

# THE MILITANT

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Friday, August 15, 1969

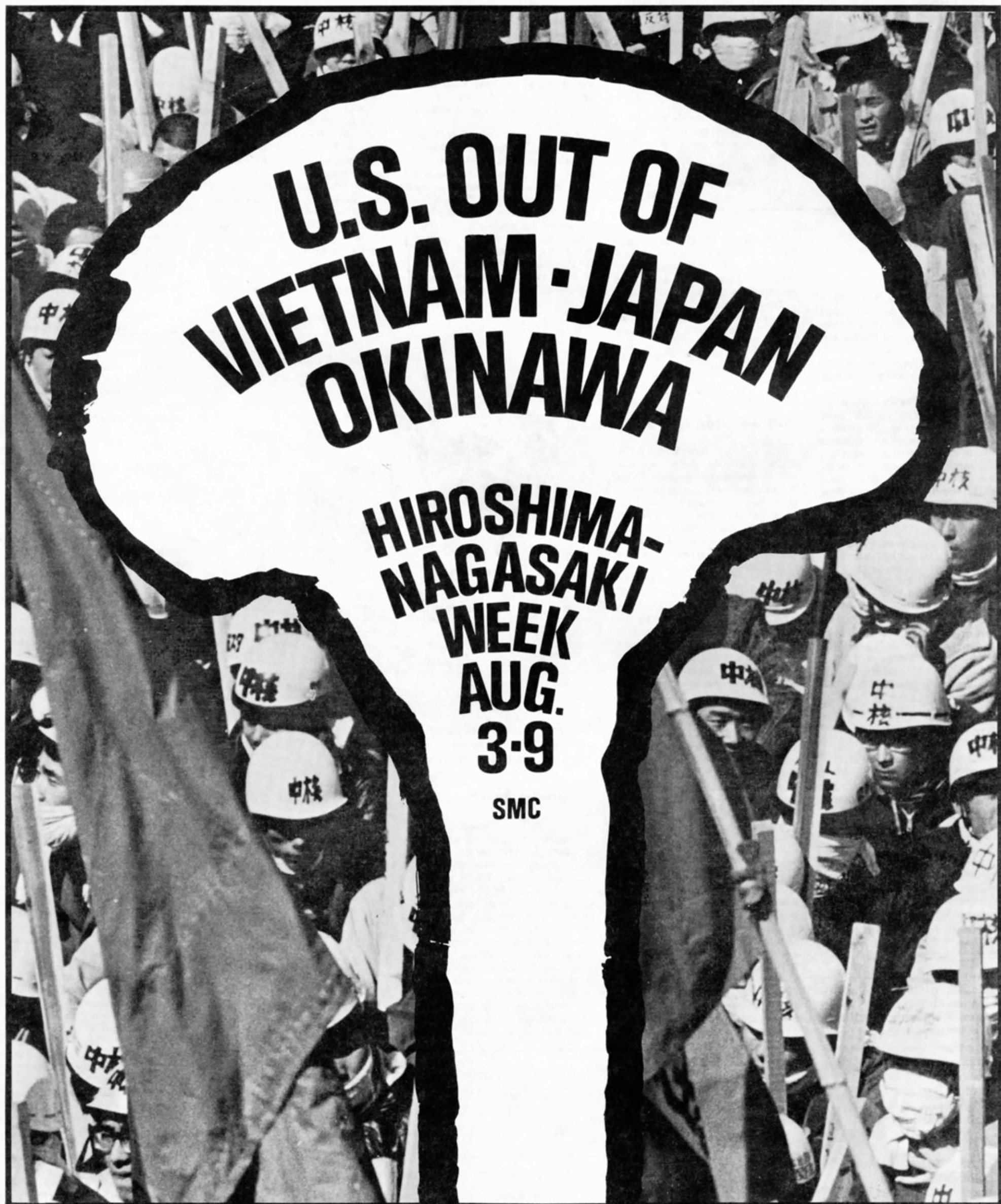
Price 15c

Women and the Family

Special feature — pages 5-8

Okinawa and Japan

— page 3



# Black militancy at Camp Lejeune

Even the 'big green machine'  
unable to hide the word freedom

Camp Lejeune, N. C.

Camp Lejeune Marine Corps base is in a real racial stir. Some newspaper accounts give a slight glimpse of what's really happening on base, but from the official newspaper here, the *Globe*, you'd think all was nice and quiet.

Black militancy is very obvious, and large gatherings of militant blacks shouting down racist remarks by whites are now a common sight at the outdoor movie and other places on base.

The news that a couple of whites were killed by black hands—or, rather, the rumor that it was done by blacks, since no positive proof has been brought forth—has caused the brass to try to silence blacks by two classical approaches: reformism and repression.

The reforms come in the form of new division orders printed in a pamphlet called "Platoon leaders' guide." These orders make it legal for blacks to wear Afro hair styles and forbid whites from calling blacks "nigger, spliv or Uncle Tom" and also ban the terms "chuck" and "honkie" in the deal.

Then the repression comes. The guard was doubled, every post to be walked by two guards, one with a PRC-25 radio on his back. The guards are also given the right to make arrests and wear MP armbands.

The Marine Corps may appear to be an impenetrable wall of reaction, but even the "big green machine" is unable to hide the word that freedom is coming to the black man, with few well-wishes of his ex-slavemasters.

Private,  
2nd Marine Division  
U. S. M. C.

## The fight to free Presidio 27

New York, N. Y.

The trials of the men comprising the Presidio 27 are over. The men have been convicted, and all save three who escaped to Canada are in Leavenworth. The fight for their freedom must continue.

This summer we are mounting a letter-writing and petition campaign to keep the public pressure intense. It was public pressure that brought about a reduction of charges and sentences in the first place, and we must continue to employ this tactic until these men are freed from the injustice under which they have been living.

We urge people to write their senators and congressmen expressing their views on the case. Petitions can be obtained by writing to the Washington national office, Committee for the Presidio "27," 1029 Vermont Ave., NW, Wash., D. C. 20005. For information in New York City, please contact me at 673-0763.

Michael Grant  
Committee for the Presidio "27"

## An asinine film

Highland Park, Mich.

I want to congratulate Hal White for his beautiful review of that piece of asininity called "Che!"

Being a devoted follower of the authentic man, I went to see the movie with the thought in mind that Hollywood's image of him would be a treacherous "Communist." As I settled in my seat, I prepared myself for the slander. Instead, what did I see? A raving lunatic who couldn't lead anyone across the street let alone Cuba. (I think I would've preferred the slander.)

After sweating through Jack Palance's fist-shaking and the "revolutionaries" wild booze parties, I staggered out into the lobby for some fresh air.

I left the theater with the distinct feeling that all Che accomplished in his life was a terrific asthmatic wheeze. (Omar Sharif must have practiced on that alone for weeks.)

Thank you again for keeping your readers informed on the dangers of witnessing a movie such as "Che!"

R. R.

## One giant step . . . but we aren't free

New York, N. Y.

The day the lunar module landed safely and precisely on the moon's surface I was on the beach in Coney Island with my five-year-old girl, trying to cool off from New York's miserable heat. All around me I could hear the voices coming from transistor radios describing the miraculous descent. The contrast between my surroundings and the achievements being broadcast filled me with such anger that I was on the verge of tears for the whole day.

The entire beach was covered with every imaginable piece of garbage. The life-guard's stand was literally set up on a huge pyramid of debris. As far as the eye could see along the enormous stretch of fine sand were broken bottles, beer cans, newspapers, chicken bones, egg shells, orange peels. Garbage cans were few and far between.

Black youth, fully dressed in long pants and long-sleeved shirts, lugged heavy shoulder-strap cases, selling ice cream and sodas across the hot beach. Perspiration washed their young faces.

I was angry because I felt cheated. I felt that we were all being cheated. All of us on the beach and the millions and millions in this country were being cheated out of the deep pleasure, excitement and knowledge of our first step into outer space. My spirit was zooming along with Armstrong and Aldrin but my mind could only think of all the misery on our earth and in our country. The poor and the

## Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

hungry, the garbage and pollution, and the dead from so many unconquered diseases and wars of exploitation. We should all have been free when mankind took this step.

If we were living in a socialist world every human being would be free to study and observe this great phenomenon. We would flock to classes not burdened by daily drudgery. Knowledge would deepen our understanding of everything around us. But instead the rulers of this country made me feel ashamed of my soaring spirit because it had that touch of another Madison Avenue gimmick. What a terrible shame!

E. B. L.



New York Review of Books/GI Press Service

"I think history will record that this may have been one of America's finest hours"—President Nixon in Vietnam, July 30, 1969. (GI Press Service.)

## Wilhelm Reich and socialist computer dating

Pittsfield, Mass.

I really thought the article in the July 25 *Militant* on PL and the women's liberation movement was quite good. I was glad to see you related to that movement on a psychological level besides just an economic one. As an admirer of Wilhelm Reich's, I was glad to see him mentioned.

I do have a criticism, though. Whenever I show a friend of mine a *Militant* to read or just look at it usually takes a minute or so for that person to either burst out laughing or to say, "Oh my god, look at this." What they then

point to is the Meet Socialists in Your Area column. They then usually look upon the rest of the paper as a joke.

Looked at objectively, I think you will find it rather pretentious and somewhat laughable to someone who has never seen the *Militant* before. One might almost expect to see a Socialist Computer Dating column.

Seriously, I think the same information might be headed under SWP and YSA Regional Offices or something of the sort.

J. F.

# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 33—No. 33 Friday, August 15, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was Aug. 8.

## Before organized labor — sweat shop rules

Minneapolis, Minn.

During the negotiations around the Dollar-an-Hour struggle in the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, this suddenly appeared on the bulletin board. It is apparently a copy of an actual set of shop rules from sometime before the civil war:

Employees working here shall dust the furniture, clean their desks and sweep the floor daily.

All windows shall be cleaned once a week.

Each employee shall bring his own bucket of water and scuttle of coal for the day's work.

Lamps shall be trimmed and chimneys shall be cleaned daily.

Working hours shall be 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. every evening but the Sabbath. On the Sabbath, everyone is expected to be in the Lord's House.

Employees are expected to trim their own pen nibs to suit themselves.

It is expected that each employee shall participate in the activities of the church and contribute liberally to the Lord's work.

All employees must show themselves worthy of their hire.

All employees are expected to be in bed by 10 p.m. Except: Each male employee may be given one evening a week for courting purposes and two evenings a week in the Lord's House.

After an employee has been with our firm for five years, he shall receive an added payment of 5c per day, providing the firm has prospered in a manner to make it possible.

It is the bounden duty of each employee to put away at least 10% of his wages for his declining years, so that he will not become a burden upon the charity of his betters.

Any employee who is shaven in public parlors, frequents pool rooms or uses tobacco, shall be brought before management to give reasons why he should be continued in employment.

Fred Ferguson

## How to finance antiwar action

New York, N. Y.

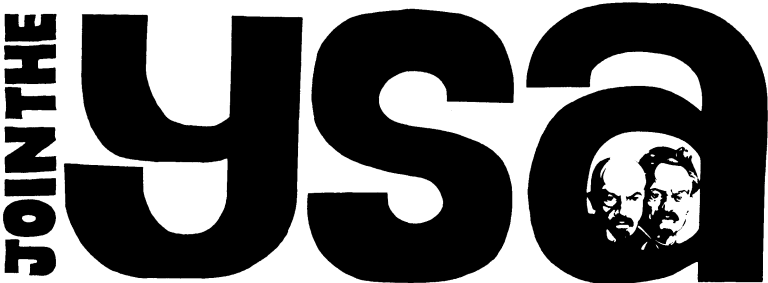
Knowing how badly the antiwar movement needed funds to build the demonstration for August 9th, I decided to see if some of the businessmen in the area would be receptive to giving to the Student Mobilization Committee. They seem to be approached by solicitors for other causes. I know that is true in our office. At lunch time I asked the restaurant owner for a donation. He told me he was opposed to the war and gave \$10 and asked that I come back later to see his wife when she was free from supervision in the kitchen. I went back later with leaflets, receipt book and buttons and she gave me \$5.

During the rest of my lunch period and break time I proceeded to ask a few other businessmen for contributions. I had an almost 100 percent response; when the manager was out, the cashier gave me a small donation. One manager just gave me \$1 to get rid of me. Another one said, "I know how I feel about the war, but I do not know how my customers feel, and I would not want my windows broken." I told him, "But I am not talking to your customers, I am just making you aware of the demonstration and asking you to contribute to those who are responsible for helping to build every peace demonstration that has been held in this country." He too opened his cash register and gave a dollar. One of the owners of a small business became quite excited in favor of the action, purchased a button, gave a contribution and said I was the first one all day who talked about something besides the weather.

In less than a half hour I had received \$19.75 in contributions and sold three buttons.

I am writing this letter to *The Militant* thinking others may want to approach businessmen in their area.

Mary Jane Hodgett



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

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

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

☐ I would like more information ☐ I want to join the YSA

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....



# U.S. hold over Okinawa stirs Japanese struggle

By Gus Horowitz

"The base is not on the island; the island is on the base," a resident of Okinawa observed in a conversation reported in the July 20 *New York Times*. The *Times* reporter went on to describe his impression of the island:

"Jet blasts, off-limits areas, guarded gates, barracks, dark green military vehicles, fatigue-wearing GIs, ammunition fields and fuel tanks—all these give a visitor to this island the impression that he is on a large United States military base with 'foreigners' scattered in various places around it." Okinawa has been under U.S. control ever since the end of World War II—a clear violation of what the U.S. calls Japan's "residual sovereignty" over the island. There, within striking range of all countries of the Far East, the U.S. has built up its massive strategic military arsenal, the keystone for its imperialist military intervention in that part of the world.

Okinawa is less than half the size of Rhode Island. On it are stationed 45,000 American troops in 120 military installations. These include forces of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and—it is assumed—the CIA.

The very existence of the U.S. military base on Okinawa, with its stockpile of nuclear arms and other weaponry, is of life-and-death importance to the people of Okinawa and Japan. Last year a B-52 crashed upon takeoff, the huge explosion narrowly missing a nuclear stockpile. The sea bottom of the Bay of Naha is contaminated by cobalt 60, a result of the visits of nuclear submarines to the Naha naval base.

Numerous stories circulate in Okinawa about damage to wildlife and injury to humans as a result of nuclear and other "accidents" on the island. The most recent incident with nerve gas (see *The Militant*, Aug. 1 and Aug. 8) was only one of the better-publicized "accidents."

The high commissioner of Okinawa is American Lt. Gen. James B. Lampert. He is responsible only to Washington. He can intervene in all matters of administration, legislation and jurisdiction. Bills passed in the Okinawan legislature are subject to his approval and can be changed or rescinded entirely.

Okinawan courts and police have no control over American soldiers or civilians. The U.S. even has direct control over the electric power and water corporations as well as the banks. And neither Okinawans nor the government of Japan have any voice in the military operations under-

taken by the U.S. forces stationed in Okinawa.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam is one of the most important factors in helping to generate opposition to American control over Okinawa. Sentiment in Okinawa is so overwhelmingly against the war that all the political parties on the island have spoken out against it.

**Labor struggle**

By the U.S.-imposed law, 20,000 of the 55,000 workers directly employed by the U.S. base have no legal right to strike at all, and until last year, not even the right to collective bargaining. Most of the other workers are prevented from striking by other regulations. The U.S. high commissioner can arbitrarily declare any service on base "essential," thus prohibiting strikes.

On June 5, U.S. military police, armed with fixed bayonets, charged a line of strikers, wounding 10 people. The All-Okinawa Military Employees Trade Union had mobilized some 30,000 workers in a 24-hour strike to protest the failure of demands for wage hikes and the reinstatement of 150 workers who had been fired.

Labor struggles will clearly continue to be a major factor in the movement to end U.S. control of Okinawa.

The entire Japanese trade-union movement is united in calling for the reversion of Okinawa to Japan. Sohyo, the largest labor federation, is also demanding an end to the U.S.-Japan security treaty and has announced a general strike for November to support its demands.

The struggle for the reversion of Okinawa has been intensifying for some time now, becoming increasingly organized. An association of parents and teachers and an association of all the mayors of villages and towns, and many other organizations exist. Sentiment in Japan is so strongly in favor of reversion that virtually every political party has been forced to speak out against continued U.S. control over the island. It is generally conceded from all quarters that the current Sato government would fall if it did not present at least a token verbal opposition to U.S. domination of Okinawa.

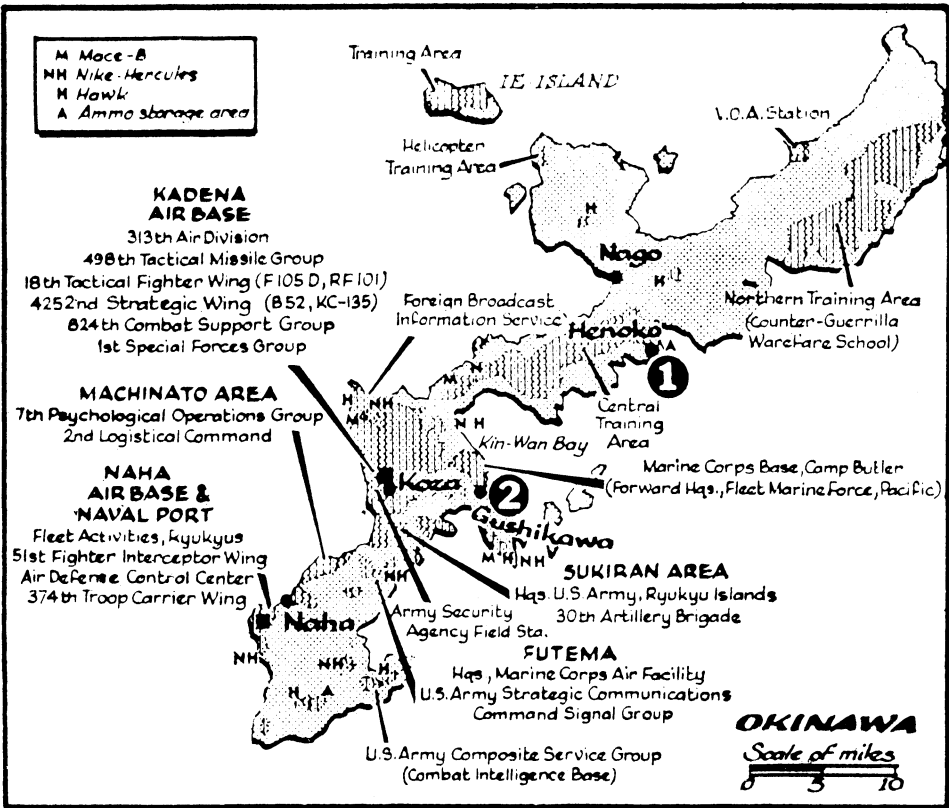
**Student movement**

The militant and well-organized Japanese student movement is another key factor in the fight against U.S. military occupation of Okinawa. The student movement developed over the last decade in struggle against the U.S.-Japan security treaty, the return of Okinawa, the removal of U.S. bases from Japan, and the war in Vietnam. Student actions this year around these issues and the need to revamp the outmoded educational system affected more than 100 campuses. Some 46 colleges and universities were closed down by building seizures, strikes and blockades.

So fearful is the Japanese government of explosive student protests in late 1969 and 1970, when the U.S.-Japan security treaty comes up for review, that on Aug. 3, the governing Liberal-Democratic party of Japan passed a law sharply cracking down on student protests. The law permits the campus administrators to concentrate sole authority in their hands and suspend university functioning. If a struggle lasts more than nine months the government's education minister can even dissolve the educational institution!

But the student struggle will undoubtedly intensify this coming school year. As the law was passed, hundreds of students and teachers demonstrated outside the parliament in the face of heavy police guard.

Many of the Aug. 6-9 antiwar protests around the U.S. focused attention on the issues of Okinawa and the U.S.-Japan security treaty, solidarizing the American antiwar movement with the struggle in Japan. As 1970 approaches and American imperialism steps up its pressure to retain as much of its military base in Japan as possible, the international coordination of struggle will be increasingly important. The Nov. 15 mass march on Washington to bring all the troops home now will also be a significant act of solidarity with the Japanese struggle.



The New York Times

July 19, 1969

## The real story behind the Hiroshima A-bomb

By Peter Camejo and Joel Aber

AUGUST 6—Twenty-four years ago today, in words reminiscent of Nixon's recent "America's-finest-hour" statement about Vietnam, Harry Truman heard the news that the atomic bomb had obliterated Hiroshima as planned and told a group of sailors in the Pacific: "This is the greatest thing in history."

Truman tried to justify the bombing with the claim that he had saved a million GIs' lives by forcing the Japanese to surrender without invading the mainland of Japan.

But Japan had already been trying to surrender for over a month on the same terms that the U.S. suddenly accepted two days after its second A-bombing at Nagasaki. Furthermore, American officials at the time were fully aware that Japan would be forced to surrender in a few months with or without the bombing, with or without an invasion. Thus the atomic bomb was not dropped on Japan to end the second world war. The real reasons for the unleashing of this barbaric weapon are today well-documented.

Fifteen years after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in 1960, the records of the Potsdam conference, held July 17 through Aug. 2, 1945, were "leaked" to Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. The reports by Knebel and Bailey, known as the Potsdam Papers, reveal that Truman knew the Japanese had requested the USSR, Switzerland and Sweden to intercede to open negotiations for surrender.

According to material recorded by Charles E. Bohlen, Truman's political advisor and interpreter at Potsdam, Stalin notified Truman of a Japanese message offering to surrender, and Stalin collaborated with Truman to decide against responding favorably.

Truman attempted in his memoirs to shift the blame to Stalin, but the Potsdam Papers reveal that the U.S. had broken the Japanese code and their appeals to Moscow "were known to top United States officials."

Moreover, Knebel and Bailey reported that the Swedish government had informed the State Department on July 6, 1945, that "Japan had lost the war and wanted to enter surrender negotiations through the King of Sweden."

Even earlier in 1945, the near unanimous opinion of U.S. officials, including such figures as Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and Fleet Admiral William Halsey, was in complete agreement with Army Air Force Chief Gen. Henry H. Arnold that "the Japanese could not have held out long, because they had lost control of the air," and would sue for peace within a few months regardless of whether a land invasion were to be launched.

The only condition requested by Japan in its surrender offers through Sweden and Russia was retention of the emperor. Although refusing this offer a month earlier,

the U.S. agreed to keeping the emperor two days after the bombing of Nagasaki when they accepted the Japanese surrender on Aug. 11.

The U.S. and Britain proposed to Stalin at Yalta in 1943 that he join the Pacific war after the defeat of Germany. Stalin agreed and later announced that the USSR would declare war on Japan exactly three months after VE Day, which was May 8, 1945. The Aug. 8 Soviet entry into the war was thus two days away when Hiroshima was bombed, and Soviet troops had been massed on the Manchurian border for weeks.

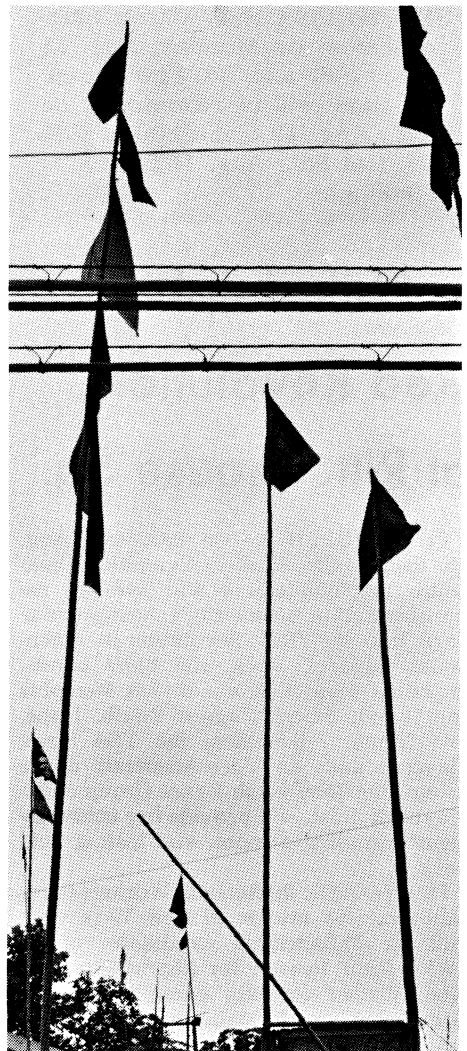
Before demolishing two Japanese cities and killing a million people, American officials might at least have waited two days to determine whether the Soviet entry would bring a rapid capitulation of Japan. But the Soviet moves were probably the single most important factor in the U.S. decision to drop its horrifying new weapon on a people whose government was desperately trying to surrender anyway. Secretary of the Navy Forrestal summed up the U.S. position in a July 28 note in his diary concerning a conversation he had with Secretary of State Byrnes: "Byrnes said he was most anxious to get the Japanese affair over with before the Russians get in. . . Once in there, he felt, it would not be easy to get them out."

The U.S. wanted Japan to surrender to the United States alone.

With or without the bomb, Japan was defeated. The atomic bomb was dropped to announce to the world—and especially to the USSR—the victory of the new imperial ruler over the old. It was dropped to demonstrate the awesome power of American imperialism in its quest to own, exploit and control all of Asia. The bomb was a warning of what awaited any power or people who dared stand in the way of American imperialism. And within days, the Cold War was on.

No sooner was the bomb dropped, however, than the public reaction began to mount. The incredible barbarity of the rulers of the U.S. began to create a deep and worldwide abhorrence of the power that had created such a weapon of destruction.

In order to give the staff a vacation, we will not publish the issue of *The Militant* dated Aug. 29. The Aug. 22 issue will be followed by the issue of Sept. 5.



NO YANKEE PLANES TO VIETNAM! Poles were implanted near end of runway at Okinawa air base by antiwar activists, making it impossible for fully loaded bombers to take off for Vietnam.

### Leon Trotsky

### On the Trade Unions

95 cents

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

# Some New York 'radicals' back Lindsay for mayor

**By Howard Reed**

NEW YORK—On July 31, a full-page ad appeared in the **New York Times** with the heading "New York spends more on war than on New York." While appearing to be some kind of antiwar ad, its main purpose was to give a strong, unequivocal endorsement to Mayor Lindsay in his bid for re-election. The text pictures Lindsay as a courageous fighter, calling on Congress and the President to "stop wasting money on ABM, reduce military spending and end the war in Vietnam." People are asked to join with Lindsay to divert money from the military and use it instead for New York City's needs.

This ad does not seek to represent Lindsay as a "lesser evil," nor does it suggest that supporting Lindsay is a tactic which will "delay repression." It is an unequivocal endorsement, picturing the man who seconded Spiro Agnew's nomination for vice president as a sterling fighter against urban poverty and war.

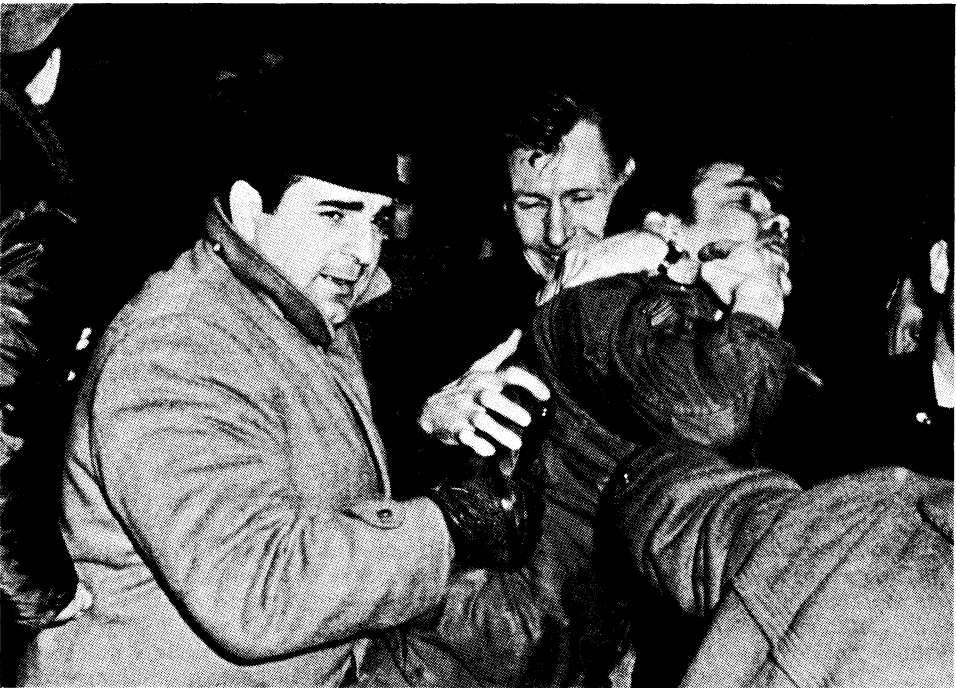
The names of more than 100 people who signed the ad also appear on the page. Among them are a number of antiwar figures, such as Norma Becker of the 5th Avenue Peace Parade Committee, Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League, Rev. Richard Fernandez of Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, Ruth Gage Colby of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, as well as leaders of SANE, the Lawyers Committee Against the War in Vietnam, Women Strike for Peace, and others.

Some of the signers, such as Evelina

Antonetty, of United Bronx Parents, were actively involved in the struggle last fall for black and Puerto Rican community control of the schools—which the UFT and Lindsay opposed. Others such as Lillian Roberts of AFSCME, Henry Foner, of the Joint Board Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Union and Leon Davis of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers are union officials who consider themselves more "socially conscious" than the type of union officials symbolized by George Meany. Jimmy Breslin, the writer who campaigned on Norman Mailer's ticket in the Democratic primary has also listed his name.

Forgotten, since the primary elections in June, is Lindsay's entire four-year record of strike-breaking, cop-promoting, and opposition to every struggle by the black and Puerto Rican communities for control over their lives. Liberal Lindsay suddenly emerges as the knight in shining armor to defend "the people" against the greedy "establishment" and defeat the mean old reactionaries—Marchi and Procaccino.

Lindsay's "radical" supporters don't seem to have learned a thing about capitalist politics over the years. Dave Mc Reynolds, for instance, protested in a letter to **The Militant** July 29, 1968, "It is true that I voted for Johnson in 1964—the only time in my life that I voted for a major party candidate for President—but it is also true that just a year later, in November, 1965, I began calling for Johnson's impeachment. Yes, I made a mistake. But the record shows that I learned soon



**LINDSAY'S COPS.** The mayoral candidate now endorsed by some figures in the New York antiwar movement as an anti-Vietnam-war candidate is the same Lindsay who praised his policemen for their fine job "controlling" this antiwar demonstration in December 1967. The blackjacks were not only clearly visible, but clearly felt.

enough." Soon enough indeed! And so well that he's once again floundering in the same mire!

One would expect antiwar figures such as Norma Becker to have learned from the Mc Carthy campaign last year that efforts like Lindsay's are designed to get people away from building massive street demonstrations against the war and into "safe" activity like ringing doorbells and passing out leaflets for liberal capitalist politicians.

Moreover, those antiwar figures who say they realize the war in Vietnam is rooted in the needs of the capitalist system

are being particularly hypocritical by endorsing Lindsay. You can't have it both ways. Lindsay isn't opposed to imperialist wars. Like Eugene McCarthy he raises tactical objections to the Vietnam war within the context of supporting U. S. imperialism. And supporting Lindsay is supporting the system that perpetuates wars like Vietnam.

The antiwar figures who have endorsed Mayor Lindsay for re-election are doing a great disservice to the antiwar movement by helping to sow illusions about liberal capitalist politicians and the effectiveness of their so-called opposition to the Vietnam war.

Radicals within the antiwar movement who want to be consistent in their opposition to the war and the system which breeds such aggression should support the campaign of Paul Boutelle for mayor of New York on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Boutelle and his supporters, unlike Lindsay, will work to deepen opposition to the war and build mass actions in the streets to oppose it, such as the one scheduled for Washington on Nov. 15.

## Contribution to a discussion

# The Black Panther breakfast program

**By Peter Haraty**

(In our June 20 issue we published the text of "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation," a draft resolution being considered by the Socialist Workers Party and to be acted on by its national convention this fall. In publishing the document we invited discussion on it. This article is a contribution to that discussion.)

\* \* \*

While I agree in principle with Derrick Morrison's insistence on programs which will help radicalize and educate the black masses in their liberation struggle, I believe he failed to analyze fully the implications of the free breakfast program for school children, operated by the Black Panther Party. His comment, in the July 25 **Militant**, that such a program cannot be the "axis around which a political party is built" is true enough, and I believe even the BPP would agree with that, but to imply, as he does, that this means the program should be only a "subsidiary function" displays a lack of appreciation for all the ramifications of such a program.

As the program is set up, it provides very simply that the supermarkets in the black community donate each week one percent of the \$50,000 gross receipts they extort out of the ghetto residents for rotten meat, wilted vegetables, and sour milk. This is to be donated in the form of food, so that actual expense would not equal the dollar amount for the stores. The cooking and serving of the food would be done by Panthers and community residents.

It seems straightforward, simple, and undemanding. It seems to be a liberal, philanthropic, reformist program, in fact. The only demand made on the capitalist system, seemingly, is that miniscule one percent of gross receipts. This seems to be nothing more than traditional charity, practiced by the rich for centuries. The poor have always been satisfied with the crumbs from the tables of the lords, haven't they?

For a time, this seemed to be how it would work. Many supermarkets readily agreed to donate the food, and churches provided the kitchens and dining halls. In the beginning, there was no question of this donation being too much of a drain on the stores' "profits," and the churches found it a wonderfully Christian enterprise, and no one, to begin with, thought too much about the fact that the program was sponsored by a black revolutionary organization. Probably everyone's reaction to the first stages of the plan was: "Well, it's nice kids are being fed, but what's revolutionary about it?"

Even the party's pronouncements about the program—"We, as the vanguard of the oppressed masses realize that we must and will serve the people, heart and soul.

The needs and wants of the people must be fulfilled, and we, as Huey P. Newton says, shall be like an oxen ridden by the people." (**Black Panther**, April 6, 1969)—even these statements were not the sort one would expect of a party intent on raising the ideological level of the people. Even statements like: "Hunger is one of the means of oppression and it must be halted" (**Black Panther**, April 27, 1969), did not sound really convincing as an argument for radicalizing masses.

Before we go on to consider what did happen to this apparently innocuous program, let us consider what the program means to the people it is directed at—the children and their parents. Primarily, it means that there is at last a black organization which can fill a primary need in their lives which no other organization, black or white, had even attempted to do. Black people who did not think one way or the other about the Panthers now were brought into daily contact with the party, its programs, platform, and ideology. For the first time since Father Divine there was an organization which seemed to realize that the first thing hungry people are interested in is food.

The most exquisitely devised plans of social justice and political reform are always drowned out by the roar of an empty gut. That is why the Communist Party in the '30s was reaching the intellectual black, while Father Divine was reaching the poor and hungry. Hungry. For most readers of this paper, that is merely an abstraction, but for millions, it is the most pressing reality in their lives, and they don't care how absurd the Communist intellectual thought Father Divine was, there are still millions who venerate him because he fed them, when no one else would.

In the '30s there was a party which had a program which appealed to the emotional and intellectual needs of the fairly well-fed, and an organization which fed the starving, but had no relevant ideology. What the Panthers attempted to get going was a situation which incorporated both these aspects. Food now, and a program which pointed the way to not only food in the future, but clothing, housing, dignity, freedom and peace. And as for the relevance of the Black Panther platform, it might be well here to remember that the ten points were drawn up after Huey Newton and Bobby Seale talked to a thousand Oakland residents about what they wanted, the ten points are a distillation of those months of interviews. Merely feeding people is not enough, but food and education go very well together, as the Panthers have found out.

But even if this were all that were

involved—if it were merely a case of greasing and rapping—the potential for commitment to the party's policy would be greater than anyone who has not been hungry could appreciate. Anyone who has been following the food program knows by now, as the Panthers must have known, that any project undertaken for the good of the people only must be destroyed by the power structure. Stores which had previously given food, almost without thinking about it, suddenly refused. Pastors who had willingly offered their churches suddenly found, after an interview with FBI agents, that the church could not sponsor such an undertaking. In every raid on Black Panther offices since the program has started, the pigs have lived up to their name and destroyed food, spilled cereal over the floors (as in Sacramento), and doused it with paint, hijacked trucks carrying eggs and milk and impounded them until the foodstuffs spoiled, and "confiscated" thousands of dollars in cash for the program, as in New Haven and Chicago. One Safeway store in Oakland, I believe, has withstood a boycott of weeks, resulting in thousands of dollars loss, rather than contribute \$100 a week to the breakfast program.

All of this willful destructiveness and vicious banditry on the part of representatives of the power structure is not going unnoticed by the people. How long can a mother whose children have been fed by the Panthers remain unconcerned and detached when she sees agents of what she had thought of as "her" government smashing crates of drinking cups and plastic plates, and trampling hundreds of pounds of food under their feet? It is one thing to hear that the U.S. government is burning and burying wheat and corn somewhere, far off, and another to see FBI agents do it in one's presence. It is one thing to hear a Panther spokesman say that nothing that is in the interests of the people is in the interests of the oppressor, and quite another to see a store at which one spends his welfare check, or equally inadequate pay check, on overpriced and rotten food refuse to donate \$100 a week so one's own children can have a nourishing breakfast.

Just in passing, it might be worthwhile to note the government's reaction to James Forman's reparations, another program Mr. Morrison feels is inadequate. There are possibilities for far-reaching repercussions here too, for the repressive measures taken are sure to be out of all proportion to the objective situation. And this realization that the government is not just ignoring the people, but actively working against their interests, is the kind of education that is truly revolutionary.

### Morrison on TV

Derrick Morrison, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan, will appear on WNYC-TV (Channel 31) on the Casper Citron Interviews show on Monday, Aug. 11 from 11:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon. The show will be rebroadcast on Tues., Aug. 12 from 6:00 to 6:30 p.m. and Sat., Aug. 16 from 8:30 to 9:00 p.m.

## In Philadelphia: 'Red Revolution at Rittenhouse Sq.'

PHILADELPHIA—On Saturday, Aug. 16, the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee in Philadelphia will sponsor the transformation of this city's most popular park into the "Red Revolution at Rittenhouse Square." Rock and blues bands, including Don Wilson and his Memphis soul band, Storm, Jagged Youth, Lethe, and Truth; folksingers; the YSA Street Players; and an Afro-American dance group, the Ione Nash Dance Group of the Playback Bust, will provide free entertainment beginning at noon and lasting until dark.

Paul Boutelle, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, and the Philadelphia candidates of the SWP—John Benson for district attorney, Mike Walker for city comptroller, and Rich Feigenberg for judge—will speak at 3:30 p.m. on the need for a revolutionary change in American society. Jim Quinn, former editor of the **Temple Free Press** and members of the Black Panther Party and the Resistance will also speak.

Watermelon, cookies and red punch will be available throughout the day during the music, speeches, skits, open discussion, and fun.



A historical view

# WOMEN and the FAMILY

By Evelyn Reed

The following speech by Evelyn Reed was presented on May 9, 1969 at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, as part of the program of the First Southwide Socialist Conference sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance. The talk was also sponsored by SDS.

This speech, along with several other articles by Evelyn Reed, has just been put out by Merit Publishers in a new pamphlet entitled "Problems of Women's Liberation: A Marxist Approach."

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Everyone here tonight is aware that we are living through a period of growing social tensions and turbulence. This is evidenced in the protest demonstrations and liberation movements that keep hitting the headlines. Foremost is the anger against the war in Vietnam, on which Washington squanders billions of dollars while neglecting the most elementary needs of the American people for housing, education, medical care, welfare, etc. There are the uprisings in the black communities, which are demanding an end to poverty and racism. Students, outraged by the prevailing system of coercion and brainwashing, are trying to liberate the colleges and high schools from domination by Big Business and the Big Brass. It is therefore not at all surprising that, along with these waves of discontent and militancy, has come a reawakening of moods and movements for women's liberation.

In the vanguard are the young women of today, especially those on the campuses, who are questioning the old norms and guidelines which narrowed a woman's life down to husband, home, and family. They suspect that they have been hoodwinked into believing that women are the second or inferior sex, who should be satisfied to be little more than household drudges or drones. They feel quite rightly that they have brains and talents as well as sexual and reproductive organs and that they have been robbed of their freedom to express their creative abilities in most spheres of social life.

However, they have difficulty in articulating their grievances and formulating their demands for a more meaningful life and broader outlook than the one to which they are restricted. This is not surprising in view of the size and scope of the problem. The "woman question" does not involve a minority group; women represent half the human species. Moreover, the subject touches the most highly charged and sensitive questions such as sexual relations, family ties, and other intimate interpersonal matters.

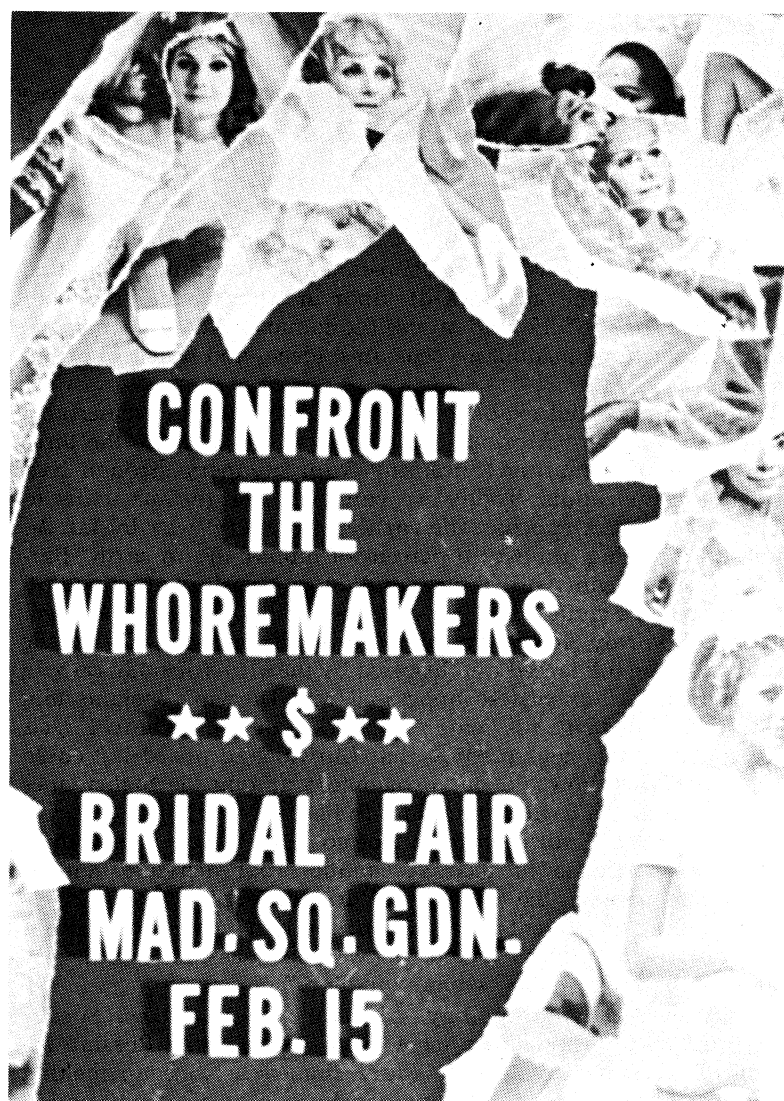
One of the biggest stumbling blocks is the lack of factual information on the historical background of women and the family. This serves to keep women in ignorance and subservience to the myths that are propagated about them. Young women rebels instinctively feel that somehow, somewhere, and by some forces that aren't visible, they have been thrust into bondage and into their inferior status. They do not know how this came about. What they need to know is: How did we get this way and who or what is responsible?

Most women do not realize that their dilemma did not exist before class society came into existence and robbed them of the high position and equality they once enjoyed in primitive society. They are only dimly aware of the fact that the present subservience of women goes hand in hand with the exploitation of the working people as a whole and with the discriminations practiced against blacks and other minorities. Consequently they do not yet realize that once capitalist society is abolished and socialist relations are established, women will be emancipated as a sex by the same forces that will liberate all workers and racial minorities from oppression and alienation.

For these reasons my presentation on the "woman question" will start with the early history of mankind. This takes us into the field of anthropology, where very important things have been discovered about the evolution of women, the family, and humanity as a whole. First let us briefly review the development of anthropology itself, in order to understand why so many of these facts have been so hard to get at and have even been distorted and concealed.

Anthropology is one of the younger branches of the social sciences. It is little more than a hundred years old. In the beginning it was regarded by its founders as a science of social origins and evolution. Through their inquiries they hoped to trace the development of mankind from the beginning up to civilization, or the historical period. Anthropology, therefore, can also be defined as the study of "prehistory."

But precisely because it was a science of evolution, anthropology went through a series of violent controversies. Like biology, which came to the fore at about the same time in the nineteenth century, this science shook up the prevailing misconceptions propagated about the past of mankind and, in addition, started to dispel prejudices about womankind. It was therefore regarded by conserva-



**CALL TO ACTION.** New York women marched on Madison Square Garden last February to protest the Bridal Fair sponsored by giant corporations which encourage "vulnerable young girls to be dutiful, uncomplaining, self-sacrificing, 'loving,' commodities on the marriage market and well-packaged, fully-automated, brand-conscious consumers." Demonstration was called by WITCH, the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell. Photos on following pages are from same demonstration.

tive forces as a potentially subversive science and barriers were placed in the path of its full and free development.

The first battle between outworn dogma and scientific discovery took place in archaeology. According to the Old Testament, mankind not only had had a divine origin but a short history of less than 5,000 years. However, the fossil bones and tools dug up by the pioneer archaeologists demonstrated that human life had begun many millennia before that. This was a challenge to the religious dogmas and petrified ideas that prevailed in the last century, and at first the findings were greeted with scorn and derision. Only after many decades and the accumulation of overwhelming evidence did resistance fade away. Today it is accepted by the scientific world that human life began a million or more years ago and that subhuman or hominid forms preceded mankind's evolution into *Homo sapiens*.

The next great battle against obscurantism came with the Darwinian theory of organic evolution, which made clear the animal origin of mankind. This was a far more serious blow to mystical-religious dogma than simply extending the history of mankind farther back in time. It carried the implication that man was not the creation of a divine Being but had made himself out of a branch of the higher apes in the animal world. The din and fury that exploded around this antireligious theory lasted for several generations. In some states it was forbidden by law to teach the theory of evolution in schools. Only this year Arkansas was dragged kicking and screaming into the twentieth century, when the valiant fight of a woman teacher forced the state to admit the teaching of evolution into its schools. Resistance was broken down much earlier in more enlightened parts of the world, and today the Darwinian theory is accepted as the basic premise of procedure in the scientific investigations of early mankind.

The settlement of these struggles, which primarily conflicted with theological dogmas, did not resolve all the disputes that grew up around the young science of anthropology. The longest drawn out battle—and the one that continues to the present day—was not waged with religion but in sociology. The conclusions drawn by the founders of anthropology showed that a totally different kind of society had preceded our own system. And in certain spheres of human relations though not in others it was superior to ours, for primitive social organization rested upon genuine democracy and complete equality, including sex equality.

The capitalist powers-that-be cannot tolerate sciences, from anthropology to economics, that tell the whole truth about our society as one which exploits and oppresses both working men and women. It is therefore not surprising that new schools of anthropologists arose in the twentieth century which rejected the methods and findings of the pioneer scholars and turned the science in a very different course and direction.

In the hands of these revisionists, anthropology fell from its lofty and promising beginnings as a science of social evolution to a mere descriptive catalog of a "variety" of cultures. Since many people, including students of anthropology, are hardly aware of this development, let us see how it came about.

The twin stars of anthropology in the nineteenth century were Lewis Morgan in the United States and Edward Tylor in England. They and their colleagues were evolutionist in their approach and proceeded on the basis that mankind had developed through a

# 'all societies have rested upon

series of progressive stages in its ascent from the animal world to civilization. They were also substantially materialistic; that is, they began with the activities of labor in securing the necessities and conveniences of life and on this economic foundation analyzed the superstructural institutions, customs, ideas, and beliefs of primitive peoples.

The most successful exponent of this evolutionary and materialist method was Lewis Morgan, who used it to delineate the three main stages of human advancement: from savagery through barbarism to civilization. Today we can even assign time scales to each of these three epochs. The earliest, savagery, was by far the longest, occupying almost 99 percent of human life on earth. Barbarism began with agriculture and stock raising about 8,000 years ago, and civilization began a mere 5,000 years or so ago.

It is noteworthy that Marx and Engels, the creators of scientific socialism, were influenced and inspired by the works of both Darwin and Morgan. Marx was so impressed with Darwin's insights that he wanted to dedicate his major life work, *Capital*, to him. Engels later took up the key question that Darwin had posed but could not answer: Just how did our progenitors among the higher apes pass over into the earliest humans? In his essay, "The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man," Engels explained that it was because of their systematic labor activities that the anthropoid became the humanoid. In this outline form Engels was the first to present what can properly be called the "labor theory of social origins." And, as we shall see, this has a very important bearing on the "woman question."

In the case of anthropology, Morgan's book *Ancient Society* was brought to Marx from the United States by the Russian sociologist, Maxim Kovalevsky. Marx immediately began making notes on it to spell out his own conclusions on the early period of social evolution. These were set forth, after the death of Marx, by Engels in his famous book *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, which appeared in 1884. As he said in his introduction to the first edition, "In America, Morgan had, in a manner, discovered anew the materialist conception of history, originated by Marx forty years ago."

Engels' book highlighted the sharp contrasts between primitive classless society and our own class society and drew the full sociological conclusions from the materials gathered by the anthropologists. Morgan, Tylor, Rivers, and others were not looking for an equalitarian society and they did not have the slightest notion in advance that such a society had ever existed. But, as scrupulous scholars who honestly and accurately reported the results of their researches, they discovered that the most basic class institutions of our society were conspicuous by their absence in savage society. These points were elaborated by Engels in his book.

First, the means of production were communally owned and every member of the community was provided for on an equal basis with all the others. This is fundamentally different from our own society. There was no such thing as a wealthy ruling class standing over and exploiting the working class for its aggrandizement. As a result, Morgan and others called primitive society a system of "primitive communism."

Second, there was no coercive state apparatus, with its bodies of armed men and police, to serve as the executive arm of the wealthy ruling class and keep the working people in subjugation. Primitive tribal society was self-governing and democratic, a society

in which all the members were equals, women included.

Third, while our class society is patriarchal in constitution, with the father-family as its unit, primitive society was matriarchal and its unit was the maternal gens or clan. More than this, male supremacy, buttressed by the myth that women are the inferior sex, exists only in our patriarchal class society. In the earlier matriarchal system founded on communistic principles, there was no such thing as the domination of one sex over the other, just as there was no such thing as the domination of a wealthy ruling class over the working mass.

Finally, the pioneer anthropologists discovered that the family unit as we know it did not exist. Tribal society was composed of a network of clans, each one consisting of social brothers and sisters. Under their classificatory system of kinship, all the members were identified not through separate family ties but through their clan and tribal connections.

Thus, through their comparative historical method, the early anthropologists unwittingly spotlighted the key institutions of our capitalist society by discovering their complete absence in primitive society. These, appropriately enough, became the title of Engels' book: *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Engels also emphasized that when these class institutions did not exist, the women occupied a very high position, enjoying great freedom and independence in marked contrast to the subordinate and degraded position of women throughout class society.

## Shattering blows

The disclosure of these sharp contrasts between the two social systems—the primitive equalitarian system and our oppressive capitalist system—dealt shattering blows to some of the key fictions that are circulated in our culture. It would be difficult to say which was most distressing to the powers-that-be: the fact that primitive society was collectivist, equalitarian, and democratic; or the fact that it was matriarchal, with women occupying influential and respected positions in the community. Equally upsetting was the evidence that the father-family, which we are told has existed forever, had actually arrived late in history, and its origin was coincident with the change from the matriarchal to the patriarchal social order.

It was these findings, and even more the radical conclusions drawn from them by the Marxists, which provoked the long and bitter struggles between the conflicting schools of anthropology. The new trends that arose in the twentieth century repudiated the method and findings of the founding scholars, characterizing Morgan, Tylor and the rest as "old-fashioned" and "out-of-date." Although they are divided into various tendencies, among them the "diffusionists," the "functionalists," and the "structuralists," the differences among them are minor compared to their common opposition to any historical or materialist approach to anthropology. Their positions are best represented by the disciples of Franz Boas in the United States, Radcliffe-Brown in England, and Levi-Strauss in France.

These descriptionists of all sorts have rejected any unified concept of man's historical progress and largely limit themselves to studying the cultures and customs of separate groups of primitive peoples, comparing them with one another or with civilized society. Their main aim is to establish that a variety or diversity of cultures has always existed. This fact is undeniable. But such an elementary observation does not preclude the more advanced scientific need for establishing the *stages* of social development that mankind has traversed in the course of its long and complex evolution. As Prof. Leslie A. White of the University of Michigan says of these descriptionists:

"In addition to being anti-materialistic, they are anti-intellectualistic or anti-philosophic—regarding theorizing with contempt—and anti-evolutionist. It has been their mission to demonstrate that there are no laws or significance to ethnology, that there is no rhyme or reason in cultural phenomena, that civilization is—in the words of R. H. Lowie, the foremost exponent of this philosophy—merely a 'planless hodge-podge,' a 'chaotic jumble.'" (*Philosophy for the Future*)

In fact, this "chaotic jumble" does not exist either in history or prehistory itself but in the minds and methods of these anthropologists. They have taken a unified historical process and dismembered it into a "planless hodge-podge" of descriptive data. In doing so, they have chopped off the earliest and longest period of human history, the period of the matriarchal system of social organization. Yet it is precisely this period which gives us the essential information for understanding the problems connected with women and the family. Let us go on to examine this aspect of prehistory.

## Inferior sex?

One of the favorite fables of our society is that women are by nature the inferior sex and they are inferior because of their child-bearing functions. As this story goes, a woman is bogged down in the home because she must take care of her child; therefore women's place is in the home. As a "home-body," she is of course, socially speaking, a "nobody," the "second sex," while the men who are foremost in economic, political, and intellectual life are the superior sex. According to this patriarchal propaganda, the maternal functions of women are used to justify the inequalities between the sexes in our society and the degraded position occupied by women.

The discovery of the leading position occupied by women in primitive matriarchal society challenged this capitalist myth. Savage women bore children and yet they were free, independent, and right in the center of social and cultural life. This hit a very sensitive spot, for it involved not only the "woman question" but



Photo by Bill Nolan/LNS

# the twirpillars

also the "sacred family." The cast was aggravated by the fact that, along with all the other liberties and freedoms, there were also free sexual relations for men as for women, in sharp distinction to the rigid sexual restrictions imposed upon women in our male-dominated society.

Another feature of early society the diehards have found hard to accept was the fact that prime people did not know or care about the individual parentage of any child. Children were not possessed like other articles of property nor were they alienated from one another according to the family's wealth, class, or race. All adults in a clan community regarded themselves as the social parents of all the children, providing for them equally. There was no such shocking depraved situation as an over-pampered child on the one hand neglected, sick and hungry children on the other. In the communal society, where the individual family did not yet exist, knowing who was the biological father—or even mother—was irrelevant and immaterial.

These disturbing discoveries were hard to swallow and met with great resistance. The counterpoises taken by the dissenters can be summed up in two statements. 1) There had never been a matriarchal constitution of society; savage women were just as degraded as their civilized sisters today. The most that could be said is that, in the "variety" of cultures, some groups had adopted the quaint custom of matrilineal kinship and descent, although how or why this oddity had come about was left unexplained. 2) The nuclear family as we know it today was not a late development in history as the founding anthropologists and Marxists stated. It has always existed; it has always been a father-family.

These two propositions, that matriarchy had never existed and the father-family has always existed, go hand in hand. They are the main stumbling blocks to further theoretical progress in anthropology and in getting a picture of the early history of women. Let us therefore briefly review some of the evidence on the priority of the matriarchal system of social organization.

## The matriarchy

The term "matriarchy" was coined after the publication in 1861 of J. J. Bachofen's study, *Das Mutterrecht*, where he called attention to the high position of women in ancient society. Trying to fathom the reason for it, he came to the conclusion that since free sexual relations had prevailed and the fathers of the children were unknown, this gave women their leading status in the period he called "mother-right."

Essentially, this thesis placed the emphasis upon the child-bearing functions of women as the source of their power. This was a paradox since in our society the main reason assumed to account for women's inferior status is their procreative functions. How, then, did it come about, what we consider to be the most serious handicap of women—their functions as mothers, gave them so superior a position in primitive society?

This perplexing riddle went unanswered until 1927 when Robert Briffault published his study, *Mothers*. He demonstrated that women had acquired their leading place in primitive society not simply because they were the bearers of new life, but because, as a result of this particular function, they became the primordial producers of the necessities of life. In other words, at a certain point in the struggle to survive and to feed and care for their offspring, they took to the roof labor activities, and this new function made them the founding leaders of the earliest form of social life.

Many scholars such as V. Gordon Childe, Sir James Frazer, Otis Tufton Mason, as well as Briffault, have cited in detail the vast range of productive activities of primitive women and the crucial part they played in bringing mankind out of the lowly savage economy. To sum it up during the period when men were occupied as full-time hunters and warriors, women developed most of the basic tools, skills, and techniques at the base of social advancement. From food collection they moved on to simple horticulture and then to agriculture and to the great variety of crafts they practiced, which included baking, leather-making, textile-making, house-building, etc., they developed the rudiments of botany, chemistry, medicine, and other branches of scientific knowledge. Thus women were not only the industrial workers and farmers but also developed their minds and intellects through their varieties of work so that they became the educators, passing on their skills and cultural heritage to new generations of producers.

As Engels pointed out, all societies have rested upon the twin pillars of production and reproduction. Thus it was the women—the producers of both new life and the material necessities of life—who became the social leaders and governesses of their communities. And they were able to accomplish this because they worked together, as a collective community of producers, and were not dispersed into separate households where each individual woman would be bogged down with same tasks for their individual children. They could do all this because there was no ruling power standing over them telling them what to do or restricting their efforts.

This explains why the early society was matriarchal in constitution with the women occupying the central place in it. Their productive activities were the source of their social power. In this country the American Indians called their women the "female governesses" of the clans and held them in the highest regard. When the earliest settlers came here from the civilized patriarchal nations in Europe, the women had long since become degraded, they were astonished that these "savages" would make no important collective decision without the agreement and consent of their women.

Here, then, from evidence of the past, we have a refutation of



# of production and procreation'



Photo by Bill Nolan/LNS

the myth that women have always been the inferior sex and that their place has always been in the home. For when we put together Briffault's matriarchal theory with Engels' labor theory of social origins, we find that, far from being mere home-bodies, women were the creators and custodians of the first social organization of mankind.

As Engels demonstrated, it was through productive activities that mankind arose out of the animal world. More concretely, then, it was the female half of humanity who initiated and led in these productive activities and who must therefore be credited with the major share in this great act of creation and elevation of humanity. This is a view of the part played by women in history quite different from that of the Biblical Eve who, in the later patriarchal era, was made responsible for the "downfall of man." In reality, what occurred at that major turning point in social evolution was the downfall of woman.

## Enter private property

How did this drastic reversal come about? It began with great changes in the structure of society and the breakdown of the original communistic system. So long as women retained their collectivist institutions they could not be overthrown. But with the rise of the new system of private property, monogamous marriage and the family, women were dispersed, each to become a solitary wife and mother in an individual home. So long as they kept together, they represented a great social force. Separated and isolated from one another and confined to kitchen and nursery chores, they were rendered powerless. This historical process, however, has been obscured or denied by those who uphold the myths which declare that the institution of marriage and the family has always existed and is imperishable.

Edward Westermarck, who has long been regarded as the chief authority on marriage and the family, has even traced the roots of this institution back to the animal world. His thesis is wrong because he makes no distinction between the natural needs and functions which we share with the animals and social institutions which are exclusively created by humans. Thus, while we share with the animals the natural functions of sex and procreation, there is no such thing in the animal world as an institution of marriage or the father-family. It is possible to speak of a "mother-family," although this should more accurately be called a "maternal brood." In nature, it is the mother who feeds and cares for her offspring until they are old enough to provide for themselves. Then, even this "mother-family" breaks up and the individuals go off on their own.

When we pass from the animal to the ancient human world, there is still no family in existence. What we find is the maternal gens or clan. This is a group of people who live and work together as clan brothers and sisters. In other words, ancient society was not only a matriarchy but a fratriarchy—a "brotherhood" of men. To the children all the older women were "mothers" and all the older men "mothers' brothers" or "maternal uncles." Thus in many primitive languages the term "clan" is also translated as "motherhood" or "brotherhood."

This clan society is a signal departure from animal conditions of life. There is no such brotherhood of males in the animal world; on the contrary, the world of nature is torn by strife and the struggles of animals competing with one another for food and for mates.

In tribal society, on the other hand, all the clansmen were united in solidarity and fraternity on the basis of the collectivist principles in productive and social life.

This position of the men as mothers' brothers is one of the most telling proofs of the priority of the matriarchal system. Throughout the primitive world, wherever the father-family has not yet appeared or is only poorly developed, it is the mothers' brothers who perform those functions that in our society are assumed by the fathers. A good description of this institution, which is sometimes called the "avunculate," is given by the anthropologist E. Adamson Hoebel:

"The nuclear basis of the *susu* [motherhood] is the brother-sister relationship. The husband does not enter it at all. . . His role, except as procreator, is replaced in part or wholly by the mother's brother. . . The main burden of educating the boys in men's work falls on the mother's brother. His nephews inherit most of their goods from him. . . Where the *susu* is highly institutionalized, the father as we know him is almost entirely ruled out of the picture." (*Man in the Primitive World*)

## The patriarchal myth

These facts about the mother-brother clan as the original economic unit of tribal society refute the claim that the father-family has always existed. This claim is usually made on the basis of the economic dependency of women; without a husband who would support a woman and her children? In other words, we are led to believe that women have always been helpless, dependent creatures, and that without a father standing at the head of each little family unit, society would practically collapse.

But the facts of early human history prove otherwise. Primitive society not only survived but thrived and it did so because in their communal system all the women collectively performed mother-functions and all the men collectively performed father-functions to all the children of the community. No woman was dependent upon any individual man for her support, nor was any child dependent upon any individual father or even mother for its support.

In the course of time the first "marital couples" or "pairing families" came into existence and the husbands of the women supplanted their clan brothers as the new economic partners. However, so long as the community retained its collectivist principles, there was no such thing as family dependency or family inequalities. The whole society made provision for every single member in it, and all the adults were, socially speaking, the "mothers and fathers" of all the children in the community. Brotherhood was still the basis of social relations.

When the European conquerors came over to this country looking for gold and met the aborigines living here, neither side could understand the outlook, customs, and standards of the other; they spoke different "social" languages. For example, when Father Le Jeune asked an Iroquois Indian how he could be so fond of children which admittedly were not his own, "the Indian looked at him contemptuously and replied: 'Thou hast no sense. You. . . love only your own children; we love all the children of the tribe. . . We are all father and mother to them.'"

Another Jesuit missionary, dumbfounded by the contrast between the greedy, money-mad civilized society he had left in Europe and the generous spirit of the aborigines among whom he had settled, wrote as follows:

"These savages know nothing of mine and thine, for it may be said that what belongs to one belongs to another. . . It is only those who are Christians and dwell at the gates of our towns who make use of money. The others will not touch it. They call it the 'Snake of the French.' They say that amongst us folks will rob, slander, betray and sell one another for money. . . They think it strange that someone should have more goods than others, and that those who have more should be more esteemed than those who have less. They never quarrel and fight amongst themselves, nor steal from one another, or speak ill of one another." (Cited by Robert Briffault in *The Mothers*.)

The disintegration of this communal society began some six to eight thousand years ago with the introduction of large-scale agriculture and stock raising. This brought about the material surpluses required for a more efficient economy and a new mode of life. Farming requires groups of people stabilized around plots of ground, tilling the soil, raising livestock, and engaging in village industries. The old sprawling tribal commune began to break down: first into separate clans, then into separate farm families often called "extended families," and finally into the individual family which we call the "nuclear family." It was in the course of this process that the father-family completely displaced the clan as the basic unit of society.

It is significant that in the early agricultural period these father-families still operated under the principles of equality and democ-

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# '... famulus means domestic slave, and familia is the aggregate number of slaves belonging to one man...'

racy inherited from the past. As farm families, they were large producing groups, with all the members working together to sustain themselves, their children, and the old folks. In addition, all the families of a farm community cooperated in large undertakings, such as clearing the land, planting and harvesting the crops, house construction, irrigation projects, and so on. The fathers of the families composed the village fathers who supervised these projects and were concerned with the welfare of the whole community. Under these conditions of collective family life, the women still retained a relatively high position in productive and social life.

However, beginning in the Middle East, that sector of the world called the "cradle of civilization," new social forces came into play which undermined and destroyed the collectivist relations and introduced a wholly new system founded upon private property, the family, and the state. The lion's share of the wealth fell into the hands of a privileged minority who came to dominate and exploit the great majority of working people. Out of the old village fathers there arose the priest-kings, nobles, warlords and their retinues, living in temples and palaces and ruling over the general population. Starting with the agricultural kingdoms and maturing with the civilizations of Greece and Rome, there arose the oppressive power of the state to legalize and perpetuate this rulership of the wealthy class over the working mass.

This process was as much a destruction of the fratriarchy or "brotherhood of men" as it was of the matriarchy. The Roman jurists who codified the laws pertaining to private property also formulated the principle of "patria potestas," all power to the father. Briffault tells us the following about the origins of the patriarchal constitution of class society:

"The patriarchal principle, the legal provision by which the man transmits his property to his son, was evidently an innovation of the 'patricians,' that is, of the partisans of the patriarchal order, the wealthy, the owners of property. They disintegrated the primitive mother-clan by forming patriarchal families, which they 'led out of' the clan. . . The patricians set up the paternal rule of descent, and regarded the father, and not the mother, as the basis of kinship." (*The Mothers.*)

## New Property laws

More consequential than the change in the basis of kinship were the new property laws. Formerly all property was communally owned and handed down from mother-clans to daughter-clans for the benefit of all the clan brothers and sisters. Now property was owned by the individual father and handed down in the family line from father to son. The female members of the family were supported by the father until their marriage, when their husbands took over this responsibility. Thus male domination and power did not come from any superior biological, physical or mental attributes of males over females, but from a social-economic source—their newly acquired monopoly of property ownership and its transmission through the patriarchal family line.

It was the drastic social changes brought about by the patriarchal class institutions of the family, private property, and the state which produced the historic downfall of the female sex. In the new society men became the principal producers, while the women were relegated to home and family servitude. Dispossessed from their former place in society at large, they were robbed not only of their economic independence but also of their former sexual freedom. The new institution of monogamous marriage arose to serve the needs of men of property.

A man of wealth required a wife to give him legal heirs who would take his name and inherit his property. For this reason monogamy was introduced and prevailed. It actually meant monogamy for the wife only, since only the woman was severely punished by her spouse or by law if she broke her marriage vows. Hemmed in on all sides, women became household chattels whose paramount function in life was to serve the husbands who were their lords and masters. The very term "family," which came into existence along with the system of private property, originally signified this domestic slavery. As Engels says:

"Famulus means domestic slave, and familia is the aggregate number of slaves belonging to one man. . . The expression was invented by the Romans to designate a new social organism, the head of which had a wife, children, and a number of slaves under his authority and according to Roman law the right of life and death over all of them." (*Origin of the Family.*)

It is not generally known that legal marriage was originally instituted for the propertied classes alone. The working people, sustained by their agricultural labor, simply mated as they had in the past, since in primitive society legal marriage was neither necessary nor desirable. But with the rise of urban life and the church, marriage was gradually extended to the industrial population so that working men would be legally obliged to support wives and children who had no other means of support. As the American sociologists, Reuter and Runner, note the consequences:

"When woman ceased to be a producer she became a dependent. The entire support of wife and family was thrown upon the man, and marriage, perhaps for the first time in the world, became a serious economic burden. Law and religion sprang to its support and propagated and enforced a new idea—that the support of women and children was a natural obligation and duty of man." (*The Family.*)

In other words, a new myth arose to cover up the fact that not only women but also working men have been exploited and robbed by this capitalist society. Formerly it was the whole community that provided for and protected every individual, adults and child-

ren alike, from the cradle to the grave. But now this immense responsibility has been thrown upon each little family unit which must shift for itself as best it can. Far from being what it is said to be, the institution of marriage and the family has become an economic prisonhouse in which the whole burden of support for a family of dependents is thrown upon one parent or perhaps both. Even worse, there is no guarantee whatever that the father or mother will always have the jobs or adequate pay to fulfill their obligations.

Here, then, in this historical rundown, we can see the great importance of anthropology as a guide to the study of women and the family. It dispels many myths that have been propagated on the subject and gives us an insight into the true facts.

Thus, according to the Old Testament, we are told that the world began some 5,000 years ago. In reality only the patriarchal world began around that time, and it was preceded by almost a million years of matriarchal history. Again, we are told that our society founded upon private property, with its discriminations, oppressions, selfishness and greed, has always existed, and that its evils are due to an unchanging "human nature." But from anthropology we learn that a totally different kind of human nature existed in primitive society, and precisely because it was a collectivist society.

Finally, we are told that women have always been the inferior sex and this is due to their child-bearing functions. Mother Nature is made responsible for the degradation of the mothers of the human race. Here again, anthropology tells us just the opposite. It was not nature but class society which is responsible for sexual inequality. It was only when their own communal society was overthrown that these former governesses of society were defeated and sent, dispersed and fragmentized, into individual households and the stifling life of kitchen and nursery chores.

## The struggle for women's liberation

All this knowledge that we can gain from a study of prehistory will not only help women to understand their present dilemma but also provide guidelines on how to proceed in the struggle for women's emancipation, which is again coming to the fore. Many articles are being written and voices raised in demands for women's liberation. Most significant, women have been pouring out of their little isolated homes to join together on the streets in protest demonstrations against the war as well as for other demands specifically concerning women. These developments are still only in their initial stage. But they are harbingers of bigger things to come.

In this new phase of the struggle it is imperative for women to work out an effective theory and program which corresponds to their needs and can realize their objectives. This has yet to be done. For example, the *New York Times* last year interviewed women in the liberation group called NOW, the National Organization for Women, headed by Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*. The *Times* article called it "The Second Feminist Wave." The first emerged during the last century in the suffragette movement. At that time women won a number of important reforms: the right to hold property in their own name, the vote, and so on. So the article asked: "What Do These Women Want?"

According to the placards borne by the marching women in the photographs, they wanted more rights: the right to better jobs and pay; the right to abortions; to more seats on government committees, and so on. In general the article summed up their demands as "full equality for all women in America, in truly equal partnership with men NOW." But there was no naming of the class forces that have prevented this equality, nor did the article spell out the methods of struggle that are required to win these demands.

Other tendencies, among them the Boston-based Female Liberation Movement, are seriously seeking a basic program and correct orientation. A few, such as the organization called SCUM (Society for the Cutting Up of Men), have little more to recommend them than a "hate men" philosophy. The picturesque names and aggressive attitudes of such groups as WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell) create a bit of a scandal. This is not all bad since they call attention to the fact that women are consciously opposing male supremacy and male chauvinism and openly challenging the myth of male superiority.

New ideas and forward steps in action usually do provoke scandals precisely because they upset the status quo and disturb those who are satisfied with things as they are. However, it is not enough simply to create a sensation. It is essential to provide a firm theoretical foundation for consistent action directed toward major social change.

Hatred of a social curse which is part and parcel of an exploitative society that discriminates not only against women but also against other sections of society should not be confused with "hatred of men." The enemy is not one sex or the other—it is the capitalist system which needs, breeds and feeds upon oppressions of all kinds.

After all, very few women would really advocate a society of "women only" with all the men exiled to the moon. What we need is a realistic program and mass movement which is directed against the real enemy—the capitalist system. Many men would welcome and participate in a liberation struggle involving women which would, in the process, liberate them as well. That is why both sexes should join together on the campuses, in their places of work, and elsewhere to win their emancipation through a revolutionary socialist movement.

# Linda Jenness sues Atlanta government over unconstitutional fees for election

**By Andy Rose**

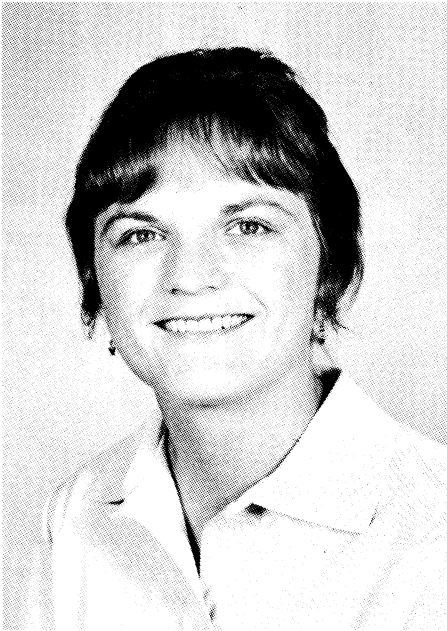
"It's been said before and even she'll probably agree—that socialist Linda Jenness won't be Atlanta's next mayor—but Mrs. Jenness is running the most spirited campaign of any of the seven announced candidates."

This was the conclusion drawn by the **Atlanta Constitution's** Alex Coffin in his weekly column on the mayoral campaign (July 28). And during the week following that column, the Socialist Workers Party campaign effort really went into high gear.

On Thursday morning, July 31, Linda Jenness filed suit against the city government for setting qualifying fees for the October 7 election which are "exorbitant, unreasonable, and (which) bear no reasonable relation to any legitimate legislative purpose." Representatives from radio and television were present when the complaint was filed in Federal District Court, and considerable coverage was given to the filing in the news media.

The complaint charges that "the fees are so high that they may be presumed to have been imposed with the intention of preventing the candidacy of persons unable to pay the qualifying fees imposed by the resolution. In setting qualifying fees at such an unreasonable and outrageously high level, said Aldermanic Board deprives the Plaintiff and all other persons similarly situated of rights, privileges and immunities secured to them by the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States."

The court challenge to discriminatory election fees has been taken up by the Georgia section of the American Civil Liberties Union. Al Horn, prominent civil liberties lawyer, will present the case, and the hearing has been set for Tuesday,



Linda Jenness

Aug. 5. Petitions are being circulated calling for the immediate abolition of election fees; a major television station has editorialized against the fees; and the court case has been widely and favorably publicized.

The afternoon that the qualifying-fee suit was filed, Linda Jenness addressed the well-heeled businessmen of the West End Kiwanis Club. Other candidates—Everet Millican, Sam Massell, Rodney Cook, Leonard Davis, and a representative of Horace Tate—also spoke. One television station's coverage of the meeting was exclusively devoted to Mrs. Jenness's presentation of her tax proposals. Taxation is

the second most fought-over issue in this campaign, following the election fees.

Even the "liberal" capitalist politicians could only suggest more-and-more regressive taxes—sales tax, gasoline tax, even a payroll tax! Mrs. Jenness, on the other hand, clearly called for a truly progressive income tax, 100 percent tax on war profits, and generally higher corporate taxation.

In her address, Mrs. Jenness also called for "a citywide referendum demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam and requesting that the billions spent there be used at home to provide a decent living for everyone. . . Atlanta's present Board of Aldermen are either solid supporters of a vicious war of aggression in Vietnam or behind the times. However, if they want to catch up, they can march with myself and hundreds of other Atlantans in opposition to the Vietnam war here in Atlanta on Saturday, August 9."

Requests for speaking engagements, coming in at the rate of about one-a-day, have been received from such diverse groups as the National Organization of Manufacturers, Urban Corps, Grady High School, National Organization of Women, Fulton County Democratic Club and others.

Campaign workers have received more than 50 signatures of endorsers of the campaign in the past two weeks. Signers include members of the Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement, Movement for a Democratic Society, Georgia State SDS, **Great Speckled Bird** staffers and members of the Atlanta Workshop in Non-violence. Betsy Weltner, daughter of the former U.S. Senator Charles Weltner, has endorsed the campaign, while her father works for the campaign of bourgeois candidate Sam Massell.

# Chicago police in new raid on Panther offices

CHICAGO—The latest in a series of savage attacks on the Chicago Black Panther Party came at 2:30 a.m. the morning of July 31, when more than 50 cops attacked and shot up the Panther headquarters.

Three Panthers there were arrested, and all three were later hospitalized for head injuries inflicted by "objects of undetermined gravity."

According to a Panther press release, one squad car initially pulled up at the headquarters, and two cops got out and began firing. The three Panthers responded by defending themselves and their headquarters, at which time some 50 cops rapidly appeared on the scene and proceeded to break down the door and entered the headquarters.

A fire broke out in the kitchen during the raid, and an empty gas can was later found there. The cops claimed that they were firing on the headquarters from both the front and the back and that "one of the tear gas canisters must have caught fire."

The cops broke typewriters and other office equipment, as well as wrecking electrical fixtures and destroying thousands of copies of the Panther newspaper. Five hundred dollars earmarked for the Panthers' Breakfast for Children program was missing after the raid, and baby food, as well as other food that was stored there was destroyed.

This latest attack comes on the heels of several recent raids and arrests of Chicago Panthers, all on phony pretexts. In one police raid eight Panthers were arrested on the charge of harboring a "fugitive," and in another raid 16 Panthers were arrested and \$2,000 was stolen from their office.

## views and reviews

# Radical press looks at Panther conference

The July 18-20 United Front Against Fascism conference sponsored by the Black Panther Party has provoked considerable discussion in the radical press.

**Liberation News Service** for July 24 carries an article by Nick Gruenberg which is very critical of the conference's political line as set forth on the first day by Bobby Seale, national chairman of the Black Panther Party, and Herbert Aptheker, leading theoretician of the Communist Party.

"The bad tendencies in Seale's and Aptheker's speeches came out in terms of practice Sunday night. The community control of police petition that was presented as the heart of the United Front was a highly legalistic petition that made no distinction between the situation of blacks and browns in America and the situation of whites.

"Because of this, it glossed over completely the colonial nature of the black and brown people in this society. To get signatures for this petition in the white community would embroil people in debates over the idea of community control rather than the right of black and brown people in this country to self-determination."

In his concluding paragraph, Gruenberg writes, "As a whole the conference was a mixed bag. How can one justify the expulsion of PL and its slanderous attacks on the movement from UFAF meetings in which the revisionist CP played such a large role? Will the UFAF be an alliance around a legalistic petition that ignores the colonial nature of the black and brown people? Will the Panthers continue their alliance with the CP (or do they really have one)? And what will this mean for the nature of the Panther Party?"

\* \* \*

The Afro-American **Sun Reporter**, published in San Francisco by Carlton Goodlett, who was one of the conference

speakers, was critical of the conference for two reasons: the absence of black community organization amongst the participants and tight control exercised by the Panthers.

The article, written by Rufus Byars, comments, "The turnout was a fair representation of many of the revolutionary groups across the country, with the notable exception of other black groups. The hippies, yuppies, SDSers were well-represented, but absent were SNCC, CORE, and most local black groups. . .

"All during the conference there were some undercurrents of mistrust and suspicion. Some groups were angry over the complete control that the Panthers exercised over the conference.

"And among the Black community, which stayed away from the conference in large numbers, people wondered whether the party had given up too much to become involved in an alliance with white groups. The question of who is actually in control remains to be seen. The Black Panthers have unofficially announced another conference to be held in three months from now. It will be interesting to see who attends, and who does not, and especially whether the Panthers can gain more support from other black groups around the country."

\* \* \*

Previous to the "fascism" conference the **Daily World**, the national publication reflecting the politics of the Communist Party, gave a big build-up and a lot of coverage to the conference preparations. But it was two weeks before the **Daily World** printed any substantive comment in the aftermath of the conference.

Ralph Izard, writing in the August 1 issue of the paper, comments, "The general line of the conference—unify the people for their own defense, forward to formation of a mass American Liberation Party—came under some attack. . .

"If anything, [the conference] came two years late, two years after secret orders were passed down to tighten the screws of oppression, repression and suppression: first target, black Americans."

Izard notes that "Black Americans were a minority in the audience but a majority of the speakers who gave the conference its drive. . .

"In this majority one white speaker was applauded on appearance opening night. Dr. Herbert Aptheker. . .

"Dr. Aptheker's first words were the repeated slogan of the conference: 'All power to the people!'—always roared back by

the audience. He went on to define the chief weapons of fascism—demagogy and terror. He warned against the urgent peril that would replace government of the people, by the people, for the people with 'government of the fascists, by the fascists, for the fascists.'"

As to the use of physical violence against PL and other groups opposing the conference, Izard simply claims PLers made "nuisances" of themselves, attacking Mark Rudd and other SDSers attending the conference. "Attempted floor disruptions were quickly squelched by alert, disciplined Black Panther contingents."

\* \* \*

In the July 24 issue of **SDS New Left Notes** (Revolutionary Youth Movement, not Worker-Student Alliance, edition), Mark Rudd, national secretary of the RYM-SDS, gives his analysis of the conference. Among other things, Rudd attempts to justify the use of what he delicately calls the "necessary force" against members of Progressive Labor who were "trying to leaflet."

Elsewhere in the article, Rudd writes, "Before the start of the conference, the three national secretaries and four NIC [National Interim Committee] members attending the conference. . . met with Chairman Bobby Seale and other party leaders to learn directly from the Panthers their plans for the conference and also to put forward a critical position on the community control of the pigs petition. Chairman Seale informed us that the main purpose of the

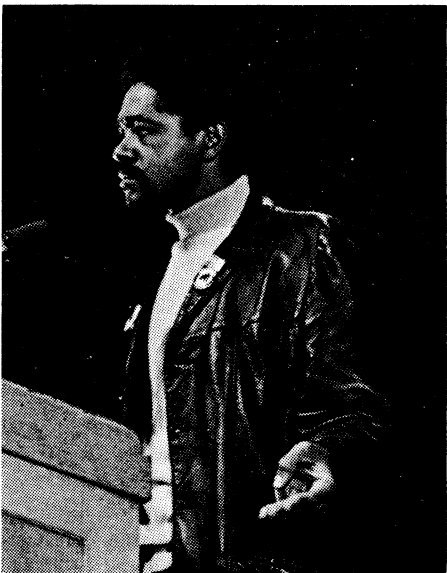
conference was to educate the people about the existence of fascism in the United States and to begin a united program against fascism based on the community control petition. Since there was not unity around the basic point, and therefore no unity of will, it was necessary, according to the Chairman, to limit audience participation to only certain panels, specifically the one on workers and fascism and a 'mass workshop' on the petition. Absolutely no disruption would be allowed, since the attack on fascism was so important.

"The national officers raised the question of formally proposing for fall National Action [the Oct. 11 Chicago antiwar demonstration initiated by the RYM-SDS] as a program of the United Front. Chairman Seale replied by saying that the community control petition would not be put to a vote on Sunday night, the last session. Rather, it would be presented, and people would be asked to sign up for the Committees to Combat Fascism. This would not be the final program of the United Front: another conference would be called by the Panthers in about four months to evaluate the Front and to add to its programs. As to the National Action, the Panthers had no objection to publicizing it, but it would not be added to the program.

"We presented out criticisms of the petition. . . We stressed two points: (1) that our task is to build the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement by attacking white supremacy and that this can best be done by raising demands and agitating around self-determination for the internally colonized black and brown peoples—a concept embodied in the demands for community control of decentralized police in the black and brown communities. Raising 'white community' control evades the issue of domestic colonization and thereby evades the thrust of the black liberation struggle itself. (2) 'White community' is a concept which serves the ruling class by stressing 'white interest' over class interest, that is, the interest of workers as members of the oppressor nation, rather than their interest as members of the oppressed class. . .

\* \* \*

Despite the widespread criticism of the Panther-sponsored conference from every source except the CP, virtually the entire left press continues to express its solidarity with the Panthers against the vicious, nationwide police repression being perpetrated against them.



Jeff Scales/BPP/LNS

Bobby Seale

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# What did fascism conference mean for Panthers

By Elizabeth Barnes

There has been a great deal of discussion within the movement about the recent Black Panther Party "United Front Against Fascism" conference in Oakland. But much of this discussion has overlooked the most disturbing aspect of what went on at the conference—the various actions and statements made by the leaders of the Black Panther Party which indicated a turning away from revolutionary black nationalism.

The clearest signs of such a turn were the various statements made by Chairman Bobby Seale and other Panther leaders condemning what they referred to as "black racism." In his closing speech Seale told the conference, "We will not fight racism with racism. We are going to fight racism with solidarity." Other comments were made at the conference to the effect that black "racism" is as bad as white racism; that the struggle in this country is not between races but between classes; that what is needed now is "unity of the people."

## Black racists?

The concept that it is possible for black people to be racists is one which the nationalist movement has had to fight ever since the very first awakening of black consciousness. The idea that the spread of nationalist ideas and all-black organizations meant that black people were themselves becoming "racists" has been the main weapon the ruling class has used to discredit and attack black nationalism. Malcolm X was called a "racist." Black power was termed "racism in reverse." The Black Panther Party itself has been referred to time and again in the capitalist and liberal press as practicing "black racism."

The ruling class attacks nationalism in this way because it is precisely the nationalist character of the upsurge in the black community they fear most. They don't like it when black people begin to wake up to a consciousness of their common oppression, of their common black identity. By equating black nationalism with black racism, the ruling class tries to blur the distinction between the oppressed and the oppressor.

Black nationalism is the polar opposite of white racism. White racism aids oppres-



Photo by Dave Warren

AT OAKLAND CONFERENCE. Session in Bobby Hutton Memorial Park.

sion and is a rationalization for it. When white people express pride in being white and the desire to organize on the basis of their "whiteness," they are helping to perpetrate this oppression. But, when a black person expresses pride in being black and the desire to organize on the basis of his "blackness," this is a response to and an attempt to combat oppression.

By condemning so-called "black racism" in the movement, the Panther leaders help to give credence to the anti-nationalist view that such a thing as black racism does exist. In addition to this, the Panther statements about "unity" and the need to oppose racism in the movement raise certain very fundamental questions about over-all revolutionary strategy. Is it true, for example, that there is now a basic problem in the movement because some black people refuse to make alliances with whites? If so, who is responsible for this problem? Who are those black people the Panthers say are attempting to "fight racism with more racism"?

## Cultural nationalism

One of the organizations which the Panthers may think falls into this category is Ron Karenga's US organization in Los Angeles, which the Panthers have criticized very strongly during the past year. There is no question that Karenga and his followers deserve every bit of this criticism and more. They have discredited themselves before the whole movement by using strong-arm tactics against those with whom they disagree. More important, they have allied themselves with the ruling class by their support to Democratic Party politicians such as Gene McCarthy.

But, the brunt of the attacks on Karenga by the Panthers have not been against this liberal pro-Democratic Party stance which is at the bottom of Karenga's weaknesses. Instead, the Panthers have tended to concentrate their fire on what they call his cultural nationalism.

The trouble with Ron Karenga and his kind is not that they are cultural nationalists or that they refuse, from a "racist" point of view, to make alliances with whites. The fact is that they are not nationalist enough. While they adhere to cultural nationalism, they do not carry this national-

ism into the political arena. Instead of looking toward building a mass all-black political party which can begin to challenge the two capitalist parties, these pork-choppers use cultural nationalism to win black people to support a white-controlled capitalist party which exercises white control over the black community.

Cultural nationalism is something which is continuing to play an extremely progressive role in waking up black people to their oppression and common identity. It is not the cultural nationalism of reformists such as Karenga that should be criticized, but the fact that they do not use this nationalism as a political lever to fight against this white racist system.

## Black capitalism

Another tendency which Bobby Seale has identified as being "racist" is those who support black capitalism. At the Oakland conference Seale explained, "We will not fight capitalism with more capitalism—black capitalism—because black capitalism perpetuates more black racism." (Black Panther, Aug. 2, emphasis added.)

Again, here is the same confusion of nationalism with racism. Black capitalism is not racist, it is nationalist. It is based on the idea that since black people have been excluded from positions of power and wealth within the economic structure, they should band together to help put equal capitalist resources into the hands of Afro-Americans.

The concept of black capitalism is obviously a reformist and pro-capitalist idea. It is utopian, as Bobby Seale has said,

## NAACP defends N.Y. Panthers in court brief

NEW YORK—The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund has moved to aid the framed-up and victimized Panthers being held in New York's jails on charges of conspiring to bomb department stores and police stations. The forward step in helping defend victims of racist repression came when the NAACP filed a friend-of-the-court brief demanding the freedom of 14 Black Panther Party members being held in ridiculously high bail of up to \$100,000.

It is the first time the NAACP has gone into court to aid the Black Panther Party and people within the organization indicated the decision had been the source of some controversy.

The brief charges that the bail system in New York is unconstitutional and has been used "as a means to detain, punish and to prejudice the fairness of trial."

It further notes, "The fact these people are Black Panthers is part of why bail was set so high." The NAACP Legal Defense committee indicated it was trying "to fight the way the legal system is being perverted to suppress the kind of groups like the Black Panthers, who are engaged in forms of social protest and political activity."

Previous appeals by Panther lawyers resulted in the lowering of the bail on some of the New York 21 to figures ranging from \$10,000 to \$50,000. Hopefully the added pressure of the NAACP will see a further lowering of the bail so that the New York Panthers, many of whom have been in jail over four months, can be freed.

to think that capitalism of any kind can solve the problems of black people. But to say that it is "racist" is to completely distort the meaning of the term.

Because black capitalism does not relate to the concrete needs of the black masses, few black people have gotten excited about it, or have worked to attain it. The nationalist awakening of the masses of black people has been expressed in a much more revolutionary direction, in all the various struggles for control by Afro-Americans over the institutions which affect their lives. During the past years such struggles have become intensified—in the schools and on the campuses, in the factories, in the Army and in community organizations.

The great fear of the ruling class is that this mass nationalist sentiment will find expression in the political area, that some black political group such as the Panthers will break out of the confines of being a small vanguard group and will begin to win the masses away from support to the parties of the ruling class. This is the reason why so many attempts are made to co-opt nationalism, to give it a capitalist content, to distort it, and to buy it off.

Thus we not only have such schemes as black capitalism, or the reformist so-called cultural nationalist organizations such as US, but we also see more black candidates being run by the Republican and Democratic parties. It is this last method of co-option—the growth in the number of black political candidates in the capitalist parties—which has been most successful in disorienting the struggle thus far.

In exposing such frauds, the main job of a black party is to relate to the nationalism and nationalist struggles of the masses, to help organize these struggles and to lead them in a revolutionary direction. The key step in this process is to break the masses away from the capitalist parties and to explain that there will be no such thing as real black control of the black community unless a mass black political party is built that can fight for this control.

(To be continued next week)

## L.A. Panthers denounce cops

By Peter Seidman

LOS ANGELES—In a press conference July 30, Elaine Brown, Lieutenant of Information for the Southern California Black Panther Party, denounced the police department and major news media for smearing the Panthers.

On July 25, Los Angeles police arrested eight Afro-Americans for "conspiring to commit murder of a police officer and on suspicion of murder." Police charged the eight had assembled an arms cache and that they were members of the Black Panther Party.

This arrest received prominent front-page coverage in the local press. Several days later, the police released all eight and dropped all charges. News of these subsequent events was buried in the press. Miss Brown accused the police of having made up the story about the arms cache—because if it had really existed, the L.A. police department would never have dropped all charges. She also pointed out that only one of the eight arrested, Roger Lewis, was a member of the Panthers.

Miss Brown charged the press with trying to discredit the Panthers by distorting the truth about their activities. She also announced that the Panthers will file a major law suit against the cities of Los Angeles, Santa Ana, and San Diego within the next month for the "harassment, brutality, and killing" which Panthers have been subjected to by police in the last year.

## YSA-SDS party brutally attacked by Cuban exiles

By John Sugg

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—Two Gainesville YSA members and a visiting British student were hospitalized when a gang of anti-Castro Cuban hoodlums viciously attacked participants in a party called by YSA and SDS July 25 to celebrate the 16th anniversary of the initiation of the armed struggle to overthrow Batista.

About 10 guests had arrived to begin the party when approximately 20 Cubans entered. After ascertaining that they outnumbered the YSAers and SDSers, the Cubans attacked in what appeared to be an organized fashion, running from the scene before reinforcements or authorities could arrive.

Paul Sutton, a radical English student doing research at the University of Florida, received a broken cheek bone, requiring surgery. His vision may be permanently affected. Kurt Garrett of the Gainesville YSA had his eardrum torn, and it will be several weeks before it can be determined whether the injury is permanent. I received a concussion after being kicked in the head by three to four Cubans and was released from the hospital the next day. Several other people were beaten, including a Cuban friendly to the YSA and SDS members, a Dutch graduate student and Michael Crawford, the local Worker-Student Alliance organizer.

The attack precipitated a discussion within the radical movement in Gainesville, especially in SDS, on how to deal with attacks of this kind.

The YSA submitted a letter which was printed in the *Alligator*, the University of Florida newspaper, condemning the attack as an attempted violation of freedom of speech and democratic rights, and indicating that we will not be intimidated by violence. A public rally, sponsored by the YSA and SDS, is scheduled for Aug. 6. The rally will commemorate Hiroshima Day and also feature speeches on Cuba, on the fall antiwar offensive and in defense of individuals who have been victimized around the country for their radical activities.



Photo by Dave Wulp

FIGHTING EX-SOLDIER. Andrew Pulley of Ft. Jackson 8, now on speaking tour for GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. Pulley is currently in Wisconsin for Hiroshima Day commemoration there.

## CALENDAR

### NEW YORK

THE POLITICS OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC CRISIS: Can the Administration solve the basic problems of American capitalism? Speaker: Dick Roberts, managing editor, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Aug. 15, 8:30 p.m., 873 B'way (nr. 18th St.). Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### PHILADELPHIA

RED REVOLUTION IN RITTENHOUSE SQUARE, Socialist Workers Campaign Committee Event, Aug. 16. See p. 4.

Reading for revolutionaries

An analysis of fascism

Fascism: What It Is, How to Fight It, by Leon Trotsky. 32 pp., 50 cents.

The question of fascism was recently brought to prominent attention in radical circles in this country by the Black Panther Party's call to form a united front against fascism. Virtually all radical tendencies were present at the conference in one capacity or another, and the question "what is fascism" was raised over again.

One of the difficulties of dealing with this question is that various radical tendencies give different answers to what they mean by fascism. The compilation of some of Trotsky's writings on this question, in a new edition, throws considerable light on this question.

The articles in this collection were written during the period before Hitler took power in Germany and after that event. They contain material dealing with Mussolini's rise to power in Italy as well as events in France, Spain, the United States and other countries. Trotsky's work was the first systematic analysis of this new political phenomenon that first appeared on the scene in Italy following the First World War and then manifested itself in Germany and other countries. The analysis and program contained in this pamphlet have only been reenforced through the years and stand up completely in the light of the more recent past and present.

The author deals with the fundamental aspects of the movement. He describes the various roles of the workers, middle classes and capitalists in the struggles that take place when fascism appears. His analysis includes the attitudes of the different traditional parties towards the new formation, how they understand it and what programs they propose to fight it.

The appearance of a fascist movement of any scope and strength poses such a threat to all minorities, political parties and organizations such as unions that it is vitally necessary for every radical, rebel and opponent of the present political and social order to attain a complete and profound understanding of it and how to fight it.

Harry Ring is currently on vacation. Both he and his "Great Society" column will return to the Militant in September.

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

It is only necessary to look at the fate of the Communist and Socialist parties and trade unions of Germany, Italy and Spain, the Spanish Anarchists, the Jews and other minorities—all of which were destroyed by fascists—to realize the critical importance of this question.

But it is equally important not to confuse fascism with other political movements. Confusion on this point can easily lead to non-recognition of the real thing when it does appear.

The value of Trotsky's writings on this question lies precisely in the fact that he undertakes a fundamental analysis, from the class standpoint, and deals with the current political events of the time from this scientific basis. Thus the day to day political events, played out by the various political parties, are easily understood and the lessons to be drawn from these events stand out very clearly.

—Milton Alvin



Hitler and Mussolini

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Chilean police reported searching for Luis Vitale

SANTIAGO, Chile (IP)—For more than a month the Chilean political police have been seeking Luis Vitale on charges of violating the State Internal Security Law. In addition the minister of the interior has stepped up pressure on the Supreme Court to turn down Vitale's appeal against the action of the Alessandri government six years ago revoking his Chilean citizenship.

Under the headline "Another Figure Sought," the June 26 La Tarde said: "Now the Argentine citizen Lous Vitale, a known revolutionist who was almost expelled from the country a few years ago, is being sought."

Under the headline "Other Searches," the Communist party daily El Siglo commented June 26: "Yesterday morning the police also visited the residence of the veteran Trotskyist Luis Vitale, an Argentine citizen who is now one of the ideologues of the MIR [Movimiento di Izquierda Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Left Movement], to make an investigation. Vitale was not at home. His wife, Neomicia Lagos, was taken to Investigations headquarters in an effort to get her to indicate the whereabouts of her husband."

The pro-Yankee daily Ilustrado wrote on its editorial page June 30: "Luis Vitale, a member of the MIR, born in Argentina and granted the privilege of Chilean citizenship, is reportedly the victim of a government action of the most odious kind, according to the evening Castroist paper [Ultimate Hora]. According to the geniuses financed by Havana, he is an outstanding intellectual and the author of many historical works. Vitale was implicated as an accomplice of the MIR terrorists by one of the Miristas themselves, also a fugitive."

The daily La Segunda of June 25 said: "Before noon the third raid took place in the Villa suburb, 'El Dorado,' where a search was made of the home of Luis Vitale Cometa, accused by the police of being an 'ideologue of the MIR.'"

"The police searched all the rooms systematically and held Vitale's wife, Neomicia Lagos, who had a long 'conversation' with the officials assigned to establishing Vitale's whereabouts. It was learned unofficially that Vitale was in Concepcion and that a 'call' was sent out on the police wires ordering his arrest."

On July 1, Ultima Hora wrote: "The people of Villa Eldorado are experiencing the same climate of terror the inhabitants of Concepcion are being subjected to. The political police are staging raids every night, and at any hour, searching for the writer and professor Luis Vitale. This intellectual's house is the main target of the police siege. His wife, Dr. Neomicia Lagos, a psychiatric specialist whose work with children is justly famous, has been subjected to the procedures of the political police to force her to reveal where her husband is."

There has been an outstanding display of nationwide solidarity with Vitale. The Full Council of the University of Chile, which is composed of professors, students, employees, and workers, passed a resolution June 30 expressing solidarity with him.

The July 1 El Clarin reported that "the assembly of the Federacion de Estudiantes de Concepcion approved a resolution of solidarity with Professor Luis Vitale, who

'has made an important contribution to the national culture.' In Santiago, the police raided the professor's home searching for evidence of his alleged participation in the guerrilla encampment discovered in Guayacan. 'Despite their previous agreement to return to classes, the sociology students at Concepcion will remain out in solidarity with Professor Vitale.'"

Both El Clarin and Ultima Hora devoted editorials calling on the workers and students to show solidarity with Vitale. The editorial in the July 3 El Clarin, written by Lord Callampa, said: "Vitale was active in the Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile [United Workers Federation of Chile], where he was a national leader side by side with Clotario Blest. He has written books showing considerable learning and careful historical and sociological research. Among these I can point to his Esencia y Apariencia de la Democracia Cristiana [Essence and Appearance of Christian Democracy], Historia del Movimiento Obrero [History of the Workers Movement], and especially his Interpretacion Marxista de la Historia de Chile [Marxist Interpretation of the History of Chile], the second of whose projected six volumes has just appeared. Now they want to cancel his Chilean citizenship papers for good. They must not deprive him of his citizenship and convert him into a stateless person. They must not hand him over to the Argentine 'gorillas,' in whose hands the life of this distinguished writer, this husband of a Chilean professional and father of a Chilean daughter, would not be worth a cent."

Young socialists speak at July 26 commemorations

By Gene Richards

AUSTIN, Texas — On July 26 the Austin Young Socialist Alliance presented a program "Cuba—10 Years of Revolution," to commemorate the 16th anniversary of the beginning of the Cuban Revolution. About 100 persons met at the Texas Union Junior Ballroom for a talk and slide show by Dave Prince, a YSAer who visited Cuba in January as a guest of the Cuban government.

The program opened with the showing of color slides, followed by Prince's talk. During the question and discussion period that followed, the attitude was one of friendly interest and enthusiasm.

SAN FRANCISCO—A meeting of returned peace Corps volunteers on July 24 heard YSAer Paul McKnight speak about the Cuban Revolution as an example for the development of third world countries. After McKnight spoke, two Cuban films were shown, one about the annual Cuban cane harvest and one dealing with the literacy campaign, followed by a question period featuring McKnight and an SDS member who had also visited Cuba.

The meeting was sponsored by the Committee of Returned Volunteers, an organization which now has a delegation of its members in Cuba.

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Photo by Frank Lord

**TEXAS STYLE ACTION.** On Aug. 3 at a rally sponsored by the Austin Student Mobilization Committee the University of Texas fountain was renamed "Peace Fountain." Over 700 persons attended the rally which was addressed by Rex Womack, an antiwar GI from Ft. Hood, SMCers, and others speaking from an open mike.

## Fall antiwar offensive off to a strong start

By Gus Horowitz

Initial progress reports on the New Mobilization Committee and Student Mobilization Committee's fall offensive against the war indicate that action is already well off the ground. A Washington Action Committee has been formed as a working committee to organize the mass demonstration in Washington Nov. 15. This committee, which has already met three times and will continue to function on a regular basis, is very broad-based, involving a good cross-section of the antiwar movement in enthusiastic support for the demonstration.

An office and staff for the Washington project of the New Mobilization Committee has been set up at 1029 Vermont N.W. in Washington.

The Washington demonstration has received good initial support from many of the local and regional antiwar coalitions. In Detroit a new coalition has been set up to organize the demonstration. Its first meeting was quite large, drawing 200 people from numerous antiwar groups. A coalition for the outlying areas in Michigan has also been formed. In Atlanta a new coalition of 12 antiwar and radical organizations has been working on a demonstration on Saturday, Aug. 9, which will certainly be a building block for the mass demonstrations in the fall. Many other areas are also holding actions during Hiroshima-Nagasaki week, and report enthusiastic support for the fall program of antiwar actions.

On Aug. 17 the first in the series of actions in the fall antiwar offensive will take place. In Los Angeles, the Peace Action Council has called for a demonstration at Nixon's "summer White House" in San Clemente. A quarter of a million

leaflets have been distributed for the demonstration, as well as bumper stickers, balloons, posters and stickers. The demonstration has received considerable press publicity. Camp Pendleton, a major Marine base, borders on San Clemente and efforts are being made to involve as many antiwar GIs as possible.

Another action endorsed by the New Mobilization Committee, the "reading of the war dead" and "death march" will now take place in November in Washington. It will culminate on Saturday, Nov. 15 in the massive antiwar demonstration.

David Hawk of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee has reported that there are active workers for the Oct. 15 school shut-down on 225 campuses and contacts on 75 others. The Student Mobilization Committee will be working with the Moratorium to shut down the schools on Oct. 15. On Nov. 14, the SMC has called for a national student strike. This may well dovetail with a second round of the Moratorium's activities at the same time.

Negotiations are still in progress between the New Mobilization Committee and SDS to work out the details of the demonstration in Chicago, now set for Oct. 11.

The steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee has passed a motion to "continue probing, not only with SDS, but with the Panthers and other groups the possibility of a coalition for this action." The New Mobilization Committee decided to "participate in the organization, financing and other facets of the action to the extent that a meaningful form of collaboration can be worked out in which the Mobe plays a role in making the decisions on the action."

supposedly until all Palestinian resistance is crushed.

A Labor Party commission formulated this new blueprint for occupation of Arab lands as part of its official platform for the upcoming elections in October. The party is expected to be returned to office; thus the platform was generally regarded as government policy. The commission included three of the most powerful cabinet ministers and representatives of both Mapai and Mapam — the supposedly "right-wing" and "left-wing" elements in the all-inclusive bourgeois party. Thus there is apparent agreement on the hawkish line among the Israeli ruling class.

Israel's escalated aggression against the Arab states began July 20 with almost daily bombings of Egypt west of the Suez. The bombing was expanded by July 30 to include the Golan Heights, with sorties on the Syrian-Lebanese frontier, marking the first air raid on Lebanon.

Among Israel's targets has been the city of Port Said, where civilians were bombed under the pretext of destroying missile sites. Using planes and antiaircraft fire,

## Leonard files for mayor as Seattle SWP candidate

SEATTLE—Tom Leonard, a leader of the Seattle Socialist Workers Party and a long-time trade-union activist, entered the race for mayor of Seattle Aug. 1, filing for the nonpartisan primary election to be held Sept. 16.

At a well-attended press conference covered by NBC, CBS, and ABC television and radio, as well as the *Seattle Times*, Leonard attacked the "law-and-order" candidates who have already filed and explained his reasons for running. "Issues like Vietnam and black control of the black community are national and international issues, but they are vital local issues as well. . . Vietnam is as local as the six-month extension of the surtax that is reported in this morning's paper. This tax hit every member of the Seattle community. It hits working people, particularly black people, the hardest. This war has already claimed the lives of some 37,000 American young men and it is as local as the 800 Washingtonians included in that death toll. . . Vietnam is as local as the billions of dollars spent to wage this genocidal conflict, billions that should have been allocated to improve and better the lives and conditions of people living in urban centers such as Seattle."

Leonard demanded the withdrawal of all troops from Vietnam and called for support to the Seattle Student Mobilization Committee and its work to build the demonstration at Nixon's summer White House Aug. 17 and the massive Nov. 15 demonstrations in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco.

Discussing the struggle for black control of the black community, Leonard told the press, "I support every struggle by black people to win liberation by any means necessary, to free themselves from the evils that this capitalist system has imposed on them. I support their right to defend themselves against all racist violence, including police violence. I give my full support to the defense of the rights of the Black Panther Party as a legitimate political organization seeking to represent the interests of the black community."

Leonard also announced support for the demands of the Seattle Black Student Union, calling special attention to the demand that David Mills be appointed to the Seattle Community College Board of Trustees.

The candidate denounced Boeing aircraft—one of Seattle's largest employers and an industry making millions in war profits—for laying off over 1,000 men and women a month, and demanded that the city government force Boeing to institute a sliding scale of wages and hours, guaranteeing full employment at no cut in pay. He called for full union-scale wages for all those on unemployment, and all those unable to find a job.

In his press announcement Leonard also called special attention to the fight for women's liberation, and the role of the radicalizing youth in carrying forward the struggles around dozens of issues today.

He challenged any of his opponents to publicly debate his program.

In addition to his activities in the antiwar movement in Seattle, Leonard was active in the Aaron Dixon Defense Committee which successfully defended one of the framed-up Panthers in Seattle. Before moving to Seattle several years ago he was a reporter for *The Militant*, covering the labor movement.

Anyone interested in working on the campaign or contributing to the election fund should contact the campaign headquarters, Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105.

## Daniel Camejo released from Mexican prison

NEW YORK—After two years and two weeks incarceration in Mexico's infamous federal prison, Lecumberri, Daniel Camejo Guanche, a Venezuelan by birth and a supporter of the Fourth International, was freed on bail Aug. 1, 1969, pending an appeal. Upon his release from Lecumberri he was taken by secret-service police to await deportation. Aug. 2 he was deported to Bogota, Colombia, where he was held over night. Aug. 3 he was deported from Bogota to Caracas, Venezuela, and again held over night in a Caracas jail. Finally Aug. 4 he was freed.

Camejo's original arrest occurred July 19, 1967, when he was kidnapped by Mexico's secret police in a frame-up involving 14 people. All 14 were kidnapped and held incommunicado for several days in secret headquarters. The prisoners were subjected to various tortures including beatings, threats and even, in one case, having cigarettes put out on their bodies.

The police forced the prisoners to sign confessions by placing revolvers to their heads and threatening to kill them. All the prisoners repudiated their "confessions" when finally brought before a judge for arraignment.

Camejo, along with 12 of the 14, was not permitted bail. He was held for 20 months without a trial. The "trial," when it finally occurred, did not include a jury, cross examination of witnesses, oral presentation of defense arguments, or any normal court procedures. In reality it was not a trial. Instead the prisoners were brought before Judge Raul Jimenez O'Farrill at 9 p.m. the night of May 14, 1969.

Judge Jimenez declared all prisoners "guilty" of "conspiracy, inciting rebellion and damaging public property." Jimenez handed down sentences varying from two years to eight years and 10 months imprisonment. Camejo received a sentence of five years.

While in prison Camejo conducted himself as a model revolutionary, constantly seeking to physically aid and maintain the morale of the other political prisoners. Because of his attitude, the other prisoners placed Camejo in charge of distributing the contributions of food and clothing they received from the outside.

Mexican law permits anyone receiving five years or less to be bailed out on appeal. The setting of bail and processing dragged on for two and a half months after the May 14 sentencing.



Daniel Camejo

## Israel gives master plan for Arab lands

By Joel Aber

The leaders of the ruling Israeli Labor Party have now announced publicly that they intend to make permanent their occupation of the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, a large part of the Sinai, and possibly the west bank of the Jordan. At the same time, in recent weeks Israeli aggression against the Arab world has been sharply intensified, bringing the Middle East closer to a new explosion only two years after the last Israeli war of expansion.

This first public proclamation of Israel's intention to retain the three occupied areas was regarded by James Feron in the Aug. 4 *New York Times* as "an apparent victory for party hawks, signaling the end of official efforts to couch policy in terms of direct negotiations with the Arabs."

In addition to the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai and Gaza Strip, which the Israelis intend to annex permanently, the new Israeli master plan calls for annexation of Jordan's west bank until such time as it is "demilitarized"; i.e.,

the United Arab Republic and Syria attempted to defend themselves against these new attacks and to retaliate against Israeli-occupied positions in the Sinai and the Golan Heights. The right-wing Lebanese government issued a suicidal statement that the Israeli bombing of its Golan Heights frontier was of no concern to Lebanon because it was intended only to be an attack on Syria!

Meanwhile the growing influence of the Palestinian guerrillas in the Arab world is reflected in a July 23 speech by Nasser; the speech called for a top-level diplomatic meeting of the Arab states and emphasized that the commando organizations must be present at this conference. According to the July 25 *New York Times*, Nasser stated that every Arab government would be judged by the extent of its support to the guerrilla struggle. In the eyes of the Arab masses the main criterion for judging Arab governments will indeed be the extent of their support to the guerrilla movement, and politicians like Nasser are feeling increasing pressure from the masses to aid the liberation struggle.