

Czechs publish Trotskyist manifesto

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THE MILITANT

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Cleveland: cops re-occupy ghetto

By Eric Reinhaler

CLEVELAND, July 26—Democratic Mayor Carl B. Stokes ordered white police and national guardsmen back into the Glenville area last night. Earlier, Stokes, who is black, had acceded to demands of over 100 local black leaders and ordered the removal of the guard and white cops from the area, but reversed this stand last night in order to "protect property."

Tuesday night the Glenville community was the scene of a rebellion apparently triggered by a violent clash between black people and the police.

(According to police accounts, a tow truck had been sent out to haul away an abandoned Cadillac on Buelah Ave. As the truck pulled up to the car, according to police, it was fired upon. Some black leaders here dispute the story.)

In the first outbreak that night, in the immediate area of the alleged tow truck incident, five black Cleveland residents and three white policemen were killed. During the night two more black men were killed, and 23 more persons were wounded.

Police arrested 52 persons including Fred (Ahmed) Evans, leader of a local nationalist group. Police charge Evans with organizing a sniper ambush against the cops. He is presently being represented by attorney Stanley Tolliver and lawyers from the Legal Aid Society.

Shortly after the alleged tow truck incident, rebellions developed spontaneously

in three other parts of the Glenville community. Nationalist activists have charged that continual police harassment had inflamed the community.

Early Wednesday morning, Ohio governor James Rhodes ordered the national guard to Cleveland. Later that day 109 black leaders, including Rev. David Hill of the House of Israel, a militant church group, succeeded in persuading Mayor Stokes to remove the guard and white policemen from the ghetto and to let the community police itself. However about 100 black city policemen did remain on duty in the Glenville area. The national guard and white police were confined to the perimeter of the ghetto, providing an armed ring around the residents. They have now moved back in to occupy the area.

Meanwhile, faculty and youth groups at Case Western Reserve University protested the use of campus parking lots for housing and parking men and equipment of the Ohio national guard. The faculty group called on university president Morse to question his decision to make the facilities of the university available to the guard.

Yesterday, Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism and a number of other students picketed the university administration offices, demanding that the troops be removed from the campus.

Revolutionary youth leader, 12 others indicted in France

By Les Evans

Alain Krivine, the internationally known French student leader, was indicted by a Paris court July 22 on charges of "re-constituting" the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—the Revolutionary Communist Youth), the organization of which he was a leader, which was declared "dissolved" in June by the de Gaulle regime. Twelve other alleged members of the JCR were also indicted. If convicted they can receive up to two years in prison.

Krivine and his wife Michele were seized by the police July 16 and held secretly for several days, leaving their four-month-old daughter uncared for. Neither friends nor relatives could secure any positive information on their whereabouts, and it was feared the two had been kidnapped by one of the private ultraright groups which are now operating freely in France. It was finally learned that the couple was being held incommunicado by the police.

Michele Krivine, who is the daughter of Giles Martinet, a well-known left-wing journalist, was released July 19.

The JCR and the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Party—the French section of the Fourth International) were among 11 organizations declared dissolved June 12. They have challenged the decree as illegal.

Those indicted include Dominique Durand and Jean-Marie Fouquet, who were

arrested in Rouen and accused of distributing copies of the paper *l'Étincelle* ("The Spark"); a group of five youth arrested in Brest, accused of pasting up JCR leaflets; and a group of five arrested at a meeting of a student-worker Action Committee in Paris July 10, which the police have falsely claimed was a JCR meeting.

Three of those indicted have been released on bail, but the rest, including Alain Krivine are being held in the Sante prison. According to the July 24 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* the National Security Court has declared the defendants to be political prisoners, a special category under French law. Political prisoners are permitted to receive daily visits, maintain regular correspondence, and receive newspapers and books on nonpolitical subjects.

A wide protest and defense movement has been organized in France by an ad hoc committee led by Jean-Paul Sartre and the eminent mathematician Laurent Schwartz.

Other protests have come from many groups. The Organizing and Coordinating Committee for a United Revolutionary Movement, one of whose initiators is the physicist Jean-Paul Vigier, declared in a statement in the July 20 *Le Monde* that it "calls for the immediate release of Alain Krivine, the secretary of the JCR; it denounces the repression measures against

(Continued on page 8)



HUEY P. NEWTON

'Free Huey' demand mounts as frame-up trial continues

By Susan Harris

The trial of Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton has been going on in Oakland, Calif., since July 15. Throughout this time, the Panthers and other Bay Area groups have organized a continuous series of demonstrations and rallies to "Free Huey."

A large crowd came to a rally and picnic on the eve of the trial, and 3,500 people turned out for the big demonstration at the courthouse the day the trial began. On succeeding days there were more demonstrations outside the courthouse, and another rally was scheduled for July 27.

The case of Huey P. Newton is becoming better known around the country as Panther groups become active in places such as New York, Newark, Seattle and Los Angeles. And, according to James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who just completed a trip to Africa, the trial of Newton is being watched by people all over the world.

Newton is charged with murder stemming from an incident last October when Oakland cops stopped a car he was driving. The cops shot Newton in the stomach, wounding him seriously. In the struggle, one of the cops was killed.

At the trial, Newton's attorney, Charles Garry, is demanding that Newton be tried by a jury of his peers—that is by black working-class people. He has presented a motion to do away with the 47-man panel of prospective jurors already chosen on the grounds that they do not qualify.

In addition Garry has filed a second motion to halt the trial while an appeal to the Supreme Court is made asking

that the court reverse a previous felony conviction of Newton's.

Newton's trial is being heavily guarded. Members of the press must obtain a different pass each day. Only one elevator stops at the seventh-floor courtroom and deputies are waiting in the lobby to see who gets off.

"I feel as though I'm in a police state anytime I walk into this court," Garry told the court at one point. The judge replied, "Confine yourself to the issues, not personal matters."

The Panthers have been campaigning for an open trial in a public auditorium so the people of Oakland can observe the proceedings.

Free Huey!

What you can do:

1. Hold a "Free Huey" demonstration or rally in your area.
2. Wear a "Free Huey" button. These can be ordered for 50 cents a piece from the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P. O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif.
3. Hold a defense meeting to tell the real story of the Black Panther Party and the attacks on them by Oakland cops.
4. Write a story about the case of Huey P. Newton in your college or community newspaper.

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Vol. 32—No. 31



Friday, August 2, 1968

'Daily World' slanders Czechoslovak reforms

The *Daily World*, the long-promised successor to *The Worker*, is off to an unpromising start. There may be more of it, but it's the same old stuff.

This is seen most clearly in its attitude toward the struggle against bureaucratic misrule in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, especially Czechoslovakia. That's something the *Daily World* really gets upset about.

James Jackson, secretary for international affairs of the Communist Party's national committee, "explains" the situation in Czechoslovakia in the July 18 *Daily World*.

After a remarkably vague description of the ousting of the old-line Stalinists around former Czech president Antonin Novotny earlier this year (according to Jackson one nameless group of party leaders was "condemned" by an equally nameless central committee for "violating principles of collectivity in work," etc.), the international affairs secretary expresses his party's opinion of the reforms in Czechoslovakia:

"... Along with calling forth the creative energy and enthusiasm of the masses, a certain amount of vigilance against the operations of the class enemy was given up.

"Forces long hostile to socialism in Czechoslovakia—rightist and anti-Soviet elements, latent nationalists and Americo-philés among ideologically unstable writers and journalists, all now rushed to defame socialism and assail the leading role of the Communist Party.

"The struggle of this unprincipled assortment of 'oppositionists' has come to *dominate* the political scene in Czechoslovakia." (Emphasis added.)

This is nothing more than a slavish repetition of Kremlin charges designed to justify Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. It is all the more odious because the Soviet bureaucrats' avowed aims are the restoration of censorship and reversal of the recent reforms in Czechoslovakia.

Are we seriously to believe that 20 years after the establishment of a workers state in Czechoslovakia a mass pro-capitalist movement has arisen there aimed at resurrecting the long-discredited capitalist class to repossess the wealth of the nation? To claim that such a thing has taken place is certainly a damning admission of the quality of "socialism" achieved under a party trained in the school of Stalinism.

Evidently feeling the need for some explanation, Jackson tells us, the "leaders of Communist-led states pledged their cooperation [sic] . . . to prevent imperialist conspirators or neocolonialists from using this period of difficulty to subvert or destroy the historic advance and achievements of the great united Czech and Slovak peoples."

But what really terrifies the Kremlin and its literary defenders in New York is not any "subversive conspiracy" to restore capitalism, but the specter of the Czechoslovak masses moving forward to overthrow all bureaucratic privileges and establish genuine socialist democracy. On page four and five of this issue of *The Militant* are articles from Czechoslovakia showing some of the ideas being discussed there today that make the bureaucrats tremble, in fear for their privileges.

In the great struggle shaping up in Czechoslovakia the *Daily World* is lined up solidly on the side of the Soviet bureaucracy, and its only defense is the time-worn stock-in-trade used by police everywhere, that revolutionary movements are the work of "subversives" and "conspirators."

JUST PUBLISHED:

Should the U.S. Be Partitioned?

Into Two Separate and Independent Nations—One a Homeland for White Americans and the Other a Homeland for Black Americans?

A Symposium by Robert S. Browne and Robert Vernon.

50 cents.

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Biafra's fight for independence

Genocidal war

Albany, N. Y.

For more than a year the people of Biafra have been fighting for their very survival and for their right to exist as a nation. Now this struggle has a terrible urgency: thousands of Biafrans are dying every day, and there is evidence that British and Nigerian forces are preparing a massive and "final" military assault on the new nation.

Afro-Americans and all those who stand for the right of self-determination can play a leading role in putting this issue before the American people, and in generating pressure against Nigerian aggression. It is not enough to condemn genocide; we must clearly defend the right of the Biafran people to control their own destiny.

When Britain granted independence to Nigeria in 1960, it was under conditions that guaranteed the political dominance of the rulers of feudal Northern Nigeria. Typical neo-colonialist arrangements were made, with most of the profits coming from the rich natural resources of Eastern Nigeria.

Patently fraudulent elections in 1965 precipitated revolt and the killing of important Northern rulers. During the chaos that followed, anti-Ibo hysteria was whipped up and resulted in a series of pogroms in Northern cities. Over 30,000 Ibos resident in the North were massacred; and 2,000,000 fled from the terror in the North and West, seeking refuge in the Ibo homeland of Eastern Nigeria.

In May, 1967, the 9,000,000 Ibo and 5,000,000 non-Ibo residents of the East seceded to form the Republic of Biafra. The Lagos government, backed by British arms and troops, black and white mercenaries, and Soviet jets, unleashed a war of incredible savagery against the breakaway republic. If they cannot bring Biafra to her knees, they apparently are willing to wipe out the people of that land—all in the name of preserving the "territorial integrity" of a state that was a totally artificial colonial creation and has been rent with contradictions since the day it began.

Military occupation, the bombing of farms and villages, and a tight blockade have brought famine and dislocation to Biafra. The severity of this situation, and particularly the starvation of hundreds of thousands of young children, have finally brought Biafran news to the world press.

But it is news with a cruel twist. The line currently being put forward amounts to saying that the Biafrans are themselves responsible for the genocide because they will not capitulate to the federal government. This crude accusation is camouflaged in the issue of the "salvation corridor." The Biafrans know that accepting food through Lagos would be tantamount to sacrificing their independence. If they rebuild land communications, they will open a path, not for "mercy food," but for a merciless army bent on conquest.

American radicals may be wary of supporting Biafra because of rumors that the government has courted support from colonialist Portugal and from the white supremacists of Rhodesia. The facts about this remain obscure. But even if Biafran officials have had dealings with these unsavory partners, the rights of the people of Biafra must be respected and defended.

It is obvious that the Biafran masses will fight and die for their independence and will not be reconciled to incorporation into federal Nigeria. Their fears are deep-

seated and historically justified. The case against Nigerian aggression is clear.

All those who defend the right of self-determination of the heroic people of Vietnam should speak out for the same right for Biafrans. This means exposing the savage hypocrisy of the "mercy corridor" issue; it means serious educational work to set forth the facts about this war; and it means building pressure to get the aggressor's troops out of Biafra now.

M. Z.

L.A. cops arrest black militants

Los Angeles, Calif.

On June 24, 1968, two black militants, Joseph Johnson and William McKinney, were driving on Wilmington towards 114th St. in Los Angeles. They stopped when they saw McKinney's wife. They gave her leaflets for a rally that was to raise food and clothes for black children in Mississippi.

A squad car came; a cop told them to get out of the car and proceeded to search the car (taking note of the leaflets and some books by Lenin) and frisk the young men. McKinney, seeing that they had no search warrant, got back into the car and would not get out despite orders from the cops. They started to physically remove him. Johnson grabbed one cop and pulled him back from McKinney. By that time, the other cop had called for reinforcements—15 or 16 policemen in seven or eight squad cars. McKinney was snatched out and beaten. His wife was hit to shut off her screaming.

Finally, all three were arrested for assaulting a police officer, interference with arrest, and disturbing the peace. Bail was set at \$600 for Johnson and Mrs. McKinney, and \$3,000 for McKinney. Joseph Johnson states that the severity of McKinney's bail and charge of felony in assaulting an officer is due to the cops "remembering Watts."

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GEORGIA: YSA, P.O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 872-1612.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall,

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.

Johnson and McKinney are members of the Black Nationalist Party, a local political organization of black revolutionary militant youth based in Compton, Calif. Already many people in the community have offered to testify on behalf of the defendants and help raise money for the bail.

The organization believes that the best defense lies in getting the support and help of the people rather than being isolated and helpless in the "courts of justice." The trial has been delayed until later in July.

Mareen Jasim

Cops smash protest

New York, N. Y.

A demonstration of over 500 young Afro-Americans protesting the city's racist policies on youth employment was brutally smashed July 10. Horse-riding, club-swinging cops galloped through the demonstration and even attacked groups of black nondemonstrators.

The demonstration started as an orderly protest of the lack of jobs for black youth. (Lindsay has promised a fantastic number of jobs and has yet to deliver; in fact, he's cut back). It was only when a cop threw a girl over the City Hall fence that the demonstration became violent.

A. R.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Socialist Workers file for ballot in Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS—Petitions to place the Socialist Workers Party on the Minnesota ballot were filed here July 15. More than 3,000 signatures were obtained to nominate Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President, and over 1,800 to place the party's congressional candidate for the fifth district (Minneapolis), David Thorstad, on the ballot. Minnesota law requires 2,000 signatures for presidential and vice-presidential nominations, and 1,000 for congressional nominations.

The filing was the culmination of a two-week petitioning drive, which was marked by a heat wave and competition from Wallace and the Socialist Labor Party. Many of the petitioners were young supporters of the campaign. More experienced campaign workers commented that people were more willing to sign to put socialist candidates on the ballot than in previous campaigns.

The filing took place in the secretary of state's office, and afterward David Thorstad was interviewed by the Associated Press (AP) and the local St. Paul newspaper. The filing received good coverage from local newspapers, radio and TV.

Thorstad told the press, "Now the voters of Minnesota will have a real chance to vote against the war-making Democratic and Republican parties. Only the Socialist Workers Party will be offering the solution to the war: Bring the troops home now. The Socialist Workers Party is also campaigning for the demand, 'Black control of black communities,' as a just demand of black Americans."

10,000 in Indiana sign SWP petition

By Richard Congress

INDIANAPOLIS—More than enough signatures have been obtained to place the Socialist Workers Party on the Indiana ballot next November for the first time. By July 22, more than 10,000 registered Indiana voters had signed the party's nominating petitions. Indiana law requires 8,300 signatures for a ballot place, and the Indiana Halstead-Boutelle campaign committee plans to file at least 13,000 by the Sept. 1 deadline.

The petitioners reported that antiwar sentiment was very strong, especially among Afro-Americans.

Indianapolis petitioners also found time to distribute SWP campaign literature at a pro-McCarthy meeting, until some irate liberals had the socialist literature table tossed out. Apparently they didn't like seeing so many of the black participants wearing Paul Boutelle "Black Control of Black Communities" buttons.

CALENDAR

DETROIT

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL Sat., Aug. 10: Fascism; Sat., Aug. 24: Black Nationalism. 11:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135.

BLACK NATIONALISM. A series of lectures and discussions. Fri., Aug. 2: The Kidnapping of the Slaves; The Destruction of their African Culture and their Resistance to it. Fri., Aug. 9: The Black Worker; His Own Struggle and his Relationship to the Radical and Labor Movements. 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

VIOLENCE IN AMERICA—Is Gun Control Legislation the Answer? Speakers: William Hathaway, Socialist Workers Party and Will Scoggins, professor of history, El Camino College. Fri., Aug. 2, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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N.Y. Peace and Freedom Party nominates Cleaver, McReynolds

By Jon Britton

NEW YORK—National, state and local candidates were nominated at a state convention of the Peace and Freedom Party meeting here July 19-22. An "election platform" was adopted and a "coalition" with the Black Panther Party was approved. The confab was attended by about 200 people, down substantially from the 350 participants at a New York PFP state parley held in May. The gathering was marked by extreme factionalism between the two organized caucuses, one led by the Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the other led by the "third camp" Independent Socialist Club (ISC).

The first question taken up was a proposal to enter "into the coalition existing between the California Peace and Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party." This proposal called for both organizations to "retain their autonomy while seeking to work together as closely as possible . . ." It also called for an endorsement of "the Black Panther's Ten Point Program for Black America." Carlos Aponte, who introduced the proposal, said that the Black Panthers had been organizing in New York for about a month and already had over 200 members.

In the ensuing discussion, members of the PLP-dominated Brooklyn club of the PFP made what they considered to be a sensational disclosure. They contended that the New York Black Panthers had in effect already established a coalition with a rival group, the "Communist Party dominated Freedom and Peace Party." They claimed that the Brooklyn Black Panthers were operating out of the headquarters of the Freedom and Peace Party "black caucus" and were supporting the candidacy of Herman Ferguson (a black militant named for U. S. senator on the Freedom and Peace ticket).

If there was indeed a coalition between the Black Panthers and Freedom and Peace, argued the Maoists, didn't this place a big question mark over the proposed coalition between the Black Panthers and Peace and Freedom? Then, for good measure, the PLers blamed the whole mess on the PFP central office, which, they alleged, had not informed the Brooklyn PFP club that the Black Panthers were organizing in its area.

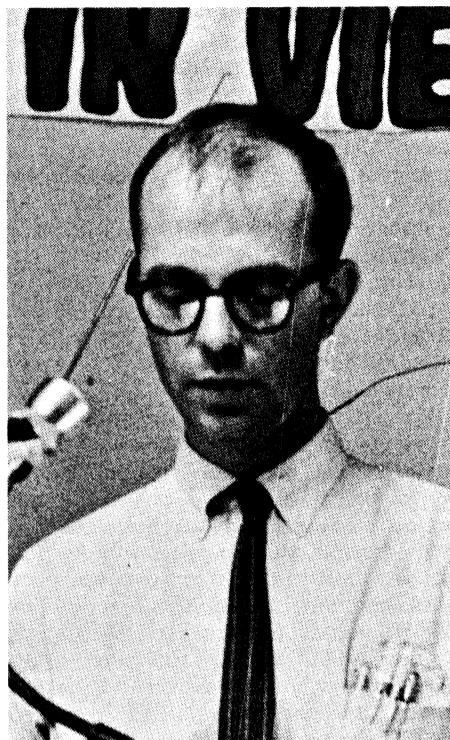
"Communications Problem"

A long wrangle followed. But the dispute couldn't be resolved because not a single Black Panther was present at the convention. Sy Landy, a leader of the Independent Socialist Club, explained that this was due to a "communications problem." Finally a motion was passed tabling the proposal until a Black Panther spokesman could be brought in.

The next day Bill Brent from the California Black Panthers addressed the convention. He said he represented central headquarters in Oakland and had just spoken on the phone with Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panthers. He described the Black Panther Party as a national organization with one policy "anywhere in the world." The policy, he said, was to support candidates of the Black Panther Party and Peace and Freedom Party exclusively. In regard to the New York Panthers, he said they were just getting started, were inexperienced and might not completely understand Black Panther policy. But, he said, "That's our problem, nor your problem." After his presentation Brent declined to answer any questions. The coalition motion was then passed almost unanimously.

The election platform adopted by the convention was that proposed by the "New York PFP Eldridge Cleaver for President committee," the ISC-led caucus. The brief and vaguely worded platform embodies the "minimal radical program" concept of the ISC, which is designed to capture the maximum number of disillusioned McCarthy supporters after Humphrey's anticipated nomination at the Democratic Party convention. In line with this function, the platform fails to go beyond left-liberal third-partyism.

The PLP-led caucus put forward a longer and more radical-sounding platform which won 51 votes as against 125 for the ISC-backed version.



NOMINEE. Pacifist leader Dave McReynolds accepted senatorial nomination of New York Peace and Freedom Party. McReynolds is a registered Democrat and active campaigner for McCarthy.

Eldridge Cleaver, the author of *Soul on Ice* and Minister of Information of the Black Panthers, was nominated as the PFP candidate for President. The name of New Left leader Carl Ogelsby was also placed in nomination but he received only 3 votes to 115 for Cleaver.

In a mimeographed leaflet sent out by the PFP administrative committee in a pre-convention mailing, it was stated that, "Cleaver would not be a candidate of the Black Panther Party simply using the PFP as a mutually-agreed-upon vehicle for getting on the ballot. As head of the ticket and the focus of national publicity, Cleaver would have to articulate the PFP program (for whites) as well as the Panther program."

In a leaflet handed out at the convention itself entitled "PFP: A Perspective for Growth," the Independent Socialist Club praises Cleaver for having "rejected the sterility of antiwhite racism and 'cultural nationalism'" and thereby representing "the healthiest political tendency in the Black Power movement today." This was also the gist of Kim Moody's nominating speech for Cleaver.

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, was present at the convention to accept the nomination for Cleaver.

Douglas Dowd, an economics professor

at Cornell, was nominated as an "interim" vice-presidential candidate, pending a national Peace and Freedom convention.

Jerry Rubin's name was also placed in nomination for Vice President. Carlos Aponte, who nominated him, said Rubin's candidacy would inject much needed "life" into the Peace and Freedom Party and project a desirable image and style. Rubin is presently a leader of a group called the Yipees (Youth International Party).

The PLP caucus opposed both Dowd and Rubin, and called upon its supporters to abstain from voting. The ISC was split between Dowd and Rubin. The vote was: Dowd (104), Rubin (39) and abstentions (45).

The most politically revealing nomination was the PFP convention's choice of David McReynolds, pacifist leader of the War Resisters League, for U. S. senatorial candidate. McReynolds assured the convention that come November he will vote for the PFP presidential candidate, having learned his lesson from his "mistaken" support to "peace candidate" LBJ four years ago.

For McCarthy

But regardless who he pulls the lever for in the privacy of the voting booth, McReynolds hasn't learned much after all. In a telephone interview with this reporter McReynolds confirmed a *New York Times* report that he had participated in a July 20 "Stop Humphrey" demonstration organized by pro-McCarthy forces at the United Nations and at Humphrey's New York headquarters.

After assuring me that "the killing in Vietnam would end very quickly" if McCarthy were elected President, McReynolds explained that his tactic was to attack Humphrey without explicitly supporting McCarthy. Asked if he would continue his campaign if McCarthy were nominated by the Democratic Party, he replied that he didn't think there would be much point in it because in that event all third party movements would be "irrelevant." In the course of the interview McReynolds revealed that he had voted for McCarthy in the Democratic primary in June.

The convention nominated additional candidates on the last day for local races. It also agreed to seek a place on the ballot for David Brothers, Black Panther congressional candidate in Brooklyn, under a Peace and Freedom designation. The PFP will attempt to gain ballot status for its national and state candidates as well.

There is to be a national Peace and Freedom convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan Aug. 17-18 which will attempt to reach agreement on one national ticket for the whole country.

CHE GUEVARA'S BOLIVIAN DIARIES

The English translation of the diary authorized by the Cuban Government following its publication in Havana. Covers the period of Nov. 7, 1966, to Oct. 7, 1967, just before his death. Includes photographs taken while he organized guerrilla forces in Bolivia.

Introduction by Fidel Castro

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Czech magazine publishes

By Gerry Foley

The de-Stalinization process in Czechoslovakia reached something of a landmark in June when a Prague magazine published extensive sections of a manifesto addressed to the workers and students of Czechoslovakia by the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.

The excerpts from the manifesto, "For a Government of Workers Councils in Czechoslovakia," appeared in the June 24 issue of a new magazine, *Informacni Materialy* [Informational Materials]. Those sections directly critical of the Kremlin were omitted, but the proposals for the establishment and consolidation of proletarian democracy in Czechoslovakia were printed in full. The editors offered the following explanation:

"The French section of the Fourth International (the Internationalist Communist Party), which was so greatly damned in our country in the past, has been undergoing a renaissance for some years now. This was especially evident in these last weeks marked by revolutionary events in Paris and throughout France.

"It is our judgment that no ideology or concept, and particularly no socialist concept, can be rejected except through dialogue with its proponents. And this presupposes an elementary knowledge of their ideas.

"We by no means identify with all of the leftist or other socialist currents which for many years (and in some cases decades) were isolated in opposition to the official Stalinist or post-Stalinist conceptions of socialism. We by no means identify with all these tendencies which have formed in recent years and are constantly forming in an effort to find the answers to the fundamental problems of socialism and which are struggling to achieve the tasks of socialism—the liberation of the individual and his labor, the development of his creative abilities.

"We do not accept the dogmas or the views of the Fourth International, or the Maoists, or the supporters of China, Cuba, Castro, Che Guevara, Marcuse and Rudi Dutschke, or 'anarchists' like Daniel Cohn-Bendit, or their comrades who are fighting arms in hand against American imperialism. However, we must take cognizance of their views (which, moreover, are often related and similar) and try, with the help of our own rich experience in integrating all concepts and programs, to create a powerful ideological and practical school that can make possible the achievement of socialism and socialist man.

"Therefore, we are publishing here about two-thirds of an official declaration of the Fourth International which was published in the May issue of the Paris magazine *Quatrieme Internationale*."

French Events

Another interesting item, "A Letter From Paris," offers an accurate and perceptive Marxist account of the development of the French revolt.

The author, Henri Cigan, exposes the counterrevolutionary role played by the French Communist Party. Its line of "peace-

ful and parliamentary roads to socialism," he explains, disarmed the workers, enabling the bourgeoisie to inveigle them into the electoral trap.

Against the charge of "adventurism," which the French CP hurled at the students, Cigan emphasizes the dangers inherent in reformist demobilization of the masses, pointing out how this led to the massacre of the Indonesian Communist Party. He credits the French students with showing the workers how revolutionary direct action could force the government to grant concessions which 10 years of electoral maneuvering by the CP had been unable to exact.

Contrasting the "retrograde petty-bourgeois nationalism" of the French CP with the high level of socialist internationalism shown by the revolutionary youth, Cigan makes a special point that the revolutionary student movement began with the fight against the Vietnam war. He notes, moreover, that when the students first occupied the University of Nanterre, touching off the movement which culminated in the night of the barricades, one of the first things they did was hold a conference whose program included discussion of "the student struggle in the people's democracies." He notes as well that they sent a declaration of support to the struggling Polish students.

Stalin's Theory

To explain the Communist Party's negative attitude to the revolutionary youth, Cigan shows how "the theory of socialism in one country" and its subordination of the world workers' movement to Soviet foreign policy destroyed the revolutionary character of the French CP as of all the others. "Since it was possible to build socialism in the USSR, it was necessary to assure peace for the Soviet Union. So, Stalin ordered the revolutionary movement in the West not to do anything which might anger the capitalist powers . . ."

The French students, Cigan says, renewed the revolutionary struggle abandoned by the Communist parties. He explains in detail the young revolutionists' concept of Soviet democracy as both the goal and a means of fighting for socialism. They sought, he says, to transform the workers organs of struggle—the strike committees, action committees, self-defense groups—into the organs of power in the country. They called for the dissolution of all the state repressive bodies and their replacement by workers' militias.

Cigan gives an excellent description of how the students organized the Latin Quarter during the revolt, providing all essential services and instituting the fullest workers' democracy: "We established workers' democracy which was based on the principle that every political group claiming adherence to socialism had the right to express itself . . . Along with the creation of workers' democracy, we set in motion a process of eliminating the bad habits of Stalinism and all the ideas inherited from the Stalinist period which still afflicted even those who had long since broken with Stalinism."

Cigan is careful to point out that the

Left Communist group forms in Czechoslovakia

The following was printed in *Informacni Materialy*, a left communist journal now appearing in Czechoslovakia, June 14.

On June 7, 1968, a meeting took place of those responding to a call published in *Rude Pravo* of May 21 for the establishment of a left-wing association. In a working discussion we clarified a series of specific theoretical and practical questions. We agree that we want to work to deepen the revolutionary socialist process begun in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 and that we reject all attempts to halt or eventually to reverse this progress. We want to give our most active support to the Czechoslovak Communist Party in every way that will deepen the socialist character of our society. We fear, however, that many obstacles will be put in the way of our efforts both by the conservative forces and the liberal forces, in essence anti-Communist, which are growing.

We want to function as a free association of discussion clubs and circles. In this association, we want to carry on primarily theoretical discussion and educational work in active support of the principles of socialism in our country and in the world revolutionary movement. We want to fight for the development of forms of democratic socialist society. We want to have ideological contact with all elements in the international revolutionary movement. We want to work for an unfettered exchange of information in this sphere. At the same time, we demand the speedy adoption of a new law granting freedom of association so that we can legally organize our work.

Our address is: Julie Novakova, Postovni Schranka 1023, Praha 1, Czechoslovakia.

young revolutionary movement is not limited to France, that it is an international phenomenon. "In all the European capitalist countries, currents are developing which in practice stand to the left of the traditional Communist parties."

German Student Leader

A translation of an interview with the German student leader Rudi Dutschke, originally published in the March issue of the German magazine *Konkret*, following a visit by Dutschke to Czechoslovakia, deals with the meaning of the Czech de-Stalinization for the young socialists in the capitalist countries.

In answer to a question on the relationship between the revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries and in the workers states, Dutschke says first of all that while the young revolutionists in the workers states are fighting for changes essentially in the political structure, the object of the revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries is the overthrow of the basic organization of society.

He goes on to describe, however, how these two kinds of struggle are combined in one process. "The more quickly socialist democracy develops in the countries of the socialist camp, the more quickly the division between the party and the masses is eliminated, the greater will be the change in West Europe for the realization of the concept of liberation from capitalism, war, and exploitation."

To unite these struggles, Dutschke calls for discussions between the anticapitalist revolutionists in the West and the anti-bureaucratic fighters in the workers states. "A revolutionary democratic strategy must further a common goal—the establishment of real socialist democracy from the ground up in all countries."

While welcoming the de-Stalinization in Czechoslovakia, Dutschke makes it clear that socialist democracy is quite different from the liberalization sponsored by the moderate wing of the bureaucracy under Dubcek. He even sees some dangers in this process. "It is of course dangerous that the democratic forces in the socialist

countries extoll bourgeois democratic forms ('liberalization'). The blame for this, however, must be attributed essentially to the previous undemocratic practices of the party leadership."

Cultural Revolution

A translation of the 16-point resolution of the August 1966 plenum of the Chinese Communist Party, which proclaimed the "cultural revolution," is introduced with favorable comment by a correspondent of the magazine. He admits that he has no knowledge of the factional struggle in China and limits himself to discussing the democratic planks contained in the "16-points."

He points up what seem to be correspondences between the Mao faction's accusation against Liu Shao-chi and his group and the history of the Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia: that is, that the Liu group formed a bureaucratic apparatus separated from the masses and maintained itself through repression, that Liu advocated blind obedience as the highest duty of Communists while Mao called for the widest possible mass initiative. He does not mention the cult of Mao or the Mao faction's defense of Stalin.

The only major article from Czechoslovakia in this issue of *Informacni Materialy* is Zbynek Fiser's article on workers councils published in this issue of *The Militant*.

Another item of interest in the issue is a favorable review of a Czech translation of the "Open Letter" by the young Polish revolutionists Kuron and Modzelewski. A major programmatic statement of the Polish revolutionary Marxist students, the "Open Letter" has just been published by the student council of the University of Prague.

But perhaps even more indicative of the depth and revolutionary direction of the de-Stalinization process in Czechoslovakia than the publication of all these previously forbidden views is the fact that this magazine announces the formation of a left communist group which is petitioning the government for recognition.

The Case of Leon Trotsky

Publication date: Aug. 1, 1968

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Leon Trotsky

Long out of print, *The Case of Leon Trotsky* will be an important addition to your Marxist library. This is the transcript of Trotsky's testimony before the Dewey Commission inquiry into the Moscow Trials. Here is a partial list of the subjects covered: Trotsky's career as a revolutionist; the history of the Bolshevik party after the revolution; the struggle of the Left Opposition; the Marxist attitude toward terrorism; democracy and socialism; the origins and nature of Stalinism; tactics in the fight against fascism and the difference between the united front and the popular front.

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ches Trotskyist manifesto



MASS RALLY. Speaker addresses rally organized by young people in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on May 4. Meeting held in support of greater democracy.

How to build workers democracy —debate in Czechoslovak press

[An example of the kind of debate and rethinking of basic socialist principles now going on among Czechoslovak workers and students, which the Soviet bureaucracy finds so frightening, is provided by the following article, the first of a series by Professor Zbynek Fiser. It appeared in the June 14 issue of the Czech daily *Nova Svoboda*, and in *Informacni Materialy*.

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Now, at last we have gotten to the point of discussing (though not yet of putting into practice) the prime element in the democratization process—workers' self-management. From its inception, the Marxist concept of socialism was directly based on the idea that workers' self-management in the factories would be the foundation of workers' power in the economic and political spheres.

Thus, it is quite understandable that the demand for workers' self-management should arise again today in our present stage of development. This stage is characterized by an attempt to carry through a process of democratization and to create real socialist democracy, which must be defended equally against conservative elements and antisocialist tendencies.

The demand for workers' self-management cannot be understood abstractly. Everyone knows that today even the Gaullist government is promoting the idea that some form of ostensible workers' self-management must be instituted. The meaning of workers' self-management differs fundamentally according to the social system in which it exists.

A not unimportant historical experiment—the Yugoslav—has shown that where the market economy and its needs predominate—that is in the conditions en-

visaged by our new economic system [a reform advocated by Professor Ota Sik]—workers' self-management institutions quickly become pliant tools of technocratic management, that is of the plant managers. Moreover, it is not true that in the structure of Yugoslav society the plant managers' interests automatically coincide with those of the real workers.

The Yugoslav factories are supposed to be run in accordance with the wishes of the self-governing workers. However, plant managers fire workers by the thousands in order to step up labor productivity. They keep quiet about the increased unemployment in the country. And they say nothing about the exporting of workers, which from the standpoint of the Yugoslav state, has become one of the main means for reestablishing the balance in its foreign currency account.

In our circumstances, the program of workers' self-management must have a totally different content. We must clearly understand that workers' self-management cannot be a merely formal institution. We must not forget that for Marx the principle of workers' self-management could only be effective once the entire political system of the society was in the hands of the workers, or rather of their political representative, which could be none other than a truly revolutionary party.

At the present stage of development an important problem is beginning to be posed. The question is whether, above and beyond the demand for workers' self-management, a demand should be formulated also—if only as a first step—for effective guarantees of the right to strike. In fact, if the new economic system proposed by Professor Sik is put into practice, the workers would be left with no social guarantees. (This problem was correctly

handled by Robert Kalivoda in the Prague party conference. Cf. *Rude Pravo*, May 5, 1968.)

Guarantees of the workers' social rights must be firmly demanded. Indeed, without guarantees that the workers' economic interests will be satisfied, there can be no guarantees either that their political interests will be realized. Democracy as well as political and civil liberties which are not based on real satisfaction of the needs and vital interests of the broadest strata of workers can be neither stable nor lasting. This democracy and these freedoms would be only for socially privileged groups; they would not be the real freedoms expected from the democratization process. They would be only a liberal caricature.

Democracy handed down "from above," democracy which did not strive to stimulate the maximum activity and initiative of the broadest strata of the population could never maintain itself; it could never deliver the results everyone demands from today's rebirth. The party central committee posed the question of socialist democracy too casually in presenting it as a problem which agitates the Czechoslovak people as a whole. In fact, at the moment what we see primarily is stepped-up activity by disoriented liberal groups, which represent minorities in the society.

Workers' self-management is certainly an essential precondition for building socialist democracy in all our society. However, it can obviously accomplish very little by itself alone. The workers must have a genuinely revolutionary working-class party. Only such a party can represent the interests of the broadest mass of workers. We are afraid that the process of developing real socialist democracy will be blocked until the top party bodies rid

themselves of all their conservative elements.

In order to be able to defend ourselves effectively against attacks from right-wing elements, which reflect the views of only a tiny minority of our people, the party leadership must represent first of all the interests of the working class. The establishment of workers' self-management could effectively further this goal.

There is a real danger that workers' self-management can become camouflage for the manipulation of the workers by the management. Our own experience has shown this (For example, what became of the unions!) as well as the experience of Yugoslavia and Poland. In order to prevent this from happening here, thought must be given right now not only to forms of workers' self-management but also to forms of workers' self-defense.

Parallel to the program of building workers' self-management and parallel to promoting initiative and creative effort to develop a real socialist democratization of society from the ground up—that is based on the broadest strata of workers, white-collar workers, intellectuals and peasants—we must strive to create strike funds. This is already being done in the most advanced plants.

There is no doubt that workers' self-management based on the principle of the broadest democracy and endowed with the most extensive and effective powers is the foundation of the socialist system as it was understood by Marx and Lenin. However, it is not a providential remedy because in itself it does not settle the question of state power. This question can only be resolved by a revolutionary organization of the working class. Such an organization must be developed.

May 30, 1968

Mass action vs. 'terrorism'

By Peter Camejo

In a previous article in *The Militant* (July 19), I outlined the tactics and strategy used in the recent struggle in Berkeley.

There were three key factors which contributed to the effectiveness of the movement. The first was making the issues and our demands clear and concise. The second was establishing that it was the ruling class through its police force which was responsible for violence, not the demonstrators, who were demanding their rights. And third was our willingness to fight for our rights—our determination, combativity and decisiveness.

All three points were crucial because they helped to win mass support and to involve the largest possible numbers in direct action.

Organizationally, I emphasized the value of mass decision-making meetings and the establishment of a united action working-committee as the best organizational forms at this stage of the movement.

This overall approach adopted by the Berkeley movement has come under sharp attack by some who felt the movement was being "sold out" by "moderate" leaders, especially myself and other spokesmen for the Young Socialist Alliance. Sometimes referring to themselves as "anarchists" (and always thinking their views to be "new"), these ultra-lefts gradually coalesced into several grouplets and split from the mass meetings.

Although small in numbers, their views reached a large audience—especially after the struggle—through a series of articles in the "underground press" and such papers as the *Village Voice* and the *Guardian*. These articles present a variety of views about what really happened in Berkeley, although they all hold the same general orientation.

The ultra-leftists favored organizing in small groups, as opposed to mass demonstrations. Each small group, according to their conception, should engage in some sort of disruptive "guerrilla" action. They opposed any leadership which presented an alternative approach or organizational structure. They were particularly hostile to the mass meetings where the people involved in the actions voted and decided what to do.

The ultraleft groupings are attempting to present their views as representing "the people." They imply their views were held by a majority in the Berkeley movement. The position advocated by the Young Socialist Alliance is presented as completely unpopular. YSAers are pictured as "self-declared leaders," selling out to the mayor and city council, riding rough shod over the masses, and trying to control and curtail the struggle. Naturally, YSA is doing this "for its own ends."

Mass Meetings

The first problem the anti-YSA critics face is trying to explain the mass meetings. There were five decision-making mass meetings. At each of these the position supported by the YSA carried overwhelmingly.

The turnout at these meetings was the largest ever for such meetings at Berkeley. To understand the distortions of the ultra-left critics it is important to briefly review the decisions taken by the mass meetings.

(1) Meeting of June 29 (Saturday), with 600 in attendance: The YSA urged a double strategy—to take over Telegraph Avenue that night by mass action and to go through all legal forms, including going before the city council, to get Telegraph closed for a rally on July 4. This proposal passed unanimously.

(2) Meeting of June 30 (Sunday), with close to 1,000 present: The YSA proposed a march down Bancroft, out of the area which had been declared under curfew, and a demonstration back toward the curfew area later. Passed almost unanimously.

(3) Meeting of July 1 (Monday), with 1,500 present: The YSA urged that demonstrations be called off until July 4, that everyone attend the next day's city council meeting to demand the closing of Telegraph on July 4, and that we concentrate in the next three days on clarifying our views and winning over public support. Passed at least 15 to 1.

(4) Meeting of July 2 (Tuesday), with 2,500 present: We urged rejection of the city council's decision to deny us Telegraph Avenue on July 4 and to offer us a parking lot instead. We also advocated holding no demonstration that night or Wednesday night, but instead building toward a massive action July 4 to assert the right of free assembly on Telegraph, regardless of the city council's decision. Our proposal included acting as a mass on July 4 and not in small groups. Passed almost unanimously, with the ultra-leftists staging a walkout of 100.

(5) Meeting of July 3 (Wednesday) with 400 present: The city council had backed down in the face of the planned massive action and granted us Telegraph Ave. for July 4. The YSA proposed to hold a combination rock dance and political rally in celebration of the victory from 12 noon to 10 p.m. Passed overwhelmingly, with the ultra-leftists holding a separate meeting of 50.

The problem for our "left" critics is how to turn the majority into a minority and the actual minority into "the people."

Beautiful?

Marvin Garson, writing in his own paper, the San Francisco *Express Times*, and in the New York *Village Voice*, engages in some tricky acrobatics. He makes it clear he wishes no mass meetings or leaders existed: "Think how beautiful it would have been," explains Garson, "if no self-appointed negotiators had come forward, if no mass meetings had been held, if no votes had been taken, if there had been no one to issue a permit to."

If you aren't yet enthralled by this beautiful image, listen to his conclusion: "THEN if the city council had backed down we would have had a free street to celebrate July 4th and the celebration would have been joyous instead of sodden." Precisely why the city council would have capitulated without the demonstrators going 1,000 strong to the city-council meeting and having the "self-appointed" leaders demand that the street be closed for the rally, and without the massive militant actions, is not clarified by Garson. Nor can he explain why the events in Berkeley occurred generally (from the demonstrators' side) in accordance with the decisions made at the mass meetings.

Garson goes on to explain that people really didn't go to the mass meetings. Writing in the *Village Voice* of July 11, Garson searches his memory and discovers that "this was the first time I can remember when participants in a movement deliberately boycotted the mass meetings, or came only in order to mock . . ."

Randy Furst in the July 13 *Guardian*, siding with the "100 dissidents [who] walked out" declared, "The liberals had won. Or as one rioter put it, 'We been sold out.'"

Other writers simply avoided mentioning that the mass meetings took place. You can have your choice: mass meetings never happened; the people boycotted them; or some went to heckle (apparently these were liberals who then sold out).

When the YSA supported the decisions of the mass meetings and actually helped carry them out, it is portrayed as opposing "the people." Randy Furst states in the *Guardian*, "Radicals chided SWP leader Peter Camejo for negotiating with the city council . . ."



THE WAY TO DO IT. One of a series of mass student demonstrations in Paris during spring revolutionary upsurge. Mass student actions served to spark similar actions by working class.

Having thus disposed of the mass decision-making meetings of the people who actually were engaged in the battle, Garson goes on to explain what "really" happened:

"They [the ultra-leftists] believed in a different form of organization suggested by the strange phrase 'affinity group.' You get together with people you understand, whose heads are in the same place as yours: a family of sorts; you become a tight-knit, functional working unit with a specialty of your own, something you do well; then you go out and do it."

Politics of Despair

As for the accomplishments of this "new" organizational concept, Garson goes on: "This theory of organization is especially attractive now because it inevitably gets credit for the series of successful and highly popular bombings of the electric power system from mid-March, when the lines leading to the Livermore Radiation Lab were knocked down, to June 4, when on the morning of the California Primary 300,000 homes in Oakland were cut off; the dynamiting of a bulldozer engaged in urban-renewal destruction of Berkeley's funkier block; three separate bombings of the Berkeley draft board; and, finally, last Tuesday night [July 2] the dynamiting of the check-point kiosk at the western entrance to the university campus . . ."

The last "success" destroyed a small box-like structure where a campus cop checks parking stickers and gives information to visitors.

Garson's irresponsible praise of these bombings is revealing of the politics of the ultra-leftists. Bombings and other individual acts flow from the politics of frustration. Such politics is embraced by those who have given up any hope of winning the mass of people to the struggle to change society.

No progress can be made without the mass of people, without, in our country, the mass of workers and students and Afro-Americans themselves intervening in the historical process and fundamentally altering it. This is the lesson of all great revolutions.

Bombings by small grouplets alienate the mass of people and only serve to strengthen the hand of the ruling class and to open the movement for social change to victimization and isolation. Such tactics shift the blame for violence from the ruling powers (where it belongs) onto those struggling for a better world.

What these ultraleft groupings reflect is deep cynicism. They have given up trying to win the average American over to revolutionary activity through the building of a mass revolutionary movement, however difficult and prolonged that task may be. Instead, they seek personal sat-

isfaction in striking out in ineffectual individual actions.

A Case in Point

Garson's own political evolution is testimony to this state of mind. Once a member of the YSA, Garson left in the early 1960s in protest against the YSA's support of the Castro-Guevara leadership of the Cuban revolution. Seeing the Cuban revolutionists as sell-outs like the YSA, Garson then joined the Independent Socialist Club, a "third camp" group which opposes the Cuban revolution as no better than capitalism. They oppose the National Liberation Front in Vietnam as a future "ruling class." The ISC even holds that Che Guevara's guerrilla movement in Bolivia was the embryo of a new exploiting ruling class.

Continuing his "left" motion, Garson soon discovered the American working class to be permanently degenerate and incapable of ever struggling for social revolution. Now, he has taken a further step along this same road by irresponsibly applauding and encouraging stupid, meaningless acts of individual terror by "affinity groups."

Role of YSA

The facts of the matter are that the recent Berkeley struggle was one of the most, if not the most, militant actions of the student movement to date. It was also a victory.

The YSA deserves the respect it has won among the serious demonstrators for its initiative, its consistency in the struggle, and its intelligence in projecting a policy which won massive support, both in terms of the number of people willing to engage in direct action and in terms of the active sympathy shown by a wide section of the population in Berkeley for the just demands of the student demonstrators. This policy maximized the strength of the movement and minimized casualties for the demonstrators.

Revolutionists will succeed in the United States only by learning how to avoid sectarianism and ultra-leftism in all its forms, by learning how to win the mass of people to a genuinely revolutionary movement.

While the ultra-leftists froth at the mouth over the mass meetings that voted them down, the weakness in the Berkeley movement—if anything—was its still low level of organization. We need greater mass participation in democratic decision-making, not less, and a greater sense of revolutionary discipline in carrying out democratically-arrived-at decisions.

The future of the movement lies with those who organize and struggle in a disciplined and serious manner—not with dis-organizers and grouplets engaged in acts of desperation and frustration.

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DOGS USED AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE

In a Detroit hospital

By Connie Mason

DETROIT—My son received a gun shot wound and was taken to the Henry Ford Hospital for emergency treatment over the July 13 weekend. Fortunately, the wound was not very serious. So this is not the problem that bothers me now. It's something else I want to write about and call to the attention of your readers—the conditions at the emergency center at Ford Hospital here in Detroit.

Lots of emergency cases are brought in, and there are not enough doctors on duty to properly handle all the cases that come there. This is especially true on the weekends when there must be more emergencies and probably fewer doctors to treat them. At least that's the way it looked

to me when I rushed there to see how my son was.

Some friends and I found my son in the hallway lying on a stretcher. Then, a white nurse came up and ordered my friends out of the hallway and into the waiting room. And even though I was the mother of the patient, she ordered me out also. But I remained in order to find out how seriously my son had been wounded.

The very next moment, a white guard, dressed in an Army green uniform with a big wolf-like dog on a leash, told me to leave and go into the waiting room.

After I refused to budge at the command of the white guard, he ordered the dog into action. Like cattle, I was forced, or herded, into the waiting room. When I got to this room, I began to loudly protest this gestapo action inside the hospital. Other Brothers and Sisters in the room immediately began to murmur and speak out against the presence of the dog in the hospital.

Minutes after this incident, a couple of my sons and their friends approached the emergency entrance of the hospital. One of my sons was allowed in while the rest were set upon by the "pig" guard and his canine friend.

In stark contrast to this inhuman and animal-like treatment meted out to me and my friends was the case of an old white couple. The old white man had been rushed to the hospital in an ambulance because he had suffered a heart attack. Because the wife of this old white man was very nervous and upset, she was given a sedative and a shot to calm her down while she sat in the waiting room. Her husband was given instant treatment, while my son had to wait an hour before he saw a doctor.

This incident at Ford Hospital points to the polarization taking place in this society. While white people are being given sedatives and tranquilizers to assure them that everything is all right, black people are given dogs and more police. It may not be too long before this white racist society proposes the Hitlerian solution to the race problem.

10,000 in Los Angeles picket Humphrey rally

By John Gray

LOS ANGELES—In spite of the fact that Hubert Horatio Humphrey decided not to leave Washington, 10,000 people showed up at the Hollywood Palladium to picket the Californians for Humphrey rally July 10. In what was probably the most perceptive comment of his career, the mayor of the city suggested that Humphrey had called off his visit because he had a case of "diplomatic grippe . . . I think he did not look with any particular enthusiasm on what the Peace Action Council was planning for him here."

The picket line completely surrounded a 10-block area. Pickets carried signs ranging from "Bring the troops home now!" and "Support our GIs—bring them home alive" to "Hubird the Hawk has chicken fever." The size of the demonstration was an indication of the continuing growth of the antiwar movement. Many who would have participated stayed away because of Humphrey's absence.

Nearly every antiwar and political group in the city participated. The Peace Action Council, sponsor of the demonstration, is planning an Aug. 3 action in memory of the victims of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The Great Society

WITH JUSTICE FOR ALL—Two weeks ago a meat packer was fined \$1 in New York Criminal Court after six tons of meat containing sawdust, hair, paint-brush bristles, etc. were confiscated. The judge levied a \$1 fine, saying the dollar and loss of the meat was sufficient punishment for a first offense. Last week in New York Criminal Court two women students at Columbia University were given maximum sentences of 15 days and \$250 for their part in the campus protest last spring. The judge brushed aside their lawyer's plea that it was a first offense. This was called to our attention by a jaundiced reader who seemed to suspect a double standard of justice. He apparently overlooks the fact that the girls threatened the sanctity of property while the meat packer merely jeopardized human life.

MULTIPLE CHOICE—The following is from the *Saturday Review*, via the *Minneapolis Tribune*: "Not long ago a young applicant for U.S. government employment, asked to fill out Form 57, misread the question, 'Do you favor the overthrow of the government by force, subversion or violence?' He thought it was multiple choice and wrote down 'Violence.'"

EXACTLY WHAT EVERYONE'S AFRAID OF—"Atomic Explosives Seen As Big Export."—Headline in the *New York Times*.

HUMORISTS—The *New York Times* reported from Athens July 16: "The Greek government said today that politicians detained by the police could freely express their views on the new draft constitution in writing from their places of detention. Deputy Premier Stylianos Patakos said those detained could 'write their opinions and hand them over to the police officer in charge of the guard to give it to the government or newspapers.'" Provided,

of course, both arms aren't already broken.

HUNGER FIGHTERS—The House voted to establish a committee to study the extent of hunger and malnutrition in the U.S. To assure that the probers do not fall victim to the problem, it was agreed they would receive \$100 a day plus expenses and that an administrator would be paid at the rate of \$25,000 a year.

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION?—James St. Clair, a Fordham University draft resister, asked a federal judge that the draft law be voided on grounds that it applies only to men and not women. In taking the motion under observation Judge Dudley Bonsal brightly observed: "The theory was that women would stay home and have children so there would be soldiers for the next war, wasn't it?"

WANTS MORE ACTION?—LBJ is not satisfied that America is doing enough to cope with the world population problem, and he set up a new committee on it. We had thought that in such places as Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Korea and Vietnam we were doing an outstanding job on population control.

THE CIVILIZERS—Central American Indians are suffering a worse diet today than their ancestors did before Columbus, according to a report to the Pan American Health Organization. The reporter, Dr. Moises Behar, who apparently never heard of the word "imperialism," concluded that this was the result of "civilization." For example, the people now grow their food on marginal land while prime land is used for such cash crops as tobacco and cotton.

A BLACK DAY—A group of Londoners liberated two trucks containing 25,000 bottles of Beefeaters gin worth \$160,000 and then abandoned the trucks untouched.

— Harry Ring

The CORE convention —a step backward

By Elizabeth Barnes

The demand for black control of the black community is probably the most widely accepted and popular slogan to be raised in the struggle for black liberation during the past year. But, within the movement there have been sharp disagreements over how black control of the black community can be achieved.

This was made clear at the recent national convention of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) held in Columbus, Ohio July 3-7.

Although all the formal resolutions presented to the convention were tabled, speeches by CORE leaders showed that they have developed an interpretation of black control of the black community which is both different and more conservative than that of other black power organizations such as the Black Panther Party of Oakland, Calif.

This was clearly revealed in a lengthy speech to the convention by Roy Innis, the former associate director of CORE who is taking Floyd McKissick's place as head of the organization.

In an article in the July 13 *Guardian* Robert Allen describes this speech in detail. According to Allen, Innis called for a political arrangement which would define black communities as separate self-governing political units and which would "secure the ability to reallocate the wealth within (our) system."

Innis believes that white America would go along with such a plan because black people "have the ability to withdraw a sacred commodity from America: peace and tranquility."

In saying that the ruling powers would agree to such a plan, Innis makes a distinction between the "petty" white politicians who run the cities and the national ruling structure. According to his theory, the national ruling class can be won over to the idea of "black control" of the cities because of its yearning for peace and efficiency.

This concept fits in with what CORE has been doing during the past year. In Cleveland, the CORE chapter used Ford Foundation funds to help register voters to bring about the election of Mayor Carl Stokes, a Democrat. A delegate to the convention from Cleveland reported proudly on the success of this project.

It is interesting that in both Cleveland and Gary, where black mayors were elected in 1967 on the Democratic Party ticket, powerful figures in the national Democratic Party supported them against the local Democratic political machines. This, of course, has not brought genuine black control of the black communities in Cleveland or Gary one step closer.

In talking about black control over the economic institutions of the black community, Innis stressed the need for building black businesses with "black capital." Robert Allen quotes Innis as saying, "We can't make money through jobs. You make money through owning capital instruments: land and other properties."

Although the orientation presented by the CORE leaders was accepted by the majority of participants at the convention, there were dissenters. Their main opposition was led by Robert Carson of Brooklyn

CORE who organized a walkout from the conference.

Carson charged that in working with white business groups, CORE was betraying the struggle. He called for the building of self-defense groups in the black community and came out against working within the framework of the capitalist system.

Other delegates expressed the view that Innis's perspective would lead to "neo-colonialism." They felt that the winning of "power" with the consent of the ruling class would only mean an exchange of local white masters for white masters once-removed.

But, the most important refutations of the perspective outlined at the convention are coming from groups outside of CORE, not as direct criticisms of CORE but in the form of opposing political programs.

SNCC, which had its national staff meeting in June, has announced that it has as its goal the formation of a mass black political party, independent of the Republicans and Democrats. Former SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown has repeatedly denounced Stokes and Hatcher as agents of "neo-colonialism."

The Black Panther Party is organizing a party independent of the Republicans and Democrats and has the perspective of working toward a revolutionary change in the entire capitalist system in this country.

In an interview in the June 1968 *Young Socialist*, Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton made his position on the Hatcher and Stokes elections clear. He says: "They don't relate to the real problems of black people. As long as black people participate in the traditional political structure, it's a matter of stifling the liberation struggle. It is really diverting the real condition and then placing it upon a matter of a black man being elected or maybe a liberal being elected."

In a Black Panther Party Ministry of Information Black Paper, the Panthers made clear their position on the Democratic Party: "What the black community needs is real political power—black power for black people—and that will never come through the Democratic Party."

In Newark, black groups and individuals got together at a convention held the weekend of June 22-23 to nominate local black candidates outside of the framework of the Democratic Party.

Of course, the question of how to fight for black control of the black community is far from settled within the movement. At the Newark convention many speakers were unclear as to the necessity of independence from the Democrats and the need to build an alternative black party.

The hard task of building an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, which will win the masses of black people away from the Kennedys, Lindsays, and Rockefeller, still remains. But, during the past year, there has been a general motion within the militant wing of the black movement toward independence from the Democratic and Republican parties—a motion which was spearheaded by the Black Panthers of Oakland. The CORE position represents a step backward from this development.

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

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London 'Observer' describes arrest of Alain Krivine

(Following are excerpts from an account of the arrest of French revolutionary youth leader Alain Krivine that appeared in the July 21 London Observer. The article is by the paper's Paris correspondents, Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville.)

After the restoration come the reprisals. Determined not to be caught unawares by a fresh revolt in the autumn, the French government in quiet operations behind the scenes is ruthlessly mopping up all centers of dissidence.

This week the man whom the French police consider most directly responsible for the insurrection last May was arrested at the Gare Saint Lazare.

He is Alain Krivine, 27, leader of a Trotskyist youth movement, the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR), now dissolved by law.

Others, like Daniel Cohn-Bendit and the student union leader Jacques Sauvageot, hogged the limelight last spring, but Krivine was the power behind the revolution. He has been in hiding for three weeks, playing cat and mouse with the police, even giving a clandestine press conference.

He is now being interrogated and is expected to be tried on a charge of reconstituting his movement, the most effective and well-organized of all the revolutionary factions.

Krivine, a Marxist historian, is worshipped by scores of young supporters across the country. Far from crippling the movement, his arrest is likely to inspire fresh revolutionary dedication . . .



REVOLUTIONARY LEADER. Alain Krivine, in front at right, led huge demonstration of students in Paris on June 1.

...French arrests

(Continued from page 1)

the militants most devoted to the revolutionary ideas supported by the May movement. These police measures against the vanguard movements illustrate the government's duplicity. It mouths the word 'reform' only to camouflage better the basically reactionary and authoritarian character of the Gaullist regime."

An international aid campaign headed by veteran revolutionist and trade unionist Emil van Ceulen has been set up to raise funds for the legal defense of the victims of repression in France. Contributions and messages of support should be sent to Emil van Ceulen, Fonds de Solidarite contre la Repression en France, 111 Avenue Seghers, Brussels 8, Belgium.

Saigon arrests peace candidate

By Robert Langston

Truong Dinh Dzu, a "peace" candidate in South Vietnam's presidential election last September, has been arrested by the Saigon regime and charged with "actions harmful to the anti-Communist spirit of the people and the army" for statements he made during the election campaign.

The elections, while clearly fraudulent, were hailed by Washington as testimony to the "democratic ambitions" of the Saigon government. These "democratic ambitions" are now being expressed by prosecuting a man who was a legal candidate for statements he made during an election campaign.

Dzu, according to the official Saigon ballot count, placed second in the presidential race. Many observers are convinced, however, that he really received a plurality of the votes actually cast in the election, despite the conditions of extreme repression which prevailed.

Dzu's election-time "peace program" called for a phased withdrawal of both U.S. and North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam, followed by a reconvening of the 1954 Geneva conference. Since then, he has proposed direct negotiations between Saigon and the National Liberation Front to establish a coalition government.

Dzu has been constantly harassed since the presidential campaign and has spent several periods in jail. He is now due to be tried by a five-man military court.

Harlem 'Free Huey' rally hears Bobby Seale and James Forman

By Derrick Morrison

NEW YORK, July 23—The newly formed Black Panther Party unit here held a "Free Huey" rally in Harlem today at 125th St. and Seventh Ave. The three-hour rally drew over 500 people.

The purpose of the rally was to build support for Oakland, Calif. Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton. Newton is now on trial in Oakland on frame-up charges of murdering a policeman last October.

The main speakers at the rally were Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, and James Forman, a deputy chairman of SNCC and minister of foreign affairs of the Black Panther Party.

Seale basically ran down what the Black Panther Party and the case of Huey P. Newton were all about.

He outlined the 10-point program of the Panthers and stressed that the BPP was a revolutionary black political party. Along with the 10-point program, he stated that the Black Panthers would organize around armed self-defense in the struggle to liberate the black community from control by the white power structure.

In discussing the case of Huey P. Newton, who is minister of defense of the BPP, Seale pointed out that it is an international case, involving the right of oppressed peoples to defend themselves. He also described the police murder of 17-year-old Bobby Hutton, former treasurer of the BPP, and the wounding of Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information of the BPP, last spring. He announced that the BPP was running Cleaver for President.

At the end of his speech, Seale encouraged all those brothers and sisters who were for real to join the BPP.

The bulk of James Forman's talk dealt with the lessons that black people should draw from the writings of Frantz Fanon,

the Algerian revolutionary from the island of Martinique.

Forman said Fanon adhered to the revolutionary section of the Algerian FLN (Front for National Liberation), that wanted to make the FLN into a mass political party. He reasoned that the Algerian revolution developed shortcomings because this revolutionary political tendency did not achieve domination over the military apparatus of the revolution. Because the military stood apart from the people and was not subordinate to the political leadership, the army eventually took over and kicked out Ben Bella and other key political leaders.

The rest of Africa, Forman said, was in worse shape because these countries

negotiated their independence. This negotiated independence only brought about a new form of imperialist rule, neocolonialism. The overthrow of Nkrumah was examined in this light.

In Algeria, he stated, it was the fellahs, peasants, who were urbanized and suffered severe unemployment, who constituted the most revolutionary section of the population. In this country the analogous group would be black youth, who suffer the severest unemployment and underemployment.

For Afro-Americans, he said, the lesson to be drawn from the Algerian and other African events is the need for a mass revolutionary black political party.

Right-wing bombings continue in New York

NEW YORK, July 26—Early this morning offices of Grove Press, which publishes *Evergreen Review*, were the scene of the latest in a series of right-wing bombings. An anti-Castro group reportedly has taken "credit" for the bombing, done "because *Evergreen Review* published Che Guevara's diary."

On July 21, a bomb exploded near the door of the Jefferson Book Shop in Union Square. There were no injuries because no one was in the store, but the powerful bomb blasted the store windows, smashed three plate glass windows of an adjoining food shop, and broke 14 windows in an apartment across the street. The blast also dug a hole in the concrete sidewalk.

The Jefferson Book Shop sells antiwar

and Marxist literature generally reflecting the views of the Communist Party.

Eight other bombing incidents have occurred at diplomatic and tourist offices of countries that trade with Cuba. Two other bombings occurred at bars frequented by Cubans.

The explosion at Grove Press was reportedly caused by a grenade. Two bombs at embassies which did not go off were identified as plastic bombs. The highly powerful explosive material in these bombs, it was determined, is not commercially available and its only source is a U.S. Army arsenal.

New York police have been "unable" to provide protection to likely targets of these bombings or to apprehend those responsible.