

THE MILITANT

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Report from Oakland

Conference on fascism

-- see pages 6-7 --

What the moon feat says about man's life on earth



Americans on the moon



Americans in Vietnam

By Joseph Hansen

The age-old fantasy of reaching the moon finally became a reality. The feat constitutes a major milestone in the history of mankind, particularly the development of science.

Watching the coverage of the event on television, who could fail to be impressed by the technological level that has now been reached?

First of all, that man's first steps on another planet could be viewed by millions of persons all around our own globe at the very moment these steps were taken would hardly have been credible only a few years ago. This advance itself is one of the fantastic consequences of the space age with its Telestar relay system.

Equally remarkable was the display of reliability, not to mention clarity in voice and image, of the communications system linking the astronauts with their Houston base. How much depended on this can be judged by what would have happened to Armstrong and Aldrin after they landed if a single link in this system had failed.

Even more impressive was the revelation of the sophistication reached in the computers that carried out the continual calculations as to the orbits and rendezvous of the two space ships. Hardly born, the computer is already automated, miniaturized, coupled with radar and brought to a level of dependability that spoke for itself in the Apollo 11 mission.

As to the power of the jet engines, this met all the requirements long laid down by the better science-fiction writers.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the entire mission was its superb organizational level—at least this was what struck many Americans, who incline to be connoisseurs of the organizational side of human endeavors, ranging from the performance of teams in the field of sports to work forces numbering in the tens and hundreds of thousands.

Most of the labor in the Apollo 11 mission went into planning and preparation, the actual mission representing only a live performance of drills already performed thousands of times. The contrast to exploration in previous centuries was striking, a convenient gauge happening to be available in the news about the failure of Thor Heyerdahl's attempt to cross the Atlantic in a papyrus-reed boat.

The truth is, of course, that an enterprise of the scope of this one—like the successful production of the atomic bomb—is beyond the capacity of private enterprise. Only a government could assemble 500,000 persons, allot \$24 billion, make available the resources of the Army, Navy, and Air Force in a concentrated effort of such breadth for almost a decade. Which does not mean, of course, that it was not a highly profitable business for the companies that got the contracts. An accounting on this would be highly revealing.

There was an immediate gain in scientific knowledge from the landing. It settled speculation over the nature of the moon's surface. More important knowledge can be expected from the rock samples gathered by the astronauts.

These will enable scientists to determine the age of the moon, thereby providing fresh insights into its origin and consequently the origin of the earth and the entire solar system. Various puzzling problems can now be definitely solved as, for example, whether the tektites to be found on various continents are bits of once molten rock splashed from the moon under the impact of huge meteorites.

(Continued on page 5)

U of Kentucky version of SDS split

'Not even political
-- just bankrupt'

Lexington, Ky.

For some time now, I have suspected that SDS was politically bankrupt. However, it was only recently that I had the opportunity to observe a chapter of that organization prove it to me.

The first meeting of the SDS at the University of Kentucky since their Chicago convention was a spectacle to behold. Most of the people in attendance at this meeting considered themselves "regulars." While criticizing PL—mainly on the grounds that its members were clean-shaven and abstained from drugs—this body struggled desperately to understand what PL stood for. Not finding anyone in their group capable of supplying an answer, they decided to ignore the entire split as irrelevant! In the process of the discussion, however, one SDS intellectual, complete with uniform of the New Left, attempted a partial explanation of his differences with PL by uttering a profundity: "Marxism is totalitarian by definition."

The meeting went on to plan its fall activities. Immediately dismissing antiwar actions as not accomplishing anything, this vanguard turned to more revolutionary things such as writing articles exposing the contradictions in public statements made by university officials. One SDSer who asked if anyone knew anything about the July 4 antiwar conference in Cleveland was met with a thunderous silence from his colleagues.

Reflecting on the political bankruptcy of this SDS chapter, I have come to a new conclusion: it's not even political—it's just bankrupt.

Ed Jurenas

Mail call for a jailed student

San Francisco, Calif.

Militant readers may want to drop an encouraging line to Helen Meyers, a San Francisco State College YSAer, now a political prisoner for her participation in the San Francisco State strike this past year. Helen's address is Box 67, number 4, San Bruno, California.

Letters must be one side of the sheet of paper only, and must include the sender's full name and address; all mail is censored. Post cards may also be received. Helen is the only San Francisco State striker currently incarcerated. She is in excellent spirits, getting along very well with her fellow prisoners.

Andrea Davis

Dave Dellinger's accusation against The Militant

Philadelphia, Pa.

Dave Dellinger, in **Liberation**, June 1969, accuses you of inaccurate statements in describing the positions of rival groups in SDS. He says your statements are as grossly inaccurate as the statements of the government which

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.

led to the credibility gap.

This is a serious charge. Radicals must be fair, accurate and truthful in reporting to their readers.

Chuck Lang

In an article in the June **Liberation** entitled, "Toward Revolutionary Humanism," Dave Dellinger discusses the factionalism within the radical movement and makes this assertion:

"Already some of the articles appearing in **Challenge**, **The Militant** and **New Left Notes** which purport to describe the positions of rival groups are as grossly inaccurate as the statements of the government which led to the well-known credibility gap."

Chuck Lang is entirely correct in stating that this is a serious charge. We feel however that the inquiry should be properly addressed to Dave Dellinger since he made the assertion without even offering a single fact to substantiate it. We are not aware of any effort on his part, either in the pages of **Liberation** or elsewhere, to document so serious a claim.

We consider honest and accurate reporting of all views a fundamental responsibility of revolutionary journalism and have consistently sought to discharge that responsibility in full. As regular readers are aware, we state our political differences with others openly and frankly. But we have always proceeded on the basis of reporting differing views as accurately as possible.

Our pages are open to Dave Dellinger or anyone else who wishes to demonstrate that we have in fact falsified the positions of other groupings. Editor

Utah SDSer to get truth

Salt Lake City, Utah
Please send me a year's subscription to **The Militant**. I am an SDS member. Thank you.

In solidarity,
P.P.

Taking the capitalist railroad

Philadelphia, Pa.

I would like to relate a personal experience indicating what bad service one gets today on the capitalist Penn Central Railroad.

I was to meet my parents in

New York for a birthday celebration of dinner and a play, so I took the 5 p.m. from Philadelphia. I never made it to New York in time for the play.

An accident happened in Elizabeth, N.J., at 5 o'clock, so by the time our train got to Princeton Junction or Trenton the Penn Central should have known all the trains would be backed up, and they should have stopped our train at the station, refunded people's money and told them to take a bus. Or they should have chartered a bus at that point to ferry people to New York, as the airlines do when a plane is forced to land in the wrong city.

Instead, the Penn Central calmly took our money and let the train roll on until someplace near Rahway, N.J., where it stopped because of the construction ahead in Elizabeth. Luckily, there was a road near the place where the train had stopped, and it was possible for the passengers to hitch-hike. I was able to hitch-hike to New York, but not in time for any birthday celebration. Whoever stayed on that train must have waited an intolerable length of time. As of 9:15, Penn Station in New York had no word as to when that 5 o'clock train would get moving again. The next morning, the time that the service in that direction did get started was not announced on the radio, which leads me to wonder if the hour was perhaps around 2 a.m. and the Penn-Central did not want the public to know.

This is not the first time Penn Central has had accidents without telling people and giving them the option of going by bus instead. I feel they are more interested in taking people's money than in giving them good service.

Amy Lowenstein

Outstanding revolutionary effort

Philadelphia, Pa.

Enclosed is a small contribution toward one of the best of your many outstanding revolutionary efforts. Keep up the good work. Venceremos!

David Oden

'Particular interests' of Communist Party

New York City

Words reveal, more than their authors intend.

Howard Reed (in his article, "Will CP back Lindsay in New York election?" **The Militant**, July 18) quotes the **Daily World's** assurance that CP members "will always subordinate our particular party interests to such broad coalition struggles which we foresee as the main road to progress in the coming period." Reed demonstrates what this "subordination" really is: subordination of independent mass struggles to the office-seeking aspirations of some capitalist politician.

But another aspect of the matter deserves attention. What are the "particular party interests" of the CP? In the **Manifesto**, Marx and Engels wrote that the Communists

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Friday, Aug. 1, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was July 25.

"have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole."

Does the author of the **Daily World** article then feel that the "particular party interests" of the CP are the particular interests of one section of the proletariat which must be subordinated to the interests of the proletariat as a whole, as he understands them—i.e., "broad coalition struggle"? Or does he feel that the CP's "particular party interests" are the interests of the working classes as a whole, which must then be subordinated to the interests of other social classes?

The answer, apparently, is "both." And therein speaks the authentic voice of Stalinist self-deception. The CP represents the particular interests of one tiny part of the world's working class—those of the bureaucratic rulers of the degenerated Soviet workers state. These rulers, in turn, continually seek to serve their interests by subordinating the general interests of the world's oppressed masses to the interests of the lat-

ter's imperialist masters.

A member of a revolutionary party never needs to feel that he is subordinating the interests of his party to anything. He knows that to the extent that his party pursues principled, tactically sound policies, its numbers and authority will grow to the limits possible in the given objective situation. He knows that his party has no "particular party interests."

Roger Harrison

Accolades

Detroit, Mich.

I am renewing my subscription to **The Militant** plus sending you subscriptions for a few people I know.

I will add my accolades to those others you receive and extend to you my heartfelt thanks for providing one of the few sources of truth available to the swindled, lied-to, brainwashed citizens of the United States.

K. M.

Tierra o muerte!

New York, N.Y.

Tierra o muerte! As you read this letter a new front is opening in the movement for a new American society.

In northern New Mexico a group of struggling Mexican-American farmers has formed an agricultural cooperative to provide food for themselves and to build an economic base for political action. We are asking your support today for the planting that will make all further activity possible.

Perhaps you have heard the passionate cry for land and justice of Reies Lopez Tijerina—the call for the return of communally owned lands wrested from the Spanish-speaking people over the past 100 years by trickery and violence, despite all the assurances of our 1848 treaty with Mexico. The "raid" on the Tierra Amarilla courthouse two years ago brought that cry to national attention. The so-called raid was the act of a people fed-up with oppression and repression, protesting the authorities' interference with their right of peaceful assembly.

Located in the same impoverished area, the Tierra Amarilla agricultural cooperative represents a vital stage in the practical struggle of the people. There can be no continuing political action without food for families. Up to now fathers and sons have been forced to leave their homes year after year in a desperate attempt to provide that food. Now the people have set up an agricultural cooperative where men and women, young and old are working together to produce this food

and market it among their people.

Some 20 Mexican-American families who own land have contributed more than 600 acres. Others have loaned light tractors. Enough cash was scraped together to purchase a portion of the seed needed. Plowing has begun. But the New Mexican soil is rain-heavy and hard-packed; the land for 40 years used only for grazing today resists the plow. A heavier tractor is needed, along with tools, plowing discs, gasoline, more seed. A total of \$15,000 is needed to help get this self-help effort off to a sound start.

We have very special reasons for asking you to help. The Tierra Amarilla Cooperative represents a crucial, historic step towards "getting ourselves together" by men and women who have an old communal tradition but who have long been treated as a conquered people and have been divided among themselves by the pressures of a colonizing alien culture. It is a search for dignity by a people whose own culture and language have been consistently denied by United States institutions. It is a part of the struggle towards that better society we all want so much.

"Tierra o muerte!"—Land or Death—was the famous cry of Zapata during the Mexican revolution. Zapata's spirit stirs among our brothers and sisters in northern New Mexico. They also feel the land is their mother and that without it there is no life. We can prove to them through our support that they are no longer alone.

Planting must be finished within the next few weeks. Please send a contribution immediately so that the cooperative may be guaranteed success.

Your donation, in whatever amount, will also bring you a three-month subscription to **El Grito Del Norte**, a people's newspaper reporting on the struggle for land and freedom in New Mexico and other parts of the Southwest.

Brock Peters
Nathan Schwerner
Jose Yglesias
for the Northern New Mexico
Support Committee
300 9th Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10001

JOIN THE YSA

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA . . .

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

Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

I would like more information I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City State Zip



Confrontation at San Francisco State

PL's sorry record at S.F. State

By Dianne Gannon

(Progressive Labor's opposition to black nationalism as "reactionary" and its assertion that the struggle of black and third-world students for autonomous studies departments and open admissions is "bourgeois" is being widely discussed within the radical movement. The following step-by-step account of PL's record in this year's 134-day student strike at San Francisco State College, written by an S.F. State YSA activist, helps to make concrete just how PL's bankrupt politics have contributed to undermining campus struggles.)

The student strike at San Francisco State was not only the longest strike in the history of the student movement, but it was also probably the most significant campus action this year. It represented the first attempt by Third World students to apply the concept of self-determination to the campus, and the first attempt to develop a full program of struggle against the institutionalized racism of the university.

From the beginning, the role of the Progressive Labor Party in this struggle was both sectarian and opportunistic. It began with an attempt by PL to channel all student support for the BSU (Black Student Union) demands through the PLP-controlled SDS instead of through a more broadly-based committee which could effectively unite all those who wanted to support the strike.

When the BSU first announced its demands last fall and set a strike deadline, all the various radical groups on campus spontaneously offered their support. A meeting was called by BSU to discuss the strike with representatives of SDS, YSA,

PLP, and students from various socially-oriented campus programs such as the tutorial program and Experimental College. The YSA proposed that the representatives of that meeting call a mass meeting, open to everyone who wanted to work for the strike. However, a decision by the group was held over, and before the group reconvened, SDS advertised a mass strike meeting, called in its name.

Instead of working with everyone who supported the strike on an equal basis, SDS projected itself as the vehicle upon which the strike support committee must rest. Students were less likely to become involved in the strike support committee on this basis, and it weakened the capacity of the committee to fulfill its function.

The demands

During the initial phase of the strike, all supporters sought to explain the issues. Daily picketing in front of campus buildings, leafleting, teams of strikers going from classroom to classroom explaining the strike, and a noon rally, were the central forms of strike activity. Most of the campus did not know or understand the strike demands, but on a campus where over 80 percent of the students had demonstrated their opposition to the war in Vietnam, there was the potential for building massive support.

The YSA took the approach of concentrating on explaining the essence of the demands: the right of Third World people to determine their education. Many students could agree to that principle, while they might not understand or support one or another of the specific demands. Students tended to get hung up on whether they actually supported wholeheartedly all 15 demands when, in the case of some demands such as the demand that the head of the Financial Aid office be fired, they didn't even have the information upon which to base their judgement.

PLP's position was just the opposite. Students who came to the strike committee with questions about the demands or strike tactics were denounced by them as "racists." Consequently, many essentially sympathetic students were driven away in the early days of the strike. Instead of urging people to join the strike with the confidence that their radicalization would deepen through struggle, PLP allowed people to side with the administration because they didn't fully understand, and therefore weren't willing to say outright, that they supported all 15 demands.

This sectarianism, however, was soon undercut by the police repression which pushed sympathetic nonstrikers to the side of the strike. A campuswide convocation, during which thousands of students and members of the community saw a debate between administrators and leaders of the Third World Liberation Front, also helped to win large numbers of those who were wavering.

PL switches

After the Christmas break, during the heat of the struggle, PL dramatically switched its view of the 15 demands. Whereas before one could not even question the demands, now they put forth the argument that nationalism was reactionary. However at this time they still claimed they supported the 15 demands (most of which were nationalist demands). They argued that although the demands were "nationalist in form," they were "working class in content."

In a **Challenge** editorial in January, the two primary demands of the strike—for an autonomous black studies department and open Third World admissions—were criticized. These demands can be co-opted, PLP asserted, and unless they are "trans-

formed through struggle' into a working class "consciousness" they will just represent black capitalism. Whether the demands were potentially or actually working class in content, or whether just some of the demands were working class was not clear. However, PLP announced in **Progressive Labor** in May that at least one of the central demands, the demand for an autonomous black studies department, was "nationalist in form and ruling class[!] in content."

PLPs role

PLP's activity throughout the strike was aimed at presenting itself as the only legitimate defenders of the strike. After a strike committee was formed, they tried to drive students from the committee who presented alternatives to their sectarian approach. When the strike was almost two months old they launched especially vicious attacks on all those who disagreed with them, branding them as "racists." Students who had worked side-by-side with them, including independent SDSers, were attacked for having "right-wing" and "racist" politics. But their full venom was saved for the YSA. The YSA, they said, was "ducking the question of violence and shifting the responsibility for the violence to the cops." In addition, the YSAers were the ones who "strongly emphasized 'the right of self-determination of minority peoples and students for their educational destiny.'" Further, they critically declared, the YSA was for free speech and the right to assemble! (Leaflet issued by PLP-WSAers, "Build the Strike—Defeat Racism and Liberalism.")

When the S.F. State chapter of the American Federation of Teachers threatened to go on strike along with the students, the struggle entered a new stage. Although PLP and WSA talk a great deal about a worker-student alliance, both opposed the AFT strike. At first they said its purposes was to co-opt the student strike; that it was a plot concocted with the mayor's approval. Then they said that teachers weren't "real workers." When an AFT representative appeared at a strike support committee meeting, the YSA put two motions on the floor to support the AFT strike, but PLP-WSA prevented such a vote from being taken. One of the WSA spokesmen attacked the AFT for not stating that they would physically defend any striker arrested on the AFT picket line. An AFT teacher retorted by asking her if the strike support community had such a stated policy. It did not.

Likewise, when the striking oil workers in Richmond proposed a mutual aid pact between the AFT, the Third World Liberation Front and the union, a PLP spokesman branded the initiator of the proposal, Jake Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-561, a "pie-card."

Despite the fact that the oil workers specifically called for mobilizations of students to their picket lines (to which students from S.F. State, Stanford, and UC Berkeley responded), PLP-WSA ceased to participate. Their absence was particularly sectarian in the light of continued police harassment of the strike.

Defense Policy

Throughout the strike, PLP maintained that if one did not agree with a specific tactical decision, one was basically a racist. But this confusion of tactics and principles was most evident in the area of defense. At first PLP put forth the demand for a "mass trial" as the only principled basis for a political defense. Later, simply defending yourself in court became the way to defend yourself.

PLP's conduct in court reflected the same

unserious attitude. One of their key defense witnesses was Bridges Randall, former member of the BSU-TWLF and member of PLP. He testified that he "advocated" the "violent" overthrow of the government and that the central committee of the Third World Liberation Front planned all the tactics of the strike. When the prosecutor asked him to name central committee members and give their addresses, he did so. He also stated that members of the PLP had brought two-by-twos to campus to defend themselves against the police.

The result: two members of PLP were sentenced to a year in jail (they are since out on appeal), and a third member, following the same general tactics, was sentenced to six months.

Standing in stark contrast to this has been the defense waged in support of a separate group of ten defendants who were acquitted. In that case, the defendants represented a broad spectrum of political views: members of WSA, SDS, a pacifist, and Helen Meyers of the YSA. Their defense strategy was not based on the political orientation of any one tendency, but on the common struggle which they had been engaged in during the strike within the framework of demanding their constitutional rights.

Some students are amazed to see PLP denouncing the 15 demands and giving names and addresses of Third World students to the district attorney, but the zigs and zags of PLP's participation in the strike have had a clear logic. Lacking the basic understanding that the struggle of Third World people for self-determination is a revolutionary struggle, they show again and again their complete willingness to sacrifice the good of the broader movement for what they conceive of as short-run gains for themselves.

Antiwar action slated in Austin

By Mike Maggi

AUSTIN, Texas—Austin antiwar activists who are organizing a University of Texas Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam will hold a rally Sunday, Aug. 3, 2:30 p.m., on the east side of the University of Texas campus to re-name the LBJ fountain "Peace" fountain. The huge fountain, located next to the ROTC building and across from the multimillion-dollar LBJ library, has periodically been dyed red, reportedly to symbolize the death and destruction caused by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The rally will hear a GI from nearby Ft. Hood and activists who are now forming the SMC after attending the national antiwar conferences recently held in Cleveland. A local rock band will play after the speeches. The purpose of the rally is to build support for a mass meeting to be held Sat., Sept. 27, 2 p.m., at which the SMC will be organized.

Last week the University Committee to End the War in Vietnam decided to dissolve itself in order to re-unite all student organizations in a broad-based front, which will continue the fight for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. The new SMC will organize its "fall offensive" based on the program adopted at the recent national antiwar and SMC conferences.

A color photograph of the rally and fountain will be reproduced as a postcard. Individual copies of the postcard can be ordered from Austin SMCEWV, Box 7392, Austin, Texas 78712, for 25 cents.

Young Socialist doing sentence in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—On Monday, July 14, Bastille Day, Helen Meyers, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance at San Francisco State College, began serving a 45-day prison sentence.

During the past months Helen Meyers has been on trial twice for her role in the San Francisco State strike. On June 10, after a lengthy trial, she and nine other strikers won acquittal on three charges stemming from their arrests during the mass bust on Jan. 23.

In an earlier case, which was tried in March while the strike was still in progress, Helen Meyers was sentenced to 45 days in jail, six months suspended sentence, and three years probation. This case grew out of an arrest on Dec. 3 (Bloody Tuesday) when Helen, who was one of the members of the Strike Support Coordinating Committee, was picked out by cops while attempting to get an arrestee's name so that he could be bailed out quickly. Last month her appeal of the conviction was turned down on a legal technicality.

Because Helen Meyers was the first student striker to appeal her case, the District Attorney's office, regarding it as a potentially dangerous precedent, actively worked to quash it.

Well over 100 defendants, classmates, student teacher strikers, and members of the YSA attended a "Going to Jail" party for Helen, just two days before she was imprisoned. For those who wish to write her while she is in jail, refer to the letter from Andrea Davis on page 2.

Cleveland socialist campaign:

For black control of black education

(The Cleveland Socialist Workers Party has nominated Syd Stapleton for mayor of Cleveland and James Harris for the East Cleveland Board of Education. Harris is a student at Cleveland State University where he is president of the Crucible, a black student organization, and also a political columnist for the Caudron, a campus paper. The following is the text of a statement on student rights and black control of black education by James Harris.)

My campaign is an attempt to represent the real needs of students and the community for education. It is based on the idea of changing society—not apologizing for it, as is the usual procedure in campaigns. The alienation felt by today's students is directly attributable to the schools' practice of glossing over and apologizing for the basic contradictions and evils of this system, such as the existence of racism and the Vietnam war. Schools should be forums for new and varied ideas on how to improve society, rather than the indoctrination centers that they have become. Free expression is discouraged and teachers who speak out against racism, war, or other volatile issues are promptly silenced or dismissed. The major function of the schools has been to justify the status quo to that section of the population in our society which is most ready to see change and help bring it about—the students.

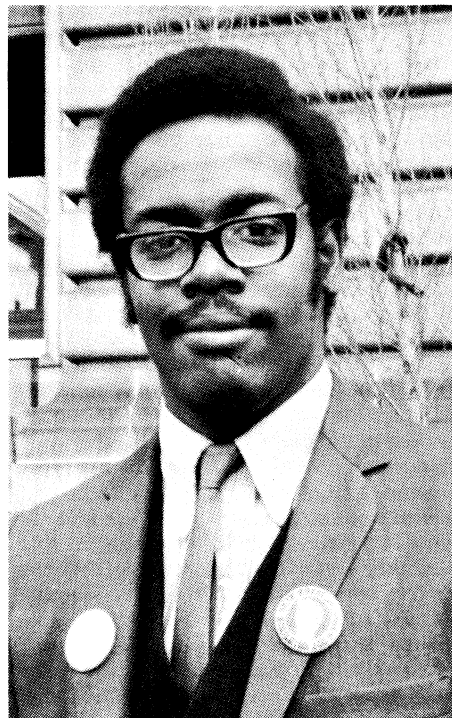
Candidates for such posts as the school board usually do not even discuss such topics as the war, racism or community control of education. They ignore these topics, hoping that by some miracle they will disappear and cease to be relevant to today's educational system. Because of this they expose themselves as puppets of the existing order which has already proven itself to be in direct opposition to the needs of the students. The small class of people that rule society have consistently manipulated students in the major areas of their lives without even allowing them a voice in any decisions. For example, the majority of high school students oppose the war (which is easy to understand since the men will be drafted into the army when they leave high school). If the schools really represented the students then this anti-war sentiment would be reflected in the makeup of the schools. Schools should be the centers of anti-war activity. In my campaign I will completely support the right of students to organize politically in their own interests.

Education in this country is based upon one principle—that of preserving this stagnating system at any cost. Where education conflicts with the interests of this country's ruling class education always loses. To the ruling class schools are just training grounds for new mechanics to make the system work. For example, the quota system of colleges is gauged by the amount of people industry feels disposed to employ, not on the need or desire of an individual student for more education.

The introduction of Black studies programs in schools have been consistently avoided until the students and the community literally had to force the schools to accept them. Why? Because Black studies programs break away from the schools' determined patterns of indoctrination which teach Black people that they are inferior, which glorify the European culture and refuse to touch upon the true nature of the oppression of Black people. To teach Black people the true nature of their subjugation and oppression in this country would

have shattering consequences and the ruling class knows this. One of the most crippling blows of the Black liberation movement has been the constant miseducation Black people have received in schools. The schools should aid the Black liberation movement. They should teach Black culture on an equal plane to European culture, and they should teach the true nature of our racist and capitalistic oppression rather than avoiding all mention of it.

One only has to take a look at the Guzick case to see clearly the true nature and purpose of our schools. Tom Guzick (a Shaw High School student) was denied his first amendment rights in a court case which was precipitated by his being expelled from school for wearing a peace button. The justification the judge used for this decision was a direct violation of constitutional rights. The judge stated that Guzick's wearing a peace button would set a precedent for the Black students



James Harris

to wear Black Power buttons and that this would start a riot.

The Guzick case shows how schools are perfectly capable of denying constitutional rights to students whom they feel are not conforming with the desires of the power structure. Why should a few bureaucratic administrators exert that much power over a student? Obviously, they shouldn't—but they do! It also shows that schools are not neutral on political issues. They are definitely partisan. They support the opinions of the ruling class consistently and act as brakes against any changes which might interfere with their profit making, such as an end to the war or an end to Black subjugation.

My platform is aimed at the fundamental atrocities of education in this country. No other candidate will run on these issues because they have all made themselves political puppets of the capitalist power structure. They are afraid of the consequences of taking a stand which would seriously challenge the status quo.

1. Community control of education. Autonomous Black control of Black education. An informed people actively encouraged to involve themselves in deciding about the education process.
2. Mandatory Black and Third World Studies for all students. This would serve to counteract the feelings of inferiority which are engendered by the glorification of the European culture and the ignoring of other cultures. This would also tend to diminish the racist attitudes that are allowed to become part of the education process.
3. Political organizing rights for all students.
4. An end to all disciplinary expulsions.
5. Hold regular full assemblies to discuss school problems and ascertain the will of the students.
6. Establish student policy-making boards to run student activities in the high schools,



handle disciplinary problems and participate in the general supervision of schools.

7. Dismiss all school officials who victimize or insult students on racial grounds.
8. Maintain the rights of all students and teachers. These should include: freedom of expression, freedom to organize, to pass out literature, freedom from censorship of school newspapers, freedom of assembly and the right to invite outside speakers regardless of their political views.
9. Free university education.
10. Schools which are related to the needs of the people in the community and that reflect the need for Black liberation and an end to the war in Vietnam and actively work toward the attainment of these goals.

Being a revolutionary socialist, my view of what education should be differs from the prevailing opinions of the capitalist

politicians on the school board. I think education should be used to serve and advance the people rather than make them into servants of the existing order. The supporters of this present system of education cannot possibly support any change, no matter how excellent and necessary it may be, because they have purposely chained themselves to the needs of this oppressive economic system.

I also support the campaign of Syd Stapleton for mayor of Cleveland. He is running against the consistently racist and reactionary Democratic and Republican parties as the only revolutionary alternative. The Stapleton-Harris campaign is based on the demands of Defend Ahmed Evans, Bring All the GI's Home Now, Student Power, Disarm the Cops and Black Control of the Black Community.

Movies

Hollywood's "Che"

OK, movie buffs. Here's Hollywood's big chance to face up to the Cuban Revolution. Cameras ready to roll, lots of lush, green tropical shrubbery (even if it's not Cuba proper, Puerto Rico can still serve as a good enough island replica), and plenty of fatigue-clad "Cubans" to spare who wield machetes or sport rifles when they aren't cutting sugar cane.

The only resemblance between this celluloid plastic product and the historical figure of Che is the physical one—which is where Hollywood's make-up men undoubtedly shine. But then, this is where Hollywood has always been at, anyway: appearance over reality, and fiction over essence.

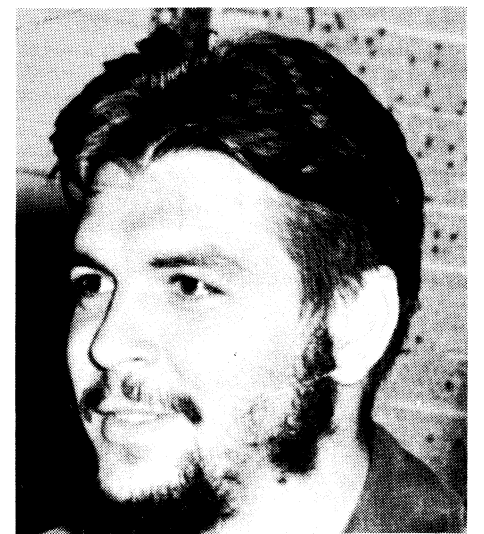
Jack Palance, assisting Omar Sharif, who plays Che, is cast as a table-pounding, bearded and somewhat confused Fidel Castro, groping for direction not only as a military field commander but as an inept political leader of some six million Cubans. We are, in fact, assured by one unnamed spokesman during the film that "Fidel constantly borrowed Che's military knowledge" as if Castro had blindly stumbled into a military victory over ex-dictator Batista. "I know," says the voice on the screen, "because I was there."

One wonders, then, why a Cuba exile group went to all that trouble recently to threaten a bomb attack on a Los Angeles theater where the film opened. The exile organization apparently neither saw the film nor was it familiar with the script that Michael Wilson and Sy Bartlett concocted, or they wouldn't have reacted in their traditional manner, which is to shoot (or bomb) first and ask no questions later.

Indeed, they might have even come to the conclusion that the script was turned out by some hack "Cubanologist" (as the CIA so dearly loves to call its Cuban experts). What else can one say, after all, in response to the authoritative voice on the screen (also unidentified) assuring the audience that "the CIA was not involved in any way" in the capture and murder of Che in Bolivia.

Completely overlooked in the film is the Bay of Pigs invasion, that rather messy affair the CIA would prefer to forget all about. Bypassed, also, is a rather significant aspect of Che's life—the Cuban Revolution. We find both Che and Castro suddenly caught up in the October 1962 missile crisis.

Che's supposed reaction to the Yankee imperialist threat is to go sulking in his



The real Che

room. There, the "latent martinet" becomes a mad-man whose thirst for power makes him count missiles over masses. "If we had 50 nuclear missiles . . . and we could convince the Russians that Cuba is the ideal missile site, we could reach every major city, every major industrial center in the United States" Che says with a gleam in the corner of his eyes.

Che's decision to leave Cuba and join the revolutionary movement abroad as a guerrilla leader is attributed to his supposed disillusionment with his role as a Cuban leader and his hassle with Castro.

Here, scriptwriters Wilson and Bartlett taker further liberties with fact. Che declares in exasperation shortly after taking power in Cuba: "It took me two years to reach Havana and after two days I'm sick of it!"

Meanwhile, Castro, visiting him, berates him. "I see it all now," Castro says, "You wanted to be your own boss all the way, your own show!"

A moment of truth occurs near the end of the film when Castro reads a letter Che has sent him from Bolivia. The letter itself is authentic, but what can one say of cigar-chewing Jack Palance reading the letter aloud in an elegant Havana apartment to a misty-eyed Cuban woman quietly sewing? Says Castro after reading the letter: "he must be losing touch with reality."

Fortunately, the theater where I saw "Che!" was nearly empty on opening night, so maybe the masses will never get Hollywood's message.

— Hal White

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... Moon

(Continued from page 1)

Even if the rock samples prove to be of the same chemical composition as those on earth, they may be incomparably older than anything yet found on the surface of our planet, and will thus provide information about the earth's primeval mantle that was long ago destroyed by repeated geological cycles of erosion, subsidence, and uplift.

Some sour notes

The achievement of this milestone in the space age was nevertheless not without some sour notes.

The first one was the planting of the American flag with gadgetry to hold it out as if it were streaming in the wind, thus making up for the moon's deplorable lack of an atmosphere. According to the usual informed sources in Washington, the most influential members of Congress insisted on this, not being willing to compromise even on putting up the flag of the United Nations although that organization displays precious little independence from its patron, the State Department.

These august gentlemen thereby demonstrated how successfully they have managed to preserve the traditions of Isabella of Spain and her kind, who always had the explorers they outfitted put up the imperial flag as their first official act on landing. The reminder was no doubt appreciated throughout the colonial world, particularly in Latin America.

Nixon's intervention gave off a foul smell in perfect keeping with the man. He required the two astronauts to stand at attention in their space suits on the moon's surface while he recited the remarks prepared for the occasion by the White House speechmakers. Then they had to respond in kind as if they were performers at a plate dinner for the Republican Party.

Much more serious things were wrong with the landing on the moon. Grave warnings, repeatedly issued by some of the top scientists in the world, were flagrantly disregarded.

From the beginning of the outer space programs of both the United States and the Soviet Union, these scientists have deplored the lack of proper precautions.

First, there is contamination of the moon. For instance, an almost perfect vacuum exists on the surface of the moon. Almost perfect, it should be added, for the moon does have an atmosphere weighing about one hundred tons. The Eagle added five tons of pollution from its jet engines. This alone significantly altered conditions that may have existed for some billions of years.

It is impossible to know what biological contamination this mission, along with previous missions, brought to the moon. The contamination may irretrievably damage the possibility of learning certain key things about life on the moon either in the distant past or at present.

Still graver is the possibility of biological contamination of our own planet. It is believed, of course, that the chances of this occurring are very low in view of conditions on the moon. But no one knows for certain. The rock samples themselves may contain primitive forms of life at a bacterial or virus level that could not be stopped from explosive multiplication under the conditions offered by our planet, and with consequences that are quite incalculable for all species.

The scientists who have voiced these warnings see no reason whatever for gambling with unknowns of this kind.

Why risks were taken

Why then did the government brush aside all these warnings and take the gamble?

The reason is known to every well-informed person. The men who decided on the space program are not primarily interested in science. They are interested in the tie-up between the space program and the arms race.

From their standpoint the ultimate payoff in successfully landing men on the moon is the still higher destructive capabilities that will accrue to the American war machine.

Lewis Mumford, as quoted in the July 21 *New York Times*, put it cogently:

"The program to land men on the moon serves more than one purpose. From a military standpoint, it was deliberately planned as a means of swiftly perfecting the equipment for total extermination—the strategic goal toward which our entire megatechnic power system, in the lethal grip of the 'myth of the machine' is now pointed. The secondary purpose of space exploration, which commends it to our affluent society, is to support on a more exorbitant scale than ever the military-industrial-scientific establishment and maintain the current rates of industrial expansion and financial inflation."

The context in which the American flag was planted on the moon gave rise to bitter comments on all continents. Prominent among these were references to the war in Vietnam. The country capable of the technological feat of putting men on the moon was the same country displaying its technological prowess in burning babies with napalm!

New law gives Philly cops go-ahead against campuses

By Daniel Stuart

PHILADELPHIA—Under the guise of "gun-control" legislation, the city administration here has passed a law permitting the police to invade campuses without invitation.

The law forbids the possession of not only firearms but also "cutting instruments" and authorizes the cops to enter campuses or schools whenever they suspect a violation of the law. Conceivably a student carrying a razor or knitting needles would be violating the "law" and bring the cops on campus!

The original draft of the law was even stronger, permitting cops to go on campus without warrants and forbidding possession of "all substances deemed capable of being used offensively." Even District Attorney Arlen Specter pointed out that such a law would be difficult to enforce—that the police could raid a college chemistry lab because it might contain substances capable of offensive use.

When the law was proposed it met with strenuous objections from the ACLU, students and local liberal politicians. Despite the fact that most witnesses spoke against the bill at a public hearing, it was promptly passed by the city council by a vote of 14-1, with the wholehearted backing of Mayor James Tate, City Council President Paul D'Ortona and Philadelphia's notoriously racist police commission-

er, Frank Rizzo.

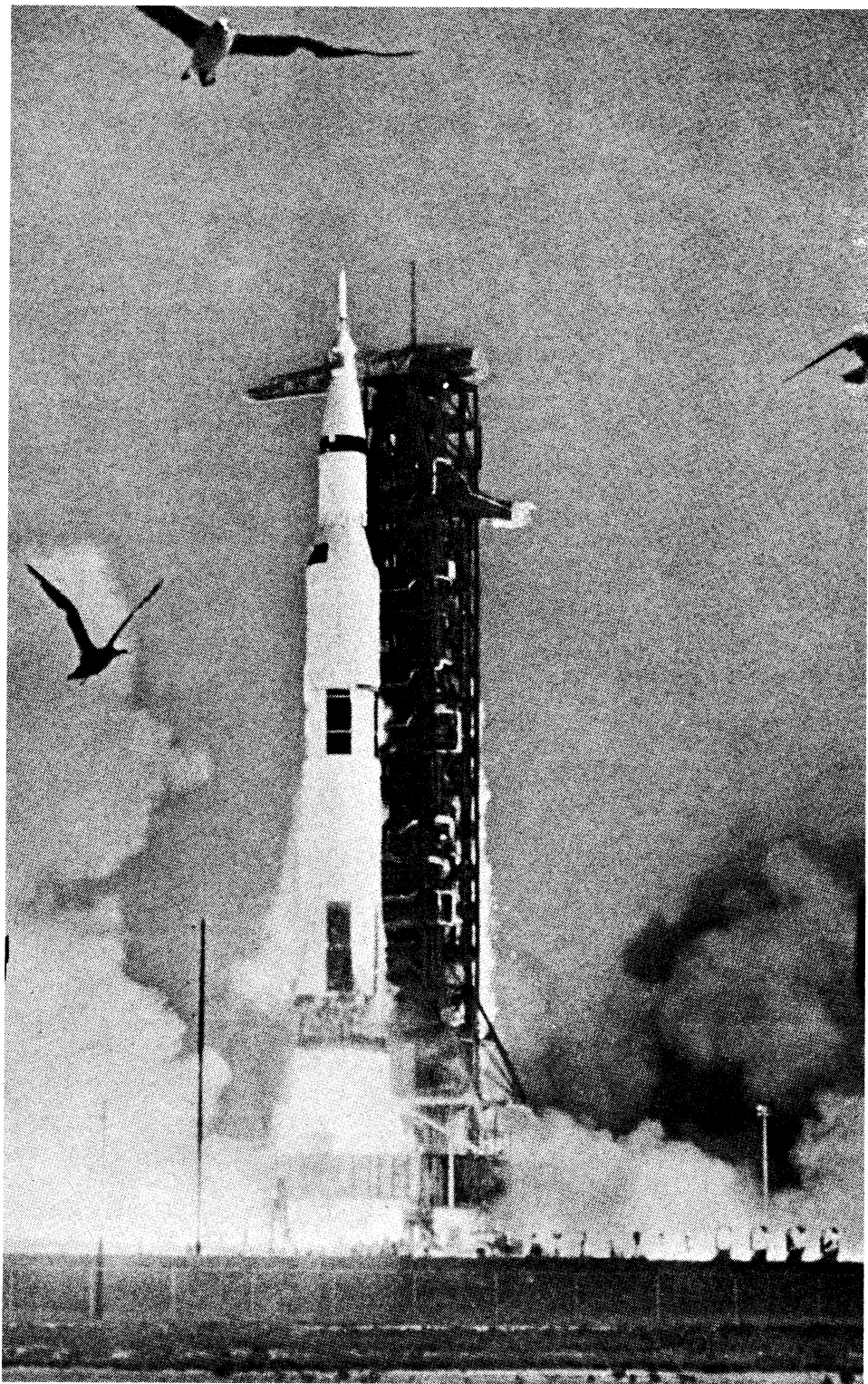
Rizzo made no bones about his plans to use his new powers to the hilt: "The minute that there is a threat of disorder in a university, college or you name it . . . we will move in."

Regarding the constitutionality of the law, Rizzo has a simple answer: "If the guy talks about his constitutional rights, he must be guilty; innocent people don't worry about those things."

Thus the Philadelphia city administration has prepared itself for the anticipated rise in student protests in the fall semester. They have prepared for unilateral police invasion of the schools to crush student protest.

The Philadelphia Socialist Workers Party municipal candidates will be making a major campaign issue of this gross violation of civil liberties; the candidates point out that the law violates the constitutional right to bear arms, the constitutional restriction against unreasonable search and seizure and the right to assembly on campus or anywhere else.

According to John Benson, SWP candidate for District Attorney, the best offensive against this violation of civil liberties "will be for student radicals to win massive support for the fall antiwar actions and struggles of black students. We plan to meet the 'Rizzo offensive' with the 'antiwar autumn offensive.'"



\$24 billion

Comments were numerous on what an insane enterprise it is to spend \$24 billion on putting two astronauts on the moon while millions go hungry, including in the United States.

Within the shadow of the Kennedy Space Center, hungry people watched the blast-off preparations.

"The irony is so apparent here," the July 14 *New York Times* quoted Dr. Henry Jerkins, the only black doctor in Brevard County as saying. "We're spending all this money to go to the moon and here, right here in Brevard, I treat malnourished children with prominent ribs and potbellies. I do see hunger."

Others in the United States had sharp things to say about the inversion of priorities. None said it more pithily than Mumford:

"In order to achieve both military power and economic 'prosperity' and support the power elite and their factotums in the style to which they are accustomed, every other human enterprise must either be trimmed to meet their needs or abandoned. It is no accident that the climactic moon landing coincides with cutbacks in education, the bankruptcy of hospital services, the closing of libraries and museums, and the mounting defilement of the urban and natural environment, to say nothing of many other evidences of gross social failure and human deterioration."

These are true words—if anything they understate what is happening in the United States.

What will be the consequences of this technological feat over which all the spokesmen of American imperialism are in ecstasies?

It can be predicted with little chance of going wrong, that it will give the arms race fresh impetus.

It is hardly likely that the Kremlin will concede to the Pentagon and give up the struggle. Much more probable is a decision to redouble efforts in this field and to achieve a new breakthrough that will again leave the Americans behind.

Whatever Moscow decides, however, Washington will certainly press ahead for still more just as it did in the nuclear arms race, to which the space program is closely related.

Another consequence is much more encouraging. The demonstration that it is possible to land men on the moon is cer-

tain to greatly increase sentiment in favor of ending capitalism and advancing to socialism.

What can be achieved through centralized organization and the application of scientific knowledge has been shown in a way that will sink deep into the consciousness of the masses.

Why can't similar organization and scientific knowledge be applied to make our everyday lives more secure and livable? If we can go to the moon, why can't we assure food for everyone? Provide decent housing? Adequate medical services? Guaranteed yearly incomes? An end to war?

It is now all the harder for the powers that be to dismiss such questions as utopian. They proved that it was even possible to go to the moon!

Before too long science may thus have its revenge on those who have diverted it to inhuman ends—to profit-making at the expense of human needs, to mass murder, to the construction of fiendish weapons capable of exterminating mankind.

New layers of humanity will now see in a more vivid way how insane capitalism has become and what a world could be built if the technological base humanity has constructed could be placed at the disposal of the people and utilized in accordance with rational planning.

The most important feature of the Apollo 11 triumph may yet be the impact it has on bringing man, the tool-making animal, to realize that he has become sufficiently skilled with tools, and that now he must master his social and economic relations if he is not to perish from what the tool has become.

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The Black Panther conference on fas

By Lew Jones and Rick Feinberg
 OAKLAND, Calif. July 22 — Over 2,500 people attended the Black Panther Party-sponsored "United Front Against Fascism" conference held here this weekend. Most of the participants were white and from the Bay Area, many probably attending their first radical conference. Of the approximately 250 black people present, some 150 were Panther party members.

Throughout, the conference was bureaucratically conducted. No discussion was allowed until the final session and even then controversy was out of order. Only officially approved spokesmen were allowed to speak. No votes were taken.

Attendance dropped sharply from the 2,500 who attended the first session to the roughly 600 who remained to the end of the final session to hear the decisions of the conference. By the end many of the participants were obviously confused, disappointed or angry at the character of the conference.

Some of the main speakers and panelists at the conference included Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale, who gave the keynote address; Communist Party theoretician Herbert Aptheker, who gave what amounted to a second, longer keynote speech; SDS leaders Noel Ignatin and Jeff Jones; Ron Dellums, a Democratic Party city councilman from Berkeley; Panther attorneys William Kunstler and Charles Garry; Ron Denis of the Transport Workers Union Local 50 black caucus; Archie Brown of the Communist Party; Bob Avakian of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union and Dr. Nathan Hare, director of the Black Studies Department at San Francisco State.

The basic proposals and political orientation of the conference were laid down and motivated in the speeches by Seale and Aptheker. Any basic criticism of the perspective which they put forward or of the undemocratic conference procedures was not allowed even in the form of leaflets to the conference participants. Members of the Progressive Labor Party and the Independent Socialist Club were physically beaten for distributing critical leaflets.

The small number of black people present and the reformist political orientation that emerged in the course of the conference reflected a move by Black Panther Party leaders away from any perspective of building a mass black political party based on revolutionary nationalism. This move to the right was most clearly seen in the ambiguous, if not favorable, attitude of many conference speakers toward the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. The prominent role played by CP spokesmen at the conference, and the large numbers of CPers present, helped to fortify this tendency.

SDS intervention

Students for a Democratic Society also supported and participated in the conference, but by the end of it many SDSers were dissatisfied with the character of the conference and the obviously heavy influence of the reformist Communist Party.

The main attention of the SDS leaders, however, was directed elsewhere. National secretaries Mark Rudd, Jeff Jones, and Bill Ayers seemed to spend their major energies at the conference in organizing

a goon squad "to take care of Progressive Labor." Utilizing the Stalinist methods which Progressive Labor itself has resurrected, SDS leaders fingered suspected members of Progressive Labor or the Worker Student Alliance who were in the audience and forcibly ejected them from the hall. Later in the conference physical battles erupted between members of SDS and PLP.

Conference opens

The conference was opened by Ray Masai, Panther minister of education, who



Photo by Dave Warren
Bobby Seale

acted as moderator. After explaining that the united front to combat fascism was originally the idea of Huey P. Newton, he introduced Edward Keating, former publisher of *Ramparts* magazine, who brought a message from the imprisoned Panther leader. Newton called for "an end to any bickering. We must concentrate on the enemy. . . . As long as we are united, we are sure to win."

Bobby Seale then delivered the first keynote speech of the evening. His theme was that fascism, despite the opinion of many people in the radical movement, does exist in the United States. One cannot say that fascism does not exist, he argued, simply because one doesn't see people in concentration camps or Brown shirts. It is clear, he said, given all the repression, that fascism has arrived and, "We need a clear program and a united group of people to combat fascism in America." Seale referred to US, a black group in Los Angeles, and the Progressive Labor Party in his discussion of "fascist organizations."

Seale's program for defeating fascism was to decentralize the police and give

power to the people in the community to hire their own police. He implored the audience to nip fascism in the bud, to prevent it from reaching the point of concentration camps.

Seale referred to fascism as the existence of "the avaricious, greedy, exploiting businessman; the demagogic, lying, thieving politician; and the fascist, pig, brutalizing, murdering and terrorizing cop." Seale didn't account for the fact that the businessman, the politician and the cop are features which have existed for some time, and are present in every capitalist country.

The overriding theme at the conference was that there is little time left, that "action" not discussion or clarification is the immediate necessity.

Following Seale, Dr. Carleton Goodlet, publisher of the San Francisco Afro-American *Sun Reporter*, introduced the second keynote speaker of the conference, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, who spoke on "Historical Aspects of the Rising Tide of Fascism Today."

Aptheker defined fascism as "the holding of power by the most reactionary, most imperialist and most racist element of the monopolists." He called it a "death wish" of a moribund ruling class, and contended that increased profits, greater numbers of mergers, and the increased degree of monopolization of the American economy provide the structural basis for fascism. "When the ruling class not only dreams of concentration camps, but openly announces these dreams," he argued, "it is not premature to gather to initiate a struggle against fascism." "And anyway," he continued, "it's better to be premature anti-fascists than dead victims of fascism."

With that "theoretical" analysis behind him, Aptheker spelled out an approximately 20-point political program for the united front against fascism. What Aptheker outlined in both his "analysis" and the proposed program was simply old wine in new bottles for the CP. It used to be called the "popular front," and when that became discredited, it was renamed the "anti-monopoly coalition." Now it has been dubbed a "united front against fascism."

But the political essence remains unchanged: the specter of the right wing is used as a justification for a class-collaborationist policy of support to liberal capitalist politicians as a "lesser evil." In recent history, the CP's support for Johnson in the 1964 elections — in order to defeat the "fascist" Goldwater — is one of the best examples.

This right-wing speech was a little too much for the considerably more left-wing audience. As Aptheker called for a non-sectarian policy, and for unity, shouts were heard from the audience asking, "What about PL?" As the speech wore on, heckling increased. Opposition began to mount from many women who were anxious to proceed with the women's panel, scheduled to start at the beginning of the Friday night session. Panther monitors kept moving through the audience, trying to quell heckling. Finally people began to stand in protest until some 200 or more were standing.

One black woman from Los Angeles, who shouted out, "Let the women's panel speak," was physically thrown out of the conference. This touched off a strong reaction that had built up against the male chauvinism of those running the conference.

As Aptheker drew to the end of the speech and said, "in conclusion," the audience burst into strong applause. After Aptheker left the stage, Chairman Masai attacked those who had interrupted Aptheker. He explained that in order to make this a truly united front, "we have a lot of verbose speakers from all political texts," and the only one who would try to disrupt the conference is a pig, "either a city pig, or a county pig, or a federal pig, or even a PL pig."

This concept was reflected again and again throughout the conference. Anyone who disagreed with the bureaucratic structure of the conference or its reformist proposals was a "reactionary" of some kind, who should be purged, banned, censored, or even physically attacked.

Women's Panel

When the women's panel finally got under way, there were only 40 minutes left. The main speaker was Panther Roberta Alexander, who commented on the "confusion in the Party on the question of

women." She received a standing ovation when she called on both men and women to fight the problem of male supremacy.

Other speakers on the women's panel, who were able only to present short statements before the hall closed at midnight, were Carol Thomas of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Evelyn Harris of the Alameda County Welfare Rights Organizations, and Dr. Marlene Dixon, who was fired last year from the University of Chicago.

Tables banned

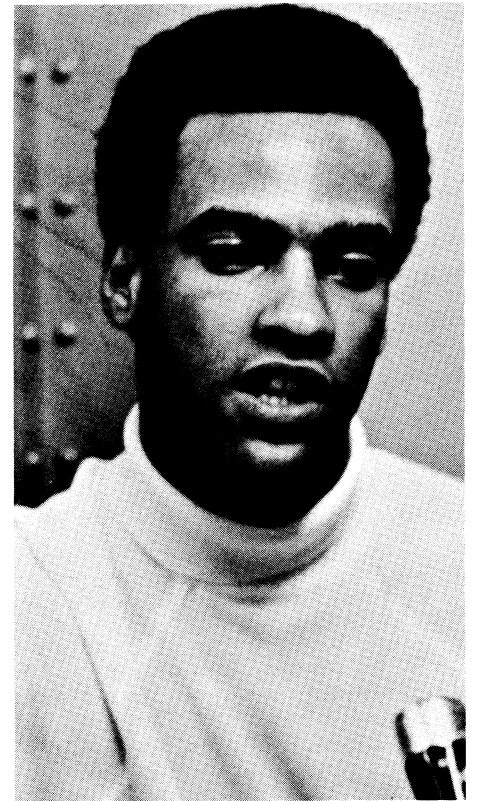
During the conference session on Friday night, the Panthers forced the Spartacist League and the Independent Socialist Club to take down their literature tables on the grounds that they were selling "Trotskyist" literature. They also removed the table put up by the Palo Alto Resistance and stopped Workers' League members from hawking their literature outside the auditorium.

After security guards checked the content of six pamphlets by Leon Trotsky, the YSA literature table was allowed to remain. The Panthers never explained why the YSA table was not banned along with others selling Trotskyist literature. But in protest against the undemocratic and exclusionary actions of the Panthers, the YSA offered to put any literature belonging to the banned organizations on the YSA table. Later in the conference, the ISC accepted this offer.

Saturday panels

The Saturday-morning session was devoted to a panel on "Workers vs. Fascism," chaired by Roscoe Proctor, a member of the Communist Party's national committee. Speakers included CP'er Archie Brown, Bob Avakian of the Maoist Bay Area Revolutionary Union and Panther Kenny Horston, leader of the Black Panther caucus at the GM plant in nearby Fremont.

When the panelists had finished their initial presentations, slightly more than the time allotted for the panel had elapsed, and Proctor declared the discussion period canceled. This previously scheduled dis-



Huey P. Newton

cussion period of 30 minutes had been the only time during the entire conference when it was specifically stated that discussion would be permitted.

During the Saturday-afternoon session on "Fascism and Education," which was held in the Bobby Hutton Memorial Park, several further incidents of violence occurred as scuffles broke out between SDSers and PLers on the outskirts of the crowd. On Saturday evening the use of physical intimidation became even worse. ISC members who were attempting to distribute a leaflet protesting the banning of their literature table and raising some political criticisms of the conference, were attacked by the Panthers outside the hall, and their leaflets were confiscated. A PLer who was also leafleting outside was beaten up by SDS members and a Panther monitor.

For the participants, the high point of Saturday night's session was a speech by Berkeley city councilman, Ron Dellums. In what may well have been the most militant speech of his Democratic Party

this issue

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political career, Dellums announced that he was tired of being Berkeley's "nigger" and that he was thinking seriously of walking away from electoral politics. He commented that many of his constituents believe it unnecessary to struggle in the streets as long as they have him representing them on the City Council. "If my being on that council has stopped other people from fighting for their freedom and justice, then I walk away."

Dellums' speech drew a standing ovation and the approval of Masai, who announced, "that's my kind of politician."

SDS members rebel

The SDS leadership's utilization of hoodlum tactics did not gain wide support from the rank-and-file SDS members present. Led by Berkeley's Radical Student Union and San Francisco State's Joe Hill caucus, SDS's own members began to turn with revulsion against their national leaders. At an SDS caucus meeting Sunday afternoon, they led a successful political attack against the hooligan tactics of the national leadership.

A GI panel was planned for Sunday, and Andrew Pulley, one of the Fort Jackson 8, and a member of the YSA, had been scheduled to speak. Pulley informed the conference organizers that he would not participate in the panel unless the right to distribute literature was restored to all tendencies, and unless those who had been harassed and banned received apologies. Pulley stated to the Panthers that it was precisely the repression of ideas that he had fought in the Army, and that he could not condone it at this conference. The Panthers refused his request.

The final session of the conference was held Sunday evening, with Bobby Seale delivering the main speech, discussing the united front and decentralization of police. He repeated several times that there are a lot of people who want to argue ideology, but, "we've had too much of that already." In a united front, he said, "you can't have a lot of ideological jive." He reminded his audience that this kind of conference would have to be held every three or four months. At the next conference, he predicted, we'll be back here 15,000 strong, and we're not going to miss a single worker in the country."

Seale then proceeded, with the help of slides, to explain exactly how this decentralization plan is supposed to work. He and Peace and Freedom attorney Peter Frank expounded upon the intricate details of how to conduct a petition drive. When all this was complete, the microphone was thrown open to what was left of the audience.

Most of the questions dealt with the feasibility of the decentralization plan and a few speakers wondered whether the turn from direct action to petition drives and electoral politics might be viewed as a step backward by many "street revolutionaries." Seale's response was that this petition drive was not a reformist one, but a revolutionary one, and that any so-called street revolutionaries who did not help with the actual work of circulating the petitions were "bull-shit anarchists."

At no time in the presentation or discussion was it made clear that under capitalism the police will always be agents of the ruling class and that only a mass movement which is independent of the Republican and Democratic parties and which does not rely solely on the electoral process can be effective in putting any significant harness on police.

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Scene at conference

Photo by Dave Warren

A petition campaign does not in and of itself represent a move in a reformist direction. As part of a mass struggle on many fronts for black control of the black community such a campaign could strengthen the movement and help organize new forces into the struggle. But, as it was presented at the conference, with clear implications that community control could actually be achieved solely through such a petition drive and referendum, the campaign reflected reformist illusions.

By the time this discussion had ended, considerably fewer than a thousand remained in the auditorium to listen to the Panther chairman talk about the formation

of "National Committees to Combat Fascism." Seale said that there are presently 15 such committees, but that there should be more, like 50. The committees will be autonomous, and their main activity will be to conduct the petition drives to place police decentralization referendums on the ballot in a number of cities.

They will be able to send representatives to the next conference which will pass resolutions on questions like Vietnam and (significantly) political primaries.

The closing statement of the conference was presented by Carleton Goodlet, who encouraged everyone to write or visit his congressman to get him to support a

resolution in Congress for withdrawing troops from Vietnam. As the last few hundred delegates prepared to file out of the conference, Dr. Goodlet expressed his conviction that, "With God's help, we may be able to save America."

Politically, the conference represented a step backward for the Panthers. But regardless of any criticism one might make, it is essential to keep clearly in mind that the Panthers remain under vicious attack by the racist capitalist rulers across the country. It is the obligation of everyone in the movement to do everything possible to help the Panthers beat back that reactionary attack.

BOOK REVIEW

The fruits of imperialism in Iran

IRAN: The New Imperialism in Action, by Bahman Nirumand. Monthly Review Press, New York, N. Y. 192 pp. \$6.95. Paper, \$2.25. 1969.

This book presents, essentially, the message which the Iranian student movement has been trying to get across internationally: to expose the military dictatorship of the shah and the role the U. S. has played in keeping Iran politically suppressed and economically backward. The facts presented by Nirumand stand in stark contrast to the image of the "free world" and its relations with Iran presented in the bourgeois press.

The Iranian students started demonstrations against the shah's despotic regime in the late 1950s and early '60s in Europe and the United States. Nirumand, one of the leaders of this movement, provides valuable background material for understanding this development. Going back to the early part of the century, he outlines the imperialist role in Iran, particularly in relation to oil. He tells about the intrigues of the British in Iran and how they obtained favorable oil concessions.

Especially good is Nirumand's account of the nationalization of the oil industry under Mossadegh in 1951, and how the imperialists reacted.

The "free world" immediately started to exercise its "freedom" to strangle the struggling nation.

Iranian oil was boycotted. Mossadegh tried hard to obtain aid or a loan from the U. S., but to no avail. The Soviet Union did not help. Mossadegh began jockeying for a "solution," at first directly with the British and then with U. S. participation as an "honest broker." Nirumand provides considerable detail on these dealings, using mainly Western sources. American capitalists and U. S. government envoys, including Averell Harriman, came and went, all promising Mossadegh something . . . but somehow nothing ever materialized.

Meanwhile, the British and the shah, and later the U. S. and the shah, plotted to overthrow Mossadegh's government.

After Mossadegh's government went down in August 1953 through a CIA-engineered coup d'etat, the oil problem was readily "settled," and the U. S. imperialists, who had held nothing in Iranian oil previously, were awarded a 40 percent interest in the consortium combine that was created.

The political persecution, the economic dependence, the national humiliation and cultural degeneration that occurred under

the subsequent "Americanization" of Iran deeply affected the young Iranians and led to their radicalization. The author of the book reflects this mood.

In trying to explain why Mossadegh failed and the imperialist counterrevolution succeeded, Nirumand offers the following reasons: "If he had commenced the domestic struggle for emancipation at the same time as the foreign one, the Americans might not have found the necessary collaborators within Iran. The failure of the struggle for national liberation hardened the fronts of the struggle for social emancipation, thwarting the hopes of the Iranian people and rendering fruitless the heavy sacrifices they had made during the Mossadegh period."

Nirumand also mentions Mossadegh's failure to carry out a land-reform program. This alienated some very important sectors: "If he had had the masses resolutely backing him, he could never have been overthrown by a handful of officers and a bribed mob of riffraff." However Nirumand does not examine this point further. He does not investigate the social reasons behind Mossadegh's course.

The book contains valuable material, as has been indicated, but it hardly measures up to its title of **Iran: The New Imperialism in Action**. It is clearly impossible to understand the actions of the imperialists in Iran without understanding what

they faced; namely, the actions of the anti-imperialist forces, the character and leadership of these forces, and the revolutionary potential of the working class.

These questions are not taken up. The book does not go concretely into the mass demonstrations, strikes, and uprisings that shook Iran in the forties and early fifties, prevented the imperialists from stabilizing their control, and led to the nationalization of the oil industry and the expulsion of British imperialism from the country.

But these civil struggles were very important. In fact Mossadegh himself was brought to power through mass actions, the decisive one being a general strike of oil workers. This strike, in April 1951, involved 60,000 participants, to the amazement of the ruling-class paper **Ettela'** at which admitted the existence of a strong feeling of unity among the workers.

The workers thus served notice on the rulers and the rulers took notice. Mossadegh, whose nationalist opposition faction constituted only a tiny minority in the Majles, a parliament dominated by reactionaries serving imperialism and feudalism, was suddenly appointed prime minister by the shah! The Majles approved the appointment at once (April 30, 1951).

Under Mossadegh, the feudal and bourgeois property relations were not touched. The masses fought hard to defend Mossadegh's government when it finally came under attack. Yet the revolution did not advance beyond the nationalist stage. The socialist revolution did not materialize. This meant, to use Nirumand's words, "thwarting the hopes of the Iranian people and rendering fruitless the heavy sacrifices they had made during the Mossadegh period."

The Tudeh party, which claimed to be the revolutionary working-class party, but which was heavily influenced by Stalinism, had no program for taking state power. In an earlier period, the leaders had concentrated on pressuring the government into granting oil concessions to the Soviet Union; thus they took a dim view of the movement to nationalize the oil industry. The bourgeois nationalist leadership took advantage of the default of the Tudeh party and won control of the movement.

The book does not take up these questions and thus fails to contribute to the development of a revolutionary anti-imperialist program for Iran.

However, those who have illusions about the shah and the role of U. S. imperialism will find the book instructive.

—Javad Sadeeg



Shah of Iran

Indians in Maine demand \$3 million in reparations

By Ted Parsons

BRUNSWICK, Maine—The 500 Passamaquoddy Indian families on two tiny reservations on Maine's northeast coast live in abject poverty, and the authorities intend to extinguish any glimmer of hope that the Indians have for improving their lot. But the Indians remain defiant.

Some of the Indians find work in the summer and fall in the fish factories and as field laborers during the harvest season. For the rest of the year, the majority are tossed on the scrap heap of unemployment, their only income a few dollars they earn from the sale of Indian handicrafts. The total yearly income of each Indian family ranges from \$500 to \$2,000.

The starvation-level, hopeless conditions have caused tribal life to deteriorate. Many of the younger Indians can no longer fluently speak the Passamaquoddy tongue.

Yet the Passamaquoddy Indians are struggling for their rights. Knowing they could not expect any significant aid from the State of Maine Welfare Department, they retained attorney Don Gellers of Eastport, Me., to file a suit against the state of Massachusetts for nonpayment of funds from the sale of lands vacated by the Indians when they were forced onto the reservations. The amount of the claim is about \$3 million.

Many lawyers in Maine and Massachu-

setts thought the Indians had a good chance of winning a substantial part of the money because the obligations of the state were clearly defined by a series of treaties in the 1790s. The obligation of Massachusetts to compensate the Indians for their lands continued to be assumed when Maine became a state in 1820.

Knowing full well that the Indians have airtight legal cases backed up by treaties, federal and state authorities have used many varieties of illegal and extralegal pressure to deprive the Indian of his right to be heard in court.

Mr. Gellers filed suit in a Massachusetts court in April, 1968. Two days later a man hired by the Maine state police entered his home while he was still in Massachusetts and "found" marijuana around the rooms, some even in the vest pocket of a jacket Gellers had not worn in two years. He was convicted and sentenced to 11 months in jail; if he loses the appeal of his conviction, his attorney's licence will be taken away.

Fortunately a number of people in Maine have become incensed at this caricature of justice and are aiding him in his appeal to the state supreme court. In the meantime he is hampered in his work on the Passamaquoddy land case, and the Indians have learned once again what their place in a capitalist state is supposed to be.

Detroit witch-hunt protest

By John Porter

DETROIT—A federal grand jury here is conducting a witchhunt "investigation" of the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), which has recently demanded reparations from churches, beginning when James Forman read the NBEDC's Black Manifesto at the Riverside Church in New York May 4.

Among the persons subpoenaed to appear before the grand-jury are prominent ministers as well as leaders of NBEDC, including Rennie Freeman and James Forman, and other prominent Afro-Americans.

U. S. Attorney General John Mitchell revealed at a news conference July 14 that the grand-jury investigation will continue but refused to specify what "crimes" might be involved. It was at first projected that one "crime" might be "conspiracy to export!"

More than 100 people demonstrated June 30 at the Detroit federal building to protest the opening of the grand jury hearings. Later that afternoon a people's court was convened to keep the public informed about the grand jury's actions. The people's court was necessitated by the closed nature of grand-jury hearings and the fact that the only evidence presented for investigation is that of the U. S. attorney.

Rev. Robert Morrison of St. Joseph's Episcopal Church refused to answer any questions at the grand-jury hearing, in-

stead reading a statement denouncing the investigation, it was revealed at the people's court. Rev. Morrison was bound over for determination of whether he should be found in contempt.

Several leaders of the black community spoke at a defense rally July 3 at St. Joseph's Episcopal Church, including Brother Gaidi (Milton Henry) of the Republic of New Africa, Mike Hamlin, a founding member of DRUM (the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement) and member of the steering committee of NBEDC and Kenneth Cockrel, defense counsel for NBEDC. In answer to a question from Brother Gaidi, Cockrel said that NBEDC denounces the concept of "black capitalism" and understands that capitalism must be destroyed, but that if it takes money to make a revolution, the capitalists will be made to pay.

Ernest Mazey, former director of the ACLU in Michigan, declared that the fundamental question is the right of black people to decide their own destiny. Rev. Morrison spoke of his bout with the grand jury.

From the defense meeting, an NBEDC Defense Committee was formed, defending the right of the NBEDC to present whatever demands it wishes regardless of what one may think of its demands.

Thus far the grand jury has handed down no indictments. James Lafferty, defense counsel for Rev. Morrison, noted that the government's reluctance to return indictments stems from its fear of an open court in which the record would show that the Justice Department is conducting a witchhunt against political ideas, not looking for a crime. Lafferty gave the Defense Committee activities credit for much of the Justice Department's reticence about proceeding with the withhunt.

CALENDAR

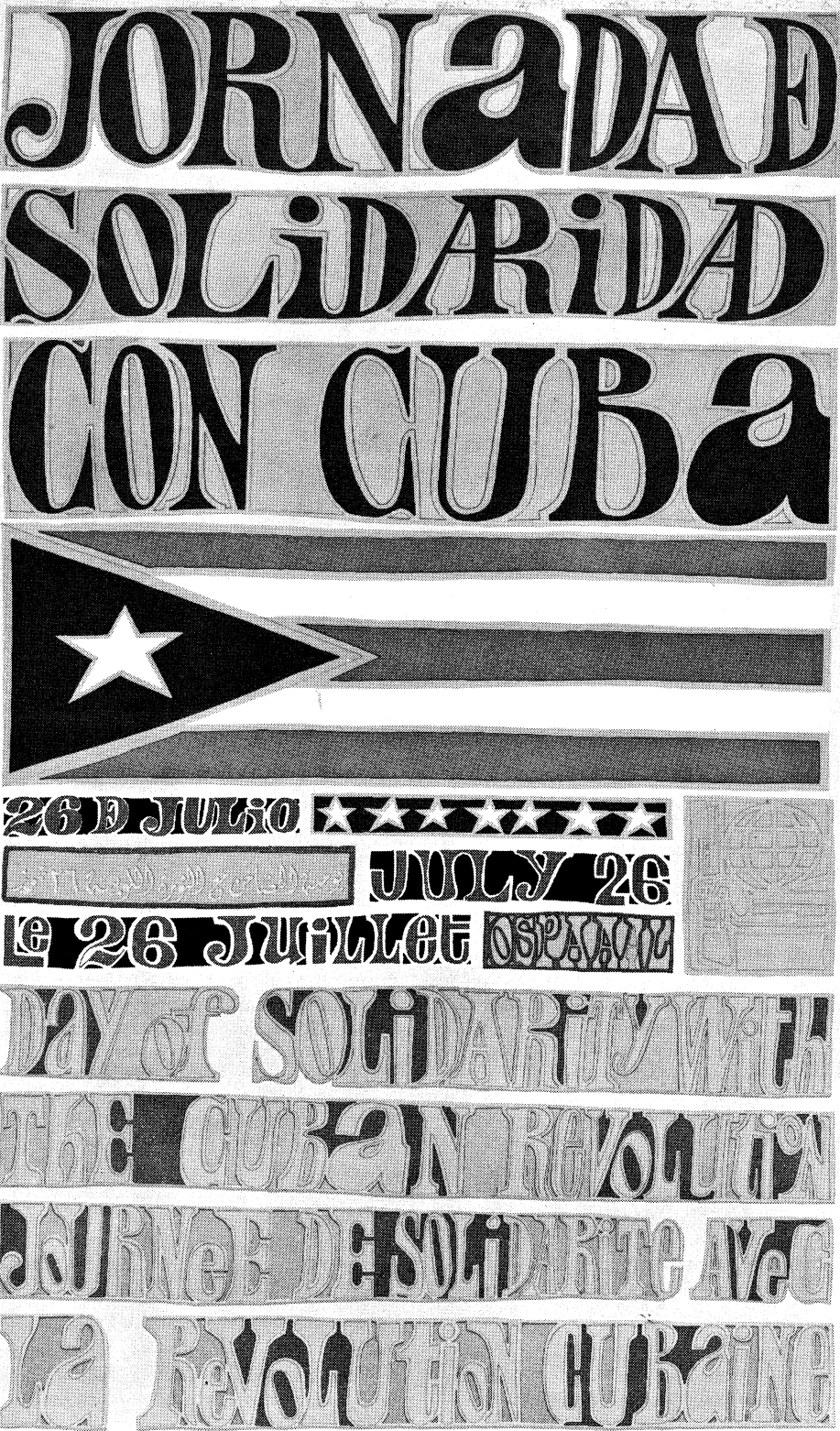
LOS ANGELES

L.A. SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Special guest lecturer; George Novack. The Transitional Program: Its Relevance to the Afro-American Struggle, the Student Movement and the Coming American Revolution. Fri., Aug. 1, 8 pm. Sat., Aug. 2, 5 and 8 pm. Dinner 6:30 pm, Sat. 1702 E. 4th St. Donation 50 cents per session.

RECEPTION FOR GEORGE NOVACK. Sat., Aug 2, 9 pm. 1626 Stargent Court, tel. 624-2960. Donation \$1.

NEW YORK

EYEWITNESS REPORT ON THE "REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM" called by the Black Panther Party. Speaker: Peter Camejo. Fri., Aug. 1, 873 B'way (near 18th St). Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



JULY 26. Revolutionaries around the world celebrate anniversary of 1953 attack on Moncada barracks led by Fidel. Poster by Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Anti-War GI Fights Arctic Tour

June 13, 1960

DEFEND GI'S FREE SPEECH

Ex-G.I. Speaks on Civil Rights of Soldiers

June 13, 1960

ARMY TIMES

Wide Sent to Cos

Accuse GI in anti-war leaflet row

Wonderful L.A. response to ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley

General at Fort Bragg Lets One Antivar G.I. Pass Out Leaflets

GI: Army Used Trick For Arrest

Demonstration Slated Aug. 9 Near Ft. Bragg

ARMY BARS TRIAL OF 3 ANTIWAR G.I.'S

Drops Fort Jackson Case —Discharges Are Set

Disenfranchisement: Right to Protest the War

10 G.I.'s Sue Army Over Right to Protest the War

Los Angeles Free Press

THE BAY STATE BANNER Thursday, July 17, 1960

Page 9

THE NEW YORK TIMES WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1960

Business Edition 24

GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee
Box 355, Old Chelsea Station
New York, New York 10011

The purpose of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee is to defend the rights of American citizens in uniform to freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and association, and the right to petition the government for a redress of grievances. It supports the right of GIs to use these and all other constitutionally guaranteed liberties to express their opinions on public affairs and political issues, including the war in Vietnam.

It extends this support by obtaining legal counsel for GIs whose rights are violated and by publicizing their cases.

Toward this end it raises funds and solicits the endorsement and support of all those who uphold the constitutional rights of American servicemen.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee has played an instrumental role in the successful defense of many GIs victimized for exercising their constitutional rights in the Army. But many cases are still in the courts and the GI-CLDC needs help and support to carry these to future victories. Joe Miles, a founder of the GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson, who was subsequently transferred to Ft. Bragg, has now been transferred to Alaska. This punitive isolation is being appealed. Antiwar GIs like Ed Glover, Andrew Pulley and Joe Cole have been given undesirable discharges and these are being contested. Jose Rudder and Tommie Woodfin, two GIs United still stationed at Ft. Jackson, have been notified they will be given undesirable discharges. Where the idea of GIs United has spread the brass spreads its harassment: GIs have been victimized at Ft. Bragg. For these cases and more that the GI-CLDC would like to be able to take on if the need arises, it is appealing for your support. Funds should be sent to Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011.

Che Guevara

Socialism and Man

35¢

Merit Publishers
873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

Report from Albany**A pilot Afro-American Studies department**

By Carol French

Albany, N. Y. — Students on college campuses and high schools across the U. S. have battled in the past year for two primary issues: an end to the war in Vietnam and campus complicity in the war, and the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination, specifically, to control the education that now shapes — or warps — their lives.

So far, higher education has been white — taught by whites, administered by whites, dominated by white (bourgeois) culture, white (bourgeois) values, and white (capitalist) ideology. Afro-Americans, with support from sympathetic white radicals, fight now for an education relevant to blacks, which teaches black culture, values, and ideas.

On many campuses, such as San Francisco State, the fights are long and bitter, resulting in few concrete concessions by the administration; other campuses, such as Cornell, have grudgingly given in to demands. On very few campuses have Afro-Americans actually won the right to establish a genuine black studies department.

One of these few campuses is the State University of New York here at Albany (SUNYA), where the Black Students Alliance confronted President Evan R. Collins in late January, 1969, with three non-negotiable demands: 1) A black history course to be taught spring semester, 1969; 2) an autonomous department of Afro-American Studies to offer courses beginning fall semester, 1969; and 3) student control over curriculum and hiring and firing.

President Collins signed the demands and diplomatically overrode protests from some faculty members who said that he violated "due process" in not following the interminable faculty committee system.

Somewhat to the surprise of campus radicals, the administration has thus far lived up to the agreement President Collins signed with the BSA. The Afro-American History course was taught second semester, and the new Afro-American Studies Department will begin offering courses this fall. The permanent chairman of AAS will be Dr. Nathan Wright. Dr. Wright has a doctorate in education from Harvard and is the author of **Let's Work Together** and **Ready to Riot**. Acting chairman has been Dr. Seth Spellman, who explained the need for AAS and its aims:

"The usual academic training has, it turns out, been a drain on the black community, since black scholars were and are really trained to be white men in black skins with a tremendous psychological distance from their black brothers and sisters. This (AAS) is an effort to give equally useful knowledge while increasing rather than decreasing commitment to one's own. Out of AAS we expect to come students and scholars who are committed, socially aware, ambitious, devoted to the welfare of black people, and equipped for helping the black community assume a position in this society which is more beneficial to the people and more productive and creative for the realization of human potential."

A joint student-faculty-administration committee in four months devised a curriculum whose stated purpose is to not only

teach students about the black community but lead them to find ways to combat the negative situations they study. As Dr. Spellman says, "The call for AAS is clearly a call for black leadership." AAS 221, Economic Structure of the Black Community, for example, will examine, "what kinds of economic structure the black people are engaging in in order to survive." As far as the economic structure of society at large is concerned, "black people are structured out of it."

Some other courses offered will explore existing political and social solutions to the need for black liberation: AAS 222, The Politics of Black Power; AAS 231, The Dynamics of Racism; AAS 321, Black Nationalism: Political Perspective in the U. S.; and AAS 213, History of the Civil Rights Movement. Projected for the future is a lab course called Theory and Tactics of Social Confrontation. This will study conditions in the black community and actively work out projects to alleviate con-

ditions students find. Some of the methods may include demonstrating, picketing, organizing rent strikes, to be determined by students and community people. Other courses offered fall semester 1969 will treat black literature, music, family, religion, and various aspects of black history.

While AAS is a fully autonomous, black-controlled department, it is also interdisciplinary. AAS 219, Introduction to Afro-American History, is taught by a black member of the History Department, for example, and will be cross-listed in the catalog.

Fifteen students from the Black Students Alliance, which won the original demands, have played a key role in determining their future education. "The single group most responsible for the courses," said Dr. Spellman, "was the students." Fred Harris, a member of the BSA, the AAS Committee, and a graduate student in psychology, said that AAS is "an extension of the students and their interests — except in a more formal sense." Out of the 15,

six students interviewed and recommended prospective faculty members. Dr. Spellman took their personnel and curriculum recommendations through "channels."

Because of the participation of militant black students in setting up the department, AAS at SUNYA promises to be a valuable addition to university and community life. It will enable whites as well as blacks to learn about and to respect Afro-American culture. It will teach white people the need for black liberation, and it will not stop short — as is the academic fashion — at the door of the classroom, but extend its theoretical knowledge to the practical problems of the black community. Black control of education may well become, in Albany, the spearhead to black control of the black community. Some BSAers most active in AAS recognize, in addition, the necessity for socialism, to end man's exploitation of man. They see AAS, not as a final solution, but as a revolutionary transitional means to the goal of black liberation.

In passing . . . views and reviews

Under the title **American Anti-War Movements**, Joseph R. Conlin, who has written for **Studies on the Left** and **Science and Society** magazines, presents us with a wealth and variety of historical material. Unfortunately, the material is not as consistently well selected as it might be.

The bulk of the book consists of the original statements of opponents of the various wars throughout American history. While on the whole the editor's choices are quite fair, there are two rather glaringly poor areas of selection. The author includes only religious and right-wing opponents of World War II, omitting left-wing opposition entirely. Worse yet, his single "opponent" of the Korean War is none other than Dwight D. Eisenhower himself.

Despite these sins of omission and some minor inaccuracies in the historical introductions (in one ambiguously written paragraph, for instance, Conlin seems to imply that the Socialist Workers Party did not continue to oppose U. S. imperialism during WW II), **American Anti-War Movements** (Glencoe Press, paperback, no price listed) is an excellent source book of historical information.

Bourgeois ideology seeps into the theoretical constructions of all the social sciences and psychology is no exception. In **Kinder, Kuche, Kirche as Scientific Law: Psychology Constructs the Female**, Naomi Weisstein, who teaches psychology at Loyola University, convincingly demonstrates how much of the literature and practice of psychology has been marshalled into the social enterprise of maintaining the inferior status of women in capitalist society.

"How are women characterized in our culture, and in psychology?" she writes.

"They are inconsistent, emotionally unstable, lacking in a strong conscience or superego, weaker, 'nurturant' rather than productive, 'intuitive' rather than intelligent, and, if they are at all 'normal,' suited to the home and the family. In short, the list adds up to a typical minority group stereotype of inferiority: if they know their place, which is in the home, they are really quite lovable, happy, childlike, loving creatures.

"In a review of the intellectual differences between little boys and little girls, Eleanor Maccoby (1966) has shown that there are no intellectual differences until about high school, or, if there are, girls are slightly ahead of boys. At high school, girls begin to do worse on a few intellectual tasks, such as arithmetic reasoning, and beyond high school, the achievement of women now measured in terms of productivity and accomplishment drops off even more rapidly. There are a number of other nonintellectual tests which show sex differences; I choose the intellectual differences since it is seen clearly that women start becoming inferior. It is no use to talk about women being different but equal; all of the tests I can think of have a 'good' outcome and a 'bad' outcome. Women usually end up at the 'bad' outcome.

"In light of social expectations about women, what is surprising is not that women end up where society expects they will; what is surprising is that little girls don't get the message that they are supposed to be stupid until high school; and what is even more remarkable is that some women resist this message even after high school, college, and graduate school."

(The pamphlet is published by New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118. It costs 15c. **Kinder, Kuche, Kirche** is German for Children,

Kitchen, Church.)

Midnight Cowboy is a movie not to be missed. The story concerns the entry of the Cowboy (played by Jon Voight) into the big city in search of his fortune — as a stud for wealthy women — and his development of a friendship with a Times Square hustler called Ratzo (Dustin Hoffman). This is life at the dreggy bottom. Even here, there are aspirations for a better life and a striving towards human warmth and solidarity.

In its depiction of the alienation, poverty and social degradation in American life, **Midnight Cowboy** is unsurpassed. The world of the **Midnight Cowboy** is not an attractive one and it is peopled with characters who are at the same time pathetic and sympathetic.

In **The Youth Movement and the Alienation of Society**, Jose Revueltas, the Mexican novelist now being held in jail on frame-up charges, presents an extended analysis of the causes and aims of the world youth revolt. He declares:

"It is an indisputable fact that there is on the order of the day in the world a New Revolution, which is destined to overcome and eliminate a hopeless situation. And it is an indisputable fact also that neither the governments nor the ruling classes can stamp out this revolution."

Revueltas' analysis is not a simplistic one. He fully realizes that there is yet much work to do in constructing and preparing the vanguard movements which can take advantage of the increasingly favorable objective conditions and lead the masses to victory.

(Order from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003 — 35c.)

— Malachi Constant



"Then the good cowboy, all dressed in white, beat up the bad guy, who was dressed in black, put on his white hat, mounted his white stallion and rode off into the sunset!"



"—And in 1954 a supreme court decision put an end to segregation in all our schools!"



"When I said write a report about a great American, I meant someone like George Washington or Ben Franklin . . . I've never even heard of Denmark Vesey!"

Okinawans force U.S. backdown on nerve gas

By Joel Aber

Yielding to the storm of protest by Japanese and Okinawans precipitated by the disclosure that the U.S. is storing nerve gas on Okinawa, the Defense Department announced July 22 that all nerve gas will be removed from Okinawa.

One strong motivating factor in the U.S. decision to end the nerve-gas storage on Okinawa undoubtedly was their fear that the furor about the incident had added impetus to the already-powerful movement for an end to American occupation of Okinawa and the return of the island to Japan.

A report in the July 18 *Wall Street Journal* that 25 Americans were hospitalized by an "accident" involving nerve gas at a U.S. base on Okinawa quickly developed into an international incident. Even some leading members of Japanese Premier Sato's notoriously pro-American Liberal-Democratic Party were beginning to speak out on the issue in the face of the mounting public outcry.

Spokesmen for every opposition party quickly issued statements condemning the stockpiling of the gas in Okinawa. Already demonstrations against the U.S. bases in Japan and Okinawa and renewed demonstrations against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty have begun in Tokyo. According to the July 22 *Wall Street Journal*, Okinawa too, expects demonstrations.

The July 20 *New York Times* reports the presence of two biological and chemical warfare installations on Okinawa—the 137th Special Ordnance Company and the 267th Chemical Company—located on different parts of the island. About 200 Okinawan children recently suffered skin burns while swimming about 12 miles south of the 137th Ordnance Company, according to the *Times*, and Okinawans suspect a connection between the source of the burns and the existence of the installation.

The U.S. announcement that the poison gas would be removed came only hours after the Okinawan legislature had met in special session to demand the removal of the chemical weapons. The movement for reversion of Okinawa to Japan is rapidly gaining strength, too. "We are fed up with the aggressiveness and lack of humanity of American imperialism," the *Times* quoted Satoru Nakasone, a leader of the recession movement.

According to the July 22 *Wall Street Journal*, "Sunday's *Okinawa Times* was filled with four columns of irate letters about the gas. A 20-year-old girl wrote that she hadn't joined previous protests against U.S. military presence on the island, particularly against nuclear weapons, but from now on she will. The U.S. bases 'are ignoring the people's will,' she wrote."

Parade Committee needs your help

NEW YORK— The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, which is coordinating the New York Hiroshima week antiwar demonstrations Aug. 2 to 9, has made an urgent appeal for funds. The committee announced that efforts to build the week's antiwar activities may be limited by a lack of funds. Contributions should be sent to Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, 17 East 17th St., New York, N. Y. 10003.

—New Edition—

What Policy for Revolutionists — Marxism or Ultraleftism?

75 cents

(former title: *Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial*) by James P. Cannon and Grandizo Munis

Merit Publishers

873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003



Ethiopian protestor at White House

Photo by Neil Miller/LNS

Ethiopian students in U.S. in militant protest actions

By Alex Harte

While Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie was being given a lavish welcome by U.S. government officials in Washington July 7, 50 members of the Ethiopian Student Association in North America stormed the embassy of Ethiopia to oppose the Selassie dictatorship. Fourteen of the students were arrested by Washington police for entering the embassy of their own country.

A few minutes later Selassie arrived at Blair House, the White House guest house, to solicit money and arms from Nixon. He was greeted with another demonstration of Ethiopian students chanting "Down with Selassie" and carrying signs saying, "U.S. bombs and planes are killing people in Ethiopia as well as Vietnam."

Their leaflets demanded U.S. evacuation of bases and personnel from Ethiopia, which includes the largest U.S. base on the African continent, and an end to all U.S. support to the feudal regime of Selassie.

On July 16 a spirited demonstration was held at the United Nations building in New York to demand the immediate release of the 14 arrested Ethiopian students. The protest at the UN was called by the Worldwide Union of Ethiopian Students and was cosponsored by the Iranian Student Association and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Since a peasant insurrection in southern Ethiopia protesting eviction from their land by the emperor's daughter in 1960, the struggle against the dictatorship has risen to a new level, and the Selassie regime has responded with more and more brutal repression.

The Worldwide Union of Ethiopian Students in an account issued through Liberation News Service, reports that the annual per capita income of Ethiopia is \$35-50, lower than in most African countries. The country is plagued by famines despite the estimation by an American economist that its extremely fertile land has an agricultural and grazing potential to feed all of western Europe! Only 15

percent of the arable land is cultivated, and Ethiopia has a one-crop commodity-export economy; that one crop is coffee, which is apparently more profitable than grains which could provide food.

The Ethiopian student union reports an alarming health situation: Half of the adult population has syphilis; leprosy is endemic throughout Ethiopia; about 20,000 Ethiopians die of malaria alone each year, while 400,000 are believed to have died in a malaria epidemic in 1958; and there are only 300 doctors for the entire Ethiopian population of 25 million. A UNESCO study reveals that 95-98 percent of the people are illiterate.

Describing the American ventures in Ethiopia, from potash mining to the huge Army base to one of the largest Peace Corps missions in the world, the Ethiopian students' report says, "Haile Selassie, 'the patron saint of African Unity,' has not only leased Ethiopia to America, but has turned it into a base for colonization of the entire African continent," with over 10,000 Americans on Ethiopian government and neocolonial agency payrolls.

Beginning with the 1960 peasant insurrection, peasants have been engaged in armed struggle with the government, workers have staged continual strikes and a powerful student struggle has developed.

The Selassie regime has responded by using U.S. planes to wipe out entire peasant villages, and by killing at least 19 students and imprisoning over 2,000 youths in labor camps, where they are subjected to the most barbaric tortures. In March of this year the regime passed a three-month detention act, modeled on South Africa's, providing for imprisonment of any suspect without trial at the discretion of government security forces. All schools and universities remain closed. Yet the struggle against oppression has not been silenced and in fact continues to escalate.

The Ethiopian students abroad have taken on the responsibility to make known the sordid conditions that the neocolonial regime has successfully hidden from the rest of the world for so long.

Atlanta socialist assails high fee in elections

By Kendall Green

ATLANTA, Ga. — Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, condemned the high qualifying fees for the upcoming city elections at a well-attended press conference, July 17. She attacked the unanimous decision of the Board of Aldermen, setting the maximum fees permitted by state law — \$5,000 for mayor and \$1,200 for alderman. The high fees bar low income, black, and minority party candidates from the ballot. She branded the current city elections as "an insult to working people and the black community of this city. They are a fraud and a sham."

Mrs. Jenness noted that 13 of the 16 aldermen are running for city office and thus their action prevents any low-income challenger from obtaining ballot status. "These extravagant qualifying fees only serve to underline what I have been saying in my campaign; the present city government is a businessmen's and bankers' government."

When the major news media reported the press conference, they solicited responses from leading city officials. Questioned by newsmen, Sam Maysel, vice-mayor and leading candidate for mayor, contended that the high fees "were just part of the small price one has to pay to run for mayor." City clerk J. T. Little, who is in charge of administering elections, thought that \$5,000 was reasonable for a chance at the four-year job at \$30,000 a year.

Mrs. Jenness said that she hopes to make the high cost of qualifying a major part of her campaign and to enlist the support of other candidates and individuals on this issue. She also intends to file a legal suit against the city government if the Board of Aldermen does not drop all qualifying fees at their next meeting.

Hospital union wins settlement in Charleston

By Marvel Scholl

The 113-day strike at the Charleston, S.C., County Hospital ended July 18. On June 27 the 100-day strike against the South Carolina Medical University Hospital was settled.

In the latest settlement, a compromise was reached on the rehiring of the 65 workers originally involved. Forty-two will go back to work on July 22 and the remainder within a three-month period.

This strike, and the previously settled one at the University Hospital united both unionists and civil-rights workers for the first time in that poorly organized southern stronghold of the open shop. Both strikes were marked by massive demonstrations, arrests, injunctions, more demonstrations, arrests, police brutality.

According to the July 19 *New York Times*, the terms of the contract do not provide for recognition of the union as the official bargaining agency of the workers. But they do include the right of workers to union activity on the job, no discrimination in rehiring because of arrests on the picket line, and a promise of a minimum hourly wage of at least \$1.70 by 1970. On July 1, 1969 the hospitals were forced to raise wages to the new federal minimum of \$1.60 an hour — a 30-cents-an-hour raise.

The issue of grievance procedure has not been settled, although Mitchell Graham, chairman of the Charleston County Council, is reported to have agreed to continue negotiations with Miss Simmons and her committee on the issue. The workers had demanded a written guarantee to allow a worker with a grievance to have another worker accompany him at any stage of the grievance procedure.

The terms of the settlement are, from the union viewpoint, minimal. But the workers have a foot in the door. If there is continuing rank-and-file militancy and a continuing deepening of union consciousness, the agreement can be the starting point of developing a strong union.

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The Great Society

It makes sense—Characteristics that lead a person to criminal behavior may be the same as those that bring success in business, reports a Rutgers University sociologist. Studying a group of convicts who became small businessmen they found a significantly lower rate of failure than in the business community generally.

Dillies from Daley (I)—". . . for the enlightenment and edification and hallucination of the alderman from the 50th Ward." —From **Quotation from Mayor Daley** by Peter Yessne.

Dillies from Daley (II)—"Together we must rise to ever higher and higher platitudes." — **Ibid.**

Dillies from Daley (III)—"Gentlemen, get the thing straight once and for all—the policeman isn't there to create disorder, the policeman is there to preserve disorder." — **Ibid.**

Dillies from Daley (IV)—"They have vilified me, they have crucified me, yes, they have even criticized me." — **Ibid.**

Christian charity—After serving 97 days of a two-year sentence for tax evasion, a Catholic priest was freed by a federal judge so that he could return to his work at a boys' home. The Rev. Robert Nikliborc had pleaded guilty to failing to file return on \$112,000 in income over a three-year period. The good father owned a \$75,000 home in Palm Springs, where he was known as Robert Rand, and regarded by neighbors as a high-living businessman. In freeing him, the judge asked how long a good man should be kept "out of circulation?"

How profane can you get?—Since 6,400 sheep died in Utah after U.S. Arsenal nerve gas escaped there, leaflets have been turning up on car windows there stating: "Caution. Travel in Utah may be extremely harmful to your health." The governor declared: "This is obviously someone or some group distorting the facts to carry forward an attack on the morality of nerve gas testing even at the expense of the economy of the state." Next thing, they'll be putting human life before profits.

Esthetics dep't—The Forest Lawn Cemetery chain (The American Way of Death) in California is removing the fig leaves it added to its various copies of Michelangelo's statue, "David." The leaves were originally in deference to public opinion, a spokesman said, but that has now changed. They did receive one irate call from a woman who said removal of the leaves was playing into the hands of communism, but this was a minority response. The decision to get rid of the fig leaves was in keeping with the Forest Lawn principle of getting cemeteries away from the "graveyard image." Also, a spokesman noted, it saves the cost of replacing the fig leaves which visitors sometimes lift.

One method—The mayor of Greenfield, Iowa, has enlisted Smoke Stoppers, Inc., to teach the 800 smokers in town to kick the habit. At the classes everybody will be asked to toss their cigars, cigarettes, etc., into a giant bonfire. And then, we assume, stand around inhaling the fumes.

Soft-cover pornography—South African censors banned the paperback edition of **Five Girls**, a volume of photographic nude studies. The hard cover edition is still in circulation. A book dealer explained, "The type of person who buys the soft cover edition is more likely to be corrupted."

Wonder why—The annual convention of the American Medical Association recommended firm opposition to government audits of doctors' offices involved in tax supported medical programs.

A problem imagewise—Alfred Sulmonetti, a federal district judge, told a San Francisco gathering of jurists that as a result of the "revolution in communications" judges now have to give an accounting of themselves to cope with the "credibility gap between us and the people." To close the gap, he suggested greater "public relations" consciousness.

Reverse yoga—Los Angeles school children will be excused from gym and other strenuous activities on particularly smoggy days so they don't breath in too deep. —**Harry Ring**

Reading for revolutionaries

How Malcolm X evolved



Malcolm X

The Last Year of Malcolm X, by George Breitman. Merit Publishers \$4.95, cloth, \$1.95, paper.

The legacy that Malcolm X left is very rich. He was the educator and agitator of the spoken word, a gifted orator and thinker. Without doubt he will have a place in history as one of its great men. He is already, a few years after his untimely death, the most important single influence among black people in this country.

Since he was not a writer, it is fortunate that many of his speeches, answers to questions and interviews have been recorded and published. From these a new generation are learning about and building upon his revolutionary ideas. From these same sources George Breitman has made a careful and thorough study of how Malcolm's thinking changed during the last year of his life.

After he broke with the Nation of Islam movement, Malcolm set a new course for himself and his followers. He did not do this all at once but gradually, in definitely marked stages, each of which clearly indicated that his thinking was developing along broader and more profound lines. This process had not been completed when the assassin's shots cut him down.

The instigators of this murder must have had in mind that with Malcolm's removal from the scene his influence would disappear. How wrong they were! Malcolm's teachings are not only at new heights among revolutionaries, black and white, but promise to go further and higher in the same direction.

One of the tests of the validity of the stand taken by a revolutionary leader is the extent to which his ideas continue to live after his death. Marx and Engels never built large movements but their ideas did after they were no longer alive. Lenin's ideas continue to be very much alive 45 years after his death. Trotsky's ideas, for so long buried under a mountain of lies and slander, still live and continue to be adopted by growing numbers. On the other

hand, with few odd exceptions, the ideas of Stalin are no longer appealed as central to even by his own followers whose policies are not basically different from his; they conceal the real origin of what they stand for. From this standpoint it can be said that Stalin's ideas are as dead as he is.

Malcolm's ideas are in the tradition of the great revolutionary figures; they continue to live and their influence continues to grow.

In this work Breitman traces how Malcolm's thinking developed and grew. He discusses his attitude toward black nationalism, socialism, capitalism, possible allies for the blacks in their struggle, internationalism and many other questions.

The book shows how once Malcolm was free of the discipline of the Nation of Islam he could speak out plainly and vigorously on many of the key questions of our times and how his views underwent a constant change, moving closer and closer to revolutionary socialist internationalism.

Breitman also devotes a section to answering the critics of Malcolm. Also included are documents of Malcolm's organization, Organization of Afro-American Unity; a reply to critics by Robert Vernon; two interviews with Malcolm by Jack Barnes and finally, Breitman's speech on the first anniversary of Malcolm's death.

This analysis of Malcolm's development along with **Malcolm X Speaks** and the **Autobiography of Malcolm X**, is must reading.

—Milton Alvin

Vancouver parley hears Vietnamese

By Rick Congress

SEATTLE—Three women representatives of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front were the featured speakers at an antiwar conference of Canadians and Americans July 11-12 in Vancouver, British Columbia. The conference was sponsored by Voice of Women, a Canadian peace organization.

A representative of the Seattle Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam spoke. He was instrumental in organizing the demonstration of the Seattle antiwar movement July 10 that greeted the first of the token withdrawal force of 25,000 troops to be brought home and demanded that all the GIs be withdrawn. He presented the decision of the Cleveland July 4 weekend antiwar conference to build up a massive fall offensive against the war, culminating in the Nov. 15 mass march on Washington.

A speaker from the Canadian Vietnam Mobilization Committee announced a demonstration against Canadian complicity to greet Prime Minister Trudeau when he will come to Vancouver Aug. 8.

The Vietnamese women spoke in appreciation of the activities of the North American antiwar movement and stressed the importance of exposing Nixon's token troop withdrawal. For the North American antiwar movement, the Vietnamese women emphasized that the central demand should be withdrawal of U.S. troops. All other demands they said, should be secondary.

The works reviewed in this column are generally available from Merit Publishers. For a free catalog write to Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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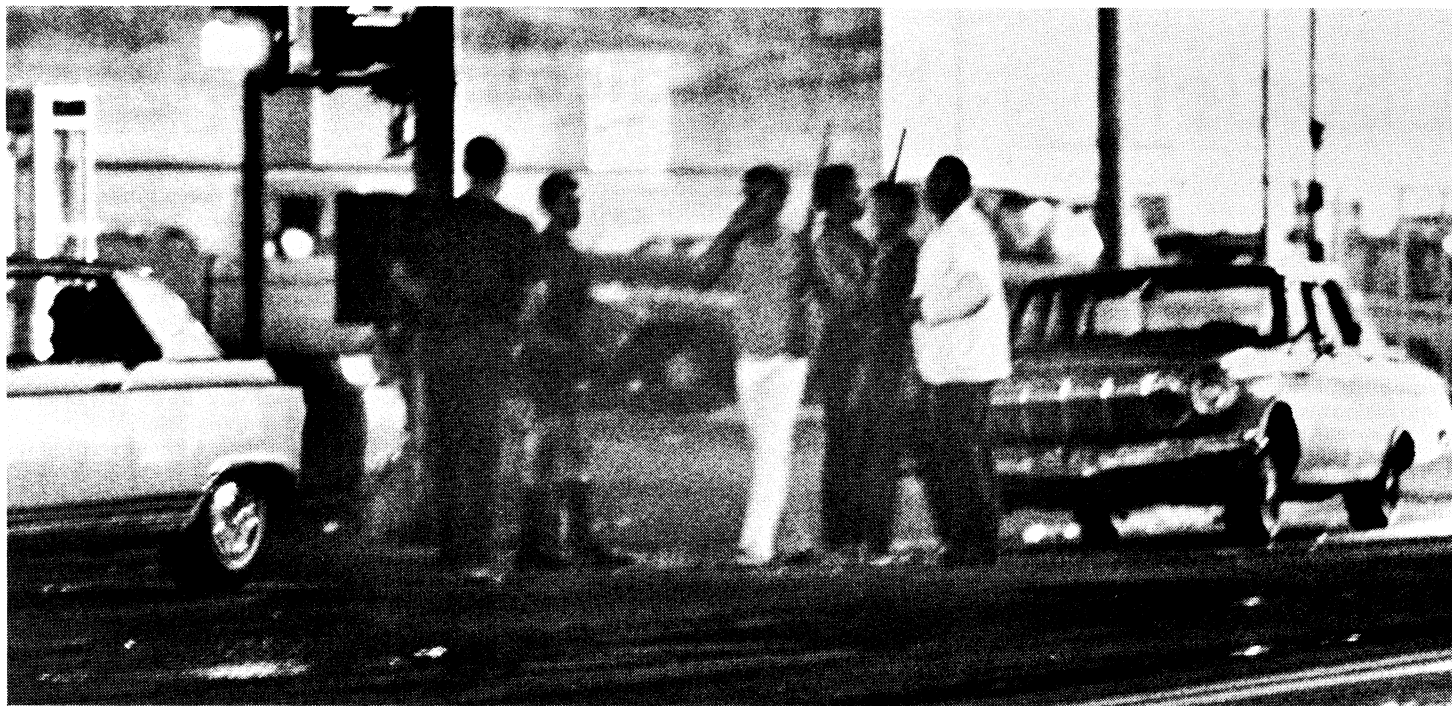


Photo by Gordon Clark

Scene as armed Portland defenders ended June 17 rally.

Portland Black Panther captain describes cop attack on ghetto

By H. Porter

PORTLAND, Ore., July 21—This city's black community of Albina is preparing a major defense campaign for the victims of a police attack which took place June 14-18 (see *The Militant*, July 4). At that time nearly 200 blacks were arrested. Kent Ford, captain of the Portland Black Panther Party, was charged with inciting to riot and kept in jail for 13 days on a punitive bail of \$40,000.

That bail was reduced to \$20,000 and the money was raised to release Ford from prison. I was able to interview him about the events in the Albina ghetto.

The story he most wanted to tell was of what happened Tuesday night and early Wednesday morning, June 17 and 18, when black people rallied to defend their community from the police invasion.

The incident which began the mass arrests occurred late Friday night and early Saturday morning, at Lidio's Drive-In Restaurant at the corner of Union and Shaver, where groups of young black people often congregate. Police provoked an incident which led to the arrests of 12 black people. On the following night the cops returned in force to Lidio's—attacked people with

their nightsticks, arrested them or drove them off. Other groups of cops armed with shotguns engaged in similar actions in other parts of the ghetto.

Mass arrests continued Sunday night. Monday night there were fewer arrests, apparently because they had driven people off the streets by then. The *Oregonian* reported Tuesday morning that, "Shortly after 10:30 p.m., police moved into Lidio's, a popular drive-in restaurant at NE Union and Shaver streets . . .

"A few moments later police reported, 'The situation is under control at Lidio's.' An hour later all the streets in the area were 'fairly clear of pedestrians.'"

Tuesday night at about 10 p.m. Kent Ford, captain of Portland's Black Panther Party, Tommy Mills, lieutenant of defense, and a third brother went to the corner of Union and Shaver carrying weapons. Others joined them there, and they conducted a rally until 3 a.m. At its height, in the early hours of the morning, there were more than 300 people at the rally, Ford estimated. Fifty of them, from all walks of life, had guns.

"Tuesday night there were no beatings and no arrests inside the community," said Ford. To indicate the feeling of the

people there, he explained that they were getting ready to dispatch representatives to the United Nations. "Even preachers were out there with guns," he said. "We withdrew from that corner when we were ready to go."

The meeting demanded the release of prisoners still in jail. Police arranged the release of four men and one woman who were brought to the rally. "We withdrew from the corner after they brought the brothers from jail," said Ford.

Ford expressed the view that the police arrests and beatings had resulted in unity in the black community and that no one in the community objected to the acts of self-defense that were carried out.

When I asked him about his treatment in jail, he mentioned that he had been "put in the hole (solitary confinement) for three days."

The leader of the Portland Panthers now has four charges pending. He is still charged by the city with resisting arrest June 14. A secret Multnomah County Grand Jury indicted him for inciting to riot and riot that night, despite the fact that the city had dropped an earlier charge of inciting to riot. The court did not allow the \$5,000 bail which had been raised for the city

Defense meeting set in Portland August 11, 8 pm

PORTLAND, Ore., July 21—A meeting to organize the defense of victims of police brutality and mass arrests in the Albina black community has been called for Monday, August 11, at 8 p.m. It will be held at the Albina Neighborhood Service Center, at 59 NE Stanton. Kent Ford, Captain of the Black Panther Party, made this announcement.

All of the 200 black people who were arrested in the recent police attacks on the ghetto are invited to come and organize their defense together. Everyone who wishes to support the defendants—both black and white—should attend the meeting.

The organization to be set up will publicize the truth about what happened in Albina during the period of June 14 through June 18, when the arrests were made. It will raise funds for the legal defense of the victims, and for bail. It will seek the support of all groups and individuals in Oregon and elsewhere who wish to see justice done in these cases and wish to prevent further arbitrary victimization of black people in Portland.

There are still some people in jail for lack of bail. Ralph Stevenson, who was arrested June 18, is still in jail, on charges of arson, with bail set at \$7,500. Contributions for bail and legal expenses can be sent to Albina Defense Fund, P. O. Box 11324, Portland, Oregon 97311.

incitement-to-riot charge to be applied to the county charge of incitement. Consequently \$20,000 additional bail had to be put up.

Finally, Ford is charged with disorderly conduct stemming from an incident in the courthouse where he was arraigned June 16. Apparently several victims of an out-of-uniform patrolman recognized the cop and yelled at him. They decided to pin that one on Ford too.

How 'justice' is meted out to Portland blacks

PORTLAND, Ore., July 21—Roscoe L. Anderson and Percy Hampton, both arrested during the June mass arrests, were recently subjected to summary trials, convicted, and given harsh sentences on charges that stemmed from incidents previous to the June arrests. A look at the "justice" they received demonstrates the need for a vigorous defense committee to publicize the truth about police behavior in Albina.

R. L. Anderson, leader of a group known as the Black Berets, and former president of the Albina Citizens Council, a council of black organizations in Portland, was convicted of interfering with a police officer in an incident at Jefferson High School in the latter part of May.

The incident occurred when Anderson, who had been awarded high praise by school authorities for his work in race relations at the school, was called by the school to deal with an incident.

According to Anderson, he was sitting in a car near Jefferson, when a cop on a motorcycle saw him and called him a "black bastard" and used other abusive language. Anderson went to the police station and complained about the officer to Inspector Springer, whereupon the cop, on the advice of government officials, pressed charges against Anderson.

At the trial, July 15, R. L. Anderson had ten witnesses in his behalf—not all of whom took the stand, since they had essentially the same testimony. Judge Edmund A. Jordan found Anderson guilty on the testimony of one cop. According to Officer Clark E. Paul, Anderson kept yelling, "Don't let them arrest him," to a crowd, while Paul was making an arrest.

Judge Jordan sentenced Anderson to 90 days in jail.

"Black people's testimony meant absolutely nothing in the whiteman's court," commented Anderson, when he finished recounting what happened. Anderson appealed the conviction, and is out on \$1,000 bond.

Percy Hampton, a 19-year-old student at Portland State University, was tried by Municipal Judge Edmund Jordan, June 27, and found guilty of disorderly conduct by using profane language against police. He was sentenced to 30 days jail suspended, and one year probation.

The verdicts and sentences were such a blatant miscarriage of justice that even the *Oregonian*, which has consistently given the police version of arrests of blacks, reported the trial in sufficient detail to expose what happened. Here is what they wrote June 28:

"In the trial before Municipal Judge Edmund Jordan, police testified they attempted to search Hampton. They received hearsay information from a carnival follower that the youth might be carrying a rubber hose or a lawn-mower roller, hidden in the front of his pants.

"They said they found nothing to indicate Hampton might be carrying this concealed weapon and that he was orderly.

"When the police told him to open his jacket, and said they thought he was carrying a weapon, Hampton ignored them and continued to walk down the midway with a friend, they testified.

"Hampton's testimony, which went uncontradicted, except for the amount of profanity used, was that police pulled at his arms, stopped him three times, and attempted to pat him down each time without his permission, and without putting him under arrest.

"Hampton said, on the third occasion—prior to which he had just told the police to leave him alone—he used one profane word towards the police. Police said he used more, beginning with almost the first contact.

"When Hampton swore at police, they put him under arrest. Police found no weapon on him.

"Douglas Wilson, 4405 NE Cleveland Ave., who was with Hampton in Holiday Park, testified to the same events.

"Another defense witness, Edward Mitchell, 37, of 1526 NE Saratoga St., coordinator of community services for the Model Schools Program, testified that Hampton's reputation for honesty and good behavior in the community was impeccable.

"Hampton's attorney pointed out that Hampton's behavior was perfect until the police began harassing him by patting him down without his permission and against his objections and by impeding his free passageway.

"The attorney said that the police acted on hearsay information—without having seen anything themselves—and provoked Hampton until they could make an arrest.

"Judge Jordan found Hampton guilty. 'I don't have any choice,' he remarked. 'Hampton himself testified that he used one word of profanity, which was apparently said loud enough for four officers to overhear. I just had no choice but to find him guilty.'

"Then Jordan opened up on Hampton: 'You apparently have some kind of thing about police officers. I don't know what happened to you to make you think the way you do, but you sure don't like police. That is evident.

"Let me tell you young man, police are here for your protection and for mine. Your attitude is unjustified. I sure don't need any crystal ball to know that unless you change your ways . . . you are facing a future of nothing but trouble."

At a prior trial the same week, Hampton was convicted of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest growing out of an incident which occurred May 24. The charge of assault based on the same incident was dropped. Hampton described the incident to me as follows:

At about 8:30 p.m. there was some confusion around the corner from his home, and his mother asked him to see if his nine-year-old brother had been hurt. When he got to the scene, a police officer, Kanzler, spoke to him.

"Kanzler told me to stop, and said, 'Don't move.'

"I had seen the police guard go around the corner, and they were beating up this black kid. I told him (Kanzler) all that police do is come in the black community and brutalize black people."

Then Hampton walked around the corner to look for his brother. He saw Kanzler talking with another cop, Harmon. Soon after, six cops jumped him, threw him down, choked him and twisted his arms. He was arrested for assault and for resisting arrest.

At the trial, he was convicted on the testimony of Harmon and Kanzler. Hampton said the trial was "a regular kangaroo court. All the judge said was guilty on both charges, and he sentenced me to two 90-day terms to run concurrently."

In neither trial was there a jury. Hampton expects to have a jury when his appeals are heard.

—H. Porter