

Halstead takes antiwar stand to Saigon GIs

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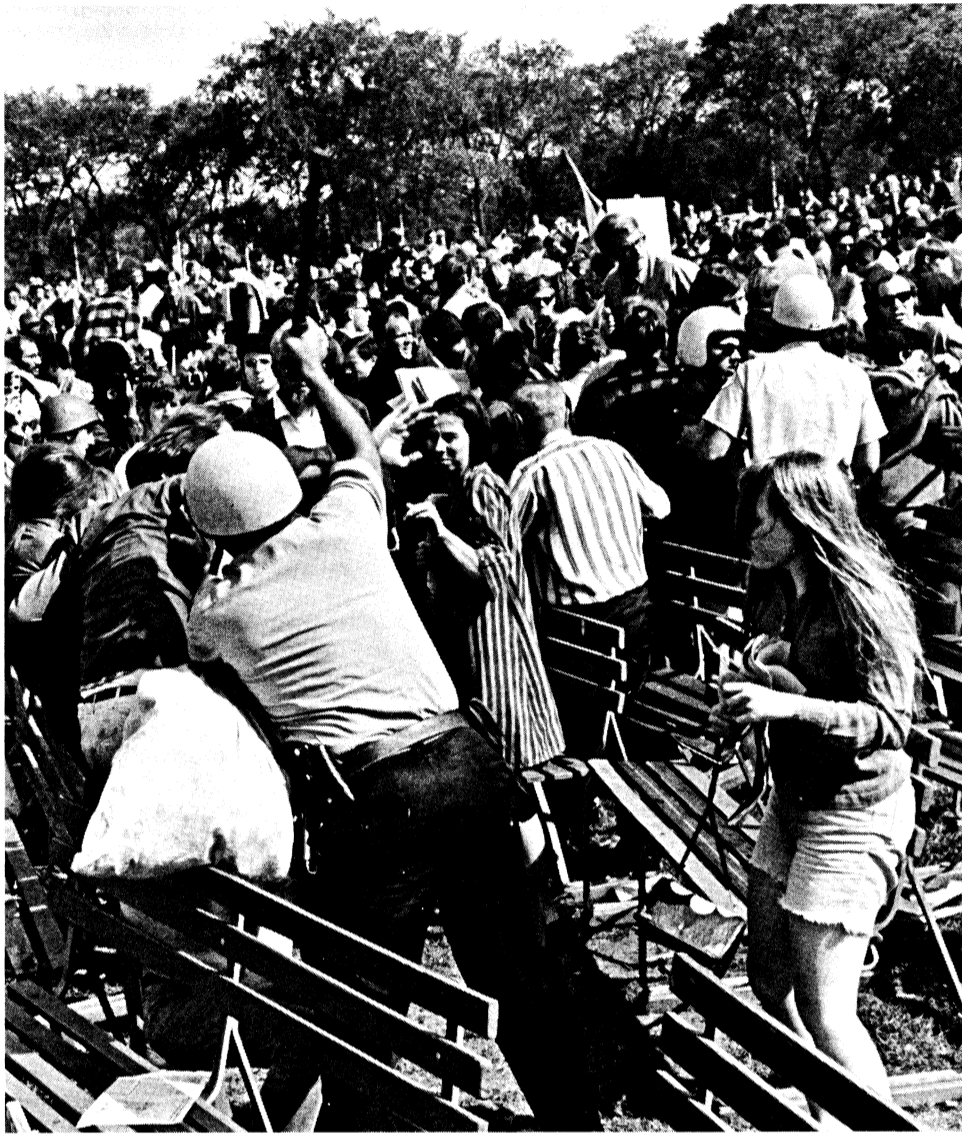


Photo by Shannon

CHICAGO'S "FINEST." Scene in Chicago's Grant Park as cops attacked peaceful rally called by National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Huey Newton: 'I did not shoot anyone'

By Stephen Bloom

OAKLAND, Calif., Aug. 28—Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton began his long-awaited testimony at the Alameda County courthouse here this week and remained on the witness stand for almost two trial days. As Newton testified, other members of the Black Panther Party, including Stokely Carmichael, Bobby Seale, and Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver, looked on from the spectators' gallery.

Newton, who is accused of killing Oakland policeman John Frey and wounding Officer Herbert Heanes in a shooting incident in Oakland last Oct. 28, began by asserting, in his answer to a question by defense attorney Charles Garry, "I did not shoot anyone; I have never shot anyone."

After this, Newton went into his family background, gave a long and detailed account of the history of the black man in this country, beginning with the slave trade and going up to the present, and then discussed the philosophy and role of the black liberation movement in general and the Black Panther Party in particular.

Never carried a gun

He stated that he never carried a hand gun because of his probation, but that the Panthers had been armed during patrols until there was a change in the law. After this, they ceased to carry weapons.

Then Newton went into the actual events that occurred on the morning of the shooting and the day before. He testified that he had a date on the evening of the 27th

with his fiancée, LaVerne Williams. They were going to celebrate the end of Newton's probation. When he got to her house, however, he found that she was ill. Nevertheless, she insisted that he go out and celebrate without her.

Newton took Miss Williams' car and drove to Olson's Locker, a small club in Oakland. There he cashed a check, spoke

(Continued on page 12)

Antiwar GI faces court-martial

By Lew Jones

FORT DIX, N. J.—The Army brass here has launched a new attack on antiwar views and constitutional rights within the armed forces. Specialist Fourth Class Allen Myers is now facing a court-martial at Fort Dix for the "crime" of giving antiwar leaflets to his fellow GIs during his off-duty hours. Myers' personal books have been confiscated, and he has been restricted to his company area on the base.

The antiwar GI, who has been in the Army 16 months, was an activist in the antiwar movement in Madison, Wis., before being drafted. He is a member of both the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Myers is charged with violation of a local Fort Dix regulation outlawing the distribution of "handbills" which are in "bad taste," "subversive," or "detrimental to good discipline."

The Czech events

p. 6-7

French revolutionists freed

p. 5

Was Chicago enough? Vote Socialist!

The need for a socialist alternative in the presidential election was heavily underlined by the scandalous national convention of the Democratic Party. It was an event that should bury remaining illusions as to the prospect of advancing the cause of peace and social progress through that party or, indeed, within the framework of the capitalist system.

The violence surrounding the convention served as a public notice that, when deemed necessary, the rulers of America are ready to meet social dissent with brute force. The police response to the demonstrators in Chicago may have been different in extent—but not in political essence—from the violence being meted out to the Vietnamese people.

The convention showed what hypocrisy it is to speak of a "democratic process" in relation to that party. The American people have no voice in Democratic Party decision making. In the primaries, it was evident that Senator McCarthy was the choice of the greatest number of Democratic voters. At the convention, the party bosses simply brushed him aside.

Instead they offer the voters LBJ's boy, Hubert, who rates near the top on the scale of political repulsiveness. And, to rub it in, they wouldn't even concede the sop of some peaceful-sounding verbiage in the Vietnam plank of their platform.

The display of violence in the streets of Chicago and the crude muscle used in carrying through the convention itself is a significant new manifestation of the deep sickness of the present society.

This is a society ready to send its troops and weapons of murder anywhere in the world to hold back movements for freedom and social progress. It is a society that uses these same troops to repress ghetto rebellions. And now the world sees it is also a society whose response to peaceful protest is police clubs.

What a contest it will be between Humphrey and Nixon! Two hustlers on the make in the employ of sister parties equally dedicated to the preservation of capitalist "law and order."

Consider the contrast provided by the Socialist Workers presidential slate. Fred Halstead, a working man and a leading builder of the antiwar movement. Paul Boutelle, a lifelong black liberation fighter. And both of them standing on a program of organizing for struggle to achieve basic social change!

When McCarthy launched his campaign he frankly declared his hope that it would get the young people off the streets and into "constructive" political action—in the Democratic Party. Chicago should be the definitive answer to that proposition.

Halstead and Boutelle offer a completely different alternative. They stand—and act—for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam and for the building of an independent black political party capable of achieving black control of the black community.

But even more decisive, they are working for fundamental social change. They are committed to the proposition that wars, racism and injustice are inevitable products of a decaying capitalist system and that the only way to freedom, equality and peace is through the building of a socialist society.

accused of anything. He was then charged with violation of the Fort Dix handbill regulation and ordered to appear at a general court-martial. Later this was changed without explanation to a summary court-martial, which carries less severe penalties. He may receive 30 days in the stockade, forfeiture of two-thirds of a month's pay, extra duty for 60 days and demotion to private, if the charge is upheld.

The SMC leaflet distributed by Myers expresses solidarity with GIs. Pointing to the number of GIs killed since the beginning of the "peace" negotiations, it states, "We support the GIs by demanding that they be brought home now."

The Army brass claims to be "protecting" GIs from messages that are in such "bad taste," "subversive," or "detrimental to

Fort Dix has long been a focus for antiwar activity. The Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has regularly made the trip here to distribute leaflets to GIs. Myers took part in such actions in Madison before he was inducted, and he has continued as a GI.

On Aug. 19, while off duty, Myers and another GI passed out antiwar leaflets at a base theater (see text of leaflet, page 9). After distributing about 50 leaflets, which were well received, Myers returned to his barracks. There he was met by Military Police who interrogated him for several hours without filing any formal charges.

Subsequently all Myers' roommates were questioned, his books, including antiwar and socialist material, were seized, and he was confined to his company area.

On Aug. 21 the antiwar GI asked that the restriction be lifted, as he had not been

(Continued on page 9)

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Friday, September 6, 1968

A LETTER TO ANTIWAR ACTIVISTS:

How the GIs in Vietnam see the peace movement

By Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President

SAIGON, Aug. 19—I am concluding a brief visit to South Vietnam today, and although a few days was certainly not enough time to get to know the political or military situation in the country as a whole, I have been able to find out first hand some important facts about the American soldiers in Vietnam. The movement against the Vietnam war in the U.S. has a key potential ally in the GIs who are the uneager and unwilling instruments of Washington's war policy.

I have talked to GIs on the streets, in bars, in the Saigon USO and on the Long Binh Army base. I found them to be what they are—a cross section of the American people, with a greater proportion of workers, the poor and black people. They have not become, as some have imagined, automatons and unthinking killing machines simply because they have been drafted or volunteered for one reason or another for the Army. They are human beings, and can be reached as human beings.

I approached soldiers at random and started conversations with them about the war. I found a wide spectrum of opinions on the war among the soldiers, ranging from prowar positions to support for the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. A minority said they were for the war, a somewhat larger minority was against it, and the bulk said they were confused and not sure. Those who were against the war had thought through their position more than the others and were more vigorous in defending it.

At no time did any soldier, no matter what his opinion, express any hostility towards me for my clearly stated view that the war is wrong and the GIs should be brought home immediately. GIs here are generally open minded and willing to discuss the war—in fact many were eager to do so.

Bitter complaints

I also found many bitter complaints about how GIs are treated by the Army. This is also related to the war, for, as one GI explained to me, when there is no cause worth fighting for, then the danger and indignities forced upon the GIs by the Army are just not worth it in the eyes of the soldiers themselves.

Another important ingredient in this mixture is racism. The Army contains all the racial attitudes present in American life, under conditions of explosive pressure. On top of racist treatment from officers, black soldiers must cope with racist attitudes among white soldiers. This, too, is part of the war for black GIs.

The biggest lack we have found here is of information on the broader aspects of the war and the purposes of the antiwar movement. The official information the GIs are given is, of course, distorted and in essence censored to conform to the point of view of the warmakers. The news on the armed forces TV network here, in the Army papers and in the English language papers published under the Saigon regime's dictatorship is abominable. It is difficult to even get newspapers from the U.S. While many soldiers reject the official viewpoint because of their direct experiences, they do not have much information to put in its place.

Opportunity for peace forces

It is here that the antiwar movement has a wide open opportunity and an important task. The movement must begin to reach these GIs with the kind of information about the war and what is wrong with it that the movement has been able to spread on the campuses back home, and on the same scale. Every GI in the states should be bombarded with antiwar arguments and facts. With thousands of GIs coming and going from Vietnam, this information would soon begin to spread in Vietnam itself. We should also encourage people in other countries where GIs are stationed to do the same, and we should find ways to get this information into Vietnam directly. The authorities do not have the right to brainwash GIs. But they do it, and the antiwar movement should not allow this to continue.

The troops are also told that the antiwar movement is against them. It is especially important for the movement to explain to GIs that it is those who have sent them to Vietnam to kill and die in an unjust war who are really against them, while the antiwar movement is fighting for them by fighting to bring them home immediately.

If the antiwar movement shoulders this task with the determination, militancy and courage that is called for, antiwar sentiment will intensify and spread in the Army—and this can become a key aspect of the struggle to end the war.

Black people win school victory

'Only the beginning'

Orange, N.J.

The people of Orange have won a victory after five years of struggle and two weeks of demonstrations. Five years ago, the city high school lost its official accreditation and has been using stopgap measures up to now to keep its temporary standing. Last week the state board of education told the city council that the high school had again lost its academic standing as of now, due to inadequate facilities and space.

A meeting of citizens supporting the "new high-school plan" (at a cost of four million dollars)—which was put forth by the school board five years ago—was held in Holy Spirit Church and led by Rev. White, a black minister, and Father Brady of Holy Spirit.

There were about 150 people there, most of them from the black community. Many were grade-school children, and the young people were extremely well disciplined despite their excitement. After a short talk by Rev. White, in which he stressed, "We are going to tell the man what we want for our children, we are not going to ask anymore," we marched to the Colgate school for the city-council meeting, which was to be held at 7:30 p.m.

We waited. The meeting began at 9:00, just after white racist Imperiale and his thugs arrived from Newark. We were informed that both Rev. White's and Father Brady's lives had been threatened, and they were guarded by five black karate experts wearing dashikis.

LeRoi Jones attended the meeting. Also present were representatives of the Committee of the Citizens of Orange, a white group opposing the school.

The council opened with an illegal proposal—to add a small wing to the school, instead of the original plan—designed to fool the people. There were two such phony proposals put on the agenda, but the people were not fooled.

One high-school student summed up the situation this way: "Orange is unique, because in this town we have the white students behind us, and we're going to stand together for a decent school." At 12:30 a.m. the resolution for the new school plan—the one the people had been working for—was passed. But, as Rev. White said, "This is only the beginning. We're going to have a lot to say about what goes into that new building, and we're not going to have the same garbage taught there as in the old one."

Ann Elliott

For a college of the black experience

Santa Cruz, Calif.

The University of California is in the process of erecting some 20 colleges on their campus at Santa Cruz, Calif. To date four are complete.

On the night of Aug. 7, 1968, the Black Liberation Movement of Santa Cruz answered the question white America has posed to black people for a long time with a new reply—a revolutionary proposal which can be implemented now. That is:

1. The seventh college built at UCSC be Afro-American, instructing in the "black experience."

2. This college be architecturally designed by an Afro-American reflecting their heritage.

3. This college must be named "Malcolm X."

4. A forum room seating up to 250 people be open to the people, where the "black experience" will be expressed from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. covering the whole spectrum of the people of color: African, Latin, Asian. Here the

finest minds and talents of the people of color will be expressed.

6. The degrees awarded will be:

1. Bachelor of Afro-American studies;
2. Master of Afro-American studies;
3. Ph.D. of Afro-American studies.

7. The instructors will be of the black experience.

However, we need the support of all the people: the support of black people in the U.S. and throughout the world.

This support is needed in two ways from all the people: financial and written.

In short, we need any type of financial and/or public expression we can receive: papers, periodicals, T.V., radio, speeches, etc.

We will send our spokesmen anywhere to discuss and speak on this subject at your convenience.

The Black Liberation Movement can be contacted by writing: The Black Liberation Movement, P. O. Box 1502, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95060.

Jesse Moore, secretary
Black Liberation Movement

Vietnamese civilians aid Liberation Front

Buena Park, Calif.

Further evidence, if any were needed, that the Vietnamese people want the U.S. troops out of their country is given in an article on "Those Vietcong Rockets" in the August issue of *Popular Mechanics*. It quotes an American officer:

"We've made some bad mistakes . . ."

"Only after our base camp was clobbered by mortars and rockets did we understand just how fatal those mistakes were . . . One was in bringing in local women to fill sandbags. They paced off our camp and picked out prime targets for their men in the hills."

"But the worst mistake was when some of our people acted like tourists and took pictures of the

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.

camp. They brought the film into town for developing. The VC had a perfect pictorial map of our installation."

Muria Alges

'New Left' guru supports McCarthy

New York, N.Y.

In a letter published in the Aug. 22 *New York Review of Books*, Herbert Marcuse and five other noted intellectuals, including Erich Fromm and Dwight Macdonald, affirm their support of Senator McCarthy as "a meaningful choice" for President.

This endorsement may dismay many admirers of the New Left philosopher here and abroad. But there is a logic to his position. He had crossed off the working class as a revolutionary force and the Marxist program based on that perspective. How was he to fill the ensuing political void in 1968?

His answer has been to join the crowd who mistakenly view the liberal capitalist politician McCarthy as the choice of the people. Thus political "realism" gives birth to the same type of political opportunism that put Johnson and Humphrey in office in 1964.

F. W. W.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall,

Chicago report: 'A giant pig pen'

By Dick Roberts

CHICAGO, Aug. 28—Club-wielding Chicago cops epitomized the spirit of the Democratic Party convention meeting here this week. Two hours of street battles between the cops and antiwar demonstrators today climaxed four days of protest here. The fighting took place in front of the exclusive Conrad Hilton and Pick-Congress hotels, several floors below the suite of Democratic Party presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey. Dozens of Conrad Hilton guests found themselves the targets of cops' clubs, tear gas and mace. Many joined the 4,000-strong contingent of war protesters battling waves of police in the streets.

Bridges to the hotel area along Chicago's Michigan Ave. were defended by hundreds of national guardsmen. The gas-masked guards repulsed demonstrators with bayonets and tear-gas bombs. Over 200 were injured in the evening's struggle, and at least 180 were arrested.

The national and international wave of revulsion against this massive display of city, state and federal police power swept into the Democratic Party convention hall itself. In his speech nominating presidential candidate McGovern, Senator Abraham Ribicoff denounced Chicago mayor Daley and the presence of federal forces in the city.

At one point in the midst of the struggle in front of the Conrad Hilton, a demonstrator climbed a lamp post to rewrite one of the thousands of posters in the city stating, "Welcome to Chicago from Mayor Richard J. Daley." The new sign said, "Welcome to Prague."

The street demonstrators chanted, "Peace now, truce now," to the hotel guests above the scene. "See what is happening, we wanted a peaceful march and the cops attacked us." Some guests flashed lights in the windows above, marking support to the protesters.

The 15,000 young demonstrators who converged on Chicago to protest the Democratic Party's war policy have been victims of literally dozens of cop attacks. Black Panther leader Bobby Seale summed it up in one sentence when he stated, "This isn't a Democratic Party convention; it's a giant pig pen." The "pigs" are everywhere to be seen.

A 30-block area surrounding the convention amphitheater is sealed off by cyclone fences, police check points and prefabricated walls along the bus routes to shield Chicago's slums from the eyes of delegates en route to their meetings. A number of parks are filled with federal-troop encampments.

Preceding the street battles this evening, a rally attended by over 10,000 was sponsored by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Early in the rally, hundreds of cops launched a brutal attack on the peaceful demonstration, clubbing dozens to the ground, including a number of young girls.

The pretext for this attack was that one demonstrator had lowered the American flag. In the midst of stink bombs hurled by angry cops, other demonstrators raised a red flag in its place. The cops took it down.

Rally spokesmen continued to speak while the police charged. Two Vietnam vet-



National guardsmen in Chicago occupation

Photo by Shannon

erans denounced the atrocities they had seen in Vietnam. National Mobilization chairman David Dellinger stated that the antiwar movement felt it was necessary to conduct protests outside the halls of the Democratic Party convention and "bring a nonviolent march to the amphitheater."

That march was halted by hundreds of police and national guardsmen before it left the rally grounds. Thousands subsequently circumvented the police and their tear gas, and led the later demonstrations in front of the delegates' hotels.

Night after night, cops cleared parks and streets, victimizing anyone and everyone in their path. Typical was the post-midnight attack on Lincoln Park Aug. 26. Minutes before attacking, a squad car plowed into the crowd of demonstrators, sending them scurrying in its path. The cops charged the scattered protesters. Within five minutes a misty cloud of tear gas covered the 10-acre area. Thousands of demonstrators fled choking and crying into the nearby streets. That included dozens of reporters.

Young people in the Chicago protest represented a number of different groups and ideas. By far the largest segment consisted of college-age supporters of the McCarthy campaign. In spite of McCarthy's request that they not come to Chicago and orders not to demonstrate, they staged one 5,000-strong rally to welcome McCarthy to the city. Many hundreds of them joined the daily and nightly park and street demonstrations.

Another sector of protesters was comprised of college radical activists who have

already rejected both national parties. Their sympathies ranged from the Yippie "Pig for President" campaign to the Peace and Freedom campaign running Black Panther minister of information Eldridge Cleaver for President.

Peace and Freedom spokesmen staged several rallies, including one this morning in front of the Conrad Hilton. Speaking there, Bobby Seale declared, "We want to paint the White House black, move out of it and close that chapter of decadent history."

Still other demonstrators came, mostly spontaneously, from Chicago itself. Many were in their teens. One junior-high-school Afro-American sported a "Young Panthers" jacket. He said they had eight members.

The radical activists set up a number of "movement centers" around town to hold meetings and discuss ideas and plans for further action. These included: Students for a Democratic Society; The Resistance; High School Union; Peace and Freedom Party; Radical Organizing Committee; Youth International Party (Yippies); and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Although national guardsmen were also called in against demonstrators today, they were by no means united in opposition to the activists. Over breakfast in the Hyde Park area, where a national guard contingent is bivouacked, one guard explained,

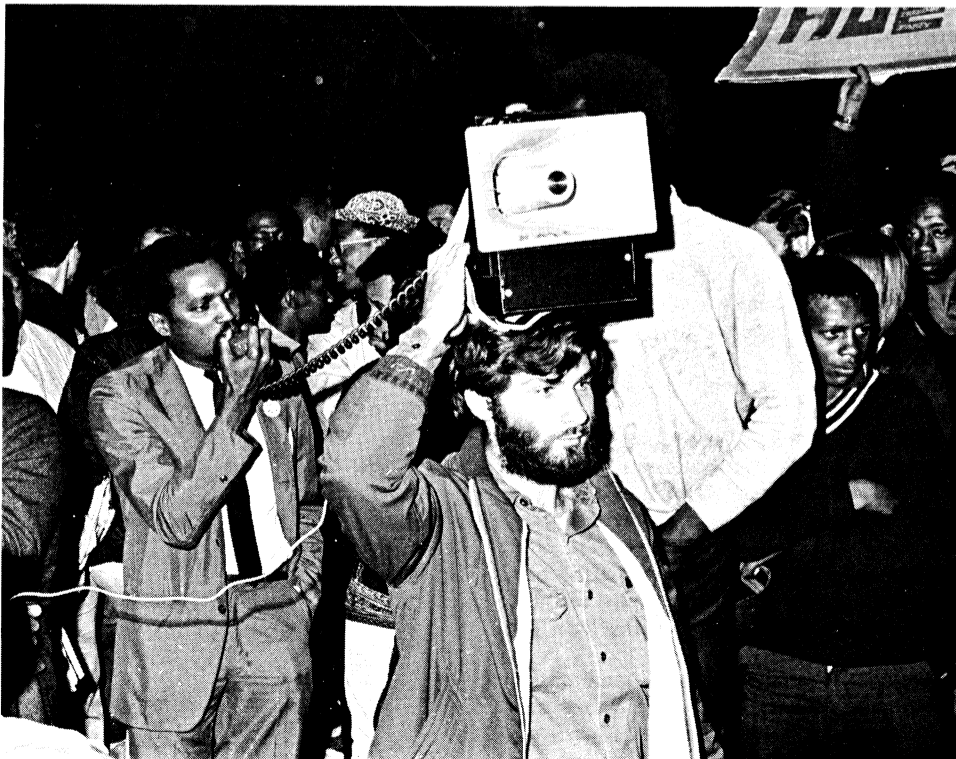
"I was reading this article which I thought was about Czechoslovakia. It turned out to be about the Democratic Party convention."

The single pro-McCarthy rally, welcoming the Senator to town Sunday, came near the end of a campaign that has clearly discouraged thousands of its participants. The predominant posters read, "You're a breath of fresh air"; McCarthy was introduced after the singing of "Dream the Impossible Dream" from the musical, *Man of La Mancha*; McCarthy was told, "The voters agree you're a gas, Gene."

The only mention of opposition to the war at that rally came in thousands of leaflets distributed by Student Mobilization Committee members calling for a rally to plan international antiwar demonstrations.

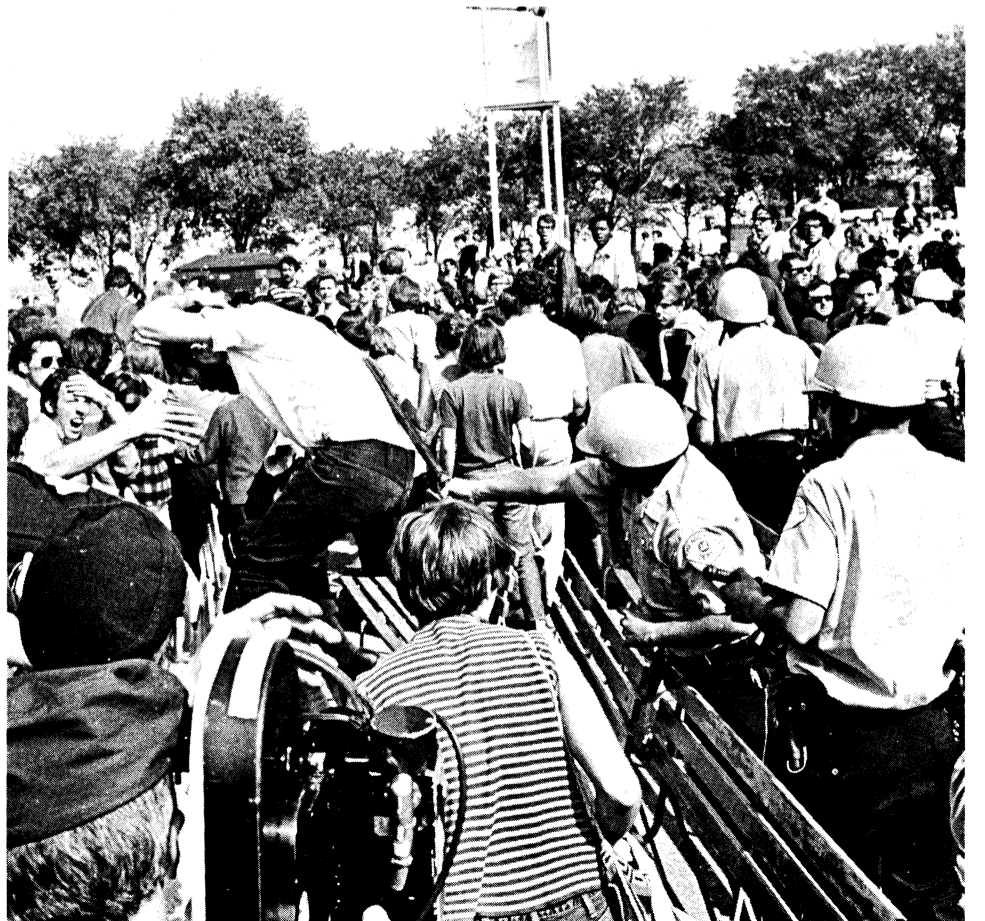
By this evening, McCarthy supporters were out in the streets, doing battle. One well-dressed young lady, donning a crash helmet decorated with McCarthy flowers, said, "I'm going to vote for Fred Halstead when McCarthy loses the nomination."

Supporters of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign of the Socialist Workers Party have been distributing campaign brochures at all the protests. As of tonight, 2,200 copies of *The Militant* had been sold, and about 300 pamphlets entitled, "The Truth about McCarthy."



Paul Boutelle at Chicago rally

Photo by Shannon



Daley's "law and order" boys at work

Photo by Shannon

GI in Vietnam: 'This is no place for none of us'

By Barry Sheppard

Barry Sheppard, editor of *The Militant*, and Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, spent five days in mid-August talking to U.S. troops in Vietnam as part of a world political tour.

SAIGON, Aug. 17—Talking with GIs in Saigon, Fred Halstead and I were sometimes told that there was more sentiment for the war among soldiers who had seen combat than among the support troops you generally find here. This view was also expressed by some of the American reporters here. So Fred and I decided to take a trip out to the Long Binh Army base today, a 45-minute drive from Saigon.

There is no fighting on the Long Binh base itself, though there are sweeps around it, and from time to time soldiers from combat areas are sent though it when being transferred. At Long Binh we were able to talk to GIs who had seen some combat, although not the most severe fighting, such as that near the demilitarized zone.

What we found is that those who have experienced combat are more inclined to be against the war than those who have not, and that all speak much more freely after finding out you're against the war.

To get to the base we had to hire a car at exorbitant rates and travel one of the few "secure" roads out of Saigon. ("They



Barry Sheppard in Saigon

even use it at night," an American here told us.) This road is considered "secure" not because of any sympathy from the surrounding population, but because of the bunkers, machine-gun towers, etc., that line it all the way to Long Binh.

The base is huge, and we had to walk a mile or so to the main PX. There we found some GIs sitting at wooden tables drinking coke.

We introduced ourselves and asked them if they would mind giving us their opinions about the war.

"You want to talk about the war? Sure! Sit down," said a GI whom we later found was from Massachusetts. There were seven or eight GIs at the table, and they cleared a place for us. This same GI began to talk before we got seated:

"Most of us are under 21; and we're over here fighting a war for the Vietnamese, and half of them don't appreciate it. Back home there are demonstrations, big people getting shot. We don't belong here in this country; we belong back in our own country. We should be helping to build our own country."

He had been in one shooting fight, "and as far as I am concerned, that's enough for me."

Three of the men in the group were just passing through Long Binh on their way home. A black GI scheduled to go home to New York said, "I've been here 14 months and the Army don't care if you die here. They don't value a GI's life here. Too many GIs are being killed. The ARVN troops take lighter casualties than us. When the fighting starts, the ARVN beats it."

Another GI said he liked it here, because he spent all of his time at a base that had a village within its perimeter, and he had a girl friend there. He said he hadn't seen any fighting, and he had no opinion about the war, but he had re-upped (volunteered for another stay) for Vietnam before because he liked his particular situation.

A GI sitting next to him said he had been in one shooting fight and he was about to go home and nothing would make him re-up for this place.

As Fred and I were walking into the base, we had passed the stockade, which had signs warning us to walk on the other side of the road and not to take any pictures. One of the GIs we were talking to worked in the stockade and said bitterly he would like to tell us about the conditions there but was afraid that if he did so he would wind up in the stockade himself. He added, "the Constitution says all citizens have free speech, but if we say something the colonel doesn't like—bang, we're in the stockade." They had other complaints. Records are commonly fouled up, with the



Photo by Barry Sheppard

DISCUSSION WITH GIs. Fred Halstead discusses war with GIs in Saigon USO. Antiwar stand of the SWP presidential nominee was received with serious interest.

result that they don't get their pay.

A sudden terrific rainstorm began. The sky turned dark and water poured down on the compound. Muddy streams and pools appeared on the ground. The rain brought more complaints about the mud, etc. Fred and I were thirsty but had none of the military money needed in the PX, so they got us a couple of cokes and we continued our discussion.

We told the GIs that our view was that the war was wrong and they should be brought home immediately. The discussion then shifted to a different plane.

One GI who had remained quiet up to then said, "I suppose all GIs in all wars have complaints like we have been telling you, and they didn't want to go. This was probably true in the second world war. But the difference here is that there is no cause here worth fighting for. If the U.S. was under attack, it would be different."

"This is no place for none of us," another GI added, and all nodded in agreement.

The GI from Massachusetts said he had a friend he grew up with who was killed last month. "Thank god I'm not out humping the boonies [boondocks—out in the field] now. Those guys out there have got it really rough.

"There is only one thing that would keep me here, that would make me re-up. My younger brother is being drafted, and if they decide to send him here,

I'll stay so he won't have to come.

"You know, the VC probably won't get me, but this war itself might crack me up. We'll all go back cracked up. If you're in a fight or shoot at something while on guard duty, you lie awake that night thinking, 'did I kill a man today?'"

The GIs then began discussing just what the war is about. The fellow from Massachusetts, who is from a working-class background, said, "It is a political war. If they didn't have this war there would be a depression back home. You know that it is easier to get a job now in the U.S. That's because of this war."

The black GI then interjected, "But goddamn it, lives are more important than jobs!"

There was a break in the rain, and the GIs had to go, so we had to end our talk. I asked each of them to tell me if he thought the objectives the U.S. was fighting for in Vietnam were worth GI lives. Each in turn said "No."

We again told them that our opinion was that all the GIs should be brought back home immediately before any more were killed, and they all grinned and said, "We're for that!"

We shook hands and wished them luck, and walked back through the red mud of Long Binh to our waiting hired car and the trip back to Saigon—before it got dark.

An afternoon with GIs in Saigon

By Fred Halstead

SAIGON, Aug. 16—We have found GIs who say they are for the war, and GIs who say they are against it. They both talk calmly with us. But the most common is a malaise at something like the general situation. The truth is, they're already backed into enclaves here. There are only a very few places, not very far away, that can be gotten to safely over the road. And the safe road is crawling with bunkers, barbed wire, lookouts, troops. It's a piece of the USA set down in a trap, in a hostile atmosphere, insulated from this atmosphere and yet in Saigon permeated by it, and most deeply concerned not with the war but with America. And it's loaded with dynamite—or perhaps I should say, whiskey and gunpowder.

Barry Sheppard and I went into a bar where GIs who work at the large military depot across the street from it come to drink. There were only a couple of GIs there when we arrived. We sat down and ordered whiskey and coke. In a few minutes, a group of GIs dressed in fatigue uniforms entered the bar. Some were black, some white, one was Latin American. Several carried automatic rifles.

A GI sat next to Barry, and they started to talk. The soldier was black and taller than I—perhaps six feet four; he was lean but not thin. He had a lot to say, he said, that he wanted the people back home to find out about.

"They work us like dogs," he said. "Until

10 o'clock at night, and it's up at five the next day, seven days a week, with only a half day off on Sunday. You're always sleepy and that's bad on guard duty; they hang you good for that." His hatred for some of the officers spat out in the most violent terms.

"And the war?" I asked. "Oh, not too bad for us. We're fairly safe. I like Vietnam. I wouldn't mind living here in peacetime. I got a girl here. I like these people. They're good people. Sometimes on the trucks some cats throw stuff at 'em on the road. I tell 'em not to. Some soldiers say they're all VC. I don't know, but they treat me right. But the Army, no. I thought the government was corrupt back home, but the Army's even worse out here. I was never treated so bad."

Another black GI came up. He was from Washington D. C. and said he didn't like the war and he didn't like Vietnam. "These people," he pointed to the Vietnamese bar girls, "they don't like us. They don't give a damn. They just want to take all your money."

"A woman hit me up on the street to buy a doll and a watch. She wouldn't leave me alone; just kept it up, looking at me with those big, brown eyes. She said I had to buy, I just had to. I told her to leave me alone. I had been over here fighting for her country, and hadn't I done enough? Then she said: 'We didn't ask the Americans to come here.' She had

a point. I bought the watch and doll—and I couldn't afford it, I tell you."

The soldier said he'd been in Vietnam before, for 11 months in the infantry, in combat. Later, he had been sent back for a temporary-duty stay. "I think I was sent out here again because I was in trouble," he said.

"What kind of trouble?" I asked. He said, "I'm from D. C., and when the racial riots broke out there we were put on alert. I told my commanding officer I wouldn't shoot my own people, and that's why I think they sent me here again."

The bartender asked me for the bill. We had been sitting too long on one drink. I gave him a banknote and was waiting for the change, when I heard a big, muscular, blond sailor, who had been talking to Barry, say something about "black-power niggers."

The tall, black GI's fist smashed into the sailor's face and sent him to the floor. The tall soldier stood over him, throwing more punches. Someone else started punching too. The fight was between the door and me, so I walked to the rear of the bar. Fortunately, the men with guns sat still. Then the other GIs pushed the fight out the door.

We went to a hotel with an open dining-room for dinner. While there, we saw an ambulance come by with its siren on. The other guests quickly jumped up, and made sure that's all it was before returning to their meals.



HARD AND DANGEROUS. GI at work at Long Binh, a U.S. base in S. Vietnam and a virtual enclave.

French socialist youth released from prison

By Robert Langston

Alain Krivine and eight other French political prisoners were granted "provisional liberty" (released on their own recognition) by the French state security court Aug. 23. The nine are charged with "reconstituting" the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), which the de Gaulle regime declared "dissolved" following the May-June revolutionary upsurge. If convicted, the defendants face possible two-year prison sentences.

The provisional release of the prisoners is an important victory in the worldwide struggle against the attempt to crush the French left. Virtually all left-wing political tendencies in France (with the exception of the Communist Party) have issued statements condemning the repression. Defense committees with broad support in France have demanded that the bans be lifted and the political prisoners be released. Solidarity meetings have taken place throughout Europe and the United States. In the U.S., the Committee to Defend the French Students has been publicizing the repression, organizing protest meetings and raising funds to defend the victims.

The JCR was banned June 12, along with 10 other student organizations and political parties. The groups were falsely charged, under a 1930 law originally aimed at right-wing, paramilitary organizations, with having formed "armed militias."

The French government has singled out former members of the JCR for special attack in its attempt to intimidate the left

and prevent a resurgence of the struggle this fall.

Despite the release of the nine, the witch-hunt in France is continuing. On Aug. 10, Raymond Marcellin, the minister of the interior, made a demagogic speech violently denouncing the "subversive groups" and the "danger" they constitute to the Republic. The French press treated this speech as a major policy statement by the government.

In addition to Krivine, the defendants released are Francois Carpentier, Pierre Rousset, Gerard Prim, Isaac Joshua, Frederic Levachery, Pierrette Chenot, Claude Gac and Paul Nugues.

The Committee to Defend the French Students is continuing to fight the repression. Its four central demands are:

1. Immediate release of all political prisoners and the dismissal of all charges against them.
2. Immediate repeal of the ban on all the proscribed political organizations.
3. Reaffirmation by the French government of the right of free access for all foreign journalists and all foreign students.
4. An immediate end to the brutal police repression of demonstrations and other attacks on the civil liberties of the French people.

Funds are urgently needed by the committee.

Correspondence and contributions can be sent to: Committee to Defend the French Students, c/o Helena Hermes, national secretary, 148 W. 16th St., New York, N. Y. 10011.

JCR leader at New York, San Francisco meetings

SAN FRANCISCO—Jean Dube, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) during the revolutionary upsurge in France this spring, spoke before 65 people at the Militant Labor Forum here Aug. 16. Dube discussed the origins of the May-June student-worker uprising, the reasons for the defeat of the Communist Party in the June elections, and the perspectives for the growth of the revolutionary movement in France.

On Aug. 15, Dube addressed a similar meeting of 60 people in Berkeley.

Dube's tour was sponsored by the recently formed East Bay Committee to Defend the French Students. The committee, which is a branch of the national Committee to Defend the French Students, is conducting an intensive protest campaign to compel the de Gaulle regime to release political prisoners and to raise money to help finance the legal defense effort. The East Bay Committee may be contacted c/o Pennie Warren, 2158 Emerson St., Berkeley, Calif. 94705.

Dube's visit received excellent press, radio

and TV coverage, including a 30-minute TV discussion show, and a 45-minute interview played in prime time by KPFA radio. Several prominent residents of the Bay Area, including attorneys Terrance Hallinan and Peter Frank, became sponsors of the Committee to Defend the French Students during Dube's visit.

NEW YORK—Jean Dube addressed a meeting of 150 people at the Militant Labor Forum here Aug. 23. In his talk, Dube explained that the electoral defeat of the French left in June was largely a consequence of two factors. In the first place, many middle-class people who had supported the students and workers during the upsurge became frightened at what they believed to be the threat of chaos resulting from the lack of clear direction and coherent leadership of the revolutionary forces, and they thus were susceptible to Gaullist "law and order" demagoguery.

Secondly, and more important, large numbers of workers were disgusted by the counterrevolutionary role played by their traditional party—the Communist Party—and many of the less politically conscious of these protested the CP's cop-out by voting Gaullist. Both factors are finally due to the failure of the French Communist Party to provide revolutionary leadership during the upsurge.

Dube's tour was sponsored by the Committee to Defend the French Students. Funds are urgently needed by the committee to publicize the persecution of opponents of the de Gaulle regime, to organize protests to compel the release of political prisoners in France, and to help finance their legal defense. Correspondence and contributions can be sent to the committee, c/o Helena Hermes, national secretary, 148 W. 16th St., New York, N. Y. 10011.

Mont. convention names SWP slate

PLENTYWOOD, Mont.—In accordance with the laws of the State of Montana, the Socialist Workers Party held its state nominating convention here Aug. 24, thus fulfilling the requirements to place the party on the Montana ballot in the November general election. The convention unanimously nominated Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle as SWP candidates for President and Vice President, respectively.

The keynote speaker of the convention was David Thorstad, SWP candidate for Congress from Minneapolis, Minn. Thorstad pointed out that the SWP is receiving increasing support for its program and for its two main campaign demands: "Bring the Troops Home from Vietnam Now" and "Black Control of the Black Community." He also explained the importance of offering a socialist alternative to the warmaking and racist Democratic and Republican parties.

John Boulds and A. N. Wankel, both of Plentywood, were elected state chairman and secretary of the Montana SWP, respectively.



Photo by Ron Alexander

SOCIALIST CANDIDATE. Milton Chee, San Francisco Socialist Workers nominee for state assembly, addresses Black Panther rally for Huey Newton. (See page 12.)

San Francisco socialists announce six candidates

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco county committee of the Socialist Workers Party announced Aug. 26 a slate of candidates for congressional, state assembly, and state senate positions in the November elections.

Carl Frank, a prominent Bay Area antiwar activist and mobilization coordinator of the April 27 antiwar action in San Francisco, will run for Congress in the 5th district. He will oppose Phillip Burton, a liberal Democrat.

In the 6th congressional district, Robert Himmel, an instructor in Marxist theory at the San Francisco State Experimental College, will be the party's nominee. He will run against Democrat Phil Drath, a pacifist leader.

Milton Chee, a member of the recently formed Asian-American Political Alliance, was nominated for assemblyman in the 20th assembly district. Chee stated that he will make the defense of the Black Panther Party a major part of his campaign.

"The frame-up trial of Panther leader Huey P. Newton is a blatant attempt by the ruling powers of Oakland to crush the Black Panther Party," Chee said. "The Newton case is an example of the harassment and oppression by racist rulers that all minorities face in the United States—whether black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, or

Asian. Huey Newton must be set free."

The SWP nominated Dianne Feeley, a San Francisco State College activist, for assemblywoman in the 19th assembly district. Sylvia Weinstein, housewife and member of the Bay Area Painters Union Wives, will be the party's candidate in the 23rd assembly district.

Jim Kendrick, a member of the teamsters' union, will run for the SWP in the 9th state-senatorial district.

In announcing his candidacy, Carl Frank called for a massive turnout of antiwar forces in San Francisco to support the GI antiwar march from the Presidio to Civic Center planned for September.

"The GI march," Frank declared, "is a significant breakthrough in broadening the antiwar movement and reaching out to the troops. The antiwar movement must respond to the GIs' call for support to this march by turning out full strength to show the GIs we are on their side and want them brought home."

Bob Himmel stated, "The San Francisco campaign will support the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President. While we will be official write-in candidates and votes for us will be counted, undemocratic election laws will prevent us from being on the ballot."

Cleveland aid to grape boycott

CLEVELAND—The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) AFL-CIO, and the Cleveland Food Industry Committee (CFIC) signed an agreement here Aug. 16 providing for an in-store boycott of all California fresh table-grapes. This is the first such agreement anywhere in the country between the UFWOC and the food industry, and it may set a precedent for nationwide action in similar situations.

The UFWOC has been attempting to organize California farm workers since 1965. Cesar Chavez, president of the union, said at the press conference where the agreement was announced that the boycott is the union's chief weapon against the growers who have refused to recognize them. Although 5,000 workers are on strike, growers keep their work force replenished with scab labor, thus greatly undercutting the strikes' effectiveness.

While in Cleveland to sign the agreement for the UFWOC, Chavez also addressed

the convention of the International Typographical Union. He told the delegates:

"To build a union in America is not only a difficult task today, but it has been so for many years. It is an almost impossible task. Everything you can possibly think of is staked against the workers and everything you can think of is in favor of the employers. . . . The courts are employer controlled, and injunctions are handed down almost monthly to stop our activity. . . . We are now locked in the biggest battle that we have faced in the three years that we've been striking. We're now on strike against the whole fresh-grape industry in California, and that's about a 200-million-dollar industry."

The agreement between the UFWOC and the CFIC provides that stores selling California table-grapes will place signs bearing the union's consumer-boycott message in the vicinity of the California grapes.

According to UFWOC, the gross income in 1967 from agricultural business in California was four billion dollars, and the average annual income for a farm worker there was \$1,500. Migrant farm workers work an average of 134 days a year, about seven and one-half months. The minimum-wage law for farm workers as of February 1968 provided for \$1.15 an hour, and it contained no overtime provisions. At the federal minimum wage, a farm worker fortunate enough to work 40 hours per week, 52 weeks a year, would earn a yearly income of \$2,386. If he works what the average farm worker does—134 days—assuming an eight hour day, he would earn \$1,232 a year.

— Rachel Towne

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Kremlin occupation meets stiff Czech resistance

AUG. 29—The Czechoslovak National Assembly dealt the Kremlin a blow when it voted Aug. 28 to reject the agreement extracted under duress in Moscow from Czech Communist Party leaders earlier in the week. The assembly declared the occupation by Soviet and other Warsaw Pact countries to be illegal.

The agreement, released by the Soviet news agency Tass Aug. 27, provided for the continued occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops until the situation "normalizes" to the satisfaction of the Kremlin bureaucrats. According to press reports the "normalization" would include a return to press and radio censorship, long-term stationing of Soviet troops on the West German frontier after the departure of the present occupation forces, and the dissolution of any group and halting of any activity which the occupying powers considered "antisocialist."

Some idea of the pressure brought to bear on the Czech leadership to extract at least public agreement on the accord is provided by an account of Dubcek's arrest by Stanislav Budin, editor of the *Reporter*, organ of the Czechoslovak journalists' union. It appeared in the Aug. 28 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

"In the early hours of the morning," Budin writes, "two cars of the Soviet Embassy led tanks toward the building of the Central Committee of the party."

"In the best Hollywood tradition, all those present, including Messrs. Dubcek, Cernik and Smrkovsky, were kept standing for several hours, under the threat of machine guns, faces turned to the wall, having been ordered not to make a move, not to say a word. Then they were taken to an unknown destination."

There is, of course, no way to estimate the extent of the intention of the Czech leadership to carry out the provisions of an "agreement" signed at the point of a gun.

Dubcek, in his first speech on returning to Czechoslovakia Aug. 27, said, "We might be forced to take some temporary measures that limit the extent of democracy and freedom of opinion we had already achieved and which we would not have taken under normal circumstances." He made no indication of what steps he was referring to.

Regardless of events on the military level, however, the outcome of the operation constitutes a major political disaster for the Kremlin.

When Soviet troops crossed the Czech frontier Aug. 21 the reason advanced was that a "counterrevolution" was taking place in Czechoslovakia, backed by German and U. S. imperialism, with the connivance of Alexander Dubcek and other top leaders of the Czechoslovakian CP. It was claimed that a group of Czech government officials had appealed for Soviet help.

It is plain that Brezhnev and Kosygin counted on quickly setting up a new government headed by some prominent pro-Moscow figure.

When the scope of Czech resistance to the occupation became clear, all the known Kremlin supporters of any stature discreetly avoided the Moscow presidential "draft."

The Kremlin could not even name the "patriots" who had allegedly appealed for the Soviet invasion.

The story about a "counterrevolution" began to look very peculiar even to die-hard Stalinists when Brezhnev and Kosygin finally appointed none other than Dubcek, the presumed head of the so-called counterrevolution, to straighten things out. No matter what concessions may have been wrung from Svoboda and Dubcek while they were held under guard and faced with the prospect of being executed (the fate suffered by the Hungarian leaders in 1956), they would hardly be Moscow's first choices to head a puppet government in Czechoslovakia.

The truth is, as the ranks of the Soviet occupation troops found out, there was no counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak people had made big strides in reestablishing the norms of socialist democracy, such as existed in the Soviet Union in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. The logic of this movement was not toward capitalism, but toward a political revolution against bureaucratic misrule and the establishment of real workers' democracy. This is what the Soviet bureaucrats feared and moved to stop at all costs. When faced with a real threat from imperialism the bureaucrats move much slower and are far more conciliatory, as witness the Soviet attitude toward American aggression in Vietnam. It is only when their privileges are threatened by the working class that they know how to be ruthless.

But the Kremlin left out of account the political side of its actions, relying on pure military force. Their calculations of an easy victory were upset by the resistance of the Czechoslovak people, which was, for them, completely unexpected in its speed, depth, and solidity. The most notable feature was the use of political weapons against superior military force.

Young people fraternized with Soviet troops. They explained to them what the real situation was in Czechoslovakia, that there had been no counterrevolution. They appealed to the soldiers to go home and fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union itself. These appeals touched a deep chord.

Some evidence of their effect can be seen from Aug. 27 press reports that Moscow found it necessary to fly at least 200 secret police agents to Prague to deal "mainly with problems within the Soviet military."

The Kremlin is now concerned that its 350,000 troops in Czechoslovakia, sent as armed "missionaries" of the bureaucracy, may become converted into counter-missionaries. And the removal of "unreliable" troops to Soviet territory will not solve the problem, but merely help to spread the revolutionary ideas they will carry with them.

On the international front, whatever the immediate developments in Czechoslovakia, a shattering blow has been dealt to the pro-Moscow Communist parties.

In fact all of the Communist parties of Western Europe, with the sole exception of Luxembourg, denounced the invasion.

The American CP, which is headed by a bureaucracy outstanding, even in a world movement of bureaucrats, for its servility, rallied to the Kremlin's cause. But a number of prominent leaders, including Gil Green and Dorothy Healey, felt moved to publicly dissociate themselves from the shameful stand taken by the Gus Hall leadership.

In Warsaw, leaflets were distributed entitled, "Withdraw the Troops from Czechoslovakia." They declared the "same forces" were responsible for the invasion of Czechoslovakia as for the invasion of Hungary in 1956 and for attacks on Polish students and workers earlier this year.

An East German CP official was quoted in the Aug. 28 *New York Times* as saying, "I don't know enough to say whether intervention was really justified, but I know that the way it was carried out was a disaster for all of us." He said there was widespread sympathy for the Czech liberalizers in East Germany, especially among youth, including young Communist Party members.



GO HOME! Prague citizens let tank driver know how they feel about occupation. Czechs have been forces on the progressive character of their demands for socialist democracy and the reactionary

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The following statement was issued August 22—48 hours after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia—by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International condemns the military occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the nations of the Warsaw Pact.

The pretexts are cynical: "Statesmen," it is claimed, whose identity is yet to be revealed forty-eight hours after the event, appealed for the troops to be sent in. The entry of the troops, it is pretended, was approved by the majority of the Communist leaders at the very same time as the emergency congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party—composed of delegates elected under the influence of the rank and file—condemned the intervention by an overwhelming majority.

The attempted justification is no less cynical. The truth is that the "counterrevolutionary danger" cited by the Kremlin did not exist. What did unquestionably exist was a right-wing course of the Czech leaders similar fundamentally to that practiced by the Soviet leaders themselves. However, their brutal intervention is not to be explained by the right-wing course of the Czechs but by their fear when they saw how the first beginnings of workers democracy, which had been timidly introduced in Czechoslovakia, stimulated the struggle of the young vanguard, intellectuals and workers in Poland, Hungary, East Germany and above all the Soviet Union itself. The intervention discloses the fundamental weakness of the bureaucratic leadership.

What the Soviet bureaucracy demonstrated in fact by its military intervention in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is the incompatibility of its dictatorship, power and privileges with any form of workers democracy. The bureaucracy is mortally afraid of the resumption of Leninist norms in the internal life of the Communist parties.

The abolition of the censorship, the revival of open political discussion, the participation of the working masses in political life, the proposed adoption of statutes in the Czech Communist Party sustaining the right of minorities to present their platforms to the party congress and

to defend their positions inside the party—this is danger No. 1 to the Kremlin. The bureaucrats know only too well that when the workers win these rights, they have started down the road to workers-council democracy, the road to power of the true soviet type projected in *State and Revolution*.

By intervening militarily in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet bureaucracy trampled underfoot the elementary principles of proletarian internationalism. The Soviet constitution affirms the right of national minorities to separate even from the USSR, if they so desire, but the Czechoslovak people have been denied the right to choose their own Communist leadership.

It was impossible to throw more inflammable fuel on the flames of anti-Communist demagoguery, to provide more effective material for the propaganda machine of imperialism. To justify the intervention, the Kremlin has not even hesitated to invoke "the balance of power" in Europe, that is, the Yalta agreement, thus underwriting the excuse invoked by American imperialism for counterrevolutionary intervention in its own "zone of influence."

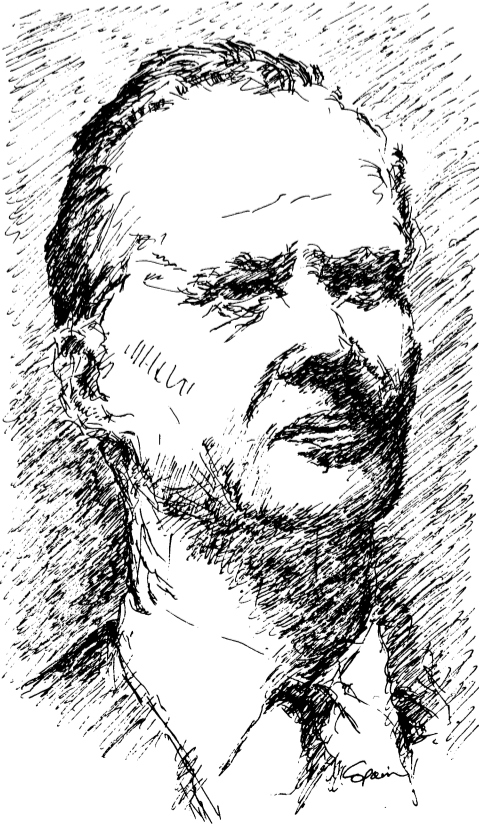
The occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the Warsaw Pact troops was a blow to the cause of Communism, to the socialist revolution, throughout the world.

The first effect of Moscow's move was to disintegrate the international Communist movement that adheres to the Kremlin. In the beginning this will favor the further evolution of several large Communist parties in the imperialist countries toward the social-democratic pattern. Eventually it will bring the world crisis of Stalinism to its culmination, out of which will emerge new forces to help reconstruct an authentic revolutionary Leninist vanguard on a world scale.

The outcome of this counterrevolutionary act will thus be different from what the rulers in Washington expect.

The world of 1968 is not the world of 1956. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against the imperialist aggression has fostered the revival of revolutionary struggles throughout the world.

While condemning the crimes of the Kremlin, the workers must not forget for one moment the bloodier crimes committed by imperialism every day in Vietnam. Let us tear away the hypocritical mask worn by imperialism. The imperialists are



Alexander Dubcek



GO HOME! Prague citizens let tank driver know how they feel about occupation. Czechs have been effectively proselytizing occupation forces on the progressive character of their demands for socialist democracy and the reactionary character of efforts to repress them.

Castro's sto

By Harry Ring

Fidel Castro's endorsement of the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia was a blow to Cuba's record of support to the principle of self-determination and its revolutionary solidarity with all those who fight oppression.

In a lengthy speech Aug. 23, Fidel asserted that the attack was necessary because Czechoslovakia was on the brink of a counterrevolutionary overturn. He acknowledged that the occupation trampled on the sovereignty of the Czech people but argued that the principle of self-determination had to be subordinated to the alleged counterrevolutionary threat.

At the same time he harshly criticized previous government policy as responsible for bringing on what he saw as a pro-capitalist development. He aimed particular fire against policies of the Warsaw Pact countries and in at least one case specifically pointed to policies of the Soviet Union. From the tenor of his speech it was quite apparent that he regards the Kremlin as bearing major responsibility for the present situation.

Fidel's speech indicated that many Cubans were aroused by the attack on the Czechs and that he was seeking to persuade them of the necessity of the Kremlin action.

"For a people such as ours," he said, "that throughout the history of its revolutionary development had to face the problem of intervention . . . it is logical that many would react emotionally in the face of the fact that armies from outside the nation's borders had to come in to prevent a catastrophe . . ."

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CZECH MANIFESTO

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It was impossible to throw more inflammable fuel on the flames of anti-Communist demagoguery, to provide more effective material for the propaganda machine of imperialism. To justify the intervention, the Kremlin has not even hesitated to invoke "the balance of power" in Europe, that is, the Yalta agreement, thus underwriting the excuse invoked by American imperialism for counterrevolutionary intervention in its own "zone of influence."

The occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the Warsaw Pact troops was a blow to the cause of Communism, to the socialist revolution, throughout the world.

The first effect of Moscow's move was to disintegrate the international Communist movement that adheres to the Kremlin. In the beginning this will favor the further evolution of several large Communist parties in the imperialist countries toward the social-democratic pattern. Eventually it will bring the world crisis of Stalinism to its culmination, out of which will emerge new forces to help reconstruct an authentic revolutionary Leninist vanguard on a world scale.

The outcome of this counterrevolutionary act will thus be different from what the rulers in Washington expect.

The world of 1968 is not the world of 1956. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against the imperialist aggression has fostered the revival of revolutionary struggles throughout the world.

While condemning the crimes of the Kremlin, the workers must not forget for one moment the bloodier crimes committed by imperialism every day in Vietnam. Let us tear away the hypocritical mask worn by imperialism. The imperialists are

shedding crocodile tears over the violation of the right of the Czechoslovak people to determine their own destiny, but they rain napalm and poison gas on the Vietnamese people to prevent them from setting up the kind of government and social regime they want.

The revolutionary uprising in France in May encouraged the working-class vanguard in Czechoslovakia to struggle for true socialist democracy. The May uprising opened up the perspective of a European Socialist Federation, a Socialist United States of Europe, within which the Czechoslovak workers will be able to construct their society and their socialist economy under much more auspicious conditions.

The Czechoslovak masses face the military occupation in a context and with organizations and perspectives that are much more favorable than those at the disposal of the Hungarian workers in their isolated struggle in November 1956.

The local and regional Communist party committees, which were basically renewed in recent months, and the action committees that are forming spontaneously could constitute the backbone of mass resistance.

This resistance, beginning with a general strike and street demonstrations, could become prolonged. It could utilize many different forms of action, harassing the occupation troops through steady propaganda in their own languages, reminding them of Lenin's teachings on the right to self-determination, on socialist democracy, on freedom of discussion and the rights of minorities in Communist parties.

The resistance must ostracize the collaborators and Quislings of the occupation forces. It could use the weapon of unannounced demonstrations, surprise strikes, constant refusal by the proletariat and the working masses of the Czechoslovak Republic to accept the regime of bureaucratic dictatorship which the Kremlin seeks to impose with foreign bayonets.

By conducting this struggle in the spirit of proletarian internationalism; by creating in the course of this resistance the committees that will become the organs of free workers and peasants power, of Czechoslovak socialism, the proletariat of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will not only gain its own liberation; it will also make an exceptional contribution to the struggle for soviet democracy in the

USSR, Poland, and Hungary; as well as touch off the socialist revolution in capitalist Europe.

The Fourth International appeals to the Soviet, Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian and East German troops to immediately leave the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as the Czechoslovak working masses ask them to do. Socialism is not endangered in Czechoslovakia except by the crimes of the bureaucracy.

The Fourth International demands the immediate liberation of Dubcek, of Cisar, of Smerkovsky, of all the Czechoslovak Communist leaders, journalists, intellectuals, and militants who have been arrested. Woe to the henchmen of the Soviet bureaucracy who imprison Communists whose only crime is that they took into account the opinion of the workers of their country.

The Fourth International recalls the treachery of the Kremlin in the case of Imre Nagy, who left the Yugoslav embassy under a guaranty of safe-conduct issued by the Soviet leaders and who was nevertheless arrested and later executed by the agents of the Soviet bureaucracy. The repetition of such a crime with respect to the Czech leaders must not be permitted to happen.

The Fourth International calls on all communists, all the Czechoslovak workers, to resist. Do not give the occupiers and their agents a single day of peace.

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The Fourth International reminds the workers of all the capitalist countries that the best help they can give to the struggle of their Czech brothers is to redouble their efforts to overthrow the regime of capitalism, and to commit themselves even more wholeheartedly to the road of socialist revolution.

Withdraw all occupation troops from Czechoslovakia!

Send Soviet tanks to Vietnam!
Down with the Soviet bureaucracy which usurped power in the USSR and from whose hands the Soviet proletariat will wrench the flag of communism.

Long live the socialist world revolution!

Castro's stand on Czechoslovakia

By Harry Ring

Fidel Castro's endorsement of the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia was a blow to Cuba's record of support to the principle of self-determination and its revolutionary solidarity with all those who fight oppression.

In a lengthy speech Aug. 23, Fidel asserted that the attack was necessary because Czechoslovakia was on the brink of a counterrevolutionary overturn. He acknowledged that the occupation trampled on the sovereignty of the Czech people but argued that the principle of self-determination had to be subordinated to the alleged counterrevolutionary threat.

At the same time he harshly criticized previous government policy as responsible for bringing on what he saw as a pro-capitalist development. He aimed particular fire against policies of the Warsaw Pact countries and in at least one case specifically pointed to policies of the Soviet Union. From the tenor of his speech it was quite apparent that he regards the Kremlin as bearing major responsibility for the present situation.

Fidel's speech indicated that many Cubans were aroused by the attack on the Czechs and that he was seeking to persuade them of the necessity of the Kremlin action.

"For a people such as ours," he said, "that throughout the history of its revolutionary development had to face the problem of intervention . . . it is logical that many would react emotionally in the face of the fact that armies from outside the nation's borders had to come in to prevent a catastrophe . . .

"The essential point to be accepted or not accepted," he said, "is whether or not the socialist camp could allow a political situation to develop which could lead to the breaking away of a socialist country, to its falling into the arms of imperialism; and our point of view is that it is not permissible and that the socialist camp has the right to prevent this in one way or another."

But, he added, it is necessary to ask, "what are the factors that create the necessity for such a step, which unquestionably entailed a violation of legal principles and international norms that . . . are highly esteemed by the world?"

Flagrant violation

"Because what cannot be denied here," he continued, "is that the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak state was violated. This would be a fiction and untruth. And the violation was, in fact, of a flagrant nature."

To establish that a counterrevolutionary threat did in fact prompt the Kremlin occupation, Fidel begins by stressing that U.S. imperialism warmly greeted the Czech reform movement.

(Under that criterion revolutionaries around the world would have turned their backs on the Cuban Revolution when it came to power, because it too appeared to be warmly welcomed by the U.S. But when Washington realized that the Fidelistas were not to be wheedled or bought off, that changed quickly enough.)

To substantiate that imperialism had reason to welcome the Czech developments, Fidel cites two principal factors—the so-called economic reform program initiated under Dubcek and the institution of certain political liberties which he saw as negating the "vanguard role" of the Czech Communist Party.

The economic program toward which the Czech regime has been turning is essentially that of trying to increase production by greater reliance on decentralization of management; more emphasis on consumer demand as a planning indicator; and greater use of "profitability" as a stimulus to increased production. Fidel characterized these as "bourgeois liberal reforms."

On the political front, Fidel asserted, "a real liberal fury was unleashed—a whole series of political slogans in favor of the formation of opposition parties began to develop, in favor of open anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theses, such as the theses . . . that the reins of power should cease to be in the hands of the Communist Party."

Further, Fidel added, "A series of slogans began to be put forward, and in fact certain measures were taken, such as the establishment of bourgeois 'freedom' of the press. This means that the counter-revolution and the exploiters . . . were granted the right to speak and write freely against socialism."

Against Novotny

At the same time he emphasized that while opposing the Dubcek government, this did not mean he was expressing solidarity with the Novotny regime which he characterized as "a leadership plagued with many vices: dogmatism, bureaucracy . . ." He pointed to Cuba's own difficult relations with that regime. Among the examples he cites is that they "even sold this country, at a high price, many weapons which were the spoils of war seized from the Nazis."

While justifying the invasion, Fidel sought to analyze why the Soviet bloc found itself in a situation where so costly a move was required.

Among the Czech leaders, he says, there were "bureaucratic methods," "lack of contact with the masses" and the absence of an international revolutionary outlook.

But his sharpest criticisms are directed against the Soviet leaders. Pointing to what he sees as contradictory aspects of their policies, he notes the Soviet criticism of the new Czech economic policies and asks:

"Does this mean, by chance, that the Soviet Union is also going to curb certain currents in the field of economy that are in favor of increasingly greater emphasis on mercantile relations and on the effects of spontaneity on those relations . . . ? More than one article in the imperialist press has referred jubilantly to those currents that also exist within the Soviet Union."

If the Warsaw Pact countries are ready to send troops against what is seen as a



pro-imperialist government in Prague, Fidel asks, do they intend to continue economic and political ties with Latin American oligarchies that are pawns of imperialism?

How about Vietnam?

And, he continues, if they are ready to commit troops to stave off imperialism in Czechoslovakia, are they now also willing to do so, if requested, in Vietnam? Would they, he enquires, be equally ready to come to the aid of North Korea, of Cuba, if attacked by imperialism? He makes it quite clear that he by no means thinks they would.

Fidel presents these points as though they are contradictory to the action in Czechoslovakia. That is, he asserts Kosygin and company mustered the strength to act against a counterrevolutionary threat in Prague, but they are incapable of standing up to imperialism elsewhere.

But the reality is that the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia was not in contradiction to its general policy. It was but one more expression of it.

Essential to any correct analysis of the events in Czechoslovakia is a Marxist understanding of the social nature of the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy which holds political power in Moscow and which, indeed, is primarily responsible for the rebellion in Czechoslovakia.

Space does not permit an elaboration of how a privileged caste, composed of party and government functionaries, farm and factory managers, developed in the Soviet Union under Stalin and how this stratum stripped the Soviet people of their political rights in order to ensure their special material and social privileges. (Perhaps the best explanation of this phenomenon is offered in Leon Trotsky's book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y.)

Suffice it to say that in order to preserve its rule and privileges, this bureaucracy not only destroyed Soviet democracy as it was constituted under Lenin and Trotsky but also saw to it that the regimes which arose in Eastern Europe after World War II were shaped in its own despotic image.

Similarly, pursuing continuation of the status quo, it has persistently sought accommodation with imperialism at the expense of the revolutionary forces in the world.

It invaded Czechoslovakia not because socialism was threatened but because bu-

(Continued on page 10)



Czechs have been effectively proselytizing occupation and the reactionary character of efforts to repress them.

ONAL CZECH MANIFESTO

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GO HOME! Prague citizens let tank driver know how they feel about occupation. Czechs have been effectively proselytizing occupation forces on the progressive character of their demands for socialist democracy and the reactionary character of efforts to repress them.

Who benefits from Black Panther, P&F alliance?

By Tom Kerry

In my two previous articles on the Peace and Freedom Party (*The Militant*, Aug. 16 and Aug. 23), I deliberately refrained from dealing with the question of the alliance between PFP and the Black Panther Party. Not because I considered it unimportant. On the contrary, I consider it of such importance that I felt it deserved separate and extended consideration.

Let me say at the outset that I consider the BPP as the most significant manifestation of a growing movement to invest the "black power" slogan with a revolutionary content. The expressed aim of the BPP is to engage in struggle for power. The indispensable instrument for such a struggle is the political party.

Not an electoral machine that comes to life during election campaigns and lies dormant in between, but a party of revolutionary action that functions on a day-to-day basis the year around, utilizing the electoral arena as but one—albeit an important one—of manifold areas of activity. The BPP has grasped this distinction and has sought to promote the organization of an independent black political party on a national scale to advance its revolutionary aim.

The BPP owes much of its inspiration to the ideas propagated by the late Malcolm X. Malcolm grappled with the question of "alliances," to which he returned again and again in his numerous speeches. He was well aware of the difficulties posed by the problem of an oppressed black minority constituting roughly one-tenth of the total population. He recognized that at some stage in the development of the struggle for emancipation from racial oppression Afro-Americans would have to enter into alliances with other forces.

But he insisted over and over again, that the indispensable prerequisite of such alliances was unity among blacks; that is, the constitution of a mass organization of Afro-Americans, with its own revolutionary leadership, program and control. Such an organization could then proceed, power to power, to make alliances with other revolutionary forces to advance the social overturn of the existing system.

The question is then posed: What is the character of the current alliance between

the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party, and does it serve to advance the idea or promote the movement for a mass black independent political party?

To begin with, it should be noted that neither the BPP nor the PFP can be considered mass organizations—far from it. The BPP, which considers itself a "vanguard" party, has just begun to expand beyond its original base in the San Francisco Bay Area. The PFP is a California fluke whose future at this time is very much in doubt.

Electoral bloc

At this stage the BPP-PFP alliance takes the form of an electoral bloc. A number of BPP candidates will be given ballot slots on the PFP ticket, and Eldridge Cleaver, BPP minister of information, has been named PFP presidential candidate. But it is an electoral bloc of a peculiar character. No attempt is made to justify the bloc on the basis that it could serve to elect any of its candidates.

On the contrary, in a recent letter to the PFP nominating conventions in California, Eldridge Cleaver warned against illusions on that score. "I think it would be a very serious mistake," he said, "for Peace and Freedom to get hung up in the illusion of winning power or accomplishing basic change this year or even in the next four years—especially through the electoral process."

Under the circumstances, the BPP-PFP bloc takes on the character of a propaganda alliance; that is, an understanding that the primary objective is to utilize the electoral arena for the purpose of promoting certain ideas, program and organization. There is nothing wrong, per se, with such an alliance, provided there is agreement on the basic ideas, issues and program. However, such is not the case in this instance.

On the central issue involved, the BPP and PFP stand at opposite poles. The BPP seeks to promote the idea that it is necessary for Afro-Americans to build their own independent political party. The PFP is opposed to the idea. True, the PFP has endorsed the BPP 10-point program. But the 10-point program does not specifically

are supporting Herman Ferguson for U. S. Senate, David Brothers in the 12th congressional district, and Eldridge Cleaver for President of the United States of America. In the white community, the Peace and Freedom Party is backing these candidates.

"In the black community, the Panthers are backing these candidates in a coalition with the Black Caucus," Rashi said. David Brothers and Eldridge Cleaver will be on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket, whereas Ferguson will be on the Freedom and Peace Party ticket.

Rashi said the Panthers will "organize street rallies for our candidates and push the 10-point program."

Concerning the case of Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, Lt. Rashi said, "We are publicizing the fact that he is on trial because he is a black leader of black people."

Rashi also commented that, "The Panthers will aid and help any organization in the black community that is trying to liberate black people from oppression."

"We feel that since black people in black-ghetto neighborhoods and even black people that think they are better off are our people and are the most oppressed in the United States, we will fight as other liberation armies are doing throughout the world in the struggle against oppression."

He added in passing that "The Black Panther Party is open to all black people; there is no such thing as a white Panther."



FIGHT RACIST VICTIMIZATION. Black Panthers demonstrate at frame-up trial of party leader Huey P. Newton. Efforts to win support for his defense led Panthers into alliance with Peace and Freedom Party.

call for the organization of a black independent political party. This omission makes it possible for the PFP to evade the issue by substituting the abstract slogan, "for black liberation," which can be interpreted in any number of ways.

The leaders of PFP have persistently sought to remove all ambiguity on this score. The Independent Socialist Clubs caucus, which with the backing of the Communist Party and its supporters carried its program at the recent PFP national convention in Ann Arbor, had previously laid down certain conditions under which it would support the Cleaver candidacy.

Among them was the following (with their emphasis to underscore the point): "We assume," they declared, "that Cleaver will run unequivocally as a candidate of *the Peace and Freedom Party*, and not as a candidate of some other political formation *who is merely endorsed or 'also supported' by Peace and Freedom*. Specifically:

"(a) While independent (non-Peace and Freedom) supporters of Cleaver are welcome to support his candidacy in their own way, and in fact such developments are to be encouraged, we assume that Cleaver himself will run as the Peace and Freedom candidate, not as the candidate put up by some other independent political formation;

"(b) While there is no question about the propriety of the Black Panther Party, if it wishes, also naming Cleaver as its candidate, we assume that in this case Cleaver will be running as the joint candidate of both Peace and Freedom and the Panthers, and not as a Black Panther candidate who is merely endorsed by Peace and Freedom."

CP position

Not to be outdone by the "third-camp" social democrats, the Communist Party entered its demurrer on this question. In a "position paper" circulated by the Southern California district of the Communist Party, we find the following admonition:

"The question of who will be the presidential candidate of Peace and Freedom in 1968 should be judged on the effectiveness of building Peace and Freedom in the white, black and brown communities. The candidates [sic] should be an educator able to effectively present the program of Peace and Freedom, and an organizer who can enroll people in its ranks.

"This cannot be done," they insist, "by a candidate who urges black, brown or white people to organize separately from one another. . ."

"We urge," they say, "that any candidate for President and Vice President agree on a program pledged to use the campaign to build Peace and Freedom as an organization."

There you have it.

Both these groups and their supporters joined in voting for the reform program at the Peace and Freedom convention in Ann Arbor.

Both are opposed to the idea of promoting the organization of a black independent political party.

Both insist that Cleaver, as PFP candidate, use his position to promote Peace

and Freedom as *the* organization for "black, brown and white."

And both have fought to keep PFP on a reformist path, with all the trappings of reformism, including the gambit of a "balanced ticket," "minimum program," etc., etc.

Does this fit the criteria advanced by Malcolm X by which alliances could be justified? I don't think so. The price paid for ballot status in an electoral bloc which is essentially of a propaganda character is too high. For it does not advance, but serves to hinder, the clarification of the idea of the necessity for the formation of a mass black independent political party. Nor does it serve to promote the movement of those black nationalist tendencies looking for a correct political solution.

Make no mistake about it. The slick promoters of PFP hope to convert the Black Panther Party into an appendage of Peace and Freedom. They started out by saying: Write your own ticket, we will support you. Then they began to hedge, to lay down conditions, concoct formulas, all designed to squeeze the revolutionary Black Panthers into the reformist mold of Peace and Freedom. If they succeed it will be a great tragedy. But I don't think they will.

Why the police attacked Brooklyn Black Panthers

By Derrick Morrison

The New York Black Panther Party has mushroomed during the last two months and now has two offices in Brooklyn and one in Harlem. During this time they have been subject to a considerable harassment by the New York police.

In the first week in August, a plainclothes cop, riding in a car, shot and wounded a Panther outside of one of the Brooklyn offices with a high-powered BB gun. Police have repeatedly tried to break into the Panther headquarters on various pretexts.

When I talked to Lieutenant Rashi at the Brooklyn Panther office on Nostrand Ave., he told me that charges were still pending against four Panthers that the cops brutalized and arrested while they were attempting to hold a meeting in front of the Panther headquarters Aug. 2.

Rashi said the trial for these Panthers is coming up soon, and those who want to send funds to help fight this case and to help finance the activities of the New York Black Panther Party should send them to: Black Panther Party, 780 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Panther spokesman also described to me some of the activities of the New York Panthers. He told me that the New York Panther Party is "a political party dedicated to the liberation of oppressed people," which is "also a black liberation army working for the same purpose."

"We're dealing with running black people for seats in government in the black community," Rashi said. "In Brooklyn we

Chicago YSA in protest action on Czech occupation

CHICAGO — Revolutionary socialists held a demonstration at the Polish consulate here Aug. 23 to protest the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. Although the action, called by the Young Socialist Alliance, was organized in less than 24 hours, more than 50 people participated.

The demonstrators carried red flags, along with signs demanding the immediate withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovakia and supporting the Czechoslovak struggle for national independence and socialist democracy.

After picketing for a while, the protesters gathered before the steps of the consulate, and a statement was read demanding the withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovakia, the release of all prisoners taken during the invasion, guarantees of the right of self-determination from the Warsaw Pact powers to the Czechoslovak people, and communication of these demands to the Warsaw Pact governments.

After the statement was read, Dan Styron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate from Illinois, spoke briefly. During his talk, an official of the consulate came to the door and accepted the statement. Soon, he returned and said that the demands had been officially rejected. At this point, many demonstrators yelled, "Stalinist!" and the diplomat, muttering, retreated into the consulate.

The demonstration ended with the singing of the "Internationale."

Howard Petrick interviews victimized GI:

'Almost impossible' to find prowar views

By Howard Petrick

On Aug. 24, former Pfc. Howard Petrick interviewed for *The Militant Specialist* Fourth Class Allen Myers, a GI stationed at Fort Dix, N.J., who is now threatened with a court-martial because of his anti-war and socialist views. (See article on page 1 by Lew Jones.)

Howard Petrick was given an undesirable discharge from the Army last March because of his opposition to the Vietnam war and his advocacy of socialism. The Army's unconstitutional action in Petrick's case is now pending review by the Discharge Review Board.

After describing his arrest and interrogation, Myers explained something of the political background of his case.

Howard Petrick. Do you believe the military was aware of your political beliefs at the time of your induction into the Army?

Sp/4 Allen Myers. Well, they had to be. I filled out the DD Form 98 ["Attorney General's list"] before I was drafted and stated that I was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. And I had written an article which appeared in the *Young Socialist* magazine.

Q. Were you active in the antiwar movement before you were inducted into the Army?

A. Yes. I was a member of the University of Wisconsin Committee to End the War for a couple of years, and I was assistant editor of the committee's *Newsletter*.

In Chicago, shortly before I was drafted, I worked to help publicize the April 15, 1967, demonstrations in New York and San Francisco; I helped get speakers on radio and T. V.—things like that.

Q. Were any of the groups you were involved in active in trying to reach servicemen?

A. Yes. We did quite a bit of that in Madison. One summer—1966—Army reservists were going up north of Madison to train, so we—the Committee to End the War in Vietnam—leafleted the reservists who stopped in Madison. And I also helped to organize, later on that fall, a leafleting at the U.S. Air Force base in Madison.

Q. Was there a good response to this leafleting?

A. Yes; as a general rule, a mixed reaction. People who took leaflets and read

them generally had a good reaction. But when people had been ordered not to take leaflets, or had been told about a "Communist conspiracy," they wouldn't take them. In general, the reservists' response was far more favorable than unfavorable; of course, these were reservists who were not under the threat of being sent to Vietnam. Many said they were only in the reserves because they didn't want to go to Vietnam.

Q. So, in other words, the reaction was somewhat similar to that which you had here at Fort Dix a few days ago.

A. Well, here the experience has been much more favorable. When I came into the Army, I had the idea I was going to marshal arguments to discuss with people about Vietnam; but as it turned out I literally couldn't find anybody to argue with. Not everybody's super against the war, but it's almost impossible to find people in favor of it. About the most favorable comment about the war that people make is, "I don't want to think about it; I don't want to worry about it." Forced apathy.

Q. So you would say the same type of activity you did as a civilian is better in the Army?

A. Oh, yes. The longer the war goes on, of course, the more people are against the war. This is doubly true in the Army; GIs are most affected by the war. As far as just talking against the war—if that's a subversive activity, they're going to have to arrest most of the Army and, I suspect, the Navy, Air Force and Marines, too. But I can't speak about the other branches from personal experience.

Q. Have you seen any increase in the antiwar sentiment among GIs since the Tet offensive, since the so-called peace candidates have started their campaigns, and since the Paris negotiations opened?

A. Well, I know guys that are for McCarthy, or were for Kennedy before he was assassinated, but it's a very cynical kind of support. They don't really expect anything to come of it, even if McCarthy should win the election. And they take the same type of attitude toward the negotiations; they're cynical, of course, and they don't expect any real results from them. There's increased concern about the war, signs that people are more and more fed up with the war; they're feeling the pressure more and more all the time.

Q. What has been the attitude of the GIs you come in contact with about what the Army's trying to do to you?

A. The people I come in contact with get very mad about it. They regard it as a rotten deal, and they realize that the Army is trying to do away with our constitutional rights. People get especially upset about the fact that they came in and searched my locker—just walked off with all my magazines and papers, my own property. They're muttering. I suggested to a few people that, if they know something about the case, they should try to remember, in case they have to testify. Someone will say something about the case, and they'll write it down without even being asked.

There's also the feeling that I'm making some sort of stand for the record; that I don't really expect to win the case; that

you can't fight the Army, that the Army's going to get you in the end, no matter what. You have to show people in cases like this that you don't have to put up with this sort of unconstitutionality just because you happen to be in the Army. You have to show them that it's possible to carry out a fight like this and win it.

Q. Have you continued to receive antiwar and socialist publications since you have been in the Army? Have the other GIs been interested in this, and what is the attitude of the brass toward it?

A. As long as I've been in the Army, I've subscribed to things like *The Militant*, the *Young Socialist* and *Intercontinental Press*. Other people were interested, especially in GI antiwar papers like *Vietnam GI*. The brass, when they went through my locker and my bookshelf, confiscated everything that's remotely connected with the war or politics. The receipt lists a total of 345 items, including such dangerous things as clippings from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *New York Daily News*. The CID [Criminal Investigation Division] agent said it was perfectly all right to have any leaflets or literature, but it was against regulations to distribute them. But they didn't confiscate anything I was accused of distributing; they just took what was there.

Q. What's your attitude toward the draft?

A. The draft never became an issue in American life until the war made it one, and I think the best way to go about abolishing the draft is to build antiwar sentiment, among GIs as well as civilians.

Q. Do you think it's possible for the antiwar movement to reach GIs and help facilitate the growth of antiwar sentiment among GIs; and if so, in what ways do you think it can most effectively go about this?

Q. Certainly. There are a number of ways this can be done. One of the biggest things has been the Student Mobilization Committee's coming to Fort Dix and distributing antiwar leaflets. That certainly made a big impression on GIs here, and it made a big impression on the brass. The fact that there are, every so often, massive antiwar demonstrations is extremely important. They attract national attention, and that national attention includes the attention of GIs, who read the newspapers, watch television and hear the radio just like everyone else. They become aware of this tremendous sentiment out there against the war. It gives them something to identify with; people on the outside oppose the war, just as they do.

The antiwar movement's defense of the civil liberties of GIs is immensely important. The GIs come to see the antiwar movement as the people who defend the soldiers' right to hold opinions, to speak their minds, whether they're for or against the war. I'm sure that things like leafleting about the Fort Hood Three helps bring the GIs to identify with the antiwar movement. When I came into the Army, we distributed leaflets about your case outside the induction center.

That kind of activity makes GIs realize that the antiwar movement is their friend, first of all because it defends GI's rights, and second, because the antiwar movement is not only defending their civil liberties,



Photo by Howard Petrick

Allen Myers

but is also trying to save their lives by preventing them from being sent to Vietnam to be killed.

Q. What can the antiwar movement do to help your case?

A. First of all, the biggest thing is publicity; the Army hates to get caught doing something like this; and the more publicity we get out about it, the more people know about it and realize what the Army is trying to do, the more reluctant the Army will be to carry it out.

Q. Has the Army ever given you any reason why we're fighting in Vietnam? Have they ever held any classes or issued any bulletins that explain why you should be willing to go off and die in this war?

A. Interestingly enough, that sort of thing has been very rare, in my experience. Yes, there's regular newsreel stuff on actual battles, things of that sort, but never any kind of explanation of what it's all about. I suppose a very good reason for this is, they don't really have any justification that could stand up in any kind of class where people were permitted to stop and think about what they were there for. So they try to make people just take the war for granted; you've been told that it's there, and that's all you need to know; you're not supposed to really think about it.

Q. I understand some guys have asked you whether you're doing all this to get out of the Army. What's your answer to that?

A. I expect to get out April 27, 1969. I'm not doing this in order to get an undesirable discharge. If the Army should try to give me an undesirable discharge, as they did you, I will, of course, fight it with all the means available to me, just as you are. I haven't broken any laws; I've not done anything or changed in any way that would make me less desirable to the Army now than I was when I was inducted. If the Army can survive having me in for 16 months, then they can probably survive another day. I'm not interested in an undesirable discharge or anything of the kind. I've obeyed all the laws in the Army, and I've obeyed orders and generally behaved as the Army says a soldier should, so I expect to receive an honorable discharge eight months from now.

SWP seeks ballot in N. Dakota, Ia.

BISMARCK, N. D.—The Socialist Workers Party filed the required nominating petitions here Aug. 23 to place Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, the party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates, on the North Dakota ballot this November.

The SWP presented 617 signatures, more than twice the 300 required by state law.

DES MOINES, Iowa—The necessary petitions were filed Aug. 13 to place Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, on the Iowa ballot this November.

More than 1,600 signatures were obtained, although Iowa law requires only 1,000 for ballot status. The petitioning was completed last May, but under the state election law the signatures could not be filed until now.

Army brass didn't like this leaflet

Support Our Men In Vietnam
Not Those Who
Send Them There
Bring The GIs Home Now!

Since the Paris peace talks began in May, over 5,000 American GIs and countless Vietnamese have died in Vietnam. We of the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam feel that these deaths are unnecessary—we support the GIs by demanding they be brought home now.

On Labor Day, the national Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is holding a conference in Chicago to organize an international week of solidarity with the American GIs—to bring them home from Vietnam now.

We would like to plan activities in Philadelphia for GIs, such as parties, open houses, demonstrations or even a coffee house—the main thing is that we want to do whatever you would like. We feel that the antiwar movement is the only real ally of the GIs—not those who send you to Vietnam. We want to provide services to you which express this fact. If you would like further information, contact:

Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 2006 Walnut Street. EV6-7699.

... Allen Myers defense case

(Continued from page 1)
good discipline." Their rush to deny a GI the right to speak his mind demonstrates what their real attitude is toward the GIs.

The leaflet Myers distributed cannot reasonably be construed to have violated the provisions of the Fort Dix regulation. But the wording of the regulation is, nevertheless, a clear violation of constitutional liberties and the right to free speech and belief.

Allen Myers has not concealed his views from anyone. He has often stated his antiwar beliefs to other GIs, as is his constitutional right. And he has received their agreement and support. He spoke at an antiwar rally in Philadelphia on Aug. 10, 1968.

The attack on Sp/4 Myers is an unconstitutional attempt to silence antiwar sentiment in the armed forces, where the rising death count and the perspective of fighting and dying to defend the corrupt dictator-

ship in Saigon are producing profound changes in the thinking of GIs.

Myers will be defended by Michael Kennedy, a noted authority on military law. Mr. Kennedy's services are being provided by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

In an interview Aug. 24, Myers pointed to the importance in the calculations of the Pentagon of an army in which thinking is proscribed. He said that it is of particular importance for the antiwar movement to be a staunch defender of the civil liberties of GIs in the many cases where they face legal reprisals for speaking out. In his own case he asked that telegrams and letters from groups and individuals be sent to Fort Dix protesting the attack on his rights.

Contributions to aid in the mounting of an effective defense can be sent to the Provisional Committee to Defend Sp/4 Allen Myers, care of Howard Petrick, 414 East 9th Street, New York, N. Y. 10009.

The Algiers Motel Incident

THE ALGIERS MOTEL INCIDENT. By John Hersey. Bantam Books, 1968, \$1.25.

Less than a half mile from the international headquarters of General Motors, in central Detroit, is the Desert Inn Motel, formerly called the Algiers, the scene of a brutal crime against black people in July, 1967.

Novelist John Hersey, who has not gone back to journalism since he wrote *Hiroshima*, has produced an account of what happened at that motel the night of July 25 which, like the Detroit uprising itself, will help demolish forever the myth of the "liberal" power structure of the urban North.

Hersey's book is the result of an in-depth investigation of the slaying of three black youths by police and national guardsmen on the third night of the uprising.

As in *Hiroshima*, Hersey uses primarily the words of the participants: the families and friends of the victims, on the one hand; and the cops and guardsmen—now free in our Great Society—on the other, to recreate the story of the "incident."

The Algiers Motel was the stopping point that night for the main black characters in the drama, when the danger of "snipers," or in other words, the trigger-itchy gun-slingers from the national guard and police swarming the area, made it impossible for them to proceed home. A number of public buses had stopped near the motel, refusing to proceed further. Several black youths belonging to a singing group were going home when safety considerations caused them to pause for the night at the motel.

From what Hersey pieces together, the cops' assault on the motel was set off by the firing of a starter pistol by one of the victims. This pistol, firing blanks, could not have hurt anyone; yet that did not stop the armed forces from opening fire on the motel annex, killing Carl Cooper, one of the youths, in the process.

If cops had reported the murder and hauled away to jail all the other residents of the motel annex, this would have ended

the episode, as with so many other cases of police murder and blanket colonial injustice during the urban upheavals last summer.

But the murders, Cooper's and the two that followed, were reported by a relative of one of the victims. The relative was informed by one of the youths fortunate enough to survive the night of horror.

When the cops entered the motel annex, passing by Cooper's corpse, they lined up the guests, including two young women in their late teens, against the wall. Together with a black private cop and a warrant officer of the national guard, the Detroit cops then went up and down the line, beating the backs and heads of the group, and ripping off the clothing of the two girls.

The armed representatives of capitalist law and order then played a "game," as they later called it. They took several of the young men, one at a time, into a private room and forced them to lie on the floor. They shot their guns; then they emerged to tell these in the hall such things as, "That nigger didn't even kick." Aubrey Pollard, one of the youths, never emerged following this "game."

The selective genocide then entered its third phase. The surviving youths, half dressed and without shoes, were ordered to leave the motel immediately, holding their hands above their heads. Fred Temple asked if he could get some of his clothes. His friends left before him, followed by the police. They never saw Temple alive again.

The case against all but one of the cops was dropped, since before the confession, they had not been informed of their right to consult a lawyer! (The court ruled that they had not been informed of a right which they are supposed to tell every person they, as cops, arrest!)

The case now rests with the federal government; the murderers are charged with "conspiracy" to deny the deceased their civil rights. They would, of course, receive lighter sentences on this charge than on a murder conviction.

—Jan Garrett

Speaking tour organized for European socialist

The national office of the Young Socialist Alliance announced Aug. 27 that Gisela Mandel, a student active in the formation of the German Socialist Students Federation (SDS) and a friend of Rudi Dutschke's would tour the U.S. and Canada this fall under the auspices of the YSA and in Canada of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Gisela Mandel will be speaking at more than 28 cities in the U.S. and Canada during her two month stay in September and October. She will speak on the European Student Movement, East and West, a subject that she has followed closely during recent years. In addition to her experiences in the German SDS, she knows

many of the leaders of the other radical youth organizations in Europe, and has participated in many of the demonstrations and conferences that have marked the rising tide of radicalism among European youth. She was an eyewitness of the famous battle of the barricades between the Sorbonne students and police in Paris on the night of May 10-11 and wrote a stirring account of it which has been printed throughout the world.

Gisela Mandel has an M.A. degree in philosophy and sociology from Hamburg University in Germany. She has visited Cuba twice, lectured on Cuba at four West German universities; and written an introduction to the German edition of Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman's *Anatomy of a Revolution*. She has conducted sociological studies in India and has written extensively on that country.



Gisela Mandel

Chicago transit unionists resist picketing injunction

By Dick Roberts

CHICAGO—A militant overflow rally of some 600 members of the Concerned Transit Workers was held Aug. 27 in response to injunctions mailed to all its members ordering them to cease their picketing and end the transit strike which has shut down over 70 percent of all bus service in Chicago. The CTW is a predominately black caucus within Local 241 of the United Transit Workers Union. The strike is being maintained despite opposition from the predominantly white officials of the union.

The major portion of the meeting was devoted to plans for redoubling the picket lines to shut down the remaining bus barns, and to suggestions about what to do with the newly received injunctions. Some of the more popular suggestions were to hold a "burn-in" with them and to "take them home and use them for toilet tissue."

A leader of the rank-and-file caucus told the meeting that a mailed injunction had no more authority than a mail circular and "should be treated as you treat other trash mail." The injunction was then demonstratively torn up, to the cheers and applause of the gathered bus drivers.

Following the meeting, the Concerned Transit Workers dispersed to the various bus barns throughout Chicago to renew their picket lines. The picket line at the bus barn located at Diversey and Clark received enthusiastic support from some 600 young people and students who joined the line following a "Free Huey Newton" rally in a nearby park. During that rally, Brian Heron, a Peace and Freedom Party spokesman, and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, explained the significance of the strike and

urged the audience to support the Concerned Transit Workers and join the picket line.

The CTW is fighting to press conservative official leadership into demanding real union representation for Chicago bus drivers. Although the majority of the present drivers are black, the present union officers are 100 percent white and 84 percent of the executive committee is white. The present leadership, headed by James K. Hill, maintains control of the union through the votes of the large, almost solidly white body of retired drivers, who are allowed to vote in local union elections.

There is a deep feeling among the working drivers, both white and black, that Hill's leadership enjoys a sweetheart relationship with the Chicago Transit Authority. As evidence of this, they point to the unsafe and unclean equipment, three-piece work schedules on week nights, lack of regular procedures for the handling of customer complaints, and irregular handling of finances. Bad conditions have spurred the organization of the Concerned Transit Workers of Chicago and forced them to strike for the second time in two months.

The strike, taking place in the midst of the Democratic Party convention, is under considerable pressure not only from the official union leadership and Mayor Daley as well. However, the strike has solid support within the black community and growing support among students and young workers. One evidence of this was the picketing of the official union headquarters Aug. 27 by the North Side Committee to Support the Transit Workers.

... Castro's Czech stand

(Continued from page 7)
reacratism and privilege were being threatened by the Czech people. It feared the extension of such an antibureaucratic process into the USSR.

That is why Fidel has so little to point to in support of his assertion that the development in Czechoslovakia was in fact counterrevolutionary.

Cogent criticism can certainly be made of the so-called economic reform programs that have developed in the Soviet bloc. They constitute an admission of the terrible limitations of bureaucratic centralism in developing a balanced economy with an adequate supply of decent quality consumer goods. Such plans represent an effort to avoid the only basic solution—the establishment of workers' democracy and national planning based on workers' control of production.

But as much as such plans may borrow from capitalist methods, they do not mean that the economy as a whole has relapsed to a capitalist structure. They are not based on the private ownership of the means of production.

What moved the Kremlin was not Dubcek's economic theories or methods but his political concessions to the mass demand for democratization.

And certainly there is nothing procapitalist in the popular movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia. True, there are procapitalist elements in the country. But no one has offered a shred of evidence that they constitute a significant force, still less an actual beachhead for imperialism.

The most that Fidel can say on this point is that in resisting the Kremlin occupation, as he recognized they will, the Czech masses will, regrettably, find themselves on the same side as the counterrevolutionaries. This is a thoroughly false notion. It is like saying that the Cubans in offering revolutionary opposition to the Kremlin's reformist policy of "peaceful coexistence" find themselves in the company of the capitalist elements who oppose peaceful coexistence from the right.

Vanguard party

And it is equally fallacious to talk of efforts to scrap the Leninist concept of the vanguard role of the party. That concept was scrapped by the Stalinists who made the Communist parties instruments not of the masses but of the self-seeking bureaucratic strata. Indeed, a key problem in these countries is the development of

authentic Leninist parties that can truly play such a vanguard role.

Nor is there any basis for characterizing the Czech demand for freedom of the press as "bourgeois." This fact that the capitalists claim—with ever less basis—to uphold freedom of the press does not mean that workers states should reject press freedom. On the contrary, they should expose the hypocrisy of the capitalists and provide living examples of a truly free press.

Several years ago, discussing the role of the artist in Cuba, Fidel outlined a policy summed up in the declaration, "Against the revolution, nothing. Within the revolution, everything." Why should not this concept apply to the workers' press? And, so far as the counterrevolutionaries are concerned, any perspective they may have of capitalist restoration is hardly based on the hope of ideological persuasion.

Seeking to get the Moscow and Prague bureaucrats off their backs and to assert their right to a voice in their own destiny, the Czech workers and students have justifiably demanded an end to censorship, a free exchange of political views and the right of groupings with differing views to publicly present them. Such demands go in a revolutionary direction. It is Moscow's resistance to them that is counterrevolutionary.

Moreover, if the Kremlin should succeed in crushing the Czech movement for socialist democracy it would strengthen its hand in trying to curb revolutionary forces elsewhere. The pressure that revolutionary Cuba is already being subjected to by Moscow would only increase.

Cuba not only has a moral obligation to support the Czech struggle against the Kremlin counterrevolutionaries. Its own self-interest demands it.

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

LEON TROTSKY: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. A discussion of Trotsky's thought in the light of recent events in France and Czechoslovakia. Speakers: Milton Alvin, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; Peer Vinther, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Sept. 6, 8:30 p.m., 1702 East Fourth St. Donation. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. Speaker: Charles Scheer. Saturday, Sept. 7, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Hall 240. Aisp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

ERNEST MANDEL, prominent Marxist economist and editor of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche*, will address the Socialist Scholars Conference Fri., Sept. 6, at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. Transportation will be provided from the Militant Labor Forum, 873 B'way, near 18th St. For more information, call 982-6279. There will be no meeting of the Militant Labor Forum Fri., Sept. 6.

MURDER IN MEMPHIS

Martin Luther King and the Future of the Black Liberation Struggle

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

25¢

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Interview with L.A. Panther leader

By Elizabeth Barnes and Jon Britton

On Aug. 5, three leaders of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party were murdered by Los Angeles cops. On Aug. 11, three more black people were shot and killed in Los Angeles, this time by cops who attacked a crowd after the annual Watts festival.

In the following interview, Shermont Banks, area captain of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, tells about these shootings and about the activities and ideology of the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles.

Q. First, could you describe what happened Aug. 5?

A. Three Black Panther members, Captain Stephen Bartholomew, Lieutenant Tommy Lewis and Section Leader Robert Lawrence, were murdered in a police ambush. The police department takes the position that the police were attacked. But the facts show that all that occurred Aug. 5 was a defense against the racist attack of the police department.

The attack occurred after Captain Stephen Bartholomew and three others pulled into a service station. After putting some water in the radiator, Captain Bartholomew walked over to the gas station attendant and talked with him about something that was wrong with the car.

While he was doing this, the police pulled up behind the car, and two officers jumped out of the police car, one with a riot-20 shotgun and the other with his service revolver drawn. One cop told Anthony Bartholomew [Stephen Bartholomew's brother] to get out of the car and put his hands on the car.

Then, the other two individuals in the car were told to get out. As Robert Lawrence came out, the police officer opened up with a shotgun and cut him down. Then the other officer turned and fired, and Little Tommy [Tommy Lewis] had no alternative but to defend himself and come out shooting.

Anthony Bartholomew then started to run from the scene, and his brother started waving his hands at the cops and shouting, "Don't shoot my brother." An officer then shot Stephen in the mouth, killing him instantly. The cop continued to fire into Stephen's head, and this accounts for all the gunshot wounds that were found.

As I said, Lt. Tommy Lewis had no alternative but to defend himself. He was shot from behind by two special police officers. But, after he was shot, he was still alive, and the police handcuffed and



PANTHER FUNERAL. Members of Los Angeles Black Panther Party funeral guard at Aug. 10 funeral of Thomas Lewis, one of three Panthers murdered by police.

kicked him while he was lying there. The ambulance came, but they didn't give medical attention to the three black men who had been shot. They took Tommy to the hospital and put him in a room where they checked on him from time to time. They came in once and asked, "Nigger, how come you're not dead?" The last time they came in, they asked his name. He said, "Tommy Lewis," and then he died.

Tommy Lewis could have survived if he had received proper medical attention.

Q. Are there any plans to protest this?

A. We have one plan to decentralize the authority of the police department. We are circulating a petition directed at breaking up the black community into different sections, with each section having its own separate police district. Each district will elect a board which will have the power to deal with police brutality, hiring, and so forth. These boards will make the decisions, so that the power will be put into the hands of the people.

Q. Are you planning to run any Black Panther candidates in the black community in Los Angeles?

A. It is our intention to run candidates in the future because there are black politicians in Los Angeles that don't relate to the needs of black people. They are more committed to the system and their salaries than to black people. So it is necessary for Black Panther Party candidates to run against these so-called black politicians in order to educate people.

The Black Panther Party does not run candidates to acquire positions. When Huey

P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Kathleen Cleaver and Eldridge Cleaver run for political office, it is because it is an arena for articulating the grievances of black people.

Q. How do you bring new members into the Black Panther Party; do you have classes for them?

A. A revolutionary party has to have a revolutionary ideology. You can't expect people when they join an organization to know exactly what it's all about, so we have what we call political education classes to explain the rules of the party, the 10-point program, and the general direction in which the party is going.

Q. What is the relationship between the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party?

A. Based on the coalition we have with the Peace and Freedom Party, we believe that whites should work in the white community and blacks should work in the black community. We have plans for registering people for Peace and Freedom in the black community so that they can vote for Eldridge Cleaver in November.

The white radicals must be educated as to the position they must take in the revolution. The Black Panther Party has completely withdrawn from this system, but what has happened is that there are still many whites within the Peace and Freedom Party that don't want to take the initiative to change this system. They maintain a dual status. They still have interests within the system, while at the same time they are trying to relate to the black liberation struggle.

We find that many times students can go into revolutionary theory, they can intellectualize the struggle, but it is hard for them to put their theories into practice. And you will often find a person who has never been to college but who has experienced racism, and will be able to act against it.

There are also many black organizations that have joined the struggle, have made demands, but which haven't been able to take action to get their demands met. We are saying that when you make a demand, you must be able to deal the power structure political consequences in order to get action on it. You must be able to use the power of destruction. Private property is what this country is built upon, so when private property is destroyed, this system will fall apart.

Q. What was the reaction in the black community to the shootings at the Watts festival?

A. The people who were around the scene were really up-tight about the approach which the police took toward the crowd and the lack of attention given to the black people who were shot. The cops pulled their guns, braced themselves on the cars, and aimed at the crowd.

The police are like an occupying army coming into the community. Black people must be allowed to have power in their communities, and we say that the police must be withdrawn. You can relate this point to the Vietnamese struggle. We side with the Vietnamese against American imperialism. We are saying to black people that the Vietnamese are trying to take control of the institutions within their community, and this is what has to take place in racist America.

For example, in Beverly Hills—black people own nothing out there, it is controlled by whites. And when you come into the black community, black people still own and control nothing. A lot of politicians are relating to this by saying black people should own black businesses. We think this may be good, but we are pointing out that black people who own businesses still have to rely on the white establishment to supply them.

Q. Do you agree with Eldridge Cleaver that the big businesses in this country should be expropriated?

A. What happens with big businesses like Du Pont and Standard Oil is that competition between them becomes so heated that they try to reduce the salaries of the workers and use the money to develop foreign markets where they can make more profits. Control of these businesses must thus be turned over to the people so they can benefit everyone, including the unemployed and the underpaid. So, in this country, like in Sweden, which has a socialist system where everyone shares the wealth, there must be an alternative to capitalism.

Q. What is the attitude of the Black Panther Party toward Cuba?

A. Cuba had a revolution and so we support them. We side with them against America because of the actual aggression which the U.S. has perpetrated against them. The Cubans, like the Vietnamese, are fighting to control their own communities.

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

The Great Society

THE NON-TICKET—It's not that we think the Communist Party is trying to con people with their pretense of running a presidential ticket, but we were interested in a letter sent out by the Minnesota CP along with nominating petitions to put the ticket on the state ballot. The letter, according to the Aug. 9 *Minneapolis Tribune*, explained: "We will not compete for votes with other presidential tickets which represent the voice and needs of the people's movements—such as McCarthy or New Politics tickets, or Peace and Freedom tickets, where they appear. We will urge votes for these alternatives, not for us, this year."

OUR EXPANDING ECONOMY—Within 20 years the manufacture, implanting and servicing of artificial hearts will be the nation's second biggest industry, exceeded only by autos, according to Dr. Donald Harrison, a Stanford U heart specialist. And, who knows, with a new model each year, the heart salesmen might even outstrip the car dealers.

PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS—In our apartment in the morning, we peer out the window at the factory wall in back and then call the telephone weather service to find out if it's raining. Other people have bigger problems. Like the tenants in the luxury apartments atop the New Jersey Palisades who are blinded by the sun pouring through their glass walls. Some have taken to wearing sun glasses in the living room. (Who's going to pay for a glass wall only to pull down the shades?) Then they realized the sun fades the carpeting. The solution? A plastic spray to tint the glass. Only \$210.

BALD-EAR PROGRAM—The Mickey Mouse cops at Disneyland are screening out long-haired customers at the gate. A long-haired entertainer will make it in, a head cop advised, provided he's "able to comb his hair behind his ears." Cops, we understand, comb their hair behind their ears on the theory that it keeps your brains from falling out.

THAT'S WHO HE IS—Spiro Agnew is governor of a state that has the criminal element on the run. After a two-year investigation the Maryland department of game and inland fish smashed a ring which specialized in obtaining protected game and songbirds for sale as stuffed ornaments. At least three bald eagles suffered this fate along with assorted hummingbirds, cardinals, etc.

IT FIGURES—Air Force investigators have found a reasonable explanation why eight of those new \$6-million T-111 fighter bombers have crashed. The problem was a defective six-inch rod end-assembly subcontracted to Bendix by General Dynamics. Originally made in a single piece, the assembly cost \$100. By making it in two pieces the cost was cut to \$50. Although more economical the new assembly tends to snap at high speeds. They're being replaced and the government is negotiating with the two companies as to who should pay for this. Clearly, the taxpayers. Otherwise we'd be penalizing initiative.

STIFF COMPETITION—Rev. Robert Omana of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in Ontario, Canada, is discouraging miniskirts at mass. Women who wear them, he explained, are "robbing attention from God."

— Harry Ring

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory four-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$3.)

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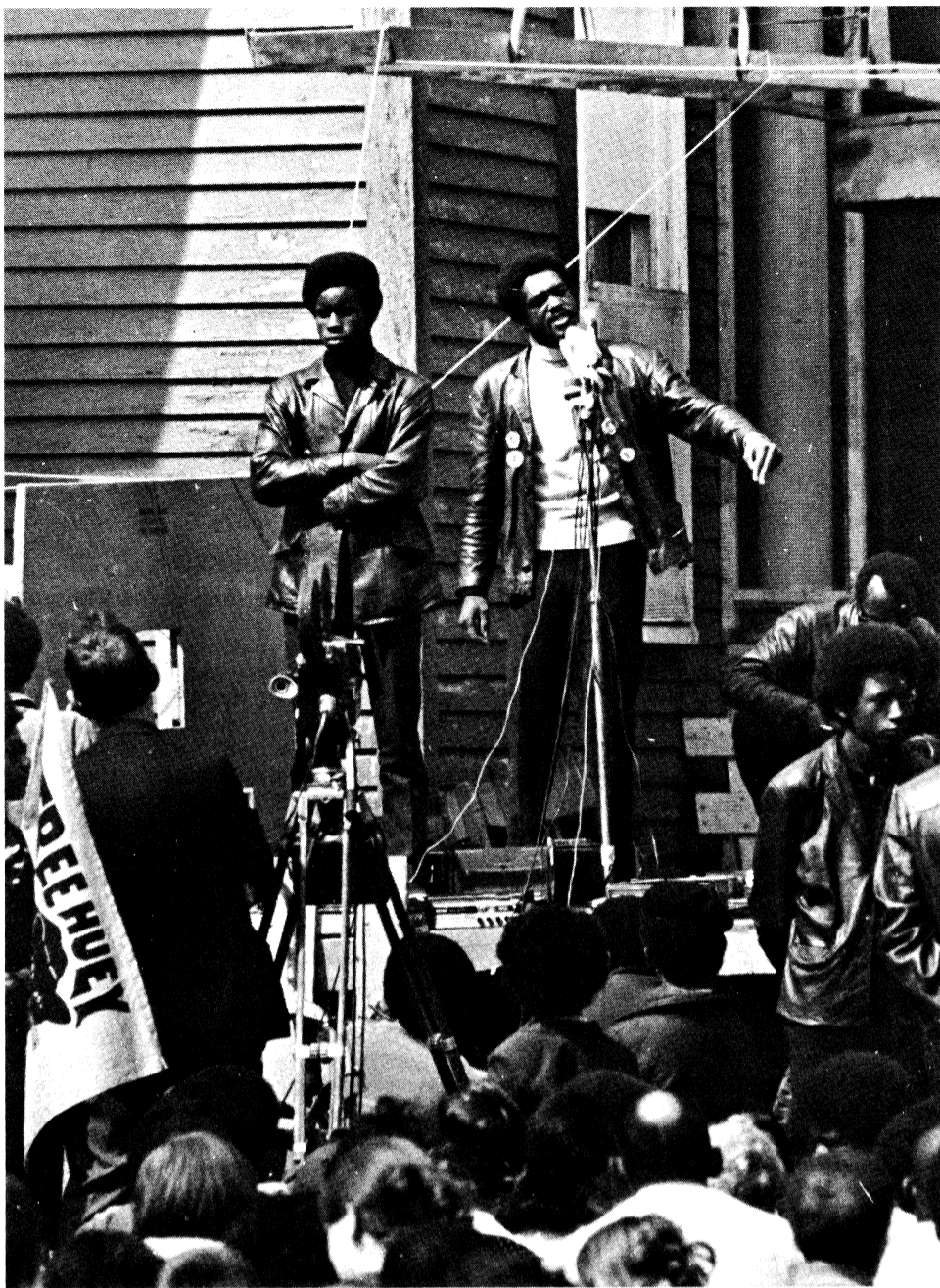


Photo by Ron Alexander

Panther leader Bobby Seale at Oakland rally

Oakland rally: "Free Newton!"

OAKLAND, Calif. — Four thousand people gathered here in Bobby Hutton Memorial Park Aug. 25 for a Black Panther Party rally to free Huey P. Newton. It was the largest rally for Newton held here thus far.

Speakers included Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther minister of information, Milton Chee of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Stokely Carmichael, prime minister of the Black Panther Party.

After the rally, spectators watched approximately 240 local area members of the Black Panther Party execute an impressive military drill on the tennis court at the park.

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Black Panther Party held a "Free Huey" rally Aug. 24 in Will Rogers Park, where three black people were killed after the Watts Festival two weeks ago.

Despite short notice, a crowd of 800 persons turned out. Shermont Banks, Los Angeles Black Panther captain, introduced the list of speakers, which included Stokely Carmichael, prime minister of the Black Panther Party; Ed Davis of the New York African Freedom Movement; Chico Nesbitt of the Boston Black Panthers; Hakim Jamal

of the Malcolm X Foundation and David Sanchez, prime minister of the Brown Berets.

Stokely Carmichael spoke at length to the crowd, which was made up mainly of black youth. He stressed the need for a "political ideology to bind us together in the war ahead" and presented his definitions of terms such as racism, imperialism, capitalism and revolution.

"The basic problem today is racism and imperialism," he said. "Blacks cannot be for capitalism. . . black capitalism should not be supported by black people, and it cannot function in our community."

Carmichael cautioned against what he referred to as throwing around the term "black revolution" too loosely. "A revolution begins when a certain faction begins to seize power and brings a total change in the economic system," he asserted.

Solidarizing the Panthers with "comrades in arms" in Vietnam, Carmichael said that "The Vietnamese have been fighting for over 25 years. . . We will fight a long hard struggle and it will not be easy."

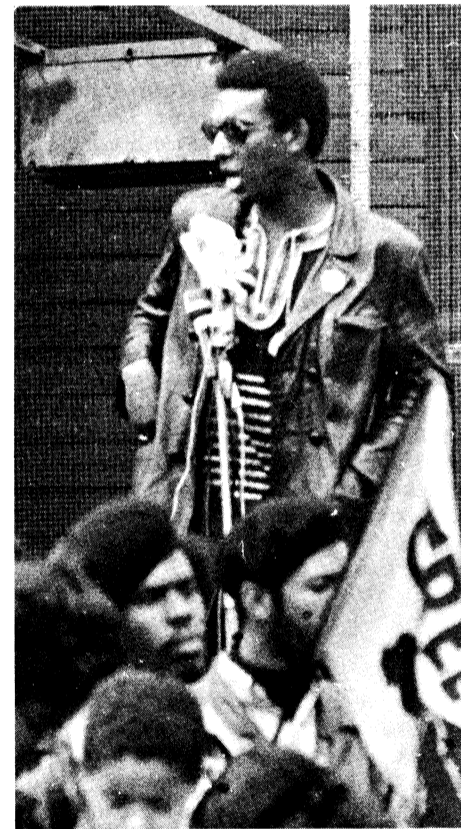
Carmichael emphasized the need for education in preparation for the struggle and pointed out that it is important for people to read *Malcolm X Speaks*. "Too many just read the autobiography," he commented.

Cleaver barred from Calif. ballot

SAN FRANCISCO—The California Secretary of State announced Aug. 21 that he would refuse to put Eldridge Cleaver's name on the ballot as the Peace and Freedom Party's presidential candidate. He gave the lame excuse that Cleaver is not yet 35, the age required by the U. S. Constitution for anyone who holds the office of President.

Robert Himmel, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 6th congressional district of California, issued the following statement: "This is another attempt by the twin ruling parties, the Democrats and Republicans, to maintain their electoral monopoly in California. These two parties are responsible for the laws that make California one of the most difficult states in the country for small parties to get on the ballot.

"The Socialist Workers Party supports the elementary democratic right of any political party to contest for the votes of the people, and we pledge to aid the Peace and Freedom Party in any effort to establish this democratic right."



Stokely Carmichael

Rally in Chicago condemns Calif. frame-up of Black Panther leader

By Tony Thomas

CHICAGO, Aug. 27—A large rally to free Huey P. Newton was held here today in Lincoln Park. Over 3,000 antiwar activists and black militants who had assembled in Lincoln Park heard Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party; Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate; Jerry Rubin of the Yippies; and two representatives of the Peace and Freedom Party speak about the Black Panther Party and the need to defend Huey Newton.

Bobby Seale went over the Black Panther Party 10-point program for black control of the black community. He stressed the need for black people to defend themselves with arms against "pig oppression" and called for massive defense efforts for Huey Newton.

Paul Boutelle discussed the importance of defending Huey Newton to defeat the capitalists' attempts to smash the Black Panthers. Boutelle stated that the Black Panther Party had combined an understanding of the need for armed self-defense with an understanding of the need for a black political party to lead the black liberation struggle.



Paul Boutelle

. . . Huey Newton trial

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briefly to Donald Hopkins, who testified during the current trial to seeing Newton there, had a drink, and then left around 10 p.m.

Newton then went to the Congregational Church, where there was a party going on. It was here that Newton met Gene McKinney, who last week testified that he was with Newton on the morning of the shooting.

Newton stated that McKinney then accompanied him to a second party at 37th and San Pablo in Oakland, where they danced and played cards until around 4 o'clock in the morning. After the second party broke up, McKinney suggested that he and Newton go and get something to eat.

They drove to the area of Seventh and Willow streets, and it was there they were stopped by Officer Frey. Newton testified that Frey came up to his car and said, "Well, well. What do we have? The great Huey P. Newton." At this point, a second police officer, Herbert Heanes, also arrived on the scene.

Frey ordered Newton out of the car and searched him in a very "humiliating" fashion. Frey pushed Newton to the back of the two patrol cars, where Newton opened a law book which he had with him (Newton was studying law at the time) and said to Frey, "You have no reasonable grounds to arrest me." Newton testified that Frey responded, "You can take that law book and stick it up your ass, nigger."

How shooting took place

Then, according to Newton, "He gave me a straight arm and shoved me in the face." Newton fell down on one knee, and as he was getting up he saw Frey draw his gun. Newton stated that he "heard a shot or a volley of shots" and that "things were spinning." After this he remembered nothing until he reached Kaiser hospital. Newton further testified that he was never told that he was under arrest by either Frey or Heanes.

After Garry finished his direct examination of Newton, District Attorney Lowell Jensen began his questioning. But despite constant prodding, Jensen was unable to shake Newton's story or disrupt Newton's

calm, deliberate explanation of the events.

After Newton left the stand, Garry called Herman Blake, a black sociologist from the University of California, to the stand. Blake was asked to define certain terms which had come up in the trial and explain what meaning they have in the black community in Alameda County.

One of these was "TCB" or "Take care of business." This has been used extensively in Black Panther literature. The prosecution had made a point of this and claimed that the term meant that Panthers should "execute racist cops." Blake explained that this term has a "wide variety" of meanings and that it in no way necessarily indicated violence. In addition, Blake testified to the meanings of such terms as "black liberation movement," "oppression," and "bootlicker."

The final defense witness was a psychiatrist, Dr. Bernard Diamond. He was asked, in connection with the testimony of Henry Grier, the bus driver who "positively identified" Newton and who gave a story to police immediately after the events which contradicted the one he gave 10 months later in the courtroom, "Is a person's memory better immediately after the event or 10 months later?" To this Dr. Diamond replied, "It is almost always better immediately after."

Dr. Diamond, who had been in the Army medical corps during World War II and who had treated many gunshot wounds, also testified that Newton's description of his perceptions after he was shot were "fully compatible with a penetrating gunshot wound in the abdomen."

After the defense rested, there was brief testimony from a number of rebuttal witnesses for the prosecution and the defense, and then the defense moved for an acquittal. Garry stated that there was "not one scintilla" of evidence to support the idea that there was "malice or premeditation," and therefore the charges should be thrown out. The motion was denied by Judge Friedman.

When the trial resumes after the Labor Day weekend, the summations will be made by both sides, and the case will be turned over to the five men and seven women on the jury.