

# FT. JACKSON GI'S WIN!

— See page 5

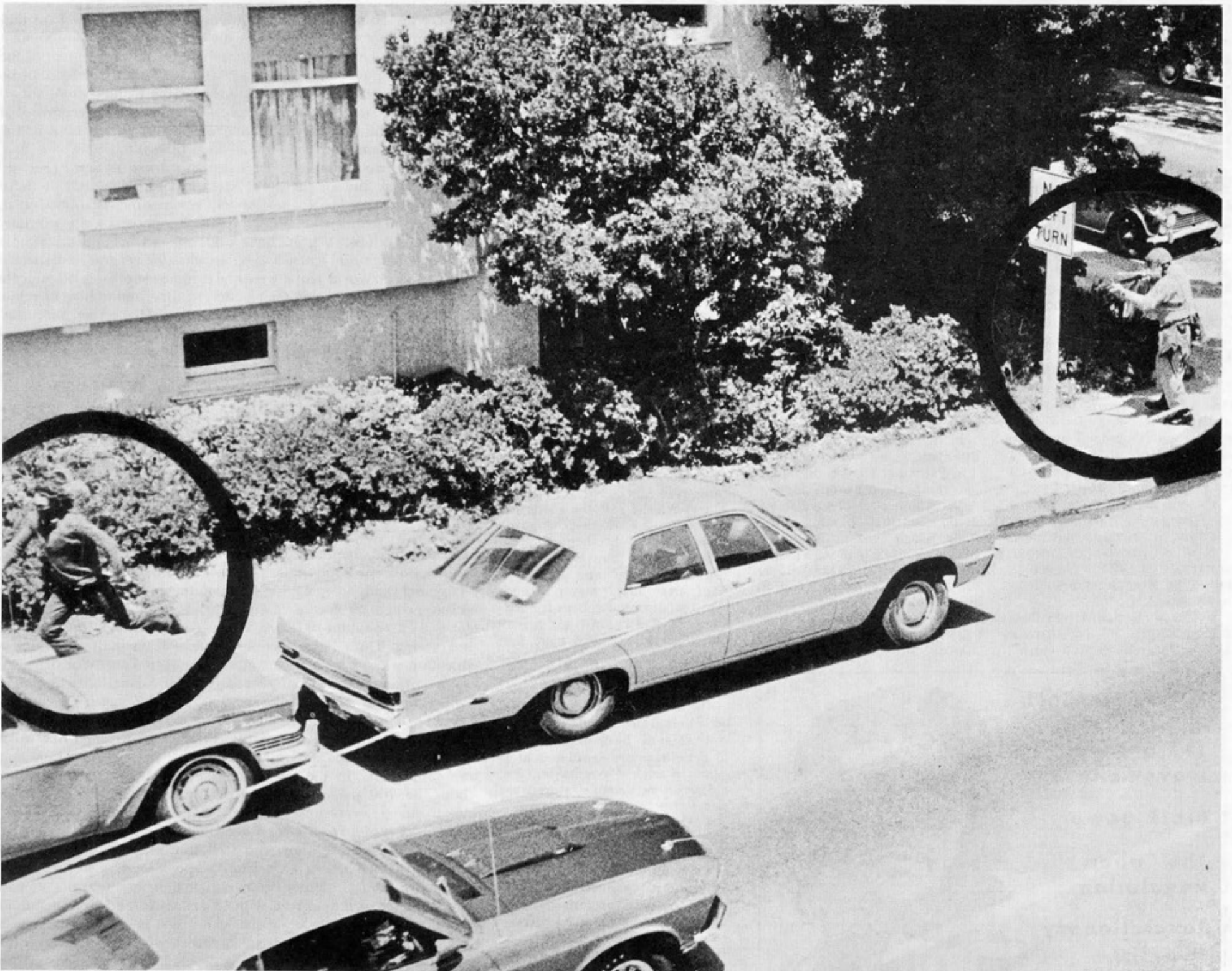
## THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People  
Vol. 33—No. 22 Friday, May 30, 1969 Price 15c

**"The fight for socialism"**  
**--Speech by Peter Camejo**

— pages 7-10 —

# BERKELEY COP RIOT



"I was looking out the window Thursday afternoon (May 15), and I saw some 50 people standing on the corner. Then they all started to run. The cop came around the corner and stood there like he was going to shoot. I never dreamed he would, but I picked up my camera and shot." The cop, a member of the Alameda County Sheriff's Department, took aim carefully and fired at the back of a fleeing man who was only two carlengths away. "The guy fell down in the street howling. The cop took off, and someone dragged the guy into a house."

That was the story of the above photo as told to the San Francisco Chronicle by Emitt Wallace, the Ber-

keley student who took the picture.

Alameda County Sheriff Madigan, in charge of the police forces occupying Berkeley, told the Chronicle on May 17 that shotguns had to be used against the students because at times the cops were in such tough spots that "they had only rocks to throw back into the crowds." In such circumstances, he said, "it becomes obvious that birdshot should be considered."

But the above photograph dramatically proves what the Berkeley students have charged: That shotguns are being used for cold-blooded, murderous assaults on defenseless people. For story, see page 11.

# Zionist, West German 'unifiers'

Mr. Axel Springer, West German publishing monopolist, and Mr. Teddy Kollek, mayor of "unified" Jerusalem, recently celebrated in Jerusalem the dedication of a library built by a donation of one million dollars by Mr. Springer. This alliance between the establishments in West Germany and Israel is in line with the Ben Gurion-Adenauer alliance of 1955. In return for an enormous "loan" by Bonn to Israel, Ben Gurion declared the Adenauer-Globke regime as "Nazirein" [free of Nazis] thus enabling Washington to incorporate the new **Bundeswehr** [West German army] as a "respectable" ally into NATO. Without this help from Ben Gurion Dr. Adenauer would have met massive Jewish demonstrations in New York which would have made it difficult for Washington to present the **Bundeswehr** as respectable.

Ben Gurion flew especially to meet Adenauer in the Waldorf Astoria and had himself photographed smiling and shaking hands with Adenauer, thus "kosherizing" him. Ben Gurion got his loan; Bonn, its respectability; Washington, the **Bundeswehr** troops, under **Wehrmacht** officers to be incorporated into NATO. During the recent celebrations in Jerusalem, Mr. Kollek read out a cable received from Mr. David Hakohen, chairman of the Knesset committee for foreign and defense affairs, who was heading an official Knesset delegation to West Germany. The cable read: "Speaking from the top of the Springer building in divided Berlin we greet you in united Jerusalem and express our great hopes for a free, peaceful and united Berlin."

Those who "unified" Jerusalem by force, thus rendering it unfree for the Palestinians (who struggle to liberate themselves from this "unification") now call upon the Bonn regime to learn the lesson and "unify" Berlin.

Not a single Zionist voice was raised against this widely publicized cable. Obviously, those who insist on imposing the Zionist solution on Palestine (and Jerusalem) are not in a position to oppose a similar "liberation" of the G. D. R. (and Berlin).

The only demonstrators against the Springer-Kollek-Hakohen celebration in Jerusalem were members of the anti-Zionist, revolutionary, "MATZPEN" group, joined by West German students in Jerusalem.

We the undersigned join these demonstrators in the struggle against the policies and morals

## 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.

of annexationists in Jerusalem and Berlin.

Erich Fried, poet  
Daniel Cohn-Bendit, student  
Rudi Dutschke, student  
Chain Hanegbi, journalist  
MATZPEN  
Khalil Toame, Chairman, Arab Students Society, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, presently under detention in Kafr Ramee, Israel.  
Dr. Moshe Machover, mathematician, MATZPEN  
Akiva Orr, programmer, Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee  
Shimon Tzabar, writer, painter, editor, Israel Imperial News

### Long live free Palestine!

Madison, Wis.  
On the 21st anniversary of the occupation of Palestine and the uprooting of its people, the Organization of Arab Students at the University of Wisconsin wishes to point out the following:

- 1) The history of the Zionist infiltration into Palestine, its seizure of power, and its subsequent expansion in the name of "progressivism" or "biblical prophesy" (as the situation demands) is just another page in the history of colonization and oppression, this time with a sinister element of novelty: mass displacement of the indigenous population.
- 2) In his "Jewish State" (page 30) Herzl writes: "We should there ( in Palestine) form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism," something which even the racists of Rhodesia and South Africa have not dared to say. It is little wonder then that Israel should find its staunchest allies among the racist, imperialist powers of our time.
- 3) Twenty years of Arab appeals on behalf of the Palesti-

nians, their right to life and dignity on their homeland, have come to no avail. The Zionist propaganda machinery and its influence on the communications media have already seen to it that the Western mind shall be immune to such appeals. The U. N. is also helpless for obvious reasons. A clear-cut example is its failure to convince or force Israel to respect its repeated resolutions against the annexation of Jerusalem (vote 99-0).

4) In any case, the occupation of Palestine is not a question of civil or constitutional rights, it is a question of liberation. No public opinion or world organization can achieve this for the Palestinians. Not even the Arab governments with their armies and diplomats can do it. Only the Palestinians, through sweat and blood, can take back what is theirs. They will have the active support of the Arab nation and all freedom-loving people.

This the Palestinians now realize, and they have taken up arms. Twenty years of resignation and despair shall be followed by 20 years of resistance and revolution: a revolution towards the emancipation of both Arab and Jew from the tyranny of Zionism.

6) The events of the last two years have opened the eyes of many to the true nature of Zionism and what it stands for. The Organization of Arab Students recognizes and welcomes all the support which various groups on this campus give to the Palestinian resistance movement.

Long live free Palestine!  
Organization of Arab Students  
University of Wisconsin

### Grape boycott rally held in Detroit

Detroit, Mich.  
In spite of a driving rain, a spirited rally of 500 people at Kennedy Square here at 3:30 Saturday afternoon, May 10 climaxed a week of activity to publicize the boycott of California grapes in the United Farmer Workers drive to secure recognition. Sixty young people joined the demonstration after a two-day march from the University of Michigan campus in Ann Arbor.

After a brief rally in which the demonstrators chanted slogans such as "All Brothers United, Black, Brown and White," and "Boycott grapes!" and sang "We Shall Overcome!," they marched through downtown Detroit filled with Mother's Day shoppers, many of whom gave them the V-for-victory sign, to Central Methodist Church, where a rally took place.

The program was heavily laden with liberal Democratic speakers, from Mayor Jerome Cavanagh to State Senators Sam Levin and Roger Craig. Nevertheless, the mood of the demonstrators was clearly recorded by the emcee, Rev. Maurice Geary, popular anti-war campaigner, who characterized the meeting as "a revolutionary assembly," and by the interruption of every militant statement with prolonged clapping in unison, rising to a crescendo with a shout of "Viva La Huelga!" Hijinio Rangel, Director of the UFWA boycott campaign in Michigan, representing 82,000 migrant workers in Michigan, had marched carrying a picture of Emiliano Zapata in the parade. A gray-haired man, with the rugged features showing the centuries of toil characterizing the Indian-Americans, he was greeted with a standing ovation.

The rally was organized to assist the organizing drive with a grape boycott directed at the supermarkets in Michigan. Those wanting to help the campaign can do so by getting in touch with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, 2500 Howard, Detroit 48208, phone: 825-4811.

Henry Austin

# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 33—No. 22 Friday, May 30, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was May 23.

## From San Francisco's City Jail: An appeal

San Francisco City Jail

To the Editor:

The strike of Third World peoples and white supporters at San Francisco State College was a part of expanding the movement in this country toward liberation. It was a strike, an action with a direction toward a revolutionary level because it was based upon principles drawn from the foundation of oppressed Third World peoples' needs.

There are some fundamental questions concerning the strike and its history that directly relate to the expansion and development of the movement into a more cohesive and powerful force of the people. The hows, whys, whats, wheres of the strike cannot be overlooked in determining guidelines for the work—*work not so glorious and saleable as the strike*—that need to be recognized if we are to continue to move and not be overrun by the tremendous powers being concentrated against the people at this time.

For over two-and-a-half years people *worked* at San Francisco State College and in the Bay Area on the educational needs of Third World people. Not just at the College, or in schools, but in the streets, in people's homes, with juvenile authorities, city officials, gangs, car clubs, Y's, in bars and on and on and on. People worked together and learned together what the general and specific needs of Third World people were and continued not only to educate others but also to develop their understanding and ability to relate to the people's needs. The three principles of the strike were established from this commitment and work. In turn the principles of the strike have demonstrated the clear oppressiveness of higher education.

The duration of the strike, the strike strategy, as well as the organization and flexibility of the strike came from the perspectives and politics of a continuously developing programmatic approach to making basic changes in this country. In no way do I imply or contend that mistakes were not made during the strike. However, it is a fact that for the first time in this country: 1) a working class institution of the largest higher educational system in the world was brought to its knees and held there for four-and-a-half months—Hayakawa or no Hayakawa; 2) Third World people defined principles and demands concerning their needs; 3) Third World people established and maintained leadership of the strike that was recognized and accepted by large numbers of white people; 4) college professors organized and acted as members of the working class; 5) a coalition of Third World people in their communities and young Third World people in the elite institutions of higher education was formed; 6) a coalition between Third World people and a workers union striking Standard Oil in Richmond was made.

Since the end of the strike the work has increased far beyond anything that it was before and during the strike. We are actively working not only to implement the demands but to extend our work more and more into our communities in defense of our people and our supporters. In the law courts specifically we are concerned about the 700 persons arrested during the strike. We have been able to find lawyers and provide a tremendous amount of assistance in *an attempt to protect our people*, but we *need more people and more money*. I know too well that these are the same old pleas, but it has been a *long struggle* and it's going to take more time, more people and more money. I can only ask you that if you supported the strike, agreed with its principles and/or understand the rights of people to be liberated not just in their souls, hearts and minds but in their material needs as well then give to yourself the opportunity to continue to develop your involvement. We need you and your money (if you have any) to protect our people in the courts in order to exhaust another alternative and push ourselves into another direction. The *work is ours* and the *money* is needed to get the tools necessary for defending our people.

Hasta la victoria siempre,

Roger T. Alvarado

[Roger Alverado is On Campus Coordinator for the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State College. One of those already convicted, the court ordered him imprisoned pending sentencing. We hope readers will respond generously to his appeal. Make checks payable to San Francisco State Legal Defense Fund. Mail to TWLF, 546 Filmore St., San Francisco, Calif. 94117. Editor]


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# The Berkeley Three fight against 'conspiracy' frame-up

By David Warren

BERKELEY—The pending trial of the Berkeley Three comes after the acquittal of the Oakland Seven. That acquittal was an important victory for the antiwar movement. The Oakland Seven had been charged with "conspiring to commit a misdemeanor" for their role in the Stop the Draft Week demonstrations in Oakland in 1967.

The jury had clearly decided in favor of their right to dissent and against the Alameda County District Attorney's attempt to intimidate opposition to government policies.

Despite this victory, District Attorney J. Frank Coakley continues to press for conviction of the Berkeley Three, Paul Glusman, Peter Camejo and Jack Bloom, on the same felony charge—"conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor."

The charge arises out of demonstrations last October on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, where students were protesting the state board of regents decision to deny academic credit for a course taught by Eldridge Cleaver.

During three days of protest, 198 people were arrested, 76 for the occupation of Moses Hall. Glusman, Camejo and Bloom were singled out for felony charges carrying a possible three-year sentence and \$5000 fine.

The case is comparable to conspiracy indictments which have been used all over the country to discourage campus political protest. In California, 15 Chicanos face conspiracy indictments arising out of a school boycott in Los Angeles; several SDSers face similar charges from the prolonged strike of the **Herald-Examiner**.

The rationale behind the political use of conspiracy laws was formulated by Yvonne

Merga in the **Hastings Law Journal** in 1965. Upset by the 1964 San Francisco civil rights demonstrations and the Berkeley free speech fight, she pointed out the limitations of traditional legal techniques in preventing outbursts of mass dissent.

These sentences, on trespass and unlawful assembly charges, were insufficient to quell opposition, she held.

Miss Merga wanted to apply criminal conspiracy laws to organizers of demonstrations because the "beneficial effect . . . lies in more severe penalties."

It has the added advantage that "circumstantial evidence is sufficient . . . This overt act need not be committed by each member, and the act of one may be attributed to all the other participants. . . . Depending on the gravity of the planned action, law enforcement agencies could take effective action at any time from the first preparatory meeting to the actual demonstration itself."

These brilliant insights subsequently won Miss Merga the opportunity of becoming D.A. Coakley's assistant!

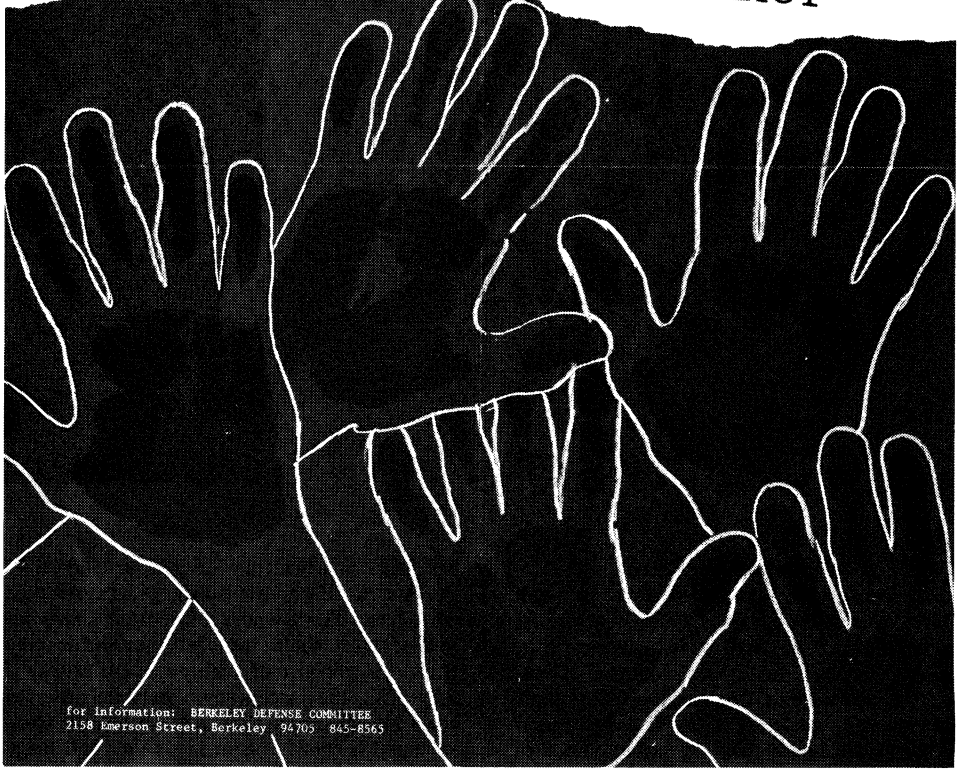
On May 26, Coakley will again try to get a conviction. The acts that the Berkeley Three are charged with committing include two speeches at a mass rally on Sproul Hall steps and chairing a public meeting inside Moses Hall, where the misdemeanors for trespass supposedly occurred.

The two speeches by Bloom and Glusman did not even mention Moses Hall; and the meeting chaired by Camejo passed two motions declaring that the body would not resort to vandalism nor would it resist, if arrested.

Former Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson pointed out in his ruling in the case of **Krulvitch vs. United States**, the lax

# HANDS OFF THE BERKELEY THREE!

## STOP COAKLEY'S CONSPIRACY



This poster and a button of similar design are available from the Berkeley 3 Defense Committee. Posters, 50 cents; buttons, 25 cents.

evidence requirements in conspiracy cases:

"As a practical matter, the accused often is confronted with a hodgepodge of acts and statements by others which he may never have authorized . . . but which help to persuade the jury of existence of the conspiracy itself. In other words, a conspiracy often is proved by evidence that is admissible only upon the assumption that conspiracy existed."

If Coakley is successful, the conspiracy law will place in jeopardy anyone present in planning a protest meeting or demonstration where a misdemeanor might be

committed, even if no law is violated! The Berkeley Three are out for a victory against this vicious law. A second victory could bury it.

The Berkeley Defense Committee has been formed to aid this fight. Sponsors of the committee include Prof. Franz Schurmann, chairman; and Prof. Troy Duster, treasurer. Defense attorneys are Arthur Wells, Albert Bendich and Richard Hodge.

Your support is urgently needed, and contributions would be welcomed: Berkeley Defense Committee, 2158 Emerson St., Berkeley, Calif., 94705.

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## Auto union settles issues in Sterling plant wildcat

DETROIT—Settlement of unresolved grievances which provoked and ensued from a wildcat strike at the Chrysler Corporation stamping plant in Sterling Heights were announced here last week.

The strike was provoked when plant management summarily fired the local UAW shop committee, including the local union president, for protesting unsafe work conditions and advising workers not to remove jagged pieces of steel from a conveyor pit. The eight-day walkout at Sterling affected 31,000 workers in the Chrysler complex.

The corporation now has agreed to get new machines to remove waste oil from the cement floors and will experiment with an abrasive to make them less slippery. Also wooden platforms at stamping machines will be replaced by sturdier metal ones with corrugated steel floors.

Chrysler also agreed to new contract language on safety issues and grievances, and says it will instruct foremen in the plant to "respect terms of the collective-bargaining agreement."

The grievances ensuing from the strike involved 69 workers fired by Chrysler for refusing to work under the unsafe conditions, and picketing the plant. The strike was extended because the vast majority of the Sterling work force vowed not to return until all 69 victims of the corporation's vindictive reprisals were rehired. However, work was resumed after intervention of the UAW International officials, who promised that "official" strike action would be taken if the grievances were not satisfactorily settled. The settlement has returned 64 to their jobs without payment of lost wages. The remaining five are out, intended as examples to other militants who may think about walking out in the future. The fate of these five victims is to be settled by a ruling from the union-management arbitration machine-

ery. Their chances of being rehired are conceded to be slim. This is an example of how union and management conspire to dampen militancy and establish a "safe" work force.

There is an interesting parallel between the Sterling strike and an earlier strike at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle plant several months ago. This parallel casts light upon what is considered by both union and management to be a "safe" work force, and was reported upon by C.C. Douglas in Detroit's Afro-American weekly, the **Michigan Chronicle** May 17.

Douglas notes, "At Eldon, 22 men were fired because of their participation in the wildcat walkout. The only difference between the two incidents is that the Sterling men were all white and the Eldon men were all black."

"If Chrysler, faced with the shutdown which could be brought about by the closing of the Sterling plant, decides to return the 69 men fired—and the union leaders are saying they will have to—then they had better be prepared to return the 22 men fired at Eldon."

Chrysler has now announced willingness to reinstate 10 of the black workers fired last Jan. 27 at its Eldon Ave. plant. An unnamed UAW spokesman reports, "Cases against 11 other demonstrators who were fired are still pending before a Chrysler-UAW appeals board," according to the May 15 Detroit **Free Press**.

Fascism: What It Is and  
How to Fight It

Leon Trotsky

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## An unvarnished history (V)

# PL discovers Cuba is 'bourgeois'



Cuba arms the people. PL says it's a "bourgeois" state

By Mary-Alice Waters

Following the public break between China and Cuba early in 1966, the Maoist press around the world began carrying attacks against the Cuban leaders. There was no attempt to demonstrate that their policies were different from those pursued by the Cubans during the early years of the revolution, or that there had been some qualitative new developments.

But quite abruptly those who followed Progressive Labor's press learned that according to the Maoists, the fundamental character of the Cuban revolution had changed. For example, Cuba was no longer a state in which socialism was triumphing, but one in which the bourgeoisie was consolidating itself. Cuba's foreign policy was no longer based on proletarian internationalism, but on petty-bourgeois adventurism.

For Marxists, the class nature of a state is the decisive criterion for determining one's attitude toward it. For example, the Russian Revolution of 1917 abolished capitalism in the Soviet Union and established social ownership over the means of production. That fundamental change in property relations has never been reversed, despite the degeneration of the revolution and the dictatorial control exercised by a bureaucratic caste. Because of the character of the property relations, Marxists consider the Soviet Union a **workers** state which must be defended against imperialism.

The Maoists, trained in the political school of Stalinism, not Leninism or Marxism, do not follow such basic class criteria, however. Thus, it was possible according to Mao Tsetung's Thought for the Soviet Union to pass from a "socialist" state to a "fascist" state, without any fundamental change in property relations, much less an open counterrevolutionary struggle. In a similar, thoroughly mystical fashion, the class nature of Cuba was also transformed, without anyone but the Maoists noticing what had happened. Not even the ever-vigilant CIA seemed aware that Cuba had suddenly become a class ally.

### Charges against Cuba

The Winter 1967 issue of PL's publication **World Revolution** contains some of the most explicit statements about the class character of Cuba. One article, entitled "The Position on Cuba," is reprinted from a pamphlet published by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile. Among other things, it charges that "the greater part" of the land in Cuba "is in the hands of small owners who exploit the manual labor of others," that "capitalist not socialist forms of agricultural production have developed," and that "the bourgeoisie has not been relieved of its positions of leadership in the bureaucratic apparatus and cultural institutions." On the contrary, "the bourgeoisie is becoming more secure and gaining new positions of power."

First, of all, the statement that the majority of the land is in the hands of small owners is simply false. Out of approximately 9,000,000 hectares of agricultural land in Cuba, 5,200,000 hectares had become collectively owned as early as May 1959, the date of the first agrarian reform law in Cuba. After the second agrarian reform law in October 1963, almost 70 percent of the total agricultural lands were in the state sector.

The maximum size of any private

holdings is about 165 acres, and over 75 percent of all private holdings are less than 65 acres. The owners of private farms together with their families constitute less than 10 percent of Cuba's population. If anything, the percentage of privately owned land has decreased since these figures were released in 1967, because private holdings cannot be sold to another individual, but only to the state.

No other revolution in the 20th century has dealt with the agrarian problem as radically, completely and quickly as the Cuban Revolution under the leadership of Fidel Castro, and if that constitutes the development of "capitalist not socialist forms of agricultural production," then it seems strange that other Latin American countries have not followed the obviously superior "capitalist" style developed in Cuba.

The second charge leveled by the Maoists, that the bourgeoisie is consolidating its power in Cuba, is equally ludicrous. First, one must ask, what bourgeoisie? The bourgeoisie that was completely destroyed, expropriated and physically dispersed as a class? The one that now lives in Miami and New York? The one whose former homes in Miramar are now dormitories for scholarship students? Or do they mean the peasant small landowners with their few acres in the mountains? Or do they mean some mythical bourgeoisie that owns no property but in whose interests the Cuban state is run?

### What power base?

Secondly, one must ask, how does this bourgeoisie exert its power? The old bourgeois army was totally destroyed, and not the slightest vestige of it remains. The new armed forces that have emerged are the most egalitarian since the days of Trotsky's Red Army. The militia is composed of the workers and peasants who control their own weapons. The state police, secret police and all the other hated instruments of oppression by which the bourgeoisie maintained its control were also totally smashed.

With few exceptions, all top government, industrial, financial and cultural functionaries fled the country after the revolution, or lost their positions.

How is it possible that after a socialist revolution, a nonexistent bourgeoisie consolidates its power, through a totally reconstructed state apparatus, which rests on the armed power of a popular militia? That is a theoretical maze that nothing short of Mao Tsetung's Thought could even begin to construct!

The second, and equally important, round of charges brought against the leaders of the Cuban Revolution by the Maoists deals with their foreign policy.

Jake Rosen, writing in the November-December 1967 **Progressive Labor**, states that "counterrevolutionary ideology confronts us from two main sources on the Left and in two main garbs" (emphasis added). The two sources, Rosen announces, are Moscow and Havana. Havana's garb, he reveals, is "left-cover" for Moscow, because while pretending to denounce the policies of the Moscow-oriented Communist parties in Latin America, the real intention is to isolate the Maoists and discredit Mao's theory of "people's war," the only "correct" guide to struggle.

In addition, the "net result" of Che's Bolivian guerrilla front, according to PL, will

be to turn honest revolutionaries away from armed struggle, "certainly away from Marxism-Leninism" and reinforce petty-bourgeois individualism. (**Progressive Labor**, May 1969) Che's efforts, we are told, were nothing but "intense self-indulgence under the guise of revolutionism."

### Exploit legitimate questions

The Cuban line of guerrilla warfare is certainly not flawless. It raises a number of questions that are valid points for discussion within the revolutionary movement. The Maoists in their criticisms seek to demagogically exploit several of the Cubans' weakest points—including their underestimation of the need for a revolutionary party, their tendency to substitute the actions of a guerrilla band for the task of building a revolutionary party, their tendency to disparage theory and political discussion, and their overemphasis on military technique as opposed to political analysis.

But to pass from comradely criticism and discussion within the revolutionary movement, to placing the Cuban leadership in the category of counterrevolutionaries—enemies of revolution—that is another matter. What proof do the Maoists offer for so serious a charge? Absolutely none! They cannot point to even one single example where the Cuban leaders consciously stood in the way of, or blocked, a developing revolutionary situation. They charge that Che failed in Bolivia, and that the pro-Cuban forces in Venezuela have been unsuccessful. But even if that is correct, defeats or mistakes are one thing; conscious or objective derailment of revolutionary opportunities is another.

The Maoists are most vitriolic against the Cuban leadership's refusal to support Mao's thought on "people's war," which they present as an immutable, worldwide formula for victory. But having the opportunity to observe the Peking line in action in a number of key areas, the Cubans certainly have a basis for at least being a bit wary.

While the rhetoric of Maoist theory is quite revolutionary (although on key issues a departure from Marxism), the Cubans certainly cannot but pause to consider the fact of the opportunistic, class-collaborationist line carried out by the Maoists in a number of areas. For example, was the Maoist policy in Indonesia revolutionary when it supported the political collaboration of the Peking-oriented CP with the capitalist regime of Sukarno? It was that policy of class collaboration that left the Indonesians unprepared for mass struggle and led to the slaughter of 500,000 or more members and supporters of the Indonesian CP.

### Role in Pakistan

Has the Maoist policy toward Pakistan been a revolutionary one? Was it revolutionary to support dictator Ayub Khan and supply him with the arms and ammunition that were used against the workers, peasants and students in recent months?

Such examples could be multiplied, but the point should be clear. PL dogmatically insists on Mao's foreign policy as a correct alternative to the Cuban line, but history has proven many times over that when the Chinese bureaucracy, like the Soviet, has something to gain from collaboration with the reactionary bourgeoisies of capi-

talist countries, it is willing to subordinate the needs of the workers and peasants of those countries to the needs of the Chinese bureaucracy.

Likewise, the Maoists have been willing to subordinate the needs of the Cuban revolution to their narrow, bureaucratic needs in a factional battle with the Soviet bureaucracy.

This methodology, based on subjectivism, sectarianism, opportunism and factionalism—in short, the Stalinist methodology—has also guided the actions of PL in the United States.

During its period of "support" to Cuba, PL was quite ready to exploit its relations, through such things as the trips to Cuba, as a device for their own narrow, factional gain, rather than to promote and defend the interests of the revolution.

And then, when Peking's line switched, they proved ready to blindly and dogmatically go along, even though it meant deserting the first socialist revolution in the Western hemisphere.

As we shall see, PL's attitudes and actions toward the Cuban revolution were to be repeated in relation to the Vietnamese revolution.

(This serial history of the Progressive Labor Party is appearing on alternate weeks. The next installment will be in our issue dated June 13.)

## New witch-hunt of S.F. Panthers

SAN FRANCISCO—A federal grand jury convened in San Francisco is currently investigating the Black Panther Party for alleged violation of the Smith Act. The jury's probe could lead to indictments for "advocating violent overthrow of the United States Government." The law permits imprisonment solely for the advocacy of ideas.

Disclosure of the investigation came on April 30, one day before a bail hearing for Panther leader Huey P. Newton, when the grand jury suddenly convened. April 30 just happened to be the last day that particular jury could meet before its term expired. A newly convened jury is now investigating.

On May 14, the jury issued a statement to four subpoenaed Panthers, which said in part, "This grand jury was . . . inquiring into matters involving interstate travel to organize, promote, and encourage riots, and teaching and demonstrating the use and making of firearms and explosives" for purposes of civil disorder.

The Black Panther Party and its attorneys have vowed to fight this new attempt to stifle the Panthers.

The Smith Act provides a maximum penalty upon conviction of 20 years' imprisonment and a \$20,000 fine. The notorious law was originally used against the Socialist Workers Party on the eve of World War II. The law was also used against the Communist Party after World War II.



# Jackson GIs score resounding victory

By Harry Ring

A spectacular victory for the antiwar movement and for constitutional rights was achieved May 20 when Army authorities at Ft. Jackson, S.C., threw in the towel and announced they were dropping their planned prosecution of the last three of eight antiwar GIs. The case is probably without parallel in U.S. military history.

The eight victorious servicemen, whom the Army originally intended to imprison, had been guilty of no other "crime" than insisting on exercising their constitutional right of free speech to discuss and express their opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam. They were associated with a group known as GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. Originally initiated by black and Puerto Rican GIs, the group also included whites. The eight were placed in custody March 20 after a spontaneous discussion developed among the men in their company outside the barracks. The gathering had been completely orderly throughout.

From the outset, GIs United has proven itself a thorny problem for the brass. While the GIs' outspoken opposition to the war was hardly to the liking of the brass, the men exercised sound judgment in obeying all the rules of military life and simply insisting on exercising rights guaranteed them by the U.S. Constitution. While the rulers of this country are clearly not ready to acknowledge that members of the armed forces have the same rights as all other citizens, they are not in a very good position to simply say so—particularly during the most unpopular war in the nation's history.

In addition, GIs United had excellent legal counsel, an effective defense organization behind them, and wide public support—outside and inside the army.

Nine men were originally held for court-martial after the March 20 meeting. Charges were quietly dropped against one and then, to the Army's acute embarrassment, it found itself inadvertently admitting that the man, assertedly named Private Huffman, was an informer-provocateur they had planted in GIs United when it was initiated.

## Brass begin retreat

As mounting national publicity focused on the Fort Jackson 8, the brass undertook a series of retreats which constituted virtual admission that they had no real case against the men. Charges were dropped against five of the men and they were ordered mustered out of the service.

Then it looked as if the Army might stick tough and carry through its prosecution of the remaining three, who they held in the stockade for two months and apparently considered the principal leaders of GIs United—Pvts. Andrew Pulley, Jose Rudder and Joe Cole. Then, on May 20, came the announcement they were dropping charges and moving instead to

order them out of the army as "unfit." The three—who had stood absolutely unflinching throughout their ordeal—were released from their cramped stockade cells, assigned to a headquarters company where, they reported, they were treated like visiting dignitaries and, for their first meal outside the stockade, dined on the same menu as the general.

They were released, not uncoincidentally, the same day the U.S. Court of Appeals ordered a hearing on an application for a writ of habeas corpus for their release from illegal detention. On being freed from the stockade, all restrictions on them were quickly lifted in an apparent move to render the writ legally moot.

Asked by *New York Times* reporter Ben Franklin if dropping the case was not an admission that the men were right in their contention they were being persecuted solely for their views, a Ft. Jackson public relations officer replied tersely, "No comment."

The three men will now probably face an attempt by the Army to muster them out with less than honorable discharges. The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, which has been acting on their behalf, said any such move will be vigorously challenged.

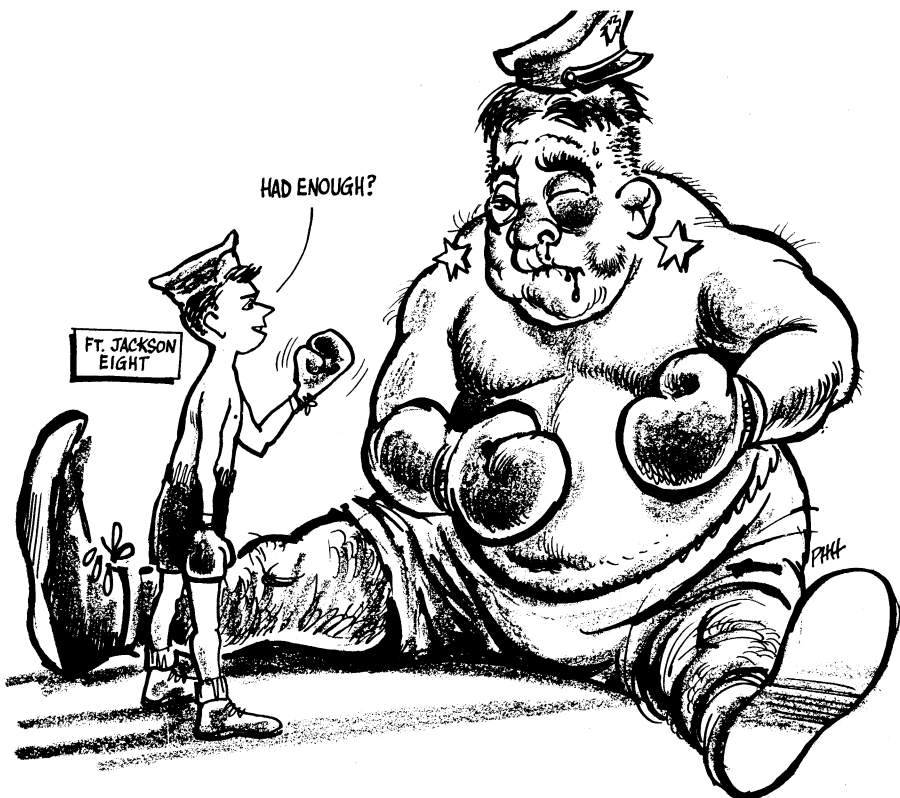
In this and other key respects, the Army has far from heard the last of these militant servicemen. Represented by the distinguished constitutional attorney, Leonard Boudin, they and other GIs are continuing to press for a court injunction to bar the Army from interfering with the First Amendment rights of GIs. Military attorneys have conceded to newsmen that they do not at all discount the possibility GIs United might be successful in such a legal action.

The brass, unnerved by a legal confrontation of a type they had never experienced before—rank-and-file soldiers effectively insisting on their rights—was apparently losing further sleep over the mounting national publicity around the case. The decision to call it quits came within a few days after the May 23 *Life* and the May 18 *New York Times* magazine did special features on rising GI dissent in the armed forces, with particular reference to the Ft. Jackson case. The *Times* article was written by Robert Sherrill, Washington correspondent for the *Nation*, whose objective presentation permitted the facts of the case and the views of GIs United to emerge with deadly effectiveness.

## Effective course

The unprecedented victory for legal rights for servicemen confirms the practicality and merit of the course followed by these GIs and their supporters.

They had no illusions about the military and its utter contempt for the rights of enlisted men. But they recognized another fact: Given the wide antiwar sentiment in the general public, as well as in the



Army itself, and given the deep commitment to democratic rights among wide layers of the American people, they were in a unique position to assert their legal rights.

GIs United had its origins among a group of black soldiers at Jackson. One of them, Pvt. Joe Miles, a Young Socialist, had played tapes of speeches by Malcolm X, and they began discussing and reading about racism, the war, capitalism, and so on.

Wanting to do something, they proceeded from the very correct understanding that the key issues on which they would win widest support among their fellow GIs were the questions of the war itself and opposition to racism within the armed forces. Self-determination for national minorities is a basic principal of GIs United.

As their movement began to develop, the brass tried to pit white GIs against them by presenting them as a "get Whitey" movement. This was effectively countered when GIs United began to involve whites as well as blacks and Puerto Ricans.

The next move to cut down GIs United was the sudden transfer of Miles to Ft. Bragg. But others stepped forward as leaders and Miles simply extended the activities of GIs United to Ft. Bragg. (See story page 6.)

GIs United had the benefit of having politically educated revolutionaries in their ranks. (In addition to Miles, Rudder and Cole are also members of the Young Socialist Alliance.)

But the others in the group, while not necessarily sharing all of their political views, were agreed on the need to proceed with a soberly careful but resolutely audacious assertion of their rights. Their move was clear, simple and eminently reasonable. They began circulating a petition among the troops requesting the post command to make available an on-base facility for a meeting where GIs could gather to discuss a war in which they might be asked to give their lives.

The petition, as anticipated, drew the ire—and harassment—of the brass. But it won quick support among many GIs.

## Defense effort

Meanwhile, through the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee and the team of lawyers headed by Boudin, civilian support and legal action were mustered in their behalf. After the men were unjustly imprisoned,

public support mounted. Lord Bertrand Russell became honorary chairman of the defense committee. Dr. Benjamin Spock and a host of other notables became sponsors of the committee. The entire media began to focus on the case.

It was in this atmosphere that the military began its retreat.

Pvt. Edilberto Chaparro, 17, of New York, was released from the stockade and given an undesirable discharge May 1.

On May 2, all charges were dropped against Pvt. Dominick Duddie, 17, of New York.

The same day charges were dropped against Pfc. Curtis Mays, 23, of Kansas City. Later he was tried on other charges and given 30 days.

On May 12, Pvt. Delmar Thomas, 22, of Cleveland was given an undesirable discharge.

Charges were dropped May 16 against Pvt. Tommie Woodfin, and he is in the process of being discharged.

Then, on May 20, the charges were dropped against Pvt. Pulley, 17, of Cleveland; Pvt. Cole, 24, of Decatur, Ga.; and Pvt. Rudder, 20, of Washington, D.C., with the discharge process underway.

While the undesirable discharges are as unjust as they are illegal, they represent significantly less than the punishment the army intended to bring down on these men and, where contested, may even be reversed to honorable.

## Example for all

In sum, eight heroic young men have provided an example and an inspiration for all those inside and outside the armed forces who oppose this dirty war and want to act to end it.

General James Hollingsworth, commanding officer at Ft. Jackson and apparently the principal strategist in the Army's disastrous war with the eight GIs, confided to a newsmen in Vietnam in 1966, that "There's nothing I like better than killing Cong."

In an interview last week with the editor of the Columbia, S.C., *Record*, Hollingsworth further advised: "If you are going to have dissenters in the Army, we would rather have them at Ft. Jackson. They can be accommodated there."

The good general apparently fared no better against the Ft. Jackson 8 than he did against the "Cong."

## Statement by victorious GIs

The following statement was made by Pvts. Andrew Pulley, Jose Rudder and Joe Cole May 21 on their release from the Ft. Jackson stockade.

Today is a victory not only for us, it is a victory for all GIs. It is a victory for the antiwar movement and for constitutional rights.

The Army's attack has crumbled in the face of public indignation at our imprisonment. Their flimsy charges disintegrated in the hands of a brilliant legal defense team.

Never again will the Army be able to interfere with the constitutional rights of American soldiers without the prospect of a repetition of the Ft. Jackson 8 defense campaign.

Our case has struck a blow at the very heart of the American bureaucratic military structure—military injustice. It should now be apparent to the brass that today's "New Action Army" does not consist of mindless robots but of men who feel they have the right to question policy—especially policy which they will be deployed to enforce.

American soldiers die in Vietnam every day, yet when a GI chooses to speak out against such senseless slaughter he is labeled a "troublemaker" or a "threat to morale."

Vietnam means trouble for any GI. We didn't make the war. A president's foreign policy did it. Despite ever-increasing demands by people from all walks of life, the war continues. Du Pont gets richer and fatter off the blood of dead GIs and Vietnamese. So, it seems, it is the present administration, and the military-industrial complex that are the trouble-makers, not us. And, as for "a threat to morale," combat is the most demoralizing experience a man can endure—in a war that is as unpopular as the one in Vietnam. And it's more demoralizing for black GIs and members of other oppressed minorities.

The GI antiwar movement has chalked up a tremendous victory and the brass reels from another defeat. There is no telling what can happen when right is on one's side.



Photo by Shelley Ramsdell/New York Press Service

**FOR THE DEFENSE.** Facts of victory at Ft. Jackson were reported at New York press conference by Matilde Zimmermann (left), national secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, and Diane Schuler, one of the attorneys for the GIs.

# Brass says no to Bill of Rights

By Fred Halstead

FT. BRAGG, N.C., May 20— Army authorities here today revoked permission granted last week to an antiwar GI to pass out on base copies of the U.S. Bill of Rights and the Oath of Induction which pledges those entering the Army to uphold the constitution.

The high-handed action followed the arrest yesterday afternoon of Pvt. Joseph Miles of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam and trumped-up charges of distributing "unauthorized" literature.

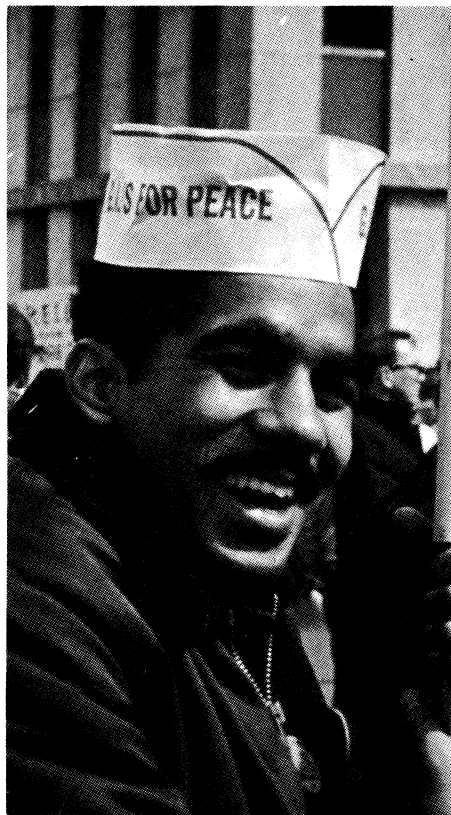
Earlier, GIs United had responded to a new base regulation requiring special permission for the distribution of any non-official literature by requesting permission to distribute leaflets containing the Bill of Rights, the Oath of Induction, and the name and post office box number of GIs United.

The brass was in a very tough spot. National publicity had been focused on its efforts to limit the constitutional rights of GIs and attorneys for GIs United had already initiated a court challenge. In this situation, to deny soldiers the right to distribute copies of the Bill of Rights and the Army Oath of Induction would have made the brass look very sorry indeed. They chose to try to work their way out of this spot with cheap maneuvers and continuing harassment.

So, on May 13, permission was granted to distribute the leaflet as requested—but with severe restrictions. That is, only Miles, who had signed the letters requesting the permit, was to be allowed to distribute, and then only at three specific (and isolated) intersections on the base and only between 5 and 6 p.m. on May 19 and 20.

Miles planned to proceed with the distribution yesterday, but due to technical difficulties did not obtain the printed leaflets in time. Since the press had been notified and was waiting at one of the designated intersections, Miles went there to explain the delay to the newsmen.

While there, he showed the newsmen a



Pvt. Joe Miles

copy of a petition GIs United had been distributing here requesting permission for a meeting on base to discuss the war in Vietnam. At this point, a soldier approached and asked Miles for a copy of the petition. Miles gave him the only copy he had. Shortly after, a military police officer arrested Miles on the ground that he had "distributed" the petition, which was not the literature for which permission had been granted.

The next day, Miles was released with a verbal reprimand. However, he was also handed a letter from the base authorities revoking permission to distribute the Bill of Rights and the Oath on the grounds that the permit had been violated.

The authorities have also refused a permit requested in the names of several GIs United to distribute the same material at post exchanges and other populated areas on base. In a related development, a suit was filed in federal court at nearby Fayetteville yesterday, in the name of 18 GIs United, attacking violations of constitutional rights on post. The suit seeks an injunction against prohibitive restrictions on the distribution of leaflets and pamphlets on post and also asked the court to assure the GIs the right to hold meetings and to discuss the war and other matters on the post. The brass may still find its fingers in a wringer.

## Six-month term for 'trespassing' on Fort Bragg

CHAPEL HILL, North Carolina, May 22—A 19-year-old student who has helped GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Ft. Bragg was convicted today in federal court of trespassing on the Army base and given the maximum sentence of six months in prison and \$500 fine.

The youth, George Rose of Chapel Hill, and his wife Margaret, also 19, were arrested May 8 at a PX at Ft. Bragg where they had gone to meet a GI friend. They were going to give him a ride to a hotel off base where GIs United at Ft. Bragg was holding its first press conference. Post MPs said they had been alerted to watch for the Roses' automobile. Ft. Bragg is an open post, with well-traveled highways running through it, and civilians visit it as a matter of course.

Base authorities based the trespassing charges on the fact that George Rose had been given a letter of expulsion from the base with a warning not to return last Nov. 16. He was one of several University of North Carolina and Duke University students arrested at that time for distributing antiwar literature on base. In the trial today, Rose was defended by Attorney Laughlin McDonald. The case will be appealed. Rose is free on bond.

## Rapping about ROTC at FSU is 'obscene' to Florida cops

By Doug Jenness

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.— What would you think if you went to your campus one day, got involved in a discussion which attracted a small crowd, and you were arrested and charged with trespassing and disorderly conduct? And on the following day you were charged with using "obscene, indecent, and profane" language? And also "profane, indecent and obscene" language?

That is what happened to Phil Sanford, an SDS leader, at Florida State University May 13. It opened a series of harassments directed at FSU SDS members.

Sanford struck up a discussion with another student about ROTC on the FSU campus. As more and more people joined in, the group drifted toward an ROTC recruiting table.

Sanford was explaining in detail the relationship between particular corporations and the state board of regents when he was interrupted by Tallahassee city policemen and arrested.

Charged with trespassing and disorderly conduct, Sanford was released after putting up \$100 bond.

The next day Sanford and two other SDS leaders were picked up by city cops and each was charged with violating two state

## Disinterest Marks Bragg GI's Effort At Leaflet Passing

FT. BRAGG (AP)—A member of a group of antiwar soldiers used a permit given him by Army authorities to distribute unofficial literature for the first time Monday on this sprawling airborne post.

There were no incidents.

But a driving rain hampered the distribution of leaflets containing the U. S. Bill of Rights and the Army's oath of enlistment by Pvt. Joseph D. Miles, 20, a member of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.

His permit, issued by Maj. Joe Parson, deputy provost marshal, was the first such authorization given by the Army at Ft. Bragg.

The permit was issued a few days after Ft. Bragg's command decreed that any person seeking to distribute unofficial literature on the post would have to secure such a permit. Authorities said the order was not aimed specifically at antiwar literature.

Miles, who was drafted 11 months ago, wore civilian clothes and carried his leaflets in a briefcase.

As he distributed the literature—a test of the permit—in the 12th Support Brigade Area, he was trailed by representatives of the Post Information Office and a few newsmen. The rain drove all but Miles indoors.

A few soldiers who accepted the leaflets promptly threw them away. About a half-dozen pamphlets were distributed.

Miles, a student at American University before he was drafted, is a clerk in a military police unit.

**A NON-EVENT.** This Associated Press dispatch from Ft. Bragg makes interesting reading. It offers a report that seems accurate to the last detail—with the minor flaw that the event reported simply never occurred, except perhaps as visualized in the bottom of an imaginative reporter's shot glass. But then radicals have always persisted in the silly notion that the capitalist news media is not entirely reliable.

## Young Socialists in Atlanta host southwide gathering

By Dennis Edge

ATLANTA, Ga.— Young Socialists from North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia gathered in Atlanta on May 9-11 to participate in the First Southwide Young Socialist Conference. Atlanta SDS leaders and antiwar GIs were also among approximately 75 people who attended at least one session during the three-day event.

The conference, held at Emory University, was kicked off with a lecture by Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed, speaking on "Women and the Family." She traced the historical evolution of women in society to the present, pointing out that subjugation of women began with the patriarchal family as it emerged from the development of class society. Leading a spirited discussion after the lecture were members of the Atlanta chapter of NOW (National Organization of Women), some of whom had prepared and distributed their own leaflet publicizing the event.

The conference heard reports from Young Socialists around the South. Andy Rose, a leader at the Chapel Hill, N.C., YSA, reported on participation in the campus struggles at Duke University and the University of North Carolina, and antiwar

activities, especially in conjunction with the Ft. Bragg GIs United.

Sharon Naiman of the Atlanta YSA reported that the local in Atlanta had doubled in membership in the past year, and discussed plans for the Young Socialist Summer School which will begin in June. She also reported that Linda Jenness had spoken to about 1,000 students at 10 campuses in the South about her recent trip to Cuba.

Atlanta YSA organizer Doug Jenness reported that plans are underway to establish a Socialist Workers Party branch in Atlanta.

A high point of the conference was the announcement that Linda Jenness would be the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta. On hand for the announcement were reporters from two local television stations and the largest local newspaper.

An enthusiastic response was accorded George Novack, Marxist scholar, who spoke on "Reform and Revolution in American History."

Also well received was Tony Thomas, YSA National Executive Committee member and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Manhattan Borough President in New York. He spoke on "Why Black Nationalism is Revolutionary."

After a lively party on Saturday night, the conference reconvened Sunday morning with reports from GIs at Ft. Benning about their plans to form a unit of GIs United. Cliff Conner of the Atlanta YSA also reported on the progress of defense efforts in behalf of the Ft. Jackson 8.

Mary-Alice Waters, a former national chairman of the YSA who covered the May 1968 events in France for *The Militant*, spoke on the lessons of May-June and the current discussions going on in the revolutionary movement in France.

The conference closed with Linda Jenness speaking on "The Southern Movement: The Role of the YSA." She discussed the various tendencies in the radical movement in the South, especially SDS's 10-point program for campus struggles. Her talk was followed by a lively political discussion with SDS leaders, YSAers and GIs. Pointing out the need for radicals to become involved in a revolutionary organization based on an international perspective, she recommended that the best way to do that is to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Atlanta SDSers set up a literature table for several sessions. About \$70 worth of literature was sold at the YSA table during the conference.



Linda Jenness



# The fight for socialism in America

BY PETER CAMEJO

The following is an abridged version of a speech by Peter Camejo, a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party. A long-time leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, Camejo is widely known for his campus activity at the University of California in Berkeley. This speech was delivered at an educational conference of the YSA in New York May 2-4, 1969.

\* \* \*

Revolutionary socialists have been accused for many years of wanting to overthrow the U.S. government by force and violence. When they accuse us of this, what they are really trying to do is to imply that we want to abolish capitalism with a minority, that we want to force the will of the minority on the majority. The opposite is the truth. We believe we can win a majority of the people in this country to support a change in the system. It will be necessary to make a revolution precisely because the ruling powers will not peacefully accept a majority rule which wants a basic change.

How can a revolution involving a majority of the people actually take place in the United States? This is the question I want to discuss today.

First of all, you have to have clear in your mind the meaning of the word "revolution." Many people have a stereotyped picture of what a revolution is like. They say a revolution is when people come with guns, when they surround a fortress or take over a city. What they do is they confuse revolution with insurrection. Insurrection is just one stage of revolution. Revolution is a lot more. It's a long process.

In a certain way you can make a parallel between revolution and pregnancy. In the very early stages of pregnancy, if just on empirical evidence you ask whether or not someone is pregnant, the answer will be no. However, with the use of science you can determine whether the person is pregnant very early. Later on it becomes evident for everybody to see.

The same thing is true of social revolution. In the early stages most people don't see it. You always begin on the assumption that in every society that needs a revolution, the majority of the people don't think it's possible. This is most certainly true for the period in American history we are in right now. We're in the early stages of the third American revolution. I say the third revolution because we've had two others—the revolution of 1776 and the civil war.

### The contradictions

Why is it that we are in the early stages of a developing revolutionary situation? The reason is most basically because of the contradiction between the fantastic potential for solving human needs in this society and the existing reality. Let me explain:

Everything you use, everything you eat or wear, your car, your housing—you didn't make any of these things. We don't produce these things as individuals. We produce socially. We have a division of work in the United States, and in the whole world for that matter. People in one part of the world make things which people in another part of the world use.

But, even though we produce socially, through cooperation, we don't own the means of production socially. And this affects all the basic decisions made in this society about what we produce. These decisions are not made on the basis of what people need, but on the basis of what makes a profit.

Take the question of hunger. There are people going hungry all over the world, and the U.S. government recently reported that there are a lot of people going hungry right here in the United States. And yet, because of the profit system, the U.S. government is now paying some farmers not to farm. Farmers don't make their decisions by saying, "We need a lot of corn in the U.S., so I'm going to plant a lot of corn." They never say that. They say,

"How much money am I going to make if I plant corn?" Did you know that if decisions were not made on this basis, then the U.S. alone would have the potential to feed the whole world? The economic potential is there.

Take the question of housing. If you took just the money that's spent on the war in Vietnam, you could build beautiful free homes for every nonwhite family in the U.S. and for 30 million of the poorest whites. They could wipe out every slum in the next four years. The potential exists, not only in the factories and materials for building, but in the potential to build new machines and factories. Yet, they are not going to solve the housing question because it's not profitable to build low cost housing.

### The unproductive

Did you know that because of the way the system is structured a large percentage of the people do not do any productive work at all? You have the unemployed who are not hired because it's not profitable to hire them. Then you have the people in the Army, not to mention the police, and others who consume a great deal but don't produce anything. Then you have things like the people in the advertising industry. They don't do anything really useful or necessary. In addition, you have a mammoth, organized effort to create waste. For instance, if you designed a car for the Ford company that would last 50 years, they wouldn't use it. Because that would destroy the purpose of making cars, which is to produce profits.

I'll give you another example of how the potential for meeting human needs is destroyed because of the profit system. Say you are a capitalist, and you're about to build a factory. Do you say, "I'll build it where it's nice, where there are trees and fresh air, and where the workers will have nice homes and will be able to go mountain climbing or hunting or swimming"? No, that's not the way you think. You say, "Well, where's my market, where are my raw materials coming in, how can I make the most profit?" And this means you might build the factory where you will pump even more poison into the air.

Smog is another example of a problem which stems directly from this system. Remember when they first discovered smog. They said, "Hey, look, there's smog." And they warned that if the smog increased to a certain point it would be dangerous. But, when they got past that point, they changed the danger level. And the smog is still getting worse. And now they tell us that all the rivers are polluted. In other words, it's not that they just can't meet the problem that exists. Things are getting worse.

### Third world

But, it is in the underdeveloped world—in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Arab countries—where the contradictions of this system are the most clear. To really understand what this system means for third world people, consider this one fact: When a worker finishes working a full day in the colonial world, he produces as much as an average American worker does in 22 minutes. There is no way of solving the tremendous problems, the hunger and the poverty, that exist in the third world unless that figure is raised. In order to raise this figure, you have to industrialize, you have to mechanize, you have to invest.

Well, what happens is that instead of getting help from the industrialized sections of the world, instead of getting capital, third world countries are drained of their wealth by the imperialist countries. More important, the third world countries are blocked from industrializing simply because the advanced capitalist countries will not permit the competition which would result from it. In fact, in terms of the effect such exploitation is having on the world, in terms of people actually dying, starving and suffering, and their whole lives being destroyed by poverty, this is one of capitalism's greatest crimes.

Capitalism doesn't just have general long-range problems like the ones I've just mentioned. It has other contradictions—big crises, like depressions and wars. And specifically in this period, when the colonial world is trying to break out of capitalism, the wars are directed against the colonial world.

How do we go about changing this situation? How do we make it so that we can really fulfill our potential as human beings?

First, it is necessary to realize that in the United States we have a ruling class. And it's very important that everyone should get to know and recognize their ruling class. The ruling class in the United States is very small. In fact, I think, proportionately, it is the smallest ruling class in the history of any society. Even defined broadly, there are only about 30,000 of them. There are a lot of people who think they belong to the ruling class, but only about 30,000 who have the real power.

Now, there are certain ways you can go about finding out just who these people are. One example is when you pick up your local newspaper and you look at the society page. You can see their children. The newspapers go to their parties and take pictures of the sons and daughters of the ruling class.

In some cities, the people in the ruling class register themselves. Of course, some ruling class people don't make the register, and there are some people who will slip in who aren't from the ruling class. But basically the social registers are a good indication of who these people are. In addition you can read the many books put out on this question. Books like **The Rich and the Super-Rich**. They spell it out.

### How it's done

Now, how does the ruling class do it? Here, you've got some 30,000 people running a society of 200 million and most of the people in the society don't even know it. In the past, ruling classes were proud of their role. They would walk around with feathers in their hats, or big robes and things, and when they went down the street, people would say, "Hey, there goes one of our ruling class." Nowadays, they don't do that. Now, they can slip on the campus where you are, and somebody in the ruling class could walk right by, and you wouldn't even know it. They dress just like you. They're incognito.

Rockefeller would never come to your campus and say, "Hi, how're you doing? Are you studying hard, getting your degrees so you can come to work for me and make me richer?" No, they don't do that. They go around saying that there aren't classes in America, that everybody's middle-class, only that some are a little more middle-class than others. In other words, they are ashamed of their own

existence. They have to hide it. And there are good reasons for that. One of their problems, of course, is that they're so small. Why, there are more than 30,000 people on just one or two campuses.

Now, how do they maintain their rule? To find this out you can try an experiment. Get all dressed up, put on a jacket and tie, and walk into some corporation and say, "Hello, I'm a sociologist, I'm here to do a study. Could I just walk around and talk to people?" And then you walk up to somebody and say, "Who's your supervisor?" And he'll point to someplace, and you find someone with a little name plate, and it's a supervisor. And you ask him, "Who's your supervisor?" And he'll point to a different place, and you walk in and there'll be a rug. And you say to him, "Who's your supervisor?" And he'll point to a different floor, and you'll find it gets harder and harder to get in the doors. There's more and more secretaries, and phones, and the rug gets thicker and thicker. Eventually you have to make appointments. And then you hit the sound barrier. Here is where you switch from the people who carry out decisions to people who make the decisions. And that's your local ruling class.

### The structure

By the way, if you test out any institution in our society, you'll find they are structured in the same way. A pyramid from the top going down. That's the way



Shelley Ramsdell/New York Press Service  
**Peter Camejo**

all institutions are structured in this democratic country. This goes for government, for the political parties, the Army, the churches, the universities, for every basic institution. And when you get to the very top of these structures, to the most powerful people, you will invariably find people who own big property.

Now, how do they keep the structure going? It's a very subtle thing. In the United States, we have freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and other democratic rights. So, say you go to your job one day and test it. Wear a big button that says, "Vote Socialist." And watch how fast you get promoted. Watch how you are treated. Formally you have the right to have any political view you want. But, the truth is that in all these institutions there is a very worked out, institutionalized way of going up. And on the way up, you sell your individuality, you commit yourself to the values of the system.

And you learn very fast that in return for full commitment to the system—for personal discipline, for showing up every morning wearing the right clothes, keeping your hair short, and the rest—in return, you get privileges. It's done on the basis of privileges. That is what holds the society together.

When was the last time you heard someone say, "Capitalism's a great society"? When did you hear anyone say, "Just think what our 30,000 ruling class has done for us. We should give them our full support." They never say that. They don't

## potential for meeting human needs is destroyed by the profit system

# You can't change it without the Am



Con Thien, July 6, 1967

try to build up an ideological support for capitalism in the sense of telling you the full truth.

All the institutions under capitalism are ideological institutions in the sense that all of them maintain and demand support for the system. So it should be no surprise to you that the higher you go in a corporation, the higher you go in the university structure, the higher you go in the Army, the people get more and more reactionary. They get more and more consciously pro the system; they are more and more for whatever crimes the system has to commit. They simply wouldn't be there if they weren't. This is why you can never capture the existing apparatus and use it for making a basic change.

## Workers' power

Today the smallness of the ruling class means that other classes have more power in comparison. We have a working-class army, for example, that has a great deal of actual and potential power. Take the basic production of all goods and services. Have you ever thought what a general strike would be like in New York City? Workers can take over this city in a matter of hours. Because workers run everything—the subways, the trucks that bring food, gas, light, heat—everything.

So you have to ask yourself, why is this power never realized politically? Why don't they just kick the 30,000 out? The reason is simple. The mass of people are under illusions. Now let me repeat this because the whole strategy of making a revolution in the U.S. is crucially dependent on understanding this. The 30,000 can rule only through maintaining illusions.

You see, if tomorrow, President Nixon called a press conference and said, "Okay, I'm going to let you in on it; there's 30,000 of us who are running this country. We're canceling all elections. We're canceling freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and so on. So go back to work, back to the campus—and if there is any disturbance we'll throw you all into concentration camps." How long do you think the ruling class would stay in power? They couldn't do it. Their power is already limited by a certain consciousness that exists in the mass of the people. Their power is limited by the fact that the mass of the people believe in free speech, in free assembly and in democracy.

And this, by the way, is the thing that is least understood by the student movement. Many students believe that the ruling class has unlimited power. They think fascism and concentration camps are around the corner. Of course, we cannot be naive about the ruling class. They will suppress opposition to them insofar as they can get away with it. And they will use the most brutal means available if it suits their needs. But they will try to keep the repression in the bounds of what they can get away with without waking up the mass of the people, without destroying the illusions. Because, if the mass begins to wake up, that's a big danger.

## Two-sided

There are two sides to democracy in this country, and if you don't understand both sides, you go wrong. One side is that it's phony. There is no real democracy in the sense that we don't run this country. The elections are totally phony. The ruling class simply gets up and picks two people, or three, and they say, "Okay, everybody, we're having elections. Now you can vote for Humphrey, or for Wallace, or for Nixon."

Then they have their candidates have a debate. But the debate isn't entirely phony. The debate often represents a real living struggle between different positions within the ruling class. The ruling class resolves many of the smaller tactical differences they have among themselves through means of elections.

Obviously, such elections do not in any way mean that the people have a voice in ruling this country. At the same time, the masses of people believe in democracy. And this belief in democracy is something that actually weakens the rulers. And it is something that gives us real power.

There is a power relationship between the masses and the ruling class based on the potential power of the working class. Because of this power relationship, you can do many things. It gives us what we call free speech. It gives us free assembly. It gives us the right to organize the YSA legally. Take for example the underground press. The underground press isn't really underground. These papers are published legally even though they attack the system. They don't suppress these newspapers because they know that the minute they start suppressing papers, it's going to wake people up and bring a reaction.

The only hope the ruling class has is if it can isolate the revolutionaries completely from the rest of the people. That is why the number-one task of all revolutionaries who really want to change the system is to know how to reach the people.

This is one of the biggest problems existing in the student movement at this point. The average student radical does not identify with the American people. In fact, he's hostile to them.

He says, "The American people, ugh, they're against the Vietnamese, they're racist, they're this and that." But you know something? That hate for the American people was taught to the student before he became a radical.

## Middle-class prejudice

When you go to school, the whole concept you are taught is that anyone that works with his hands is below you. The average Joe Shmoe is a stupid fool. And they justify the fact that some people have more privileges by saying that it's because they're more qualified.

Everything you learn in the university is calculated to give you that superiority feeling. And when you become a radical, you just turn around and invert it in a way. You keep the same prejudice in your mind and you continue to say, "How stupid the average American worker is." He's no stupider than you were before you became a radical.

Black people used to imitate white people, right? But, with the radicalization, one of the first things that started happening was that black people stopped imitating the people who oppressed them. It's the same thing with white workers. The thing that white workers do today is they imitate the people they regard as above them. They try to be like them. They vote for their parties. They support their ideas. But when they wake up this is one of the first things that will change.

Now let me explain something about mass awakening. There's no way that we radicals can by ourselves wake up the American people. Just forget about that. There is no special leaflet that we could write so articulately and carefully that when you hand it to a worker, he will pick it up and say, "That's it—I'm with you." If that were how we could do it, we'd have done it long time ago.

There is only one way it will happen.

Capitalism does it for us. The system creates the situation in which people wake up. Let me give you a few examples. Think about why it is that black people are moving today. Weren't they black in 1920? Weren't they actually worse off, if you want to look at objective conditions, in 1910, 1920 and 1930?

## Role of Africa

You know that at the beginning of the century, and after that, one of the biggest putdowns they had for black people was to call them Africans. Then came the revolutions in Africa and other parts of the third world. And black people started identifying with Africa, saying, "We're all Africans." And the ruling class began to say, "No, you're Americans."

At the same time more and more black people were moving to the cities because of the industrialization of the South. And this concentration of black people living in the cities—this begins to give them a sense of power and is one of the reasons you have the rise of black nationalism today. That is another example of how capitalism creates the basis for radicalization.

I'll give you one other example. For those people who were unemployed in the 1930s during the depression, their goal in life was to have a job, to have some stability. If you took a man who was unemployed or who had a lousy job and you gave him a job with fairly good pay, with the perspective of getting continuous increases—that to him was Nirvana. From what he had experienced in life, that was happiness.

But then what happened? His kids grew up. And many of them didn't have the constant image of the unemployed. There would always be food on the table. They could look forward to going to college. And all of a sudden the perspective of doing what their parents did, getting a job, working 40 hours a week, wasn't so inviting. Consciousness is related to what you have lived. And what you expect.

Anybody would have told you that the many years of prosperity would have completely conservatized the youth. But just the opposite has happened. They grew up totally dissatisfied, to the point that it's becoming a mass rebellion of youth.

The rebellion takes place on all levels. For instance, they start growing their hair long, just because it's supposed to be short. They're trying to do everything that they're not supposed to do, because what they're expressing, unconsciously, is that they're totally aware that there's a potential to have an entirely different kind of life. They become aware of it by the very fact of how they live their first 21 years. They go to the university with other young people. And they want to do something creative. They want to be free. And they realize this is possible. They don't want to just go to work for Standard Oil, which for their parents was a great thing.

## Radicalizing process

So, all of a sudden, you have an increase in consciousness, an awareness about the problems of society, created by the capitalists. And this awareness can become much more intensified if you have a crisis—if you have a major war, or a downturn in the economic situation. Right now we have opposition, we have a radicalization, but even this is nothing compared to what can develop in the future.

Now you can have all this spontaneous radicalization, you can even have uprisings of sorts, but that will never result in a change of the system, unless it's organized, unless there is a concept of how to struggle. Because, the masses of people, when they first radicalize, they don't understand the general problems. They don't understand how to change society. Very few individuals come to this consciousness completely on their own.

Think about the ideas—some of them very complex ideas—which have been a by-pro-

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duct of the accumulation of thought and experience over the long history of revolutionary struggle. It's this thought, this experience which is embodied in what we call the vanguard—organizations like the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Now, the ruling class has also had experiences, from which they have gained knowledge. They've been running the United States without even any major political opposition for over 70 years now. They know how, when an opposition develops, to try to repress its vanguard, to knock it down, while at the same time how to maneuver and absorb it and buy it off. Eugene McCarthy's campaign was an excellent example of this.

Without a conscious vanguard with a revolutionary perspective it is hard to deal effectively with these ruling-class maneuvers. It is difficult to do the right thing.

An example of this was the attitude of the early student antiwar movement toward the GIs. When the antiwar movement first began, the students' immediate reaction was to hate GIs, to think of them as killers. I remember in Berkeley they even put up a picture of a GI portraying him as being the same thing as a cop.

### Saw ahead

At the same time, the YSA opposed this. We could predict, because of the mass opposition to the war and the fact that young people in general were radicalizing, that the GIs would radicalize. So way ahead, before signs of the GI radicalization could be seen concretely, we urged the antiwar movement to go out and leaflet GIs, and to begin to relate to them.

And that's what Marxism is all about. That's what revolutionary politics is all about. It's what has been learned from 100 years of struggle against the system. During this time there have been plenty of examples of how armies radicalize, and under what conditions they radicalize.

There is something else the YSA sees, which we have learned from experiences in the struggle. And that is that you mustn't be sectarian. You should try to get everybody who is against the war to work together. The YSA understands that the best way to end this war, and to weaken the ruling class, is to get massive consciousness against the war—and to break the concept that the people against the war are a minority.

And we know from experience that you have to use the most carefully thought-out actions in order to produce that result. And in many cases, such actions are the so-called stupid, peaceful, mass antiwar demonstrations that some people are sick of—and of which we've now had eleven. And after each one of these mass demonstrations the YSA has said, "Okay, let's do it again now." And the SDS leaders say, "Are you guys crazy? What do you want to do that again for?" They look at it subjectively. They are tired of demonstrations themselves and they forget that demonstrations help other broader layers of people to radicalize. They forget about the impact which the demonstrations have on the GIs, on the average person. They forget that the demonstrations are what helped the students to radicalize in the first place.

### Double problem

Now, we've got a double problem in the antiwar movement and in the radical movement in general, and both sides of this double problem are closely interrelated. One is that some people think they are going to solve the problems of society by supporting some liberal.

Let me explain what a liberal is. A liberal is someone who doesn't like what capitalism does, but likes capitalism. They try to solve the problems created by the system by supporting the system. Now, many students do that too. When they supported McCarthy they did that. What they were looking for was a shortcut. They were trying to change the system from within.

They hoped a McCarthy victory would be a substitute for building an independent political movement of the working people, the black people and the students on a mass level, independently and against the ruling class.

On the other side you have the ultraleftists who do the exact same thing—try to bypass building a mass movement. In California we have a bad rash: people walking around saying, "Everybody get guns." And there is a lot of applauding about guns at rallies.

And then there are those who believe in confrontation as the only method of struggle. By this I mean that the success of an action for them is not measured by how many people are influenced and won over. Their criterion is "We've got to fight the police in the street. Otherwise we aren't revolutionary."

What they are looking for is a shortcut. Some are naive about what the cops can and will do to them. They think that if the present vanguard arms itself and takes on the power structure, then they can change society. But they're not going to change it by themselves. You can't change it without the American people. And you certainly can't change it against them.

What is happening is that the ultraleftists are merely expressing frustration. Just like those who supported McCarthy, they don't have the patience and the understanding of the need to mobilize the people, to win them over, to involve them in the struggle through mass movements.

This is a working-class country. Black people in their great majority are working class. And there are the other oppressed minorities—Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, etc. What you have is an overwhelming mass of people who have objectively no interest in this system. They have to be won over, and our whole strategy, everything we do, has got to be directed at winning them.

### French example

Now, how exactly can the American revolution come about? What kind of movements and strategy will allow us to take power? To make this clear, let me tell you what happened in France in May-June of 1968. I said that you need two things to make a revolution—a vanguard and an objective situation in which there is a crisis and a mass radicalization. Well, in France you had that objective situation—but you had no revolutionary vanguard. Let me

show you how, if there had been a strong vanguard, revolutionaries in France would have led a struggle to take power from the ruling class:

In France you had 10 million workers on strike. You had another two million farmers supporting them. Plus the 600,000 students. Now, since the total population of the country is 50 million, this means that the overwhelming majority of families had at least one if not two people involved in the strike. It was clear that the majority of the people in France were out on strike, making certain demands. You had a majority. There was no need to negotiate with anyone.

What would a Marxist vanguard do in such a situation? First of all, we would fight for the formation of a strike council of the whole country which could simply say, "Well, it's clear we have a majority, so we are going to have free elections to decide all the questions under demand here. And these elections are going to be run by the strike council because the government has shown itself to be undemocratic."

Remember, at the time of the crisis, de Gaulle had no real power, except in the sense that there was vacuum which he filled. Do you know that when de Gaulle wanted to hold a referendum during the strike, it was so unpopular that he couldn't get any workers in all of France to print the ballots? He had to go to Belgium, to ask the Belgian workers to print the ballots, and they refused too! He had no strength. One might ask, what about the army? But he had no army with him. Maybe the officers, but the soldiers—who were the soldiers in France? They were the sons and brothers of the strikers.

The first thing a strike council would do would be to immediately hold elections in the army barracks for new officers, and any officer that didn't accept this would be thrown out. And then you would go to the barracks and ask the soldiers to share their guns. The guns would be used to help form militias of the people. Then you would dissolve the police force and have the workers out on the streets patrolling. That could have been done in a number of days under the conditions that existed in France. Just to start with, you had hundreds of thousands of students who would have been immediately willing to participate in the militias and to arm themselves.

Then elections would be held in the fac-

tories, and other institutions, and delegates representing the rank-and-file workers in the factories, the students, the soldiers in the army and people in all the various institutions would come together in a central council. And you would put on the floor of this body, which would be the most democratically chosen body in the history of the country, the motion that all industries are nationalized. We would simply pass that, along with other programs which would meet the people's needs.

When you stop to think about it, what would the ruling class have done? Bombed their own cities?

When you think about it, every step I've outlined, every demand, is based on democratic ideas. The word "socialist" hasn't even been used. Because what socialism means is not simply that socialists come to power, but that a class—the masses of the working people—come to power. That could have happened in France. The objective conditions were there, the radicalization among the masses. What was missing? There was no sufficiently strong Marxist vanguard. The working class in France was led by a party which supports capitalism, called the Communist Party. So the big problem in France, in order to make a revolution, is to depose the Communist Party from the leadership of the working class.

In the United States, things are going to happen in a similar way to what happened in France. Not the same, but similar. Look what's happening on campus—it's spontaneous; on campus after campus you see radical actions. The same thing is going to take place in the working class. It is already happening with the masses of black people. As these movements develop, the vanguard at first is small, and can play only a limited role. But, out of these actions come young people who begin to understand that you need to think out the whole question.

### Start thinking

They learn from experience. Maybe they get busted and they start thinking how to be effective. And someone sits down with them and explains how you make a revolution, how you form a vanguard and slowly build up and participate in mass struggles, how you get an interrelationship between the mass movements and the vanguard, and how you reach a situation where a crisis will develop and the vanguard will be



San Francisco, April 15, 1967

# certainly can't change it against them

# The answer of the YSA is:

able to lead the masses to take power.

The key to victory is moving the masses. Any concept, any struggle that eliminates this will only end in disaster. Unfortunately, the ultraleft idea that you can go around the masses, or make the revolution without them, is one that is creeping into the thinking of many students and young people today. But there will be a reaction to this. One of the troubles with ultraleftism is, of course, that when people react against it, they sometimes react against militancy in general, and flip over to become opportunists. In fact, you're going to see people who were opportunists yesterday going over to being ultraleft today, and the ultralefts of today flipping over to become opportunists. Because all of them are looking for the same thing—a shortcut. And there is no shortcut to change the system.

It takes a long time. You have to have a perspective of fighting for 10, 20 or even more years. Just like the Vietnamese say they will fight 10, 20, or 40 years—whatever is necessary. You can't walk into the YSA and say, "I want a guarantee that the revolution will happen in five years be-

and the struggle for self-determination of black people, which is a very basic part of the struggle for socialism in this country, it's difficult for us to unite with them in supporting black self-determination. We find them difficult to work with in the antiwar movement as well—they are opposed to working in broad united efforts on antiwar demonstrations, and they characterize the YSAers as counterrevolutionaries. So it is hard to work with them, although on some individual campuses we have been able to do it. Then you have the Communist Party. They also support the Democratic Party. On occasion they will support an antiwar demonstration. When they have, we've worked with them then.

We'll work with anybody, so long as it's a principled issue that we both agree on and can work together on. It would be very wrong for revolutionary socialists to declare themselves purists and to say everyone has to agree with them on every issue in order to unite for a specific action. If any struggle develops, you want to get everybody who agrees on that struggle to work together and participate.

demonstrate for withdrawal of forces when that spells defeat for their ruling class is a very high political demand for masses of people to be demonstrating about.

It is, by the way, the first time in history I know of, while an imperialist nation is engaged in a war, that there's that type of demonstration, with what Lenin called a defeatist position. The only time I know about where you saw this before was in periods just before a revolution, like in Russia. Such antiwar demands set a very important precedent for the revolutionary struggle, because once the people start to believe that it is legitimate to fight against an imperialist war, imperialism is in bad shape. Because it depends on wars to maintain its sway.

**Q.** You said that if the government established concentration camps and tried to herd revolutionaries into them, the masses of people wouldn't allow this to happen. How do you know that?

**A.** First, be sure not to interpret what I said in a mechanical way. Because obviously they're continuously trying to create illusions which will permit them to

it makes a difference. It's absolutely insane to take a bunch of guys who work for a TV corporation or newspaper and say, "You're the bourgeois press—get out of here."

Now, on concentration camps. I'm certainly not saying that this cannot be done. But, we should look at the reality. The reality is that in the last decade there has been a massive shift in consciousness to the left. There has also been a polarization with a shift to the right. But the right wing has no large movement in this country. They try to create prowar demonstrations and they can't get out one-tenth of what we can get out. While we are getting more and more massive in terms of people actively involved, they are on the defensive.

Just a few years ago, whites used to go into black neighborhoods and beat up black people. Now white guys talk about arming themselves because blacks are going to come to their doors. Now we know that's a myth, but it could be called a switch in consciousness. Today everybody has to say, "Yes, black people are equal. Black people should be given jobs." They didn't say that 15 years ago. Now you have demonstrations on campus after campus and one school after another is getting a black studies program. Why are they bending? They bend because the thing is moving against them.

Just think what we have initiated through our efforts with GIs. It is unprecedented in American history. It's still a small number of GIs. But the brass is petrified. Many students don't understand what the military understand—the danger it represents to the system when the GI insists on his right to free speech and assembly. Do you know what the logic of that is?

Some of these GIs are the best revolutionaries in this country. They know how to fight intelligently. They get themselves into a position so that when the government comes down on them to crush them, they can say, "All we were doing was exercising our right of free speech, to speak out against the war." And the Army doesn't know how to crush this. It's hard to just arrest a guy for thinking and speaking, because free speech is something which the American people understand and sympathize with.

You see, we've got them both ways. We've got them coming and going. It's like a poker game. We make them pay the highest price. We start upping the ante. You want to repress these guys? Okay. But that's going to cost you. It's going to open more people's eyes about your system. It's going to cost you so many more kids that are going to join the YSA.

You use these same techniques in every struggle—putting them on the defensive, exposing their system, winning new people over. You do it democratically. But we know that they will continuously try to deny us our freedom, and that when we really begin to gain enough forces so we can take power they will deny any kind of elections.

We will have to show that it is really the capitalists who are afraid to allow the people to vote, that it is they who feel that elections threaten their power. We are for free elections, because we know we can win people if they really know the issues. So, with a revolution, there's no concept of a small group doing it.

But that doesn't mean there won't be violence. There will be because the ruling class will never accept a peaceful change. They'll take every unit they can count on and throw it against us. And we will have to organize to defend the revolution in an organized, serious way. That's why we need mass support.

**Q.** How do we get from the situation we are in now to a general strike in this country?

**A.** There is no schedule you can give a revolution. If you study France, you find that no one knew what was coming. It's impossible to tell exactly when the masses will move. At the same time you can see general trends. You can participate and lead mass movements that develop, and deepen them. And if you can build up a strong movement, and most important if you can build up a vanguard in this process, when the situation does arise, we can win.



GI panel at 1968 YSA National Convention

cause after that I have other plans." The revolution doesn't work that way.

So, to end, I want to say this. The ruling class is never going to solve its problems through the capitalist system. Therefore, the objective conditions for revolution are going to rise up over and over again. We don't create these conditions, but there is one thing we can do. That is, we can create the subjective factor—the vanguard. By entering the YSA, by building a revolutionary party, by understanding and participating in the revolutionary process, we can make victory possible.

Are we going to be able to do it? Other generations have failed to do it. Are we going to be able to build a revolutionary socialist vanguard that can lead a mass movement to overthrow the system? That's the great challenge to this young generation. And the answer of the YSA is yes, we're going to do it.

## From the question period

**Q.** Why don't the socialist tendencies get together to overthrow capitalism?

**A.** That's a question asked by quite a few people, especially when they first become interested in the socialist movement. There are quite a number of people who call themselves socialists, and it's natural to want them to unite. We are for uniting the maximum number of people possible in the fight for socialism. The way you do it, we believe, is to first work with people wherever you have agreement, and then broaden your basis of agreement.

Of course, there are real problems uniting with some of the groups that now exist because of the positions they take. The Socialist Labor Party, for example, refuses to support the antiwar movement, the black liberation struggle or the union movement, so it would be hard for us to get together with them because our differences are so basic. Other organizations, like the Socialist Party—they support the capitalists, they support the Democratic Party—so we find it difficult to work with them. You have groups like the Progressive Labor Party. Since they are opposed to black nationalism

**Q.** How can the YSA justify its activities in terms of the transitional program when your demands on antiwar demonstrations aren't political?

**A.** The concept of a transitional program—as used by revolutionaries in the Russian Revolution and as codified by Leon Trotsky in a pamphlet called *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*—is to move the masses through specific demands that tend to raise their consciousness for struggle and lead toward revolution.

One example of such a transitional demand is black control of the black community. Another is the demand that people have a right to vote on the war in Vietnam. That is a transitional demand, because the idea of putting the question of war into the hands of the people would be easily understood by the masses, and at the same time the capitalists could never give in to it. It would cripple their power if before invading some country like Santo Domingo, they had to first have a big discussion and vote. Yet it sounds reasonable to people. That's what a transitional demand is—a demand that raises consciousness, and which makes it easy for people to see the issues.

This is exactly what antiwar demonstrations do. You're making demands which are highly radical, which at the same time are easy for people to understand. You say, introduce politics. The demonstrations are very political because they are actions around a very high political demand—"Get out of Vietnam Now." Do you know what it would be for the U.S. to immediately get out of Vietnam? It would mean victory for the revolutionary forces in Vietnam. To

do things in the direction of repression. Just turn on your TV—you're getting it every single night now. They are trying to falsify what the students are fighting for—trying to create prejudices against the students which would allow the ruling class to repress them. But think about what I said. They're busy trying to create prejudices against black people and students in order to repress them. They don't feel that they can just go ahead and repress.

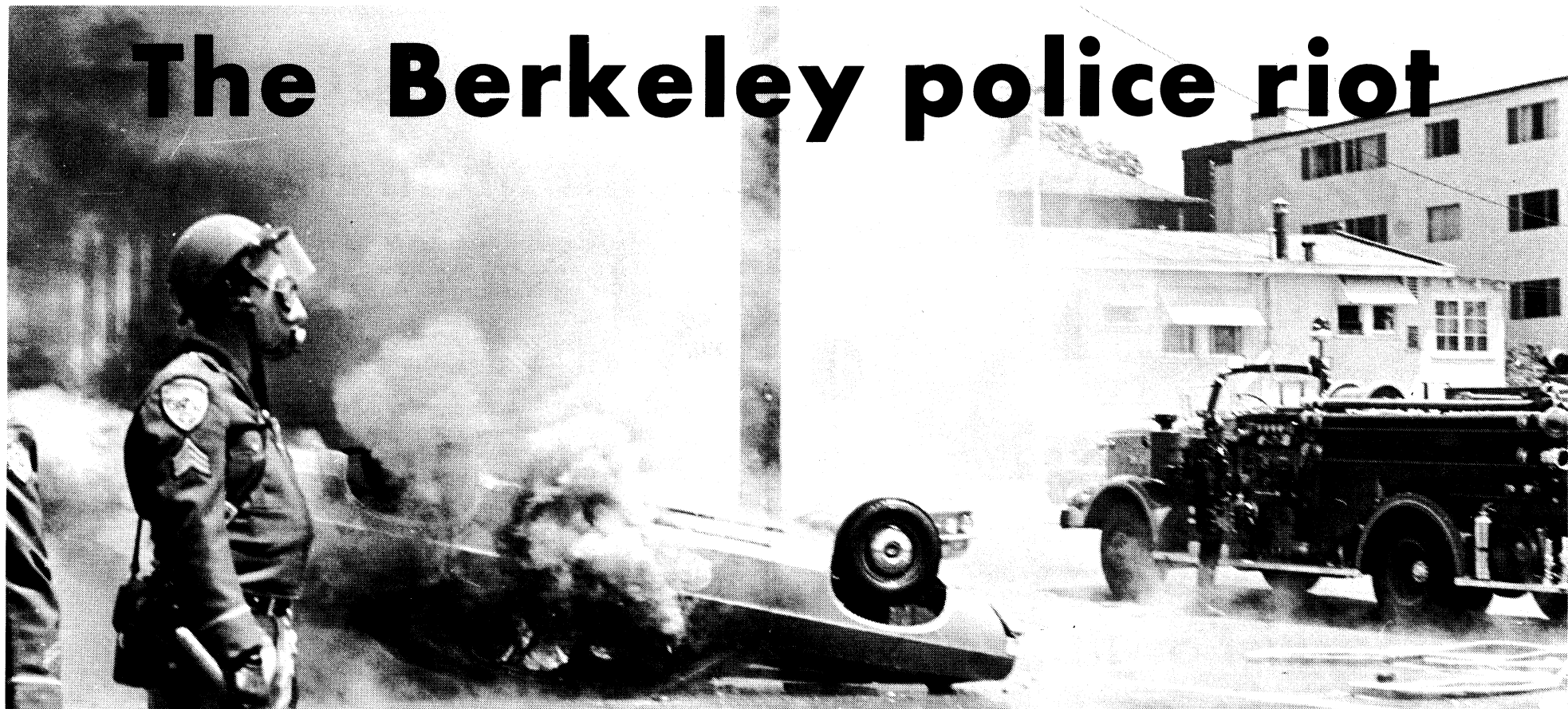
My whole point is that when we fight back against repression, we've got to take that into account and use that against them. We've got to explain what is going on to the people, because that is what is protecting us. In order to carry out a repression, the ruling class has to be able to say that it's a small, radical group of troublemakers—so that everyone can say, "Well, it's not my kid." But with mass demonstrations, there is a different impact. They have to say, "It's all our kids." That's why, in student battles, you've got to watch ultra-leftism, because it miseducates everybody.

On campus, for example, you have a tendency for people to believe that the housewife living 50 miles away doesn't matter. So, what happens? When the press comes in, some students want to throw them out. And then you know what the press does. They talk to those people 50 miles away, and give the story against you. Many reporters will tell you that it's true that they don't allow everything to be printed, that they slant the news and so on. We all know that. At the same time, you can get a lot of your side's story through by talking to the press. We have been able to do this time and again, and

# 'Yes, we're going to change it'



# The Berkeley police riot



By Rick Feinberg

BERKELEY, May 21— One dead, one blinded, scores seriously wounded. These are the first week's toll as California authorities released a murderous reign of police terror against the Berkeley community.

Students and other residents who wanted to do nothing more than convert an idle plot of ground into a park brought on a warlike invasion by hundreds of state and local cops, sheriff's deputies and guardsmen. Time and again, cops have fired point blank at protesters. People have been savagely beaten. A helicopter has been used to spray participants in a funeral march with poisonous tear gas powder.

This incredible chain of events began with a struggle over a previously little-noticed mud-hole which had been transformed into a park, a "people's park," by students and residents of the south campus area. With their own labor and funds they had planted grass and installed facilities for children's and adult recreation.

The park had hardly been brought into existence when the university, which owned the vacant lot, decided to make the area into a soccer field—construction to be started immediately. On Wednesday, May 14, "no trespassing" signs were put up in the park and Chancellor Heyns issued a proclamation that people's park . . . "was not the intended use of the land purchased with a precious [!] million dollars."

The next day, at four o'clock in the morning, a force of over 700 police moved into the park to reclaim it for the university. By noon an 8-foot-high chain-link fence had been constructed.

In protest, a huge rally was held on campus and a march to the park began. More than 5,000 people filled Telegraph Ave., Berkeley's main thoroughfare, for a distance of five blocks. As the march proceeded down Telegraph, although completely unprovoked, the police attacked massively.

## Pitched battle

A pitched battle raged for more than five hours. The police threw tear gas and sent large contingents to chase and arrest

small groups. Students fought back with bottles and rocks. When they could, they threw the canisters of gas back.

The police tactics included the use of gas grenades and shotguns. At one point a group of Alameda County sheriff's deputies lined up below the Young Socialist Alliance headquarters and fired 12-gauge shotguns at people who were watching from the balcony of an apartment above. Four people were hit. One was James Rector, 25, the man who died yesterday. A second man, a sculptor, was permanently blinded, and a third, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, was wounded in the leg. A fourth staggered down to the YSA office, his arms and legs covered with blood from more than a half-dozen pellet wounds.

James Rector, the murdered youth, was a visitor to Berkeley from San Jose. He had worked on the park, had been an onlooker to the protest, and had tried to restrain a youth on an adjoining roof from throwing a brick. The police simply gunned him down, and then shot tear gas so that he could not be aided. He lay in bed for four days on the critical list before succumbing.

Friday the National Guard was brought in in force. Every street corner within six blocks of the university was patrolled by rifle-carrying guardsmen. The students recognized almost immediately, however, that the members of the guard are qualitatively different from the police. Most of them are young people who enlist solely to avoid the army. Rather than responding with antagonism, the students began trying to explain the issues to the guards. Fraternalization with the guards quickly became a common practice. Leaflets and movement newspapers were heaped upon them.

It became a common sight to see several protesters and guardsmen discussing seriously on street corners. The kind of people frequently found in the guard was rather dramatically illustrated when one demonstrator who was shot by the cops was called up for guard duty the same day. There have been numerous instances of

guardsmen not unsheathing their bayonets or otherwise indicating support for the demonstrators.

## Continuing crisis

All week the crisis has continued, with student demonstrations and rallies broken up repeatedly by police. On Friday, in defiance of the governor's dictatorial edict banning public meetings, a noon rally was scheduled for Sproul steps. As the crowd began to assemble, the police moved in with tear gas and clubs. The gathering was temporarily dispersed, but it swiftly regrouped in another locale.

That rally ended with a march of several thousand on City Hall. It proceeded without serious incident until it was met at City Hall by hundreds of guardsmen with fixed bayonets. Forced to retreat, most went back in the direction of the campus, but many others struck off through downtown Berkeley, tying up traffic in the business district.

In Saturday's demonstration, the students sought to "close down" downtown Berkeley. This demonstration like the others was dispersed by overwhelming police strength.

On Sunday, a mass silent vigil was planned for Herrick Hospital, where two of the people shot on Thursday lay in critical condition. Activists arrived, however, only to find the building completely surrounded and their right to assemble once again denied. Students then set off for a vacant lot to build a new people's park. Work proceeded for a short time, until police moved in, threatening to use tear gas.

In the midst of this growing crisis, the Berkeley City Council met Tuesday morning. After excluding protesters from its chambers, its first order of business was to ask the Alameda County Grand Jury to investigate the violence in the street, "including" any police violence. All demonstrators rightly took this to mean an investigation of themselves.

## Murder ignored

The murder of James Rector was not even mentioned at the council meeting. A motion to withdraw the National Guard

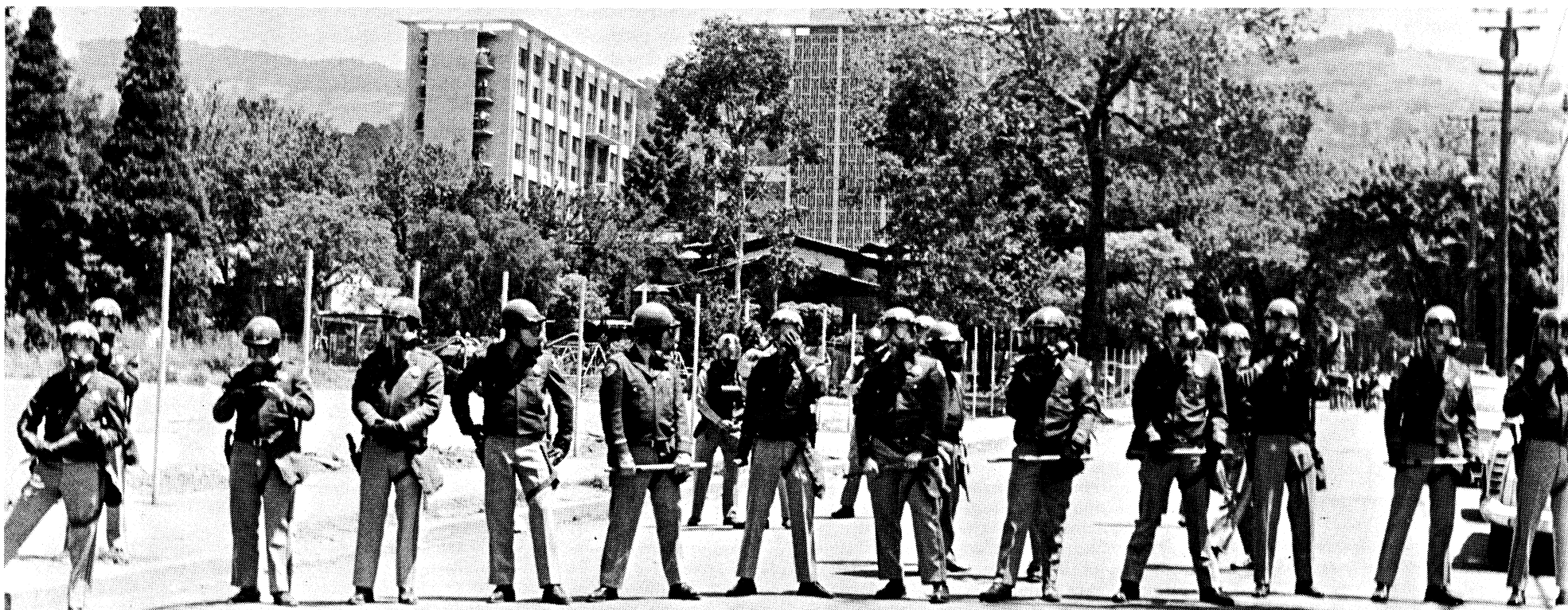
died for lack of a second. The council deliberated for eight hours before it deigned to let the citizens gathered there speak.

Among others, Paul Montauk of the Socialist Workers Party spoke, demanding that the council repudiate the violence of the previous week and adopt a democratic and peaceful solution to the people's park problem. Montauk called for a referendum of the university and south campus community on the use of the land. Failure of the council to adopt such a solution, he stated, would make clear who were the real initiators of the violence.

But, the council has stubbornly ignored all such solutions and has carried on with its policy of repression. After the faculty held a vigil in tribute to James Rector May 20, a memorial march of 3,000 was met on the edge of campus and not permitted to leave the grounds. Confined to campus, the march was met by lines of cops who began throwing tear gas. Gas was thrown inside buildings. A powdered tear gas that admittedly can kill infants or the infirm was shot from helicopters. Shotguns were used again by the Alameda County deputies.

The ferocious brutality and callous disregard for human life of the last week is shifting public sentiment against the police. Even the conservative *Berkeley Gazette* published an editorial condemning the police and the university's handling of the problem. Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's Union and the Berkeley-Albany PTA have come out in opposition to the actions of the police and the presence of the National Guard. A faculty meeting of more than 200 this afternoon voted not to do any more academic work and to devote full time to trying to resolve the present crisis.

As this is written, no solution to the crisis is at hand. Berkeley is an armed camp, where students are trying to gain just a little control over their lives, trying to save a park they created. The fact that the university and those it represents are willing to kill for that tiny piece of property which was previously not even being used has made a deep impression which will not easily be erased.



Photos by Byron Ackerman



# New Marxist organization is launched in France

By Caroline Lund

PARIS — A new revolutionary organization, the Communist League, was formed in France at the beginning of April. The founding convention of the League, held on Easter weekend, was attended by 220 delegates elected by supporters of the revolutionary newspaper **Rouge** (Red).

**Rouge** was first published in September 1968, and the "Rouge Circles" which formed around the paper, were composed primarily of former members of the JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth), the PCI (International Communist Party, French Section of the Fourth International), and hundreds of militant students and young

Next week:

Special on France

Our next issue will feature a special supplement devoted to the campaign of Alain Krivine, revolutionary socialist candidate for president of France.

workers who had begun their political activity during and after May 1968. The JCR and the PCI were both banned by the de Gaulle government because of their role in the May events.

Between September 1968 and April 1969, the Rouge Circles functioned as a loose organization on a national scale, winning a significant number of young workers to the banner of revolutionary Marxism, as well as continuing to gain support in the student movement. But the clearly indicated need for a revolutionary party in France today led the majority of the **Rouge** supporters to the conclusion they should form a more structured, legal organization as rapidly as possible.

**Extensive discussion**

During the three months prior to the founding convention of the Communist League, a lively discussion took place within the Rouge Circles. More than 30 discussion articles were written, circulated, and debated. Three main political tendencies emerged in the course of the discussion, and at the four-day founding convention

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

REFORM AND REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Speaker: George Novack, Fri., May 30, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. Contribution \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

RECEPTION FOR GEORGE NOVACK, Sun., June 1. For time and place call 269-4953 or 264-9349 in L.A.

NEW YORK

HIGH SCHOOL SPRING OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM. A panel discussion of high school activists: Dierdre Coltera, Brooklyn Friends H.S.; Julie Miller, Dalton H.S., both from Student Mobilization Committee, and others. Fri., May 30, 8:30 p.m., 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) Contrib. \$1; h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

the differences were discussed and voted upon.

The fundamental disagreement between the majority and the main minority tendency was over the need to form a Leninist organization at this time, and how such an organization should be formed. The minority argued that it was premature and artificial to form a Leninist organization now, that such a formation would emerge out of the struggle as it developed, and that it would be better to have a loosely knit, multitendency organization at this time. The minority also opposed the affiliation of the Communist League to the Fourth International.

The majority argued that decades of experience had proven the ineffectiveness of trying to unite in one party many groups with fundamental disagreements. They argued for the absolute necessity of forming a democratic-centralist organization, with a revolutionary Marxist program, and international ties and perspectives. Only such an organization could be prepared to play a significant role in the next working-class upsurge in France. To fail to create such an organization would only assure that the next May-June would be stopped short, just as the last one was.

The third tendency, which had only two delegates out of the 220, was essentially a Maoist-spontaneist tendency. Eighty percent of the delegates voted for the majority. Twenty percent of the delegates supported the minority position, but accepted the decisions of the overwhelming majority and remained within the organization with all the rights of a minority, including representation on the Central Committee of the League.

**Discussed activities**

The convention decided that the main areas of work for the League must be amongst young workers, in the universities and high schools, and amongst the teachers. Priority will be given to the activities amongst young workers, and the delegates saw as their main task the elaboration of a transitional program for French workers; that is, a series of demands and a program for struggle that will help raise the political consciousness of the working class and point the way towards a struggle for power.

The experiences of the delegates working in the factories were a rich contribution to the discussion. One of the most successful activities has been the publication of factory bulletins, such as **Taupe Rouge** (Red Mole), which was initiated by **Rouge** supporters in a factory in southern France. It quickly became popular in the plant where it originated, and then spread to other factories in southern France, several of which began publishing their own editions of **Taupe Rouge**. The convention projected the use of such bulletins as a means of spreading revolutionary ideas in the plants and winning new forces to the Communist League.

Commission meetings throughout the conference discussed the current state of the university and high school movements. There was general agreement that the student movement had gone through a period of confusion and fragmentation since May. The Communist League considered it of prime importance to continue to educate and direct the student movement away from the two dangers of the reformist influence of the Communist Party and the left Social Democrats, and the ultraleft

# Krivine campaign gains momentum in France

The presidential election campaign in France continued to gain momentum during the last week, and supporters of Alain Krivine, candidate of the Communist League, organized numerous activities. Highlights of the week included:

- On May 11 Krivine received the endorsement of the Action Committees at the Renault plant in Billancourt, long a stronghold of French working class radicalism.
- On May 13 the Communist League filed 231 signatures of elected municipal officials on a nominating petition and completed the other constitutional requirements for the candidacy of Krivine.
- On May 14 Krivine was granted a leave without pay from the 150th Infantry Regiment, in which he is a private. The leave will last for the duration of the campaign.
- On May 15 Krivine held his first press conference in Paris, which received extensive coverage in *Le Monde*, and other papers.
- On May 17 Krivine made his first television appearance of the campaign. Each candidate is entitled to one hour and 40 minutes time on TV and an equal amount of radio time. Some 25 to 30 million leaflets are printed and distributed at the government's expense, as are tens of thousands of posters.
- In making the official announcement of the certified candidates, the Constitutional Council also assigned emblems to be used in voting. While the Communist Party candidate was accorded two clasped hands, it was the Communist League that earned the hammer and sickle, traditional symbols of working class revolution.
- On May 19 Krivine held an outdoor rally in front of the Renault plant in Billancourt. Despite the Communist Party goon squads which organized to bust up the meeting, they were unsuccessful in preventing Krivine from speaking. Krivine challenged Jacques Duclos, the CP candidate, to debate.
- On May 21 the first mass meeting of the campaign was held in the main hall of the Mutualite, which holds close to 5,000.
- The following is the platform presented by the Communist League in announcing the presidential candidacy of Alain Krivine:

1. Immediate restoration of the gains made in May:
  - immediate readjustment of wages.
  - rehiring of workers and trade unionists who have been fired.
  - restoration of scholarships and military deferments of students.
  - readmission of foreigners expelled in May.
2. Implementation of the basic demands of the mass movement of May:
  - repeal of arbitrary government reductions in social security benefits.
  - sliding scale of wages and hours.
3. Resistance to all new attacks by the bourgeoisie on the working class; formation of factory committees to fight for veto power over all firings, speed-up and factory closings.
4. Organization of Action Committees and Defense Committees to combat the CDR and SAC (Gaullist and right-wing vigilante groups) and other reactionary commandos.

The right of all political and trade union organizations to have their own units within the army.

Dissolution of the CRS (federal paramilitary police).
5. De Gaulle is gone. His regime, his constitution, his state apparatus remain. Repeal the Gaullist legislation. Dissolve the reactionary Assembly elected in June.
6. No elections for a new bourgeois legislature. Creation of a constituent assembly based on and representing the power of the working class.
7. The crisis of capitalism will not be resolved within the limits of any one nation. Only a return to proletarian internationalism, to a struggle for the emancipation of the international working class and the victory of the world socialist revolution will lead to the abolition of international capitalism.

For that reason we make a fundamental plank in our platform active political and material support for the Vietnamese revolution, the revolutionary movements of Latin America and Pakistan, the Palestinian, Angolan and Laotian fighters, and all those who constitute the front ranks of the world proletariat, motorforce of a single and unified process — the World Revolution.

We give central importance to the demand for the immediate release of the Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco and his comrades, imprisoned for six years. We also demand the liberation of Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, sentenced to prison by the Polish government, and freedom for all those who are struggling against the bureaucratic regimes of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and China, regimes which reflect the pressure of imperialism even in the heart of those states where capitalism has been abolished.

pressures from the anarchists and spontaneists. They also decided to make a special effort to build Rouge Circles in the high schools.

One of the most important decisions made by the convention was to apply for recognition as the French section of the Fourth International, the organization founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938 to build a world party of socialist revolution. By doing so, the Communist League decided to place itself squarely on the foundations of working-class internationalism, pointed proudly to the role of the former JCR and PCI members in building the defense of the Algerian and Vietnamese revolutions particularly.

The Communist League has subsequently been recognized by the Fourth International as the official French section.

The convention elected a Central Committee of 45 members and the Central

Committee than elected a political bureau of eight members which will meet in Paris and provide the central political direction on a day to day basis. The various areas of work will be directed by commissions responsible to the Central Committee.

The credentials report given at the convention provides a significant insight into the growth of the French revolutionary movement in the last year: 65 percent of the members are between 19 and 25 years old, and 55 percent have joined the Rouge Circles since May 1968. Approximately 20 percent are former members of the Communist Party or its affiliated organizations, such as the Communist Students' Union. Forty percent are university students, 15 percent high school students, 12 percent teachers, and 32 percent workers, including industrial workers and other employees. Rouge Circles exist in 34 cities in France.



# National SDS office raided by police

By Debbie Notkin

CHICAGO— At 1 a.m. Monday morning, May 12, the national office of SDS was raided by the Chicago police department.

Mike Klonsky of the SDS national office gave me the details of the police attack. The police rang the bell outside of SDS headquarters. The cops asked to be let in, alleging that they had received reports that someone had been shot in the building. They were told that no one in the building had been shot, and that, since they had no search warrant, they would not be allowed to enter.

A few minutes later the fire department arrived on the scene and began chopping down the door with axes, using the pretext that they too had received a report, this time that there was a fire in the building. They were told by an SDS national officer that there was no fire in the building, and to please stop chopping down the door.

The SDS person offered to let a few of the firemen in to convince them that there was no fire. The firemen, however, ignored this offer, instead completed chopping down the door to gain access for themselves and the police. The cops and firemen then rushed into the building and began beating up the SDSers with billy clubs and axe handles. Five SDS leaders were arrested on various charges, including battery on policemen, interfering with firemen and mob action.

The arrested people are Mike Klonsky, Les Coleman, Ed Jennings, Tim McCarthy and David Slavin. Bond posted totaled \$12,000. They were all given travel bans prohibiting them from leaving the state of Illinois. In addition the courts have banned Mike Klonsky from speaking on any campuses.

When they arrived at the police department in the middle of the night, the five SDSers were greeted by the Red Squad, who searched all their personal belongings, confiscating such items as address books and personal letters.

This incident is only the latest in a series of attacks by the Chicago police department on radical organizations around the city. The Illinois Black Panther Party and the Young Lords Organization, a Latin American group, have been two of the most blatantly harassed organizations, suffering a series of frame-up arrests of their members, plus the murder of one member

of the Young Lords by an off-duty cop.

Funds are urgently needed for the legal defense of the five SDSers. Contributions should be sent to the SDS National Office, 1608 W. Madison St., Chicago.

The House Committee on Internal Security has been "investigating" SDS and plans to hold "public hearings" early in June, Congressman Richard Ichord revealed May 19.

The witchhunting Internal Security Committee chairman told the House: "A full-scale investigation of the organization was launched by the committee staff on March 6, when committee members authorized such an investigation as the first step in an in-depth study of revolutionary violence in the United States.

"Last week, the members of the committee unanimously approved the holding of public hearings at an early date. It is my intention to schedule the initial public hearings the first week in June."

Attributing "violence" and "chaos" on university campuses to SDS, Ichord and his committee apparently hope to divert attention from the real issues in the student struggle by a red-baiting attack on SDS.

## Chicago rally protests murder of Manuel Ramos

By Richard Hill

CHICAGO— The Chicago Young Lords Organization, a militant political organization based in the Puerto Rican community, initiated action May 13 to mobilize the Lincoln Park community of Chicago against the brutal, senseless killing of Manuel Ramos, a member of the Young Lords Organization, by an off-duty cop.

A spirited rally attended by approximately 1,000 people featured speakers from the Young Lords Organization, the YSA and SDS. After the rally, the group moved through the streets of the predominantly black and Puerto Rican community. Throughout the march, the ranks swelled, finally numbering over 2,000 participants who converged on the 18th District police station.

The size and militancy of the action re-

# Indiana campus unites to defend black students

By Rick Congress

BLOOMINGTON, Ind., May 20— One thousand students attended a rally May 16 in defense of black students who face possible indictments from a Monroe County grand jury. The grand jury was convened by Monroe County Prosecutor Thomas Berry in response to a request from the acting president of Indiana University.

The grand jury is investigating the so-called "lock-in" of administrators and faculty by black students at a negotiating session over student demands concerning a 68-percent hike in tuition. The main speaker at the rally was Rollo Turner, black student spokesman and most likely target of an indictment by the grand jury. Turner attacked the university administration for its complicity in the witchhunt being prepared by the local prosecutor. He also addressed himself to the recent announcement that Professor Orlando Taylor, militant black faculty member who had been offered the post of vice-chancellor for Afro-American affairs in connection with the newly-formed black studies program, was no longer under consideration for the job.

Taylor had been a consistent supporter of student struggles including the recent nine-day strike against the hike in tuition. Turner said the black students would act if Taylor did not receive the job previously

offered him. He received an ovation when he said, "Blacks don't fear jail sentences, we have been imprisoned for 400 years."

Russel Block, YSA spokesman, emphasized that the law isn't neutral. "The legal system is run by the corporate rich. Don't count on winning in court just because you are innocent." He stressed the importance of building an aggressive, united defense campaign which would publicize any indictments all over the country. He reminded the crowd of the role that the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students played when three YSA officers were indicted by the county prosecutor at IU in 1963. He also pledged YSA support nationally in publicizing the case if any students are indicted.

Joel Allen of SDS announced at the end of the rally that there would be a march to the county courthouse where the grand jury was then in session. The purpose of the march was to ask the grand jury to investigate that real criminals—the governor, the president of the university, the trustees—for conspiring to deprive the poor people of Indiana an education by raising tuition.

Three hundred students walked the four blocks to the courthouse, which was locked and guarded by deputy sheriffs. Allen and Rip Lahmon of the New University Conference and associate professor of history Fritz Ringer spoke with the city attorney about filing charges against the university administration. They told the students camped on the courthouse lawn that they would formally ask for an investigation. The crowd then dispersed.

The Friday rally and march demonstrated that any indictments made by the grand jury will be met with a large aggressive defense campaign. Ad hoc groups of faculty, teaching assistants and students are raising money for possible legal defense. Students are mapping out plans for getting support from around the state, since it is quite certain that legal action will continue.



Photo by Maury Englander

The national office of the War Resisters League in New York City was raided the night of May 9 and the entire membership file was stolen by unknown intruders. The raid took place at 5 Beekman St., from which the 46-year-old pacifist organization is being evicted after a 25-year tenancy. The attack was carried out with precision, WRL spokesmen say, and nothing was stolen except the 10,000-name national mailing list. Those who were on the League's mailing list should write at once to WRL's new address: 339 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y. 10012.

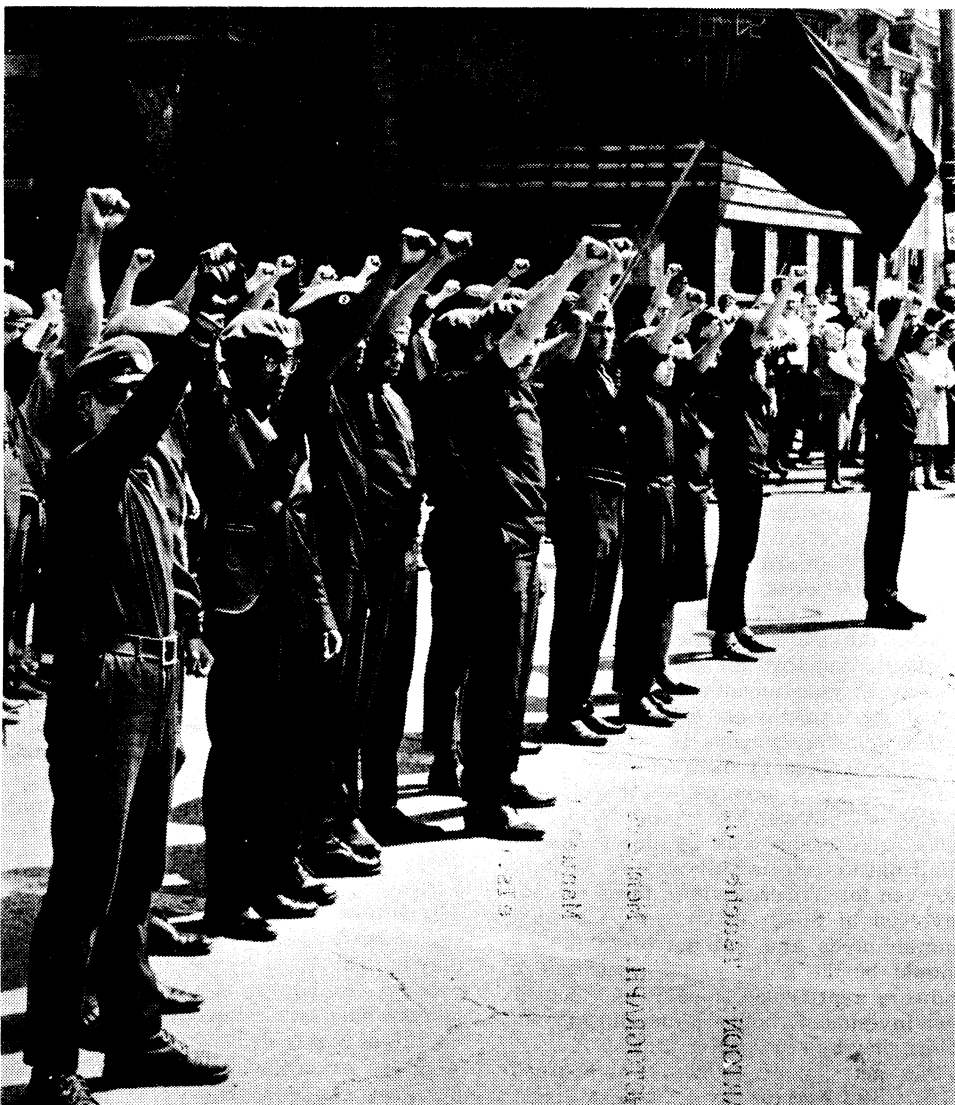


Photo by Liberation News Service

Chicago's Young Lords at funeral of Manuel Ramos

## A severe setback

# The campus struggle at Kent State U

By Syd Stapleton

KENT, Ohio, May 5—In a rapid series of events, the administration of Kent State University has succeeded in unleashing a ferocious witchhunt aimed at driving all political dissent off campus. The actions of the KSU administration and the defense movement that was built in response carry some very important lessons for the movement.

Early in April, Kent SDS began a number of actions around three principal demands. The demands were aimed at specific acts of KSU complicity with military research, ROTC and Ohio State Police research and training facilities. They were demands that should have met with an overwhelmingly favorable response on the campus, especially given the lack of sympathy among students for the war in Vietnam or police operations in the black community.

The first indication of trouble on the horizon came when only 200 of the 20,000 students at KSU marched on the administration building to nail the demands, Luther style, to the door. While it was obvious that most students would support the general character of the demands, it became very clear on the march that only a limited number were willing to participate on the basis of the ineffectual publicity issued by SDS, well-larded with "revolutionary" rhetoric.

The university administration broke up the demonstration with a squad of cops and right-wingers led by plainclothes cops. Barely waiting for their thugs to bandage their knuckles, the administration suspended the SDS chapter, arbitrarily suspended seven students involved in the march, pressed battery charges against five SDS leaders and secured a court injunction keeping the five off campus. The administration also used the occasion to abrogate an agreement reached shortly before with "official" student leaders setting up a procedure of hearings and consultation before any disciplinary action was taken.

The acts of the administration seemed as though they were almost calculated to outrage any student or faculty member who had the slightest respect for democratic

rights, and it is at precisely such a juncture that broad defense movements have been formed elsewhere with such great success. Unfortunately the response of the Kent SDS was not to issue a call for such a movement, but to require that concerned students and faculty participate on the basis of a "revolutionary program" or not at all.

Individual, isolated acts by SDSers were the only response. In one of them a student carrying an NLF flag across campus was set upon and beaten with impunity by right-wing fraternity members.

On Feb. 16, the university opened hearings on the suspensions of the SDSers. Jim Mellon, speaking for SDS, told a rally of 2000 people shortly before the hearings, "We're telling you that the revolution has begun, and that the only choice that you have to make is which side you're on. And we're telling you that if you get in the way of that revolution, it's going to run right over you."

Apparently most people originally attending the rally got out of the way, because a few hours later only 150 people entered the building where the hearings were going on. The 150 occupied the building, and that evening police locked them in and arrested the 58 who remained at that point. The seven students originally suspended were charged with inciting to riot, a felony. Shortly after that event, a total of 60 people had been excluded from campus, and the bails totaled \$120,000.

Students outside of SDS who wanted to form a broad civil liberties defense committee had met with a hostile to unresponsive attitude on the part of the leading members of the SDS chapter, but by the time of the hearings, felt the situation serious enough to go ahead with or without the agreement of SDS. On the afternoon following the hearings a meeting was held to discuss plans for mobilizing opposition to the witchhunt. Four hundred people, including faculty members, leaders of the student government and representatives of practically every political attitude on campus, participated in the meeting and founded an organization called Concerned Citizens of the KSU Community. The meet-



Photo by Thomas L. Difloure

Mass meeting at Kent State University

ing overwhelmingly voted to center activity around three demands: 1. drop the charges against the students arrested on April 16, 2. return to the student code regarding disciplinary actions and 3. reinstate the SDS chapter.

That evening a rally of 3,000 students voted for the three demands. The following morning, 2,000 people gathered following the university's public statement that the demands would not be met, and that afternoon 5,000 students and faculty marched through campus in support of the demands.

The university administration then turned its fire on the Concerned Citizens. In a series of leaflets, President White raised the red-scare of the "outside agitator," hinting darkly at unspecified "subversive" involvement, and unsigned leaflets began appearing on the campus threatening violence in the event of further rallies. Individual leaders of the Concerned Citizens were attacked in the press, and at one point it was falsely charged that the Concerned Citizens was financed by the Cleveland Young Socialist Alliance.

The vast majority of the students on the steering committee of Concerned Citizens, active politically for the first time, were confused and shaken by the river of vitriol pouring out of the administration offices. Following the march of 5,000 on Friday, there were two solid days of fairly fruitless meetings of the Concerned Citizens steering committee.

Unfortunately, the political shakiness on the part of the leaders of the Concerned Citizens displayed itself further when on Monday they caved in to the red-baiting attacks on SDS. A group of members of the steering committee asked two off-

campus SDS members to leave the campus, to prevent further use by the administration of the "outside agitator" theme.

Totally in violation of the whole purpose of Concerned Citizens, which is to protect political liberties, the steering committee members present called the cops on the SDSers. While only a few members of the steering committee were involved, and while there was a generally favorable response to a statement issued by the YSA condemning it, the level of confusion and demoralization necessary to motivate such an act was quite widespread.

After initiating an ill-conceived referendum, the Concerned Citizens of KSU ceased to function, and the university administration is continuing with sporadic arrests on inciting to riot and other charges.

It is extremely important that this situation not be allowed to recreate itself either at Kent State or anywhere else in the country. The single thing that will prevent that eventuality from occurring is the ability and willingness of radicals, and especially those who consider themselves revolutionaries, to organize a united defense of political liberties broader than their own ranks. Radicals have a tremendous amount to contribute to such a movement, and in fact their presence is essential. This is well within the tradition of the radical and revolutionary movements (for example, the Sacco and Vanzetti and Tom Mooney defense cases).

What is decisive is that revolutionaries have confidence in their capacity to win support for their rights (and, in the process, for their ideas as well). This means taking every possible step within the framework of principle to avoid isolation and, certainly, not to enter into self-imposed isolation in the name of revolutionary purity. Experience has shown that on the basis of a clearly-motivated, militant appeal for the defense of democratic rights, it is possible to unite large numbers in struggle in defense of those being attacked. With such an approach, many attacks can be beaten off and a lot of people educated to revolutionary ideas in the process. It is by such a response that revolutionaries emerge from attacks stronger rather than weaker.

## Dix GI asks OK to give out the Bill of Rights

NEW YORK— An army private stationed at Fort Dix has requested permission from base authorities to distribute the Bill of Rights on the post. Private James N. Klaber, stationed in the Medical Holding Company, handed in the written request to the office of Colonel R.B. Purrington, Fort Dix Adjutant General, May 14.

Fort Dix Regulation 210-27 prohibits the distribution of literature on the post "without the prior authorization of the Adjutant General." Klaber, who is from East Rockaway, N.Y., wrote in the request that the distribution "would be conducted in a manner not to interfere with the performance of military duties" and would be done by GIs during their off-duty hours.

The leaflet Klaber is asking permission to distribute is a mimeographed copy of the Bill of Rights reprinted by the **Ultimate Weapon**, an antiwar newspaper written by Fort Dix GIs. The leaflet bears the name and mailing address of the **Ultimate Weapon** at the bottom of the page.

## In passing . . . views and reviews

The "conspiracy" indictments stemming from the demonstrations at the Chicago Democratic Party Convention last summer and the importance of the whole movement's mounting a strong defense against the indictments gives a real importance to a book like the one Walter Schneur has edited, **Telling It Like It Was: The Chicago Riots** (Signet, 75c), which collects together the eye-witness testimony of several well-known writers.

The book contains 17 articles on the events outside and, to a lesser extent, inside the convention. There is surprisingly little overlap in the articles, especially when you consider that they were originally written separately for various magazines and only later collected by Schneur.

Such diverse personages as William Burroughs, Tom Hayden, Jean Genet, Paul Krassner and Terry Southern are represented in this volume.

Also represented is Abbie Hoffman with his pre-convention declaration of why the Yippies were going to Chicago, and including his down-underneath yen for Mc Carthy, "one could secretly cheer for him the way you cheer for the Mets. It's easy knowing he can never win." With that loser's outlook, maybe Abby was not among the fans who felt let-down when McCarthy copped out—as Democrats will.

Judging by the contents of the book and Schneur's own article, I don't think that he chose the misleading title. The book makes it clear that the "riots" were police riots of which the demonstrators were the victims.

The growth of the Black Panther Party is an extremely important political develop-

ment. We know it and so does the government—hence the Panthers have been victimized, harassed and framed-up from one end of the country to the other.

In countering the attacks on the Panthers, it is important to know what they stand for and there can be no better source than their own words in their own publication, **The Black Panther**.

Well-designed, carrying a wide range of articles on national and international matters, **The Black Panther** is a source for information that will be of interest to all revolutionaries, regardless of what disagreement with some of the views expressed.

Each issue contains a page devoted to spelling out the ten point program of revolutionary transitional demands of the Black Panther Party. Every issue also contains considerable information on the defense cases of Huey Newton, Eldridge Cleaver and other Panthers around the country.

(For a sub send \$5 for 6 months or \$7.50 for one year to Ministry of Information, Black Panther Party, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, Calif., 94126. Send check or money order.)

Cornell SDS has put out a very interesting pamphlet, detailing just how Cornell University is tied into the capitalist power structure. The pamphlet, **Manchild in the Corporate State**, is the result of much painstaking research by several people.

The results will be of interest to everyone since Cornell is obviously no exception to the rules of the corporate game. All the colleges and universities in the United States are equally within the control of the big corporations. If you don't believe

it, all you have to do is a little research. It generally doesn't take much to make the point.

On the other hand, to drive the point home takes a good deal more effort and that is what was put into this Cornell SDS publication.

Here is just one tasty excerpt:

"In the Spring of 1968, Cornell SDS began a campaign to persuade Cornell University to sell its stock in banks which are part of the American banking consortium which had come to the aid of the apartheid regime of South Africa in the early 1960s. . . .

"Despite considerable faculty and student support for the SDS initiated campaign, the Cornell Board of Trustees voted not to sell their stock. There was only one vote in favor of selling.

"Why did the vote show such an overwhelming support for these investments in a racist government's economy? First, 11 of the Trustees are directors of firms which have investments in South Africa, and five of these 11 men are members of the Executive Committee of the Cornell Board of Trustees. The challenge to Cornell's investments was by implication a challenge to their own investments. Secondly, even for Trustees whose firms are not involved in South Africa, the idea that human needs and not the profit motive should be the guide to the operation of industry represented a challenge to their own investments, both at home and abroad. Thus, they had to vote for racism."

(To get a copy, send 50c to Cornell SDS, 308 Stewart Ave., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850.)

—Malachi Constant



# The Great Society

**Dignity with liquidity**— Much has been said about the ouster of Justice Fortas after he was caught with his hands in the same cookie jar as a lot of other people. We were intrigued by a prior comment attributed to his wife, a prosperous tax lawyer. The May 16 *New York Times* said that when Fortas went on the bench, she "made no secret of her annoyance that her successful lawyer-husband would be giving up his lucrative law practice for a job that provided more dignity than liquidity." That \$20,000 annual honorarium apparently represented a rather clumsy effort to resolve the contradiction.

**Further rationalization**— In follow-up on its decision to streamline the procedure whereby those who perform two or more verified miracles are made saints, the Catholic Church acted to clear deadwood from the list of saints whose feast days are celebrated by the entire church. Seeking better geographical and historical distribution, 200 were removed from the list, 92 others were made optional and 46 suspended pending investigation to determine if they ever existed. The latter may still be venerated locally. All, it was emphasized, remain in the official book and, naturally, in heaven.

**Wordly repercussions**— Nobody seemed concerned about the dropping of St. Valentine from the liturgical calendar, and the placing of St. Nicholas on the optional list. But there were questions about the effect of downgrading St. Christopher, patron saint of travelers. Most dealers felt, however, there would not be a big drop in sales of medals and statues for car dashboards. "St. Christopher will hold his own, no matter what the Vatican says," growled one manufacturer. "If you had faith in St. Christopher yesterday, you'll have faith in him today," another philosophized.

**Her thing**— "I just love oil and oil men." Mrs. Bonnie Bolding of Birmingham on the occasion of her marriage to John E. Swearingen, chairman of the board of Standard Indiana. (Her two previous husbands also headed oil companies.)

**The military-industrial complex**— While he was on the United States Capitol police force, Andrew Manatos invented a palm-sized tear gas pistol. Now he and members of the Capitol and D. C. police forces are

organizing a corporation to manufacture and promote the weapon.

**When does he go to the bank?**— Dr. M. S. Fox, a Miami medical center operator collected \$285,866 in Medicaid payments in 18 months. Assisted by 20 nurses he sometimes sees 75 patients a day. He says he's "probably the hardest working physician in the county." And a splendid example of why the good old private practitioner had to be structured into the Medicaid program.

**He'll provide the fertilizer**— Rep. William Jennings Bryant Dorn of South Carolina advised hungry constituents to go plant a garden. "A small plot of ground, even 30 by 40 feet, if well attended, can greatly improve your diet," he wrote home to constituents in a newsletter from the capitol. Conceding this could pose a problem for poor people who live in cities, he said they could always find an idle patch outside of town they could walk or bicycle to. "This," he observed, "would be fun, exercise and recreation."

**Snug as a bug**— A Florida executive apparently feels the Bigelow Rug Company is limited in its advertising dictum that a name on the door rates a rug on the floor. He ordered a carpeted coffin.

**Proper pad**— That executive with his carpeted coffin is a piker. Wall-to-wall carpeting was installed in the kennel of an English dog after his mistress departed, leaving him an 80-grand estate.

**Steady losers**— The National Guard will apparently continue as a ready target. The May issue of the magazine, *The National Guardsman*, reports: "Hardly had the National Guard been able to get word to Army Guard on procurement of 'subdued' shoulder sleeve insignia than it had to reverse itself. Now it develops that USA Support Center can't meet Guard's requirements for subdued insignia. . . . so July 1 mandatory wear date has been suspended."

**Up against the wall, everyone!**— While brooding over the scientific findings that city noises tend to make people deaf and psychotic, we read a May 18 *New York Times* headline advising: "Psychiatric Experiment on Violent Individuals Suggests That Crowding Is a Factor in Many Cases." — **Harry Ring**

# Meet Socialists in Your Area

- ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, 1010 Lemon St., #12, Tempe, Arizona 85281.
- CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.
- Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.
- San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
- San Diego: YSA, c/o Bill Williams, 897 Vista Grande, Apt. 4, El Cajon, Calif. 92020.
- GEORGIA:** Atlanta: YSA and bookstore, 187 14th St., Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-3887.
- ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359-1333.
- Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 939-2667.
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- Peoria: YSA, c/o Mike Ghelfi, 1522 N. Bradley, Peoria, Ill. 61606.
- INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Rick Congress, 207 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.
- MAINE:** Brunswick: YSA, c/o Ted Parsons, Senior Center, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine 04011.
- MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981.
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- East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 9251, East Lansing, Michigan 48909.
- Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor: YSA, c/o Ed Mattos, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.
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- Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.
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- Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-3977.
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- Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Peter Graumann, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Tel: (513) 767-5511.
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- Houston: YSA, c/o Fred Brode, 5420 Olana, Houston, Texas 77039.
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- WASHINGTON, D.C.:** YSA, c/o Kathy Coram, 3518 Wisconsin Ave. N.W. #3 Tel: (202) 362-0037.
- WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 523-2555.
- WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.
- Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, Gruenhagen Hall, WSU, Oshkosh, Wisc. 54901.

# New England conference held on women's liberation

**By Gustie Trainor**

BOSTON—A successful New England Conference on Female Liberation was held at Emanuel College May 10-11. The 250-300 women, ranging from high school age to grandmothers, came from all over New England. There were students, black, Asian and Puerto Rican women, clerical and industrial workers, welfare mothers, professionals, housewives and socialist women.

The main weakness of the conference was the noticeably small number of welfare mothers, industrial workers, and black women attending. The absence of black women in the black workshops was especially glaring. The black women, and some white women, felt there was a lack of adequate discussion in the other workshops on the liberation of black women, and because of this, during a workshop, one black woman announced she was walking out and asked other black women to join her. Most of them did.

The liberation of black women is of prime importance if the liberation of all women is to be achieved, and those who planned the conference seemed aware of this. Two workshops—one on Black Women in a Caste Society, and another on Black and White Women: Interracial Mar-

riage—were included in the program, but these were obviously not adequate to the needs of the black women attending, and the other women participating in the conference should not have let this situation occur.

The format of the conference consisted of two-hour discussion workshops. The 26 subjects for discussion covered practically every aspect of problems facing women in a capitalist society, including Family, Child Care and Communal Living; Being in High School; Black Women in a Caste Society; Women in Socialist Countries; Sex; Workingwomen; Liberation of Welfare Mothers; Karate Demonstration and Self-Defense. Several workshops were on Strategy and Tactics for a Female Liberation Movement and one on Capitalism and the Position of the Female.

What was striking about this conference was that the majority of subjects for discussion were political, or stimulated political discussions. While one might expect those around radical organizations on campus to be politically sophisticated, what was inspiring was the high political level of those just beginning to take part in the female liberation movement. Many women were able for the first time to discuss problems of an oppressive society with other women, besides those in their own social circles.

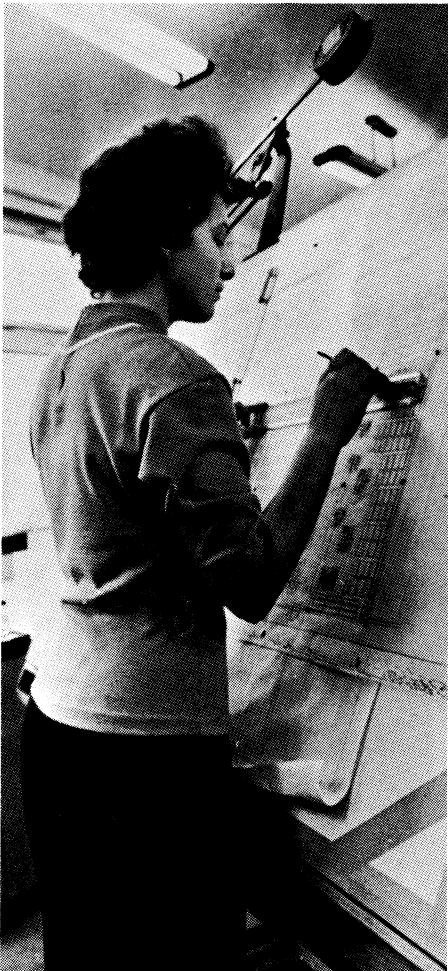
An indication of the political thinking of these women was apparent in the political theme dominating the discussions. They considered themselves radicals, and almost to a woman, attacked the capitalist system as the cause of their exploitation and second-class status. Regardless of their individual proposals or program for reaching the goal of female liberation, the vast majority expressed the opinion that the capitalist system must be changed.

The conference was not organized for the purpose of making any final decisions on what type of organization the female liberation movement needed, so no specific program was adopted. There was general agreement that a radical, political movement was needed, and this was reflected in the intense interest and political discussion in the workshops on Strategy and Tactics of a Female Liberation Movement.

At the evening sessions films were shown, including "The Married Woman" by Godard, and "The Queen." Men were invited to attend and there was lively discussion after the films.

There were brisk sales of all literature on female liberation, indicating the thirst women are developing for material relating to their position and a radical program for liberation. Many wanted to know more about socialism, and the names of Marx and Engels were used frequently in all discussions on the family structure and female history.

The conference was one more indication that interest in female liberation is growing throughout the country. There are many different groups being organized which approach the problems of female liberation from different points of view. What is inspiring is that women are beginning to fight against the social system that oppresses and exploits them.



**CUBAN EXAMPLE.** Increase in political consciousness and need to develop economy has opened new doors in many fields for Cuban women in a country where prior to revolution status of women was even worse than in U. S.

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

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# Western Reserve students demonstrate for release of Ahmed Evans

By Rich Finkel

CLEVELAND, May 21 — For the past week, Case-Western Reserve University has been in the center of a struggle demanding the freeing of Ahmed Evans. The university community, as well as the black community, was outraged by the sentencing of Evans May 13 to the electric chair by an all-white jury following a rigged racist trial. Evans was arrested after a police attack on the Glenville black community last summer, during which four people were killed, including three cops.

A broad coalition of radical groups and individuals was formed last week following the interrupting of a university lecture on the Glenville incident by the July 23 Committee, a black defense group for Ahmed Evans. The demands the coalition drew up called not only for the immediate freedom of Evans, but were aimed at exposing the university's racist role in repressing the struggles in the neighboring black community.

The students pointed to the fact that the university had allowed the National Guard to be bivouacked on the university campus during the Glenville incident, as they had done two years earlier during the Hough uprising. Students also pointed to the suppression by the government of a report on the Glenville incident by Dr. Masotti, drawn up at the university's Civil Violence Research Center.

The potentially explosive contents of the report were indicated in an article in *Newsweek* which reported that the report was a "scalding indictment of the police." *Newsweek* also stated that the report suggests that some Cleveland police involved in the shoot-out last summer be indicted for murder.

The students' demands are 1) that the university publicly support the immediate release of Ahmed Evans and that it use its resources to secure that release 2) that the university shall not permit the military, the National Guard or the police on campus for repressive purposes 3) that the Civil Violence Research Center be abolished 4) that the university adopt a policy against participation in any form of research to be used in suppression of the black movement or other social movements and a ban on all secret research.

After a rally of 200 on May 15, the students marched to the administration building, which was being blocked by fraternity men and "jocks," where the president of the university addressed the group and

said no to all the demands. The students then took control of a building—Hayn Hall—which was used as an organizing center. On Friday, a nondisruptive sit-in was held in the administration building, but the group decided to leave the building that evening to build for a downtown rally the next day in cooperation with the Black Panther Party.

The demonstration was cut way down by rain, but following intensive discussions in classrooms on Monday, and massive leafleting, a rally was held on Tuesday. The students decided once again to occupy the administration building and we remained inside for several hours, until the administration agreed to meet with student representatives on Wednesday. The administration, however, has still refused to support the freeing of Ahmed Evans.

In addition, during the Tuesday sit-in they issued a restraining order on several of the leaders of the movement against all activities that interfere with the functioning of the university. Unfortunately for them, the faculty has reacted strongly against such an invitation to the Cleveland police force and are beginning to work with the students in the on-going campaign to free Evans.

## UCLA hit by militant action

LOS ANGELES, May 20—After exhausting all "legitimate university channels" following a militant series of rallies and demonstrations against the presence of ROTC on campus and in solidarity with the victim of the Berkeley police murder last week, students at UCLA held one of the largest rallies in the school's recent history.

After the rally, a thousand students occupied the administration building with demands centering on an end to ROTC on campus and all campus complicity with the war and police repression of student political demonstrations. The occupation was led by a coalition of CASE (Community for Awareness of Social Education), YSA, SDS and other groups.



Photo by Hermes

**NEW YORK CAMPAIGN.** Paul Boutelle's mayoralty campaign in New York City is attracting many high school students. Photo shows students at Brooklyn's Erasmus High looking over Socialist Workers literature at a Boutelle rally there May 16. The school has been a target of black student struggle for reform and like many New York schools it is under permanent police surveillance. Over 40 students endorsed the SWP campaign at the May 16 rally; five signed up to do regular campaign work at the school. A citywide meeting of High School Students for Boutelle is scheduled for June 7 at 3 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Those interested should contact the SWP campaign headquarters, 533-4450 or 477-9506.

# Slaying of black youth triggers Newark revolt

By Dick Roberts

The killing of a black youth by a Newark cop May 19 touched off a four-hour eruption in the black community. It was quelled by a massive influx of policemen.

Gangs of young people began smashing store windows within minutes of the slaying of 17-year-old Dexter Johnson. Johnson was shot down by a black policeman after Johnson allegedly fled from an accident involving a police car.

One thousand residents of the Clinton Ave. area of Newark's black community took part in the angry protest. The cops sent in to disperse them carried shotguns and used quantities of tear gas.

Damage and loss—including damage caused by the tear gas—was estimated by city officials at \$138,000. A citywide curfew was imposed by Mayor Hugh Addonizio. This was lifted May 21.

This is the third major eruption of the Newark black community. The first, in which 26 people were killed, and lasting five days, occurred in July 1967. There was an eruption following the murder of Martin Luther King in April 1968.

New York Times reporter Sylvan Fox attended a meeting with Addonizio the morning following the outbreak: "The depth of hostility in the black community toward the city's policemen, regardless of their race, was evident at the meeting," Fox thought.

"Speakers angrily denounced the actions of the police during the disturbances last night, asserting that some had beaten young Negroes who were merely bystanders and had arrested and beaten a group of youths who were waiting for a bus.

"Reporters who were present tended to confirm these accounts. They said the police had fired shotguns into the air, at the upper floor of a three-story frame house and into dark, tree-lined Hunterdon Street."

The role of the community "peace groups" in aiding the cops was described by Newark *Evening News* reporter Edward Higgins: "The community peace patrols urged compliance with the police.

"Deputy Chief Daniel Dughi and Capt. Christian Volz formulated a 'sweep' plan for clearing Clinton Avenue. Some 75 helmeted and armed policemen formed a single rank from doorstep to doorstep across the street. They were backed up by 25 police vehicles including marked and unmarked cars, police vans and emergency vehicles . . .

"The 'peace patrols' moved in front of the police calling upon residents to keep off the streets and to close their windows and not hang out and watch."

Higgins also reported that "The Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce reportedly agreed to held raise \$5,000 to help provide the citizen patrols with \$5 each in expense money each night they serve . . .

"The peace patrols were modeled on the units which proved effective in quelling trouble after the death of Dr. Martin Luther King last year. This time the adult volunteers were given nightsticks as well as armbands."

In a statement issued May 20, the New Jersey Black Panther Party demanded the creation of a civilian police review board for Newark and the abolition of the tactical police squad.

They also demanded withdrawal of all white and certain black policemen from the black community, according to the *Evening News*, which said that the Panthers "do not advocate violence, 'but we do believe in the right of self-determination and we will assert the right of self-defense."

"We are willing to negotiate with responsible city officials, anytime, anyplace, anywhere."



**URGE ACTION TO SAVE EVANS.** Syd Stapleton (left), James Harris (center) and Paul Boutelle at May 15 Cleveland press conference where they urged national effort to save Ahmed Evans from electric chair. Stapleton is Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland and Harris the party's nominee for the East Cleveland board of education. Boutelle, SWP candidate for mayor of New York, joined them in calling on Cleveland's Mayor Carl Stokes to act to help save Evans. The first elected black mayor of a major city and a candidate for reelection, Stokes had made no public comment on the Evans death sentence.