

Berkeley students fight rights curb

THE MILITANT

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LIBERATION FIGHTER. As we went to press jury was still out in frameup murder trial of Oakland Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton. For earlier story see page 12.

SMC sets antiwar action

By Harry Ring

CHICAGO—A conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam held here over Labor Day weekend mapped plans for a week of antiwar activities beginning Oct. 21 and culminating in massive actions across the country Oct. 26. The actions would coincide with international demonstrations called for by major Japanese and British antiwar forces.

A coalition of campus antiwar groups and individuals, the SMC's conference was attended by nearly 300 young people with representation from virtually all parts of the country.

Celia Stodola, chairman of the Antioch SMC, and Russell Block, past chairman of the Indiana University SMC, chaired the two sessions of the conference.

A central focus of the national mobilization will be to strengthen the ties between the antiwar movement and the GIs, among whom antiwar sentiment is increasing at a steady pace.

The proposal for the fall action was made on behalf of the SMC Working Committee by Howard Petrick, the ex-GI fighting an

undesirable discharge from the Army for his antiwar, socialist views.

High point of the conference was an all-afternoon discussion on GIs and the antiwar movement led by a panel of active duty servicemen and veterans. (See story page 4.)

The conference decided to support Sp/4 Allen Myers, who faces a threatened court-martial at Fort Dix, N.J., for distributing SMC leaflets to fellow GIs at the base.

A declaration of support was also issued on behalf of the black GIs victimized at Fort Hood, Tex., for reportedly refusing riot duty in Chicago.

Coming on the heels of the Democratic convention, the SMC parley opened with a first-hand report of the events surrounding the convention. The report was given by Tom Kozden, a member of the SMC staff who, until his graduation this spring, was active in the High School Student Mobilization Committee. He had half-a dozen stitches in his head from a police night stick. His account of the running battles with Daley's cops was supplemented from the floor by others who had been

BERKELEY, Sept. 5—A meeting of more than 1,500 people voted here tonight to defy the unconstitutional ban on all demonstrations imposed here since Monday by calling for a mass picketline tomorrow at a Berkeley market in support of the boycott by striking farm workers of scab-picked table grapes. The meeting at the Community Theater vigorously denounced the illegal curfew in effect here, and the stepped-up police harassment of radical youth.

The "state of civil disaster" declared here Sept. 2 is a fraud utilized by the Berkeley city council to justify heightened police repression and the banning of all forms of democratic assembly.

When city manager William C. Hanley announced the action he said there had been "three days of continued violence, including sporadic gunfire, dynamiting of private property, the shooting of an officer and several arson attempts."

Hanley prohibited all assemblies, meetings, parades and the use of sound amplifiers on city streets or public property. He established a curfew from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. outlawing "loitering" on streets or other public places including the Berkeley campus.

There have been over 60 arrests since the bans were established.

But the truth of the matter is that the sum total of incidents seized by the city council for its "state of civil disaster" amounts to two: the wounding of a police officer following a peaceful demonstration Aug. 31; and an alleged explosion in an empty building the following day.

In neither case have the police, newspapers or anyone else identified who was involved in these incidents or for what reasons. The shooting early in the morning of Aug. 31 took place in the midst of a crowd of demonstrators being dispersed by the police. Five shots were supposed to have been fired.

In the case of the alleged bombing, no dynamite or any other kind of explosives has been found. The explosion might have been caused by a leak in a gas or water main. No incidents of arson have been reported in the press.

Lacking evidence to the contrary, it is just as likely the shooting and alleged bombing incidents were caused by police agents as anyone else. Berkeley movement activists oppose such irresponsible acts.

Nevertheless, these two incidents were seized upon by the city council to enforce totally antidemocratic and repressive police-state measures. The entire radical movement was blamed and its meetings outlawed on the basis of incidents probably cooked up by agents provocateurs. Here is the background of the events:

Since the June-July demonstrations, two months ago, when the Berkeley movement



Peter Camejo

won the right to hold demonstrations on Telegraph Ave., police have constantly harassed people in the area. Over 200 persons have been arrested on numerous phony charges ranging from "loitering" to "possession of marijuana." Telegraph Ave. is continuously under police surveillance.

On Friday night, Aug. 30, a rally was called for Telegraph and Haste, to support the people who were being victimized in Chicago. It was initiated by the Young Socialist Alliance, the Peace and Freedom Party, the Black Panther Party, Students for a Democratic Society, the Independent Socialist Clubs and other groups.

The demonstrators were informed by the police that they would not be harmed as long as there was no vandalism, al-

(Continued on page 12)

Our size has grown

Some months ago we decided that beginning in September we would expand **The Militant** from its regular eight pages to 12 pages and would maintain that size at least through the elections.

With all of the major events taking place here and abroad most of our issues since last spring have been "special" 12-pagers. Now, however, it's official and there will be 12 pages on a regular weekly basis.

To help defray the added cost it is necessary for us to increase the price of **The Militant**. With the next issue the price will be 15 cents a copy and \$4 for a yearly subscription.

With the expanded size we hope to give greater coverage to the flood of major events now taking place. We hope you will find this a significant improvement and look forward to your continued support.

in the demonstrations. A telegram was sent to Mayor Daley protesting the attacks on the demonstrators.

The conference listened with great interest to a report on the antiwar movement in Canada by Joe Young, chairman of the Canadian Students Association to End the War in Vietnam.

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French militants issue letter on Czechoslovakia

The following statement on the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia was issued by eight former members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) of France on their provisional release from prison Aug. 23. The JCR was banned by the de Gaulle government for its role in leading massive demonstrations in France this spring. The eight, including student leader Alain Krivine, are awaiting trial on a charge of "reconstituting" the JCR.

On leaving prison, we the undersigned consider it necessary to make our position clear in regard to Czechoslovakia at this time when an antisocialist campaign is developing in France and throughout the world.

We condemn the criminal aggression of Warsaw Pact troops against the people of Czechoslovakia. After usurping power in the USSR and eradicating workers democracy there, the Stalinist bureaucracy today finds itself confronted with a growing revolt among the workers and students against its repressive regime, against its regime which has broken with the Bolshevik tradition of Lenin and Trotsky and is only a caricature of socialism.

In the present phase of acute crisis in this system, the national bureaucracies have striven to channel the discontent of the masses into a nationalist and right-wing framework. Those most responsible for this state of affairs are to be found not in Prague or Belgrade but in Moscow. Fearing that the example of democratization in Czechoslovakia would spread to the USSR, the Soviet leaders have struck out to defend themselves.

In these circumstances, the undersigned fully support the heroic resistance of the people of Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet aggression has dealt a blow to the entire international workers movement. It has encouraged the imperialists to step up their aggressive policy throughout the world and especially in Vietnam. It has given ammunition to the French bourgeoisie which pretends to believe that the May movement wanted to establish a bureaucratic dictatorship in France, although the May revolutionists are in solidarity with the Czechoslovak workers as they were with the Polish students.

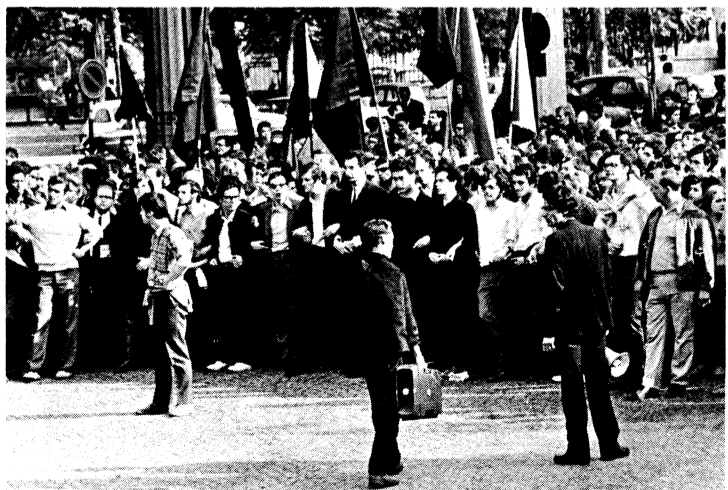
The socialism we want assumes total democracy for the workers and students. It is with this aspiration that tens of thousands of young people have entered into struggle today. The fact that in many capitals demonstrations of support for the Czechoslovak people have marched behind red flags to the tune of the "Internationale" testifies to this. But we will never add our voices to those who support Johnson and Franco.

We also reject the tactical position which the CP has adopted. This position does not demand withdrawal of the occupation troops and makes no move toward joint action by the Communist parties to achieve this end; it limits itself to Platonic disapproval.

[After the JCR leaders issued their statement, the Political Bureau of the French Communist party issued a press release declaring that they stood for the withdrawal of the troops—but without indicating how soon.]

Furthermore, militants who have supported the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions cannot accept the positions which the leaders of these revolutions have taken in regard to the Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia. Their positions show a lack of understanding of the essential roots of the conflict. This does not lessen our solidarity with these revolutions. But, as revolutionists, we consider it our duty to speak with complete frankness.

Alain Krivine, Pierre Rousset, Isaac Joshua, Pierrette Chenet, Gerard Prim, Claude Gac, Paul Hugues, Francois Carpentier.



DURING UPSURGE. Alain Krivine (at right with megaphone), French student leader, at head of June 1 demonstration in Paris against de Gaulle.

'Inhuman machine of America'

Antiwar airman

writes from stockade

Warwick, R. I.

I recently received a letter from a friend who is imprisoned in the stockade at Hamilton Air Force Base in California because he recently "resigned" from the American war machine. His conscience would not allow him to participate in the illegal and immoral Vietnam war. There was one portion of his letter which deeply moved me. He wrote:

"If enough of us stop allowing this inhuman machine of America the use of our bodies and minds for its ends, then eventually it will crumble in its corruption, and, hopefully, be replaced by a human, free, just, equal nonorganization of brothers; for that day this imprisonment doesn't seem a very great price at all."

It is for men who feel like this that we must also work to end the war, and end it NOW!

N. S.

'Monitor' on Trotsky

New York, N. Y.

I thought your readers might be interested in the following excerpts from an editorial entitled, "Brush up your Trotsky," that appeared in the July 25 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"What has brought the words 'Trotsky' and 'Trotskyism' back into the pages of our newspapers—both in the United States and in Europe? Trotskyite groups are involved in some of the student movements on American university campuses. And of the seven student organizations banned by the French authorities last month in the wake of the barricade battles in and around the Sorbonne, four were described in *Le Monde* as being 'Trotskyite.' Last week, the French police ran to earth and arrested the leader of perhaps the most important of these Trotskyite student organizations, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), whose name is Alain Krivine.

"According to the *Observer*, the London Sunday newspaper, Mr. Krivine is 'the man whom the French police consider most directly responsible for the insurrection last May.' Reportedly he is now being interrogated and will probably be brought to trial. It is he and the JCR—rather than Daniel Cohn-Bendit, now banned from reentering France—who are seen as the cool and calculating revolutionary influence behind the student uprising.

"To return to the question: Why this resurgence of the influence of Trotsky and Trotskyism? . . .

"Trotsky appeals to today's student leftists because they see in his teaching: (1) echoes both of their own romantic revolutionary ideas and of their assumption that a revolutionary elite, practicing revolution for revolution's sake, can illumine the path toward 'participatory democracy'—as they call it; and (2) a symbol of their challenging of the bureaucratic status quo which, in their view, has atrophied 'the system.'

"Indeed, those who want to understand more fully what is happening had better brush up their Trotsky."

R. H.

Infantile disorder

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Your main objection to the Peace and Freedom Party is that it does not have "a working-class, that is, a revolutionary program." Yet you would join an independent labor party. Would such a party have a revolutionary program? You really don't care to build anything except the SWP, and you are not very good at that.

The SWP is an infantile disorder.

R. E. J.

Subtle impact of

SWP campaign

Chicago, Ill.

A subtle impact of the Socialist Workers campaign for Fred Halstead is evident.

The democratic convention was held at the amphitheater on Halsted St.

In a number of movement publications appearing here during the demonstration, there were maps of Chicago. A number unconsciously misspelled it "Halstead" St.

D. W.

Antiwar greeting

for Gen. Thieu

West Nyack, N. Y.

I thought you might find the following article of interest; it appeared in the Aug. 20 *Rockland (N.Y.) Journal-News*:

"SAIGON (AP)—South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu said today he plans to visit the United States between the U. S. presidential election and the end of the year. The visit would answer a long standing invitation from President Johnson. Thieu has postponed the trip twice.

"I will go after the election and before the next President takes his office in January," Thieu said."

The demonstration timetable is already becoming apparent: the now-planned October demonstrations; Thieu's visit, and the inauguration in January of the next President, whoever he may be.

E. R. S. Jr.

Sex education?

Detroit, Mich.

I have just learned that although it has been required by state law since 1949 that Michigan public

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.

schools give their students sex education, it is illegal for teachers to use the phrase "birth control" in written or spoken form in classes. No textbook that uses that phrase can be used in public schools.

N. L.

Militant is 'the best'

Stockholm, Sweden

The Militant is the best newspaper that I have ever read. It keeps me informed on the major issues of our time.

J. L. H.

Doesn't disagree. . .

New York, N. Y.

It isn't that I disagree with what I read in *The Militant*, it's just that I'm not interested.

I still believe that the only good government is no government at all.

Any government, by its very nature, no matter how benevolent it may be in the beginning, ends up by being repressive.

I suppose Soviet Russia's armed intervention in the affairs of another country is for the people's own good—50 years after the great socialist experiment.

B. C.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, 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,

Interview with Seattle Panther

By Debbie Leonard

Following is an interview with Curtis Harris, Black Panther Party candidate for the state legislature in the 37th district in Seattle, Wash. Debbie Leonard is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate in Washington.

Debbie Leonard. How is the campaign going?

Curtis Harris. It's going relatively good. We need more support.

Q. What are the main demands that you're making in the Black Panther campaign?

A. We have our 10-point program, our national program, which we're going to be working on. But we also have 10 points that we're going to work on that relate to the community, to the 37th district in Seattle. We want to redistrict the community. We are working on the police department—on such things as the bail-bond system and the structure of the police department.

We're going to work on prices in stores within the community which have been exploiting people for some 50 years—as long as black people have been in Seattle. We're going to demand better meat, vegetables, and everything else. We're going to work on rents because the rents that black people pay in the community now don't fit their wages. A two-bedroom apartment is \$165, and most black people don't clear \$200 every two weeks. And we're going to work on a number of other things as well.

Q. The 37th district, which includes the black community, is 60 percent white. Is the point of redistricting to enable black people to control their own community?

A. Right. If we can divide it into A and B sections, black people can elect the representatives that they want to elect. It would be much simpler than the system

we have now, where 10 to 15 people are running and dividing the black vote, which is only 40 percent of the 37th district.

Q. Why is the Black Panther Party running an election campaign?

A. We are a political party, and we believe that to get black control, black power, it either has to come through politics or the barrel of a gun. And that's the reason we're running candidates.

Q. This is the first time an independent black political party will be on the ballot in Washington, and to my knowledge this is the only place in the country where the Black Panther Party is running in its own name. What do you see as the significance of this?

A. I think it's a broad step for black people in general because, as you said, it is the first black political party, and I think it gives more opportunity for black people to advance themselves in politics and other necessary areas. In other words, instead of having black candidates from different parties representing the people, a black political party would make it easier for a black man to be President.

Q. What kind of support are you getting from the black community?

A. Well, it's just like selling, when you're selling some goods that people don't know about. It's kind of hard to relate to some black people who have been living under this system. It's like Brother Malcolm said—the system has been stealing their souls from them and also stealing their heritage and culture. It's hard to relate to them and make them realize that they can go over to Vietnam and spill blood—they spilled blood in the Korean war, they spilled blood in World Wars I and II—but when a white man goes and bombs a church, as Brother Malcolm says, and kills a few black kids, they're scared to spill some blood. The community must realize that a revolution is going to take place. I don't think there's any way of getting black control unless it's through a revolution.

Q. Is most of your support coming from the young blacks in the community?

A. Well, the party itself is fairly young, but a lot of the support is coming from either older black people or white people that are concerned about the problem, white revolutionaries that are concerned about the problem.

Q. In light of the Democratic Party convention in Chicago, do you think there's any hope for black people in the Democratic Party?

A. I think the only hope for black people is in the Black Panther Party.

Q. What does the Black Panther Party expect to gain from the campaign?

A. If we lose, we're still going to carry out our 10-point program and the 10 local demands that I am raising during the election campaign. We are still going to carry these out. We are still going to operate like we have been operating, but a little bit stronger and more active and with more force behind the issues, because we figure that black people in other parties who may be elected are going to have to

for the campaign. He emphasized the need for a national, independent, black political party and stressed the potential power of unified, independent, black political action.

At a forum sponsored by the Negro Voters League, Brisker and Harris confronted Washington state's Governor Dan Evans and nine other white and black Democratic and Republican candidates running in the 37th district. The *Seattle Times* had to admit "the biggest response was for the two members of the Black Panther Party."

Lines were sharply drawn as Harris lashed out at institutionalized racism and the Seattle police force in questioning the governor. Harris called for black unity and for support for the state's first black ticket, the independent Black Panther Party, because the Democratic and Republican parties have failed the black man. He was interrupted several times by applause when he made it clear that he would bring about the changes proposed in his platform whether he was elected or not.



SOLEMN TRIBUTE. Members of the Black Panther Party line up in formation outside funeral of Henry Boyer, 17, founding member of the Seattle Black Panther Party, who died Aug. 23 as a result of gunshot accident.

work within the system. If they work within the system, they are not needed in the 37th district.

Q. So you see one of the primary goals of the campaign to be educational—getting your ideas out and reaching the community and involving them in politics?

A. Yes, that's one of our goals. But our main goal is getting elected so we can have representatives that the people can look to, who have militant ideas instead of those bourgeois-system ideas, as I call them—I don't know what you would call them.

GI revolts hit Viet stockades



Fred Halstead at Long Binh

Photo by Barry Sheppard

The prisoner revolt at the U.S. Army stockade in Long Binh Aug. 27 was the second revolt of jailed American soldiers in Vietnam in two weeks. Long Binh stockade is the largest Army prison in Vietnam. The earlier revolt occurred at the Danang stockade Aug. 16.

In the early morning uprising at Long Binh, one inmate was killed and 59 others injured. Four guards and the acting prison warden were also hurt in the half-hour melee. Ten buildings in the stockade were burned, including the large wooden mess hall, which was burned to the ground.

Military spokesmen have been reluctant to give the prisoners' side of the story. In the first releases they admitted that the stockade, which has a capacity for 550 prisoners, actually contained over 700.

"A key cause of the uproar," according to *New York Times* reporter Bernard Weinraub, "was friction between Negro and white prisoners. There are also allegations and reports of anger at guards for mistreatment, homosexuality and poor conditions in the stockade."

Militant editor Barry Sheppard and Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Fred Halstead visited the Long Binh base Aug. 17, 10 days before the stockade revolt. A GI that worked in the stockade told them that conditions were so bad he was afraid to tell them about it—since he might end up in the stockade himself!

Sheppard reported there was widespread sentiment among soldiers at Long Binh

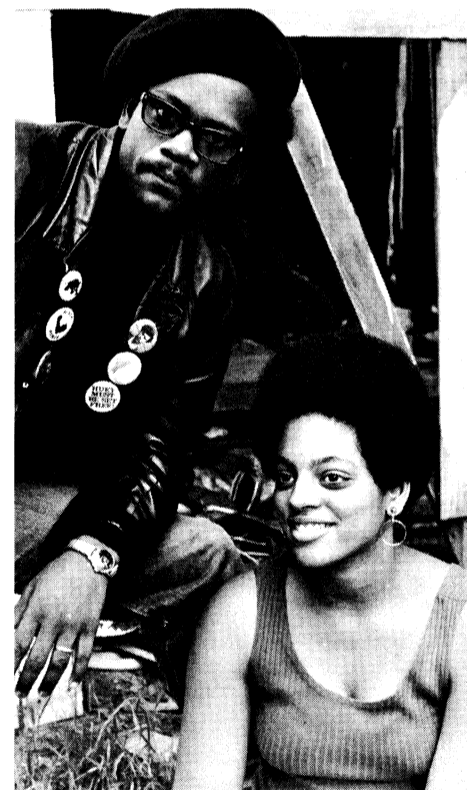
against the war. Many wanted to get out now.

"I suppose all GIs in all wars have complaints like we have been telling you," one GI said, "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 soldier added.

What Militant reporter was told at Long Binh

"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 we say something the colonel doesn't like—bang, we're in the stockade!' (Barry Sheppard, writing from Long Binh, South Vietnam, in the Sept. 6 Militant.)



Curtis and Joanne Harris

Seattle Panthers to convene state nominating convention

SEATTLE—On Sept. 17, the Seattle Black Panther Party will hold a statewide nominating convention to put Washington's first independent black political party on the ballot. The convention will be held at the Sorrento Hotel, at Terry and Madison, in Seattle. (For information, call the Black Panther Party at EA 3-6280.)

Local Black Panther Party candidates E. J. Brisker and Curtis Harris are running for the state legislature from the 37th district. As the convention date draws closer, the Panthers are stepping up their campaign activity and utilizing many avenues to bring their national 10-point program and local demands to the black community.

For example, a Seattle jazz night spot, the Penthouse, recently gave a benefit for the Panthers. The capacity crowd of over 300 assured the resounding financial success of the evening. During set break, E. J. Brisker took the opportunity to outline the Panther program and solicit support

. . . Student Mobilization conference

Fall action set —oriented to GIs

(Continued from page 1)

Describing the very encouraging growth of the antiwar movement in Canada, Young said the international demonstrations sparked by the American movement had been a major factor in developing the Canadian movement. He welcomed the proposal for the October actions and said that the prospects were good for a successful Canadian demonstration.

Attendance at the SMC conference attested to the continuing vitality of the student antiwar movement. In order to map a demonstration for this fall it was not possible to wait until school begins to hold the conference. With schools not in session, the turnout was larger than anticipated.

An organization report by staff member Syd Stapleton reviewed the accomplishments of the SMC since its previous national conference last January. Outstanding was the student antiwar strike of April 26, the most successful ever staged in this country. A million students joined the strike and there were supporting actions in 20 other countries.

Despite the walkout from SMC of a group that disagreed with maintaining the organization as an antiwar coalition, the committee was able to continue its work, he reported.

Following the walkout, he said, the SMC had been burdened with an \$18,000 debt but had succeeded in reducing this to manageable size.

He pointed, as an example for SMC units around the country, to the very effective fund-raising activity carried on by friends of SMC in New York, which had the support of such antiwar fighters as Dr. Otto Nathan, Ruth Gage Colby of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Florynce Kennedy, the civil rights attorney.

With expanded fund-raising efforts, Stapleton said, it would be more possible to fulfill the many requests for antiwar materials being received by SMC from campuses across the country.

Myers case

The decision to support Sp/4 Myers against being victimized for distributing SMC leaflets was made after a report on



Tom Kozden addresses Student Mobilization conference

Photo by Ron Alexander

the case by Richard Lesnick of the Philadelphia SMC. He said that despite harassment by MPs at Fort Dix the Philadelphia group had distributed leaflets on the base and that these leaflets had been given a very friendly reception by the GIs there.

On Saturday afternoon the conference divided into five workshops and a high school caucus meeting. The workshops were on the proposed fall demonstrations, GI projects, antidraft activity, campus complicity with the war, and SMC structure.

The workshop on the fall action reported support for the working committee proposal for the October week of demonstrations. It was reported that at the workshop meeting Linda Morse of the Radical Organizing Committee had requested on behalf of officers of the National Mobilization Committee that a specific date not be set for the fall action. The National Mobilization would be meeting in a few weeks, she said, and it would be better for all concerned to discuss the date for such an action at the meeting.

It was agreed by the conference that within the framework of issuing a call for the Oct. 21-27 action, SMC would give serious attention to any other pro-

posals that might come out of the National Mobilization meeting.

The only point of debate on the workshop report centered on a proposal made from the floor by a representative of the Workers League that SMC "politicize" its activity by supporting the presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, a campaign to which the Workers League is giving critical support.

Tom Kozden of the SMC staff urged that the proposal be voted down on the grounds that it would impair SMC's function as a coalition movement. For example, he pointed out, he was an active builder of SMC but did not support the SWP presidential ticket and would therefore be put in a difficult position.

This view was echoed by Rick Congress, an Indianapolis antiwar activist. He said that he was an Indiana presidential elector for the SWP and when not building SMC he would be campaigning for Halstead and Boutelle. But it would be a mistake, he argued, to commit SMCers who had a variety of views on the presidential race.

This viewpoint was supported by the body with only a handful of dissenting votes.

The antidraft workshop proposed publication of educational material to promote antidraft activity as part of the antiwar fight and suggested there be a regular column on the draft in the SMC *Mobilizer*. In response to a call by The Resistance, the SMC called for antidraft actions Nov. 14.

The campus complicity workshop said published material was needed on previous complicity fights to facilitate further activity of this kind.

The GI projects workshop discussed the various antiwar publications now being circulated among servicemen and how SMC could further these efforts.

High School Caucus

The High School Caucus, which was large and animated, discussed ways of building the Oct. 21-27 action. Build-up for the week, the participants said, should include street meetings outside of schools, teach-ins and massive leafleting.

The workshop on SMC structure proposed there be a national conference every six months and a continuations committee meeting between conferences, with the committee composed of one representative of each organization supporting SMC. It was further proposed that all SMC national conferences be held in a relatively central part of the country to assure maximum participation.

It was also agreed by the conference to establish a Chicago-area working committee to carry out projects. Four staff members were approved by the conference. These were Syd Stapleton, Howard Petrick, Tom Kozden, and Michael Maggi, previously office manager of the Berkeley, Calif., SMC.

Announcement of the plans for the Oct. 21-27 action was made at a press conference where Chicago papers and television were well represented. Participating in the news conference were Celia Stodola and the panel of GIs and veterans. These were Bob Wilkinson of Madison, Ron Alexander of Berkeley, Howard Petrick, Pvt. Steve Dash and Sp/2 Sherman Sitrin.

It was agreed that the Chicago office which had been set up in preparation for the conference be continued. The office of SMC is at 9 South Clinton St., Rm 225, Chicago, Ill. 60606.

Proposal for Oct. antiwar action

Following is the full text of the Fall Action Proposal adopted by the conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam held in Chicago over Labor Day weekend.

Antiwar sentiment among students will be at an all time high this fall. The bursting of the McCarthy bubble in Chicago and the continued exposure of U.S. war aims in the Paris talks will bring hundreds of thousands of high-school and college students into active, militant and visible antiwar protest. Moreover, the student antiwar movement will be launching action campaigns in an atmosphere of public opinion that has never been more favorable.

This mood of increased opposition to the war is paralleled by a rise in antiwar sentiment among GIs. GI newspapers, such as *Vietnam GI* and *Task Force*, are proliferating, with wide circulation in the armed forces. GI-oriented coffee houses are popular among the soldiers and often become centers for discussion of antiwar ideas. The cases of soldiers who have been persecuted for their antiwar stands are numerous; often these men have widespread support on their base. In Berkeley, on October 12, a GI demonstration will occur, organized by GIs for GIs and veterans.

All of these examples point out the fact that what the antiwar movement has been saying for a long time is now becoming obvious: the GIs are an important ally for the movement, have a constitutional right to oppose the war in words and deeds, have more reason than anyone else to oppose the war, and can be reached and won over to an antiwar position.

International antiwar actions have been called in numerous countries. Several Japanese groups, including the largest trade-union federation in Japan, have called for demonstrations and an international strike against the war on October 21; and the British Vietnam Solidarity Campaign has called for a mass demonstration on October 27. Other European and Asian organizations have indicated their support for an action in October, and are already making plans.

The Student Mobilization Committee will be able to organize the antiwar sentiment of students into militant and dynamic actions on campuses and in high schools across the country. The campus explosions at Berkeley and Columbia last spring and summer will be repeated on many campuses this fall. Campus actions against complicity of school administrations with the military and with the war program of the government can involve hundreds of thousands of students. The fight for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, against the draft, against campus complicity with the war, and in solidarity with American soldiers can be built on an unprecedented scale.

We propose that the Student Mobilization Committee call for and organize a week of antiwar actions October 21-27. Our activities should be aimed at strengthening the ties between the antiwar movement throughout the world, and American soldiers, wherever they are stationed. Saturday, October 26, is the target date for mass demonstrations in local areas, with the week leading up to the 26th devoted to a massive organizing campaign.

Panel describes GI outlook

CHICAGO—The need for a conscious, effective approach to servicemen by the antiwar movement was the subject of a fascinating panel discussion at the Student Mobilization conference.

Participants in the panel were: Howard Petrick, who won national support in his fight to express his antiwar views in the Army; Ron Alexander of Berkeley, who served three years with the Green Berets; Bob Wilkinson, chairman of the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam, who also served in Vietnam; Pvt. Steve Dash, presently stationed at Fort Jackson; and Sp/2 Sherman Sitrin, who was assigned briefly to the Green Berets and then abruptly assigned to Vietnam, only to have the order suspended.

Steve Dash said that at his base, almost to a man, they didn't want to go to Vietnam and, in fact, "don't want to go anywhere except their home town."

Describing the resentment and opposition created by the often senseless Army discipline, he gave a vivid account of a successful sitdown staged by one company after being punished for no real offense.

He won a ringing ovation when, in concluding his remarks, he said, "we of the antiwar movement" and then added: "I say 'we' because I'm still a human being

and as a human being I am opposed to this war."

Sitrin, who had been assigned to the Special Forces without requesting it, provided a biting description of the vaunted Green Berets who, he suggested, were not the most emotionally balanced people he had encountered.

Describing his period of basic training, Sitrin said it did not at first tend to confirm the notion of significant antiwar sentiment among GIs. There is a reason for this, he found.

"They take away your clothes, your hair, your identity," he said. "It's a demoralizing experience and people are not too inclined to express their thoughts." But as they adjusted to Army life, he found, the antiwar sentiment was not only there and vocalized, but even greater than he had anticipated.

Alexander and Wilkinson told how their experiences in the Army, particularly in Vietnam, shaped their thinking in a radical, antiwar direction.

Howard Petrick, who is contesting his undesirable discharge from the Army, reported there will soon be an appeal hearing in Washington. If it is unsuccessful the fight will be taken into the civil courts.

The panelists were plied with questions for several hours.

Why Humphrey used strong-arm in Chicago

By Alex Harte

Hubert Humphrey, presidential nominee of the reigning party of American capitalism, won himself few friends when he declared his whole-hearted support for the way police under the direction of Chicago's Mayor Richard J. ("Shoot-to-Kill") Daley clubbed and gassed peaceful demonstrators in Chicago during the Democratic convention.

"Quit pretending," Humphrey advised, "that Mayor Daley did anything wrong."

The American people thought otherwise after getting a close look, via television, at the blatantly undemocratic proceedings at the convention and the unrestrained use of police force.

The convention was stage-managed by Lyndon Johnson himself. But, ironically, the President of the United States, who won the 1964 election by the largest majority in U.S. history, was conspicuous by his absence. The fear of boos and catcalls from convention delegates, it was frankly admitted by his lieutenants, was responsible for his decision to sit it out at the ranch.

The fierce popular opposition to Johnson, which makes even some of his best friends want to avoid him, is a consequence, in the main, of his decision to keep U.S. forces fighting in Vietnam despite the ever growing demand to end the war. It could be said that he was knocked out of office by the antiwar demonstrations of the past three years.

Indeed, so difficult is the U.S. situation in relation to Vietnam that a tactical feud has developed within America's ruling class over how to cope with it. It was this division, essentially, which prevented the Democratic machine from putting on a well-oiled performance like the one staged by the Republicans at Miami.

Beat 'em down

The Humphrey-Johnson-Daley machine, in close alliance with the reactionary Southern wing of the party, decided to simply club down the opposition.

Two central themes rammed through the convention were hard-line support for Johnson's war against the Vietnamese people, and racist-minded upholding of "law and order," the new formula for the old slogan about keeping black people "in their place." This was extended to cover the clubbing of antiwar demonstrators, "Yippies" and young McCarthy supporters.

The finishing touch to the nominating process, as practiced by the Democrats at Chicago, was the police raid on McCarthy's campaign headquarters at the Hilton Hotel, in which McCarthy campaign workers were given a sample of Humphrey's democracy.

This violent attack on followers of a spokesman for the liberal wing of the capitalist class may prove costly to Johnson's heirs.

In addition to favoring negotiations in Vietnam that might ensure a continuing U.S. presence there, the central aim of the McCarthy campaign was to draw the new generation of radicalizing youth into the two-party system on the plea that it does offer hope and can be reformed. The bite of a policeman's club tends to be rather convincing evidence to the contrary.

In the streets the demonstrators bravely stood up to Daley's cops, doing their best to assert their rights to demonstrate despite the overwhelming force pitted against them.

One major difficulty for them was that the manner in which the entire action had been organized necessarily limited the size of the turnout.

If there had been, as predicted, a hundred thousand or more, it would have indeed been difficult for the cops and soldiers, no matter how heavily massed, to so violently deny Americans their constitutional right to the street.



Scene in front of Humphrey's Chicago headquarters

Photo by Shannon

Instead there were, by the most generous estimates, no more than 10 or 15 thousand — which is far less than any national antiwar mobilization in the past three years.

A variety of factors were responsible for this. For one thing the action was widely regarded — with full justification — as essentially a pro-McCarthy demonstration intended to influence the outcome of the convention in terms of nominee and platform. This was what some of the organizers wanted, and it was the objective result of what others were doing, even if not so intended.

For this reason key sections of the antiwar movement such as SDS, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party were not involved in building the action, since they were politically opposed to a demonstration that implicitly implied acceptance of the two-party system and furthered the costly illusion that the system can be reformed.

Those who organized the demonstration — officers and staff members of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the so-called Yippie leaders — seemed to have two general aims. Some saw it as an opportunity to make one final push for the McCarthy nomination and a "dovish" Vietnam plank. Others, like Dave Dellinger, Tom Hayden, and Rennie Davis of the National Mobilization, while not supporters of the Democratic Party or McCarthy, apparently saw it as an opportunity to establish their political influence over large numbers of young McCarthy activists. They seemed to be gambling on the assumption that Humphrey would be nominated and that the McCarthy supporters would turn to them for leadership.

Neither estimate was born out. Those who came to Chicago with the belief they could influence the choice of candidate and content of the platform had it made quite plain to them by the Democratic bosses that such matters are not settled on the basis of public demand.

Conciliated with McCarthyites

And those like Dellinger, Hayden and Davis who hoped to capitalize on the disenchantment of the McCarthy activists were not really able to do so. In order to carry through the action, they conciliated politically with the McCarthy forces, thus turning off the left-wing forces capable of mobilizing significant numbers. Meanwhile, when the threat of police violence became

unmistakable, McCarthy told his supporters to stay home. The great bulk of them apparently accepted this advice, particularly since it was already pretty apparent that the McCarthy drive had already collapsed.

While McCarthy activists did constitute the largest single grouping in Chicago (the mass invasion of Yippies proved to be largely a figment of Jerry Rubin's and Abbie Hoffman's mimeo machine), there were no more than several thousand of them.

And once there, they found themselves in a difficult spot. What started out as demonstrations against the war and/or for McCarthy were converted by the police into a battle for the constitutional right of free assembly.

Fight hampered

This fight was hampered by the policies of the principal leaders, Dellinger and his associates. Their attempts to conciliate the McCarthy people, along with their preference for smaller "resistance" actions rather than big mass protests, limited the size and effect of the response.

Then, their continued conciliatory approach to the McCarthyites blocked development of an effective free speech fight.

For example, on the morning of Aug. 29 a Mobilization worker told a *Militant* reporter that McCarthy himself would speak at a Mobilization rally at the Hilton. At the rally the formal record of separation was made by adjourning the meeting and then turning the National Mobilization platform and sound system over to the McCarthy force. Dick Gregory, who chaired the Mobilization rally, continued as chairman, introducing the capitalist spokesman.

(Earlier at the Mobilization rally, Paul Boutelle, SWP vice-presidential nominee, was denied the right to speak after several Peace and Freedom Party spokesmen were heard.)

Even with the small original turnout it could have been possible to rally a massive force on the civil-liberties issue, given a correct approach to the problem. But again attempts to conciliate the pro-McCarthy forces stood in the way.

In the course of the fight for the right to the streets one of the most obvious things that should have been done was to demand of McCarthy — if, as he claimed, he really opposed the police action — that he lead a mass march on the simple, clear-cut issue of the right of free assembly. Tens and hundreds of thousands could have been mobilized on that basis, and

the Democratic bosses and their Chicago cops would have then had a real confrontation on their hands.

But no such demand was made of McCarthy because it obviously would have embarrassed him. After all, his program — as he publicly declared it in announcing his campaign — was precisely to get the demonstrators off the streets and into the "regular" political process.

Missed chance

And because they refrained from any kind of a political confrontation with McCarthy, those grouped around Dellinger did not succeed in what they regarded as a process of educating activists as to the nature of the "system." On the basis of their conduct the most that could be learned is that the Humphrey-Johnson-Daley leadership of the Democratic Party is thoroughly reactionary.

But they didn't educate anyone to the fact that liberal capitalist politicians — like McCarthy — also are a barrier to a revolutionary development. The ovation extended McCarthy when he appeared on the Mobilization's platform certainly indicated that failure. What the leaders either ignored or did not understand is that the process of radicalizing socially aware people requires far more education about the true role of liberal capitalist politicians than about the patently reactionary ones.

Finally, those who acted in the name of the Mobilization Committee have no clear alternative to offer those who will not go along with Humphrey. Rennie Davis told newsmen that Mobilization activity will now include educating people to such fourth-party alternatives as Eldridge Cleaver of the Peace and Freedom Party. The next day Dellinger, an anti-electoral-activity pacifist, told the press that Chicago proved electoral action is superfluous and pointed to further "resistance" projects as the road ahead.

Perhaps the most effective contribution to the education of the participants in the demonstrations was made by the supporters of Halstead and Boutelle who sold more than 3,000 copies of *The Militant* with its proposals for a revolutionary political alternative to the capitalist parties and all their spokesmen, including McCarthy.

Unquestionably, many of the veterans of Chicago, along with those who watched on TV, will now turn to the SWP campaign and the alternative it offers of a fight for the revolutionary socialist transformation of society.

Fargo march hits Chicago brutality

FARGO, N. D. — A march to protest police brutality in Chicago and to demonstrate solidarity with its victims took place here Aug. 29. Some 40 people, mostly of high-school and college age, participated.

Widespread disgust with the Democratic Party's display of violence in Chicago and recent lowering of the voting age to 19 years is expected to aid the Socialist Workers campaign in North Dakota this year.

Fred Halstead visits India on world tour

By Barry Sheppard

BOMBAY, India, Aug. 24—Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and I arrived in Bombay a few days ago. On the first day, we were invited to an unusual press conference. Although the journalists' and printing-trades' unions are now striking the major newspapers in the largest cities, newspaper writers in Bombay wanted to discuss our trip to Saigon and the American election campaign. So the Bombay Union of Journalists set up a meeting with us.

The following day we visited a large slum settlement. What are called slums here are not the run-down and overcrowded tenements familiar to Americans. The slums of Bombay consist of colonies of people who, unable to afford housing, build shacks

out of grass or canvass or pieces of corrugated iron. These shacks can be seen all over Bombay—next to apartment buildings, in vacant lots and even near the airport runways—but they are concentrated in certain areas.

Over 500,000 live in such slums in Bombay, one-tenth of the population. There are no sanitary facilities there, and people must relieve themselves on the open ground. Water for drinking and washing comes from an occasional spring or faucet, and each one must be shared by hundreds of people. Disease, of course, is rampant.

Just outside the slum, I saw a man waiting while some dirt he had spread on the pavement dried. I asked what he was doing and was told that, because of malnutrition, he craved certain minerals contained in

dirt and was waiting for it to dry so he could eat some. Pregnant women, suffering from malnutrition, try to supplement their diets in the same way when they get a craving for some special food.

Many of the slum dwellers are people from the countryside, ruined peasants who have come to the city to find work of some sort. Indian agriculture is in a severe crisis, and the capitalist government is unable to carry out the necessary agrarian reform. We were told by an economics professor that India now depends on U.S. aid for its food supply for three months out of each year. Working conditions and wages are among the worst in the world. Graft and corruption and bureaucracy are rife; the capitalist parties themselves admit that 50 percent of aid received from other countries gets diverted into the hands of profiteers.

In ordinary relations between people, the old caste system is still evident. There is much bowing and scraping and saluting when foreigners are present. Many people are employed as personal servants due to the scarcity of productive employment.

India is a monument to the inability of the national capitalist class in a colonial country even to begin to solve the problems caused by imperialist domination. For all its high-sounding "morality," the movement founded by Ghandi, which now governs India, is perpetuating human misery and suffering. Imperialism still has a strong grip on the country, a grip that is tightening as the crisis deepens and the government turns more and more to the imperialist powers for aid.

Street Meetings

We later visited a garment factory and a chemical plant. The unions in these factories are led by members of the Socialist Workers Party of India, a section of the Fourth International. At both plants, the



Photo by Barry Sheppard

STREET MEETING. Fred Halstead addresses workers outside factory in Bombay.



Scenes like this

SWP organized street meetings for Fred Halstead as the workers came out of the factory gates. They were curious to hear an American presidential candidate, especially one who supported their struggles and the struggles of workers everywhere. They gave Halstead an enthusiastic welcome.

We met one worker-militant—a member of the SWP—who is nicknamed "Viet Cong" because of his record as a fighter in union battles.

Halstead also spoke before a meeting of

All-India news strike a first since Independence

By Barry Sheppard

BOMBAY, India, Aug. 23—The major newspapers of India have been shut down for the past month by a strike of journalists and printing-trades workers.

Yesterday, Fred Halstead and I interviewed a leader of the strike, Sitaram B. Kolpe, the secretary general of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists. Kolpe is also a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party of India, which is affiliated with the Fourth International.

"This is the first national, industry-wide strike in India since independence," Kolpe stated. "It also has significance because the issues involved affect many trade unions in India."

There is a long background to the present struggle, Kolpe told us. In 1958 the government set up a wage board to negotiate a national wage pattern for journalists. The wage board consisted of a judge, members of parliament, representatives of the newspaper owners and representatives of the journalists. This board arrangement, very common in India, is an

attempt to substitute class collaboration for class struggle, with disastrous results for workers' wages. That is a basic cause of the present strike.

After two years of discussions, this board, weighted against the workers, made a recommendation. But the owners challenged even the inadequate concessions proposed in the board's findings before the Supreme Court, which ruled in favor of the bosses and invalidated the board's recommendation.

"After the court decision," Kolpe said, "the government set up a committee that reduced the wage scale recommended by the board and ordered the employers to accept it."

"The journalists could demand the convening of another wage board after three years, and this was done in 1963. Also the printing trades demanded a wage board to discuss their demands, and the government set up a separate wage board for this purpose."

"The decisions of the wage board in the case of the journalists are legally binding.

But the printing-trades wage board can only make recommendations that the employers may reject. This was meant to divide the journalists from the printing trades, by giving the journalists a special status."

Kolpe explained that the journalists are organized in the Indian Federation of Working Journalists, and the printing trades in the All India Newspapers Employees Federation. "But in many establishments the journalists and printers are in the same union," he said.

"The wage boards took four years to come to a decision, and during this period there was no wage increase. In 1967 the wage boards finally made their proposals, but both the journalists and printers were dissatisfied with them."

"For example, the journalists wanted a national minimum wage of 250 rupees a month [about \$33 at the official exchange rate], but the wage board proposed a minimum wage of 145 rupees a month [about \$19]. At present there is no minimum wage. The wage-board's minimum-wage proposals were submitted to the government, which cut them down further."

"But the employers' organization, the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society (IENS), said they would not accept even these proposals, would challenge the wage board's recommendations for the journalists in the Supreme Court, and would ignore the recommendations for the printing trades."

At this point, there was a change in leadership of the journalists' union, and Kolpe became secretary general on a program of a united struggle with the printers against the employers.

"In December both the printers' and journalists' organizations met, and we decided to organize an all-India general strike of the newspapers for one day, Jan. 24. The workers demanded the implementation of the wage-board proposals. This strike was a complete success, and as a result some newspapers and the two news agencies agreed to implement the wage-board's recommendations. Another strike was called for April 23, and just before that date some more newspapers agreed to accept the proposals, though not the biggest ones in IENS."

On April 23, after the strike began,

IENS said they would implement 70 percent of the wage-board proposals and discuss the remaining 30 percent. The strike was called off except on those newspapers which refused even this. But then the IENS said its agreement to these proposals was not binding on its members, and negotiations went on for two or three months.

"The printers and the journalists met in June and decided to stage an indefinite strike beginning July 23. For tactical reasons, it was decided to strike only the big newspapers, which are owned by the largest industrialists in India."

"The strike has been on a month now. All sections of the trade-union movement support the strike. The political parties, too, have had to give at least token support to the strike, including the ruling Congress party."

"The trade unions are split into separate federations, with different political parties dominant in the different federations—one is controlled by the Communist Party, another by the Praja Socialist Party [social democrats], etc. The journalists' union, however, has all political parties represented in it, and this has helped bring all the unions into support of the strike."

"The issues involved affect a number of unions, because the government has set up wage boards in 18 important industries, and if the employers get away with rejecting even the minimal recommendations of the wage boards—which are stacked against the workers to begin with—the workers will lose all security. Of course, the entire board arrangement has an element of farce in it, as proved by the developments that led to this strike. The solidarity brought about by the strike itself is what must be developed and relied upon for the workers' struggle in the future."

"Recently, most of the trade-union federations met and decided to call an action on Sept. 4 in support of the newspaper strikers."

Kolpe then pointed out that this strike was occurring in the middle of a strike wave in India, and, as the first industry-wide strike since 1947, it can act as a catalyst, especially among white-collar workers. "The white-collar workers see that even the journalists, who are generally considered part of the ruling establishment, are fighting," he said.

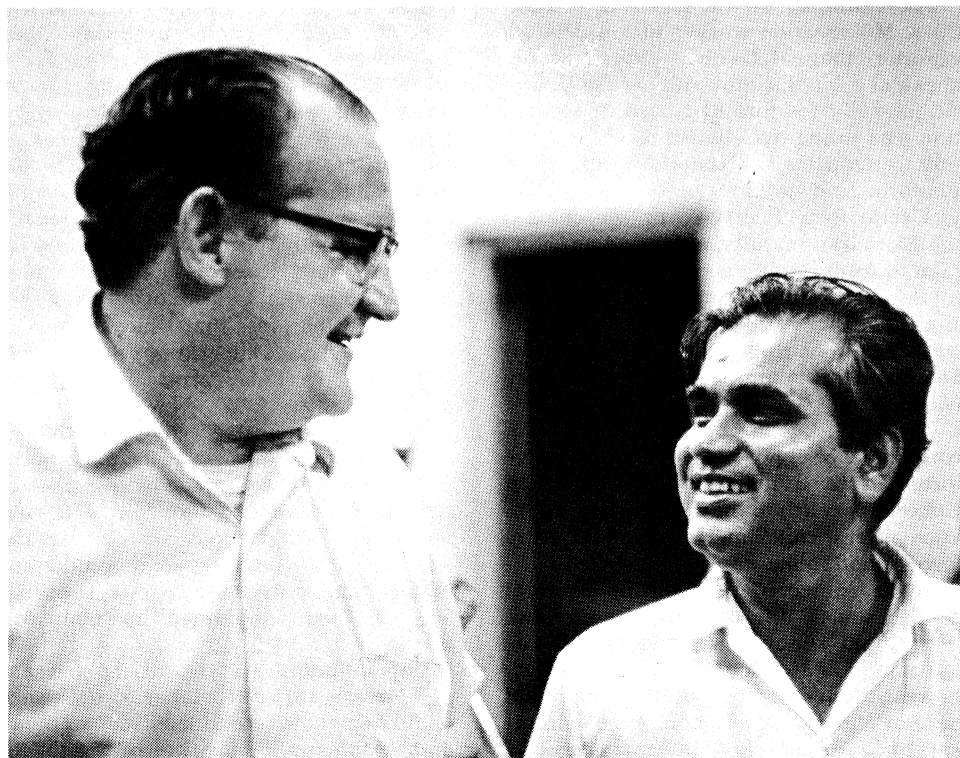
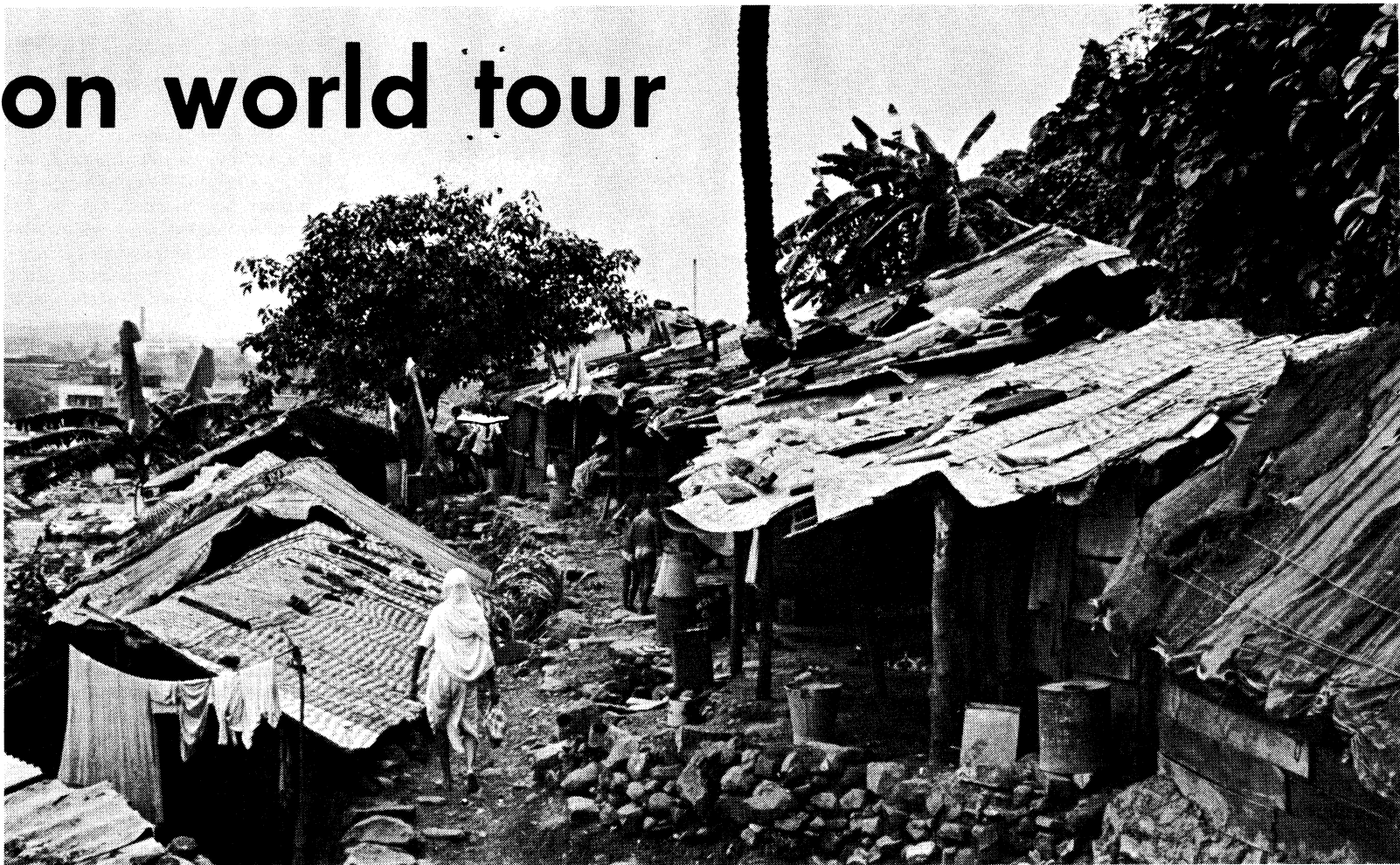


Photo by Barry Sheppard

Fred Halstead (left) and Sitaram B. Kolpe

on world tour



Scenes like this are common in poverty-stricken Bombay

Photo by Barry Sheppard

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government workers, who are preparing for a nationwide strike to begin Sept. 19.

The SWP arranged a public meeting for Halstead and me in a downtown area. The meeting was something of an experiment, as the SWP had not held one in this predominantly white-collar area before. About 300 people turned out, and there was a good discussion.

Halstead also spoke at three student meetings. We both addressed a meeting of sociology students at Bombay University, and one at Ramnarain Ruia College of Bombay University. The political level of the students here is similar to that in the United States. While there are student movements in West Bengal and Kerala, such a movement does not yet exist in Bombay. Unlike the U. S., or even Japan,

most Indian students come from the upper classes and have difficulty identifying with the workers and peasants.

There is, however, the beginning of a student movement here. Halstead witnessed some of this new spirit at a meeting organized by a student "free thought" society at K. C. College of Bombay University. He was the first guest speaker of the group, which hopes to encourage a tradition of free speech and controversy on the campus. The students were very interested in Halstead's description of the free-speech and antiwar movements on U. S. campuses, and many applauded vigorously when he reported how the black-power movement in the U. S. is fighting for black control of educational facilities in the black communities, "whether the white school-authorities like it or not."

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Photo by Barry Sheppard

FRUITS OF IMPERIALISM. Man sits in Bombay sun drying dirt which is eaten to add minerals and bulk to starvation diet.

Hearings on deaths of 6 b

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — On Aug. 5 three members of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party were murdered by Los Angeles cops. A week later, at the annual Watts festival, three more black people were shot by police.

In the aftermath of these brutal attacks, hundreds of people turned out for two public, city-council hearings on Aug. 14 and Aug. 22 to listen to witnesses from the community give testimony on police oppression. The hearings were a result of demands made by a black and Mexican-American "Crisis Coalition" formed after the shooting of the three Black Panthers.

One of the most important witnesses at the hearings was Tommy Jacquette, an official of the Watts Festival, who testified that Los Angeles police violated an agreement with festival organizers to stay

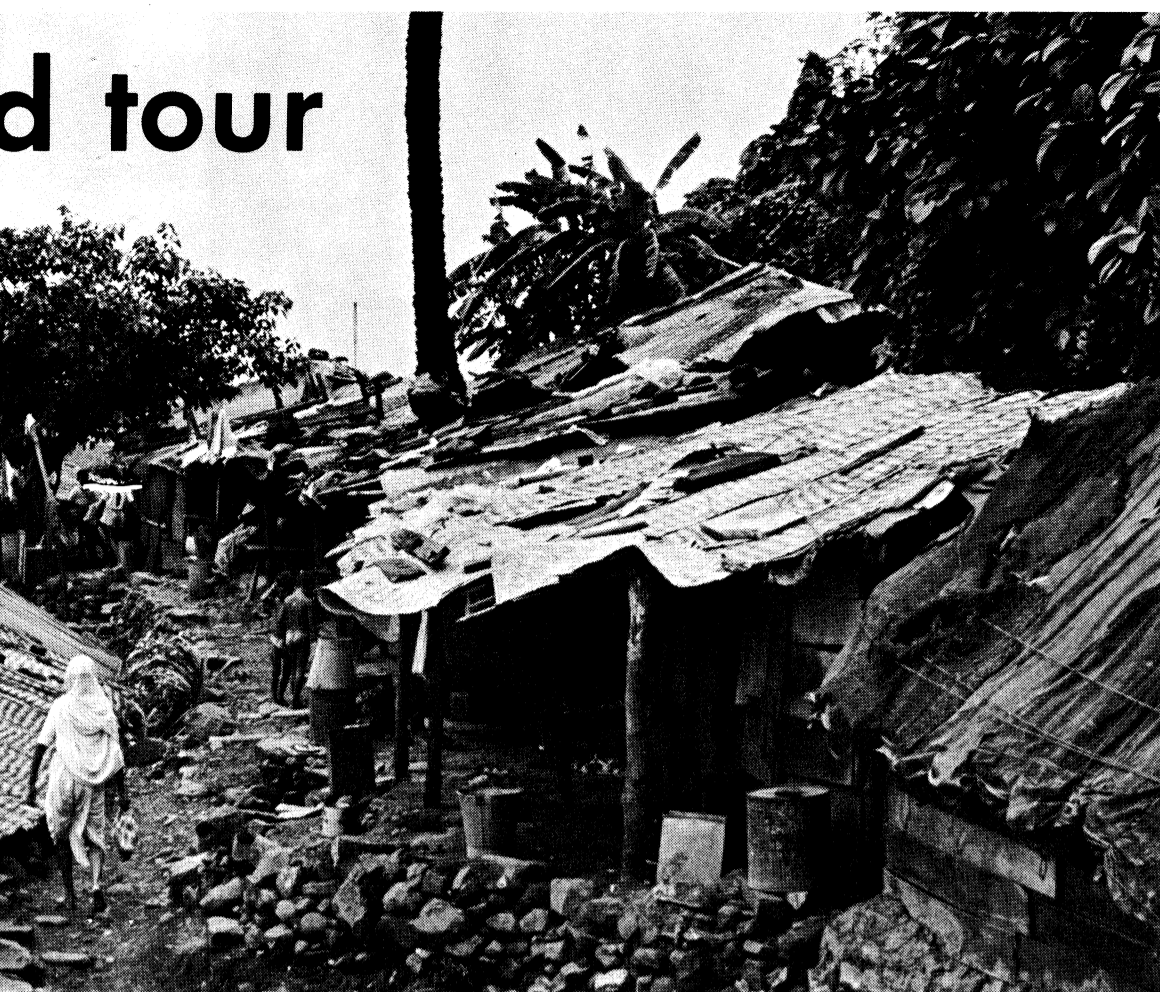
out of the festival area and let black people patrol it.

Police saturated the area of the week-long festival, deliberately provoking incidents. Jacquette told the hearing that on Aug. 11 he "saw a man shot down by police and then kicked by police as he lay there wounded . . . Police shot out street lights and knocked out car headlights with their rifle butts," he said. "We [the festival crowd] were caught in a box. There were two alternatives, get shot or go to jail."

Death at police station

William Tut Hayes of the Afro-American Association testified that he was one of a group which carried Richard Lishey, a wounded man presumably shot by police, to the Watts police substation in order to get an ambulance. Hayes said police told him, "There'll be no ambulances for niggers tonight." Caught in a gunfire and bottle-throwing crossfire, the men left the

d tour



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Photo by Barry Sheppard

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There is, however, the beginning of a student movement here. Halstead witnessed some of this new spirit at a meeting organized by a student "free thought" society at K. C. College of Bombay University. He was the first guest speaker of the group, which hopes to encourage a tradition of free speech and controversy on the campus. The students were very interested in Halstead's description of the free-speech and antiwar movements on U. S. campuses, and many applauded vigorously when he reported how the black-power movement in the U. S. is fighting for black control of educational facilities in the black communities, "whether the white school-authorities like it or not."



Photo by Barry Sheppard

FRUITS OF IMPERIALISM. Man sits in Bombay sun drying dirt which is eaten to add minerals and bulk to starvation diet.

Hearings on deaths of 6 blacks in LA

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — On Aug. 5 three members of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party were murdered by Los Angeles cops. A week later, at the annual Watts festival, three more black people were shot by police.

In the aftermath of these brutal attacks, hundreds of people turned out for two public, city-council hearings on Aug. 14 and Aug. 22 to listen to witnesses from the community give testimony on police oppression. The hearings were a result of demands made by a black and Mexican-American "Crisis Coalition" formed after the shooting of the three Black Panthers.

One of the most important witnesses at the hearings was Tommy Jacquette, an official of the Watts Festival, who testified that Los Angeles police violated an agreement with festival organizers to stay

out of the festival area and let black people patrol it.

Police saturated the area of the week-long festival, deliberately provoking incidents. Jacquette told the hearing that on Aug. 11 he "saw a man shot down by police and then kicked by police as he lay there wounded . . . Police shot out street lights and knocked out car headlights with their rifle butts," he said. "We [the festival crowd] were caught in a box. There were two alternatives, get shot or go to jail."

Death at police station

William Tut Hayes of the Afro-American Association testified that he was one of a group which carried Richard Lishey, a wounded man presumably shot by police, to the Watts police substation in order to get an ambulance. Hayes said police told him, "There'll be no ambulances for niggers tonight." Caught in a gunfire and bottle-throwing crossfire, the men left the

New Caucus made gains at Teachers Union parley

By Evelyn Sell

Community control of schools was the major issue confronting the 1,500 delegates and visitors to the 52nd annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), AFL-CIO held in Cleveland Aug. 19-23.

Black and Puerto Rican control of schools was hotly debated on the convention floor, through numerous leaflets and in meetings sponsored by the contending Progressive and New caucuses. The Progressive Caucus has controlled the AFT for the past two years. The New Caucus, formed at last year's convention, stands for black control of the black community, an end to the war in Vietnam, militant unionism and an end of witch-hunt methods within the AFT.

Al Shanker, president of New York City's 50,000 member United Federation of Teachers (UFT) and a powerful leader of the Progressive Caucus, demagogically alleged that community control would result in job insecurity, loss of academic freedom, chaos in the school system and "a South African system of apartheid." Throughout the convention, the UFT flooded the delegates with printed materials in an attempt to justify actions which brought the union into repeated head-on conflicts with black and Puerto Rican communities.

The New Caucus platform called for support to "programs which grant to the community the power to control their educational institutions through democratically elected local boards of education." Rebutting Shanker's charges that community control would destroy teacher and union rights, a New Caucus position paper pointed out that the role of teachers under community control "would be what it always was: to teach. The major difference would be felt by administrators . . . The union will continue to exist, and will continue to be responsible for the protection of teachers' rights . . . People whose major concern is the education of their children will inevitably respond to, respect and protect the teacher who demonstrates a willingness to do the best possible job for the children."

Disagreements sidestepped

The main points of disagreement were sidestepped in a resolution prepared by the AFT leadership for the vote of the delegates. Beulah Tumpkins, a Detroit Afro-American member of the New Caucus, presented a substitute resolution calling unambiguously for "community control of schools in the black, Puerto Rican and other minority communities of America." After moves by Al Shanker to weaken this resolution and countermeasures by New Caucus chairman Edward Simpkins to preserve the original intent, a compromise was reached and the convention unanimously adopted wording which avoided the explosive term "community control" and instead called for "effective community responsibility and involvement through elected representatives in the operation of schools in the black, Puerto Rican and other minority communities of America."

The New Caucus resolution and the floor fight on the question were under the control of the Black Caucus at the convention.

These Afro-American teachers put into effect a New Caucus platform plank demanding "the right of black teachers within the American Federation of Teachers to determine policy and take leadership in the implementation of programs affecting the education and social welfare of black pupils and the black community . . ."

The Black Caucus also led a highly successful floor fight to amend the AFT constitution and establish a Committee Against Racism in Education at the national level.

Two issues which agitated last year's convention and led to the formation of the New Caucus were again major points of debate this year: the war in Vietnam and a witch-hunt clause in the AFT constitution barring "totalitarians," including "communists" from membership. Floor discussions on Vietnam were blocked by the leadership, which has sought to thwart crystallization of the strong antiwar sentiment in the union. The attempt to remove the witch-hunt clause was defeated by delegates who pointed to the Soviet actions in Czechoslovakia as proof of the need to protect the AFT against "Communists and radicals."

New Caucus strength

The election contest over the AFT presidency and 20 vice-presidencies showed significant New Caucus strength, although all posts were won by the Progressive Caucus slate. Zeline Richard, a last-minute New Caucus presidential candidate, came in second with almost 600 votes. The successful candidate for president, Dave Selden, received about 1,300 votes, while his two opponents piled up about 1,100 between them.

Selden, assistant to the retiring president, Charles Cogen, and the machine candidate who was assured of a win before the convention began, ran on a platform of "teacher unity." This is a shorthand term for attempts to merge the 165,000-member AFT with the 900,000 classroom teachers affiliated with the National Education Association (NEA). The NEA is controlled by the numerically small but all-powerful school superintendents, who represent the educational establishment. Opponents of merger point to the continued existence of racially segregated local and state NEA affiliates, the recent defeat of NEA-led classroom teachers in the statewide Florida strike, and the generally more conservative anti-union attitudes which have prevailed during the NEA's 100-year history.

The New Caucus, in a programmatic statement, "decries the backward and reactionary policies of the present leadership of the AFL-CIO on the pressing social issues of our time, e.g., the war in Vietnam, the crisis in our cities, racism, poverty, absolute dependence on the two-party system, lack of militancy in the organization of nonunion employees and believes the American Federation of Teachers has the responsibility to assume a leadership role in the AFL-CIO in order to press for the necessary revitalization of the labor movement."

The large numbers of teachers who joined the New Caucus at the convention testifies to the effect such a platform had on the young and on the black teachers.

Black Panthers extended warm Cuban welcome

George Mason Murray, Black Panther minister of education, and Joudon Ford, Panther captain in New York, are currently visiting Cuba. Their visit has received wide publicity in the Cuban press, which is stressing the importance of the trend represented by the Panthers toward independent black political action in the U. S.

According to the Aug. 25 English-language edition of *Granma*, Murray stated on his arrival in Havana that the U. S. black movement has its inspiration in the Cuban Revolution and the example of Che Guevara. Murray also emphasized that the liberation of Afro-Americans is inseparable from the liberation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

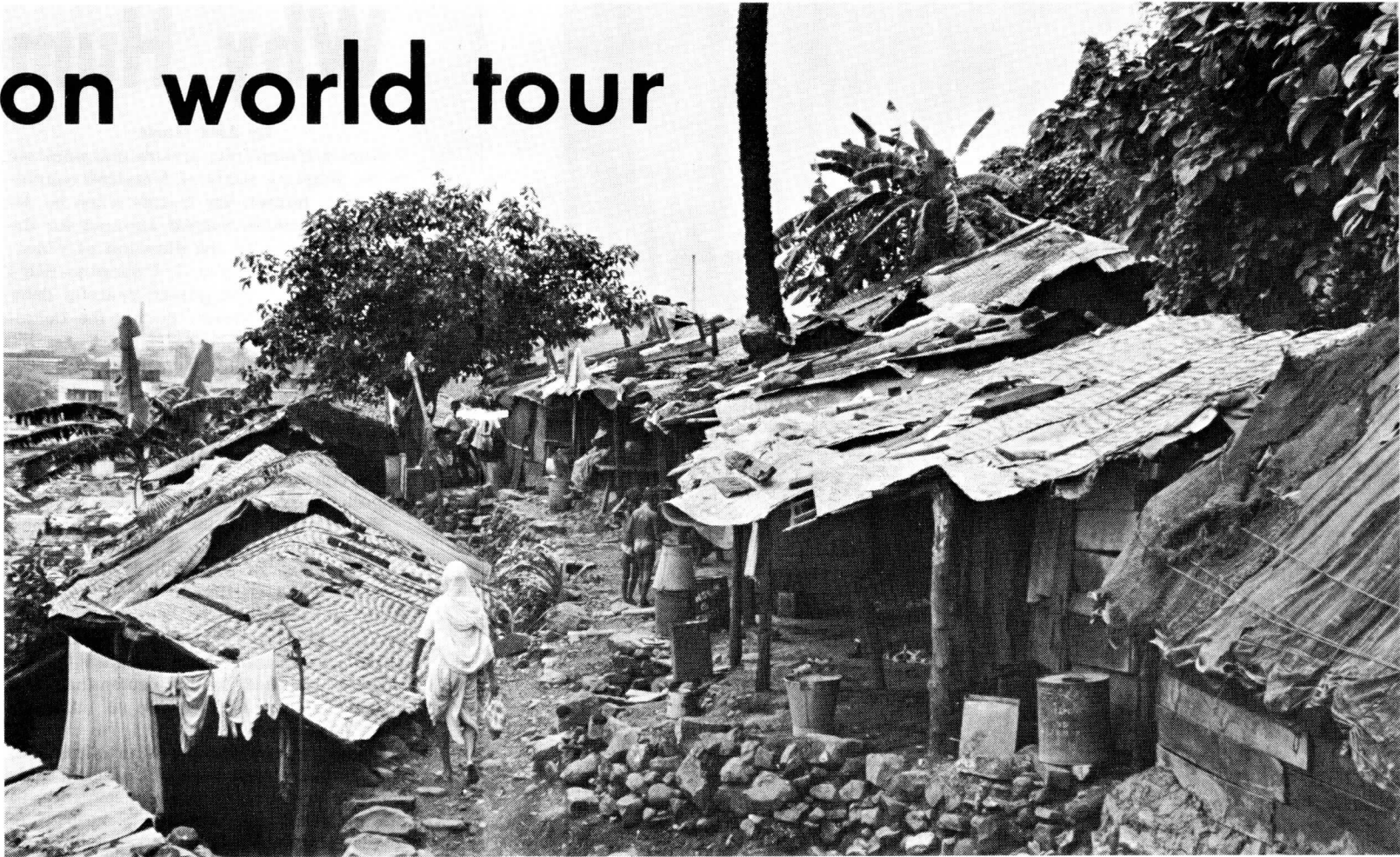
wounded man in front of the police station. Later he died in the police station.

Hayes, whose angry testimony was frequently applauded by the audience and the many people waiting to testify, said that police refused to make out a crime report on the killing of Lishey or to take a signed statement.

Ruth Robinson, a resident of Watts, testified that she saw nine police cars rush up to get five teenagers. "The police molest our women and harass our men and when we fight back, they call it rioting!" she said.

Carl Vasquez of the United Mexican-American Students spoke at the hearings: "We have come here to prove that the brown and the black are killed in our communities. The police are there to protect white interests. We want them out. We can protect our own communities."

on world tour



Scenes like this are common in poverty-stricken Bombay

Photo by Barry Sheppard

Wallaceite N.Y. cops in assault on blacks

NEW YORK—It was an ominous day here Sept. 4 when some 200 off-duty cops attacked a group of Black Panther Party members and white sympathizers in the hallway of the Brooklyn Criminal Court Building. It was the first time that off-duty cops in New York have moved in such a brazenly open, organized, and brutal manner against the black liberation movement.

The assault took place following a demonstration outside the court building in solidarity with three Black Panthers whose bail reduction hearing was going on. After most of the demonstrators had left the area, a small group of Panthers and white demonstrators went into the courtroom to observe the hearing.

When they got inside, they found that the courtroom was filled with white people, most of them off-duty cops who could be identified by the gun-filled bulges in their right hip pockets.

Due to the crowded condition in the courtroom, the judge announced that the hearing would be moved to a different room. At this point, the mass of cops got up, moved into the hallway, and proceeded to conduct a Wallace for President rally. They waved pro-Wallace signs, cheered noisily, and shouted slogans such as "White Power," "Win with Wallace," and "We're White Tigers—Tigers Eat Black Panthers." They had special epithets for the white Panther supporters—"white devils," and "white traitors."

Meanwhile, numbers of cops moved into the second courtroom where the hearing

was to proceed, filling the seats so that the supporters of the three Panther defendants could not find places.

In the face of this demonstration of force taking place right within the courthouse itself, the Panthers and their supporters grew alarmed and moved into the hallway. There, all of a sudden, they were attacked by the off-duty cops, who hit them with blackjacks and clubs, seriously wounding several people.

One witness said the regular uniformed cops dropped their clubs so that the off-duty cops could use them in beating the Panthers. Black Panther leader David Brothers was kicked repeatedly by the police.

One of the demonstrators caught in the attack described it this way: "They started moving toward us, pushing and shoving. We remained cool. Then the cops started beating people. I saw blood streaming out of the heads of two people immediately around me. About 15 of us were able to escape to an elevator. We went up to the 10th floor where we unsuccessfully tried to contact help."

Finally the demonstrators were able to escape from the building.

The next day, Sept. 5, a demonstration and press conference was held by the Panthers outside of the courthouse where hearings for the three Panthers were to resume. At this demonstration, the uniformed cops gave the press and demonstrators another lesson on the nature of the New York police department.

While a number of people were waiting on the corner for the demonstration to begin, the cops approached a Panther standing on the corner and ordered him to move. Before he had a chance to do anything but look surprised, the cops told him, "Alright, so you're not going to move, you're under arrest." And they took him away.

The story of the brutal police attack on the Panthers right within the "halls of justice" has received extensive front-page coverage in the New York press. The papers are admitting not only that those involved were off-duty cops, but that they are tied in with a newly formed protofascist police organization called the Law Enforcement Group. Demagogically arguing that "cops shouldn't obey orders that keep them from enforcing the law," members of this group have advocated that cops take extralegal action against demonstrators.

Mayor Lindsay, who has repeatedly praised the New York cops, has done nothing about the attack thus far except to sound distressed and order an investigation of the beatings. No policemen have been arrested.

Hedda Garza hits B'klyn cop attack

Hedda Garza, New York Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator, condemned the Sept. 4 attack on the Brooklyn Panthers by off-duty Wallaceite cops and urged all defenders of civil liberties and human decency to rally to the defense of the Panthers.

"The lesson that can be drawn from this attack is that neither the courts, the police, or the Democratic or Republican parties are capable or interested in serving the needs of black people," she said.

"For this reason, we support the struggle of the Black Panther Party for black control of the police and courts, and for black control of the community."

38 black GIs at Fort Hood faced with court-martial

SEPT. 5—Thirty-eight black GIs at Fort Hood, Tex., face trials by courts-martial for allegedly having demonstrated against being sent to Chicago to serve as "riot troops" during the recent Democratic na-

tional convention there. The men are among the 60 soldiers Army sources say held an all-night sit-in Aug. 25 on a Fort Hood road to protest their deployment to Chicago. The 38 are charged with having disobeyed a lawful order of a superior officer.

Michael Kennedy, staff counsel of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which is providing legal defense for the accused soldiers, stated that 43 of the 60 were held incommunicado for 48 hours, "despite repeated attempts by lawyers to visit them or telephone them."

"During this period," Kennedy continued, "they were held in the provost marshal's building in detention cells and subjected to long and intensive interrogation . . . At least two men were brutalized by the military police and required medical treatment; one of the men was hospitalized."

Eight of the GIs are due to be tried by a general court-martial and face possible five-year prison sentences if convicted. The other 30 are to appear before special courts-martial, which can impose a maximum punishment of six months' imprisonment. The Army has given no reason for the distinction made between the two groups.

Kennedy said today that he will move for a two-week trial postponement, to make possible a pretrial hearing.

N.Y. forum sets European report by Gisela Mandel

NEW YORK—Gisela Mandel, a leading European young socialist, will speak here on Friday evening, Sept. 13. The meeting will be sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Labor Forum. It will be held at the Militant Labor Forum hall, 873 Broadway. Her subject will be, "The European Student Movement, East and West."

A founding member of the German Socialist Student Federation (SDS), she has traveled extensively in Europe and has a first-hand knowledge of the various European student and radical movements and their leaders. She was in Paris at the time of the May uprising and was a witness to the fighting on the barricades.



SESSION OF BLACK POWER PARLEY. A wide variety of views were heard at conference. Among those participating was Paul Boutelle, vice presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. He chaired workshop on issue of black nation.

Phila. black power parley attended by nearly 5,000

By Tony Thomas

The third National Black Power Conference, which met in Philadelphia, Aug. 27-29, was the largest conference held by the black liberation movement in recent years. Close to 5,000 blacks from all over the country attended.

Quite significantly the conference went on record in favor of a national, black political party. The support for a black party was overwhelming, especially among younger blacks.

Even a workshop that was led by advocates of the "third force" concept of black bloc voting for either Republican or Democratic candidates was swamped by young militants who called for a black party.

Black politicians in the Republican and Democratic parties, such as Carl Stokes and Senator Brooke, were attacked as sellouts and traitors by many of the militants.

A proposal made by LeRoi Jones that the conference support Leon Ewing, a candidate for the Newark city council who was rejected in July by the United Brothers convention due to his ties to the Newark Democratic machine, was rejected. The conference voted to support Donald Tucker and Theodore Pikney, the United Brothers candidates.

The conference also called for an independent black nation. Milton Henry, vice-president of the Detroit-based Republic of New Africa, put forth the resolution for a

black nation to be established in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina.

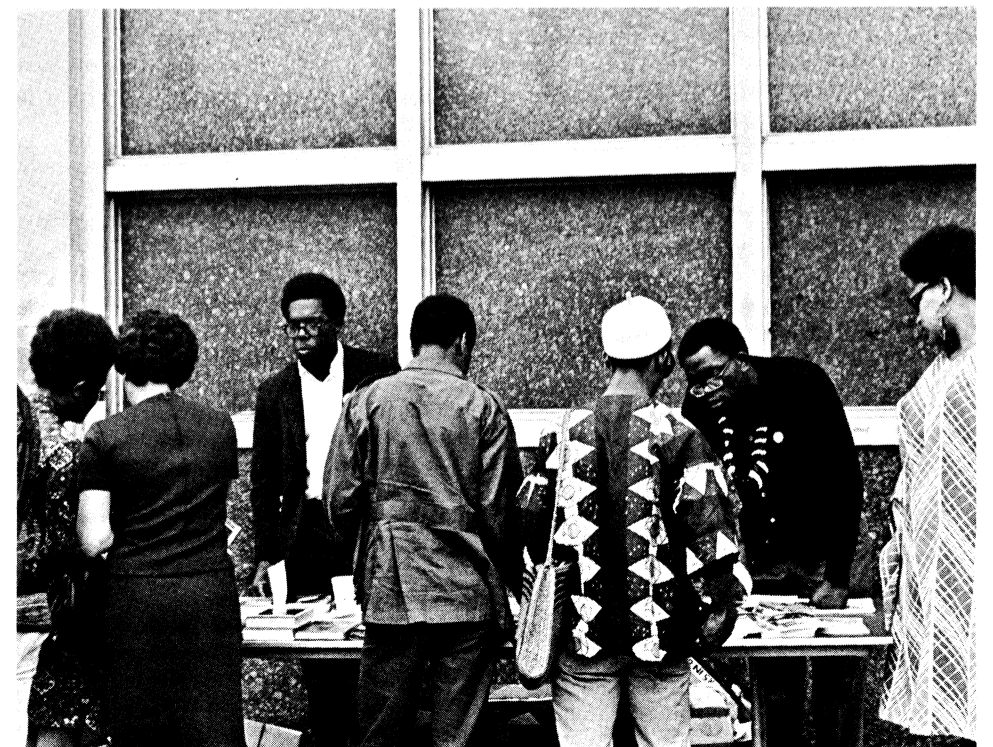
A resolution to build a black urban militia to defend the black community was also adopted.

The black economics workshop called for the creation of a national black bank to help build "black capitalism." A demand for a national union of black workers was also projected.

Other resolutions passed called for black control of the schools in the black community; teaching of Afro-American culture, history, and language; immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam; withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories; and the release of all black political prisoners, especially Huey P. Newton.

Despite the fact that revolutionary-minded youth who supported the black party position were a significant section of the conference, if not a majority, no realistic plans were made to carry out the proposals. This was due in part to the fact that moderate supporters of such positions as "black capitalism" and "third force" politics were able to control the conference, due to their entrenchment in the structure and the lack of an organized, militant opposition.

Organizations of the revolutionary wing of the black liberation movement, such as the Black Panther Party and SNCC, which call for a black party, did not intervene at the conference in an organized fashion.



LITERATURE TABLE. Thousands of pieces of campaign literature were distributed at Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle literature table at Black Power conference. Highly popular was pamphlet, "Case for a Black Political Party."

N. Vietnam stand unclear on Kremlin Czech attack

(IP)—Hanoi's continued silence on the events in Eastern Europe puts in doubt the extent of North Vietnamese support for the Soviet moves. So far, the only comment on the Soviet invasion in North Vietnam has been the Radio Hanoi broadcast on Aug. 28 praising the "noble objective" of the intervention. This broadcast is the only basis for the accounts that North Vietnam endorsed the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

According to Jacques Decornoy, writing in the Aug. 30 *Le Monde*, reports are now coming out of Hanoi that North Vietnamese officials privately repudiate this broadcast. Accordingly he questions whether the Radio Hanoi statement represented the position of North Vietnam.

It is unlikely that the party leaders had time to meet and frame an official position before the statement was broadcast. Furthermore, the hasty declaration supporting the Kremlin before Peking had announced its position seems to run counter to the desire of the North Vietnamese to steer clear of involvement in Sino-Soviet polemics.

It would be surprising for the Vietnamese to take a position before they knew what line Peking intended to take and even more so for them to authorize such a broadcast if they knew that Peking would oppose the Soviet invasion.

Also, the North Vietnamese have little reason to cheer the crushing of democratization in Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak youth fighting for socialist democracy have been among the most enthusiastic supporters of the Vietnamese struggle, expressing a much more active support for the Vietnamese cause than under the Novotny regime. And Hanoi must be well aware of this, since the National Liberation Front Mission is located in Prague.

Moreover, whatever the limitations of



Ho Chi Minh

the Dubcek regime's proletarian internationalism, it has not given Hanoi less aid than its predecessor.

In view of all this, it is difficult to assess the Aug. 28 Radio Hanoi broadcast. It is possible that a pro-Soviet faction or group of individuals like the Escalante clique in Cuba was responsible for it. In any case, as yet the Vietnamese have not clarified their attitude toward the intervention in Czechoslovakia.

Communist Party tops split on Czech issue

SEPT. 4—The national committee of the American Communist Party today issued a statement reiterating its support of Moscow's invasion of Czechoslovakia. The statement was released after a three-day national committee meeting held in New York over the Labor Day weekend.

Despite the statements of certain CP leaders to the contrary, it is evident that the top leadership is split over the Czechoslovakian situation. It is the first split in the American CP leadership since the Hungarian revolution in 1956.

Immediately following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, CP general secretary Gus Hall issued a statement supporting Moscow. But Hall's statement was quickly disclaimed by Dorothy Healy, Southern California CP chairman, and Gil Green, New York state chairman.

Mike Stein, executive secretary of the New York district CP, condemned the Labor Day national committee decision. According to

the Sept. 2 *New York Post*, Stein "charged the motion would damage party unity and labeled it 'vindictive' because it censured party leaders who did not back the Moscow line."

The *Post* continued, "Stein charged Hall with ignoring his requests for an immediate party meeting just after the invasion occurred. He said Hall's attitude toward him was 'that of a general to a lieutenant.'"

There are indications the rift in leadership extends to other members. The *Daily World* announced it is inviting discussion of the Czech events and has printed several letters critical of the Moscow line.

In Los Angeles, Aug. 23, Dorothy Healy delivered a lengthy attack on Moscow's invasion and Gus Hall's support of it at a public CP meeting. "The reforms took place completely under the leadership of the government and party in Czechoslovakia," she declared. They "were supported by the overwhelming majority of the Czech people."

Mrs. Healy demanded to know why almost every European Communist party in one way or another condemned the Soviet action.

A three-way debate on Czechoslovakia, featuring young CP members, was presented by the New York DuBois Club Aug. 27. Moscow's position was defended by Jose Stevens; Matthew Hallinan, who recently visited Czechoslovakia took an intermediate position; and Mike Myerson a founder of the DuBois Clubs, attacked the intervention.

The Dubcek-government reforms, Hallinan admitted, "worked to break down bureaucracy." They "made people excited about socialism. I'm not sure there was a counterrevolution. The danger was there; but the people would have rectified it."

After Steven's presentation, Hallinan said he was becoming "more and more convinced that the intervention was correct."

The main argument of Myerson's opposition to the Kremlin move centered on its failure to produce any evidence of a request from the Czech people that Warsaw Pact armies invade their country, of a threat of counterrevolution, or of a threat of foreign intervention.

Kremlin seeks to smother Czechoslovak resistance

By Joseph Hansen

SEPT. 3 (IP)—Having escalated the number of troops occupying Czechoslovakia to 650,000—thus beating Johnson's record in Vietnam both in the size of the forces of aggression as well as in the speed of escalation—the Kremlin is seeking to smother the resistance of the Czechoslovak people and their desire for socialist democracy.

According to the latest reports, Moscow decided to withdraw the East German contingent, apparently coming to the conclusion that it had been a mistake to set a precedent that could be used by the West German government as justification for sending its troops outside the country's borders on a future occasion. Some 50,000 soldiers were said to have been involved in this, but they may have been replaced by other forces.

Fresh details are coming to light each day on how the Kremlin treated the top figures of the Czechoslovak government after they were seized.

For instance, Dubcek was put in handcuffs and seated on the metal floor of the Soviet plane that flew him out of Prague. He was not permitted to change clothes while he was held, food given him was meager, and he was subjected to great mental, if not physical, stress.

In short, the Soviet secret police handled the Czechoslovak government leaders whom they succeeded in capturing the way police all over the world handle suspects who have already been condemned in their eyes.

Dubcek and his friends had good reason to fear for their lives.

The top Moscow bureaucrats, it would appear, had projected following the pattern of the infamous purges organized by Stalin in the East European countries in 1949-50, when indigenous Communist leaders, suspected by the paranoiac dictator of harboring independent ideas, were framed up and hanged as "counterrevolutionaries."

The members of the present ruling clique are thoroughly familiar with that crack-down since they participated in it as Stalin's handpicked agents.

What caused the Kremlin to suddenly reverse engines? The Western press credits President Svoboda, stating that he refused to talk about making a deal unless Dubcek and the others were released. This may have been a factor but only in the context of something much more important, for the Soviet leaders certainly had no respect for Svoboda and could have liquidated him as easily as the other victims if they wished to.

The real reason was the depth and breadth of the resistance of the Czechoslovak people. This was so powerful that no significant public figure dared to play the role of Quisling.

Moscow was caught without a regime it could present with the least plausibility as a substitute for the Dubcek regime—and without any kind of displays by the people that could be pictured as a welcome to the Big Brother and his dwarf helpers, who had come to help them resist a "counter-revolution."

Still worse, with Dubcek removed from the scene, the popular thrust toward socialist democracy visibly deepened each hour. The potentiality of the resistance was to

be seen in the performance of the clandestine radio and TV stations, in the participation of the workers in holding an emergency congress of the Communist Party, in the fraternization with the invading troops, in the way the people as a whole responded to suggestions and directives from the vanguard.

Out of all this, a leadership much to the left of Dubcek could arise very rapidly. The whole process would greatly accelerate the tendency in all the East European countries and the Soviet Union itself to throw off the hated rule of the bureaucracy and to establish proletarian democracy.

The outcome of the invasion was clearly a political disaster for the Moscow bureaucracy.

Dubcek now began to appear to the Kremlin as a lesser evil. After all, he had not instigated the democratization movement, he had only conceded to its pressure. Restored to office, he could be bent the other way.

In all likelihood this was the general line of reasoning in Moscow behind the decision not to strangle Dubcek but to restore him to office.

The "agreement" reached with Dubcek is not worth the paper it is written on so far as its legality is concerned. It was extracted under duress. Moscow understands this to perfection, and that is why its principal clause is acquiescence in maintaining Soviet troops in the country.

Russell, Sartre assail Moscow on Czechoslovakia

The world-renowned philosophers Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre have condemned the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia. Russell, the British Nobel-prize winner who initiated the International War Crimes Tribunal that found the U.S. guilty of war crimes in Vietnam, denounced the USSR's "suppression of elementary liberties in Czechoslovakia." And Sartre, the most prominent left-wing, French intellectual, who was one of the leading participants in the work of the Tribunal, called the Soviet action "pure aggression, such as is defined in terms of international law as a war crime."

Both men emphasize that the Russian bureaucrats' behavior in no way justifies imperialism's crimes. In a letter published in the London *Observer* of Aug. 26, Russell wrote contemptuously of those English politicians who "temporarily interrupt their applause for the American bombardment of Vietnam to discover and assert the rights of small nations." And Sartre, in his statement issued Aug. 25, asserted that the Soviet aggression could not be compared to the Johnson administration's "ignoble genocide" in Vietnam.

Halstead, Boutelle on Buckley show

Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President, will appear on William F. Buckley's nationally shown television program, "Firing Line." Buckley, the well-known editor of the highly conservative *National Review*, ran for New York governor on the Conservative Party ticket in 1966. The schedule for broadcasting is as follows:

Sept. 15	Hartford, Conn.	WHCT
	San Francisco, Calif.	KQED
Sept. 22	Sacramento, Calif.	KXTV
Sept. 24	Schenectady, N.Y.	WMHT
Sept. 25	San Diego, Calif.	KEBS
Sept. 29	Syracuse, N.Y.	WNYS
	Amarillo, Tex.	KVII
Oct. 6	New York	WOR
	Washington, D.C.	WTG
	New Orleans	WYES
Oct. 13	Fort Wayne, Ind.	WANE
Oct. 20	Omaha, Neb.	WOW
	Cincinnati	WCPO
Oct. 27	Columbia, S.C.	WRLK

CALENDAR

DETROIT

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Speaker: Norma Lodico. Fri., Sept. 13, 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information, call 831-6135. Aisp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY: Who are they? What are they doing? Speakers: Shermont Banks, deputy minister of the Black Panther Party, and Linda Green, secretary of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party. Fri., Sept. 13, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East Fourth St. Donation. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

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

NEW YORK

THE EUROPEAN STUDENT MOVEMENT—EAST AND WEST. Speaker: Gisela Mandel, participant at the French barricades; founding member of the German SDS; Marxist lecturer on Cuba and India. Fri., Sept. 13, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Aisp. Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Labor Forum.

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Black Liberation Notes

TSU Five — Support still needed

It has now been over a year since five black students were indicted for murder in Houston, Tex., in what has become known as the case of the "TSU Five."

The case began in the predawn hours of May 17, 1967, when Houston police, firing thousands of rounds of ammunition, staged an assault on a dormitory at Texas Southern University, a predominantly black school. A policeman was killed in the attack, most likely by police bullets.

Five students—one who was in jail at the time of the attack, and another who was miles away—were framed-up on charges of murdering the policeman.

The case has now bogged down in time-consuming court procedures. Four of the defendants are involved in a legal conflict over an attempt by the DA to change the location of the trial to Victoria, Tex., a rural area in the heart of the so-called Bible belt.

Floyd Nichols, one of the defendants, who toured the country last year publicizing the case, has filed suit with the U. S. district court in Houston, seeking to restrain the state from prosecuting him on the grounds that the antiriot law under which he was indicted is unconstitutional.

A recent letter sent out by the TSU Five Defense Fund expresses thanks for the donations that have come into the committee thus far, but stresses the need for more funds to continue the legal defense and to publicize the case. The letter also asks those individuals or organizations that would be willing to set up speaking engagements for representatives of the defense committee to contact Floyd Nichols or Stanley Wright at the TSU Five Defense Fund, P. O. Box 8702, Anson Jones Station, Houston, Tex. 77009.

Harassment continues

General police harassment against black militants in Houston has continued since the infamous May 17, 1967, attack. The most recent case was the sentencing of SNCC member Lee Otis Johnson to 30 years in prison on a marijuana charge.

The political persecution involved is reflected not only in the unusually long sentence, but also in the brutality of the police when they arrested Johnson and his wife, Helen, on July 29.

In a statement released by the Houston Peace and Freedom Fund, Helen Johnson described her treatment in jail:

"The other officer grabbed me by my hair and slapped me in my face numerous times. I was pushed down the hall, as they continued to beat me. I kept asking them to stop beating. I was pushed so hard that I fell and hit my head on the windowsill.

"Miss Piazza [the matron] said that she was going to have a hold placed on me for narcotics. I told her that I didn't take



Floyd Nichols

dope, neither did my husband. I was knocked down and kicked in my stomach. I was pounded in my mouth and taken to the 'tank' [a punishment cell]. After being in the tank for a very short while I blanked out."

'Wall of apathy'

Voter registration officials working in black and Puerto Rican communities are running into a "wall of apathy" according to the organizers of a New York voter registration drive. Lack of enthusiasm for the candidates of either of the major parties is given as one of the basic reasons for the indifference.

Writings of Malcolm X Banned in Jamaica

From now on, Jamaicans may have a difficult time obtaining the writings of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Elijah Muhammad. Publications by these authors have been officially banned from the island by the Minister of Home Affairs.

Still fighting case

Former SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown is still fighting charges of inciting to riot brought against him after the so-called riot in Cambridge, Md., a year ago. Brown's lawyers are seeking a federal order to prevent his coming to trial before a white jury.

— Elizabeth Barnes

N.Y. Freedom and Peace nominates Dick Gregory

NEW YORK — The split between the New York Freedom and Peace and Peace and Freedom parties became definitive with the announcement Sept. 3 that the Freedom and Peace Party would run Dick Gregory as its presidential candidate.

Peace and Freedom nominated Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party minister of information, to run for the Presidency at a state conference in New York City, July 19-22.

The two organizations split at a New York state parley in Albany last March. Peace and Freedom is largely under the influence of the Independent Socialist Clubs, a social democratic formation. The Communist Party is the principal political grouping in the Freedom and Peace Party.

Following the initial split, the Freedom

and Peace Party nominated Herman Ferguson, victim of a racist frame-up in Queens, to run for the post of U. S. senator from New York.

In explaining the endorsement of Dick Gregory, Freedom and Peace New York state administrator John Gallo was sharply critical of the Cleaver campaign. According to the Sept. 4 *New York Times*, "Mr. Gallo said the main difference between the two groups was that the Peace and Freedom Party 'represents a more narrow approach to politics.'"

"Few people outside of California have heard of Cleaver . . . and only very radical people are interested in his candidacy. All the McCarthy people and others like them are not interested in Cleaver."

It remains to be seen how the Freedom and Peace Black Caucus will react to the party's decision to run Dick Gregory. Many have previously indicated they feel Cleaver's campaign is closer to their own position.

Freedom and Peace nominated former New York assemblyman Mark Lane, principal critic of the Warren Commission report, as its vice-presidential candidate.

Ernest Mandel opens U.S. speaking tour

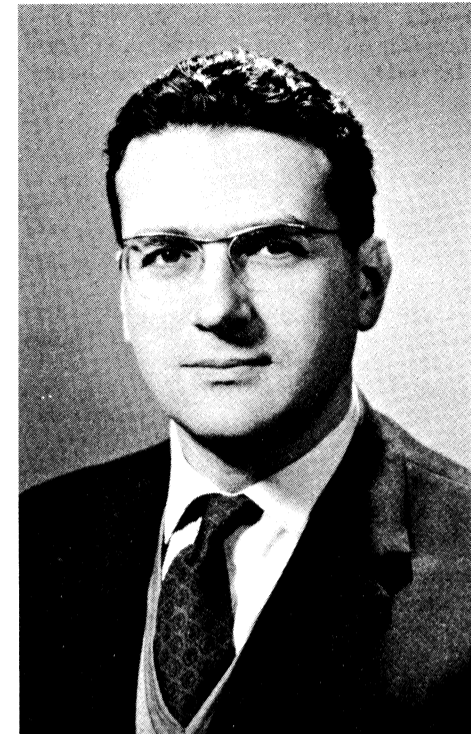
Ernest Mandel, noted West European Marxist scholar, will make a speaking tour of leading universities of the United States and Canada during September and October. He will leave New York City a week after his appearance as a principal invited foreign guest at the Socialist Scholars Conference held at Rutgers U. in New Jersey, Sept. 6-8.

The tour will take him from Montreal and Toronto in Canada through the Midwest to the Pacific Coast where he will give talks at the University of California at Riverside and Berkeley. He will return to the East in mid-October for engagements at Swarthmore, the University of Pennsylvania, New York State University at Binghamton, Hofstra and other places.

His lectures at these educational institutions will deal with "The Marxist Theory of Alienation"; "Problems of Soviet Economy"; and "Marxist Economics and Contemporary Capitalism."

Mr. Mandel, editor-in-chief of the Belgian left socialist weekly *La Gauche*, has an international reputation in the fields of economic theory and history. His major work, the two-volume *Traite d'economie Marxiste*, has gone through three editions and has been translated into numerous languages. It will appear this month in an English and American edition under the title of *Marxist Economic Theory*, with

additional material on the Common Market and the impact of Liberman's ideas on the USSR.



Ernest Mandel

The Great Society

THE CHRISTIAN ETHIC—"Few Catholic pharmacists have any qualms about selling pills, although many refuse to stock other contraceptives. One druggist feels 'off the hook' because pills also serve as fertility aids and he doesn't ask customers how they'll use them."—*The Wall Street Journal*.

DON'T LOOK A GIFT HORSE IN THE LUNG—To combat slumping sales, cigarette companies are turning to gift coupons. We have a bright idea. How about featuring such premiums as cemetery plots and coffins?

ESTHETIC APPEAL—Meanwhile the Cigar Institute of America will invest a quarter of a million dollars in a three-month advertising campaign concentrating on a single, vital fact—there are slimmer cigar shapes available today. This is intended to win over "today's sophisticated young male."

REMEMBER TO CAP THEM—Cartier's is offering felt pens in hand-engraved gold casing. Ladies, \$120; men's \$170.

NEW WAGE-SCALE—In the land of Free Enterprise, where a man's intrinsic worth is decisive, it has now been established, people are frequently paid by the foot. The personnel director at the University of Pittsburg says a study shows that college graduates who are six feet two draw a 12.4 percent higher salary

than those under six-two. Above six-two, it starts going down again.

KNOW HIM AND WATCH HIM?—J. Edgar Hoover says the way for children to avoid sexual molestation is to avoid strangers and dark places and, "know your local policeman."

WHERE THE ACTION IS—Don't ask what's shaking in Overland Park, Kansas. On Aug. 14, the Parkview-Gem supermarket there erected the world's largest display of instant pudding—3,250 cases of My-T-Fine. A three-piece band performed from atop the pile of pudding.

STEAL ON STOLES—Supermarkets will feature an A-1 sauce premium offer—a \$400 mink stole for \$200 and one label. If they threw in a pound of mink-burger we might consider it.

SOUVENIR—Paris shops are featuring a \$1.50 soft-rubber replica of the granite paving stones with which students defended themselves against the cops last May. They squeak on impact.

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK—"I would never accept any Communist to run in an election in Vietnam. When we say one man, one vote, we mean the vote would only be given to Vietnamese citizens who deserve it."—South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu.

— Harry Ring

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

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CUBA TODAY (I): The gains outweigh the shortcomings

By Harry Ring

This is the first of four articles on Cuba today. Militant staff writer Harry Ring spent three months in Cuba, from Dec. 23, 1967, to March 23, 1968. Future articles will deal with problems confronting Cuba, the question of socialist democracy in Cuba, and the trial of Anibal Escalante, recently convicted of crimes against the revolution.

During a three-month visit to Cuba I tried to obtain the clearest picture I could of the present state of the revolution in order to assess the progress and the problems.

I didn't go to Cuba as a journalist simply concerned with compiling a balance sheet of pluses and minuses. I went there as a partisan of the revolution to seek information that would help win support for its cause and absorb lessons of use to revolutionaries here and elsewhere.

To accomplish these objectives I felt it necessary to study objectively the negative as well as the positive aspects of Cuban reality. In winning adherents to a revolutionary cause there is no weapon more powerful than the truth. And truth is certainly the most effective instrument available today in defense of the Cuban Revolution—a revolution so remarkable in its accomplishments that it needs nothing other than the unembellished truth in its defense.

My experiences in Cuba confirmed the validity of this approach. To see the revolution in all its complex and even contradictory reality is far more instructive and persuasive than any superficial, one-sided depiction intended to suggest that in nine short years an underdeveloped, blockaded island has reached a state of near-utopia.

As I traveled around Cuba I wrote articles about what I was seeing. These articles focused largely on the gains being made by the revolution. At the same time I indicated there were some very real problems. In one article, published in *The Militant* March 4, I wrote:

"Revolutionary Cuba has many problems. The U.S. blockade has created a scarcity of food, clothing and other commodities. In the cities the housing shortage is acute. There are difficulties of economic management. A structured workers' democracy remains to be created."

It was necessary, I continued, to gain as clear and accurate a picture of these problems as possible and to try to assess the various factors responsible for these problems. But, I added, this could not be done, so to speak, on the fly. It takes a good deal more time and probing, for example, to get a reasonably accurate picture of the extent of the food shortage and the reasons for it, than to visit and describe a new school or hospital. Not that the new school or hospital is less important. It simply is a more easily perceived

element of the total reality.

Historical context

To properly assess the state of the Cuban Revolution, it has to be put into the context of Cuba's development. One day, as I stood at the entrance to a sugar refining mill in Las Villas province, a small scene drove home this point for me.

Unloading cane at the entrance platform was a big, modern tractor-drawn trailer. Directly behind it waited a cartload of cane drawn by a team of eight oxen. For me, the tractor-drawn trailer represented the nine years of the revolution; the oxcart, the previous 400 years of foreign domination.

The most crucial part of that entire era was, of course, the 65 or so years of U.S. imperialist misrule. During that period of wholesale plunder, the Cuban economy was stunted to an extent that gives the word underdevelopment an ironic quality.

The sole regulator of the Cuban economy throughout that period was the profit of the U.S. business and financial interests which virtually owned the island. Agriculture was concentrated on sugar and a few other profitable export crops like tobacco, rum and coffee. Most foodstuffs and virtually all other consumer goods were imported—at stiff prices and handsome profits—from the U.S. Schools, homes, health services, cultural facilities, etc., were conspicuous by their absence.

These, then, were some of the problems confronting the revolution when it came to power. Land had to be provided for the landless; employment for the mass of jobless; education for a people of whom one-third were illiterate; homes, schools, hospitals, clinics, nurseries, social services had to be provided. Food and clothing had to be produced or obtained abroad.

Difficult circumstances

To cope with these problems, and more that I have not taken space to cite, would be a difficult enough project under the best of circumstances. And revolutionary Cuba has not enjoyed the best of circumstances.

Cuba's most lethal problem, of course, sits 90 miles from its shores. From the outset, Washington has been determined to smash the Cuban Revolution. The failure of its 1961 military invasion served only to change the form of its efforts.

A continuing U.S. military threat compels Cuba to allocate a costly portion of its limited manpower and resources to military preparedness. In addition, and even more destructive, the U.S. has used its immense world power to organize a systematic, international trade blockade designed to strangle the revolution economically. Among the nations of the "free world," Cuba has been able to carry on trade only to the extent that the trade needs in various countries have been sufficiently great to compel them to circumvent or defy the U.S. injunction.

This, in turn, has created an additional problem: Because of the blockade Cuba is compelled to rely on the USSR for a number of key needs. The Kremlin, which is mortally opposed to Cuba's revolutionary foreign policy, is increasingly using its trade as a form of economic blackmail intended to compel Cuba to abandon its revolutionary line.

Measured within the context of these and other difficulties, Cuba's very real progress is particularly impressive.

Cuba is making significant gains in carrying through a nationally integrated long-range plan for the development of its agriculture to the point where it will be able both to provide an adequate diet for its people and have the necessary agricultural exports to obtain the imports it needs.

It is also making striking progress in the fields of education, medical care, cultural development, nursery care and other social services.

Economic plan

Despite difficulties, lacks and mistakes, the development of the economy on a



REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE. Students at July 26 School City in Santiago de Cuba. School was formerly Fort Moncada, scene of historic July 26, 1953, attack by Fidelistas. Many Cuban fortresses and jails have been turned into schools.

planned, long-range basis is particularly impressive. Within the framework of capitalism, such development is absolutely excluded. One need only look at the continuing economic deterioration of the rest of Latin America to see this is so.

Cuba is now concentrating on developing sugar production to the point where it is shooting for a crop of 10 million tons in 1970. (The record high thus far has been seven million tons.) Involved is an integrated plan for rationalization and mechanization of planting, harvesting and refining.

Other export crops, like tobacco, coffee and fruit, are also being developed on an intensive basis.

A cattle-breeding program based on the latest artificial-insemination techniques offers the promise of Cuba becoming a meat and dairy exporter as well as increasing domestic food supplies. Rice and other foods previously imported are being planted in large quantities.

Necessarily limited, industry is being developed in such a way as to complement and spur agricultural production. Fertilizer plants will increase agricultural yield. Steel-fabricating plants are designed to produce agricultural equipment. Priorities are given to thermal electric plants that will power vast agricultural projects.

Also geared to the development of agriculture is a major segment of Cuba's vast and inspiring education program. Two hundred thousand young Cubans, beginning at the junior-high-school level, are now going to school under government scholarships, with all their basic needs provided. Many of these students are in schools centering on agronomy.

In the Sierra Maestra I visited the Camilo Cienfuegos school city where 24,000 young people are studying the latest scientific techniques in various fields of agriculture. Other thousands are being trained in similar schools across the island. This in a country that had no native agronomists at the time of the revolution!

In the cities additional thousands of scholarship students receive academic and scientific educations.

Among the adult population the central educational activity is now aimed at providing everyone with the minimum equivalent of a sixth-grade education. In a one-year crash campaign in 1961 illiteracy was virtually eliminated in a country where a third of the people couldn't read or write. But a large number of adults in Cuba still have only the barest education. Also, many adults in nonproductive jobs are being trained in productive skills.

In a country where hundreds of thousands were jobless and hungry between cane harvests, there is now work for everyone. For those unable to work for reasons of health or age there is a social security system which, as far as I could determine, is modest but more adequate than the one in the U.S., the richest country in the world.

Medical care

Again, in a country where in the 1950s masses of the people never saw a doctor, there is now a comprehensive and generally adequate system of free medical care with special emphasis on an excellent program of preventive medicine.

Example: In "warm" (read "colonial") countries, the experts say, the incidence of polio is alarmingly high (and in the moderate climate of the U.S. there were 77 cases in 1963).

In New York, a city official said this spring that of 100,000 children who should have been vaccinated against polio, 75,000 had not been. In Cuba, while I was there, every child under four was vaccinated in a four-day period.

As a result of these early vaccination drives there hasn't been a single case of polio in Cuba since 1964.

Cuba is making serious efforts to develop a comprehensive cultural program. The National Council of Culture; the National School of the Arts (Cubanacan), with long-term scholarship students; the national ballet; the modern dance; the stage and cinema institutes; and other cultural activities are an eloquent tribute to the quality of the Cuban Revolution and, again, offer striking testimony about the potential benefits open to a socialist form of government.

The cultural program is particularly impressive in that there is every evidence of wide, genuine artistic freedom.

The revolution has already brought about profound, progressive changes in social relations. The involvement of so many in activities of a social character has even significantly altered family relations for the better.

The opening of economic opportunities, the development of free nursery programs, a divorce law free of red tape and a conscientious education program by the party and government have contributed toward advancing the status of women. Previously, as in all Latin American countries, they had suffered even more acute discrimination than in the U.S.

End Jim Crow

For black people there is a new life. Nine years of the revolution have not been sufficient to eradicate every vestige of prejudice developed over generations. But it has eliminated every significant aspect of discrimination and racism. The black youth of Cuba enjoy full, equal opportunity. From what I was able to observe, not all older whites have shaken off all of the inheritance of the past. Older Afro-Cubans are still not fully freed of the results of past discrimination—lack of formal education, job skills, etc. But there are no ghettos in Cuba. And there are no foulmouthed, trigger-happy racist cops. For the black youth of Cuba the revolution has opened the road to emancipation that remains blocked under the racist system of capitalism.

But in addition to registering such inspiring gains, the revolution continues to face serious problems. Some of these problems are due to circumstances that are beyond Cuban control. Others, in my opinion, are the result of political errors—of nonapplication or misapplication of Marxist methods.

The gains, I am convinced, decisively outweigh the shortcomings. But this in no way eliminates the need for a critical assessment of those avoidable shortcomings. It simply means there is no need to flinch at the task.

CHE GUEVARA

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Socialists on Indiana ballot

By Richard Congress

INDIANAPOLIS, Sept. 4—The Socialist Workers Party was certified for a place on the Indiana ballot by the state election board today. This is the first time the SWP will have a chance to run a campaign in Indiana.

The election board ordered the names of the presidential candidate Fred Halstead, vice-presidential candidate Paul Boutelle, and senatorial candidate Ralph Levitt to appear on the state ballot Nov. 5.

Indiana law requires 8,300 signatures of registered voters for ballot status, but the Indiana Halstead-Boutelle campaign committee filed over 12,000 signatures.

In further actions the state election board denied the Socialist Labor Party and the New Politics Party—a slate supporting McCarthy and New York's Mayor Lindsay—a place on the ballot.

Indiana SWP state chairman Russell Block issued the following statement: "The state committee of the Socialist Workers Party of Indiana defends the right of the New Politics Party and the Socialist Labor Party to have a place on the Indiana ballot.

"The action of the state election board denying these parties a place on the ballot is a clear violation of their democratic right to run election campaigns."

Ralph Levitt, the SWP candidate for U. S. Senate, was one of three students at Indiana University in 1963 who were indicted under a state witch-hunt act and threatened with six-year jail terms. At that time every move the "Bloomington Three" made was grist for the red-baiting Indiana press.

A three-year national campaign in behalf of the three students ended in completely clearing them of the phony charges. It was the "super-patriotic" prosecutor of the case who had to leave the state due to the unfavorable publicity. Levitt is conducting a statewide campaign to popularize the socialist ideas he was victimized for five years ago.

Newton trial

By Stephen Bloom and Paul McKnight

OAKLAND, Calif., Sept. 5—As this is written, the case against Huey P. Newton on a charge of murdering a policeman has been completed and the jury is now considering its verdict. The fate of an innocent man hangs in the balance.

Yesterday in his charge to the jury, Judge Monroe Friedman said that there are four possible verdicts it can bring back: Innocent; guilty of first-degree murder, second-degree murder or involuntary manslaughter.

Earlier in the week District Attorney Lowell Jensen and Defense Counsel Charles Garry made their closing summations before the jury.

It had been agreed that both attorneys would receive four hours in summation, but the prosecution was allowed to divide its time into two sections, one before and one after Garry spoke. Garry began his statement to the jury by declaring, "I don't intend to argue to you. I intend to think out loud to you."

Then he went over the entire case of the prosecution, emphasizing most heavily the contradictions in the testimony of Henry Grier, the bus driver who claimed to have seen the entire incident. "When Jensen was talking about Mr. Grier," Garry stated, "I was wondering which Mr. Grier he was talking about."

This was in relation to the statement Grier gave to the police on the morning of the shooting. Garry pointed out 13 separate points in which Grier's testimony in court conflicted either with his statement to the police, or the testimony of policeman Heanes, or both.

Among the differences was Grier's description of the killer as "small built," a "kind of peewee type," wearing a light brown jacket. Newton is five feet ten and was wearing a black leather jacket at the time. Grier had also stated that the killer was clean shaven, whereas Newton had a beard.

The second major prosecution witness whom Garry discussed was Officer Heanes.

He mentioned that although Heanes claims to have seen Newton shoot Frey, Heanes had stated in court that "I never at any time saw a gun in the hand of Huey Newton." Garry also spoke of Heanes' statement that he was "taking sides in this case."

"A big discrepancy" in the case, according to Garry, is the question of what took place immediately after Newton was stopped by Frey that morning. Newton claims that he had been searched by Frey and that if he had been carrying a gun it would have been found at the time.

The prosecution claimed Newton was not searched. Garry, addressing the jury on this point, said "One thing officers are taught in their training is to make a thorough search for any weapons." And he asked whether the jury could "imagine" an Oakland police officer stopping a known Black Panther and not subjecting him to a thorough search.

Throughout his talk to the jury, Garry emphasized the political overtones to the trial, making frequent mention of the conditions in the Oakland ghetto and the roles the Black Panthers are playing there. He pointed out specifically that the Oakland police department has made a special effort to harass the Panthers.

"Political ideas, political thoughts and political actions are on trial here," said Garry. He told the jury that "my client and his party are not for destroying, they want to build. They want to control their own community. They want to get the police out of their community."

In thinly disguised racist demagoguery, Jensen told the jury that "this community must be held together," that "the preservation of this community depends upon the police system and this legal system."

In a press conference after both sides had completed their summations, Garry said, "When Jensen says that the community must be held together, he is saying 'shoot to kill, keep the streets clean.' His so-called law and order is nothing but white racism."

PAUL BOUTELLE BEGINS A U.S. SPEAKING TOUR



Paul Boutelle

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, will open an intensive nationwide speaking tour at the Washington state convention of the party in Seattle Sept. 17. He will fly to Seattle Sept. 13 for a news conference and will speak at a number of meetings to rally a big turnout for the convention which will be held on Tuesday, Sept. 17, 6:30 a.m.—11:59 p.m. at the East Madison YMCA, 1700 23rd Ave. For more information contact: Washington Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 5257 University Way N. E., Seattle, tel. LA 3-2555.

A rally will be held during the convention at 8:00 p.m. which, in addition to Boutelle, will be addressed by Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from California and Berkeley student leader; Debbie Leonard, candidate for U. S. Senator from Washington; V. R. Dunne, founding member of the Socialist Workers Party and prominent strike leader in Minneapolis during the 1930s; and Will Reissner, candidate for state representative from the 32nd district.

In order for the names of Halstead, Boutelle, Leonard and Reissner to appear on the Washington ballot, at least 100 registered voters who do not vote in the primary election must attend the SWP state convention.

After Boutelle leaves Seattle he will be speaking in Pullman, Wash. (Sept. 19-20) and in Portland, Ore. (Sept. 22-23).

... Berkeley students fight curbs

(Continued from page 1)

though anyone who stepped into the street would be subject to later arrest.

At the rally itself, beginning at 8 p.m., most of the time was given over to an open mike where anyone in the crowd of about 2,500 people could speak for up to five minutes. Among the speakers were several people who had just returned from Chicago and described the police brutality there. Several former GIs also spoke.

Derrel Meyers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the state senate, declared that the rulers of America rule with "two fists," the "fist of deception and the fist of brute power." When one fist no longer works, and the people start to take effective actions, the government "comes out with the guns." Myers continued, "when they escalate their lies or deceptions, we must escalate the truth."

At 10 p.m., when the sound permit for the rally expired, the sound was turned off. A number of the demonstrators continued to stay in the street, closing Telegraph for a three-block area.

Police moved onto Telegraph when windows were broken at the Bank of America at about 10:45. While cops were dispersing the crowd of about 500 who remained on the avenue, shots were fired and a policeman was wounded in the thigh. Tear gas and clubs were then used to disperse the crowd.

Five policemen were said to have been injured in all and more than 20 people arrested. Two civilians were apparently shot, although not wounded seriously.

On Saturday, the danger existed of another police attack. Hundreds of California state highway patrolmen, Alameda County sheriff's deputies and police from surrounding areas, all with tear gas and riot-gear ready, joined the Berkeley police in patrolling the avenue. A large crowd gathered on the sidewalks around Telegraph and Haste.



"CIVIL DISASTER." Berkeley cops create civil disaster on Telegraph Ave.

Photo by Dave Warren

Even though the police tried to provoke fights, no fights took place because the people understood the importance of avoiding an unequal confrontation. There were numerous sidewalk discussions about the events of the previous night and a "beat the heat . . . be cool" leaflet was distributed.

Later in the night the crowd began to sarcastically cheer and applaud the police cars driving by the corner. The chant went up of "we want more police" and "we want Soviet troops." The tense atmosphere subsided and by midnight most of the police had left the scene. The crowd thinned to normal size.

The so-called bombing incident provoking Hanley's "state of civil disaster" decree occurred the following day, Sunday, Sept.

1. People were attracted to an apparent explosion at Dwight and Telegraph. The cops attacked them with tear gas. Hanley declared the "disaster" the following morning, Sept. 2.

At 11 o'clock the same morning, groups in the Berkeley radical movement called a press conference to announce Thursday's rally for preparation of opposition to the city-council decree. It was sponsored by the same groups which called the Friday sympathy demonstration with Chicago. Sandy Young, Jack Bloom of the Independent Socialist Club, and Peter Camejo were the spokesmen.

Young emphasized that the context of the bans was one of three years of harassment, and he singled out the 200 arrests in the Telegraph area since July 4. This

accounts for the reaction that the police and the city council are getting from young people, he explained. The movement could not tolerate continued suppression of their rights without responding to it. "We have no alternative to holding a meeting now," Young stated, "regardless of the consequences."

Jack Bloom drew the parallel between Hitler's burning of the Reichstag as a pretext to victimize Communists and the rushing of the Berkeley city council to accuse the radical movement of the unproven explosion.

Camejo pointed out that "their answer to every social problem is further repressions which are only going to give rise to further violence, which is what they claim they are opposed to."