwellers have concluded that they must break windows, hurl Molotov cocktails, burn buildings and use guns to make the callous rulers up above take notice of their needs. Through such desperate deeds they not only retaliate against their oppressors but hope to force the authorities to relieve their sufferings.

The revolts have shaken the entire country. They disclose that the internal structure of U.S. capitalism is not so sturdy, stable and shock-proof as it has seemed. The alarmed editors of *Life* magazine wrote Aug. 4: "Not for 102 years . . . has the essential fabric of this Republic been so cruelly strained." That social fabric is being ripped along one of its main seams, causing more disruption than was thought possible.

The shocks administered to the system have provoked diversified repercussions in ruling circles, ranging from Virginia Senator Byrd's demand for all-out bloody suppression to the lamentations and confusions of the liberals. The equilibrium of the nation has been upset and its political and social atmosphere will become more radicalized, with polarizations both to the right and toward the left as various elements among the population come to grips with the momentous issues posed by



# ning of the Rebellion



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the uprisings.

The black masses are today in the front firing line of the struggle for a new order in the United States. Their vigorous fight for their own needs can assist the cause of all the poor who suffer along with them from low wages, unemployment, inadequate social services, lack of decent low-cost housing and other ills. Everyone concerned with bettering American life must support their aims and efforts.

Johnson stated that the Negroes were the principal losers in the riots — and many well-intentioned whites ask: What did they get out of the destruction except more grief? Such bystanders look upon the uprisings as an isolated episode rather than viewing them in proper perspective as a critical turning point in the evolution of a popular liberation movement as important as any in the colonial world. The encounters in Newark, Detroit, Milwaukee and other places are tests of strength between the contending forces in which both sides find out what the adversary is ready to do — or not do — at this stage.

### Limitations

The Afro-American freedom struggle has exhibited the power and creativity of an oppressed giant and even greater potential and promise in the street mobilizations against the authorities. At the same time the movement suffers from extremely heavy handicaps and serious shortcomings at this point in its progress.

The actions are spontaneous, spasmodic, uncontrolled, undirected and localized. They need to be unified, coordinated, better organized and led. But the movement has no authoritative national leadership or organization. In time Malcolm X could have filled that bill; that is why he was gunned down. SNCC has a limited number of scattered

# Rebellion in the Ghettos



the uprisings.

The black masses are today in the front firing line of the struggle for a new order in the United States. Their vigorous fight for their own needs can assist the cause of all the poor who suffer along with them from low wages, unemployment, inadequate social services, lack of decent low-cost housing and other ills. Everyone concerned with bettering American life must support their aims and efforts.

Johnson stated that the Negroes were the principal losers in the riots — and many well-intentioned whites ask: What did they get out of the destruction except more grief? Such bystanders look upon the uprisings as an isolated episode rather than viewing them in proper perspective as a critical turning point in the evolution of a popular liberation movement as important as any in the colonial world. The encounters in Newark, Detroit, Milwaukee and other places are tests of strength between the contending forces in which both sides find out what the adversary is ready to do — or not do — at this stage.

## Limitations

The Afro-American freedom struggle has exhibited the power and creativity of an oppressed giant and even greater potential and promise in the street mobilizations against the authorities. At the same time the movement suffers from extremely heavy handicaps and serious shortcomings at this point in its progress.

The actions are spontaneous, spasmodic, uncontrolled, undirected and localized. They need to be unified, coordinated, better organized and led. But the movement has no authoritative national leadership or organization. In time Malcolm X could have filled that bill; that is why he was gunned down. SNCC has a limited number of scattered

organizers and, like other partisans of black power, is in a crisis of reorientation and re-education. Most of the local groups have shown more capacities for loud claims than for the persistent, patient organizational work that the present situation demands.

Above all, the resistance movement lacks the necessary political program, leadership and organization to promote the colossal objectives it has set for itself of overturning the power structure and engaging in a revolutionary transformation of American society. Though it is now hard to credit, in 1964 almost 95 percent of the black voters and almost all their chiefs cast their ballots for Johnson. Despite deep disillusionment since then, many of the most defiant black power spokesmen have still to break clearly and completely with capitalist politics or the Democratic Party and hesitate to call for genuinely independent all-black political action. This default is all the more glaring in view of the impending presidential campaign when the issues which precipitated the black revolts will take the center of national debate.

Most advocates of black power have been trying to evade the problems posed by politics. They fail to see that politics is more than electioneering or bargaining with office holders; it is the means through which the most important bread-and-butter questions affecting jobs, housing, education, the cops, and such life and death questions as the war in Vietnam, are decided one way or the other.

In order to implement the popular slogan of black power, Afro-Americans need to build a permanent political party which can mobilize and educate black voters to oust the tools of the white supremacist parties and place reliable representatives of their own in office. Such an independent political vehicle would quickly become a battler for the interests of black people in the big cities, the states and national politics. By combining forms of mass action with electoral and legislative action, it could lift the movement onto a higher level of consciousness and strength.

## Ballot to the Bullet

Political activity is often construed too narrowly, as though a new black political organization would simply copy the methods of the existing vote-catching machines. An independent black party can encourage and engage in any mode of activity that is required to advance the interests of the black people — from the ballot to the bullet. Its operations may range from campaigning for candidates through mass demonstrations for local improvements to the most militant measures demanded by the struggle for power. It would be guided by the slogan of all oppressed peoples: "Freedom by any means necessary."

The sharpened nationalist feelings and deepened nationalist consciousness generated by the recent developments have strengthened the urge among blacks to gain control of their communities. The careful selection of targets, including stores that were put to the torch, was a manifestation of this trend.

For example, in the middle of the conflict in Detroit, the Malcolm X Society, recently launched by Milton and Richard Henry, submitted a list of demands to the authorities which were designed, among other things, to secure black control over the police forces and schools and provide funds for groups of black people to establish "community-owned businesses and cooperatives." This was an effort to introduce certain programmatic demands into the spontaneously evolving situation which could promote the larger nationalist objec-

tive of deciding and directing their own affairs.

Following the precedent set by Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael took a gigantic forward step by going to Havana and dramatically and unambiguously proclaiming before the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity the alignment of the black struggle for freedom with the guerrilla fighters of Vietnam and Latin America. This international alliance against U.S. imperialism is a revolutionary challenge of a high order. It helps to further the strategy projected by Che Guevara of creating a "second and third Vietnam" to disperse and enfeeble the forces of repression commanded by the U.S. military octopus.

The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese has inspired the vanguard of the ghetto freedom fighters — and the revolts in the heart of the imperialist colossus have in return provided moral reinforcement for the embattled people of Vietnam. This interconnection has been recognized not only by the left but on the right. Bishop Sheen of Rochester, one of the McCarthyite ornaments of the Catholic hierarchy, recently urged Johnson to withdraw U.S. forces immediately from Vietnam in order to further reconciliation between blacks and whites and avert another Civil War.

The uprisings have been denounced as "race riots." Actually, so far, there have only been a few small encounters between black resisters and white hoodlums and no large-scale clashes between the races as in previous years. Almost all combats have taken place between the forces of authority and the black rebels.

## Racism

Yet there unquestionably exists deep racism among white workers and antagonisms between white workers and the black communities. Although they should be allied against their common exploiters and enemy in the capitalist class, they are in fact divided. This is the baneful heritage of four centuries of white supremacy and racism; of a consistent policy of dissention between black and white inculcated by the possessors of property, power and propaganda; by a conservatized and bureaucratized union leadership which discriminates and even excludes blacks in some sections; and by the materially privileged positions of the more favored elements of the working class and their general political backwardness and prejudice. President Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers gave no more assistance to the ghetto dwellers of Detroit than an offer to clean the streets of debris after the assaults upon them.

These heavy handicaps isolate and weaken the black resistance movement by depriving it of the most potentially powerful partner against the corporate rich. The black minority is compelled to fight on alone while manning the outposts of the most formidable revolutionary undertaking in history. This situation also raises the grim specter of racial warfare in which the plutocratic regime which exploits them both will try to incite white workers against black and pit them against one another.

The revolutionary socialists, along with other defenders of the just cause of Afro-American liberation, will do their utmost to explain the reasons for the revolts and win support and understanding for their aims among white Americans. But under the given circumstances in this "world we never made," the most strenuous efforts to show how bigotry and racism damage their own interests can have only a restricted effect.

Unity between the black masses and white workers is the indispensable condition for any effective long-term

struggle to abolish capitalism in this country. However, such collaboration can be achieved in practice only in so far as the still unaroused and unenlightened white workers see their immediate welfare directly threatened by the bosses and their government.

A dramatic instance of solidarity in struggle took place early in July in the wildcat strike at the busy Newport News shipyard in Virginia where 21,000 white and black workers were employed. Both banded together and forced their company union to buck a court injunction against their strike. After that, they had to do battle with scabs, cops and state troopers. One racist policeman who came up against these Southern workers exclaimed later in dismay and disbelief: "The white and colored attacked us together like they were brothers." In Detroit hundreds of poor whites joined their black neighbors in the slums to help themselves to a few consumer goods.

Such instances of combined action are few and far between. They presage a future stage in the anticapitalist struggles and are not now a strong or characteristic factor. Today the two main social forces that ought to be arrayed against the powers-that-be remain separated by a deep and wide abyss that will not be soon or easily bridged.

This unpleasant prospect is lodged in the prevailing situation and its disposition of forces. But that is no reason for the black fighters to abate their struggles or their supporters to fall into despair. Twenty-two million Afro-Americans can accomplish great things even though they may have to go forward for some time with more powerful and dependable allies abroad than at home. It rather means that the black people and their radical allies cannot count upon immediate victory over the oppressors. They have to realistically gird themselves for a prolonged and costly course of conflict which will take many surprising twists and turns before the final showdown arrives.

## Rulers Have Problems

Whatever the dangers, difficulties and delays, they can take heart from the fact that with all their resources the Johnson administration and the American ruling class face thornier problems. They will find it as hard to handle the resistance in their own backyards as in Vietnam.

The full import of the social crisis arising from this higher stage of the black freedom movement has not yet been grasped by the decision makers in Washington. In a Detroit speech Vice President Humphrey talked about a "Marshall Plan" for impoverished Americans while warning that it will take a long time to wipe out "the injustices of a hundred years." But the present disposition of the White House and the conservative Congress is to keep on fiddling while more Newarks and Detroit get ready for burning. Their motto is "Big Business as Usual."

How are the agents of monopolist domination to cope with the unpostponable problems arising from the black revolts? There are two extreme "solutions." One is the Hitlerite method of genocide; the other is South African apartheid. Both of these possibilities are now under discussion from different viewpoints.

For example, Prof. Philip Hauser, University of Chicago sociologist, said Aug. 5 that nobody could predict today whether white America would choose repression or a march toward equality. But, he added, if the road to repression is taken, there are "inherent" possibilities in such a choice of transforming the inner ghettos into concentration camps guarded by the police, the Na-

(Continued on Page 8)



# ning of the Rebellion



# ... Meaning of the Ghetto Rebellions

(Continued from Page 7)  
tional Guard and federal troops. "Repression by the whites could eventually lead to genocide," he remarked. Thus the two "ultimate solutions" tend to merge into one.

However, the rulers of America are restrained from pushing the logic of repression to its end by powerful international and internal considerations. Washington can hardly imitate the Nazi extermination of the Jews so long as it pretends to be a democratic government, the banner bearer of "the free world," and friends of the African and other colonized lands. Apart from South Africa, Portugal and a few puppets, almost every other country in the world would be appalled by and opposed to such atrocious conduct.

Domestic factors are no less inhibitive under present conditions. The major block in its path is precisely such furious, stubborn and large-scale protective battles as are being waged against the official forces of oppression. The authorities now know they would have to crush the colossal resistance put up by 22 million Afro-Americans who comprise the largest, most compact and influential minority in most big cities; they are a majority in the national ca-

pital and Newark and soon will be elsewhere. This cannot be done without racial and civil war.

The economic cost of such a policy would be as great as its political and social dangers. Male and female black workers make up the bulk of the industrial reserve army, that superexploited, low-paid, last-hired and first-fired segment of the total labor force which is indispensable for the operation of the capitalist system of production and its accumulation of wealth. If the black proletariat is taken out of the labor market, some part of the white working class will have to be substituted, a remedy that in the long run could prove as bad as the disease.

Stern enforcement of *apartheid* would not only reverse all civil rights and equalitarian trends. It would entail the abolition of democracy and the imposition of some form of naked dictatorship over the entire American nation. The inevitable large-scale popular opposition to white supremacism and fascist totalitarianism could likewise spark civil war and raise the specter of a socialist revolution which would bring continued capitalist rulership into question.

To be sure, the only kind of pacifica-

tion that would satisfy Washington's requirements in either Southeast Asia or the United States would be the peace of the grave. Short of that, it cannot hope to break the wills of both insurgent peoples to be free. But whatever it may inflict abroad, genocidal war is the most hazardous of all courses it could embark upon at home.

On the other hand is the alternative of conciliation and substantial concessions which are more than token. Liberals still hope to goad the consciences of the Democratic and Republican politicians and persuade them to step up reforms and allot the money to give Afro-Americans the rights, equality, jobs and comforts they have been denied for a full century. Can the capitalist regime that failed to remove or even alleviate the most elementary injustices and inequities during the height of prosperity be expected to do more if the economy continues to stagnate or takes a downturn?

After six years of the biggest boom in American history and 13 years of civil rights agitation the black masses are worse off than before. The authorities have shown themselves quicker to call out the National Guard than to

act effectively against the conditions responsible for the revolts.

More and more black Americans have become convinced that any changes coming from the white power structure will be too slow and too limited to offer them any hope of salvation in their lifetime. They are pounding with bare fists, and sometimes with weapons, against the framework of the established order to break it down and find a way to freedom.

Their impulses, their demands, their drives are profoundly revolutionary and progressive. They sense, although they do not yet consciously formulate their feelings in political terms, that what they are striving for — justice, decent living conditions, jobs, dignity and human rights — cannot be secured if things remain as they are.

They are right. The whole structure of capitalist power and ownership will have to be dismantled and replaced if the workers of America, black or white, are to go forward to a better life. This socialist conclusion is the ultimate lesson that ought to be derived from the conflicts that have convulsed so many American cities and resounded through the world this summer of 1967.

August 8, 1967

# ... Youth Campaign for Halstead-Boutelle

(Continued from Page 1)  
ing the oppression, will be promising they could do it better, cleaner. The Socialist Workers Party will be denouncing and exposing not only the four year record of war and racism, but the 100 years of war and 400 years of racist oppression. They will be calling for and building toward a totally different kind of society."

The aims of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle were explained this way:

"There will be Young Democrats and Young Republicans who agree with most of the policies of the warmakers. And against them will stand Young Socialists who, even if they do not agree with all of the planks of the Socialist Workers Party platform, see Halstead and Boutelle as the alternative to the racist and warmaking Democrats in '68."

In the massive April 15 demonstrations of half a million against the war, and in the Detroit uprising in July against "the power and property of white capitalist America," Americans demonstrated their opposition to America's ruling circles. Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle initiators insist that:

"We cannot take to the streets to oppose the rulers who control our country on one day, and vote for their political parties the next."

This question is posed sharply by the '68 elections:

"As November 1968 approaches, the rulers will use their campaign to justify and defend their bipartisan policies. We can use the '68 elections to demonstrate our uncompromising opposition to their course of racism, war, poverty, unemployment and injustice — policies which are not in our interests."

The call outlines what the initiators of the effort propose:

"We call on all American youth who, like ourselves, are disgusted by these policies and the two political parties which have implemented them for the past 100 years, to join with us in forming Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle. Its sole purpose is to support and campaign for the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President."

The views of the two socialist candidates on the major questions facing this country are summarized by their young supporters:

"Halstead and Boutelle stand for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, and call on all Americans opposed to the war to join and build the antiwar movement. They will be campaigning to build the massive October 21 mobilization to confront the warmakers in Washington D.C. They demand the abolition of the draft."

"Halstead and Boutelle stand for total support to the struggle of black Americans for freedom by any means necessary. They support the right of black people to control their own communities and determine their own future. They support the formation of an all-black political party to fight for the needs of the black community."

"Halstead and Boutelle stand for the defense of the colonial revolution from Cuba to Bolivia, from the Congo to Vietnam. They support the Cuban revolution as the example other colonial peoples should look to in their fight for liberation from oppression, exploitation and misery. They demand that U.S. troops be withdrawn from all foreign bases and that Washington keep its hands off Cuba and China."

"Halstead and Boutelle stand for a total break with the two parties of war and racism, and their policies. They call for the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions to defend the unconditional right to strike and oppose the anti-labor laws and practices of the men who own the industries and the government."

"Halstead and Boutelle stand for a socialist America and a socialist world to bring an end to the course toward nuclear annihilation pursued by the American government. They stand for a rational society of abundance and freedom for all, in which not only the essential needs of every person will be satisfied, but their creative capacities realized as well."

"Halstead and Boutelle will take this program and these ideas to every American they can reach between now and November, 1968."

The call for support indicates some of the activities Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle can carry out:

"Everyone's help is needed. Signatures must be gathered; posters, leaflets, buttons and stickers made and distributed; tours scheduled;

radio and TV time secured; meetings, rallies and protests organized. In 1968 every black community, high school, college, factory and army base in the country that can be reached must learn that there is an alternative to voting for war, racism and oppression."

In discussing who they are and what they want to do, the initiators of the call say:

"Some of us are members of the Socialist Workers Party, some are not. Many of us do not agree with all the planks of the SWP program. But we believe that the ticket of Halstead and Boutelle symbolizes and campaigns for the definitive break with the capitalist political system that must be made by the majority of Americans — workers, Afro-Americans, GIs, and students

— in order to challenge and eventually oust the capitalist minority which misrules our country.

"Join us in the streets of Washington, October 21, to confront the warmakers and racists and demand the troops be brought home now! Join us in forming Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle! Join us in taking to the American people the alternative to the parties of racism and war!"

Melissa Singler announced that campaign posters, brochures, pamphlets, buttons and stickers were available. Three different posters have been printed, at 25 cents each; buttons are 30 cents. For more information write: Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, 873 Broadway, 2nd Floor South, New York, N.Y. 10003.

## ... Socialist Nominations

(Continued from Page 2)  
chairman of SNCC. "Whenever the ruling class cannot buy off black leaders, their policy is to frame them, exile them, or assassinate them."

Halstead said, "It is just as wrong to use troops against the black community here as it is to use troops to try to put down the Vietnamese revolution."

### "Gun Control"

The Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate attacked Senator Robert F. Kennedy for recent statements that more rigid gun control laws would decrease bloodshed in "riots" in U.S. cities. Halstead said: "The Senator has the facts twisted. The bloodshed came when the police, state troopers and National Guard troops carried out armed punitive expeditions into the black community. Kennedy — that supporter of Pentagon violence — is just trying to disarm the black community and leave it helpless in the face of more and bigger punitive expeditions. We support the constitutional right of every Afro-American to bear arms and to protect his own home and person."

Boutelle will begin his campaign by making a tour of black college campuses in the deep South early this fall. He plans to tour Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee,

Louisiana, Texas, and other states.

Halstead will spend the next two months in New York helping to organize the massive October 21st antiwar demonstration to be held in Washington, D.C.

## Organize Support for Halstead and Boutelle On Your Campus or High School

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## GIs and the Fight Against War

By Mary-Alice Waters

Introduction  
By Fred Halstead

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Young Socialist  
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New York, N.Y. 10003



# REVIEWS and REPORTS

**FOR MALCOLM: POEMS ON THE LIFE AND THE DEATH OF MALCOLM X.** Edited by Dudley Randall and Margaret G. Burroughs. Preface and Eulogy by Ossie Davis. With Biography; Bibliography; and Photographs and Biographical Notes of Authors. Detroit: Broadside Press, 1967. \$2.00.

To those aware of the greatness of Malcolm X and what his work could have meant for black America and for the world, the multiple emotions produced by the shock of his death practically defied expression. Many undoubtedly were tempted to try their hand at verse in an effort to state the complexity and urgency of their feelings at the time.

James Shabazz, Malcolm's closest lieutenant, in his memorial address at the Militant Labor Forum, for example, spoke more in the cadenced tones of poetry than in the language of political analysis. Likewise, actor Ossie Davis, to whom literary forms were certainly more familiar, gave a eulogy at Malcolm's funeral which, though technically prose, is rightly included in this newly issued collection of poems for Malcolm. (Unfortunately, the Shabazz address, which deserves to be in this volume, was not included.)

Margaret G. Burroughs and Dudley Randall, Afro-American poets themselves, have brought together a selection of "the great number of poems that have been written" in Malcolm's memory. As is to be expected in an anthology of nearly 60 pieces by more than 40 writers, there is a wide range of styles, themes, and approaches.

The book divides into four themes: The Life, The Death, The Rage, The Aftermath. From poems that dwell on Malcolm's remarkable life emerges a kind of allegory of the fate of the black man in America. In discussing his death, some reflect the officially encouraged notion that the Black Muslims were directly responsible. Others, with more than just poetic insight, probe less accepted avenues ("Was a sawed-off shotgun missing from the Police arsenal?").

One poet will use straightforward simple language, to blast out and shout out his anger and love. Another will withdraw into the intricacies of form, rationalizing and giving distance to the pain.

This is an uneven collection, some very good poems and some not particularly outstanding. It includes both the first published works of some authors and the accomplished statements of several masters in the art. But in all the variety of personalities, styles, and levels of skill, the tremendous influence that was Malcolm X speaks through. And it is this, the dynamic subject, that gives the book its power and significance.

The total effect of the book is of a rounded statement of what Malcolm meant, and means, for oppressed Afro-Americans. This man, this uncompromising fighter, this enormously capable leader, continues to live in the memory of the black masses. All the attempts of the rulers of this country to garble and expunge his memory and example have been in vain. The poems speak of this, too. Written a while ago, they could have been addressing the militant spirit of black Newark when they wrote:

*The rays of Red have pierced the deep, have struck  
The core. We cannot sleep.*

*The shadows sing: Malcolm,  
Malcolm, Malcolm.  
The darkness is not like before.  
Or:  
I knew a source of this aroma  
once,  
But that was snuffed out. He is  
cold . . .  
But how is it that I still smell the  
smoke?  
I'm hoping where there's smoke—  
you know the saying.*

There are more fine poems in this collection than I have room to quote from. But let me mention a few particularly worth reading: James Worley's "Sleep Bitter, Brother"; Theodore Horne's "Malcolm Exsiccated" (the parched regrets of one who put off drinking from the "brimming well" too long: "the source has died"); Mar-



Malcolm X

garet Walker's "For Malcolm X"; and Etheridge Knight's "For Malcolm, A Year After."

Besides the poems, the volume includes some valuable materials. The editors wrote a short "Life of Malcolm" in their preface, which clarifies many of the references in the poems. One is struck once again by the immense drama and force of the bare facts of Malcolm's biography.

The introduction has an interesting account of how the volume came into existence. Brief sketches of the contributors in the back have their interesting highlights too. For example, Margaret Burroughs' credo, a quote from Lenin; and the very valid remarks on "the King's English" by Etheridge Knight, (very much a brother spirit of Malcolm's, his poems come from behind Indiana State Prison walls).

In the back is an excellent bibliography, which adds somewhat to the very thorough listing in George Breitman's *Last Year of Malcolm X*. Supporters of *The Militant* will be proud but not surprised to see that a good part of the bibliography consists of *Militant* articles or "sister" works from Merit Publishers.

American poetry these days is not known for its social consciousness or revolutionary spirit. In that respect *For Malcolm* is a unique volume of current American verse. Here the black artist is way ahead of his white counterpart. And he could have shown this in no better way than by choosing as his subject this giant revolutionary, spokesman of black America and the oppressed in general.

—George Saunders

# SNCC Is Unjustly Accused: Position Not "Anti-Semitic"

By Les Evans

Cries of outrage from every shade of liberal opinion have scourged the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for their recent forthright stand in defense of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression. A torrent of abuse has been heaped on SNCC for an article on the Arab-Israeli conflict that appeared in the June-July issue of the *SNCC Newsletter*.

The attacks have ranged from the chauvinist hysteria of committed Zionists such as Theodore Bikel who labeled the SNCC article "obscene," to a declaration by Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph in which they professed to be "appalled and distressed by the anti-Semitic article."

Crude red-baiting was added to the charge of "anti-Semitism": Roy Wilkins accused SNCC of following the "Soviet line in the Arab-Israeli matter."

The *New York Times* reported Aug. 16 that "Dr. Martin Peretz, a director of the National Conference for New Politics, also attacked the statement as vicious anti-Semitism."

Various assailants accuse SNCC of being "in the pay of the Arabs," of "aligning itself with the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan," and of "paralleling" articles in *Thunderbolt*, racist organ of the neo-fascist National States Rights Party.

## Defended Arabs

When we turn to the *SNCC Newsletter* itself to discover what precipitated this tirade, we find that the article is not anti-Semitic at all, but a sharp criticism of the politics of the Zionist parties that hold power in Israel, and a defense of the Arab nations from the imperialist-backed invasion by the Zionists. SNCC representatives have since reiterated this point.

In fact, the article marks a step forward for SNCC in its identification with the Arab colonial revolution against imperialism and its understanding of the role played by political Zionism as an ally of imperialist interests in the Middle East.

The article outlines a brief history of the Zionist colonization of Palestine, the expulsion of the bulk of the Arab population from the areas incorporated in the State of Israel at its founding in 1948 — including an account of the violence employed by Zionist terrorist organizations to force Arab peasants to flee their land — and

## Reveal "Secret" U.S. Casualties

The U.S. government has been accused of using "deceptive book-keeping" to keep secret "indirect" casualties of the Vietnam war which must number in the thousands.

Congressman Bob Wilson (Rep.-Calif.) speaking in the House of Representatives Aug. 7 pointed to the listing by the Defense Department of "Casualties not the result of actions by hostile forces" which numbered 2,291 dead as of July 27.

Wilson declared that in addition to this misleading category the administration kept secret the number wounded "indirectly" — in "accidents involving military vehicles, shot by mistake, accidentally wounded by our own or allied forces, victims of disease incurred during swamp and jungle operations, and so forth."

If the ratio between dead and wounded is about the same for "direct" and "indirect" casualties, the total of secret casualties may run to 14,000.



ARAB REFUGEES. Sympathy expressed by SNCC for Arab victims of Israeli aggression led to charges of "anti-Semitism."

a summary of United Nations action on the Arab-Israeli question.

Most of the material in the statement is simply well-known fact, history that has been made by the Zionist leaders and cannot be unmade by some general agreement to attach the label "anti-Semite" to anyone who writes it down.

Why then the flurry of charges? The explanation is simple enough. It lies in the massive propaganda campaign that the Zionist political parties have waged for years to totally identify Zionism with all Jews! They want to pin the label of "anti-Semite" on anyone who is anti-Zionist.

Anti-Semitism is reactionary. But so is Zionism. Zionism in practice is pro-imperialist and capitalist, opposed to the colonial revolution and socialism, and racist toward Arabs and other nonwhite peoples (including nonwhite Jews). To identify all Jews with these reactionary policies may work to the temporary advantage of the Zionists by allowing them to brand all of their opponents as "anti-Semites." But it spells disaster for the mass of Jews in the world if they permit that identification to be implanted in the minds of people fighting for their freedom.

A distinction must always be made between the policies of Zionism and the mass of Jews either in Israel or elsewhere. The SNCC article makes a very clear distinction on this point and nowhere attacks all Jews, or criticizes even the Zionist leadership for anything except their public political acts.

## Dark Skinned Jews

For example, SNCC points out that "dark skinned Jews from the Middle East and North Africa are also second-class citizens [in addition to Israeli Arabs] in Israel, . . . the color line puts them in an inferior position to the white, European Jews."

The point is explicitly made "That several American and European Jews, who are not Zionists and cannot support the horrors committed by Zionists in the name of Judaism, have spoken out and condemned the Zionist distortions of the Jewish religion; but their opinions are never printed in the Zionist controlled press or other communications media."

The question in regard to the SNCC statement is not whether

there has been a minor misstatement of fact, which is possible, as it authors are not Middle Eastern scholars. But that is not why they have been attacked. They were attacked for defending the Arab revolution against the depredations of Zionism. In doing that, SNCC is entirely correct.

There is one point which should be made concerning the cartoons which accompany the SNCC article. One shows Moshe Dayan with a Star of David on his chest and dollar signs mounted on his shoulders. Another shows Nasser and Muhammad Ali with ropes around their necks, and the ropes are held in a hand marked with a Star of David and a dollar sign.

## Star of David

The Star of David is not only an insignia of Zionism, it is a symbol of the whole Jewish people and its use in this context could be misinterpreted as anti-Semitism. It should be pointed out, however, that virtually all of the daily papers, news magazines and the Zionist press itself were flooded with cartoons of Israeli soldiers marked with Stars of David smashing the Arab armies during and after the Israeli victory in June, so the misuse of that emblem in this country hardly began with SNCC.

Finally, people should not lose sight of the fact that the pious defense of the Zionist conquests of the Israeli government does obscure a real racism in the disregard for the fate of the Arab masses.

And outraged liberals who are reading SNCC out of the civil rights movement should look around to see if it is not really they who are making their exit from the struggle for black freedom in this country.

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# Letters From Our Readers

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

## Arab Revolution

Detroit, Mich.  
A very thorough job has been done by *The Militant* in exposing the myths of Zionism. A strategy for the revolutionary struggle inside Israel has even appeared in its pages. It seems to me, however, that *The Militant* has just as big a potential audience among present and future activists in the Arab revolution as we do in the anti-Zionist struggle in Israel. A lot more clarity in the former is desirable too; since our record in favor of the Arabs is clear, our suggestions will carry weight.

At the SDS convention in Ann Arbor, Arab students took the initiative in arranging an exchange of ideas with the American radicals there. Before the current war, the Arab student moderator said, "most of us were just liberals." He said that the tone of discussion at a recent national gathering of Arab students in East Lansing to evaluate their "total failure to explain the Arab cause to the American people" indicated they were becoming radical.

What must be understood by the Arab revolutionaries is that the defeat inflicted upon them by the Israeli blitzkrieg is not only the result of military miscalculations by the Egyptian or Syrian military but of the total social policy carried out by present Arab leaders. Here are some programmatic suggestions *The Militant* could raise:

(1) Total hostility to the ruling circles in the West. U.S. imperialism, especially its liberal variety, is the Arab revolution's most vicious enemy.

(2) Nonconfidence in Big Personality leaders like Nasser and total struggle against the feudalists of the Hussein variety; reliance on the masses of Arab workers and peasants mobilized in the manner of the Algerian revolution prior to 1963 and the Cuban revolution from its inception onward.

(3) Destruction of the military apparatus and police structures inherited from prerevolutionary feudal-capitalist regimes.

(4) Rejection of the notion of Islamic "socialism." Ben Bella, for example, tried to weld an Arab unity on the basis of a common Arab-Islamic culture and thus failed to see that his Moslem brother Boumediene was mobilizing the reactionary classes to stop the forward march of the revolution. For an internationalist course! For the application of Marxism-Lenin-

ism (not Stalinism) to the Arab liberation fight!

The Arab student organization is one of the largest foreign student groups in this country. Unlike the Zionists, many of them want to find a way to mobilize their people in the cause of equality and progress. They will talk with American Marxists. The only way to redeem the honor of the people who have suffered the blitzkrieg of Moshe Dayan is to mobilize them under the program that has served revolution from the days of Karl Marx to Che Guevara.

J. G.

## Racist Library

Riverhead, N. Y.  
Though I am not a socialist I'm writing this to your paper because I feel you would be more interested and more likely to take action than a liberal magazine. Enclosed is a xerox copy of the Library of Congress catalogue card, printed by the U.S. government, for the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*. As you can see, the Library of Congress uses Malcolm's *slave name!*

What brought the fact to my attention was that I noticed the author line in the Library of Congress number used an L for Little, rather than an M, X, or S, for Malcolm, X, or Shabazz.

Well, there it is. Documentary proof that the United States government is printing and distributing to every college library in the country at least one *racist* government publication. The use of the slave name for the card to this book violates not only the whole spirit of the book, but the obvious intent of the author.

Now, the significant question is what is going to be done about it? The librarians at L. C. may be innocent enough, in that they're probably couped up and don't know what's going on in the outside world, but their mistake can't go unchanged. I just realized that *Malcolm X Speaks* and the other Malcolm publications of Merit Publishers are being catalogued, probably, the same way.

G. H. W.

## Calls for Peace

New York, N. Y.  
With all the articles about Israel's history and policy since 1948 and the very little socialism you have in Israel, it still does not justify a bandit call on the part of the Arabs to drive the Jews into the sea: the call of Shukairy, Nasser, King Hussein. You heard them as well as I just before the six-day war in the east.

I would like you to give us an account of how much of socialism there is in all these Arab countries that were united in the holy war to wipe out the Jews in Israel.

Do you think it would be right to give two and half million Jewish people as a sacrifice for the socialism you have there?

I think your paper should give a more correct picture. Also tell your readers more about the Arab life in these countries. A call for peace should be in your paper. A call for a good settlement of the refugee problem there.

Slogans have to be picked and used very carefully. "Hands Off the Arabs." This is to be told to the oil magnates of the United States. And also the USSR, because of its political interest. The blood of this six-day war should be on the conscience of the leaders of the USSR.

I. K.

## "Law and Order"

Waverly, Minn.  
Vice-President Humphrey in Waverly, Minn. July 22 said that the racial violence plaguing the United States represents "Lawlessness," "violence" and "disregard for property and human life." "There has to be respect for the law," he said, "that is the first requirement of citizenship under a representative government."

Mr. Humphrey of course has to say this because it is he whose job it is to protect the ruling class and the law of this country that is on the side of the capitalist.

The Negro and the workers as a whole have nothing to gain in supporting the law of the land. History has proven this. One has only to look at the history of the labor movement to see that the workers had to take things into their own hands to get favorable results. The law was not on their side. They made their own laws and some of us enjoy a higher standard of living because of them.

Negroes need economic power to meet their needs and the capitalist class is geared to crush down

## Thought for the Week

"Oddly, the Army radio station in Vietnam does not play the most popular song in Vietnam, the Animals' 'We Gotta Get Out of This Place.' One station official said there were 'difficulties' in getting the record, which is played over and over in GI bars throughout the country." — Bernard Weintraub, writing from Saigon for the *New York Times* Aug. 27.

any movement that is to the interest of the Negro worker. The government has used every possible way to avoid disorder. Finally force had to be used to protect capitalist property.

"When you sow the seeds of bigotry, lack of education, lack of training, lack of opportunity, you are going to reap a harvest of trouble, a harvest of disaster," said Humphrey. He knows the answers but is caught in the contradictions of the capitalist system that creates the problem.

F. Adrian Luoma

## Still Disagrees

Newark, N.J.  
After reading everything on Israel in *The Militant* I am still inclined to disagree with you. You mentioned the Arabs who were forced out by the Jews in 1948 and are still living in refugee camps in Jordan and Syria and who cannot be absorbed by the economies of Jordan and Syria, and you call this aggression by the Israelis.

The Jews had been persecuted and had been refugees from different parts of the world for centuries. Even when they tried to lose their identity as Jews they have been sought out, persecuted and murdered as in Nazi Germany.

They had to go somewhere to establish a haven and historically Israel was the place to go. As you mention, every place in the world is already taken up except Antarctica. So they had to force many

Arabs out. But these Arab refugees did have a place to go as the Arabs retained a vastly greater amount of land area. And these refugees are among other Arabs of their own kind, who speak the same language which should make it easier to be absorbed.

Now if the Arab economy cannot absorb these refugees since 1948, or even within a short time, that is the fault of the Arab economy and not Israel.

You speak of Israeli aggression. Did not Nasser say "We will destroy Israel" and took the initiative by closing the Gulf of Aqaba? Had the war gone in reverse, the Arabs overrun and destroyed Israel, there would be further massacres and persecution of Jews.

You speak of the Arab revolution. What revolution? They are still capitalist. If they were socialist they should be able to absorb the Arab refugees. And Israel is not stopping them from becoming socialist either. Let them do so on their own territory and set an example to the world, instead of trying to destroy Israel.

I do agree that the final solution is Arabs and Israelis united under a socialist or communist democracy, in fact the whole world eventually, and thus solving all economic problems. But until this is accomplished, I believe that Israel has a right to exist as a haven for a long persecuted people.

D. A.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**The Great Society** — In a fit of generosity that so typifies our way of life, the Miami, Arizona, school board announced that it will sell text books on credit to children of striking copper miners. The children will be able to obtain the books for a dollar down.

**String One Up for Christ** — Sunday hangings have been declared legal in the state of Washington.

**Wise to Credibility Gap** — Samuel Shenton, British-based secretary of the International Flat Earth Society, has a down-to-earth understanding of the capacities of American propagandists. He denounced the so-called Lunar Orbiter photos of the world as "a fraud, a fake, a piece of trickery or deceit." He pointed out that the U.S. was perfectly capable of faking the photos which purport to show the earth as round.

**Sun Lover** — Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, upon learning that thieves had made off with \$780,000 worth of her jewels, moaned, "I'll have to go around in nothing but my pearls and my tiara."

**Expert Testifiers** — Remember those "independent experts" who testified before the Senate committee that there really was no need to include health warnings on cigarette packs? It was just disclosed that a number of them were drawing \$400 a day in "consultation fees" from the tobacco industry. An industry spokesman said it was "entirely proper."

**Our Next Import?** — A July 30 UPI dispatch from Caracas, which a San Francisco friend forgot to put in the mail, reported a growing concern in Venezuela about trigger-happy cops. Some exam-

ples: A cop suddenly opened fire on a North American woman and her 2-year-old child, seriously wounding both. They had unwittingly driven down a street closed to traffic. A cop was splashed by mud from a passing bus. He fired six shots into the bus, then boarded it and beat up the driver. A man in a bar slapped a cop on the back and made a familiar remark. The cop put a bullet in his back.

**And He Has a Few Other Faults Besides** — "Once Lyndon Johnson was complaining to a senior statesman that he wasn't liked, and he incautiously inquired why. 'Let's

face it, Mr. President,' replied the elder. 'You just aren't a likable man.'" — James Deakin in the *August Esquire*.

**The Medium Really Is the Message** — A reader of Herb Caen's column in the *San Francisco Chronicle* reports that he found a sign posted over a men's room hot air blower for drying hands which read: "Push button and listen to a short message from LBJ."

**Crazy, Man!** — The state of Illinois has enacted a law barring conscientious objectors from being cops or deputy sheriffs.

—Harry Ring

"Ideological consistency is least of all achieved when we close our eyes and say that things are as they are not."

Is Israel an imperialist tool? Is Nasser a progressive leader? Which are the area's forces of reaction and which of progress?

## Rights and Wrongs in the Arab-Israeli Conflict

(To the anatomy of the forces of progress and reaction in the Middle East)

by M. S. Arnoni, editor of *The Minority of One*

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**The SWP Ticket**

# Meet the Socialist Candidates

Whoever the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties may be, one thing is certain. They will be "well off," if not downright filthy rich; and they will be pledged to defend the interests of the exploiting capitalist rulers at home and abroad.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will stand in sharp contrast to them. Both Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle are working men dedicated to advance the struggles of the black and white masses for a better world.

## Fred Halstead

Fred Halstead, the SWP candidate for President, is 40 years old. He lives in a public housing project in the Chelsea district of Manhattan with his wife and four children.

Fred Halstead is one of the leaders of the New York antiwar movement. His antiwar activities go back to World War II, when he was 18 years old. He served in the Navy, and was stationed in the Pacific area at the end of the war. The ruling circles in the U.S. then hoped to keep a large part of the wartime draftees mobilized for action against the colonial revolution after the armistice was signed. Their calculations were upset by the unexpected great movement which swept through the troops in Europe and the Pacific demanding to be brought home.

"In the beginning of 1946," Halstead recalled in his introduction to the pamphlet, *GIs and the Fight Against War*, "I was stationed on a ship of the U.S. Navy which was one of those involved in carrying Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers from Shanghai to northern China to fight the Red Army. As I recall, we ordinary sailors knew almost nothing about the civil war then developing in China. As a matter of fact, most of us had never heard of it before we found ourselves directly involved. But we did know that we did not want to be involved and that nobody had a right to force us to be . . .

"I remember first coming across the going-home movement in the Red Cross building in Shanghai, where U.S. servicemen used to stop in for hamburgers while in town. There, in the lobby over the bulletin board, was a large banner which announced a meeting and said: "GIs Unite! We Want to Go Home."

Halstead and his buddies joined this movement, which became so overwhelming it soon forced the Pentagon to demobilize the armed forces.

More recently, Halstead was a



**AT RALLY.** Fred Halstead and daughter Laura at antiwar demonstration.

principal organizer of the "Hands Off Cuba" demonstration in New York City during the 1962 missile crisis. This was one of the first attempts at building a broad, non-exclusive antiwar demonstration.

This antiwar fighter and socialist has served on the staff of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee since its formation in 1965 and has been instrumental in organizing the large demonstrations the committee has held.

As a member of the administrative body of the National Mobilization Committee, Halstead was a principal organizer of the April 15, 1967 antiwar demonstration of half a million in New York, the most massive protest demonstration in U.S. history.

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for President has also been active in the labor movement since he was a teenager.

He has participated in the following strikes and organizing campaigns: The Imperial Valley California agricultural strike in 1949; United Automobile Workers and Garment Workers organizing campaigns in Los Angeles in 1949-52; and the Square D Electrical Workers strike in Detroit in 1954 (when he was twice arrested).

Halstead is a cloth-cutter by trade, and has been for many years a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

As a resident of New York's Lower East Side area, he was an

activist in the 1964 rent strike movement, and wrote a book about the city-wide rent strike movement called *Harlem Stirs*, published by Marzani and Munsell.

## Paul Boutelle

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, is a familiar figure at street corner meetings and other rallies in Harlem and Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section, speaking from the platform with other black militants.

Boutelle was born in Harlem 35 years ago and has lived there most of his life. Like many black youths, he dropped out of school early. "At the age of 16, after 10 boring years of school, I quit," he says. "I have no regrets at this time over that decision. When I started to acquire a real education in my early twenties, I did not have that much brainwashing to get out of my mind."

Boutelle began to study on his own. "My first awakening was a nationalist awakening," he says, "a feeling of pride in being black and a feeling of revulsion and hatred at what this capitalist racist system did and is doing to people of color throughout the world. Around 1957 I began listening to many militant African and Afro-American speakers from Malcolm X to the nonreligious black nationalists. I felt then, as I do now, that black nationalism is necessary to the healthy development and liberation of my people."

In 1963 the young black militant became active in the effort to build an all-black Freedom Now Party. He became chairman of the Harlem Freedom Now Party and in 1964 ran as that party's candidate for state senator from the 21st district in Harlem.

In the early 1960s, he was also active in the defense of victims of a racist frame-up in Monroe, North Carolina, and served as a fundraising speaker to aid the defendants.

In 1965, he helped organize and was founding chairman of Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam. He is presently secretary of the Black United Action Front, a coalition of organizations and individuals, which organized the Harlem contingent in the April 15, 1967 mobilization against the war.

Boutelle is chairman of the Alexander Defense Committee, a group established to aid Dr. Neville Alexander and other freedom-fighters now serving long terms in South Africa's apartheid prisons.

He has been participating in the campaign to defend the 17 alleged members of the Revolutionary Action Movement framed up on unconstitutional charges of "criminal anarchy" in New York.

Through his studies, Boutelle became a Marxist. In 1965 he joined the Socialist Workers Party, because "the SWP has a consistent record of engaging in independent class politics, is the Marxist organization that has developed the best analysis of black nationalism, and has been from the start a firm supporter of efforts to build an independent black political party," he wrote in explanation of his decision at the time.

In 1965 he was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Borough President of Manhattan, and in 1966 ran for Attorney General on the SWP ticket.

Paul Boutelle is married and has a 12-year-old son, Daryl, who is already active in the black liberation movement.

The Vice Presidential candidate has worked selling books on Afro-American history, and is presently a taxi driver and a member of the New York City AFL-CIO Taxi Drivers Union.

## The Black Struggle

# Government Intensifies Persecution of SNCC

In recent months the federal government has stepped up its harassment of SNCC with the unconcealed hope of putting its members behind bars. On Aug. 16 they finally found an angle to arrest SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown by using a little-known gun law making it illegal to carry a weapon across state lines while under indictment.

Brown was arrested on Aug. 19 and accused of carrying a .30 caliber automatic carbine on a flight from New York City to New Orleans on Aug. 16.

Outcries from the black community and vehement objections from Brown's lawyers brought about a reduction in the exorbitant bail from \$25,000 to \$15,000.

Up to now, most of the actual indictments against SNCC leaders have been made by state and local governments. These have often involved the use of blatantly unconstitutional anti-riot and sedition laws. Such was the case when SNCC organizer George Washington Ware was arrested Aug. 22 in Nashville just after returning from Cuba. He was charged with advocating the overthrow of the government of the United States and the state of Tennessee by seizure of political, social and economic power by any means, including violence.

At its recent national congress, the National Student Association approved a resolution defining black power as "the unification of all black peoples in America for their liberation by any means necessary." Although the phrase "by any means necessary" was at first deleted from the text, it was reinstated when large numbers of black delegates threatened to walk out in protest.

Many black GI's think things will be different when they return home from Vietnam, according to Mike Davis, who is covering the war for the *Baltimore Afro-American*.

One soldier told Davis that, "If you think they are having a long hot summer back home, you just wait until some of these GI's get

home. Then you are going to have some long hot winters too."

Another GI said that, "Last week I watched fellows training for special forces throwing knives. That's all they did all day long. Throw knives until they could hit a moving target at 50 yards. You think they are going to forget all of this when they get back to the United States? Hell, no."

The people who run this country are not totally oblivious to the threat posed to them by the return of 15,000 black Vietnam war veterans each year. The Rockefeller Fund is financing a new Urban League Project to help black GI's "ease the readjustment to civilian life."

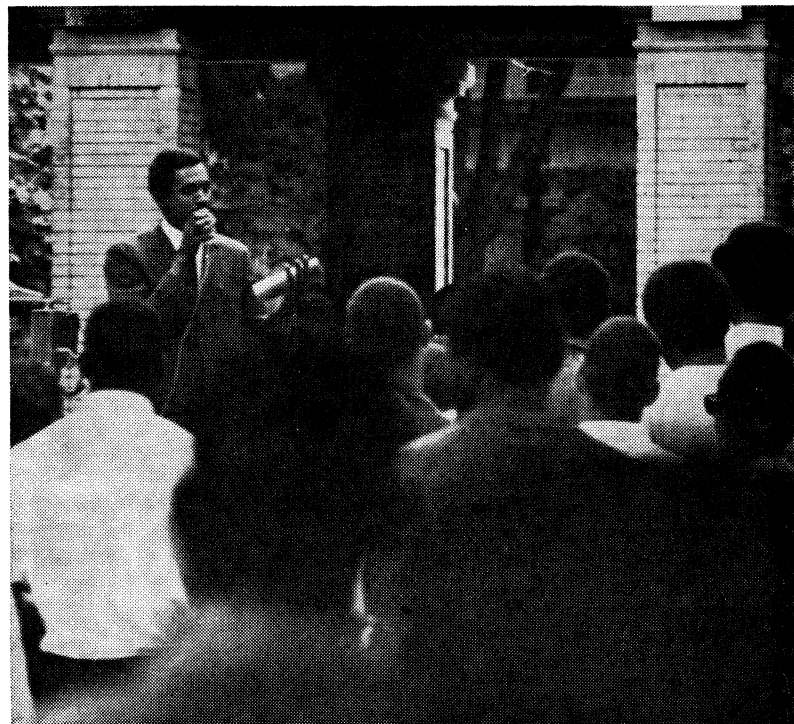
A recent study done by professors and students at the University of California at Los Angeles has challenged the myth that only a small percentage of Watts residents supported the 1965 rebellion. According to the Aug. 13 *Los Angeles Times*, the survey found that, "38 percent of the Watts residents felt the riots would help the Negro cause and that 34 percent looked upon the rioting favorably."

According to the *Times*, the report concluded that "up to 15 percent of the adult population took part; another 35 percent to 40 percent were active spectators; long-time residents supported the rioting as much as newcomers; and support for the riot was as great among those better off and better educated as among those less fortunate."

In order to kill the civil rights bill now before Congress, Mississippi's racist Senator Eastland is actively seeking to strengthen it! By adding open housing legislation to the bill he hopes to turn his hypocritical Northern "soul brothers" in the Senate against it.

According to Eastland, "Northern people will not have anything to do with so-called civil rights laws which incorporate open housing that applies to them. Because we successfully kept open housing in the 1966 civil rights bill, we sustained a successful filibuster last year."

—Elizabeth Barnes



**BLASTS FRAME-UP.** Paul Boutelle speaking at united rally in Brooklyn in defense of 17 alleged members of the Revolutionary Action Movement framed-up on "criminal anarchy" charges.

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Posters are 25c each, 10c each for orders of 25 and over. Stickers \$1 per 200. Buttons, 25c, 20c for over 25. Brochures, \$1 per 100.

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## Overflow Crowd Hears Rap Brown Blast War

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK, Aug. 30 — H. Rap Brown was the featured speaker at a large rally on "Vietnam and Black America" held here tonight. A crowd of over 2,800 packed the Village Theater, and many more were turned away at the door.

The audience, which was made up mainly of youth, cheered and clapped throughout the evening.

Nathan Schwerner, father of one of the three civil rights workers killed in Mississippi, began the meeting by defending SNCC against the recent attacks made as a result of its position on the Israel-Arab conflict. He said that, "My honest feeling is that the interest was not to be anti-Semitic, but solely to be anti-Zionist." He said that, "My wife and my immediate family deeply resent the use of my son's name in the publicized castigations of SNCC... those who didn't even know him or his thinking cite his death in the bolstering of their views."

H. Rap Brown told the audience that, "the war is here in America." He said, "Our war doesn't end with bringing the troops home, our war begins then . . . The liberation of America holds the key to the liberation of people across the world."

### Defense

"We are talking about defending the black community," he said. "We are not talking about aggression, like the aggression in Vietnam. But, if things don't change there's going to be more than just long hot summers . . ."

Brown pointed out that "no leader can assume responsibility for the rebellions. Those rebellions were caused by the conditions."

He told the hippies in the audience that, "A hippy is the most apolitical person in America. If you are going to merge with the black revolution you have to do so on a political basis, and to do this you have to understand black nationalism."

James Bevel, national director of the Mobilization Committee, was wildly applauded when he



H. Rap Brown

said, "Why do Negroes riot? Negroes were rioting because they have not studied military science."

Among the other speakers were SNCC photographer Julius Lester who has just returned from Hanoi, Rev. Thomas Hayes of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, Amy Swerdlow of Women Strike for Peace, Ron Clark of CORE, and prominent Harlem attorney Florence Kennedy.

### March on Washington

Almost all of the speakers referred to the massive confrontation with the warmakers planned for Washington, D.C. October 21. The crowd cheered when Dave Dellinger ended the meeting by calling for all-out to Washington in October.

Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee and editor of *Liberation Magazine*, was chairman of the rally.

The meeting was sponsored by the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

over political differences. He remained unaffiliated until his death.

The next issue of *The Militant* will carry a full evaluation and appreciation of Isaac Deutscher written by George Novack.



Isaac Deutscher

## Isaac Deutscher Dies; Was Noted Historian

Isaac Deutscher, eminent Marxist historian and biographer of Leon Trotsky, died of a heart attack in Rome Aug. 19. He was 60 years old. At the time of his death he was working on a biography of Lenin.

Deutscher was a member of the International War Crimes Tribunal that recently completed its first sessions in Stockholm. He spoke here in New York on behalf of the War Crimes Tribunal the day before the massive April 15 mobilization, which he attended.

Deutscher's historical masterpiece, to which he devoted a good part of his life, was the three volume biography of Trotsky: *The Prophet Armed*, *The Prophet Unarmed* and *The Prophet Outcast*. In these works he traced not only Trotsky's personal fortunes but the history of the struggle of the Left Opposition against Stalinism in the Soviet Union in the '20s and '30s.

Born in Poland in 1907, Isaac Deutscher became a Communist when he was 19. At 25 he was expelled from the Polish Communist Party for "Trotskyism." He remained a member of the Trotskyist movement until the founding of the Fourth International in 1938, when he left the movement

## Map Fight to Put Viet Vote On San Francisco Ballot

By Merry Safier

SAN FRANCISCO — Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam expressed their determination here today to place the issue of the Vietnam war on the ballot in spite of an initial rejection by the registrar of voters.

The citizens group collected over 23,000 signatures in their drive to put the question before the city's voters in the November elections. Only 12,000 signatures were needed.

But the San Francisco registrar of voters, Basil Healey, rejected the petition when it was turned in at City Hall on Tuesday, Aug. 22. A delegation of over 100, led by Ed Farley, chairman of the citizens group, told the press of the rejection and the group's determination to put the issue on the ballot nevertheless.

The registrar was acting on the advice of City Attorney Thomas M. O'Connor in rejecting the petitions. O'Connor, writing to Healey before the petition was presented, said that a vote on Vietnam was "not proper subject matter" because it was something on which the city's board of supervisors could not legislate.

### "Absurd"

Farley and the citizens group, together with their attorneys, described O'Connor's position as "absurd." Farley pointed out that San Francisco men were dying in Vietnam and that San Franciscans were paying exorbitant taxes because of the war.

At a meeting on Tuesday night, the citizens group expressed its determination to fight to get the war on the ballot and to expose the facts about the war to all San Franciscans through that fight and through a campaign for a large "Yes" vote in November. The proposed declaration of policy states: "It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

On Wednesday the group's attorneys filed for a writ demanding that Basil Healey show cause for his rejection of the petition at a hearing. The hearing will be held on Aug. 29 at 2 p.m. before Superior Court Judge Carl H. Allen.

The citizens group voted to hold a mass rally soon, explaining to as many people as possible what they are trying to do, and to begin work from there on a massive campaign to get out a large "Yes" vote in November. As the



SCENE AT REGISTRAR'S OFFICE. Ed Farley (center), chairman of citizen's group, attempts to present petitions for vote on Vietnam war. Registrar Basil Healey refused petitions.

legal battle to get the declaration on the ballot proceeds, the group will organize committees of labor, professionals, students, black people, etc., to push for a big vote within their own milieus; it will also "carry out the Vietnam Day Committee idea of bringing the teach-in to the community" and hold large meetings in various districts of the city to extend the campaign for a "Yes" vote.

If the declaration is not put on the ballot, the Citizens for a vote on Vietnam will demand that the board of supervisors allow a separate vote to be taken at the same time. If the supervisors refuse, the group plans to provide its own polling places.

Ed Farley explained, "We feel that the people of the city of San Francisco have a right to vote on this war, and we're going to see that they get this right, one way or another."

### Socialist Candidates

Socialist candidates for mayor and board of supervisors, Robert Davis and Clyde Cumming, expressed their support for the citizens' effort in a leaflet distributed at the turning-in of the petition at city hall, and added, "Unfortunately, one segment of the population most affected by the war is not permitted to vote on it: young men and women. To remedy this, we demand that the city make special provisions to allow 18, 19, and 20 year olds to vote on this declaration of policy. Those citizens who are old enough to fight are surely old enough to vote."

Supporters of the Davis-Cum-

ming campaign have been active along with hundreds of others in gathering signatures on the petition over the past four months. All who have worked on signature-gathering seem greatly encouraged by the response they have gotten.

The Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam are headquartered at 55 Colton Street. Ed Farley says "the real campaign is underway," and urges those interested in winning a big "Yes" vote to write or call 415-861-1866.

## Halstead Hits Attempt on Aptheker

NEW YORK, Aug. 30 — Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, said here today that the recent arrests in New York of a band of right-wing fanatics complete with a modern arsenal "was another indication of the bitter harvest the Vietnam war brings the American people."

"As long as the rulers of this country keep up their genocidal attack on the Vietnamese in the name of anticommunism, it is going to encourage every right-wing fanatic to perpetrate violence against the antiwar, socialist and black freedom movements," Halstead said.

Police revealed that the group had attempted to kill Herbert Aptheker, leading spokesman of the Communist Party, and bomb an antipoverty group in the Bronx.

Two of the four men arrested were said to be members of the John Birch Society. The arsenal confiscated with the men consisted of an antitank gun, a submachine gun, rifles, shotguns, hand grenades, dynamite and 250,000 rounds of ammunition.

The Bronx district attorney's office said that when the arrested men bought guns they gave the names of men connected with left-wing groups and gave the address of *The Worker*.

"I am sure that this latest evidence of right-wing terror," Halstead said, "will serve to increase the determination of everyone who is opposed to this immoral and unjust war to intensify the campaign to bring our men home from Vietnam now."

## Petition Drive Hits 60,000 In N.Y. Vietnam Referendum

NEW YORK, Aug. 29 — The Vietnam Peace Parade Committee has now collected over 60,000 signatures of registered voters to place the issue of the Vietnam war on the ballot for the November elections. Fifty thousand signatures are legally required, but the committee intends to collect many more than that.

The big job now, a Parade Committee spokesman said, is to complete all the paper work on the petitions necessary to meet all the legal requirements. The committee needs volunteers to help complete this time-consuming but

necessary processing if the Sept. 6 deadline for filing the petitions is to be met.

The petition is to give the people of New York the opportunity to vote for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The Parade Committee, with offices at 17 E. 17th St. will be open from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. during the next week to finish the drive. Volunteers are urgently needed to help with the large amount of work which must be done. Call 255-1075 or 242-9794, or come to the Parade Committee office.