

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 32—No. 35

Friday, August 30, 1968

price 10c



"SOLDIER COMRADES, go home and fight for socialist democracy!" Czech citizens surround Soviet tank in Bratislava, near Hungarian border.

Soviet troops, go home! U.S., get out of Vietnam!

Fred Halstead, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, issued the following statement Aug. 21.

As the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, I unequivocally condemn the brutal occupation of Czechoslovakia and the suppression of its reforms by the Kremlin and its stooges.

The invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armed forces of Moscow and its four accomplices—East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria—is a criminal and indefensible deed. It deserves the severest condemnation on both socialist and democratic grounds.

The action violates the independence of a small nation and tramples on its right to self-determination. This second Hungary deals severe blows to the cause of world socialism.

It is aimed to crush and reverse the strides toward socialist democracy taken

since Novotny was ousted last January with enthusiastic backing from the overwhelming majority of the Czechoslovak masses. It is designed to halt the further disintegration of Stalinist monolithism which has already enabled one satellite regime after another to gain greater national autonomy from the Kremlin. It seeks to prevent the example of Czechoslovakia's repudiation of unrestrained bureaucratic domination from spreading to their own domains and jeopardizing their continued rule.

The assault not only damages and discredits socialism in the eyes of world opinion. It likewise undermines the security of the Soviet Union and the other workers states by disrupting and weakening the fraternity and solidarity of the forces for socialism in East Europe and on an international scale. Moscow's military interference can no more be justified by false claims of defending the interests of socialism than Washington's intervention in

Vietnam is justified by its pretext of protecting "freedom."

Indeed, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia directly injures the Vietnamese revolution since it is being exploited by the U.S. imperialists and their allies to sanction the continuation of their war against the Vietnamese people. It serves to dishearten the antiwar forces within the United States. A call for the invading Warsaw Pact armies to get out of Czechoslovakia must be coupled with an equally vigorous demand for U.S. troops to withdraw immediately from Vietnam.

Since early July the Soviet leaders and their stooges have been conducting a furious campaign against the Dubcek government and its supporters, accusing them of counterrevolutionary complicity with West German Nazis, U.S. imperialists, the CIA and other ultrareactionary elements. By military maneuvers, diplomatic pressures and a barrage of press attacks

they hoped to bring Dubcek and his associates to their knees, force them to scrap the liberal reforms and revert to the Stalinist practices of the deposed Novotny gang.

Dubcek explained to them in his response on July 18 that "any indication of a return to these methods would evoke the resistance of the overwhelming majority of party members and the resistance of the working class, the workers, the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia." When, despite minor concessions, his government refused to comply with their demands, the Kremlin and its agents moved to take over Czechoslovakia and install a subservient regime, as was done in Hungary in 1956.

The pretext of "counterrevolutionary danger" invoked by the Kremlin to cover its intervention is utterly hypocritical and baseless. As their declarations and deeds demonstrated, the Czechoslovak masses were not sliding backward to restore capitalism and landlordism, but going forward to the formation of a genuine socialist democracy. The Soviet, East German, Polish and other bureaucrats were thrown into panic fear by the precedent the Czechoslovaks' progress toward that goal was setting for their own peoples.

The real promoters of counterrevolution in this situation are those Stalinist bureaucrats around the world who have plotted, executed and approved the rape of Czechoslovakia.

(Continued on page 5)

Huey Newton case: surprise witness

By Stephen Bloom

OAKLAND, Calif., Aug. 21 — Defense attorney Charles Garry dropped a bombshell here today when he called a surprise witness in the 22-day-old murder trial of Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton.

Free Huey!

What you can do:

1. Hold a "Free Huey" demonstration or rally in your area.
2. Send a contribution to the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland Calif.
3. Wear a "Free Huey" button. These can be ordered for 50 cents from the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund. Posters are also available for one dollar.

Newton is accused of killing policeman John Frey and wounding Herbert Heanes when the two cops stopped a car in which Newton and an unknown companion were riding last Oct. 28.

After the noon recess Garry called 26-year-old Gene McKinney to the witness stand and asked him if he had been in the car with Newton on the 28th of October, the day the shooting took place. When McKinney answered that he had been, Garry then asked, "Did you shoot Officer Frey?"

In response the witness stated that on the advice of his lawyer he refused to answer the question because, "the answer might tend to incriminate me."

McKinney also took the Fifth Amendment in response to a question concerning the shooting of Officer Heanes.

The testimony of McKinney confirmed the fact, long rumored among observers of the trial, that the defense would produce

the person who had been with Newton that night.

The defense began presenting its case Aug. 19, after Judge Monroe Friedman granted a defense motion for acquittal on

(Continued on page 12)

IN THIS ISSUE:

Peace and Freedom Convention p.3

McCarthy plank on Vietnam p.4

Fred Halstead in Saigon p.12

THE MILITANT

Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$3 a year; Canada and Latin America, \$3.50; other foreign, \$4.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$9.00; all other countries, \$14.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$12.50; Latin America, \$23.00; Europe, \$27.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$32.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 32—No. 35



Friday, August 30, 1968

What's wrong with the Democratic Party

By George Novack

Going from right to left, there will be four significant aspirants for the Presidency at the Democratic convention in Chicago. These are Gov. Lester Maddox of Georgia, Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Senator George McGovern of South Dakota and Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota.

This quartet of contenders well symbolizes what the Democratic Party is and how it manages to dupe the electorate. The ultraracist Maddox represents the undisguised but influential white supremacist wing of the party rooted in the South which controls many of the key committees in Congress and exercises a veto over its legislation through the seniority system.

Humphrey is in the commanding center of the organization. He arrived there as the choice of Lyndon Johnson and his cronies in 1964 for his proven loyalty. He is the preferred candidate of the party machine and its backers among the war industrialists and the oil and natural gas magnates.

Over the past year Senator McCarthy has shifted toward the left flank of the party. He has become the most prominent spokesman for those liberal critics who are more responsive to the antiwar sentiments in the nation and recognize the necessity for tactical adjustments in Southeast Asian policy in view of the setbacks suffered by U.S. imperialism and its puppets there.

McGovern stands ready to act as broker between the two men from Minnesota. Thus each of the four has his own function to perform in the general division of labor that keeps the most divergent elements within the party for the benefit of big business. McCarthy, for example, is working to bring the antiwar forces and alienated youth back into the Democratic corral so the party bosses can go about business as usual after the election.

Despite this, many hopeful, disappointed Democrats regard him as the Mister Clean best suited to dispose of the mess made by Johnson's administration. They forget how easily the Democratic politician on the make goes back on his word once he gets into office and takes executive responsibility for the capitalist regime. Hubert Humphrey provides a fresh object lesson of such a transformation. In the 1950s and early 1960s he was as much a darling of the liberals as McCarthy is now. Today he stands exposed as a stooge of the imperialist warmakers.

Is McCarthy made of different stuff? It is only by a quirk of circumstance that he does not stand where Humphrey does at the moment. He, too, was ready to accept if Johnson had picked him as running mate in 1964. But he was pushed to the outside while Humphrey served on the top side.

The point is that, despite their differences, all the official representatives of the Democratic apparatus must and will collaborate, each in his own way, to carry out its fundamental objectives as an instrument of capitalist interests. This proves more decisive in determining their conduct than any individual traits or inclinations.

What, on the record, is the real nature of the Democratic Party? It pursues an imperialist policy as a protective agency to police the world for the profiteers. It must therefore be a warmaking party, as its 80-billion-dollar military budget and its interventions in Korea and Vietnam demonstrate.

It is a white supremacist party which talks about ending the racist caste system but maintains it in practice under a little white-wash. There is no essential difference between a Nixon with Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina by his side and a Humphrey who throws his arm around Lester Maddox's shoulder. There is no difference between Nixon's running mate Agnew who approves shooting down black protestors and Mayor Daley of Chicago, the plantation overseer of the Democratic convention, who gave similar shoot-to-kill orders to his cops.

Not one of the Democratic nominees, no matter how lavishly liberal their promises or how loudly they proclaim devotion to the welfare of the poor, can be trusted to keep the peace or solve the urgent problems of the country, because their party is committed to uphold the capitalist system which breeds poverty, inequality, discrimination and war.

The alternative in this campaign is support to the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket. Unlike McCarthy and Humphrey, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle have actually fought for the aspirations and aims of the antiwar activists and Afro-Americans. They advocate immediate unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. Fred Halstead has just traveled to Saigon and told this to GIs stationed there.

They are firm supporters of black power and advocate black control of the black communities. Their program is not campaign rhetoric; it is designed to advance the struggles of all black and white workers for a better world through socialism.

Peace and Freedom's radicalism

'Wishy-washy collage'

Urbana, Ill.
Being an ex-member (I say this with pride) of the local Peace and Freedom Party, I would like to share a few personal insights with readers of *The Militant*.

CLAIM: The Peace and Freedom Party is a democratic organization, structured from the bottom up, in which all members have an equal say.

FACT: The local chapter is influenced by an authoritarian figure from the campus SDS, who often ignores the mandates of the membership when they conflict with his own desires.

CLAIM: PFP is a radical party which offers a choice to persons who are fed up with Democratic and Republican machinations.

FACT: The local group is a wishy-washy collage which places most of its hopes on attracting McCarthy supporters after the Democratic convention. At a recent meeting, some of these so-called radicals were even reluctant to support a "Free Huey" demonstration.

I would conclude by saying that this "radical" organization is already beginning to resemble the very parties which it criticizes. For myself, the local PFP has helped point out the value of principled, revolutionary Marxist organizations such as the SWP and YSA—organizations which match their claims with facts.

Edmund A. Jurenas
University of Illinois

Withdrawal at McCarthy rally

Berkeley, Calif.

At the "McCarthy March" held last Saturday (July 27) in San Francisco, while I was selling copies of "The Truth about the McCarthy Campaign," I was keeping an eye on the signs and banners carried by the demonstrators.

Not surprisingly, the most militant of all the signs called for no more than "peace" (just like Hubert Humphrey), with such stirring slogans as: "Peace in Gene" or "March for Peace."

But among all of these, I noticed one sign which read: "Bring Our Boys Home." Thinking that this represented significantly higher political content than the others, I went up to the woman who was holding this slogan and asked her why she was carrying that sign in a demonstration for McCarthy, who did not believe in a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The woman looked genuinely puzzled and, glancing up at the sign she was carrying, replied, "Gee, I don't know what the sign says." After reading the slogan and thinking for an instant, she turned to me and said, "Oh, I don't think I want to carry this"; and with that she turned and walked off, with her sign lowered.

S. B.

Brass bans mag with GI union story

Ft. Bragg, N.C.

On Saturday, July 5, some friends of mine and I were talking about the war. One of them told me about an article in the July issue of *Esquire* magazine. The article concerned Andy Stapp and the G.I. Union he is planning.

When I went to the dayroom to read the article, I found that the magazine was missing. I asked the clerk in the dayroom if someone was reading it. He told me that it had been removed from the dayroom by one of our officers on orders from higher up.

I wanted to read the article even more after this. I was able to get out of the training center and buy

a copy of the magazine. After reading the article, I put my copy of the magazine in the rack in the dayroom. A few days later this copy was gone, too.

On July 26, I had another interesting experience. I was sitting in the service club near two members of the Special Forces. They were talking to a member of the 82nd Airborne. One of the SF was telling the story of his first assignment in "Nam."

He and the members of his outfit had been ordered to burn down a Vietnamese village, some 25 miles from Saigon. As he entered the village, the members of his unit opened fire with flamethrowers, setting fire to the huts. A few of the Vietnamese were able to remove what meager possessions they had. Others could only watch their homes and clothing go up in smoke.

Some of the villagers were trapped in their homes and were badly burned. Among these were women and children. At this point, the SF said that this was the first time he questioned the U.S. being in Vietnam. Now he was fully against the war and was not going to re-up, as he had planned to do.

Both of the SFs told the kid from the Airborne that they would not go back to "Nam," and that he should do some hard thinking before he went.

Pvt. Keith Jones

R.I. Wallace rally

Warwick, R.I.

On Thursday, July 25, racist George Wallace of Alabama made a personal appearance at Rhodes-on-the-Pawtuxet in Cranston. Before his arrival, several peace and civil-rights groups demonstrated, including the R.I. Resistance. Signs such as "Wallace is Another Hitler" and "End the War" were carried.

At 8:30 p.m., sirens and shouts of "Wallace is coming!" were heard. All the demonstrators came together to greet Wallace at 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.

main entrance. His car arrived, and he stepped out, surrounded by several Secret Service agents. The now angry crowd pushed closer to him, yelling, swearing and trying to pound their fists on him. The police tried in vain to push back the demonstrators. As white as a ghost, he was rushed inside. In evidence throughout the crowd were young people dressed up as Ku Kluxers.

Over 100 demonstrators were locked out of the auditorium by the Cranston fuzz. Many argued that the newspaper clipping for that night's rally said, "Everyone welcome." That was taken by us to mean black and white demonstrators too.

Inside the hall, several incidents occurred. A white racist kicked an Afro-American. Wallace favored the white youth. A group of blacks began to shout out at Wallace something about Alabama. Wallace replied to them: "You'd better have your day now, because after November you're through, I tell you." And he says he is not a racist.

After more jeering and incidents, Wallace ended his 45-minute speech and departed in his car, followed by boos. Off he rode into the darkness—where America will be if led by his kind after this November.

N. A. S.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GEORGIA: YSA, P.O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 872-1612.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Peace and Freedom Convention

By Jon Britton and Elizabeth Barnes

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — Some of the contradictions inherent in attempting to build an "all-inclusive" radical political party on the basis of a "minimum program" came to the surface at the national Peace and Freedom Party convention held here Aug. 17-18. About 200 delegates from 20 states met to adopt a national policy statement and choose PFP presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

By the time the delegates were leaving for home it was clear the Peace and Freedom movement nationally was in a state of serious disarray. The convention was able, by divided votes, to adopt a vaguely worded "Statement of Principles" and nominate Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party minister of information, for President. But come November Dick Gregory, not Cleaver, will be the PFP presidential candidate on the ballot in Pennsylvania and possibly other states. And deep political differences among the delegates, especially in regard to the character of the PFP, prevented any agreement at all on a vice-presidential candidate.

The vice-presidential candidacy was the most politically explosive issue at the convention. Each of the different political groups was anxious to "balance" the Cleaver nomination with a vice-presidential choice which would give it a factional advantage over its rivals.

Finally, in desperation, the delegates voted 114-61 to break the impasse by leaving the vice-presidential choice up to the individual state PFP groups. Because different rival political tendencies predominate in different states, this decision will likely lead to several PFP vice-presidential candidates being named, any of whom could have serious political differences with each other or with Cleaver.

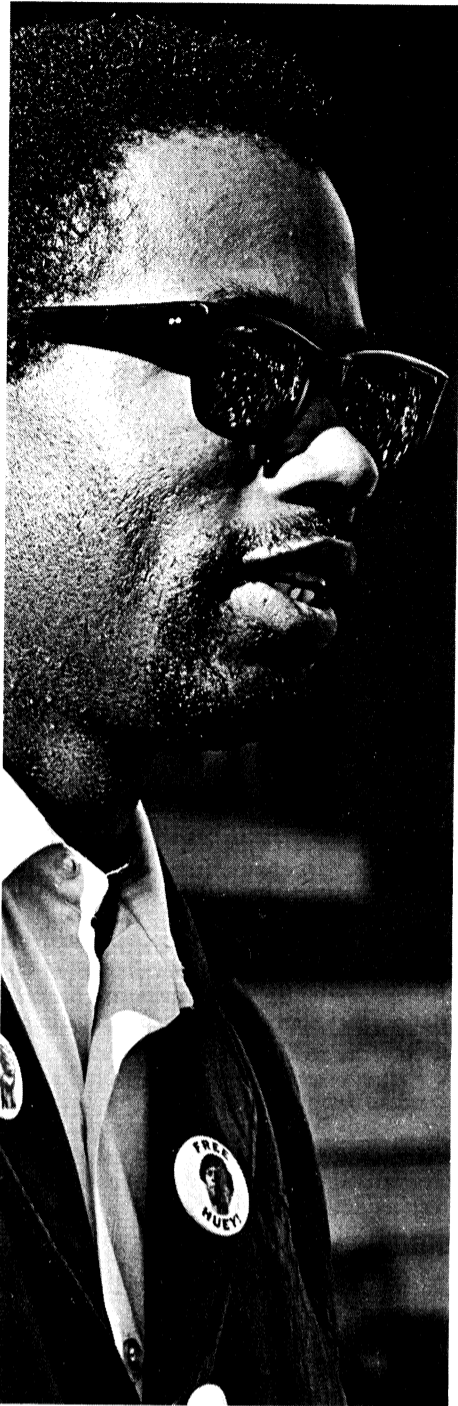
The convention debates and votes revealed three main political groupings among the delegates. The most moderate of these was the Gregory for President caucus whose main voting strength was in the California and Pennsylvania delegations and which also had the support of the Communist Party members present. The political grouping furthest to the left was the California-based Radical Caucus led by Bob Avakian from the Bay Area. Occupying a vacillating center position was the "third camp" Independent Socialist Clubs of America. It was the ISC which initiated the PFP effort in California last fall.

A small delegation of Black Panther Party members which included Panther leaders Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver and Bobby Seale attended the convention.

Credentials fight

The first big dispute was a credentials fight over granting voting rights to delegates from the N. Y. Freedom and Peace Party. The credentials committee had already allocated 25 votes to a rival group, the N. Y. Peace and Freedom Party, when a delegate from Pennsylvania moved that voting rights be granted the PFP also. His motion was seconded by the entire Gregory caucus.

Strong opposition to this motion was voiced by ISCers, members of the Radical Caucus and Panther chairman Bobby Seale. Seale charged that the Freedom and Peace Party had been trying to "mess up the coalition" [between the PFP and BPP]. Carlos Aponte of the N. Y. PFP contended that the Freedom and Peace Party wasn't for building a permanent independent third



ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Nominated

party. This was heatedly denied by PFP partisans. The Gregory caucus motion was nevertheless decisively defeated by a voice vote.

Convention high point

The high point of the convention in terms of attendance, enthusiasm, and spirit was the Saturday night session during which the presidential candidate was picked. Both Gregory and Cleaver made militant acceptance speeches attacking the racist capitalist system and pledging their support to building a radical movement independent of the Republicans and Democrats.

Cleaver spoke of the Peace and Freedom Party-Black Panther Party coalition as the beginnings of a revolutionary movement in this country. Commenting that the time is over when whites should merely play a "support role for the black liberation movement," Cleaver said, "there is a possibility for the growth of a coalition to bring down this system."

Cleaver referred to the Peace and Freedom Party election campaign as a means for building the organizational "machinery" to coordinate the struggle, and said, "In order to take power in this country, you have got to have a machine. It is not enough to be dissenters . . . You have to have machinery in the black community and you have to have machinery in the white community."

Just prior to the roll-call vote, the Pennsylvania delegation announced that Gregory and Spock were already on the ballot in their state and, due to "legal requirements," would be the names on the ballot in November regardless of how the national convention voted. A motion to approve both Cleaver and Gregory as presidential nominees was then put forward by the Virginia delegation which is also seeking a place for Gregory on their state ballot. The motion was defeated.

The final vote on the presidential nominations was 161-1/2 for Cleaver, 54 for Gregory, 3 for McCarthy and 1/2 for Dr. Spock.

Differences emerge

Following the nomination of Eldridge Cleaver the convention endorsed a basic statement of principles for the PFP. In the discussion on this point, the ideological

differences between the various political tendencies began to emerge more clearly.

Three draft statements were put forward embodying three different conceptions of the fundamental nature of the Peace and Freedom Party—one by the Radical Caucus, one by the ISC-led caucus, and a third by the Cambridge, Mass. PFP club.

The statement proposed by the Radical Caucus called for the "replacement of our present economic system" by one which is "based on social ownership of the farms and factories," support for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and support for the black liberation movement in the U. S., including the call for armed self-defense.

In defending this statement Radical Caucus spokesman Bob Avakian attacked the ISC-backed statement as "nothing that a liberal in a union couldn't support." "We must go beyond that," he said. "We must not just be against the union leadership, but we must reject the system that represses us."

Independent Socialist Club leader Mike Parker led the fight for the ISC-backed statement. He described it as a set of "minimum demands" which could be agreed to by all PFP members. What this means, he said, is that "if you don't agree with it, get out."

The four main points included in the "minimum demands" were (1) support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people for their own liberation and immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam; (2) support for the liberation of oppressed peoples within the U. S.; (3) support for the struggles of American working people "as decisive in the fight for progressive social change"; and (4) creation of "our own political institutions, independent of the establishment parties."

Parker explained that he conceived of the PFP as a "radicalizing party" as opposed to "a radical party." What is needed is for people to have a political party of their own, he said. Once they get into that party and become involved in "struggles" then they will come to recognize the "basic nature of the system."

Parker added that he thought that the Radical Caucus statement on self-defense would needlessly exclude pacifists from the organization, and he criticized the inclusion of the point on support of the NLF as something which he himself could not go along with.

The Cambridge PFP club introduced what they termed an anti-imperialist, as opposed to an anticapitalist, policy statement. This got negligible support and was eliminated in a voice vote on the three proposals. A card vote was taken on the two remaining proposals, and the ISC-backed statement carried 109-60 with the support of the pro-Gregory delegates.

Factional frenzy

The political differences manifested in the discussion of program produced a near factional frenzy when the convention turned to the consideration of the vice-presidential nomination.

When it became clear that the convention would not be able to easily agree on a candidate, the Radical Caucus and the West Coast ISC joined with the Gregory caucus in support of the motion to let each state choose their own candidate. A number of delegates, including Eldridge Cleaver, voiced strong opposition to this, with many of the speakers referring to the absurdity of 15 or so different vice-presidential candidates with conflicting programs.

An unsuccessful attempt to salvage this situation was made by ISC leader Jack Weinberg who took the floor and reversed his earlier decision not to run, putting himself forward as the "best vice-presidential candidate available."

Then Eldridge Cleaver took the floor and commented on the "inclination to the right" which had been revealed by the convention deliberations. Denouncing both the ISC and the Radical Caucus for what he called their "middle-class" prejudices, he said, "We feel that the PFP should have an inclination to the left . . . We don't want to get into the position of sacrificing organizing people on the left for organizing people in Utah."

Referring to the fact that "there are people to the left of the PFP in this country," he pointed to the recent Berkeley events as an example of people outside of the PFP who were "out in the streets" carrying on a struggle. Cleaver then went on to argue in favor of his earlier unpopular suggestion to the Radical Caucus that the con-

vention nominate Yippee leader Jerry Rubin.

Tempers rose as the discussion proceeded with increasing numbers of points of order, and with the number of people in the hall rapidly dwindling. The convention finally voted for the proposal to let each state PFP choose its own candidate.

Nonelectoral activity

Although there were many references during the convention to the need for local organizing and nonelectoral activity, there was almost no discussion of what those activities should be. The defense effort for Panther leader Huey P. Newton, now on trial for his life in Oakland, California, got only scant attention. A motion to "initiate national and international demonstrations demanding the release of all black political prisoners, focusing on the trial of Huey P. Newton," was perfunctorily passed.

There was no report on the status of the attempts to get on the ballot in various states although petitioning to get on the ballot has been one of the main PFP activities in the recent period.

The convention hall was nearly empty when the convention finally came to a close with barely enough delegates left to elect 10 "at-large members" to the "National Organizing Committee," the group charged with the responsibility of organizing the PFP election campaign.



DICK GREGORY
Defeated



BOB AVAKIAN
Frustrated

CALENDAR

DETROIT

BLACK NATIONALISM. Last of a series of lectures and discussions. Fri., Aug. 30, 8:00 p.m. The Independent Black Political Party and its Place in the International Revolutionary Movement. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

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

NEW YORK

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: George Novack, noted Marxist scholar and lecturer; associate editor of the International Socialist Review and contributor to The Militant. Fri., Aug. 30, 8:30 p.m. 873 B'way, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

McCarthy 'peace' plan opposes U.S. pullout from South Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

Sen. Eugene McCarthy's proposals for Democratic Party policy in Vietnam, released in Washington Aug. 17, end with the assertion that if McCarthy's program is adopted "we will have attained our only legitimate objective in South Vietnam: the self-determination of the Vietnamese people." But McCarthy's proposals end up violating the right of self-determination on every important issue.

His central argument is for "a negotiated settlement between the four principal parties" in the war, which is supposed to provide for "a government in which all can have a share of power and responsibility." The "four principal parties" are: the South Vietnamese government in Saigon; the North Vietnamese government; the United States; and the National Liberation Front.

By what right, however, should the United States take part in any negotiations whatsoever to determine the future government of Vietnam? And under what circumstances can it possibly be argued that a government which includes the Saigon regime will in any way provide for all to have a "share of the power?"

From its financing of the French government's armies in Vietnam in the immediate postwar period down to the present day, Washington had no business interfering in Vietnamese politics. Its only "right" to do so was established by barbaric force of arms. It has no more right to negotiate a future government for the Vietnamese people than the British government had a right to take part in writing the U. S. Constitution.

By the same token, the Saigon clique has long since lost its right to wield political power. Even in Washington you would have a hard time finding someone who would argue that the Saigon dictatorship could have survived without U.S. military support. In reality, the Saigon government exists today only because of the massive invasion of Washington's armies. That invasion does not establish the "legitimacy" of the Saigon regime; it proves its complete illegitimacy.

From defending the right of U.S. imperialist armies to dictate "peace" in Vietnam and defending the right of the Saigon

regime to take part in a new government, McCarthy proceeds to outline policies differing little, in the last analysis, from the policies Washington is presently following. He even attacks the Republicans for proposing to turn more responsibility of the war over to Saigon: "Almost all responsible observers agree," states McCarthy, "that South Vietnam is not capable of an effective defense against the Vietcong."

True, McCarthy proposes an immediate halt to the bombing of North Vietnam. He justifies it on the grounds that "there is no evidence that a halt to the bombing will endanger our forces in the south." But as recently as Aug. 16, the day before McCarthy's program was issued, Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford said that Washington will halt the bombing of North Vietnam if it could be certain American troops would not be placed in "greater jeopardy." And Washington has halted the bombing a number of times.

The point is, both Washington and McCarthy see a bombing halt as a way of driving a wedge between the revolutionaries of South Vietnam and the North Vietnamese armies. They hope it will induce North Vietnam to stop aiding the National Liberation Front while U.S. troops remain in the South. In fact, McCarthy goes on in his proposals to require the removal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam as a precondition for a final settlement.

But the North Vietnamese troops have every justification to come to the support of their brothers against the genocidal U.S. invasion. It is the U.S. troops which have no right being in that war-torn land, and it is only the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops that can guarantee a just settlement of the war. What does McCarthy say about immediate withdrawal? He opposes it. He favors "a cease-fire or troop withdrawal to fixed locations" without giving details on either.

McCarthy, like his colleagues in the Johnson-Humphrey wing of the Democratic Party, doesn't like the way the Vietnam war is going. They all see that it's very costly to U.S. capitalism, particularly in giving rise to mass opposition to the war threatening to break from capitalist



VICTIM OF U.S. AGGRESSION. McCarthy opposes U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. He wants to "negotiate" how many more will be maimed.

politics. They want to get antiwar activists off the streets and into the "mainstream." In his original announcement of his campaign, McCarthy gave this as his primary objective.

But none of those capitalist politicians want to relinquish the U.S. military hold on South Vietnam; every single one of them opposes U.S. withdrawal and self-determination of the Vietnamese people. Yet as long as Washington's troops re-

main on Vietnamese soil, there is just cause for continued struggle and every likelihood of further and bloodier war.

That is why the Socialist Workers Party calls for immediate and total withdrawal of Washington's armies—bringing the GIs home now. And it is why we urge that you cast a real vote against the war by breaking from the warmaking Democrats and Republicans and voting the Halstead-Boutelle ticket of the SWP.

The Providence Journal, Saturday, August 10, 1968

3

McCarthy Aide in R.I. Dismissed From Post

James McGrath of 83 John St. was dismissed yesterday as press secretary for the presidential campaign of Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy in Rhode Island because he is listed as a presidential elector for the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party submitted more than the 500

required valid signatures Thursday to qualify for a place on the ballot in the November general election. The names of Mr. McGrath and three other electors from the workers party will be listed on the ballot.

Senator McCarthy's headquarters here has not yet chosen a replacement for Mr. McGrath.

CROSSING CLASS LINES. James McGrath was fired from McCarthy staff in Rhode Island for serving as Socialist Workers Party presidential elector.

"M-day" discovers Halstead

When thousands of supporters of Eugene McCarthy attended McCarthy Day (M-Day) rallies in over 20 cities on Aug. 15, they were confronted by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. In Atlanta, Ga., Nelson Blackstock reported that Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle distributed 800 leaflets describing what was wrong with the McCarthy campaign.

"The affair," he writes, "was held in the ballroom of the swank New Regency Hotel in the center of town. We went down with the intention of distributing copies of Halstead's San Francisco speech [to an antiwar rally of 30,000 last April 27], selling Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle Newsletters, and Militants out on the sidewalk in front of the Regency.

"We were able to engage quite a few people in rather fruitful discussions. A lot of these students are not really sold on McCarthy but are just looking for something to do, some way of expressing opposition to the war, and the McCarthy campaign is all that they can see now.

"One of the leading young McCarthy supporters said he was familiar with *The Militant*. When I asked where he had seen it, he said there were several issues lying around their campaign headquarters. We were told several times by people that they would be ready to join us if McCarthy

failed to get the nomination."

In New York, several YSHBers were interviewed by radio and television commentators as they distributed and sold campaign literature in front of McCarthy's rally in Madison Square Garden Aug. 15.

On July 27, YSHBers sold 183 "Truth About McCarthy" pamphlets and \$110 worth of socialist literature at a March for McCarthy in San Francisco.

Ariz. SWP files for ballot place

The Arizona secretary of state announced Aug. 9 that the names of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President will appear on the Arizona ballot in the November elections.

Arizona requires that signatures of registered voters equal to 2 percent of the vote for governor in the last election be collected on nominating petitions in at least five counties. Arizona Socialist Workers campaigners needed to obtain 346 signatures in the five counties where they petitioned. Four hundred valid signatures were collected.

The filing was publicized on local television news broadcasts.

Socialist Campaign Materials Available

POSTERS, 3 colors with pictures

Bring the Troops Home Now
The Enemy is at Home
Vote Socialist Workers in '68
Fred Halstead (with space for advertising meetings)
Paul Boutelle (with space for advertising meetings)

STICKERS, 2 colors

Bring the Troops Home Now
Black Control of Black Communities
Halstead for President, Boutelle for Vice President

BUTTONS

Vote Socialist Workers in '68
Picture button—Fred Halstead
Picture button—Paul Boutelle
GI picture button—"Bring Me Home Alive"

BROCHURES

The Socialist Candidates in '68
The SWP 1968 Election Platform
Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle
Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle
A letter to GIs by Fred Halstead

Posters are 25c each, 10c each for orders of 25 or more. Stickers \$1 for 200. Buttons 25c, picture buttons 30c; 20c and 25c for over 25. Brochures \$1.50 per 100.

Order from:

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia

Assault on socialism

By George Novack

NEW YORK, Aug. 22—The exceptionally promising movement for proletarian democratization which has been surging through Czechoslovakia for the past nine months was ruthlessly stamped out through the occupation of the country by the military forces of five Warsaw Pact powers headed by the Soviet Union.

Close to 200,000 land and airborne troops poured into Czechoslovakia August 20 and took over its principal cities. The Dubcek government counselled the people not to fight the invaders and kept the army in barracks.

Despite the official appeals for passive nonresistance, angry and defiant civilians engaged in scattered acts of conflict within the capital and several provincial cities. They flung Molotov cocktails at the Russian tanks and burned some of them. Hundreds of students built a barricade from two overturned trucks and a red trolley close by the Old Town Square in Prague; it took three Soviet tanks to ram it down. In the encounters at least 23 demonstrators were reported killed and hundreds were wounded by machine-gun fire from the occupying troops.

The Presidium of the Czechoslovak National Assembly assailed the invasion as a violation of international law, the Warsaw Treaty and "the principle of equality between nations." Along with President Svoboda, it demanded that "all armed troops be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia" and told the Czech workers that they might, "if necessary," defend themselves by a general strike.

Bitter and frustrated citizens shouted "Russians, go home!" Soviet soldiers seemed bewildered and nervous. When one told a group of Czechs they had come to protect them, the Czechs laughed. One Soviet officer said: "We were told we were being sent to combat a counterrevolution, but when we came here we did not see any."

Moscow's military move had been contemplated for several months. Ever since Soviet party chief Brezhnev made a flying trip to Prague early last December in response to the diehard Stalinist Novotny's cry for help against his liberal opponents, the Soviet leaders have been uneasy about the steps toward destalinization and democratization in Czechoslovakia. Their alarm has deepened since January when the Dubcek team deposed the Novotny gang, dismantled the police state, eliminated censorship, curbed the secret police, exposed the crimes of Stalinism and permitted free expression of criticism.

The Soviet bureaucrats were determined to restrict the liberalization process which kept unfolding until the Czechoslovaks enjoyed more liberties than any other people in the Soviet bloc.

As early as May 3, the authoritative Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that the head of the political administration of the



RUSSIAN TANK BURNS. Czech people defy attempt to crush national independence and growth of socialist democracy.

Soviet armed forces, Gen. Yepishev, told the Political Committee of the CPSU that it was not excluded that "loyal Communists" in Czechoslovakia would appeal to the USSR for help "to save socialism" in their country. "In that event," the general continued, "the Soviet army is ready to do its duty."

When Dubcek and his colleagues did not cave in under their multiple pressures over the past few months, the Soviet rulers put their plans for armed intervention into operation. It is not unlikely that the grave decision to resort to force was preceded by debate and dissent within the Soviet Politburo.

The invasion may also have been launched at this juncture to head off the Czechoslovak CP congress scheduled for Sept. 9 which was expected to complete the cleanup of Novotny and his partisans in leading positions and vote in a solid majority for the economic and political reformers. Dubcek would then have an official mandate, backed by an overwhelming majority of the party and the people, to consolidate and continue the new course.

To hide its naked aggression, Moscow claimed that the Warsaw Pact troops entered the country in answer to an invitation by "party and government" officials to put down a threat of counterrevolution. These mysterious personages were not identified. Czechoslovakia's foreign ministry denied that any such invitation had been given.

Soviet troops seized seven top Czechoslovak Communist leaders, including the party's first secretary Dubcek, and were holding them prisoners. In Moscow *Pravda* designated Dubcek, with whom the Soviet chiefs pretended to be on good terms up to the eve of the invasion, as the ringleader of a minority faction that supported counterrevolution and accused him of "treacherous betrayal" of the ideals of Communism.

Both charges were false. The real betrayers of Communist ideals were the men in Moscow; Dubcek and his colleagues were strongly backed by the government

and people. The entire cabinet, the National Assembly and seventeen members of the Central Committee rallied to his defense. The widespread support accorded the Dubcek regime is creating difficulties for the Kremlin in finding pliant personnel to fabricate a new ruling-party Presidium. However, there are plenty of unregenerate Stalinist tools in the Central Committee to choose from. Seven of them were conferring with Soviet representatives the day after the occupation of Prague on replacements for the Dubcek group and a reversal of its policies.

When Soviet troops and tanks smashed the Hungarian uprising twelve years ago, almost all the other Communist regimes and parties reconciled themselves with some misgivings to the accomplished fact. The repetition of that outrage in Czechoslovakia has provoked quite different reactions. The Communist camp has been thrown into an uproar that has reverberated from East Europe to the Antipodes.

Before huge cheering crowds in Bucharest Aug. 21 President Ceausescu of Rumania reasserted the right of socialist nations to determine their development free of outside interference. He called the invasion "a great mistake and a grave danger to peace in Europe, to the fate of socialism in the world." He warned the USSR and its allies that they would encounter armed resistance if they tried to violate his country's territory.

After meeting with the top Yugoslav leadership President Tito stated that the occupation of Czechoslovakia, which he had visited only the week before, was a "great blow to socialist and progressive forces in the world" and expressed fear

that the Czechoslovak crisis "would encourage reactionary forces and intensify the cold war."

The big French and Italian Communist parties, which went along with Moscow during the Hungarian events of 1956, this time denounced the Soviet action in public declarations. The Italian CP termed it "unjustified" and expressed its "grave dissent."

The Politburo of the French CP expressed "surprise and reprobation" at the Soviet move and declared that it had warned the Soviet leadership against military intervention. Both parties were especially incensed because their spokesmen had received assurances that the Warsaw Pact powers would refrain from military measures against Czechoslovakia.

Similar condemnations came from CP leaderships in Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Austria, Belgium, Australia and Japan. The Communist Party of Great Britain said that "military intervention is completely unjustified." The Cuban radio broadcast the official Prague statement that the intervention constituted a violation of international law but cautiously refrained from editorial comment.

Approval was forthcoming only from North Vietnam, Syria and several Arab states. Peking persisted in the silence it has maintained on the upheavals in Czechoslovakia throughout this year.

From these initial reactions it is obvious that the shock waves generated by the Soviet takeover will have momentous consequences throughout the Communist world—and not only there!—in the next period.

American CP backs move to crush Czech freedom

The American Communist Party will stick with Moscow, come what may. This was the central message of a number of articles on the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia appearing in the Aug. 22 *Daily World*. It placed the American CP virtually alone among Western Communist parties in support of the Kremlin's abhorrent attack.

According to Gus Hall, Communist Party general secretary, the party's "leading committees have not had the opportunity to make a full study of these events." But this didn't prevent Hall from rehashing the Moscow line:

"The central issue in Czechoslovakia," Hall declared, "is the defense of socialism against the threat of counterrevolution. It seems clear that what has happened . . . is an upsurge of antisocialist elements supported by the forces of subversion of U. S. and West German imperialism.

"At the same time, because of divisions and weaknesses within the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,

there developed a paralysis which gravely increased the danger of an antisocialist takeover."

Recalling the Hungarian experience, where the CP had insisted that its members defend Moscow's tanks and the bloodbath of revolutionaries, the *Daily World* editors state in a long editorial: "The socialist world learned an indelible lesson in the tragic experiences of 1956 Budapest. It learned then that counterrevolution engages in a tricky, softening-up process first, before it strikes openly."

Actually, what many socialists learned in 1956 was that the Kremlin bureaucracy acted as the counterrevolutionary force in Hungary by opposing movements towards workers democracy in the East European states. And the American CP lost numbers of its prominent leaders and literary figures and a sizeable segment of its members and sympathizers because of its servility to Moscow in 1956. Today it is carrying out a repeat performance.

Young Socialists on invasion

NEW YORK, Aug. 21—The national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance issued a statement here today condemning the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union. The statement salutes "the socialist youth of Czechoslovakia—and the other Eastern European countries—who have been the driving force behind the democratization which has taken place in Czechoslovakia since last January," and it "calls on all socialist youth to protest the Soviet regime's attack on the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia."

. . . Halstead

(Continued from page 1)

slovakia. World imperialism and capitalist reaction are the greatest beneficiaries, and the socialist working class the greatest losers, from the brutal violation of Czechoslovakia's sovereignty. The example of destalinization and democratization in Czechoslovakia was the most telling refutation of the anti-Communist hysteria and the arguments of reaction that socialism and communism are inherently totalitarian.

Once again the bureaucratic rulers of the Soviet Union have shown themselves to be betrayers of the ideals of socialism, obstacles to its advancement, and sworn foes of the workers' democracy that was the cornerstone of Lenin's program.

Hands Off the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

Immediate Withdrawal of All Occupying Forces from the Country!

Defend the Right of Self-Determination of the Czechoslovak Peoples!

Boutelle and Ferguson: What

Paul Boutelle, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and Herman Ferguson, candidate for U.S. senator on the Freedom and Peace Party ticket, appeared together Aug. 1 on "Talk Back," a WBAI radio discussion show in New York moderated by Andy McGowan. The following are excerpts from the show.

Andy McGowan: How do you feel that the conflict between blacks and whites in the U. S. should be solved?

Paul Boutelle: It can't be solved within the framework of the present system, because this system profits from the exploitation of black people and from racism. We believe that you must first remove the system that creates racism and build a new system.

McGowan: Are you also for separate black communities?

Boutelle: We feel that black people, who already live separate existences, should take control of those communities where they live. Therefore we call for black control of the black community.

McGowan: But, you don't feel that there should be new, separate black communities established—whole new states or anything like that?

Boutelle: If a segment of the black population desires to have an area of America where they can live separately we support that demand. That is, we support the demand for the right of self-determination, for the right of separation—this is inherent in being a revolutionary socialist.

McGowan: As a black nationalist do you feel at all uncomfortable running on a ticket that would have a white President, Fred Halstead?

Boutelle: No, I don't feel at all uncomfortable. Fred Halstead is a revolutionary socialist and I am a revolutionary socialist—and this is the basis of our unity. We are not united on the basis of me being black, or him being white. We have many people in our party from various ethnic backgrounds, but we are not united on the basis of our backgrounds, but on the basis of our common opposition to the capitalist system and our revolutionary perspective.

McGowan: You admit that you can't win. Why run at all?

Boutelle: This gives us an opportunity to explain our ideas to many people in this country. By running for office we are able to challenge the policies of the major parties, to debate with candidates

from these parties, to expose them wherever possible—and to put forward a revolutionary alternative for this country. And in this sense we have been very successful. Throughout the country we have supporters, from Florida to Seattle, Wash.

Since last fall, I've been campaigning and speaking all over the country—from Mississippi to Vancouver, Canada, from San Diego to Harvard University, to community meetings in Lowndes County, Alabama. And I spent a few weeks in Europe, talking with people about the need to bring the troops home from Vietnam, about the black liberation struggle in this country, and about the need for a revolutionary change.

McGowan: The SWP has been referred to as the missionary group of the left. Do you see your role as proselytizers, that is, bringing people into the Left, educating people, as your primary goal?

Boutelle: You could say we are missionaries, in a secular sense. We do see as one of our prime tasks educating people to the realities of this society. But we are also an organizing organization, because we are trying to organize a movement to destroy this system and establish socialism.

McGowan: Do you see many differences between the candidates that we read about



Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President.

every day—Humphrey, McCarthy, Nixon, Reagan, Wallace and so forth?

Boutelle: Yes, there is a difference between them in the tactics they use, but they all support the capitalist system, and on this there is no difference. We do not support candidates of either the Republicans or Democrats—and we are totally opposed to these parties. We say that the American people should form a party of workers, based on their struggle as workers, to oppose the capitalists and to represent the working class. And we say that black Americans should organize a black political party that represents the interests of black people.

McGowan: Do you see the present SWP as a temporary thing which would later split into two parties—a black and a white revolutionary party?

Boutelle: No, the Socialist Workers Party is one party and we have no perspective for changing this. Now, we have different sections of the party which will be engaged more actively in different aspects of the struggle—for example, in the black movement and in the building of an independent black party. But we feel the total struggle must be coordinated as a whole against the entire capitalist system.

The ruling classes throughout the world through their NATOs and their SEATOs, and their bipartisan policies where the Republicans and Democrats work together—they coordinate their repressive activities. Thus, the revolutionary organization, which is struggling against these rulers, needs to coordinate and unite the struggle against the enemy, which is united.

We also call for and support the formation of a mass independent black political party based on the black community. The rapid growth of the Black Panther Party shows the potential for this.

McGowan: You don't see any paradox in your using reformist methods, that is your running in an election, and your being a revolutionary.

Boutelle: No. As a matter of fact many revolutionaries, such as Lenin, have advocated running in elections. We don't use our campaign to bolster the capitalist system; we're running a revolutionary campaign. We are using this campaign to encourage people to think and act independently and to spread revolutionary ideas.

McGowan: Our second guest, Herman Ferguson, has arrived, so I'll address some questions to him for awhile and then all three of us can talk.

Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Boutelle has been describing the goals of the Socialist Workers Party, about why he's running, etc.—why don't you do a little of the same. You're running for U.S. Senate on the Freedom and Peace Party ticket, for the seat that's now occupied by Jacob Javits. Could you tell us what the goals of the Freedom and Peace Party are?

Herman Ferguson: Actually, there is a coalition between the Black Caucus and the Freedom and Peace Party. The Black Caucus is a group of black people who are forming an independent black political party. The reason for the coalition with the Freedom and Peace Party is that in the case of my candidacy I need 12,000 signatures on my petitions, with 50 required from each county in New York State. Once we leave the New York City area we have a problem, because there are not many black people, and this is where Freedom and Peace Party comes in. They go up there and get the signatures.

McGowan: Are you suggesting that the Black Caucus is not completely in sympathy with the goals of the Freedom and Peace Party?

Ferguson: We understand that at best our relationship is a tenuous one.

McGowan: Is this the ticket on which Dr. Spock is running for President?

Ferguson: No. The Freedom and Peace Party wanted to draft these people and they never accepted. Frankly, I would like to see the Freedom and Peace Party endorse someone like Eldridge Cleaver, who is more suited to the needs of black people.

McGowan: Tell me about the goals of the Freedom and Peace Party.

Ferguson: The Freedom and Peace Party is oriented to the acceptance of the fact that first of all black people are involved in a struggle for survival and liberation and that we are a separate nation, a captive nation. And any party that attempts to relate itself to the needs of the black



community must be aware of these two facts of life, and our entire platform stems from this base.

McGowan: You have been involved in a legal case where you have been accused of plotting against the lives of certain civil rights leaders. Where does that case stand?

Ferguson: I just learned a short time ago that we are to appear in court on Monday to be sentenced. [Ferguson then goes on to explain the time and place of the sentencing which was subsequently postponed.] We were convicted and found guilty of these charges on June 15. We would like all our friends, and those who are not so friendly or are undecided, to come down and be a part of this.

"We believe that you must first remove the system that creates racism and build a new system."—Paul Boutelle.

But, I'd like to talk some more about my candidacy and about the Black Caucus. The Black Caucus believes that as a captive nation, that perhaps the controversy about whether black people want to be a part of this country or not, can be resolved by asking the United Nations to conduct a plebiscite throughout the country which would let black people decide whether they want to be a part of white America.

We see three Americas existing today—a white America, a Negro America and a black America. We in the Black Caucus are attempting to make our Negro brothers and sisters aware of the fact that they too are a part of the struggle for survival and liberation. And that they have a decision to make: Do they want to remain a part of Negro America, which is there for the convenience of white America, or do they want to become a part of black America.

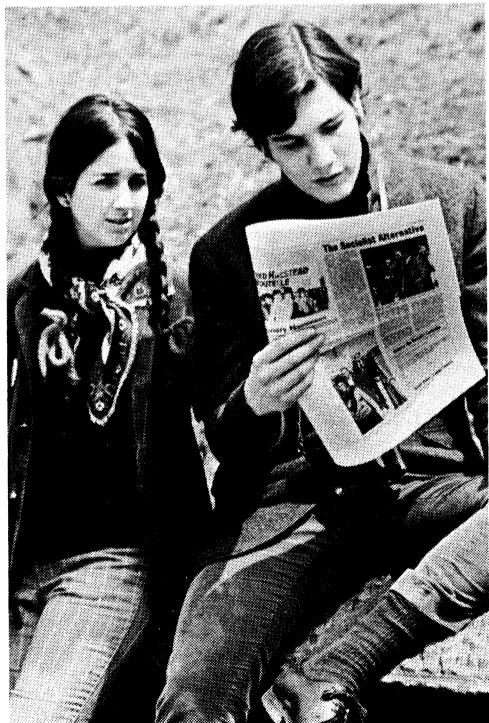
Then we can begin to address ourselves to the problems existing in this country. These problems, since they are radical in nature, need a radical solution. And no one from white America or from Negro America today is speaking in terms of

A unique subscription offer

\$1 will get you a three-month subscription to The Militant, plus six months of the magazine, the Young Socialist.

For in-depth coverage of the black liberation struggle, the anti-Vietnam-war movement, the Cuban revolution, the socialist presidential campaign and the socialist youth movement in America.

Send your subscription and \$1 to The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003



NAME
STREET
CITY STATE ZIP

What way to black liberation?



radical solutions. They are coming up with traditional solutions—money from the federal government, scholarships, panaceas which do not meet the problem, which do not even speak to the problem.

The purpose of these panaceas is to create a new kind of enslavement in the black community, an enslavement called neocolonialism. We have been colonized by white America. White America is just now about to go into a new phase of neocolonialism, and they will use Negro America to serve as the slavemaster. They will be the ones who will be in the administrative positions—but they will have no real power, they will be accountable to white America. This is neocolonialism, where the slavemaster moves out of the community and puts in his black lackeys.

McGowan: Now, let's talk about the differences between the two panelists we have—Mr. Boutelle and Mr. Ferguson—and the two of their parties.

Boutelle: In a sense, I don't know just how that could be done, because of the way Mr. Ferguson outlined what his relationship was with the Freedom and Peace Party. He said that it was sort of a tenuous relationship and that the Black Caucus was an attempt to build a black political party. Well, we support the formation of a black political party.

McGowan: Mr. Ferguson, do you see many differences between your views and Mr. Boutelle's views?

Ferguson: Basically my position is that all of white America is racist, whether they are radicals, conservatives, Birchites, Minutemen—I don't distinguish between them—because they have been subjected to the same brainwashing that black people have been exposed to. And in my dealings with white people, I find that this brainwashing comes through and manifests itself in one form or another.

But, at this time, for the sake of expediency and perhaps for one or two other reasons, there is a need for this kind of coalition with Freedom and Peace. I think that white America has a great deal of cleaning up to do before white America, the radical people in white America, can afford to be involved with us in our struggle.

A case in point is the peace movement. Now the peace movement has been in existence for the past four years, and they've taken a position in support of the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people of Vietnam. But they have never taken a position in support of the black libera-

tion struggle in this country.

McGowan: Do you see more similarity between the head of the Birch Society and the head of SDS or the Communist Party, than you see between yourself and say Whitney Young?

Ferguson: The Birchites, the Minutemen, the SDS people you mentioned, they were born in America, and they were born white. So they were born into a system that is their system. In terms of Whitney Young, I see that we both have a common tragedy that occurred to us, we were both born in America, and we were born black. We both have that in common. So when you ask me if I see more differences between these people, that is the only answer I can give you.

"We can begin to address ourselves to the problems existing in this country. These problems, since they are radical in nature, need a radical solution."—Herman Ferguson.

McGowan: Let's take some telephone calls—people can call to ask questions of Paul Boutelle and Herman Ferguson.

In the remainder of the show, there was time for only three callers, all of whom directed their questions to Boutelle. Following are excerpts from the last two questions.

Second Caller: I was just listening to the show, and as a white man I wonder what the black militants really know about freedom, if they know what freedom is. In the U.S., the very fact that they can stand up and spew the hatred that they spew, and that people don't put them off the air. This would never happen in Europe.

Boutelle: On your first statement, I would like to agree with this. As a black man living in America, I have never had any knowledge of what freedom is, and this is something I hope to experience in the future. Now, as far as America being a free country and black people having the freedom to talk, you are not aware of the real history of black people in America. Here in America black people are subject to being killed if they merely stand up for their rights.

Second Caller: (interrupts) But, you miss

the point. In Europe you have to take passports with you from town to town. You have to register in hotels and they tell the police who you are and where you are.

Boutelle: They do that with a lot of black militants here in the United States.

Second Caller: (interrupts again) Maybe they do that with some groups, but they can move out of that state, they can move wherever they want and nobody will stop them.

Boutelle: I've been living in New York City all my life, and I've worked in real estate, and from this experience and from experiences trying to get an apartment, I know that black people cannot go where they want.

Four years ago I was banned from speaking in the streets of Harlem for three months when I was a candidate for Congress. Can you imagine, I was a candidate for Congress, and was banned from speaking from 110th Street to 155th Street, from river to river, and I was arrested twice when I did try to speak.

Same Caller: I think you make a mistake when you identify all whites with the white power structure. Whites are just as oppressed as you are, only they don't know it.

Boutelle: They don't know it because they aren't lynched like I am, that's why they don't know it.

Caller: (interrupts) They also are being shot down on the streets by people like you, and like the sniper, and shoot anybody, like in Cleveland.

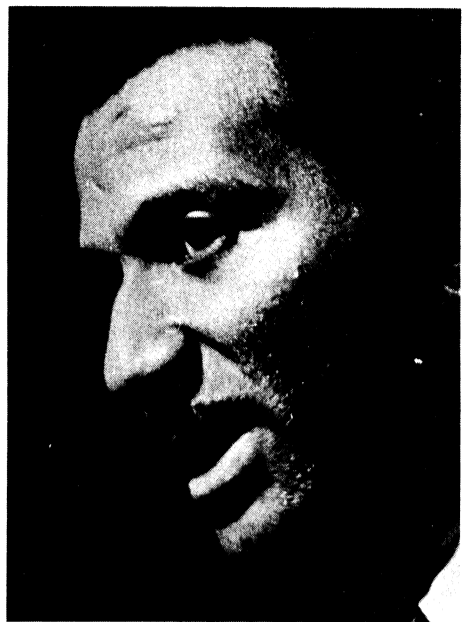
Boutelle: Listen, white people are the worst perpetrators of violence in the world. Your people murdered Indians and stole this land from them; there were four million black slaves in America when the Civil War broke out. What I'd like you to do is to go to South Africa and see the people who are murdering black people there; tell Johnson to stop dropping bombs on North Vietnam; and don't try to give me this nonsense about this crooked capitalist country being interested in freedom. I disagree with everything you say. You and I can agree on nothing, except perhaps that we both breathe air and we are both against air pollution. You and I have no dialogue.

McGowan: I'm afraid Mr. Boutelle is right. There is no dialogue and we'll have to go on to the next question.

Third Caller: I'd like to ask Mr. Boutelle, what is your attitude toward the Peace and Freedom Party and the candidacy of Eldridge Cleaver for President?

Boutelle: Well, we don't support the Peace and Freedom Party. We support the Black Panther Party, and I think it would be good if the Black Panther Party would get together with other black groups in this country that are desirous of building a black political party, and then perhaps they could run Eldridge Cleaver as a candidate.

The Peace and Freedom Party is a trick. You can see in their publication where



Herman Ferguson, Freedom and Peace Party candidate for U.S. Senator.

they want to have a loose coalition, based on a vague multi-issue program, with Cleaver for President as a militant, and a moderate for Vice President. I don't think it is working in the interest of black people. It isn't a group that has a real alternative program. It's a real hodgepodge of people, some good, some bad, some trying to get us back into the Democratic Party, some trying to build a third capitalist reform party, and I feel that they are trying to ride the backs of the black liberation movement.

Same Caller: But the Panthers feel that the coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party is advantageous for them, especially in California. Don't you think that this coalition might have some value for the Panthers?

Boutelle: I think the reason the Panthers began with that coalition was when they were having the trouble with the power structure, especially around the case of Huey P. Newton. When a person like Newton, or any black person for that matter, faces death, you need to get as much support as possible for the defense of that person. You should unite every group possible in the defense effort.

But, in making an electoral coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party, I think the Panthers are making a grave error in tying up with Peace and Freedom, thinking that is a revolutionary organization or that these are revolutionary whites. There are some revolutionary white people in it, or revolutionary-minded whites—but as far as Peace and Freedom as an organization actively involved in making a revolutionary change, and destroying capitalism, and supporting black liberation, and liberation for oppressed peoples throughout the world—no, Peace and Freedom is not that.

Ernest Mandel to address Socialist Scholars' group

Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche* and noted Marxist economist and political writer, will be the principal invited foreign guest speaker at the Fourth Annual Socialist Scholars Conference. Its three-day sessions will be held at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., Sept. 6-8.

Mandel is scheduled to speak at the Friday evening dinner on recent political developments in France and to present a paper Saturday morning, Sept. 7, on "The Working Class and Neo-Capitalism." Louis Salkever of the State University of New York, Albany, and Prof. Alexander Ehrlich of Columbia will be the panel commentators.

A week after appearing at the SSC Mandel will leave on a two-month speaking tour of leading universities in the United States and Canada.

The central theme of this year's SSC sessions is "The Socialist Perspective in the Advanced Countries." The four other panels will start Friday at 10 a.m. with "The Role of the Intellectuals in Social Change," featuring Warren Susman of Rut-

gers and Christopher Lasch of Northwestern and chaired by Conor Cruise O'Brien. Another panel at the same time will hear a paper, "New Thoughts on the Historiography of the American Working Class," by Herberg Gutman of the University of Rochester.

Saturday morning, in addition to the Mandel panel, there will be a discussion of Harold Cruse's book, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, led by Eugene Genovese of Sir George Williams University and Sterling Stuckey of Northwestern. At the fifth and final panel, on Sunday, James Weinstein will speak on "The Preconditions for a Mass Socialist Party in the U.S."

An innovation in organizing this year's conference will be the small discussion groups which will meet during the afternoons following the presentations. These will permit audience participation in discussing the topics treated by the prepared remarks.

Bibliographies for the panels, registration and further information can be secured by writing P.O. Box 412, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

son: What way to black



the
pass
You
tell
are.

B
mili
Se
they
can
whe
them

B
City
esta
expe
know
they

F
spea
mon
gres
for
ing
from
twice

S
whe
pow
pres

B
they
they

C
shot
you
bod

B

wor
You
this
lion
Civi
do
peop
ther
on
me

Halstead's speech to Gensuiken

By Fred Halstead

Following is the full text of an address by Fred Halstead, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, to the Aug. 6 session of the Gensuiken conference, the Japan Conference Against A and H Bombs held in Hiroshima. Gensuiken is supported by the Japan Socialist Party and Sohyo, the largest trade-union federation in Japan. Halstead described the American antiwar movement to the conference and proposed that the Japanese unions issue an appeal to U. S. unions to refuse to carry napalm and other munitions for Vietnam.

Halstead's speech was well received by the conference, which was attended largely by representatives of Japanese unions. His suggestions were supported by all the delegates present.

I have been asked by the translators to speak slowly because they do not have a text of this speech. That will be easy. I shall speak simply because I came here for a simple and concrete reason: to seek unity in action against the Vietnam war, the war which is going on now and which threatens to become an atomic war.

International action is now more possible than it was at the time of the Japanese demonstrations in 1960 against the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty. At that time there was no big antiwar movement in the United States. But now there is a big movement in the United States that can respond to your actions against the treaty, which makes of Japan a base for counter-revolution by the U. S. military.

In building the movement in the United States we have many sharp differences, many sharp disputes. And we have found the only way we can get real unity is in action. Some of our differences are represented here among the American delegates. For example: I am the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, which is far to the left in the United States. Mrs. Colby [Ruth Gage Colby of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom] has told you of another presidential candidate that she hopes will end the war. He is Eugene McCarthy who is trying to become the candidate of the Democratic Party, the ruling party in the United States. I do not agree. I do not think McCarthy will end the war even if he is elected.

But Mrs. Colby and I, in spite of differences, have been very active in organizing mass street demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. And Mr. Teague has been in those actions also. [Walter Teague of the American Committee to Aid the NLF.] It is action which brought us together in the Fifth Ave. Vietnam Peace Parade Committee in New York. This is the committee that has organized the biggest street demonstrations. I was on the staff of that committee for two years.

Now there is a crisis in the American antiwar movement at present. Many people are waiting for the elections or for the Paris talks and have stopped street actions against the war. This is not because the opposition to the war has decreased. On the contrary, the opposition to the war is growing. But many people have illusions about the Paris talks and about the elections, and they are waiting. But we must not wait. I do not believe the war will be ended by the Paris talks or by the election of another representative of the ruling class in the United States. The war must

be ended by the common people; we must rely upon ourselves through massive action in the streets and elsewhere.

I was very interested in the remark made by brother Hughes [Emrys Hughes, British Labour Party MP] about Britain withdrawing from military bases east of Suez. But this does not necessarily mean less imperialism in the area. I recently read a statement by Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont, a state in the U. S. Senator Aiken is a member of the upper house of Congress, the American parliament. Senator Aiken also referred to the British move. Then he quoted Trotsky, who in the 1930s had predicted that the United States would become the dominant military power in the world and would absorb the military features of the British Empire. Senator Aiken said this prediction had come true, and that now as Britain moves out, the U. S. will have to move in to cover these areas militarily. Senator Aiken said this is because there are too many American investments there which must be protected.

That is true. And there are also British investments in the area which will now be protected by the U. S. military. And Japanese capitalist interests as well. And West European capitalist interests as well. And there are too many U. S. investments in Britain and Japan and West Europe for the U. S. government not to use its military to protect the exploitative relations of all these capitalist interests in the colonial or semi-colonial world.

It is not that imperialism is bowing out gracefully. But that the United States is taking on the role of chief imperialist policeman in the world. No, it is my opinion that we cannot rely on capitalist statesmen to bring us peace, just as we cannot rely on McCarthy. Oh, there may be a person here or there in that class who sincerely wants peace, but they can do nothing effective against the interests of their own class. No. We must rely on the common people, who have nothing to gain from imperialism. We must rely on mass action.

Trade-union action

That is why I was so keenly interested in the reports here from the representatives of the trade unions of Sohyo, the reports of past actions on Oct. 21 and the report of the strike and demonstrations planned for next Oct. 21 against the war in Vietnam.

You know we in the United States have also had actions on Oct. 21. Last year it was the march to the Pentagon. In organizing that action, we had many difficulties, many differences. For example, we had students who wanted to come with sticks. And we had complete pacifists who believe it wrong even to defend yourself if attacked. And others, such as I, who do not think sticks are very meaningful against the machine guns of the Pentagon, and who believe in self defense. But we found a way to unite all these elements and many more in the action. It was not easy, and no one was completely satisfied, but everyone agreed that the action was more effective than anyone had first thought possible, and more effective than any of the groups could have made it on their own.

Now that is true internationally too, and I propose that Gensuiken send its call for international action around the Oct. 21 period to all sections of the movement in the U. S. In the U. S. it may not be the exact same day, but around that time. And

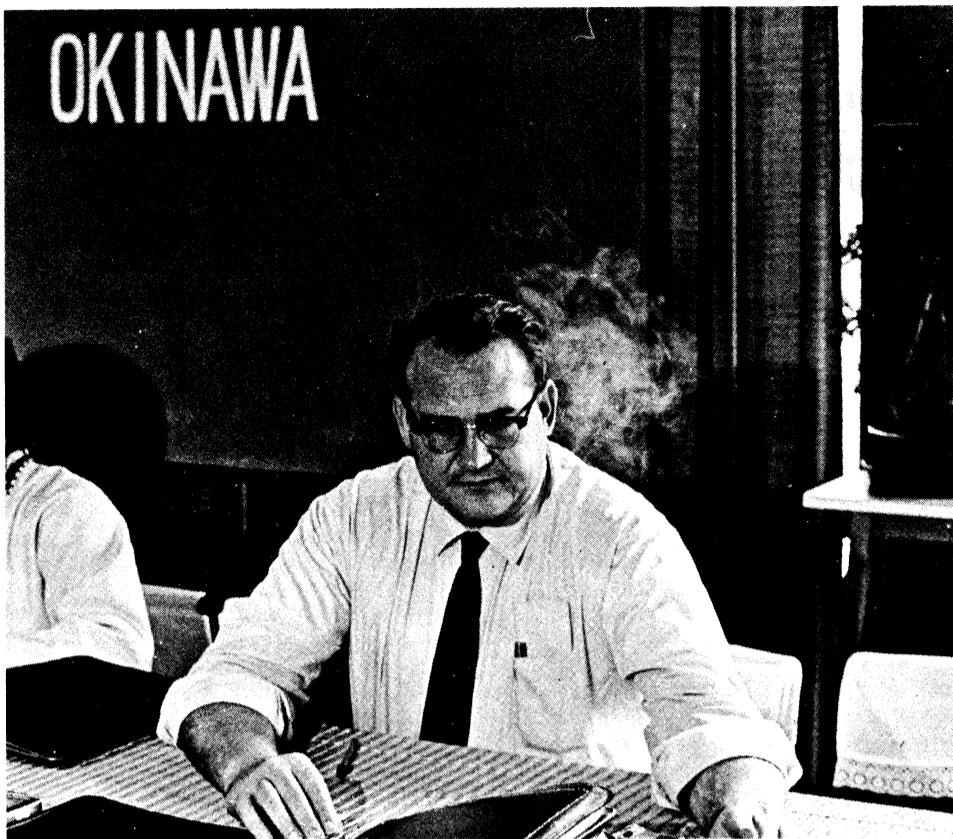


Photo by Barry Sheppard

FRED HALSTEAD. SWP presidential candidate addresses Gensuiken antiwar conference against A and H bombs in Hiroshima, Aug. 6.

there will be action in the U. S. I also suggest that the call be sent to American labor unions asking them to participate.

And I speak frankly. Your appeal will help those of us in the American movement who are pushing such action, and who say: do not wait. I might say here that Mrs. Colby, in spite of her position on McCarthy, is not one who says wait. She continues to fight in every way. That is why we get along so well.

I was also keenly interested in the report of the Japanese Railway Union that the Sohyo transportation unions have decided to organize strikes against the transport of napalm and other munitions to Vietnam. That is good news, and I hope it becomes reality. For this is the way the war can be stopped.

I know something of the power of transportation workers in this regard, and how the warmakers fear this. Because members of my party were leaders of an important section of the teamsters' union, truckdrivers, in the United States when World War II began. And my party did not support the government in that war. And they put our comrades who led that union in jail because they feared that power.

But there was no big antiwar movement at that time. Now there is, and they would have a hard time putting a union leader in jail now who called for action—even strike action—against the war. I know this is not strictly a union conference, but there are many unionists here, and I suggest that their unions appeal to the American unions, asking them also to take the same actions, to turn off the green light on the war in Vietnam.

I do not wish to sow illusions. The political situation in the United States at present is on a much lower level than in Japan, and many union leaders are very conservative. But there is the beginning of a change. Recently there was a conference of 500 union leaders who came out against the war, not for the most militant position, but against the war. More union leaders, like those of the longshoremen on

the West Coast, are making statements against the war. They must read an appeal from the Japanese Unions.

It is not easy. The government and some union leaders lie to the workers. They tell them you will hurt our young men in uniform if you stop munitions. But the truth is that sending more young men and more munitions to Vietnam does not help the young men. The only way to help them is to get them out of Vietnam, to bring them back to the United States—all of them, and immediately—and leave Vietnam to the Vietnamese. The truth is, it is a crime and a shame that American unions—which have so much power—have given the green light to this war in which American working-class youth and Vietnamese peasants and workers are being killed for nothing—nothing but big-business profit.

You know, I often say to the movement in the U. S. that a hundred thousand students demonstrating is important, but it can't stop the war. But a hundred thousand railway workers or truckdrivers or a hundred thousand GIs—who are workers in uniform by and large—can stop the war if they go about it right. And that is the problem. And your appeals can help.

Regarding the struggle of the Okinawan people, I am sure the antiwar movement in the United States will support the demand of the Okinawan people that Okinawa be returned to the rest of Japan, and that all U. S. bases be removed. Okinawa does not belong to the United States any more than Vietnam does. The U. S. government has no right to use Okinawa as a base for the Vietnam war and as a general base for counterrevolution in Asia.

Remember, at the time of the 1960 struggle against the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty, there was no big antiwar movement in the U. S. to respond to the Japanese actions. But now there is. And as your struggle against the renewal of that treaty in 1970 develops, there will be a response in the United States. Your appeals can help a great deal in this. Thank you.

End U.S. occupation of Okinawa!

The following appeal by Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. President, demanding that the U. S. government get out of Okinawa, was made Aug. 3 at Osaka, Japan. The appeal was read at a conference of Okinawan people living in Japan held in Amagasaki, near Osaka, on Aug. 3 by Prof. S. Tsurushima, the secretary general of the Osaka-Okinawa Friendship Association.

Halstead's appeal was sent to a mass meeting of a hundred thousand held at the U. S. Army base in Kadena, Okinawa, Aug. 15.

To the people of Okinawa:

Those in the United States who have been struggling to end U. S. intervention in Vietnam support the struggle of the people of Okinawa for their land.

We support the return of Okinawa to the rest of Japan.

We demand the removal of all U. S. bases from Okinawa.

Vietnam is not a part of the United States. The U. S. has no right whatsoever to a military presence in Vietnam. Okinawa is not a part of the United States. The United States has no right whatsoever to a military presence in Okinawa.

Take heart in your struggle. You are not alone. Your cause is just. You will win!

clip and mail

Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

Enclosed is \$ _____ to send Fred Halstead and Barry Sheppard _____ miles on their trip around the world.

(\$1 will send them three miles on their way.)

Name

Address

City State Zip

Farmers in Japan antiwar fight

By Barry Sheppard

TOKYO—One of the focal points of the antiwar struggle in Japan is the presence of U. S. military bases here. The fight against these bases, which form an important link in the chain of U. S. military outposts along China's coast and which now are being used for the war in Vietnam, is fused with struggles of small farmers in certain key areas. One of these areas is the Sunagawa region next to the big U. S. airbase at Tachikawa, in the suburbs of Tokyo. I had the opportunity to talk with the leader of this struggle, Mr. Miyaoka, who is the chairman of the Sunagawa Farmers League.

We talked through an interpreter in Miyaoka's home near the edge of the airfield. Every few minutes a big transport plane would take off and roar by overhead, not more than a hundred feet off the ground. The runway comes right up to the edge of the field, and the Air Force has been attempting—with the aid of the Japanese government—to extend the base along this side. To do this, the government has been trying to get the land belonging to the farmers in this area and turn it over to the U. S. Air Force for the extension of the base.

The farmers in the area, organized in the Sunagawa Farmers League, have been resisting the expansion of the base for more than 10 years, with the help of antiwar workers and students, and so far they have been successful. Miyaoka explained, however, that the struggle of the farmers in the area against the base actually has a 50-year history, going back to when the base



Photo by Barry Sheppard

FARMERS' LEADER. Chairman Miyaoka of Sunagawa Farmers League.

was first constructed by the Japanese imperialists. Now, it is a U. S. base.

The present struggle of the Sunagawa farmers began in 1956-57.

At that time, after an agreement between the U. S. and Japanese governments to extend the base, the Japanese government began taking steps to secure the land from the farmers. "According to Japanese law," Miyaoka told me, "if the government wants to confiscate land, they must first survey it. So the struggle began against the surveyors."

"The Zengakuren and the Tokyo branch of Sohyo [the largest of the union federations] organized a mass mobilization here to occupy the land and stop the surveying. The police mobilized 6,000 strong, with 80 armed cars. The farmers, students and workers united shoulder to shoulder against the police attack and stopped the attempt to take our land, although many militants in the struggle were wounded."

"The Japanese constitution guarantees our right to own our land, but we can realize our rights only through direct action. Legal defense is not enough. Mass actions are required, and also the mobilization of broad national and international support, which we received."

First mass action

The 1956-57 struggle here "was the first mass direct action in Japan against the military bases, so Sunagawa has become a symbol of the Japanese antiwar movement," Miyaoka explained.

The Tachikawa airbase is used mainly for transport of war goods. Much of this traffic is directly related to the war in Vietnam. "Near this airbase," Miyaoka said, "are two others. One is used as the headquarters of the Fifth Air Force, and the other is used for jet fighters, so the three bases form a unit. As long as the U. S. remains in Japan, this airbase will not be abandoned, because of its importance."

The struggle broke out again in May 1967, when the government made another attempt to confiscate the land. "We heard the news that the government was again preparing to try to take the land. So we again organized a mass action to prevent this, which was mainly supported by students and young workers of the National Antiwar Youth Committee. At this demonstration, a student was wounded badly in the head," but again the government effort was turned back.

"Since May, 1967, the struggle has been of a different character—a sort of guerrilla fight. We do not foresee another open clash, because the struggle here has gained

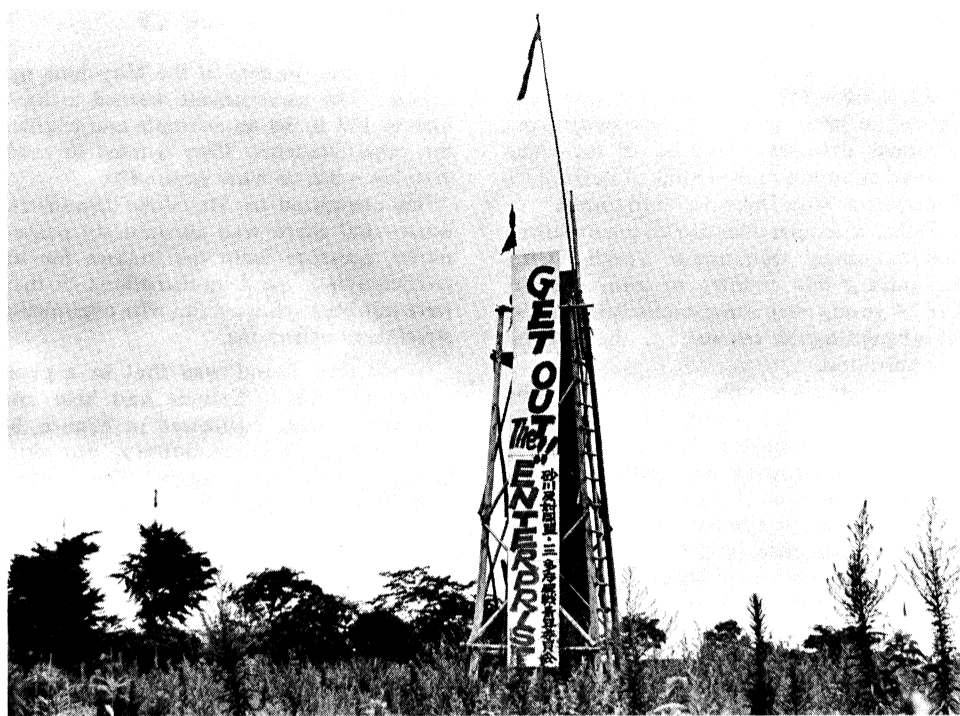


Photo by Barry Sheppard

ANTI-AIRCRAFT. Japanese farmers fighting U. S. airbase land-grab complicate Viet-bound planes' take-off and landing by raising tall poles near runways.

such support. Especially since the Vietnam war, the antiwar movement has grown, and if the government wants an open fight now, the whole Japanese antiwar movement will respond.

"Now the government is attempting to put pressure on the weak spots in the league, trying to buy up farms and break the will of the farmers. They are also trying to buy up farms in the surrounding area, outside of the section planned for the proposed extension, in an attempt to isolate us."

As I drove to Miyaoka's house with a Japanese friend who acted as interpreter, I had noticed a number of tall signs and poles with red flags on them near the airfield. The signs contained antiwar slogans, and Miyaoka explained the function of the poles: "We put up very high poles to disturb the airplanes." The reason why the U. S. wants to extend the base is that the runway is too short for the large transport planes, which are forced to fly with less than full loads at present. Consequently they take off right at the edge of the runway.

"But at night the Americans come from the base and take the poles down. We put them up again. So we have this sort of guerrilla situation right now."

We then went on to discuss the role of

the various major radical currents in the Sunagawa struggle. "Officially the Socialist Party supports the struggle," Miyaoka said. "They have a big influence in Japan, so their support is very good. But we cannot rely upon them in mass actions."

Role of CP

"As for the Communist Party, they attempted to take over this struggle in 1966, and to expel the Trotskyists and other radical elements, especially the militant Zengakuren groups. The Sunagawa league wants all groups to participate on the basis of nonexclusion, so there was a fight with the CP. The CP withdrew from the struggle, because the militant groups were associated with it."

"For example, the CP-dominated organization against atomic bombs, Gensuikyo, has held yearly marches in Tokyo, which always began here. But this year—a few days ago—their march bypassed this area."

"Also, the CP does not even advocate nonviolent resistance, let alone militant direct actions, when they are necessary for this struggle."

There are other similar farmers' struggles in Japan, including one at Narita, where the government is attempting to build a new airport. Miyaoka made contact with the Narita farmers early in their struggle, and helped bring some of the militant student groups into support of that movement. There now is close cooperation between the two groups.

Japan war opponents call fall actions

By Barry Sheppard

Barry Sheppard, editor of *The Militant*, and Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, left Japan Aug. 15 to visit U. S. troops in Saigon as part of a world political tour.

TOKYO, Aug. 14—Three antiwar conferences held in Japan this month, which Fred Halstead and I attended, have called for international actions against the war in Vietnam around Oct. 21. At the Japan Congress Against A and H bombs (Gensuiken), a representative from the largest labor federation, Sohyo, announced that Sohyo would stage a strike against the war on Oct. 21. At the same conference, a leader of the railway-workers union said his union intended to mount a drive to physically stop the transport of munitions and fuel for use by the U. S. in Vietnam.

Action on two other issues related to the Vietnam war was also planned at all three conferences. These issues are the problem of the island of Okinawa and the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty. The fight on these issues will be part of the October actions.

Okinawa was taken from Japan by the U. S. as a result of World War II and is being used by Washington as an important military outpost, especially as a key base for the Vietnam war. The people of the island are still under U. S. military command, and there is a large movement developing among Okinawans and people on the other Japanese islands against U. S. military rule and for a return of Okinawa to Japan.

One important side of the Okinawa struggle is the fight against its use as a U. S.

base. This is part of a wider struggle against the use of Japan as a whole as a U. S. base for counterrevolution in Asia and for the prosecution of the Vietnam war.

The "legal" cover for U. S. operations in Japan is the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty. When the treaty was established in 1960, there were big struggles and demonstrations against it. The treaty is up for renegotiation in 1970, and the antiwar activists expect the present struggles against U. S. bases and the treaty to mount into a massive militant campaign at that time.

In addition to the Gensuiken conference, we attended the Antiwar, Anti-imperialist International Conference on Aug. 3, and the People's International Conference Against War and for Fundamental Social Change (Beheiren).

The Aug. 3 conference, held in Tokyo, was a student conference organized by some of the factions of Zengakuren. While there were sharp differences expressed at the conference on the general struggle for socialism, there was agreement on the call for the international October actions.

Other factions of Zengakuren not at the Aug. 3 conference told us that they were also in agreement with the October antiwar action. Although Zengakuren is split into many factions, all of the factions are apparently supporting the call for the October actions.

An important development here has been the formation of Antiwar Youth Committees. These committees are composed of young workers. Leaders of these committees we spoke to said they also would support the October actions.

The Gensuiken conference was held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is under the

influence of the Socialist Party.

The Beheiren conference, held in the ancient Japanese capital city of Kyoto, was the broadest of the three and included a wide range of participants from all sectors of the antiwar movement. In addition to supporting the call for international October actions, and actions against continued U. S. military rule of Okinawa and the security pact, the Beheiren conference protested the Gaullist repression against French revolutionary groups. (The other conferences took similar actions.) There was a great deal of interest in the French events expressed at all three conferences. Beheiren also sent a telegram to the judge in the trial of Huey P. Newton in Oakland, Calif., demanding that Newton be freed.

Beheiren and Gensuiken had both organized a trip to Okinawa by the foreign observers at their conferences. Unfortunately we could not participate in this trip, as we must leave for Saigon tomorrow, on the next leg of our tour.

In addition to Fred Halstead and myself, other American observers were present at one or more of the various conferences, representing Students for a Democratic Society, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Women Strike for Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Liberation News Service and the Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front. All expressed support for the October actions.

Among the other foreign observers were representatives from the French Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), now banned by de Gaulle, and the French Unified Socialist Party.

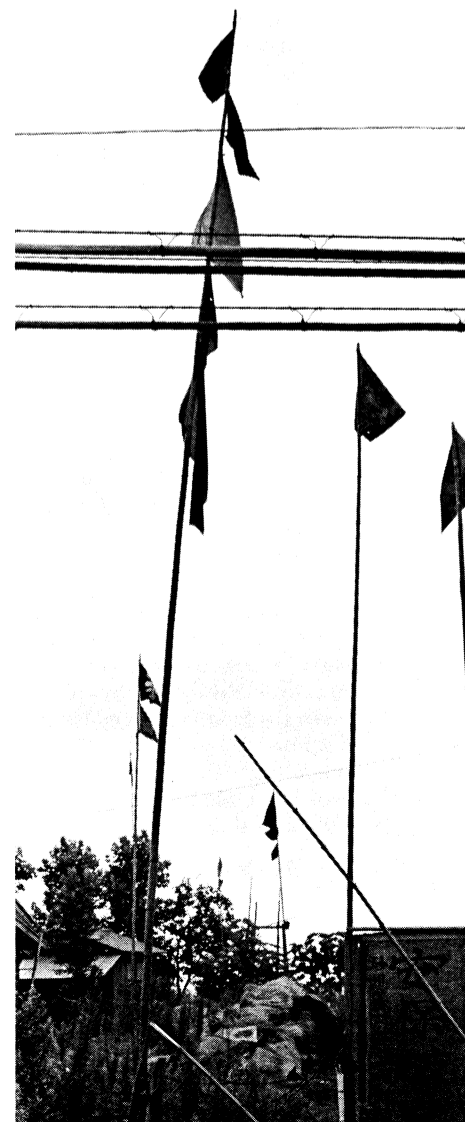


Photo by Barry Sheppard

"De Gaulle cannot dissolve our ideas"

By Dick Roberts

AUG. 23— French authorities have been forced to keep prison guards away from political prisoners because of the widespread sympathy for victims of de Gaulle's repression, Jean Dube declared today.

Dube, a former member of the outlawed Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), is touring this country to gain support for 14 young people imprisoned on charges of attempting to reconstitute the banned organization.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Dube said that the guards had explained to the jailed revolutionaries, "we are not educated . . . we come from small farms . . . we had to get jobs . . . but we understand your struggle, we sympathize with it." This gives you an idea of the political atmosphere in France today, Dube added.

Describing the background of the arrests, Dube made it clear that there is no substance to the government charge that the imprisoned young people were attempting to reconstitute the JCR.

In one case four students were arrested at plant gates in Rouen where they were distributing a leaflet urging the factory workers to form a left-wing caucus in their union. The leaflet had been put out by the Communist Revolutionary Group, an organization which had not been banned. "They were arrested simply because they were known members of the old JCR," Dube declared.

"Clearly, in this case they were not attempting to reconstitute a dissolved organization. They were arrested for their political activity.

"Incidentally," he added, "the leaflet was very well received. When the workers saw the police arresting the students they went on strike for an hour in protest."

The arrest of Alain Krivine showed the same attempt by the government to "put a question mark over all political activity, to deprive people of this fundamental civil liberty." Krivine, Dube pointed out, is one

of the main leaders of the May-June uprising. "The government wanted to have him in jail to set an example and frighten the other students. They wanted to catch Krivine—but on what ground?"

"He organized the May-June demonstrations—but there was an amnesty passed under pressure from the masses for all participants in the demonstrations. So they were unable to charge him with organizing street demonstrations.

"What they found was that in a press conference which Krivine had held and was very widely publicized in France, he had said 'as a revolutionary, our duty is to continue the struggle.' The government insisted upon interpreting this as meaning Krivine wanted to reconstitute the JCR."

Dube emphasized the repressive nature of the government measures. Under French law anyone can be arrested and held incommunicado for 10 days. This means, and has already meant, that hundreds could be arrested with no grounds for holding them at all, kept in prison without any contact, and worked over by the cops for 10 days.

The 14 charged with reconstituting the JCR were the only ones who had been held longer, but many others had been seized and jailed for several days. Krivine was interrogated for eight hours a day, 10 days in a row. The one girl accused of attempting to reconstitute the JCR had been isolated from the rest in a women's prison, cynically refused the rights of a political prisoner on the grounds the jail didn't have the facilities for this one special case, and all this in spite of the fact that she is tubercular and needs special medical attention.

The reaction of the French people to de Gaulle's repression, Dube continued, is symbolized by the attitude of the prison guards. "The people are revolted and they are mobilized right now. Traditionally French political life in August is quite



JEAN DUBE. At press conference on Telegraph Ave. in Berkeley. On right is Peter Camejo, leader of the Telegraph Ave. demonstrations in June.

dead. But now there is quite a lot of action.

"The defense committees, particularly the Committee to Fight Repression headed by Jean-Paul Sartre, is putting out tens of thousands of leaflets and posters. And this is true in spite of the obvious limitations by the repression and harassment of individuals. Anyone caught putting up posters is likely to be arrested, taken to the police station and held incommunicado for 10 days.

"The Latin Quarter is now filled with plainclothesmen—young, dressed and looking like students. They start demonstrations, they are provocateurs, but 50, 60 or 100 people will follow these 'demonstrators' and one minute later they are surrounded by cops."

At the same time, Jean Dube explained, every campus is now occupied by the police. In order to return schools to "normalcy" in October and November when classes should reopen, the cops will have to leave campus. "It seems obvious to every student, the day they will be allowed to go onto campus, the new movement—very likely to be a new occupation—will begin . . .

"All the reasons the students began their struggle last April and May remain. There is no change . . . despite the very liberal speeches of the Minister of Education."

In this explosive situation, Dube believes, it will be extremely dangerous for the government to have Alain Krivine in jail. "The relation of forces is such, the level of militant consciousness of the students is such, that they cannot keep Krivine in jail." Dube believes it is quite possible as an alternative that Krivine will be drafted in an attempt to isolate him from the movement. This has already happened to several other former JCR members. "Even that already shows the strength of the student movement, the strength of the defense work, the weakness of the government."

The Great Society

GANG-BUSTER—Frank Rizzo, Philadelphia's "rough-em-up" police commissioner, called on the city council to adopt legislation to disarm the Boy Scouts. We'd suggest he also keep a sharp eye on those old ladies they're always helping across the street.

ESTHETICS DEPT'—Adolfo of Saks Fifth Avenue has a new line of jumpers and harem pants (jumpers, \$95, pants \$160 to \$250). He says he was inspired by Mrs. Wyatt Cooper, the former Gloria Vanderbilt. Mrs. Cooper has a jumper-pants set which matches her bathroom wallpaper. (We really almost made a typing slip and wrote toilet paper.)

GOOF-UP OF THE YEAR—New York police say that two men who allegedly held up a midtown Manhattan bank were caught while trying to flag a cab to make their getaway. Unless they were strangers, we find this difficult to comprehend. Assuming they were lucky enough to actually get a cab in that neighborhood, did they think it could get them out of the area's perpetual traffic jam in anywhere near the time you can make it on foot?

ETERNAL VIGILANCE—One of the things that makes you most proud of

Dube turned to the question of what former members of the JCR are doing now, with their organization outlawed by the de Gaulle regime. "One of the important results of the struggle in May," he explained, "is a fantastic reinforcement of the revolutionary vanguard. The vanguard before was mainly composed of students.

"Now the vanguard has become broader and has been joined by many young workers no longer under the influence of the Communist Party. Revolutionaries clearly see as their most important task organizing these new forces into a revolutionary party with a revolutionary program.

"Even if the JCR had not been banned its nature would be changed. We know and we realize that we have to go much further, we have to establish a new structure and we will continue the struggle under new forms, new structures.

"Each of our former members continues his activities, in Action Committees, in other organizations. You can dissolve an organization, but you cannot dissolve its ideas. These ideas were given the acid test in May. They proved to be correct."

Commenting on the three-week tour he has had in Canada and this country, Dube noted two aspects particularly. First, students he spoke to were extremely interested in getting concrete details about the French events. This was true not only of the more spectacular period of the uprising, but also of the present period. They were concerned to find out the facts about the repression and what could be done to give assistance.

But they were also concerned with the fundamental lessons of the French uprising, above all how it was possible to establish links with the working class. "I felt that they asked this because they wanted to do the same thing in this country, or might very soon be confronted with a similar situation."

America is the various freedom-loving regimes it keeps alive. Like, for instance, that of Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa. Its latest contribution to warding off totalitarianism was a seven-year jail sentence for a former University of Hawaii student who allegedly wrote procommunist news articles while in Japan and who, while at the University of Hawaii, read mainland Chinese literature and newspapers.

NEW CONSTITUENCY ADDED—The rising resistance movement continues to spill over into new fields. The New York Council for Civic Affairs has demanded an end to use of "phony shot glasses" used by bars to "bilk the public out of millions of dollars a year." Council chairman Herman Glaser noted that the customer thinks he's getting a giant drink when actually it's "Lilliputian." He demanded adoption of standard-sized, clearly marked shot glasses, "so the customer knows what he's getting." And while we're at it, how about bringing back the free lunch?

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK—"It is time the American people realized espionage is one of the most important functions of their government."—Ruby Hart Phillips in the Aug. 13 Long Island *Newsday*.
— Harry Ring

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE

	Cloth	Paper
By Malcolm X		
Autobiography of Malcolm X	7.50	1.25
Malcolm X Speaks	5.95	.95
Malcolm X on Afro-American History		.50
Malcolm X Talks to Young People		.35
Two Speeches by Malcolm X		.25
By George Breitman		
The Last Year of Malcolm X, The Evolution of a Revolutionary	4.50	1.95
Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas		.25
How a Minority Can Change Society		.35
Myths About Malcolm X by Rev. Cleage and George Breitman		.35
Marxism and the Negro Struggle, Harold Cruse, C. DeBerry, George Breitman		.50
Black Nationalism and Socialism by George Breitman and George Novack		.50
By W. E. B. DuBois		
Black Reconstruction in America		3.45
John Brown		2.45
The World and Africa		1.95
Souls of Black Folk		.60
Other Works on the Afro-American Struggle		
The Case for a Black Party, Introduction by Paul Boutelle		.25
The Black Uprisings, Newark, Detroit 1967 Introduction by Paul Boutelle		.25
The Black Ghetto by Robert Vernon		.50
Why Watts Exploded by Della Rossa		.25
Should the U. S. Be Partitioned: Into Two Separate and Independent Nations—One a Homeland for White Americans and the Other a Homeland for Black Americans? A Symposium by Robert S. Browne and Robert Vernon		.50
Harlem Stirs by Fred Halstead		2.50
Freedom Now: New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation, 1963 SWP Resolution		.25
Soul on Ice by Eldridge Cleaver	5.95	
Black Nationalism and Self Determination by Leon Trotsky		.95
Murder in Memphis: Martin Luther King and the Future of the Black Liberation Struggle		.25

NY State Residents please add 2% tax; New York City 5%

merit publishers
873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

SEND FOR A FREE COPY OF A CATALOG LISTING BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON SOCIALISM, VIETNAM, THE LABOR MOVEMENT, CIVIL RIGHTS, AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY, CUBA, CIVIL LIBERTIES, HISTORY.

Detroit news strike ends — setback for labor

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Aug. 10—The two metropolitan dailies here—the *Detroit News* and the *Free Press*—resumed publication this week after being closed just short of nine months in the longest major daily-press shutdown in history. Members of the 14 craft unions involved were forced to return to their jobs; their unions are still intact, but they are dissatisfied and still underpaid.

The new contracts expire in midsummer, 1971, instead of just before the Christmas advertising rush as previously, a change insisted on by the publishers. The total economic package is only \$33, spaced out over the life of the new contracts: an \$11 weekly raise immediately; another \$10 after 11 months; \$9 more at the 21st month; a final \$3 weekly at the 34th month. Each union is free to divert any part or all of the package to fringe benefits.

When union contracts expired last November, most union members expected a renewal without a strike because they asked only that Detroit publishers pay the wage scales already established in other major cities. Their basic weekly scales when negotiations began last fall were: printers, \$164.09; stereotypers, \$159.51; pressmen, \$159.35; teamsters, \$150.25; mailers, \$148.26.

The publishers' version of what happened, as related by the *Detroit News*, is that "behind the scenes, and eventually to surface, was a contest of wills over whether unions should preempt management prerogatives in such things as hiring practices, working conditions, installation of new machinery and to a degree, control of the institutions themselves." In other words, and more specifically, the publishers insisted upon and are still seeking a complete breakdown of union conditions on the job, unbridled authority to hire and fire as they choose, freedom to introduce new printing processes in order to reduce the labor force and increase already swollen profits, and complete monopoly control of the city's daily papers.

The two papers, calling themselves the Detroit Newspaper Publishers Association, sought an agreement first with teamsters' Local 372, which they hoped would establish a pattern for settlement with the other crafts. When the teamsters rejected the publishers' offer and struck the *News* on Nov. 16, the publishers closed down both papers and locked-out the other crafts. They had prepared this action well in advance by building up a "strike insurance" fund which paid each paper \$10,000 a day for 50 days.

Within two days after the established papers closed, an interim paper, the *Daily Express*, was on the streets. This was soon followed by two other such papers, *Daily Press* and *Daily Dispatch*.

The *Detroit News* quickly brought court action against the *Daily Express*, charging seven *News* district distribution managers, all of them members of the teamsters' union, with conspiracy and unlawful appropriation of *News* circulation lists to distribute the interim paper. The suit is still pending.

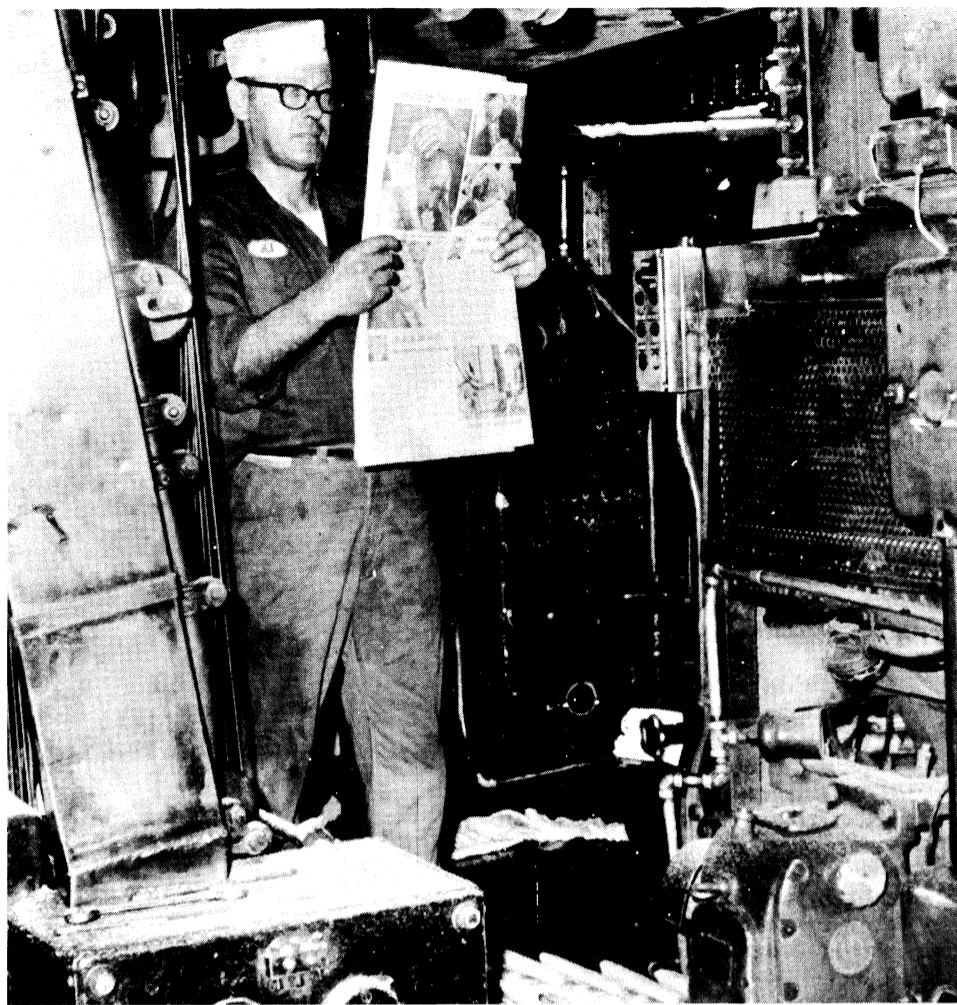
This effort of the *News* to prevent the defendants from moving into the lucrative newspaper publishing field was clearly a monopolistic suppression of competition, aimed at stifling freedom of the press. Nevertheless, the immediate effect was to bring antiunion Senator Robert Griffin thundering back from Washington to investigate what he termed "the vulture press," meaning the interim papers, and to expose "labor racketeering in a new guise," meaning teamsters' Local 372. Feeling the pressure, the teamsters' international moved in against Local 372, forcing all interim papers out of business and urging a quick settlement with the newspaper publishers.

Teamster negotiations

Thereafter the publishers concentrated on the teamsters, and they refused to meet with the Council of Newspaper Unions or to negotiate with any of the other crafts.

On Feb. 5, teamster negotiators and the publishers announced agreement on a \$30, three-year contract. This was hailed by the publishers as the end of the then 10-week-old strike, but the striking teamsters rejected the agreement.

Mayor Cavanagh then entered the picture on behalf of the publishers and called teamster officials and publishers to a joint meeting in his office. The publishers modified their offer slightly so as to give the union officials a new argument for accep-



STRIKE ENDS. Detroit News printer Al Catron checks one of first copies of *News* as strikers reluctantly returned to work Aug. 9.

tance of a contract. Finally on March 15 striking teamsters, under heavy pressure from their international officers, voted to accept the proposal of \$30 over three years.

The Council of Newspaper Unions had announced: "The teamster settlement is completely inadequate." Minimum terms acceptable to the other unions were submitted—\$36 in a three-year contract, dating from expiration of the old contracts, Nov. 30, 1967. Such terms were firmly rejected by the publishers.

After the teamsters settled, Mayor Cavanagh called in Professor Nathan P. Feinsinger, labor expert from the University of Wisconsin, who laid down some "ground rules" for negotiations and left town.

Cavanagh's next move came during the "emergency" following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. He requested the publishers to resume publication and he demanded that the unions call off the strike. The publishers "generously" agreed to this, but the unions turned it down.

Next came the governor. Romney announced that if the strike was not settled by May 4 he would have the state legislature pass a special law requiring compulsory arbitration. This time the publishers didn't respond favorably. The *News* got an injunction barring Romney and a state-senate committee from interfering with the newspaper negotiations.

The publishers still hoped they could reach an understanding with the international officers of the teamsters' union to deliver the papers if they published with scab printers. The teamster officials were wary of this course and had refused to sign contracts even though the terms had been accepted. Around the middle of May Frank Fitzsimmons, international president of the teamsters, asked representatives of all the striking unions to meet with him in Washington, and at this meeting it was agreed that Professor Feinsinger should be asked to return to Detroit.

Feinsinger's proposal

Feinsinger got the negotiators together, learned what the publishers were willing to settle for, and announced his recommendations for settlement of the strike. They were substantially what the publishers had settled for earlier with the teamsters, with some small shifts in size and sequence of wage raises. The publishers "reluctantly" accepted. Of course, the unions rejected it as a fraud.

The publishers now stepped up their attack. On June 18 teamster officials signed contracts, which indicated that they might be "forced" to deliver scab papers if the publishers decided to start the presses. On June 20 the *News* announced that it would begin training nonunion and supervisory personnel to take over production operations.

Local union leaders, fearing they would

have to battle scabs in the streets, sought the aid of the United Auto Workers. Walter Reuther sent one of his top assistants, attorney Irving J. Bluestone, to meet with Professor Feinsinger. On June 25 they announced a new agreement had been negotiated based on the Feinsinger "framework."

Union negotiators were not happy, but they recommended acceptance.

Slowly the unions began voting separately on the terms of the new contract. The smaller unions voted first, and each in turn ratified the contract by large majorities. In the end the International Typographical Union Local 18 voted. A "yes" vote was recommended by all local officers and by the scale committee. No organized opposition appeared. When the vote was taken at a general membership meeting on July 21, there were 354 votes to accept, 153 opposed. Ratification by the Newspaper Guild and the mailers followed. The surprisingly high opposition vote in the ITU shocked the do-nothing local officers. Now they whine, "What could we do?" And the truth is they don't know.

Union-breaking threat

In a post-strike editorial, the *News* hurled a thinly-veiled union-breaking threat: "But we add that newspapers must be prepared to operate despite a strike if that is the only alternative to a process that has killed once viable papers in a number of cities." This puts the matter squarely up to the unions as to what they must do if they intend to survive.

The newspapers are anxious to install new processes in printing that will change the character of the industry by eliminating much of the present work. Their problem here is how to get around some union

rules and in some instances how to get rid of some crafts.

The craft unions in the course of this most recent strike here demonstrated certain strengths, but their great weakness showed too. They demonstrated a greater solidarity than has been seen in the newspaper industry for a very long time. When they finally settled, it was because they didn't see any way to meet the strike-breaking threats of the employers. And this showed their great weakness.

These craft unions are the victims of routine. The present leaders only know how to call a strike and wait until something happens. They know how to wait out the employers. And when they deal with small operators this is usually sufficient to win. But when they deal with a combination of powerful daily papers in a major city, there comes a time when waiting is not enough.

The striking newspaper unions in San Francisco gave a small example of some of the most elementary strike action that must be taken. The unions—or one union—must put out a daily strike bulletin, if only to inform its own membership and other union men and women of the issues in the strike and the course of its development. This was done in San Francisco. The publishers' game was spotted and exposed.

Here in Detroit not even this was done. The union leadership sat, said nothing, and waited for the publishers to make every move. If the unions—or one of them—would have decided to publish an interim daily, or had decided to expand a daily strike bulletin to give broader coverage to national news, this would have been a much harder blow to these arrogant, big-business publishers.

Most important of all must come some measure of understanding about the nature of the industry and about the nature of the world in which this industry operates. The union leadership ought to see beyond the daily shop problems and learn about the broader aims of the employers in order better to cope with them. They ought to have some appreciation of the relationship between the publishers and their political servants. They surely must know by now how to avoid the traps set by "impartial" arbitrators.

It appeared here on some rare occasions that some effort might be made, that a strike leaflet might appear or some exposure of the publishers might be printed. Nothing! It was as if each of the unions, which were all pledged to support each other, was afraid to do something that might not be completely acceptable to one of the others. The result was that all were paralyzed. This is partly in the nature of any federation of craft unions. That's why the industrial form of organization is stronger and can act more decisively.

These are some of the problems the memberships, having gone through the long strike experience, must ponder and try to resolve. One thing is clear: the present crop of local leaders will never find any answers, because most of them don't show any signs yet of knowing what the problems are. Most of them seem to think the union's problems are all over for the next two years, now that the strike is settled and everyone is back at work.

The truth is that the problems of newspaper workers in this city are just beginning. The *Detroit News* has served public notice of this fact.

—Hy Struman dies in Los Angeles—

By Milton Alvin

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Hy Struman, a Trotskyist for more than 30 years, died here Aug. 10 of a heart attack. He was 52 years old.

He held the post of organizer in one of the Los Angeles branches of the Socialist Workers Party at one time. Immediately following the second world war he played an important role in working with high-school youth on the East Side. The young people had organized some activities in connection with widespread opposition to the would-be fascist Gerald L. K. Smith and as a result had run into difficulties with the school administration. The youth won a victory and as a result formed a new organization.

Classes and meetings were often held in Hy's house, which was always open to the youth. Many of these classes were

taught by him. They consisted of basic Marxist education, which he was uniquely qualified to teach.

In the late 1940s Hy dropped formal membership in the Socialist Workers Party for personal reasons, but he remained a close sympathizer for the rest of his life. He particularly liked to explain the ideas of socialism to young people who continued to keep coming to his home, in later years through his two daughters.

A memorial meeting was held Aug. 11 and was attended by a large number of friends and family. Two speakers, Dr. Benjamin Karpman and Milton Genecin, both old friends of Hy's, addressed the audience.

Hy is survived by his wife, Joavy, and two daughters, Brenda and Dale, the latter a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

... Huey Newton case

(Continued from page 1)

a charge of kidnapping because of lack of evidence (the prosecution had charged Newton with "kidnapping" a bystander, forcing him to drive Newton to a hospital after the shooting), but denied a motion for a reduction of the first-degree murder charge to second degree or manslaughter.

The first defense witness was Thomas Miller, who had been a passenger on the bus driven by Henry Grier. Grier had testified previously that he had seen the shooting and "positively" identified Newton as the person whom he saw kill Officer Frey. Miller testified he had just gotten change and was seated in the middle of the right-



Huey P. Newton

hand side of the bus when he heard the shots. He said he looked out, but it was "too black to see outside," and he saw nothing.

He also stated the bus was well beyond the scene when the shots were fired. If this is true it would have been impossible for Grier to have witnessed the shooting.

The defense then produced testimony showing that slain police officer Frey was, as Garry stated, "A person who resorted to harassment of people of the ghetto and also used racist epithets concerning black people."

Daniel King, a teenage grocery-store clerk, stated that he was arrested by Frey who held him while his companion, a civilian, pushed him in the stomach. He also said Frey "called me a nigger and called me a pimp and all kinds of dirty names."

Another defense witness was Olonza Smith, who testified that Frey had stopped him and his companions after they had gotten out of their car and wrote them a ticket for going through a red light and driving a faulty vehicle. Frey added the charge of driving without a license despite the fact that he did not know who had been driving the car. Frey had told Smith that if he did not sign for the ticket he would "take them all to jail."

Smith also stated that Frey called him a "black son of a bitch."

A second important point in the defense case was that Newton believed his probation had ended the day before the Oct. 28 shooting. In its version of the events, the prosecution had contended that a possible motive for the killing was that Newton believed he would go back to jail if he were found carrying a gun.

Donald Hopkins, an administrator at the University of California, testified for the defense, stating that he had seen Newton in a bar on the night of Oct. 27, and Newton had told him he was celebrating the end of his probation.

Garry also presented an expert witness who testified as to the availability of a new test, based on atomic processes, to determine whether a person has fired a gun.

Howard Schlessinger, a chemist, said this test could have been used on Newton and that the police had not given him any samples for analysis in this case. He also stated the new test was far more accurate and reliable than the old paraffin test.

The defense case has been somewhat shortened by the fact that testimony of several defense witnesses was ruled inadmissible by Judge Friedman. These included Daniel Quinones, who had been a patient in the hospital where Newton was taken the day after the shooting. According to Garry, Quinones would have testified that Newton was harassed constantly by the police when he was a patient there.

The judge also refused to allow the testimony of three men who said they were bribed by the district attorney's office to "dig up" information concerning Newton.

One of the sidelights of the trial is the numerous death threats which have been received by Garry and Newton. One letter started out "This is not a threat," but ended by proclaiming, "You or Newton will not be alive 10 days after the trial is over. It makes no difference which way the jury decides."

Another letter began, "Dear Nigger Lover," and stated, "I wish Hitler had won. Then we could have finished off the sheenies and started in on the coons." That one is signed "KKK."

When asked about these letters, Garry said he had called in the FBI because "I would be foolish to ignore them. In fact it is not only Garry and Newton who have received threats. Even one of the witnesses, Tom Parsons, an 18-year-old high-school student, told one of Garry's assistants that he believed he would be "bombed out" of his house if he testified for the defense.

Garry moved for a mistrial on the basis of these threats on the grounds that it is "impossible to get a fair trial in this kind of atmosphere." The motion was denied by Judge Friedman.

The entire court is awaiting the testimony of the final defense witness, Huey Newton himself. A member of Garry's staff, when asked why they were putting Newton on the stand and whether he thought the jury would vote for acquittal without hearing Newton's testimony, said, "We can't chance it." He said he wanted the case to be won "right here, not on appeal, but here in this courtroom."

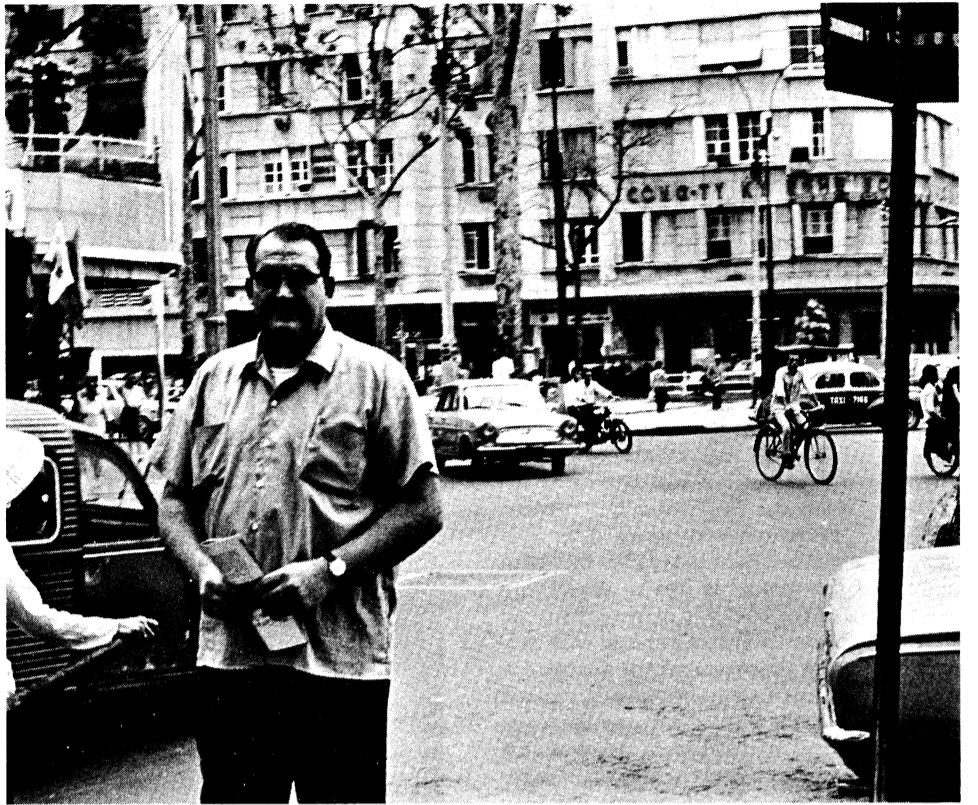


Photo by Barry Sheppard



Photo by Barry Sheppard

FRED HALSTEAD IN SAIGON. SWP presidential candidate on Saigon visit to talk to GIs (top). Found troops interested in antiwar movement. Second picture shows barbed wire in streets of city at war. Further details in next week's Militant.

Fred Halstead arrives in Saigon

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, arrived in Saigon Aug. 15 where he spent five days discussing his antiwar views with American GIs. Due to difficulties in getting news from Saigon, *The Militant* has not yet received a full report on Halstead's visit, but an Aug. 19 Associated Press dispatch said Halstead was able to talk to many GIs in the Saigon area and at Long Binh, the large U. S. base north of the city.

As we go to press we have received a brief letter from Fred Halstead, written on his second day in Saigon, describing his first impressions of the war-torn city. Enclosed were the photographs on this page, taken by Barry Sheppard, editor of *The Militant*, who is accompanying Halstead on his world political tour.

"It's a big, sprawling city," Halstead writes, "with heavy traffic and kids playing in puddles left by rain. But about a quarter of the traffic is military, mostly jeeps, both U. S. and ARVIN. Many corners are strung with barbed wire; sand-bagged sentry stations are in all kinds of places: at gas stations, some corners, many buildings.

"It's a city at war with itself, heavily occupied. The French used to call it 'The Paris of the Orient,' famed for its grace, and wide, park-divided streets. But no more. It's ugly, run down, dirty; the wide

streets in many places are lined with makeshift stalls selling all sorts of things. Huge numbers of motorbikes, but very little grace and beauty. Many uniforms. Many blank faces.

"Last night you could hear the artillery outside Saigon. Ten p.m. curfew. Coming in on the plane yesterday afternoon we saw a ragged strip of defoliation through the jungle surrounding the city. But there's an awful lot of jungle, and that was just a drop in the bucket. We also saw rice paddies immediately on the city's outskirts sprinkled with bomb craters, hundreds of them. They fill up with water and make round ponds."

The AP dispatch quotes Halstead as saying that most of the GIs he talked to didn't know why they were in Vietnam:

"A minority think we shouldn't be here. But the majority opinion was that they just don't know why we're here."

The Aug. 18 *New York Times* quoted Halstead as saying, "Everyone was ready and willing to speak openly to me once I had introduced myself and announced that I was against the war."

Halstead added that most GIs were "tremendously ignorant of the peace movement in the United States because they don't see any publications that carry news of antiwar feeling."

Student Mobilization sets Chicago convention

CHICAGO—A national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam will be held in Chicago Aug. 31-Sept. 1 to map plans for massive international antiwar actions when school opens this fall.

One of the most important features of the conference will be a panel discussion on GIs and the antiwar movement. Leading the discussion will be GIs who are either in the Army at this time, or who have been recently released. Proposals for fall antiwar actions in solidarity with GIs are expected.

Another key aspect of the conference will be the report on the progress of the international movement against the war, and a discussion of how the American movement should respond to the call by the

Vietnamese, as well as the British and Japanese antiwar movements, for worldwide demonstrations this October.

A number of workshops are planned, including one on perspectives for the growing student antiwar movement in the high schools. It was the Student Mobilization Committee which organized the International Student Strike against the war last April 26 that for the first time mobilized thousands of high school students against the war.

For further information on the SMC conference, for locations and times of the sessions, and to arrange housing during the conference, contact the Student Mobilization Committee, 9 South Clinton St., Rm. 225, Chicago, Ill. 60606.