

# THE MILITANT

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Black community  
backs students  
against S.F. cops

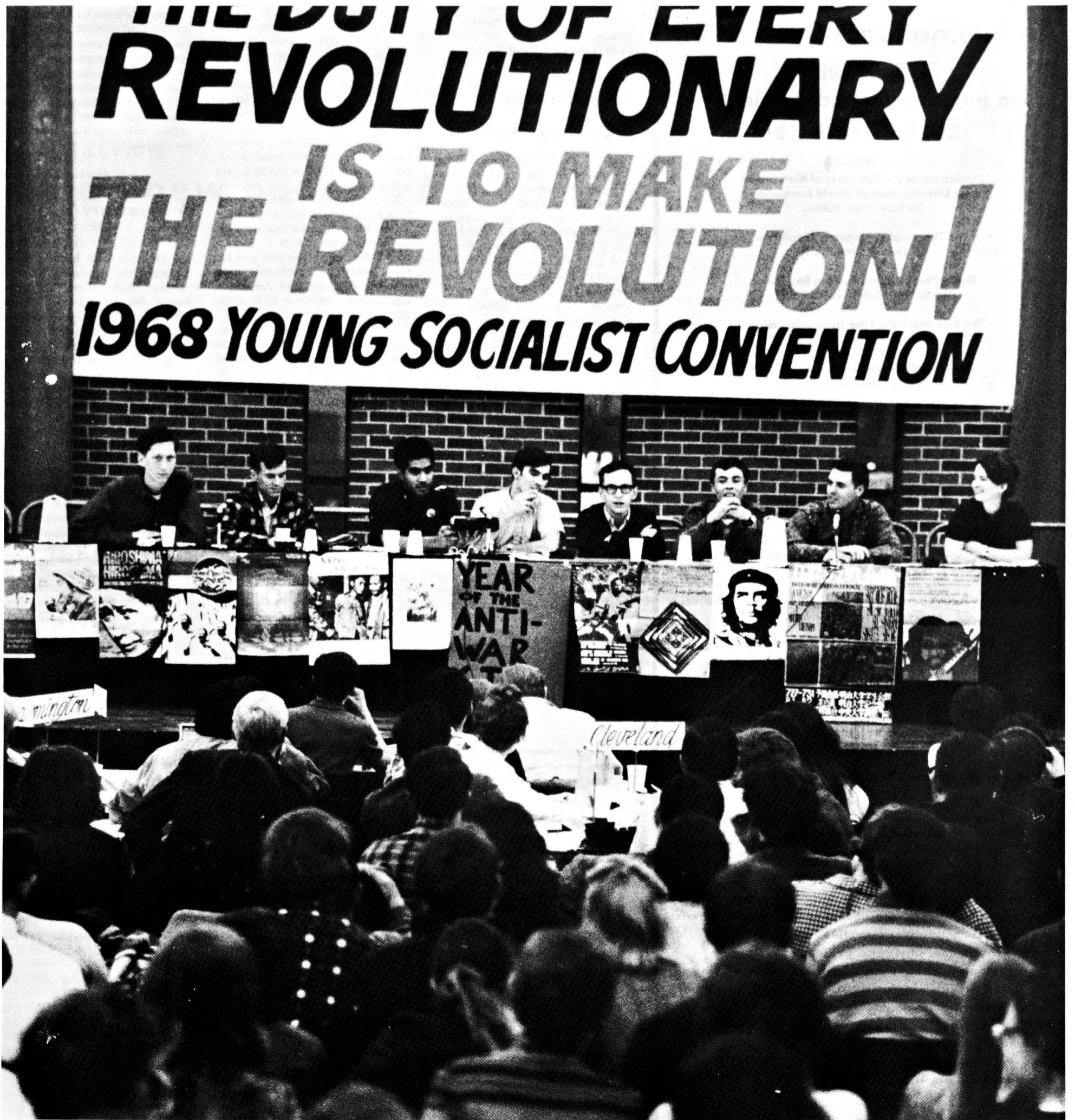


George Murray, racist victim

—page 5—

## At Young Socialist Convention: 1969—"Year of the Antiwar GI"

— See story page 8



Scene at Young Socialist national convention in Chicago Thanksgiving weekend as panel of active-duty GIs and veterans discuss the growing antiwar movement within the U. S. armed forces.

Photo by Shannon

# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 32—No. 50



Friday, December 13, 1968

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# The fruit of superexploited labor

## Support the boycott of Calif. table grapes

Providence, R. I. I am urging all the readers of *The Militant* not to buy California grapes. Why? The grape-farm workers work in unsanitary conditions, have no medical attention, and are not paid during the time it takes to move from one field to another. To quote from a leaflet concerning the farm workers' plight:

"Farm workers are not covered by the National Labor Relations Law, and they can not have an election or any other kind of recognition procedures. No matter how many workers want an election or a union, the grower is not legally obligated to meet or negotiate with them."

Business will continue to sell California grapes to make their profits. I am urging one and all to BOYCOTT GRAPES.

R. M.

## Kudos for party, paper and magazine

Mt. Rainer, Md. I would like to commend the Socialist Workers Party, not only for its vigorous presidential campaign carried out by Halstead and Boutelle, and for *The Militant's* consistently good coverage and analysis of the present world situation, but especially for the increasingly high quality of the *International Socialist Review*. The November-December issue has done an especially good job of coming to grips with the various issues confronting the Left today.

R. G.

## Arab Israel conflict: a different view

New York, N. Y. Regarding the letter of Alfred Gordon ["Progressive Israel"—a persistent myth] and the article by Tarif Khalidi [Zionist stand refuted by Arab student] in the Nov. 15 issue of your invariably valuable newspaper:

1) The Jewish workers were in dire straits due to lack of employment. Unorganized Arab labor,

which tolerated a lower standard of living, was hired exclusively. The result was an economic structure of a nation entirely occupied in a single, parasitical class—the same malady that afflicts the Jewish people elsewhere. If the Jewish workers had wanted, they could have occupied higher positions, but they wanted to recreate a normal nation instead. Only this campaign of "Jewish labor" forced the hiring of some Jewish workers and changed the Jewish population from typical imperialistic colonizers. As a result of the creation of a Jewish working group, job opportunities, wages and living standards improved for the entire proletariat.

2) All discriminatory laws against Arab Israelis, instituted because of security considerations, were repealed, largely through the efforts of Mapam, a Socialist-Zionist party in which Arab Israelis are full members.

3) The Israeli economy requires assistance largely because of huge weapons expenditures and the boycott by the Arab states. Not only is trade between Israel and the Arab states prohibited, but firms that trade with Israel are boycotted. Not only is Israel barred from using the Suez Canal, but any ship that docks in Israel is barred also.

4) Moshe Dayan, while certainly a dangerous neofascist, went to South Vietnam as a reporter. He sought to cover the N. L. F. and North Vietnam also, but was refused permission. His article proclaimed the futility of American efforts and supported U. S. withdrawal.

5) The Israeli government opposed the Algerian revolution as the price of arms. Groups in Israel were organized in solidarity with both Algeria and Cuba and sent funds and medical supplies. Cuba retains diplomatic relations with Israel and Israeli advisers remain in Cuba.

Israel is a capitalist country, and many of its policies are to be condemned. The same can be said of the Arab states. Most of the area's problems are the result of the policies of both sides, inspired by big-power manipulation. Israel needs Western investment and guns; so does the Kingdom of Jordan. Israel supported France in Algeria; Syria and Egypt sup-

## 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.

ported Russia in Czechoslovakia. Israel has Dayan, the ruling group in Egypt actively supported Nazi Germany. One can continue ad infinitum.

Socialists must support neutralization and demilitarization, the integrity of all countries, and all genuinely progressive forces. Only peace can allow the crystallization of a socialist revolution in the Middle East; terrorism strengthens all the forces of reaction, and ultimately hurts only the people.

Yehuda Krantz,  
Hashomer Hatzair

## A necessary slant

Okemos, Mich. I feel that *The Militant* serves a very useful purpose, and while its news analysis and interpretation is often quite slanted, it is just this slant that is necessary to counterbalance the total effect of the rest (with very few exceptions) of the American news media. Even those newspapers published by other leftist organizations, for example, the *Weekly People*, although they also contain this slant, tend to become so dogmatic and hypothetical that they seem to have little real application to the world. In this respect, *The Militant* (and the *Young Socialist*) stand almost alone in bringing to the people meaningful and truthful news, and applying it to real and present problems. For this I thank you and hope that you will continue to keep up the fine work.

C. H.

# 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.

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

**Sacramento:** Sacramento State College YSA, John Montgomery, West Bridge, #192, 1025 University Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95825.

**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: Atlanta:** YSA, 187 14th St. **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, 1619 Franklin St., Evansville.

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

**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** YSA, Toby Rice, c/o Bram, 1518 Park Ave., Baltimore.

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

**MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor:** Nan Byam, 921 S. Forest, Ann Arbor, 48104. Phone 761-0828.

**Detroit:** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

**East Lansing:** YSA, Ginny Osteen, 409 W. Holmes, 353-6170.

**Ypsilanti:** Ed Mattos, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Phone 482-7348.

**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:** YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brode, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J., 17104, tel. 483-8513.

**NEW YORK: Albany:** YSA, Carol French,

194 Jay Street, Albany 11210.

**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, P. O. Box 116, Kent.

**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.

# The pursuit of Eldridge Cleaver

By Hal White

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 1 — Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver who ignored an order to turn himself in to prison authorities Nov. 27, is the subject of an international search by California police.

The Panther leader's parole had been revoked last April and, in effect, upheld by a Nov. 26 ruling by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. His parole had been revoked after he was arrested by Oakland cops as they moved against him and other Panthers in a police-instigated shoot-out which resulted in the fatal shooting of 17-year-old Panther Bobby Hutton. At that time Cleaver escaped almost certain death only after he threw up his hands and, completely nude, walked out of an apartment house police had surrounded.

As Cleaver's scheduled return to jail drew close his supporters maintained a round-the-clock vigil in front of his framed house on Pine Street in San Francisco. They vowed that they would protect Cleaver from "police murder" should Cleaver be taken into custody. None of the police, however, are reported to have entered the Cleaver residence.

Several days after Cleaver's flight from "justice," the vigilers finally left. Just before they departed, Cleaver's wife, Kathleen, accepted a citation at the doorsteps of their home which was signed by Nobel Peace Prize winner Owen Chamberlain along with

40 other University of California faculty members.

Asked by reporters if he approved of Cleaver's failure to turn himself in, Cleaver's attorney, Charles Garry, asserted that he did not think it right to impose a white man's system of justice on Cleaver's thinking. "I carry out my legal responsibilities to the Black Panthers" Garry emphatically declared, "and the Black Panthers carry out their political responsibilities."

Rumors of Cleaver's whereabouts abound here in the Bay Area, but none have been substantiated.

At a fund-raising rally in San Francisco sponsored by the International Committee for the Defense of Eldridge Cleaver just six days before his scheduled "surrender" to the parole board, Cleaver had virtually predicted that he would not show up.

"I don't feel any need for rehabilitation," he said.

Recalling his days in prison in California Cleaver told his audience about the horrible and inhuman conditions that he and other black prisoners faced there daily. He said he resolved that after he got out of that living hell he would get politically active and help black people.

Cleaver related how it wasn't until he became a political person that he really felt the wrath of the white ruling class. "I had more trouble with probation officers than I did when I was committing rapes and robberies," he said.

The International Committee for the Defense of Eldridge Cleaver is continuing with its plans to disseminate information concerning the Cleaver case and raising money for legal defense and publicity.

The address of the Cleaver Defense Committee is 495 Beach St., San Francisco, Calif. 94133.



Eldridge Cleaver

## BOOK REVIEW

# A bad new book on Malcolm X

TO KILL A BLACK MAN by Louis E. Lomax. Holloway House, 1968, 256 pp., \$95.

1968 has been a bad year for books about Malcolm X. First there was Archie Epps' *The Speeches of Malcolm X at Harvard*, mediocre as scholarship and absurd as analysis (see *The Militant*, Aug. 9). Now there is Louis Lomax's book, which is even worse.

*To Kill a Black Man* is about Malcolm and Martin Luther King, both of whom Lomax knew, and which he began to write shortly after Dr. King's assassination last April. This review will deal only with the parts about Malcolm, which cover about two-thirds of the book.

Most of what is good in this book is not new: Lomax borrows liberally from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, *Malcolm X Speaks*, *The Last Year of Malcolm X*, and his own 1963 work, *When the Word Is Given*. . . . And most of what is new in it is not good: The book contains many factual errors, contradictions, inconsistencies, exaggerations and unverified or unverifiable assertions.

Some of the factual errors are involuntary; for example, Lomax says that Marcus Garvey "died in a con man's cell." As the term "con man" indicates, Lomax has a strong bias against Garvey. Perhaps that is why he relies on a poor memory of the black nationalist victim of U.S. government persecution, instead of looking up the fact that Garvey was released from prison in 1927 and did not die until 1940. Other minor errors seem more calculated. Introducing the speech Malcolm gave in Detroit a week before his death, Lomax says, "I have elected to print it in its entirety." But in *Malcolm X Speaks*, from which Lomax took the Detroit speech, without credit to its source, there were 18 different places in this speech where omissions were indicated (because those passages repeated points made in previous speeches in the book). Lomax has deleted those 18 omission marks, showing he knew very well that he was not printing the entire speech.

Lomax's account of Malcolm's assassination is an example of his extreme irresponsibility. On one hand he says he is convinced that "the American government, particularly the CIA, was deeply involved in Malcolm's death," and on the other he accepts without question the CIA's version of who the hired killers were. He then tries to implicate "men very close to Malcolm" in the death plot—using nothing but the CIA's version as the basis for his accusation.

Lomax says he was Malcolm's friend, but there is nothing friendly, and much that is slanderous, in his treatment of Malcolm's alleged personal weaknesses. In the last period of his life, Lomax says,

Malcolm was "confused," his "thoughts were in disarray," he was "obsessed" and "compulsively driven," and, to cap it all, "those who loved him felt he had cracked under the strain, that he was mentally ill."

Lomax charges Malcolm with "public duplicity" because he preached Black Muslim "dogmas many of us knew that he privately did not believe," and he promises to prove Malcolm "persisted in this behavior until the day of his death."

But all he shows is that, as a Black Muslim minister, Malcolm abided by the discipline and defended the ideas of his organization, even after he began to have doubts about some of them, because that was the only way he could remain in the Nation of Islam and work to reform it into an organization capable of leading the black liberation struggle.

After he left the Black Muslims and was able to speak for himself, he had no reason to say things he was doubtful about or did not believe. Thereafter the things he said, whether right or wrong, and even though he may have changed his mind about them later, were the things he believed, and nothing else.

Lomax uses the anonymous and therefore uncheckable "new-evidence" device throughout the book, sometimes with ludicrous results. Thus, discussing the important turn Malcolm's thinking underwent after he left the Black Muslims, he says it is a question that has "haunted students of Malcolm for four years." Now they need be haunted no more because, he says, "I have encountered a few people who are now willing to disclose more information

than that which came to the fore immediately after the assassination. I believe I now know what happened to Malcolm X; I think I can detail the corner he was attempting to turn."

His big revelation is that Malcolm began to move in the direction of socialism—something that has been well known since *Malcolm X Speaks* was published in 1965. *Everything* Lomax has to say on this is taken from the previously published literature. The "few people" he has encountered and "those who were closely allied" with Malcolm do not add a single scrap of information to what Malcolm himself said publicly in 1964-65.

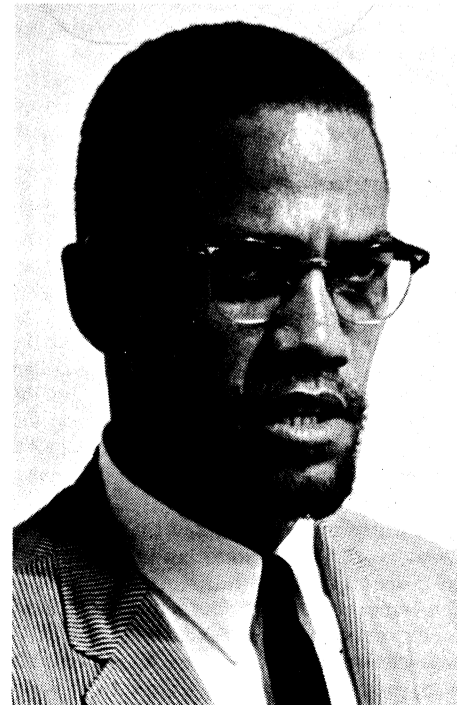
But Lomax then uses the "authority" of these "sources" to peddle unadulterated fiction. An example is his treatment of the alliances Malcolm sought and made during his two trips to Africa in 1964, about which he did not speak in public, and which he may not have discussed in detail with any American after he came home.

According to Lomax, Malcolm went for help to the "Ben Bella-Nkrumah axis." He couldn't convince Ben Bella and Nkrumah "that the American black man was ready for revolution," but they agreed to supply him with funds after he showed results in America. An unnamed "source" told Lomax that Malcolm developed "deep doubts" about these "backers" in his last weeks and "was on the verge of reneging on certain commitments he made in Africa."

What were the commitments Malcolm allegedly made and allegedly was about to renege on? Only one is given: that "Ben Bella and Nkrumah exacted" from Malcolm a commitment to "rally the American black man and bring pressure against the American government to end its CIA activities in both Algeria and Ghana."

There are many ridiculous things in the book, but this is probably the worst, and surely the biggest insult to the intelligence of the reader with any political knowledge at all. Because Malcolm was an intransigent opponent of CIA and State Department counterrevolutionary activity not only in Algeria and Ghana, but everywhere in the world, and had been long before he ever saw Africa. A commitment to fight the CIA and State Department did not have to be "exacted" from him any more than he had to be pressured to breathe in and out. He could no more think of "reneging" on his long and open opposition to the agencies of U.S. imperialism than he could think of renouncing his struggle for Afro-American freedom. The whole thing is such a cock-and-bull story that there is no reason to believe any part of it—just as there is no reason to believe any of the other gossip and guesses throughout the book that Lomax tries to palm off as "facts" and "new information."

—George Breitman



Malcolm X

## L.A. Chicanos in protest on cop brutality

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — "Who protects the people from the police?" This was the question on one of the picket signs as over a hundred Chicanos marched in front of East Los Angeles' Hollenbeck police station Nov. 19 to protest the brutal beating by three policemen of 13-year-old Salvado Barba.

On the night of Nov. 9, young Barba and Carlos Juarez, 16, were stopped by a uniformed policeman. It was 30 minutes after the 10 p.m. curfew, and Barba ran. The cop threw his two-foot club at him, knocking him to the ground. The 13-year-old was then worked over so thoroughly that he suffered a broken vertebra and required 40 stitches in the head and nine in the groin.

Barba's mother was told by the cops that the boy had fallen on some trash barrels.

The demonstration on Nov. 19 was sponsored by the East Los Angeles Police Malpractices Center, which is affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union.

The mood of the demonstration was well expressed in the issue of the newspaper *Inside Eastside* distributed on the picket line:

"Hollenbeck Station take notice: The Chicano community will not tolerate your abuses of our rights and will not tolerate your sadistic beatings of our people. For too long your domestic army has been subjecting us to unwarranted violence.

"The people of ELA [East Los Angeles] are sure you've forgotten John Chavez, 16 years old, who was shot through the head by Officer Abel Armas. We're sure you've forgotten Jess Dominguez who was recently beaten to a point that it was necessary for him to undergo brain surgery. We're sure you have forgotten Augustine Carrasco, who was kicked to death at the Hollenbeck Station. But ELA will not let you forget Salvado Barba. Ya Basta! [Enough!]

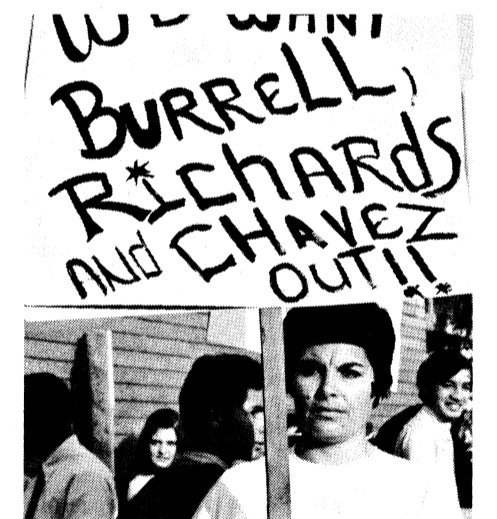


Photo by Della Rossa

Mrs. Socorro Barba

## Memorial meeting for Leo Huberman held in New York

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting was held for Leo Huberman at the Community Church here Dec. 2. The meeting was chaired by James Aronson, former editor of the *National Guardian*. Steve Fischer, a writer and long-time friend of Huberman, and Paul Sweezy, Huberman's collaborator on *Monthly Review*, spoke.

Huberman, co-editor with Sweezy of *Monthly Review* and for many years director of Monthly Review Press, died in Paris Nov. 8.

The memorial meeting heard messages from many throughout the world, including Raul Roa, Cuban foreign minister; K.S. Karol, prominent British left-wing journalist; and playwright Lillian Hellman. Plans were also announced for the establishment of a Leo Huberman Memorial Fund.

**HELP THE FIGHT! Don't buy Calif. table grapes.**

# A report from Ocean Hill's I.S. 271



Photo by Shannon

**"LAW AND ORDER."** Cops abounded at I. S. 271 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville as unwanted teachers were returned after citywide racist walkout. But the reimposed teachers quickly declared the school "unsafe" and walked out again. State authorities obligingly shut it down.

By Alan Kellock

(The author teaches Afro-American history at IS 271, Ocean Hill-Brownsville.)

BROOKLYN, Dec. 4 — The settlement of the third United Federation of Teachers' shutdown so far this year has once again included the forcible imposition of unwanted teachers upon the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community.

The position of the elected governing board of the community remained basically the same — they would unwillingly accept the 79 unwanted teachers back and give them classroom assignments. However, the governing board stated that it would resist several new humiliations, including the suspension of three of its eight principals in the district and four of its most effective black teachers at Intermediate School 271.

The UFT had ostensibly objected to the principals because they had not been appointed from the civil-service list (a recent court ruling upholding the UFT contention is now under appeal). Suspension of the four black teachers was also intended to appease the union brass, even though these teachers had not yet had the opportunity to answer charges of "harassment" at their upcoming trials. (One teacher has since been reinstated for lack of evidence.)

When the UFT teachers returned on Nov. 19 to IS 271, long the major battleground in the struggle between this black community and the racist policies of UFT president Albert Shanker, each was given full classroom assignments. This was a major concession for the local administration to make, since it involved the removal of some community-hired teachers from part or all of their programs.

In spite of compliance at 271 stemming from UFT teacher reinstatement and the restraint exercised by community-hired teachers, tensions began to soar. On the second day, the UFT leader at 271, probably the most despised individual of the reinstated 79, injured a 7th grade student's thumb following the youngster's denunciation of the UFT's racist policy. From this point until the school's closure by the state on Dec. 2, the precarious stability at 271 steadily deteriorated.

What the media has consistently failed to clarify is that the students themselves have not accepted the return of these teachers. They refuse to accept the conditions which their parents and community teachers have been forced to comply with. Shanker has, of course, asserted that the youngsters have been "specially trained" to disrupt classes taught by these unwanted, hostile teachers.

But the students need no prodding to be

embittered. They remember that these teachers walked out on them for six weeks last spring. They have watched thousands of police attempt to reimpose those teachers several times this fall, with all the attendant excesses that occupation forces commit in America's black communities.

And now, after two months of what was probably the first meaningful education in their lives, many students have lost those community teachers with whom they had established much rapport only to be confronted in their classrooms with these callous "talking faces" of the old era.

On Dec. 2, the UFT teachers instructed their classes to pour into the hallways in the middle of a class period, and then they walked out of the school. This calculated (and illegal) act of disruption was then justified on the grounds that the hallways lacked adequate supervision and were, therefore, unsafe! Two hours later the state closed the school indefinitely for lack of adequate supervision.

One 8th grade class insisted on telling the teacher what they thought of him and of the issues in the struggle. He stood in the doorway with arms folded and a smirking face. "I don't care if you keep this up all year — I'll just keep collecting my paycheck until June." The students vowed to call his bluff.

## 79 miners dead; gov't. plans 'hearing'

On Saturday, Nov. 9, amid the rumble of crashing rocks, the clang of steel plate, and the roar of cement mixers, 78 miners were entombed in the Consolidated Coal Company's Consol No. 9 mine near James Fork, W. Va.

Soon a new plaque will join an older one in Mannington, W. Va., to commemorate the new dead miners. And the survivors of the men will mourn in silence, a silence which is filled with bitterness and anger.

Ever since the railroads made possible the opening of the great coal fields in Appalachia, mine disasters have struck with terrible frequency. It took the worst disaster in history — in 1907 — which killed approximately 362 men (no records were kept then of who was underground on shifts) to bring the Bureau of Mines into existence. But that bureau was like an old hound dog which had lost all its teeth. The only power of investigation it had was with the consent of the mine owner! During the next 34 years there were 295 mine explosions, killing 7,301 miners.

In 1941, the Coal Safety Act was amended — but again the old dog was left toothless. While the bureau won the right to inspect mines, it had no power to enforce its findings. Publicity was the only avenue the bureau had, and while reams of press releases streamed from the department the press gave them scant heed.

The coal industry kept a powerful lobby in Washington, which together with the coal-state legislators — all of them screaming "states rights" — kept the bureau a mere fact-finding department.

## The National Picketline

Then came two Central Illinois disasters — Centralia No. 5 in 1947, where 111 miners lost their lives, and Orient No. 2 at West Frankfort, where in 1951 coal dust and methane gas stole life from another 119 men.

The shock and horror of the whole nation focused attention on the need for a federal safety act with a few teeth. In 1952 such a law was passed. (Two weeks before the Consol No. 9 disaster, federal mine inspectors had cited the Consolidated Coal Company of Pittsburgh for safety violations, including piles of coal dust, but the company ignored the citation.)

Since the 1952 Federal Coal Safety Act was passed 16 years ago, there have been only four explosion-free years. The death toll during those 16 years has been 376 dead and hundreds of others injured and disabled.

Now has come this latest tragedy. Still the government has done nothing except announce, through Secretary of Interior Udall, that still another "hearing" has been called for Dec. 12.

\* \* \*

A classic example of how at least one union bureaucracy deals with a rebelling local union is the story of what happened to Communications Workers of America Local 1174, Southampton, New York,

when it went on a "wildcat" strike to settle 16 basic grievances against the International Telephone and Telegraph World Communications Corp. recently. The local had the active support of a sister local (1172) in New York City and had the corporation tied up "from Broad Street to Montauk Point . . . with the possibility that the strike would spread to the West Coast and Puerto Rico." Then the international office of CWA sent its representative to a secret meeting with ITT World Communications. In this meeting the following agreement was arrived at:

- Everyone back to work.
- Disciplinary action may be proposed by the company against employees within 14 days.
- The proposed disciplinary action to be submitted to an arbitrator whose decision would be final.
- Negotiations to resolve the outstanding grievances to take place upon the members returning to work.

Only then were the leaders of the strike called in. When they rejected the so-called agreement they were told bluntly by the CWA representative that unless they did accept it, he would order Local 1172, the supporting local, to cross the picket lines the next morning.

In a newsletter addressed by the striking local to all its members and the members of Local 1172, the full story is told. But the summary is most important. The Local leaders, it says, "now realized that the CWA was determined to break our strike. We were not only fighting a giant corporation but our own union as well . . ."

— Marvel Scholl

## The high cost of racism

The need for black and Puerto Rican community control of their schools was dramatically underlined by a full-page ad in the Dec. 2 *New York Times*. An urgent plea for school decentralization by the very respectable Urban Coalition, the ad included these facts about the price of racism in the New York schools:

- Eighty-five percent of the children in Harlem are a year behind in their reading.
- Eighty percent of black and Puerto Rican high-school students drop out before graduating.
- Of those students that graduate less than 25 percent go to college. (That's an average figure for whites and nonwhites. And, by comparison, in wealthy Scarsdale, 99 percent go on to college.)
- Less than two percent of the high-school graduates in East Harlem get an academic diploma — a basic college requirement.

## Hunter College GI teach-in to hear notables

NEW YORK — A GI teach-in and rally has been slated for Hunter College on Wed., Dec. 18, at 8 p.m. It is sponsored by LINK, the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee and the Hunter College Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Active-duty GIs will be the featured speakers. Other speakers include: Donald Duncan, ex-Green Beret sergeant; Prof. Howard Zinn, author of *The Logic of Withdrawal*; Sandra Levinson, New York editor of *Ramparts*; folksinger Barbara Dane; Prof. Marvin Gettleman, author of *Vietnam*; and Matilde Zimmerman, national secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

Also present will be veterans of the war. Eric Bentley's DMZ Political Cabaret — a satirical group — will perform.

LINK is a new antiwar group oriented toward GIs with headquarters at the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy office in New York. Hunter College is at Park Ave. and 68th St. in New York City.

For the person who has nothing, how about a sub to *The Militant*?

# S.F. community backs students against cops

By Paul McKnight

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 4 — The Black Student Union-initiated strike at San Francisco State College reached a new stage today when the entire spectrum of the leadership of the black community here responded to brutal police attacks on the students by throwing their weight behind the strikers.

At a noon rally today, representatives of black organizations ranging from the Black Panther Party to CORE and including black ministers and black Democratic Party politicians pledged their active support to the strike until all the demands are met.

Publisher Carlton Goodlett, who is a moderate voice in San Francisco's black community, pledged that these leaders would be on campus every day as long as necessary to protect the students from police violence. And if this was not enough, they would form an armed defense guard to "protect our young people from the violence of the police."

This development came in the wake of a particularly vicious police attack on the

**BULLETIN—SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 5—Five busloads of people from the black community came to the S. F. State campus today to back the students. There was a new police attack with Mace and clubs. About 20 were arrested including black publisher Carleton Goodlett, campus chaplain Jerry Pederson, black faculty member Dr. Nathan Hare and Carleton Goodlett Jr.**

striking students yesterday. Early yesterday morning a squad of cops attacked a peaceful student picket line and broke it up, chasing the students all over the campus and beating those they caught.

Later in the day another attempt at using police violence to break the strike was made. A demonstration of striking students was attacked by a large force of cops. This time the student defended themselves with rocks, bottles and table legs. A barricade was built with tables from the cafeteria.

Many students suffered serious injuries at the hands of the cops, and about 30 were arrested on charges ranging from inciting to riot to felonious assault and attempted murder. Two members of the Young Socialist Alliance were among those arrested.

This massive police violence sent shock waves throughout the Bay Area, and the reaction to it has just begun. Its first result was to galvanize the black community into active support of the strike. Four thousand students heard the black community leaders at a noon rally today and then staged a massive march around the campus despite the presence of 600 riot-equipped cops on the campus.

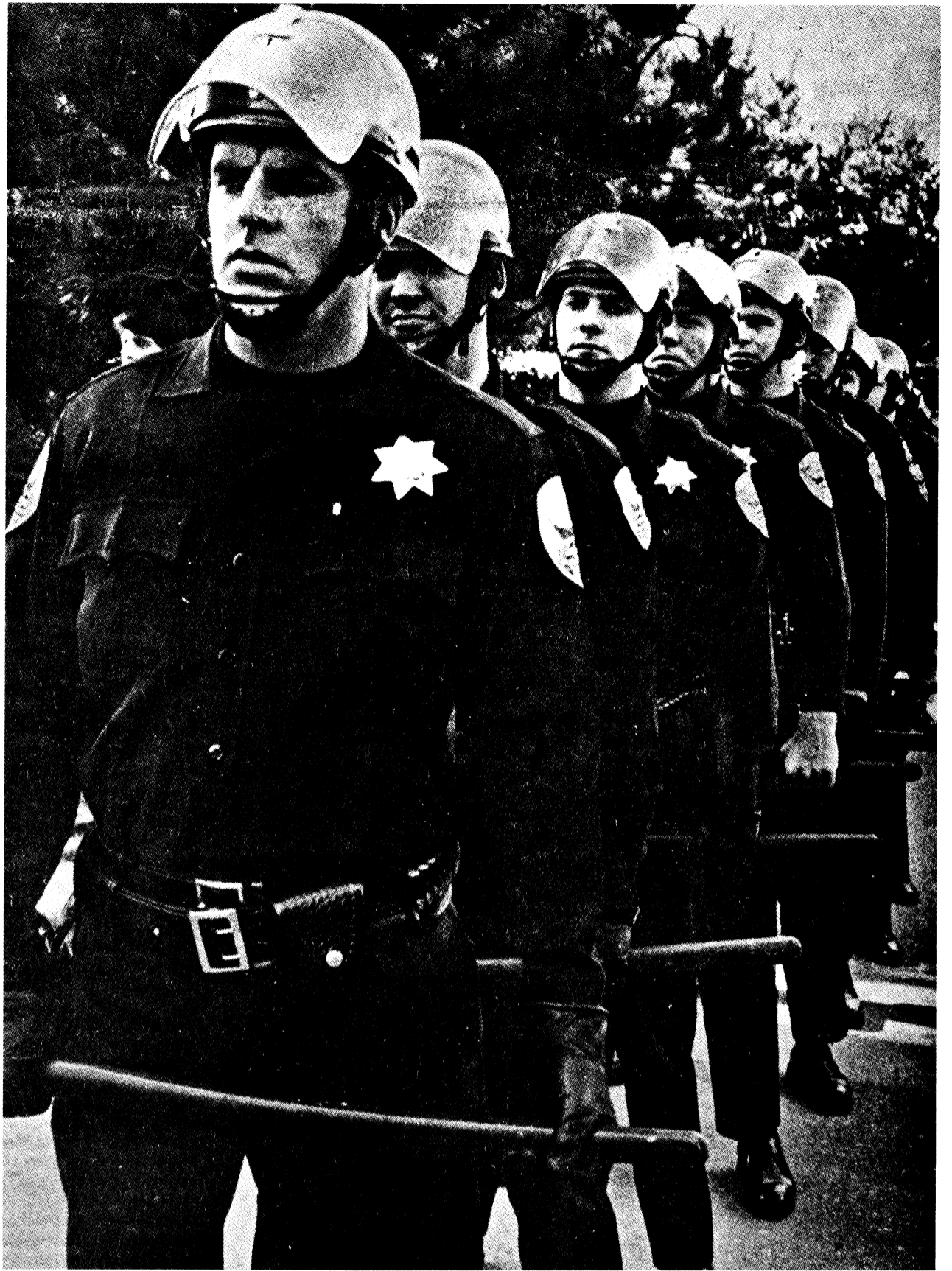
**SAN FRANCISCO — The Militant Labor Forum will hold a panel discussion entitled "Defend Your Local Students." Participants will include S. F. State and Berkeley students. It will be held Friday evening, Dec. 13, 8 p.m. at 2338 Market St.**

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Club-happy Tactical Police on San Francisco State campus

## The high court's racist record

By Elizabeth Barnes

Ever since NAACP attorney Lewis M. Steel wrote an article for the Oct. 13 *New York Times Magazine* attacking the U. S. Supreme Court as an upholder of white supremacy, the NAACP has been in a state of crisis. On Oct. 14, the day after the article appeared, the NAACP board of directors dismissed Steel from his position, precipitating a deep split in the organization's apparatus and the resignation of the entire NAACP legal and clerical staff.

After reading various news stories about the turmoil it created, I went back to Steel's article, which is entitled, "Nine Men in Black Who Think White."

The article reflects the general outlook of its author, who is a pro-McCarthy liberal, and it is therefore quite limited when compared to the ideas coming out of more militant sectors of the movement. But I was impressed with the number of useful facts which Steel marshals to break down many of the common myths concerning the role of the Court.

The article provides a decision-by-decision documentation of Steel's thesis, which is that the Supreme Court has "not departed from the American tradition of treating Negroes as second-class citizens."

Steel attacks the popular belief that it was the 1954 Supreme Court decision which awakened the nation to what he calls "its civil rights responsibilities." The famous desegregation decision came, he says, not as a result of the Court's dedication to the rights of black people, but because of the "heightened expectations" of black people after the second world war. It was this, he says, along with the fear that America's segregation system would damage its standing among the newly emerging nations, which caused the Court

to move. When seen in the light of these pre-1954 shifts in attitude, Steel says, "the school desegregation case did little more than bring the Court up to date."

A year after the 1954 decision, the Court helped to cancel out its previous action with its notorious ruling that the schools did not have to be desegregated immediately, but "with all deliberate speed." Never in the history of the Supreme Court has the implementation of a constitutional right been so delayed or the determination of it put into such vague terms, Steel asserts.

According to Steel, the Court has struck down only a few of the "symbols" of racism while condoning or overlooking the ingrained practices which have meant the survival of white supremacy. He points out that this has had the negative effect of allowing "a confused, miseducated and prejudiced white public" to believe that black people have been given their full rights.

Steel says that many defenders of the Court can point to the issue of housing when seeking a pattern of "procivil rights" decisions. But even this pattern fades when viewed critically. In the first place, he explains, few black families can afford the expensive legal procedures and time required to assure equal access to adequate housing. In addition, Steel says, when black people have banded together to work for better housing they have been thwarted by the high Court. In one instance, the Court refused to hear a suit by a black neighborhood group in Chicago opposing the use of urban renewal funds to create a "no-Negro buffer zone" around a white shopping center. In this case government funds were being used to destroy adequate existing black housing, which was to be replaced with predominantly white, middle-class housing.

Although Steel never mentions the NAACP in the article, facts such as these certainly undermine the traditional NAACP orientation toward "gradual progress" through legislation and the courts. It is not surprising that the article has helped bring to the surface many of the tensions within the NAACP between the supporters of this old approach and those who are breaking away from it.

## Harlem 6 win a new trial

NEW YORK — The "Harlem Six" won a victory in court Nov. 27 when the court of appeals reversed the first-degree murder convictions of the six men who were framed and sentenced to life imprisonment three years ago for the murder of a Harlem used-clothing store owner.

In a four-to-three decision, the court ordered new trials for the six, all of whom were teenagers at the time of the murder in 1964. The reversal was based on the fact that "confessions" were obtained and used at the trial in violation of the defendants' constitutional rights.

The victory comes after many years of efforts by Harlem citizens and others in defense of the young men, who were railroaded in a witch-hunt atmosphere. They were charged with being members of a non-existent, press-created "Blood Brothers" gang allegedly devoted to killing whites. A group called the Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience has been active in carrying on the defense, and some 3,000 individuals signed a petition authored by James Baldwin asking for a fair trial.

# Background information on the

The Nov. 16 issue of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche* published extensive excerpts from a document which helps illuminate the tragic events in Nigeria. It has been translated into English by *Intercontinental Press*. We present it here for the information of our readers.

*La Gauche* says that the document is based on a study made by Peter Brandt which appeared in the German socialist journal *Was Tun (What Is To Be Done?)*, edited by Lothar Boepple, Peter Brandt, Rudi Dutschke and others. The document was written by a student group in Lausanne, Switzerland, named "Jeunesses Progressistes" (Young Progressives).

Among other points *La Gauche* states that it disagrees with the conclusions reached by *Jeunesses Progressistes* that revolutionists should come out on the side of Biafra.

"The war in Nigeria," declares *La Gauche*, "cannot bring the Nigerians closer to socialism. Thus one should do everything possible to stop it immediately. It is not necessary to choose between the imperialisms clashing with each other through foils. Consequently both the Soviet policy of supporting the 'national' bourgeoisie of Nigeria and the Chinese policy of supporting the 'anti-American' camp of Colonel Ojukwu must be condemned. . . .

"Contrary to the conclusions of the authors of the study below, we do not say that it is sufficient to denounce the 'objectives' of French imperialism, and having made this qualification, to support the Biafran struggle. Any aid (we mean military aid) given to Biafra signifies escalating the aid to the other side and vice versa. All aid to the belligerents adds to the massacre that has already taken place and postpones still further Nigeria's genuine independence from colonialism."

Anyone who wants to analyze the Nigeria-Biafra conflict finds himself confronted with great difficulties. The current literature on this subject is highly inadequate and deals almost solely with the course of the war. We think, however, that the left's somewhat painful silence on this matter must finally be broken.

Although in view of these circumstances any article on the Nigeria-Biafra conflict must necessarily remain unsatisfactory, we want to try to give a few guidelines, real ones, on this problem.

### Nigeria - A Product of Colonialism

In 1861 the English imperialists occupied Lagos and took possession of the southern part of the present Nigeria. After the establishment of a protectorate over the northern regions in 1914, they unified all of the contiguous British territory as the "Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria." Like all the boundaries of the colonial period, these did not take into consideration any ethnic or cultural realities whatever.

From that time on 250 tribes have been included in the territory of Nigeria. Today they number between 55,000,000 and 60,000,000 human beings. The great majority of the population is accounted for by the four main tribes—the Islamic Hausas and Fulanis in the North, and the predominantly Christian Yorubas and Ibos in the South and East respectively. The

Hausas and the Yorubas claim an origin dating back to the emergence of the legendary medieval kingdoms.

To establish its control over all of Nigeria, British imperialism used the Ibos, who were enlisted in its administrative services. This people had never organized beyond the level of village communities, which turned out to be an advantage for the imperialists since this atomized social organization was not difficult to break down. And so the members of the Ibo tribe spread throughout the country to form the majority of the big merchants, military officers, clerks, doctors, lawyers, and other professions.

As a consequence of this development, a Nigerian nationalism emerged whose bearers were the Ibo national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Its clearest expression was the founding in 1944 of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons [NCNC]. The oligarchies of the other tribes reacted by creating their own parties. The Yoruba bourgeoisie formed the Action Group [AG] and the Hausa aristocracy the Northern People's Congress. [NPC]. Even after the declaration of independence on Oct. 1, 1962, Nigeria's highly touted "parliamentary democracy" consisted in reality of wheeling and dealing among the three most important tribal oligarchies, since the parties that emerged on the electoral arena remained purely tribal organizations.

The British method of governing according to the dictum of "divide and rule" con-

thing changed in regard to the colonial character of the Nigerian economy. Exports still consisted of agricultural and industrial raw materials shipped to the imperialist countries—primarily Great Britain—at prices showing an altogether too constant tendency to decline.

The 1967 *Fisher Weltalmanach* shows that exactly two-fifths of these exports consisted of coconuts, palm oil, and peanuts, and one-sixth cacao. Some years ago isolated manufacturing industries appeared (textile and cement factories, etc.) which, as in the other underdeveloped countries, do not serve the needs of the national economy but those of the exploiting imperialist trusts. Even quantitatively this timid partial industrialization changed nothing in the neocolonial structures.

### Role of the National Bourgeoisie

Despite all this, Southern Nigeria was and remains, in African terms, a socially and economically highly developed country. The number of college graduates and trained administrators is higher than in any other state in black Africa. Illiteracy has been practically eliminated in the South (in the North on the other hand in 1959 only eight percent of the children went to school . . .)

The historical tasks to be achieved in Nigeria were certainly those belonging to the bourgeois democratic revolution—national reform and the expulsion of imperialism in order to create an internal market and industrialization in all its forms. The precondition for this would have been the liquidation of all tribal traditions and the elimination of the feudal vestiges, that is the overthrow of the emir in the northern part of the country.

To carry out this gigantic revolution, a social force comparable to the Western bourgeoisie would have been necessary, that bourgeoisie which in the course of the struggles of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries displaced the nobility and the monarchy and established its own rule.

But it was already shown in Czarist Russia that in a country where the national bourgeoisie is very weak numerically, and allied with imperialism and the medieval vestiges against the masses of the people, capitalist industrialization through bourgeois revolution is impossible.

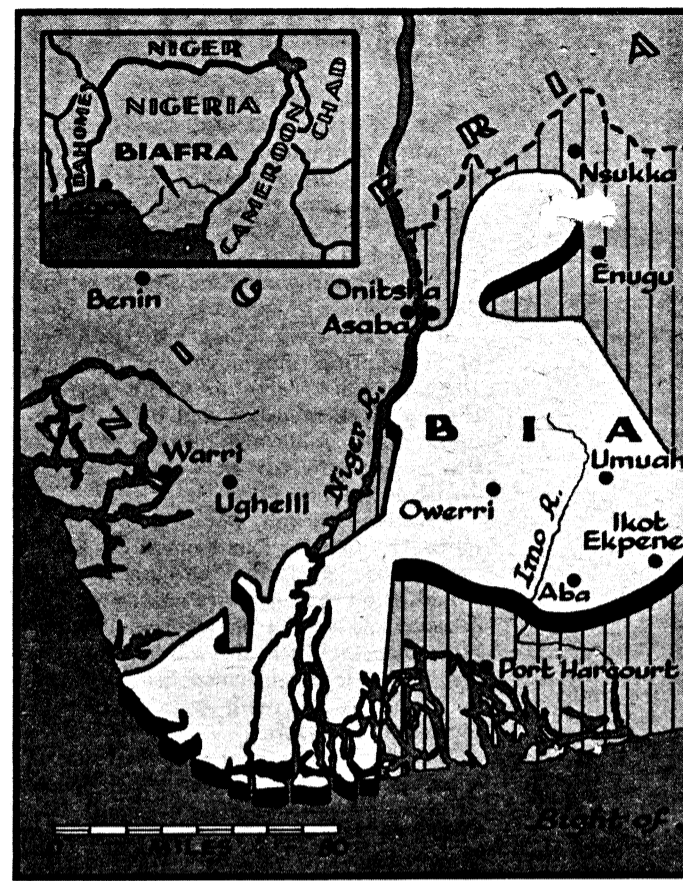
The weakness of the national bourgeoisie is due primarily to the fact that in the last decades of the nineteenth century imperialism took possession of all the underdeveloped agricultural regions and utilized them as a source of raw materials and as ready markets. If any industry was created, it remained in the possession of foreign trusts. Moreover, investment in industrial projects returns less profit in the short run than investment in the unproductive sectors (the building industry, recreation) and in land. Also the bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped countries has a parasitic psychology and is incapable of restricting its consumption as the European bourgeoisie did in its time.

Since the Russian Revolution, the incapacity of the colonial bourgeoisie to achieve the tasks of the bourgeois revolution has been confirmed again and again. These tasks can only be accomplished when the revolution develops into a socialist revolution (let us compare India as an example of the first instance and China as an example of the second).

Naturally, in view of the incredibly low level of development of the productive forces in Nigeria as compared to Asia or Latin America, the Nigerian bourgeoisie was still less able to assume the historical tasks we have described. And this was all the more true because there was not even an embryonic "Nigerian nation."

Around 1962, the contradictions among the three oligarchies, which had been adroitly camouflaged by the colonial power, flared violently into the open. At the time of the 1962 census which was to serve as the basis for the next elections, the Yoruba oligarchy, opposed to the coalition between the NPC (the North) and the NCNC (the East), made an alliance with the Ibo bourgeoisie against the Hausa aristocracy.

Electoral frauds on both sides, terror against the Ibo candidates, and the resulting boycott of the elections by the Ibos reduced the vote to a pure farce which



The Biafra battle lines as estimated by the N

supplementary elections could not make good.

At the time of the following regional elections in the West, similar conflicts broke out, bordering on civil war. The great hope of Western democracy threatened to collapse.

### The Coup d'Etat and Its Consequences

To change this situation, on January 15, 1966, a group of young nationalist Ibo officers decided to act. They were motivated by the desire to eliminate corruption, using the army to enforce order. They wanted to break the domination of the North, put an end to the anarchy, and establish a centralized state. The political leaders of the old regime—who came primarily from the North—were assassinated by the putschists. The leaders of the East and Middle West who had risen to power in 1963 managed to escape.

Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi—also an Ibo—remained loyal and had the putschist officers seized. Fearing a civil war, he maintained the federalist organization of the country and appointed indigenous military governors to head each region. Nepotism and corruption again spread and a series of key posts became exclusively reserved for Ibos.

Then Ironsi himself took over the plan of the putschists to destroy the federal system. This measure, conflicting with the type of economic development occurring in the country, amounted to a first step in the direction of a bourgeois revolution and could not be accomplished without a war against the North, where the power of the emir remained intact.

The population had looked with sympathy on the coup d'etat that brought Ironsi to power. However, the oligarchies—above all that of the North—succeeded in converting the old tribal quarrels into propaganda against the Ibo government. But even the Ibo bourgeoisie was not inclined to follow Ironsi's policy. "Many Ibos showed little desire to share with others the profits which the natural wealth of their land brought them." (*Neue Zuercher Zeitung*.)

This was a concrete illustration of what we have said about the national bourgeoisie. The attitude of the Ibo bourgeoisie virtually sealed the fate of the petty-bourgeois national officers operating without a social base. And the bold move of proclaiming a united republic could not save the Ironsi regime.

At the end of May the first pogroms against the Ibos broke out in the North, taking a thousand lives. On July 29, Northern troops revolted and Ironsi was shot. Colonel Gowon, a Northerner, but not of either the Hausa or Fulani tribes, took power.

Among the first things he did was to



Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu

sisted of preventing any of the three principal tribes (the Hausas and Fulanis are ethnically related and live under similar social structures), or rather any of their ruling strata from becoming too powerful. The feudal structures predominant in the North proved to be pillars of colonial domination since the feudal lords were ready to recognize the authority of the British Empire, at least as long as its power went unchallenged.

Even under the independent regime, no-

clip and mail

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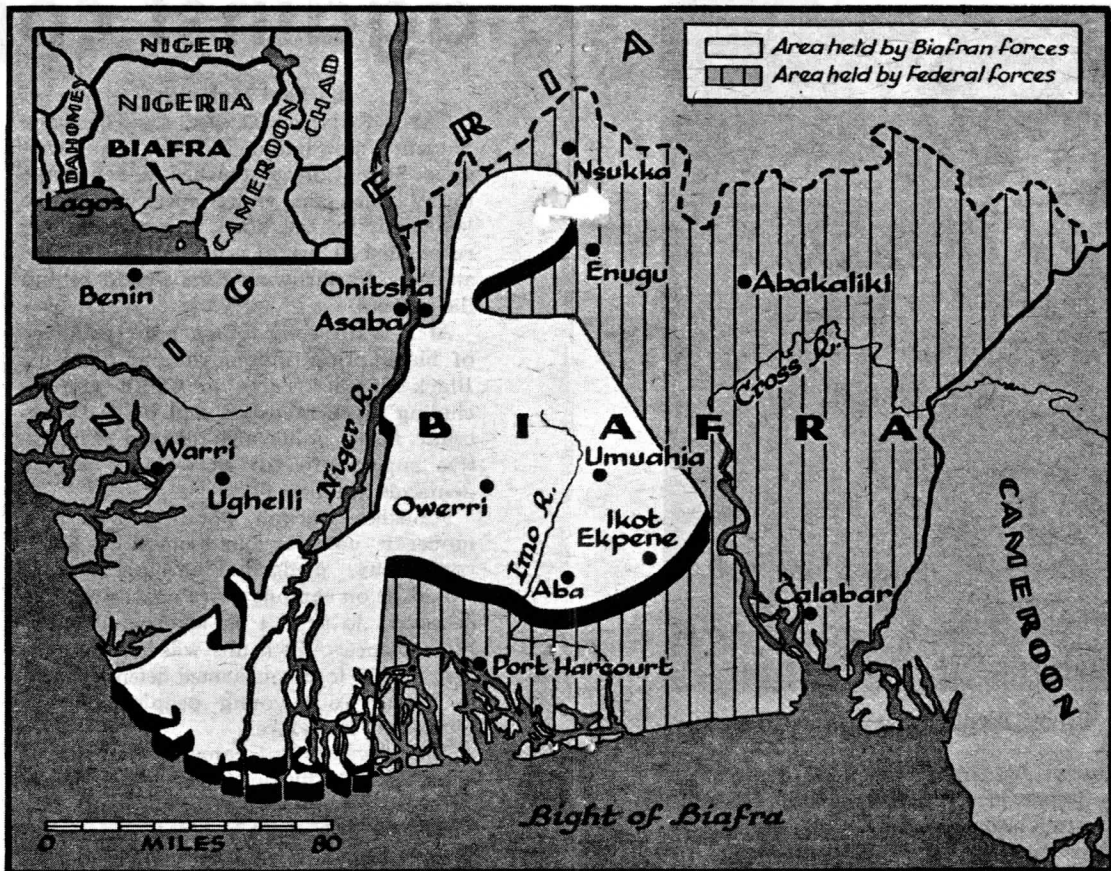
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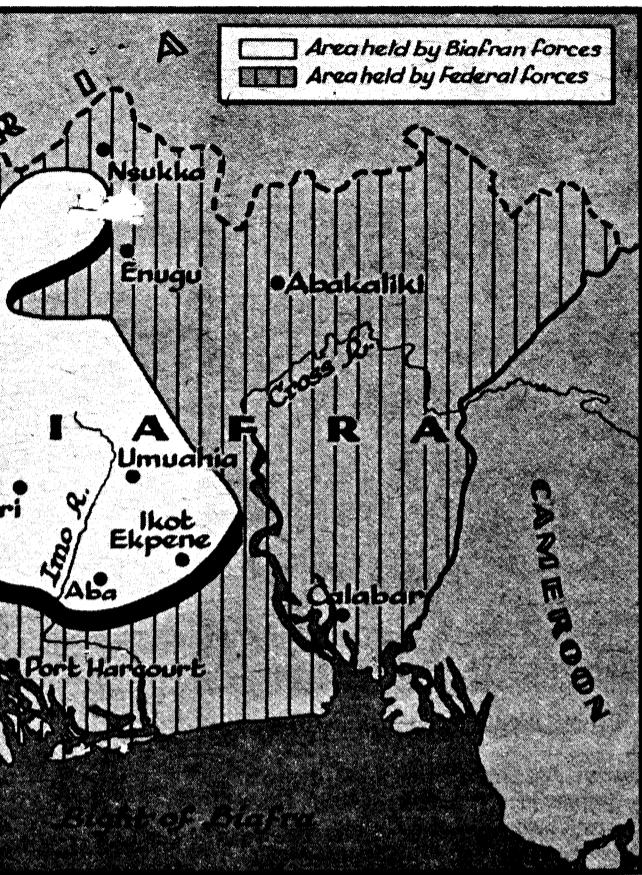
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The Biafra battle lines as estimated by the New York Times last fall.

# n the Nigeria-Biafra war



Estimated by the New York Times last fall.

release the professional politicians imprisoned at the time of the civilian regime. They have proved invaluable to him ever since. Gowon immediately came out against a united state. He promised to form a civilian government. Structural changes in the country were to be made only with the approval of the population, that is, of the three oligarchies.

The military commander of the Eastern region, Colonel Ojukwu, the son of a rich Ibo merchant and, as such, a good representative of the native bourgeoisie, immediately refused to recognize Gowon. In the negotiations among the four regions beginning Sept. 12, the representative of the West proposed dividing the country

## Washington backing Lagos?

The following are excerpts from a Nov. 27 New York Times dispatch by Benjamin Welles, "Biafra Study Unit Is Set Up By U.S."

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26—Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, at the suggestion of the White House has formed an emergency task force on Biafra in the State Department. . . .

It is said to reflect a growing belief in high Government circles that officials both in the United States Embassy in Lagos, the Nigerian federal capital, and in the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs are committed both professionally and emotionally to a quick victory by the Nigerian Government as the only true solution to Biafran starvation.

These officials are said to see little useful purpose in deliberately risking the displeasure of the Nigerian Government—and United States influence at a time when Soviet influence in Nigeria is growing—by too great an involvement, even to aid starving civilians, in a "rebellious" territory.

into a large number of federated states. This plan, which was accepted by the representatives of the North and the Middle West, seemed directed solely against the all-powerful North. Neither the feudal structures nor the feudal dismemberment were eliminated by this measure.

The Ibo bourgeoisie, however, saw another maneuver in this step. The country's increasingly important oil fields are in the East but in an area inhabited predominantly by members of non-Ibo tribes. There are five million Efiks, Ibibis, Ekois, and Ijaws as against seven million Ibos in the center of the East. The giant British Petroleum-Shell Oil trust controls the exploitation of these fields, paying taxes to the Lagos government for this right. The tax helps line the pockets of the ruling clique. Probably the Ibo bourgeoisie wanted to secure this source of profit for itself without having to share it with the other oligarchies. It seemed to them that this aim was endangered.

### The Role of the Imperialists

That British imperialism bears the historic responsibility for this butchery is clear. In addition it bears the major responsibility for the current situation.

The British Petroleum-Shell group has invested more than 200,000,000 pounds sterling in Nigeria. In 1966, 20,500,000 tons of oil was pumped in Nigeria, 67 percent of it in the East and the rest in the Middle West. However, even the oil from the Middle West is exported by pipeline through the oil ports in the East.

On July 12, 1967 Ojukwu threatened to nationalize the oil if the payments coming due were not met. The arrest of the general manager of British Petroleum-Shell by Biafran troops drew a protest from international financial circles and their press.

In response to the early Biafran successes, British imperialism, represented by its "socialist" government, began to send massive aid to the central government. Not only did it send arms, DCAs, mortars, and tanks but English officers took part both directly and indirectly in the war.

On the contending side, Biafra received aid from French imperialism. In 1962 the oil corporation SAFRAP, a subsidiary of the nationalized French combine ERAP, acquired drilling rights over a 25,000-square-kilometer area. The Michelin trust is building a tire factory. French companies are establishing branches.

On Aug. 9, the photocopy of a document supposedly signed by Ojukwu was shown to the press in Lagos. It ceded all rights to exploit the Biafran underground resources, both minerals and coal, to a French bank for ten years in return for payment to the ENUGU [Biafra] government of about 80,000,000 francs [5 francs=US \$1] in currency. The agreement did not include the resources in petroleum and natural gas in the region.

While still tentative, the alliance of the Ibo bourgeoisie with French imperialism seems only logical. In fact, if Biafra survives, the French trusts will certainly be able to profit from the anti-British hatred of the bourgeoisie and the population.

The aid to Biafra from Portugal, Spain, Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa, often pointed to by supporters of Nigeria, amounts simply to these governments indicating sympathy for the secession in the hope that they will be strengthened by any weakening of the black African states. Portugal provides airplanes to Biafra and additional "aid" is offered by some traders from these countries, since Biafra can only obtain certain products by this means.

Up to now the Biafran army's equipment has consisted of material bought from European arms dealers, dating often from the second world war. Since France openly took Biafra's side by recognizing its government, "French military planes have been flying in arms and munitions by night . . ." (*Der Spiegel*, Aug. 19, 1968). An additional significant fact is that two of the three African states which have recognized Biafra are in the French sphere of influence—Gabon and the Ivory Coast (the third is Tanzania). White mercenaries are fighting on both sides, but no one has checked into this seriously.

### The Soviet Union's Role

Even before the intervention of British

imperialism, the central government received aid from another source. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia (which pulled back under the Dubcek government) delivered arms of all sorts as well as bombers piloted by Egyptians.

This involvement was justified on the grounds that Biafra was supported by U.S. imperialism. Up to now there has not been the slightest proof to support this claim. To the contrary, according to Biafran reports, the USA is delivering arms to the central government. U.S. grenades have been captured by Biafran troops.

These accounts were confirmed by Undersecretary of State for African Affairs Joseph Palmer, as reported by *Stimme Afrikas*, when he made a statement against the Biafran secession (according to *Bia-*



Maj. Gen. Yakubu Gowon

fra Information). But aside from this, even American aid to Ojukwu would not change the fact that the interests of the oil trusts determined the British government's aid to Nigeria.

We are forced to state that the Soviet Union is backing a war in conjunction with the imperialists. Nigeria offers another striking example of Soviet policy in the Third World. In order to establish purely diplomatic ties with the colonial bourgeoisie, the Soviet Union cooperates with reactionary states.

There are numerous examples of this sort from the Latin American dictatorships to the absolute monarchies of Africa and the Shah of Iran to the Indian "democracy." Any regime which takes a neutral position militarily and diplomatically and votes with the Soviet Union in the UN from time to time stands in the good graces of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Revolutionary struggle against the oligarchies thus is of no interest to the Kremlin, and if it were it would only be with an eye to a possible diplomatic link. Naturally Soviet support to the emir of Northern Nigeria has not made him any more progressive.

### Biafra and the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination

The imperialist rivals are engaging in a savage contest on Biafran soil, although it must be noted, to modify this formula somewhat, that the Gowon clique's dependence on British imperialism is much greater than that of the Ojukwu clique on French imperialism.

The oligarchies of the three main tribes have proved themselves incapable of offering even the beginning of a solution to the problems raised. Theory declares—and this holds true for all the countries of the Third World—that it remains up to the working class, which though numerically weak constitutes a dynamic force, to rally the popular masses against the oligarchies.

The level of development of the productive forces has produced a working class in Nigeria larger than in most of the African states (340,000 in 1959) and about 10 percent of it is organized in unions. The left is stronger in Nigeria than elsewhere; but it was not yet strong enough. When the conflicts broke out, the

left was shattered by the pull of the [bourgeois] parties, rallying to the central government, while the Biafran left backed up Ojukwu.

Tribal conflicts have proved temporarily to be an insurmountable obstacle to an awakening of the Nigerian and Biafran masses.

This apparently insoluble situation—a bourgeoisie which is no longer capable of acting effectively and a proletariat not yet capable of doing so—absolves the revolutionary forces from having to take sides in this murderous war. Abstractly, two apparently contradictory observations can be made from a Marxist point of view:

1) Lenin formulated the maxim for the imperialist epoch of the right of peoples to self-determination. And this right explicitly entails the freedom of secession. Naturally, the interests of the world revolution take precedence if they come in conflict with this right in any concrete case.

2) From the economic point of view, large areas offer a better chance for capital accumulation than small ones. Particularly in the underdeveloped countries exploited by imperialism every new division prolongs capitalist domination.

Our article has tried to make it clear that Nigeria is not governed by a progressive bourgeoisie struggling against a backward tribal rebellion incited by U.S. imperialism, as Soviet propaganda claims. The example of Nigeria shows precisely the following: It is not enough to create a large state. An internal market must be created. This requires a bourgeois democratic revolution which can win victory under the conditions of imperialism only if it grows over into a proletarian socialist revolution.

Revolutionists obviously have no business trying to arouse a desire in peoples, to say nothing of tribes, to create a state of their own if these peoples will have nothing to do with it. But when a people opts for this road, socialists must respect and support the decision.

The great majority of Ibos have clearly followed their bourgeoisie on the road of independence. Otherwise, the determined resistance against the central government's troops could not be explained. The creation of Biafra was, at least for the Ibo masses who supported it, a reaction to the massacres in the North and the flood of refugees.

For the moment, Biafra's struggle against Nigeria must be characterized as a defensive action. There is no working class in either Nigeria or Biafra capable of preparing the way for a solution to the problem by siding in solidarity with one or the other.

No one then can demand of the Ibos that they let themselves be exterminated by Adekunle's troops. A peace not recognizing the independence of Biafra could only paper over the national conflicts which would break out again in the long run.

The Ojukwu regime also bears evident features of neocolonialism—and French imperialism is no better than English imperialism. But it is only in an independent Biafra that the Ibo bourgeoisie can eliminate all the contradictions of the tribal quarrels.

It is only along this path that the Nigerian and Biafran workers can recover from their destructive defeat and take up the struggle for real national and social liberation—for the overthrow of the national bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocracy, for the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasants and certain sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, and for the unification of all the Sudanese states on a socialist basis.

The duty of all the international revolutionary movements must be to bring the most resolute pressure to bear on the Soviet Union to suspend its arms deliveries and to expose the objectives of French imperialism. With all these restrictions, there is no other alternative for us but to support Biafra's struggle to the death. However, parallel to this, we must also recognize the justice of the aspirations of the national minorities on Biafran territory which we must battle to realize.



By Harry Ring

The eighth national Young Socialist Alliance convention held in Chicago Thanksgiving weekend marked a new stage in the revolutionary socialist youth movement in this country.

It was the biggest Young Socialist convention so far. The organization's membership has doubled during the past year and all convention reports pointed to the very realistic prospect of an even more accelerated growth in the months ahead.

The size and composition of the convention and the quality of the political proceedings made it clear that the Young Socialists have emerged as the decisive socialist youth movement in the U. S.

Eight hundred people attended the convention, more than double the number present at last year's gathering.

The delegates, alternates and observers represented 121 university and college campuses and 37 high schools across the country. There was representation from 128 cities, 12 of them in the South.

It was a genuinely youthful gathering. The largest single age bracket was 21 and 46 percent of those present were under that age. Fifty-five were under 17.

When the convention opened the organization had 725 members. During the four-day gathering another 60 applied for membership. The perspective of a thousand members by summer was adopted as an entirely realistic one.

The YSA is already larger than any other radical youth organization in the country, excepting SDS. And in terms of politically educated, committed cadres the Young Socialists have a decisive edge there too.

Decisive to the growth of the movement has been the clear political orientation of the YSA. The convention debate and decisions showed a solid grasp of the key

## Two antiwar GIs being victimized at Ft. Benning

DEC. 4 — The Ft. Benning authorities have been forced to back down in their harassment of Pfc. Edwin Glover, but two of Glover's friends on post are still being persecuted. Antiwar GIs Larry Darby and Don Pyle were court-martialed on charges arising from an incident when they were found sitting on their barracks steps with a couple of cans of beer.

An irregular and totally illegal military court found Pfc. Darby guilty of "disrespect" to a sergeant. He was sentenced to four months at hard labor in the stockade, and has spent much of the last two months in solitary confinement. His friends think that this isolation is imposed because there are a number of other political prisoners in the stockade, and the brass don't want them getting together.

Pvt. Don Pyle was busted to the rank of E-1 and fined at a hastily-convened court-martial over a month ago. His crime? Allegedly disobeying an order which the Army has admitted was never issued!

## CALENDAR

### BOSTON

**STUDENTS AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.** Speaker: Donald Tormey, International representative, United Electrical Workers. Fri., Dec. 13, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### MINNEAPOLIS

**REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS AND REPRESENTATION IN LATIN AMERICA: The U.S. Government's Role.** Speaker: Charlie Scheer, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 14, 8:30 p.m., 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

**MILITANT 40TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET.** Sat., Dec. 14, 6:30 p.m.: BANQUET, delicious food and refreshments. 8:30 p.m.: PROGRAM, featuring Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party. Contrib. \$2.50 (\$1.75, under 18; \$1 for program only). 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

factors in the present youth radicalization and how to effectively relate to that process.

The YSAers devoted particular attention to the black liberation struggle and the antiwar movements. They saw a special opportunity for registering advances among the newly radicalizing high school students, white and black, and the delegates were agreed on the need to further intensify their activity in this area.

Perhaps the most dramatic feature of the convention was the presence of active-duty GIs who helped shape the convention's major focus on linking up with antiwar sentiment within the armed forces. In a serious, determined way, the convention decided it would contribute a maximum to helping to develop this dynamic political force.

There was, too, a readily apparent international consciousness. This was seen in the spontaneous standing ovation extended to a representative of the now banned Revolutionary Communist Youth of France who played such a decisive role in the May-June uprising.

Just as young blacks in this country increasingly identify with the world struggles of colored people, so the young people now coming into the revolutionary socialist youth movement see themselves as part of a rising international revolutionary youth movement. They feel as one with their French comrades, with the Japanese and German youth, particularly with the Vietnamese freedom fighters. This sense of being part of a world movement contributes much to their revolutionary optimism.

Their revolutionary outlook could be seen in the totality of identification with the black liberation fighters of the U. S. The sense of kinship with every section of the liberation movement was apparent in the political discussion. Even while expressing political disagreement with a Chicago Black Panther who addressed the gathering, there was manifest a deep sense of solidarity with the Panther movement.

The target of the YSAers is to build a mass socialist youth movement. But their understanding of the need to build a revolutionary working class party was evident in the warm reception given Joseph Hansen who brought the greetings of the Socialist Workers Party.

## Arizona students force out racist laundry

A coalition of student organizations scored a victory Nov. 21 at Arizona State University in Tempe, Ariz., by compelling the university administration to agree not to renew a contract with a laundry that discriminates against Mexican American workers and pays sweatshop wages.

The announcement by ASU president G. Homer Durham came after a three-hour occupation of his office the previous day by 150 students and a massive demonstration on the 22nd. Don Critchlow of the ASU Young Socialist Alliance, one of the leaders of the action, called Durham's statement "a complete victory for the students."

The university has an \$80,000-a-year contract with the Phoenix Linen and Towel Supply Co. According to a leaflet distributed by the student groups, conditions at Phoenix Linen are intolerable, with the great majority of the workers earning less than \$1.15 an hour and only 10 percent of the workers having any fringe benefits whatever.

The action was sponsored by a number of student groups, including the Mexican American Students Organization, SDS, and the YSA.

# Young Socialists register major gains

Similarly, there was an enthusiastic, appreciative response to a lecture by George Novack in which he presented a Marxist critique of the New Left thesis that the working class is no longer an agency for social change.

Space doesn't permit adequate reporting of the major political reports delivered at the convention and the panel discussions held. These will be given expanded coverage in a coming issue.

There was an international report by Mary-Alice Waters, outgoing YSA national chairman; a political report by Larry Seigle; a report on the black liberation struggle by Derrick Morrison; an organizational report by Charles Bolduc; a report on the antiwar movement by Carol Lipman.

There was an international panel, a GI panel, and a panel on the revolutionary significance of the struggle of minority peoples for self-determination.

The participants in the international panel were: Yves Salessé of the banned French JCR; Lothar Boepple, secretary of the German section of the Fourth International; Ricardo de la Luz of the National Strike Council of Mexican students; Jacquie Henderson, editor of the Canadian *Young Socialist Forum*; and Ken Hayashi, who has been active in the Zengakuren student movement in Japan.

Participants in the GI panel were: Pfc.

We are preparing a special 16-page **Militant** featuring extensive news and photographic coverage of the Young Socialist convention. It will be in the second issue after this one, dated Dec. 27.

Joe Cole of Ft. Jackson, S. C.; Pfc. Tom Hathcock, Ft. McClellan, Ga.; Sp/4 Allen Myers, Ft. Dix; and Pvt. Don Pyle, Ft. Benning, Ga. Also on the panel were ex-GI Howard Petrick of the Student Mobilization Committee and Matilde Zimmerman of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

Pvt. Ed Glover, who with the aid of public protest forced the brass at Ft. Benning to stop its victimization of him, was unable to attend as planned because of the Army's refusal to give him a holiday pass. He did phone a message which was taped and played to the gathering. It evoked a roar of applause.

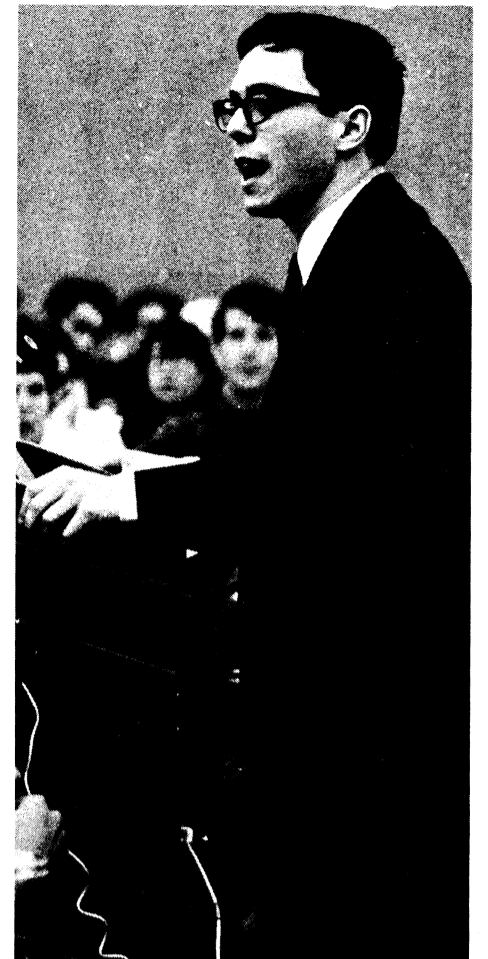
The panel on self-determination included: Genaro Lara, a Mexican American active at the University of Illinois; Omar Aoki, of the Afro-American Student Association and a leader of the Chicago Black Students for Defense, organizers of the militant high school boycott; Dennis Lambert of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in Quebec; Tony Thomas of the YSA; and Steve Autid, an Indian American from McGregor, Minn.

Testimony to the growing influence of the Young Socialists was provided by the media coverage of the convention. There were daily reports in the Chicago press, local and national television coverage, a *New York Times* report and AP dispatches.

The *Atlanta Constitution* and *St. Louis Free Press* had reporters at the convention. There was a good representation of the movement press, including two reporters for the *Daily World*.

Among the organizational decisions of the convention was to conduct a drive for a \$25,000 expansion fund and to boost the circulation of the *Young Socialist* to the 10,000 mark. The magazine, which a few years ago had a circulation of about a thousand, and only 5,000 last February, now is at the 8,500 mark.

Greetings and messages of solidarity were sent to the imprisoned Mexican students; to Hugo Blanco and his imprisoned comrades in Peru; to the Czech



Larry Seigle gave political report

student fighters for socialist democracy; to imprisoned Panther leader Huey P. Newton; and to James P. Cannon, founder of the American Trotskyist movement.

Virtually all sections of the YSA were represented. Among those who couldn't make it were a group of junior-high-school students in New York. They sent regrets and a declaration of solidarity, concluding, "And remember, when we're 21 we'll have had nine years experience in the revolutionary movement!"

## Militant banquet success in Boston

BOSTON — Seventy-five members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance attended the Militant 40th Anniversary Dinner here Nov. 17, where over \$1,300 was raised for the Militant 40th Anniversary Fund Drive.

The meeting was chaired by Garry Collins, and two local folk singers provided entertainment. Augusta Trainor discussed fund raising for *The Militant*, and Lawrence P. Trainor spoke on the paper's 40-year history.

The gathering heard a recording of Leon Trotsky's 1938 speech on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the American Trotskyist movement, and each guest received a transcript of this speech.

A high point of the evening was the surprise expression of tribute by younger members of the party and the Young Socialists to Larry Trainor for his 34 years of dedicated work in the American revolutionary socialist movement. A scroll presented to Trainor stressed his role as a trailblazer and organizer during the '30s and '40s and as an educator of the revolutionary youth during the '50s and '60s.

The hall was decorated in a red and white motif for the event. A section of one wall was covered with past issues of *The Militant*, important headlines from the paper, and photographs. The centerpieces on the tables consisted of red tissue flowers surrounding red flags inscribed "Militant 40th Anniversary," and a banner bearing the same inscription in red letters streamed across the entire width of the hall.

The celebration ended with the singing of "The Internationale" and other revolutionary songs, and a party completed the evening.

### INTERESTED?

If you are interested in becoming a Young Socialist and would like more information, write to the YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York, N. Y. 10003. If you would like to subscribe to the magazine, the *Young Socialist*, send a check or money order for \$2 to the same address. You'll receive 12 monthly issues.

# The 'Hemispheric' blowup

By Penny Simpson

MONTREAL — The much publicized Nov. 29-Dec. 2 "Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam" ended in failure for both the conservative wing of the antiwar movement which organized it and the young radicals who wanted so much more than "just a peace conference."

From the outset, a chasm began to open between the youth and the more conservative, older elements. The open break came when the extremely large delegations of the Black Panthers, Mexicans, and white radicals from California, who had been told that they were coming to an "anti-imperialist" conference, discovered that the promised keynote speaker, Bobby Seale, was not there.

A group of Panthers seized the mike and forced an explanation from a shaken conference official, namely that they had refused to pay the way for the two body guards Seale considered necessary and by doing so made it impossible for him to attend. The angry crowd took up a collection covering more than half the fare, and forced the conference organizers to come across with the rest.

The quickly assembled black, Quebecois and white radical caucuses forced open the organizing committee, overturned the agenda and turned the whole thing into the "anti-imperialist" conference they had been led to expect.

In fact, the plans of the Hemispheric Conference organizers had been clear last August, when the executive secretary of the Toronto Vietnam Mobilization Committee (organizers of the most successful and militant demonstration in Ontario) was explicitly excluded from the planning meetings. The organizers had a representative of the Voix des Quebecois Sur le Vietnam, Montreal's only single-issue Vietnam organization, thrown out of a planning meeting by a hotel cop.

Heavy emphasis in the official call was placed on stopping the bombing and on negotiations with no mention of the antiwar movement apart from a vague reference to a "campaign of public enlightenment."

A long list of Latin American officeholders appeared as sponsors, but there was no representation of Latin American revolutionary tendencies and it is not known whether Cuba, which did not participate, was even invited.

Even after the transformation of the conference agenda the workshops remained in the hands of the original chairman, who consistently refused to recognize young people and ponderously intervened after every contribution and insisted at every point in hearing from the elderly, conservative Latin-American delegates.

In attempting to speak to conference officials, I myself was three times seized by self-appointed organizers and wrestled from the approach to the platform. One organizer frankly explained that they were on the lookout for all young people.

It was apparent from discussions with angry youth that they realized that those responsible for the conference had attempted to use them, the radical elements, to provide a cover for a regroupment of right-wing forces within the North American antiwar movement. Few were hesitant about placing responsibility on the Communist Party for this.

Highlights of the conference were the addresses of the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front representatives, who firmly restated their positions on Vietnam. They were greeted with tumultuous applause from the entire gathering.

Despite the frustrating control which the organizers imposed on the workshops, free discussion and debate was the rule in the crowded halls and rooms. Literature tables lined the walls and were piled high with buttons, books, flags, posters — even knit-

ting from the Vietnam Medical Aid Committee.

One particular feature was the tremendous interest in revolutionary socialist literature, particularly on Quebec. The Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere literature table nearly sold out its stock.

By the final day of the conference the Panther-led youth held control. The all-day plenary session opened with a speech by Bobby Seale — a moving and electrifying experience for the largely white audience, most of whom were sympathetic to the Black Panthers but largely unacquainted with them. While some of the older conser-

vatives sat on their hands, young people shouting "Free Huey" gave him a standing ovation with black and white fists raised in the air.

With that the entire conference took on an unreal air. Latin American speakers moved rhetorically to the left in their denunciation of American imperialism.

At one point the Montreal-based "Intellectual and Workers Patriots of Quebec," a fanatically religious Maoist grouplet, threatened to invade the platform to denounce "Soviet Revisionism" despite a personal appeal by a representative of the NLF. A Panther guard was mounted three

deep around the platform, and the group decided to behave themselves.

As delegates from the U. S. began leaving for home, resolutions in support of the national struggle in Quebec, other liberation struggles and armed struggle where applicable were passed by the enthusiastic crowd.

But nothing was really accomplished. The Vietnam resolutions were shuffled together in the closing minutes of the conference. A few were read and a promise made to publish them. The only action decided upon was a "Vietnam Solidarity Week," with no decision on its content and no committee elected to organize it.



Bobby Seale addressing an Oakland rally

## More grief for the Communist Party?

By Milton Alvin

LOS ANGELES — Is the leadership of the American Communist Party considering drastic measures against members and leaders who disagree with the party's support of the invasion of Czechoslovakia?

A broad hint that this may be the case is contained in editor Al Richmond's "Good and Welfare" column in the Nov. 23 issue of *People's World*, the West Coast party voice.

Richmond went to Czechoslovakia after the invasion to see for himself what was going on. On his return, he wrote a series of articles for his paper recounting his experiences and conversations in Czechoslovakia. Many letters from readers have been published in the paper since. Some of these supported the invasion; others opposed it. Richmond himself opposed the invasion before his trip and has continued to oppose it since his return. His position is supported by many rank-and-file party members, as well as by prominent leaders such as Dorothy Healy of Los Angeles.

In the column mentioned above Richmond writes, "It is clear from the letters that the series did not create the differences expressed. The series help to bring them to the surface — to bring to the light of day, so to speak, differences that were already in existence." Explaining that it was not his purpose to enter into polemics on this issue, he adds, "This is a deliberate self-restraint, and its exercise is not rendered any easier by some of the discussion, which was personally offensive in that it crossed the not-so-thin line between political criticism and personal abuse."

These observations suggest the sharpness of the dispute within the Communist Party over the invasion. If the response to Richmond's series of articles was as abusive as he says, it may well be but a pale reflection of the debate that is taking place behind the closed doors of the party.

Richmond offers a hint of the possible outcome: "Controversy does not disturb me, but what is disturbing is a tendency in some limited quarters to drive differences to the point of split. Most immediately, to the sort of split that would jeopardize the existence of this paper."

Under Richmond's editorship, the *People's World* has been a public voice for those who oppose the invasion. A weekly publication, the paper is not exactly a tower of financial strength and could easily be wrecked by the CP leaders by withdrawal of support. Or, perhaps, is the removal of the editor and the appointment of another who agrees with the leadership being planned?

From these recent developments it is clear that a serious division over the invasion is occurring in the Communist ranks and periphery. There can be a meaningful resolution of the dispute only if the majority rejects the phony reasons offered by Moscow and its supporters. There is, in fact, not a shred of evidence that a capitalist restoration was threatened within Czechoslovakia. Nor has anyone tried to substantiate the assertion that an invasion of the country from West Germany, backed by the United States, was imminent.

What has become increasingly apparent is that the reversal of the democratization in Czechoslovakia was inspired by the fear of the Soviet bureaucracy that freedom of expression would spread to other East European nations and to the USSR itself.

This would open the flood gates to the widespread hatred of these privileged bureaucracies and could lead to their overthrow. That would clear the way to the building of socialist societies on a democratic basis.

### Gil Green disturbed by George Morris

*In addition to the division over the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, the American Communist Party appears to have been rather sharply divided over U. S. election policy. There was a reported dispute at the party convention last fall as to who the presidential slate should be. And there was a clear division over the party's formal endorsement of New York Freedom and Peace senatorial nominee Herman Ferguson. Despite the endorsement, the Daily World gave scarcely disguised support to the Democratic nominee, Paul O'Dwyer.*

*A further indication of the rift on electoral policy is seen in the letter reprinted below, which was sent to the Nov. 26 Daily World by Gil Green, New York state secretary of the party and one of the critics of the party's Czech stand.*

*Such public disagreements between party leaders have not been traditional in the Communist Party.*

I am disturbed by George Morris' column "The Worse the Better" (Nov. 19th). He discusses "minor factors" that brought about the hairline victory of Nixon and that "could have turned the result the other way" — that is — the Humphrey way. He points to two such factors: "a one-percent shift of the vote in California or in Illinois," or "if even a smaller fraction of voters didn't by-pass the top of the ticket in New Jersey, Missouri and Ohio." According to Morris "there was quite a trend of such sentiment among some 'new left' and even progressive circles."

I doubt whether many new left, old left or just plain left people voted for Nixon. As for the trend George speaks of, I do not know. I am sure that some did skip the top of the ticket and many more stayed at home in total disgust. I disagree with this, but not for Morris' reasons.

He believes that had this not occurred, Humphrey could have won. But Humphrey could have won only if these people had voted for him and not for either Mitchell, Gregory, Cleaver, Halstead or even Pat Paulsen. Apparently Morris thinks they should have voted for Humphrey. Otherwise why bemoan the results? But if this is so, then Morris also believes the *Daily World* erred when it urged its readers to vote against Wallace, Nixon and Humphrey.

On my part I still believe there was no choice between these three. Had Humphrey won the election the result would still not have been "the other way," for both Nixon and Humphrey represent the same way. Sure, the "worse the better" theory is wrong; but so is the "lesser evil" theory reprehensible.

Gil Green, New York, N. Y.



# The Chicago police riot

By Dick Roberts

The report on Chicago police violence at the Democratic Party national convention reflects what appears to be a growing concern in certain ruling-class circles: the bad image and effect of "excessive" police brutality.

Compiled under the direction of Montgomery Ward-Continental Can Co. vice-president Daniel Walker, this study goes further in many respects than the "Riot Control Commission" report last winter. It affirms that the police force was responsible for the violence in Chicago.

On balance, Walker describes the Chicago melee as a "police riot." "Although crowds were finally dispelled on the nights of violence in Chicago," Walker concludes, "the problems they represent have not been.

"Surely this is not the last time that a violent dissenting group will clash head-on with those whose duty it is to enforce the law. And the next time the whole world will be watching."

Like the "Riot Control" report, Walker's study is aimed at making more effective the maintenance of "law and order."

The Chicago study was sponsored by the "National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence" set up by President Johnson after Senator Robert Kennedy's assassination last July.

Walker does not question Johnson's mobilization of federal, state and local police at the Democratic Party convention. What went wrong, he feels, are the tactics they employed.

He criticizes Mayor Daley for failing to retract the notorious "shoot to kill" orders issued during the Chicago black uprising earlier in the summer. Walker also implicitly scores Chicago authorities for not finding a place where the demonstrators could hold the peaceful rally most of them wanted.

But the report seeks to put the burden of blame upon rank-and-file and lower-ranking officials of the police force. Implicit is the notion that the police riot was not the logical outcome of a political policy but rather the result of "breakdown of discipline" by socially backward cops.

A *New York Times* reporter, obviously sympathetic to Walker's analysis, asks why this "breakdown of discipline" occurred:

## 'Unrestrained, indiscriminate police violence'

Following are excerpts from the study on police violence at the Democratic Party convention in Chicago last August. The study was prepared for the President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

During the week of the Democratic National Convention, the Chicago police were the targets of mounting provocation by both word and act. . . .

Some of these acts had been planned; others were spontaneous or were themselves provoked by police action. Furthermore the police had been put on edge by widely published threats of attempts to disrupt both the city and the convention.

That was the nature of the provocation. The nature of the response was unrestrained and indiscriminate police violence on many occasions, particularly at night.

That violence was made all the more shocking by the fact that it was often inflicted upon persons who had broken no law, disobeyed no order, made no threat. . . . Newsmen and photographers were singled out for assault, and their equipment deliberately damaged. . . .

A report prepared by an inspector from the Los Angeles Police Department, present as an official observer, while generally praising the police restraint he had observed in the parks during the week, said this about the events that night [in front of the Conrad Hilton]:

"There is no question but that many officers acted without restraint and exerted force beyond that necessary under the circumstances. The leadership at the point of conflict did little to prevent such conduct and the direct control of officers by first line supervisors was virtually nonexistent."

. . . But most Americans do not know that the [Conrad Hilton] confrontation was followed by even more brutal incidents in the Loop side streets. Or that it had been preceded by comparable instances of indiscriminate police attacks on the North Side. . . .

Despite the presence of some revolutionaries, the vast majority of the demonstrators were intent on expressing by peaceful means their dissent either from society generally or from the Administration's policies in Vietnam.

Most of those intending to join the major protest demonstrations . . . did not plan to enter the amphitheater and disrupt the proceedings of the Democratic convention, did not plan aggressive acts of physical provocation against the authorities and did not plan to use rallies of demonstrators to stage an assault against any person, institution, or place of business. . . .

On the part of the police there was enough wild club swinging, enough cries of hatred, enough gratuitous beating to make the conclusion inescapable that individual policemen, and lots of them, committed violent acts far in excess of the requisite force for crowd dispersal or arrest.

To read dispassionately the hundreds of statements describing at first-hand the events of Sunday and Monday nights is to become convinced of the presence of what can only be called a police riot.

"Perhaps, above all, it had to do with a clash of attitudes, backgrounds, beliefs," *Times* reporter Sylvan Fox explains.

"Generally speaking, policemen believe in the status quo. They often come from strongly religious, authoritarian, middle or lower middle class backgrounds. They believe in the sanctity of the flag, conformity, a concept of law and order that places heavy emphasis on the maintenance of order."

No knowledgeable person will argue with this description of cops who charged crowds yelling "Kill the Commies" and "Get the Bastards." But it is false to assert that they initiated the violence. Their mentality simply makes them capable of carrying it out.

The obvious source of the police riot were the policy makers in Chicago—and Washington. It would not have taken place without the express sanction of the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties—none of whom spoke out against the police mobilization before the riots took place, nor even the cop violence while it was happening.

Police discipline doesn't break down unless it is *allowed* to. The decision to allow it to happen in Chicago was the direct corollary of the firm decision made well in advance by the Democratic high command to prevent "disruption" of their convention—by any means necessary. They said so in advance and what happened simply confirmed that they meant it.

A difficulty in coping with the police riot was the incorrect policies of the National Mobilization and Yippie "leadership" which called the demonstration. There was no clear political focus to the action capable of mobilizing and uniting significant forces (the Walker report estimates a maximum of 10,000 demonstrators). And there was absolutely no concept of how to turn it into the broadest kind of a single-issue, free-speech battle once the police violence erupted. Some of the leaders, indeed, viewed each additional cracked skull as one more "victory" in "exposing the establishment."

An additional obstacle was the opportunistic adaptation to the McCarthy forces by the National Mobe leadership. This prevented them from publicly demanding that he, at least, join them in the streets in warding off the cops. (McCarthy, in fact,

remained silent until it was over.)

The effectiveness of a broad, united protest movement was clearly demonstrated just one month later when the Chicago movement mobilized for a giant march and rally to protest the violence in Vietnam and Chicago. As 25,000 people marched down the streets, the same Chicago cops stood politely by.

(The turnout for this action also refuted the notion peddled by the Mobe leadership that the small turnout for their recent actions is because people are "afraid of confrontations.")

Finally, the basic message of Walker's report is utterly false. A leading Illinois Democrat himself, Walker wants his readers to believe that proper decisions by governmental authorities can correct the problems of uncontrolled police violence.

What the facts in his report really show is the need for completely breaking from capitalist politics. The same parties which are responsible for the genocidal war in Vietnam and for over and over again unleashing their police forces on the black communities in this country, cannot be expected to hold back the cops when capitalist institutions are threatened.

The job of the police force is to maintain and protect the same capitalist "law and order" the major parties represent. Ending capitalist police violence requires nothing less than ending capitalist rule itself.

## LATIN AMERICAN TEACH-IN

Featuring:

Ricardo de la Luz, member of Mexican National Strike Council

Edward Boorstein, 3-1/2 years with Cuban gov't.; worked with Che; author, *The Economic Transformation of Cuba*

Richard Garza, ass't. exec. secretary, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners

### PANEL: Two, Three, Many Vietnams?

Paul Sweezy, editor, *Monthly Review*

Ralph de La Cava, professor of political science, Queens College

Charles Wagley, director, Latin American Institute, Columbia University

Gonzalo Castillo, participant in student struggles in Columbia, S. A.

Blase Bonpane, former Maryknoll priest, Guatemala

Alice Embree, North American Congress on Latin America

Rodriguez Gonzales, member, Federation of University Students for Puerto Rican Independence

Performance by People's Theater

Film of Mexican events

Moderators:

Tana de Gamez, news staff, WBAI-FM

Joe Sklar, Committee of Returned Volunteers

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# Cradle of Revolution financially rekindled

By George Novack, Chairman  
The Militant 40th Anniversary Committee

Boston takes double honors this week as the 40th Anniversary Fund heads down the home stretch. It stands at the top of the national listing with 106 percent of its \$1,200 quota. That's not all.

Taking their cue from the Twin Cities, Boston supporters of the paper have clubbed together and collected an additional \$1,000 for a membership in the Lifetime Militants Club. This means that up to this point, the "Hub of the Universe," as it so proudly dubbed itself in the last century, has realized the sum of \$3,285 toward the \$40,000 goal. (Every thousand-dollar membership gets matched by an equivalent donation to the fund.)

The tradition that made Boston the cradle of the First American Revolution is certainly being rekindled in my native city. Boston received its big boost through a \$1,312 collection at its Nov. 17 banquet.

That same evening I spoke at a similarly successful banquet of San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley supporters who raised more than \$500 toward their quotas. Guest speakers were representatives of other radical papers in the Bay Area, including the *Berkeley Barb* and *The Guardian*.

At the Nov. 16 celebration in Minneapolis, further pledges were taken toward a collective enrollment for the Lifetimers Club which should be fulfilled soon.

Rick Wadsworth of New York has taken out the fourth individual membership in the Lifetime Militants Club. "I hope," he says, "that the delay in publicizing new enrollments doesn't mean that we're going to fall short of the indicated goal. It would be intolerable to miss the chance of doubling our money!" Happily, Rick's fears can be set aside. Five-sixths of the \$12,000 quota is now in hand—and, according to reports from Chicago, the Twin Cities and Los Angeles, the prospect is excellent that the special category of \$12,000 will not only be attained but oversubscribed.

Now is the time for all those areas lagging in the lower part of the scoreboard to take a big leap forward. The campaign is scheduled to end Dec. 15. The final scoreboard will be published at the close of the month.

The question now stands: "How far above the \$40,000 will the fund drive go?" The answer is up to you.

# Dobbs to be principal speaker at N.Y. dinner

NEW YORK—Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be the principal speaker at a banquet here marking the 40th anniversary of *The Militant* on Saturday, Dec. 14, at 873 Broadway. The banquet, featuring a smorgasbord dinner, will celebrate 40 years of the fight for a socialist America carried on by *The Militant* since its first issue on Nov. 15, 1928.

Farrell Dobbs will be a special attraction for young socialists because he represents a link between the young generation building the antiwar, black power and socialist movements of today, and the radical youth who organized the industrial workers in the massive labor upsurge of the 1930s.

As a leader of the teamsters' union in Minneapolis at that time, Dobbs made labor history by leading the struggle to organize over 200,000 over-the-road truck drivers in 11 states. This vast organizing drive smashed the open-shop employers' paradise in the whole region and helped convert a craft-oriented union of local drivers into a massive industrial workers' organization that has become one of the largest trade unions in the world today. In 1940, Dobbs became one of the first victims of the notorious Smith Act for his opposition to imperialist war. He spent a year in prison.

Dobbs has been a national leader of the SWP for 30 years and was an editor of *The Militant* for part of that time. He was the first SWP presidential nominee in 1948 and headed the ticket in three subsequent campaigns.

The banquet program will include other speakers and a showing of a sound film of the giant San Francisco antiwar rally addressed by 1968 SWP presidential candidate Fred Halstead last April. There will be displays of past *Militant* headlines, and articles highlighting some of the major events of the past 40 years and the role of *The Militant* in building a vanguard



Farrell Dobbs

party and revolutionary socialist youth movement.

A wide variety of food and refreshments will be served at the banquet which begins at 6:30. The speaking program will start at 8:30. Contribution is \$2.50 (\$1.75 for those under 18), or \$1.00 for the program only. Tickets are available from the Militant Banquet Committee, 873 Broadway, 2nd floor, N. Y., N. Y. 10003.

## A CORRECTION

In our last issue we erroneously reported that James P. Cannon, founding editor of *The Militant*, had been present at a Los Angeles banquet celebrating the paper's 40th anniversary. Actually, he was unable to attend. The error was due to garbled transmission of a report that a tribute to Cannon had been greeted with prolonged applause.

## Fund Scoreboard

Area	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$1,200	\$1,285	106
Los Angeles	4,400	3,948	90
Twin Cities	2,200	1,870	85
St. Louis	100	85	85
Portland	150	125	83
Chicago	1,950	1,375	71
Philadelphia	1,300	850	65
New York	7,200	4,360	61
San Francisco	2,300	1,385	60
Detroit	2,000	1,192	60
Oakland-Berkeley	2,000	1,125	56
San Diego	300	151	50
Cleveland	1,800	900	50
Allentown	150	65	43
Seattle	300	50	17
Other Areas	650	1,008	155
	\$28,000	\$19,774	71
Lifetime Militants	\$12,000	\$10,000	83
Totals	\$40,000	\$29,774	74

# The Great Society

**ARTFUL SHAKER** — Weight-conscious New Yorkers have been belting down the "Skinny Shake," a creamy half-quart shake allegedly containing only 88 calories. City investigators established that the shake actually contains about 375 calories. "But we never advertised the Skinny Shake as having only 88 calories," smoothly explained Irving Sinowitz, a peddler of the shake. "We said it was made with 88-calorie diet-approved skim milk. That's all." He gave the glad tidings that the company would soon be on the market with a "150-calory Skinny Freeze." Made with low-cal ice, no doubt.

**OTHERWISE IT WOULD'VE BEEN OK** — "OAKLAND, Calif. (UPI)—Narcotics agents broke up a dinner party at the home of a dentist Thursday night. They fired two shots through a window, kicked in a door and forced the guests to lie on the floor before discovering they were in the wrong house. Red-face police admitted it was pot, not pot roast they were interested in . . ."

**SHOPPING AID** — Cartier's in New York has shopping bags available in silver at \$45 and \$60 for small and larger sizes. At first it struck us as a bit silly, but then we began thinking that with the current price of groceries it's a sort of fitting way to carry them home.

**IT FIGURES** — A friend of the Nixons disclosed that at their home they always have stereo going softly in the background. "He picks out all the music himself," she said, "and it's everything—popular, classical—everything except the Beatles."

**TEMPERING JUSTICE WITH MERCY** — Seven ex-Nazi-SS members were convicted by a West German court of participating in the mass murder of 80,000 people in the Ukraine during World War II. The principal defendant received a 15-year prison term. The others drew four to eleven years. With, we presume, time off for good behavior. And, perhaps, a post in the Bonn government.

**HER VERY FIRST?** — Julie Nixon was really in orbit about all the exciting gifts she received at a wedding shower and, according to one report, "could hardly wait to try out her practical new steam iron."

**NEED A GREETING?** — Those with the Xmas greeting card habit may be interested in one of the three reproduced here. They're available from the Detroit Young Socialists. Five cents each or \$4 a hundred. YSA, Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201.

**THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK** — "If we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, then I want them to be Americans and not Russians—and I want them to be in this continent and not in Europe."—Senator Richard Russell of Georgia during an Oct. 2 secret Senate discussion of the outcome of a nuclear exchange with the USSR.

— Harry Ring

**George Novack, Chairman,  
Militant 40th Anniversary Fund Committee  
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003**

**I want to help expand and improve The Militant.**

**Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_**

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## Black students gain support at Oshkosh

By Bill Clary

OSHKOSH, Wis. — The arraignment of the 100 Afro-American students of Wisconsin State University charged with disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly, as a result of a Nov. 21 incident, was held here Dec. 2.

The students entered a plea of "I stand mute." This was interpreted by the presiding judge, James Sitter, who has on occasion used the term "nigger," as a plea of "not guilty."

The case has now been moved to circuit court, where the students will be tried at a later date. The Nov. 21 incident occurred when the Afro-Americans confronted university president Roger Guiles and demanded he sign a list of demands which had been agreed to in October but never met.

When Guiles refused to sign the demands, the student confrontation became quite direct, resulting in some property damage and pursuant arrests.

In the courtroom, Lloyd Barbee, counsel for many of the students and a black state assemblyman from Milwaukee, asked that a writ of prejudice be filed against Winnebago county judge James Sitter.

In reference to his publicly acknowledged use of the word "nigger," Judge Sitter stated that the remark was regrettable, but it didn't indicate prejudice on his part. He continued that it should not have been used but added, "my daughter talks like that."

Hearings on the motion will be held on Dec. 12. Barbee also asked for a change of venue on the grounds that students can never get a fair trial in this "Birmingham of the North" as evidenced by the racist reaction of the community and business leaders to the student demands.

Judge Sitter denied the motion on the grounds that it was out of order. Efforts for a change of venue are being continued.

Immediately following the court appearances, the parents and students moved to a meeting where the parents formed a "Concerned Parents of Afro-American Educators." A decision was made to confront President Guiles at a meeting that was held in the student union.

Parents requested Guiles' permission for their children to attend classes until the court cases were disposed of. Guiles re-

fused to lift the suspensions, which were imposed without hearings, forcing the students out of classes and dormitories. The parents planned another meeting the following evening in Milwaukee.

Meanwhile campus radicals, including the YSA, SDS, Peace Forum and concerned individuals, met to decide on a course of action to be taken against the Oshkosh Chamber of Commerce executive committee, which initiated petitions circulated throughout the community demanding the immediate expulsion of the Afro-American students and complete restitution of damages.

In addition to the violation of university autonomy, this action illustrated the priorities of the business leaders: property and taxes over human rights and justice.

The radicals decided to picket the business establishments to which each of the eight members of the committee belongs.

The following day the Chamber of Commerce said that the petitions would be burned. Even in Oshkosh the threat of financial pressure has its effects.

University sanctioned teach-ins were held in many classes Dec. 2, the opening day of school following the extended Thanksgiving vacation, to discuss the existing situation. Results were generally favorable, as it became apparent that many students had reconsidered their initial conservative reactions.

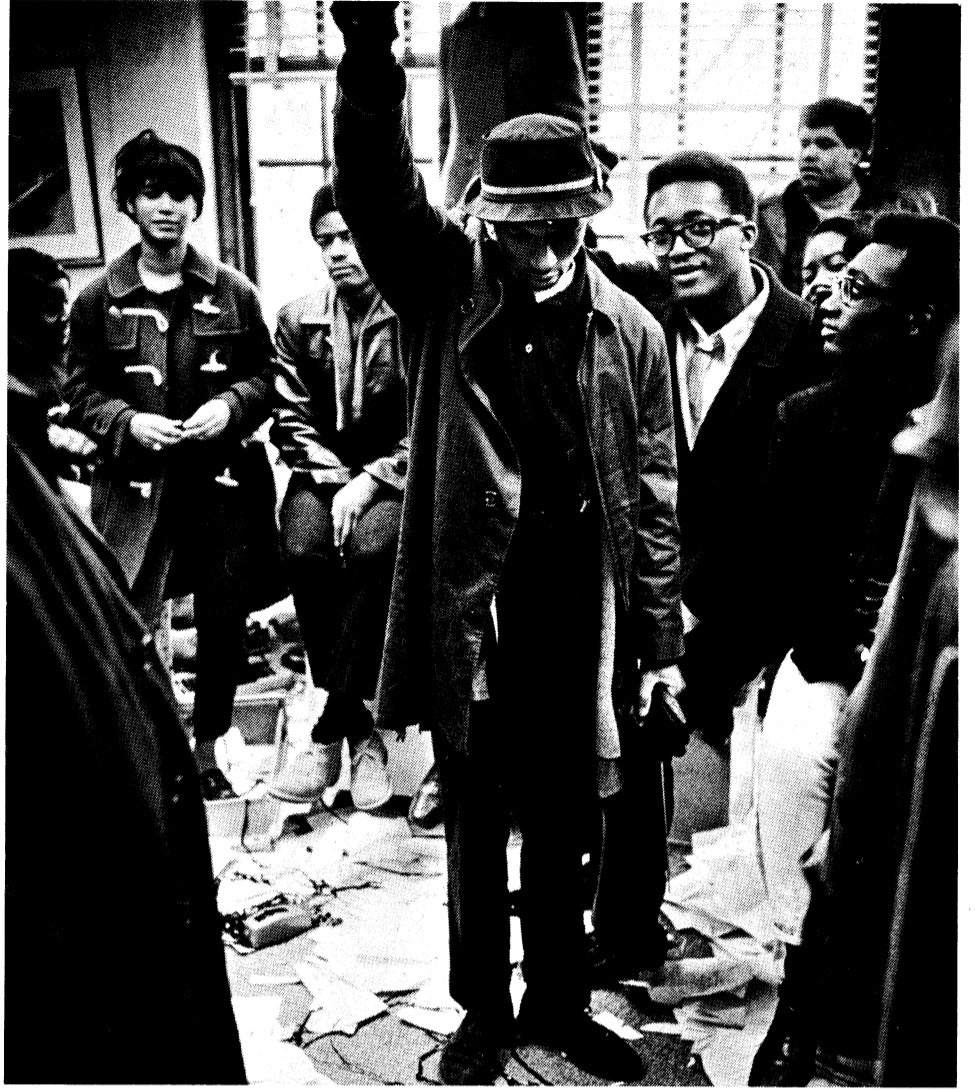
On Dec. 3, at a faculty-senate meeting, a motion was made to provide that the students be investigated by a faculty and student body rather than an outside jurist lacking the knowledge of the existing attitudes and situation.

The Wisconsin university system has established guidelines for disciplinary actions and the state is contradicting its own established regulations in an attempt to interfere with the dictum of university autonomy.

When it was apparent that the resolution was about to pass by a very close vote, conservatives walked out denying the necessary quorum determined by a roll call.

That evening a group of concerned faculty members held a meeting to determine a course of action which would concretely express their dissatisfaction with administration and pro-administration forces.

The meeting brought to the surface the



Photo, The Paper

**INSIST ON RIGHTS.** Student gives black power salute during occupation of Dempsey Hall at Wisconsin State U at Oshkosh Nov. 21. Students acted after administration reneged on black studies program it had agreed to carry out. More than a hundred black students were arrested, along with several white supporters.

extreme need for self-determination, not only for students but for faculty members, upon whom many injustices and violations of academic freedom are perpetrated.

A meaningful plan of action was decided upon, and pledges were made to support the fight for the freedoms long denied by the omnipresent administration.

Oshkosh needs the support of people across the country.

One way you can support us is to send letters demanding justice for the Afro-Americans to Roger Guiles, President, Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh, Wis., with a duplicate copy sent to the Young Socialist Alliance, c/o Bill Clary, 358, Gruen Hagan Hall, Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh, Wis., 54901. We need your support!

### The more things change, the more they . . . .



Henry Cabot Lodge

President-elect Richard Nixon's rumored choice of Henry Cabot Lodge to replace Averell Harriman at the head of Washington's negotiating team in Paris gives another indication of just how "different" Nixon's administration is going to be from its Democratic predecessor.

Both Harriman and Lodge are among the coterie of big capitalists who have played major roles in shaping U. S. foreign policy in the postwar period. (Harriman is king of the Union Pacific railroad empire in the Northwest; Lodge, a Boston banker.)

With Ellsworth Bunker and Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Lodge was a top advisor to the Kennedy administration on Vietnam policy. He served as ambassador to Vietnam from Aug. 22, 1963 to June 23, 1964, under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, and again under Johnson was ambassador to Vietnam from Aug. 20, 1965 to April 25, 1967.

## Labor-student upsurge in Italy

By Dick Roberts

DEC. 5 — The simultaneous worker-student upsurge in Italy and signs of renewed unrest in France should give pause to anyone who is in a hurry to draw a balance sheet on the present relations of class forces in Europe.

The student demonstrations and plant strikes which have swept Italy were triggered by the gunning down of agricultural workers in Sicily Dec. 2.

Policemen opened fire on striking laborers in the town of Avola, near Syracuse, killing two and wounding at least six others. The following day, protests of demonstrating students and striking workers hit 11 major cities.

A general strike, which had previously been called for transport workers in the Rome area, began a day earlier, Dec. 4.

In France, a four-hour strike was set for Dec. 5 at the Renault factory in Boulogne-Billancourt, the suburban center of worker militancy in Paris last June. Already workers in two other Renault factories — at Cleon and Sandouville — have announced plans to join the strike, and support for it is reported in other French factories.

Georges Seguy, secretary-general of the Communist Party-controlled General Confederation of Labor, hastily announced that the strike was over "local issues" and would not go beyond the affected Renault plants.

At the same time, in an attempt to placate rising worker opposition to de Gaulle's move to make labor pay for the financial crisis, Seguy struck a militant posture in declaiming against the reactionary "austerity" program.

Seguy declared that he "refuses to be associated with the antisocialist policy" of the government.

The same Seguy and the Communist Party he speaks for, of course, were instrumental in preventing French workers from making a socialist revolution last June. The CP carries the burden of responsibility for the fact that these workers today are faced with the antilabor mea-



The New York Times Dec. 4, 1968  
**Centers of strikes and demonstrations (underlined).**

sures of the de Gaulle regime.

And it is certain that Seguy's "militancy" on this occasion is aimed at keeping workers' protest channeled in "safe" forms. This will not be easy.

When de Gaulle's antilabor policies were announced, the authoritative American financial magazine *Business Week* summed up apprehension in New York circles with the statement of one U. S. banker:

"Let one labor union balk at what de Gaulle is doing, and there goes the franc, and probably the pound as well."

In Paris, French speculators appear to be equally unconvinced of the prospects for de Gaulle's measures. Their lack of confidence in the franc is underlined by the fact that the price of gold has continued to climb, reaching the near-high of \$43.91 an ounce Dec. 4. (At the peak of the monetary crisis last March, it sold for around \$45 an ounce.) Most of the recent gold buying seems to have been concentrated in France, with buyers switching from francs to gold.

Will de Gaulle ultimately succeed in solving the third international monetary crisis of 1968? To do so requires a frontal attack on French labor, which only last summer stood mobilized to topple capitalist rule. Clearly the world bankers have cause for concern.

But on top of that, the bankers must have an inkling of even bigger problems to come. In the rapid and mutually reinforcing spread of student and worker militancy from one nation to the next, they cannot fail to grasp the portent of the biggest danger of all to world capitalist rule — the internationalism of the oppressed.