

Garmichael Speech at OLAS Parley

See Page 4

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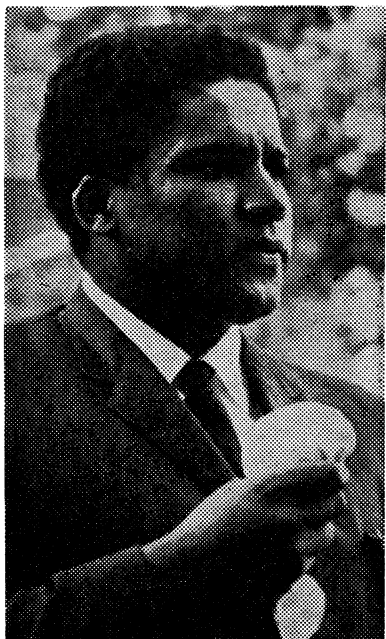
Black Convention Held in Chicago

By Judy Watts

CHICAGO — Many black people were lured to the National Conference on New Politics convention at Chicago's Palmer House because an appeal to attend, signed by several leading black militants, was released to the press by the NCNP. Upon arriving in Chicago, we discovered that not only had some of these leaders denied signing any such appeal, but black people had been almost totally excluded from the decision-making processes and preparations for the convention.

Seeing that black people were only being used to make the NCNP look radical and integrated, a number of Chicago Afro-Americans made plans to provide an alternative, a Black People's Convention which would really serve the interests of our people. All Afro-Americans — both residents of Chicago and those traveling to the NCNP conference — were invited and urged to attend the Black People's Convention, which was held at Christ Methodist church.

Some of the basic reasons given for organizing a separate black convention were discussed in a position paper circulated by supporters of the Black People's Convention. It stated that "political coalition is a process that implies the total readiness of both sides involved. In America, political coalition is a coming together of revolutionaries dedicated to the struggle — by any means necessary — to bring about black liberation and a more humanistic world. Black people are not ready for this coalition on many levels, and neither are the so-called white radicals caught up in their psychological, rhetorical and ideolog-



James Forman

ical 'hang-ups' that have been flourishing since the '30s. We are now immediately aware of the need to begin initiating positive action rather than reacting to various white maneuvers, whether they are establishment oriented or otherwise."

Those blacks who remained at the Palmer House hassled for many days and nights to determine how to relate to a reformist and disunified grouping which could only offer black people at best a third ticket promising to be the least of three evils.

The Black People's Convention, on the other hand, was an effort to "move to the next level of development beyond the historic national conference on black power held in Newark, N.J." The previously cited position paper stated that, "We are now faced with the mandate of organizing a vehicle through which we can bring into reality those ideas and resolutions to which the Newark conference gave rise."

The convention provided those who registered with discussions, workshops, and rallies which were well attended, educational and productive. On Friday some of the participants were invited to take part in a Pan-African Student Conference being held in Chicago at the same time.

Rally

A rally held Friday night drew at least 800 people. It began with group singing and a rendition of the two new songs by Matt Jones, "Hell No, I Ain't Going," and "Super Sam." Speakers included James Forman of SNCC; Dick Gregory; Floyd McKissick of CORE; a representative of the Los Angeles nationalist organization, "US"; Dr. Carleton B. Goodlett; and Russ Meek of Chicago, who was one of the organizers of the convention.

Milton Henry of Detroit, and Arthur Harris, one of the 17 Afro-Americans framed up on "criminal anarchy" charges in New York, were introduced from the audience.

Russ Meek pointed out how, by using napalm and black draftees, the U.S. is trying to destroy Vietnam — "which has a population in the vicinity of two midwest states."

Solidarity between Africans and Afro-Americans was best expressed by representatives of the Pan-African Student Conference and by James Forman who recently returned from Africa. A revolutionary African poet who was a member of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, received a standing ovation for his poems dedi-

(Continued on Page 6)

New Politics Gathering Divides on 3rd Ticket

By Harry Ring and Elizabeth Barnes

CHICAGO — The hope held by some for a King-Spock ticket to oppose Johnson and the Republicans in '68 went up in smoke at the convention of the National Conference on New Politics held here Aug. 29-Sept. 4. The 3,602 registered participants split down the middle on whether or not New Politics should field a third ticket.

An important aspect of the convention was the role played by the many black people who were present. The issues of black power and the nature of black-white alliances proved a major factor in the final outcome of the parley. Some 350 blacks left the conference and organized a simultaneous Black People's Convention. (See story this page.)

A deep political impact was also made by Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, the Socialist Workers presidential slate, whose presence as observers evoked a significant degree of sympathetic interest.

Among the participants at the convention, three main general positions emerged. The first was that New Politics should concentrate on coordinating and helping to finance local community activity. The proponents of this view generally held that a third ticket would interfere with such activity and syphon away needed funds. This position was largely supported by young people from SDS and



Photo by Brian Shannon

AT NCNP CONFERENCE. Scene at Chicago's Palmer House hotel where New Politics meeting was held.

Vietnam Summer. They also had support from people who see value in working in the Democratic Party and regard the third ticket move as diversionary of this.

The most determined advocates of the third ticket position were members and supporters of the Communist Party who participated energetically in the proceedings.

The position for advocating

formation of a third party was advanced largely by members of the Independent Socialist Clubs. Some of them also supported the third ticket position.

After a day of debate and some rather complicated parliamentary maneuvering, a vote was taken on these three positions. Delegates cast votes on the basis of their groups' stated membership.

(Continued on Page 3)

Halstead-Boutelle NCNP Impact

CHICAGO — The Socialist Workers presidential campaign was a very visible factor at the Palmer House where the New Politics convention was held.

An SWP campaign headquarters was set up in the hotel where a steady stream of conference participants came for coffee, doughnuts, campaign literature and an opportunity to meet the candi-

dates. The number of people visiting the campaign headquarters increased daily.

There was a good-sized contingent of Halstead-Boutelle campaigners and they did a thorough job of promoting the ticket. Campaign brochures were distributed to the delegates. More than a thousand copies of the special election issue of *The Militant* were sold.

A hundred campaign posters were sold in the SWP campaign headquarters at the entrance to the convention ballroom.

Merit Publishers had a literature table at the conference which did a very brisk business. Nearly 200 copies of a new pamphlet on "Zionism and the Arab Revolution" were sold. An ample supply of literature on Malcolm X was sold out before the conference ended.

More than 300 copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold.

Indicative of the wide interest in the campaign was the fact that more than 750 of the people at the convention gave their names for further information about the campaign and/or indicated a desire to participate.

Several prominent individuals at the conference gave their endorsement to the Halstead-Boutelle ticket.

In addition both Halstead and Boutelle reported that many people at the gathering had expressed a sympathetic interest in their candidacies and a number indicated they were considering supporting them.

The candidates received a good amount of radio and television coverage and several newspaper stories. Both Halstead and Boutelle were interviewed on WNBC-TV. Halstead was interviewed on WABC-TV. Westinghouse Radio conducted two interviews with Boutelle and one with Halstead, and Halstead was also on Chicago's WBBM-TV.



Photo by Brian Shannon

AT SWP CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers candidate for President, talking with delegates to New Politics conference.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The American Federation of Teachers, meeting in convention in Washington, D.C., voted on Aug. 25 to take no position on the Vietnam war and urged the AFL-CIO to take a similar stand.

"This represents," the Teachers Committee for Peace in Vietnam states, "a move away from the union's previous position to support every effort of the [Johnson] administration to achieve a lasting and honorable peace in Vietnam."

A resolution calling for the U.S. to stop the bombing, seek a ceasefire and use the "\$30 billion a year now being spent" on the war to solve domestic problems, was defeated, 280-173. The vote demonstrated, however, growing antiwar sentiment.

The union then decided to take a no-position stand, saying that "teachers, like most citizens are divided over the waging of the Vietnam war and the policies of the Johnson administration relative thereto," and expressed fear that taking a definite stand on the war could be "a seriously divisive element." The vote on this position was 325-106.

In an accompanying action, the convention instructed its delegates to the AFL-CIO convention to press for a "no position" stand on Vietnam by the whole labor federation. This request is in conflict with the position of the AFL-CIO executive council which has pledged "unstinting support by AFL-CIO of all measures the administration might deem necessary" in prosecution of the war.

A National Labor Leadership



Emil Mazey

Assembly for Peace has been scheduled for Nov. 11 at the University of Chicago. The meeting is designed for union leaders, and its organizers are working with the Trade Union division of SANE.

Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, is listed as one of the organizers of the project on a letter sent to union leaders urging them to attend the gathering. Also endorsing the call are Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

Moe Foner, executive director of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union, is organizing the meeting.

New Kremlin Witch-Hunt Of Dissident Intellectuals

By George Saunders

The Soviet bureaucrats have sentenced another writer to jail, thus violating their own dictum that the 50th year of the Russian Revolution should present an unruffled exterior to the outside world.

But largely because of the bureaucrats' own policies, both foreign and domestic, it has not been a peaceful year. And they have now revived all the painful memories of the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial by sentencing a young writer, 25-year-old Vladimir Bukovsky, to three years in jail.

Bukovsky's "crime" harks directly back to the Sinyavsky-Daniel conviction, which drew protests from people on the left all over the world, including Communist Party spokesmen in several countries. Within the Soviet Union itself that trial greatly sharpened tensions between the bureaucracy and the critical intellectuals.

Bukovsky is apparently a member of an underground literary group, whose name has not been reported. The group published a typewritten, hand-circulated magazine called *Phoenix-1966*, which appeared late last year.

In it the editors denounced the conviction of Sinyavsky and Daniel and printed an article by Sinyavsky. (This article, an astute and interesting comment on the verse of Yevtushenko, had been scheduled for publication in *Novy Mir*, but not surprisingly, publication was cancelled after Sinyavsky's arrest.)

The *Phoenix* editors were arrested but were in turn supported by others of their group. About 50 young people, led by Bukovsky, demonstrated in the heart of Moscow in January of this year, demanding repeal of Article 70, the reactionary catch-all law against

any "anti-Soviet" agitation or propaganda.

It was under this law that Sinyavsky and Daniel were tried, and presumably the *Phoenix* editors as well.

The sentencing of Bukovsky can only be interpreted as a slap in the face of the anti-Stalinist intellectuals in a year not at all free of disputes. Early in the year two editors of *Novy Mir*, the monthly organ of the anti-Stalinists within the Soviet establishment, were removed for trying to print memoirs critical of Stalin.

At the Soviet Writers Congress in May, anti-Stalin author Alexander Solzhenitsyn exploded a bombshell, demanding an end to censorship and denouncing harassment of himself by secret police and other officials.

This was soon followed by poet Andrei Voznesensky's angry blast against the heavy-handed blundering and lying by bureaucrats of the Writers Union.

The labor skates who sit in the seat of the Soviet government cannot conjure away the demand for freedom of expression and discussion, not even by wrapping themselves in the cloak of the October Revolution.

Actually they usurped and perverted Lenin's heritage, and the young generation of Soviet workers, students and intellectuals no longer let them rest easy in those easy chairs.

The intensifying conflict between intellectuals and apparatchiks reflects in an unclear and distorted way the aspirations of the Soviet working masses for proletarian democracy, an end to privileges for bureaucrats, an end to arbitrary treatment for workers. It is unclear and distorted, yes, and nevertheless, it is an augury of much deeper, more significant social conflicts to come.

South Vietnamese Elections — "Democracy" In Action?

By Dick Roberts

The South Vietnam elections Sept. 3 are supposed to represent a significant victory for the Johnson administration and the "democratic ambitions" of the Saigon government, according to Washington.

Lieut. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, the chief of state, and Premier Nguyen Cao Ky were "elected" president and vice-president respectively. They received only 35 percent of the vote.

Even on the face of it, the elections do not represent a vote of confidence in the military leaders; they represent an overwhelming repudiation of military rule.

But that is to take seriously an election which by any democratic standards was fraudulent from top to bottom. It has long been known that Ky and Thieu would "win" the elections — they have been preparing the groundwork for the last year and a half.

The process began in the spring of 1966 when masses of Buddhists staged militant street demonstrations in one city after another demanding an end to military rule, negotiations with the National Liberation Front, and in some cases, withdrawal of U.S. military forces.

Ky and Thieu crushed these demonstrations by military force. Saigon was maintained under martial law for many weeks, and the two centers of Buddhist resistance, Hue and Danang, were invaded by pro-government troops and militarily occupied—and they are occupied to the present day.

The two generals stalled several months after crushing the Buddhist uprising. This gave the pro-war press time to build the impression that "free elections" were the central demands of the Vietnamese people; and it gave Ky and Thieu time to prepare for a smoother transition to "elected" government.

In September, 1966, a constitutional convention was elected which sat until March 18, 1967. The convention was known to be stacked with junta delegates.

Between that time and the present, Thieu and Ky went even further in suppressing civilian opposition than one might have expected. It goes without saying that representatives of the NLF who speak for the majority of Vietnamese to begin with—were not allowed to participate. (Two thirds of the country was considered under NLF control; no voting was done there.)

But the military clique also ruled out any "neutralists" who favored negotiating a peace with

LBJ Finally 'Replies' to GI's Father

[The following is from a letter Mr. M. Edward Clark sent to President Johnson on July 31. The letter was read into the Congressional Record by Senator Wayne Morse (D-Ore.).]

Dear Mr. President:

After writing innumerable letters to you over the past 18 months relative to my deep concern about American involvement in Vietnam, I have finally received a letter from you. It begins as follows:

"Please accept my deepest sympathy in the death of your son, Private First Class Timothy R. Clark . . ."

the NLF. They censored all opposition newspapers, closing two of them down the night before the present elections.

For a number of weeks prior to the "legal" opening date of the campaign, the regime waged a massive propaganda barrage in support of Premier Ky. It embarrassed Washington to the point of insisting that Thieu run for president instead of Ky.

Finally, when the "legal" campaign was underway, all the candidates including those civilians who supposedly offered an alternative to military dictatorship,



DICTATOR. Ky is still Washington's man in Saigon.

had great difficulty getting anyone to listen to their speeches.

The single notable exception was a campaign rally in Hue guarded, according to *New York Times* correspondent Tom Buckley, by "Brig. Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan, chief of the National Police, and hundreds of members of the paramilitary Special Field Police, troops and city patrolmen."

"About 10,000 people," Buckley wrote Aug. 28, "by far the largest crowd of the campaign tour, attended the rally . . ." Premier Ky was greeted by shouts of "Down with the cowboy leader!" and "Down with the hooligan!"

Ky "concluded his prepared remarks, which took hardly more than 5 of the 15 minutes allotted to each candidate, by stating that the national elections Sunday would be honest."

That same opinion was reached by another set of notables, President Johnson's delegation of U.S. "poll-watchers." This crew was led by former U.S. Vietnam Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, who stated publicly at the time of his replacement four months ago, a civilian regime in South Vietnam would be "a very serious error."

One of the "poll-watchers" was John S. Knight of Knight Newspapers who had been billed as a "sharp critic of the Johnson administration." Knight told Tom Buckley Sept. 3 "I could see no evidence of wrongdoing, but we're observers, not inspectors of elections.

"If I were an inspector, I'd have brought Dick Daley and Ray Bliss along."

It figures, Richard J. Daley is the mayor of Chicago and boss of the Democratic machine in Illinois. Bliss is the chairman of the Republican National Committee which ran Goldwater for president in 1964.

Boutelle Says Chicago Parley Shows Need for Black Unity

[Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, issued the following statement on Sept. 3 at a news conference in Chicago. The statement concerns the New Politics convention then going on.]

If nothing else, this conference has been a powerful confirmation of three things. First, until black people come together to discuss and adopt an uncompromising program for black liberation, they will in practice be used by political formations such as the National Conference on New Politics to provide black cover for whatever schemes white liberal politicians cook up. Deals will be made behind closed doors to promise black people anything so long as the white liberals don't have to deliver, and so long as the black faces remain to give the illusion that the white liberals are united with and are friends of black people.

Secondly, this convention has proved again that we Afro-Americans need our own political party. It must represent us, and be controlled by us, and fight for our needs and aspirations as an oppressed national minority. Only when we have our own party will we be able to prevent others from using us for their ends, not ours.

Thirdly, as several participants in the NCNP convention itself have pointed out, the last thing we need is a third political party like the Democrats and Republicans. It is the twin system of racism and capitalism, not an inadequate "choice" of parties, that is our enemy. An alliance with any

system will only help perpetuate the oppression of Afro-Americans. It is only on the basis of unconditional revolutionary struggle against this system that a meaningful alliance can be forged between black people and whites.

It is on this basis that the Socialist Workers Party is running its 1968 presidential campaign demanding the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, unequivocal support to all liberation movements throughout the world, black control of the black communities, and calling for the revolutionary socialist transformation of America.



Paul Boutelle

... New Politics Confab

(Continued from Page 1)

The vote on the three positions were reported as follows: For local organizing, 10,469; for a third ticket, 11,597; for declaring for a third party, 2,392.

Since no position had a majority, in accordance with previously adopted rules, the two positions with the strongest support were then put to a vote.

The result of that balloting was reported as follows: For local organizing: 13,519; for a third ticket, 13,517.

This photo-finish vote was greeted with jubilation by the advocates of the local organizing position. The reaction was quite the contrary among those who had come to Chicago with the assumption that the convention's principal business would be the fielding of a third ticket.

A compromise amendment to the narrowly victorious motion was then introduced by a member of the Californian delegation which had been reported split on the issue. The amendment was adopted by a show of delegate cards. The operating section declared:

"Therefore be it resolved: That this convention goes on record in favor of an independent presidential ticket to provide an alternative in 1968 in those states where local groups and organizations want to run such a campaign and feel there is a basis therefor;

"And be it further resolved: That such groups coordinate such a campaign and that they call a national coordinating conference to consider nominating a single presidential ticket.

"And be it further resolved: That the NCNP members and affiliates are urged to follow this

Harry Ring will analyze the New Politics Convention at a meeting of the New York Militant Labor Forum on Sept. 14, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway.

policy, but in no sense shall local organizations be obliged to work for a third ticket to be part of the New Politics movement."

This was a far cry from the defeated third ticket resolution whose operating section declared: "Therefore be it resolved that this convention go on record in favor of an independent national ticket to provide an alternative in 1968.

"And be it also resolved that a nominating convention should be called at an appropriate date (if possible before the conventions of the old parties) to select candidates for president and vice president."

The compromise amendment does not even provide for a further convention by the NCNP. It merely approves the idea that those organizations which so choose may field their own presidential tickets in various states. And, if they wish to, they have NCNP's blessings to convene "a national coordinating conference" to determine if they want a common ticket in the various states. Immediately after the compromise was adopted, a motion to recess was put forward, and some rather desperate efforts began to reverse the decision.

The extent of the defeat the compromise amendment represented for the third ticket forces can be best seen when put into the context of previous developments.

For many months third ticket advocates had built up the conference on the basis of what was strongly suggested to be the likely outcome of the gathering, namely the nomination of Dr. Martin Luther King for President and Dr. Benjamin Spock for Vice President.

This was given added credence when it was announced that Dr.



Photo by Brian Shannon

CORE LEADER. Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, speaking at New Politics conference.

King would be the keynote speaker at the opening rally.

King came to the rally, discussed some of the problems confronting America and left town without a single public comment about the convention itself.

Dr. Spock indicated he was still willing, leaving the third ticket group with a blank-Spock slate. The next day it was announced that Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, would address the convention and the word immediately went through the corridors that it would be a McKissick-Spock ticket.

McKissick, however, delivered a militant speech on the need for black power. He declared black people must unite and build their own forces before they could consider alliances with even progressive-minded whites. He explained to the gathering that the only meaningful political action was that which opposed "the system — the twin system of racism and capitalism." The problem, he emphasized, is not the parties in themselves, but the system they represent. It will not change the system, he observed, to simply add a third party to the system.

Third Ticket?

By the time the third-ticket proposition had dwindled down to the compromise amendment stage, its partisans had become divided. For example, a sharp statement was made by Robert Scheer, the *Ramparts* editor who recently made a bid as a peace candidate in the California Democratic primaries.

Scheer stated that although he personally favored and had supported the third ticket idea he now considered it urgent that the compromise amendment be adopted since the opponents of the third ticket included the bulk of the radical young activists.

If an attempt were made to jam the third ticket idea down the throats of these young people, he warned, it would "not only be 'old politics,' it would be totalitarian!"

Nevertheless, some of the third-ticket stalwarts seemed determined to achieve a reversal. Their final effort to do so revolved around what seemed to more and more participants as a cynical move to manipulate what remained at that point of the convention's Black Caucus.

The role of the Black Caucus at the convention had been a very important, if complex, one.

At the opening of the convention, it was estimated that there were as many as 600-700 Afro-Americans present. It was a broad, heterogeneous grouping. There

were people from SNCC, CORE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Lowndes County Freedom (Black Panther) Party, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the various radical parties and local black nationalist groupings.

The Black Caucus was formed on the eve of the parley. From the outset the caucus was split into three general categories. A large minority, mainly militant nationalists, favored withdrawing from the convention. Other militants argued for staying to put forward their radical viewpoint. A third, smaller grouping favored staying because they supported the idea of the conference, including some who were campaigners for the third ticket deal.

An Explosive Issue

The Black Caucus interjected an explosive issue into the convention with the introduction of a very militant 13-point resolution dealing primarily with the black struggle in the U.S. and the liberation movement abroad. It was presented with the explicit understanding that if the convention did not endorse the resolution the members of the Black Caucus would all leave.

For the conference, the big thorny issue in the resolution was point five which declared: "Condemn the imperialistic Zionist war; this condemnation does not imply anti-Semitism."

Some of the delegates did not support this position and some favored it, but not very enthusiastically. Others strongly favored it.

Some delegates argued rather cynically that the resolution should simply be adopted without regard to its content. For example, Edward Greer, spokesman for the American Independent Movement of Connecticut, moved concurrence with the resolution and urged the delegates to support it, stating, "people will little note the wording of the resolutions we pass here."

As he spoke the television cameras ground and the newsmen busily took notes. The next day newspapers prominently featured the anti-Zionist stand in reporting the convention's concurrence by a large majority with the Black Caucus resolution. Later a majority of the resolutions committee brought in a resolution that would seriously water down the anti-Zionist stand. This was referred to the incoming steering committee.

The impact of the Black Caucus was deepened by the intervention of James Forman and H. Rap Brown of SNCC.

Forman addressed a jam-packed

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meeting in the main ballroom and gave a report on the African freedom struggle as he had seen it during a recent visit. He then gave his views on the American black struggle and the issue of black-white alliances. He made a powerful appeal for revolutionary black action under the exclusive leadership of blacks. He warned against whites who seek the support of black people prior to elections. It's all well and good to want to get rid of Johnson, he said, "but who do they intend to replace him with?"

He then went on to carefully explain to the Afro-Americans in the audience how people like Walter Reuther, Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King had swindled the black delegates at the 1964 Atlantic City convention of the Democratic Party. Don't let others trick you the same way, he emphasized.

The dim view that SNCC's leadership took toward the conference was further underlined when H. Rap Brown decided he would not address the entire body as originally planned, but spoke only to the black people present.

After large numbers of Afro-Americans had left the convention, including many of the most militant, a majority of the credentials committee came out with a proposal which they said was designed to implement a clause in the previously approved Black Caucus resolution which called for 50 per cent black representation on all convention committees. The convention itself, the credentials committee majority proposed, should be considered a committee of the whole and the Black Caucus be given 28,000 votes, an equal amount to the number accredited to the various other delegates. This proposal won majority support, with the delegates backing it for a wide variety of reasons.

Redress Inequities?

Some felt this represented a genuine step toward establishing a meaningful alliance with blacks.

Others felt it would help redress some rather glaring inequities in the number of votes claimed by various organizations. For example, a New York chapter of NCNP organized but two weeks before the convention and represented by attorney John Abt, was credited with 500 members. Similarly the New York Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action (LEMPA) was credited with 500 members. Meanwhile an organization like the Lowndes County Black Panther Party was credited with 350.

Another group favored the resolution because they apparently believed that at that point those remaining in the Black Caucus were ready to support a third ticket.

As soon as the motion was passed to give the Black Caucus the 28,000 votes, a member of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs moved reconsideration of the third-ticket issue "now that our black brothers have rejoined the convention on the basis of equality."

However, there apparently was a miscalculation. After recess members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation who were part of the Black Caucus declared they were opposed to a third ticket. The spokesman for the Black Caucus then said there was no need for reconsideration, and the California compromise was re-affirmed by the

conference. The conference then adopted a series of resolutions generally aligning it with the forces of progress here and abroad.

A steering committee was elected through an elaborate process. It was decided to establish a steering committee of 24, with 12 representing the third ticket forces and 12 representing the local organizing formation. The Black Caucus, however, was to nominate six of each 12. The steering committee was established with the understanding that it was to be a purely coordinating body without powers to initiate actions or adopt further policies.

The following people were selected for the steering committee: From the local organizing group: Eric Mann, John Mayer, Mike James, John Grove, Mike Ansara and Cynthia Wagman. From the third ticket group: Donna Allen, Malcolm Burnstein, Dr. Spock, David Frost, John Abt, Robert Cook.

The following 12 were nominated by the Black Caucus, apparently on the basis of an equal number of adherents to both positions but without clearly specifying the views of each individual: Adrian Powell, James Rollins, James Halsell, Ayuko Babu, Kendra Alexander, Johnny Mae Walker, Hoseah Williams, Carlos Russell, James Scott, Mattie Humphus and John Hulett, and one to be added.

Last Speakers

A motion was then made and carried to add Simon Casady and Julian Bond, co-chairman of NCNP, to the steering committee.

At 3:15 a.m. Monday morning, the last two speakers at the convention were Arnold Johnson of the Communist Party and Paul Booth, a former SDS leader now with New Politics.

Johnson asserted that adoption of the compromise amendment on the third ticket was in actuality the green light for the fielding of such a ticket by the NCNP.

In response, Booth declared that his understanding of the motion was the very opposite. Presumably the new steering committee will now have to cope with this.

In a whole variety of ways the convention reflected the absence of a meaningful political perspective on the part of any section of the leading forces at the convention. The third-ticket partisans offered an essentially reformist program which showed little promise of developing an effective movement against the evils of capitalist society and which did little to inspire the many militants, black and white, at the gathering.

On the other hand, the opposition represented a conglomeration of radical activists, many of whom lack real political perspectives, and reform Democrats who chose to present their essentially right-wing opposition to a third ticket in the garb of "local organizing."

In large measure, it was this void on both sides that gave such attractiveness to the Halstead-Boutelle candidacy for many. It became increasingly apparent in the course of the convention that the Socialist Workers slate is the really meaningful choice for those who want to oppose the twin parties of capitalism in 1968.

CHANGING YOUR ADDRESS? If you are moving, please send us your new address and zip code.

Carmichael's OLAS Sp

[The following are excerpts from the speech made by Stokely Carmichael at the OLAS (Organization of Latin-American Solidarity) conference held in Havana July 31-Aug. 10. The full text appeared in the Sept. 8 World Outlook, P.O. 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010. The cost is 50 cents.]

We greet you as comrades because it becomes increasingly clear to us each day that we share with you a common struggle; we have a common enemy. Our enemy is white western imperialist society . . .

Anglo society has been nearly successful in keeping all of us — the oppressed of the third world — separated and fragmented. They do this for their survival — because if we felt our unity we would know our strength. Especially here on this continent, where the Anglo is in the minority, he has for hundreds of years succeeded in keeping all of us who are oppressed from realizing our common plight. But the call of Che Guevara for a continental struggle against a common enemy would seem to ameliorate this fragmentation among those who would resist western imperialism . . .

Until recently, most African-Americans thought that the best way to alleviate their oppression was through attempts at integration into the society. If we could enjoy public accommodations in the United States (motels, hotels, restaurants, etc.) our condition would be alleviated, many of us believed.

Civil Rights Movement

This attitude was characteristic of the "civil rights movement" and clearly points up the bourgeois character of that "movement." Only the bourgeoisie are in a position to be concerned about public accommodations. The African-American masses, on the other hand, do not have any jobs, any housing worthy of the name decent, nor the money to enjoy restaurants, hotels, motels, etc. The "civil rights movement" did not actively involve the masses, because it did not speak to the needs of the masses.

Nonetheless, the "civil rights movement" was a beginning and because its aims met resistance throughout the USA, depths of racism heretofore unrecognized were laid bare. It had been thought that the aims of the "civil rights movement" would be easily realizable, because the United States Constitution supported them. But thousands of African-Americans were jailed, intimidated, beaten, and some murdered for agitating for those rights guaranteed by the Constitution, but only available to whites.

Passed Legislation

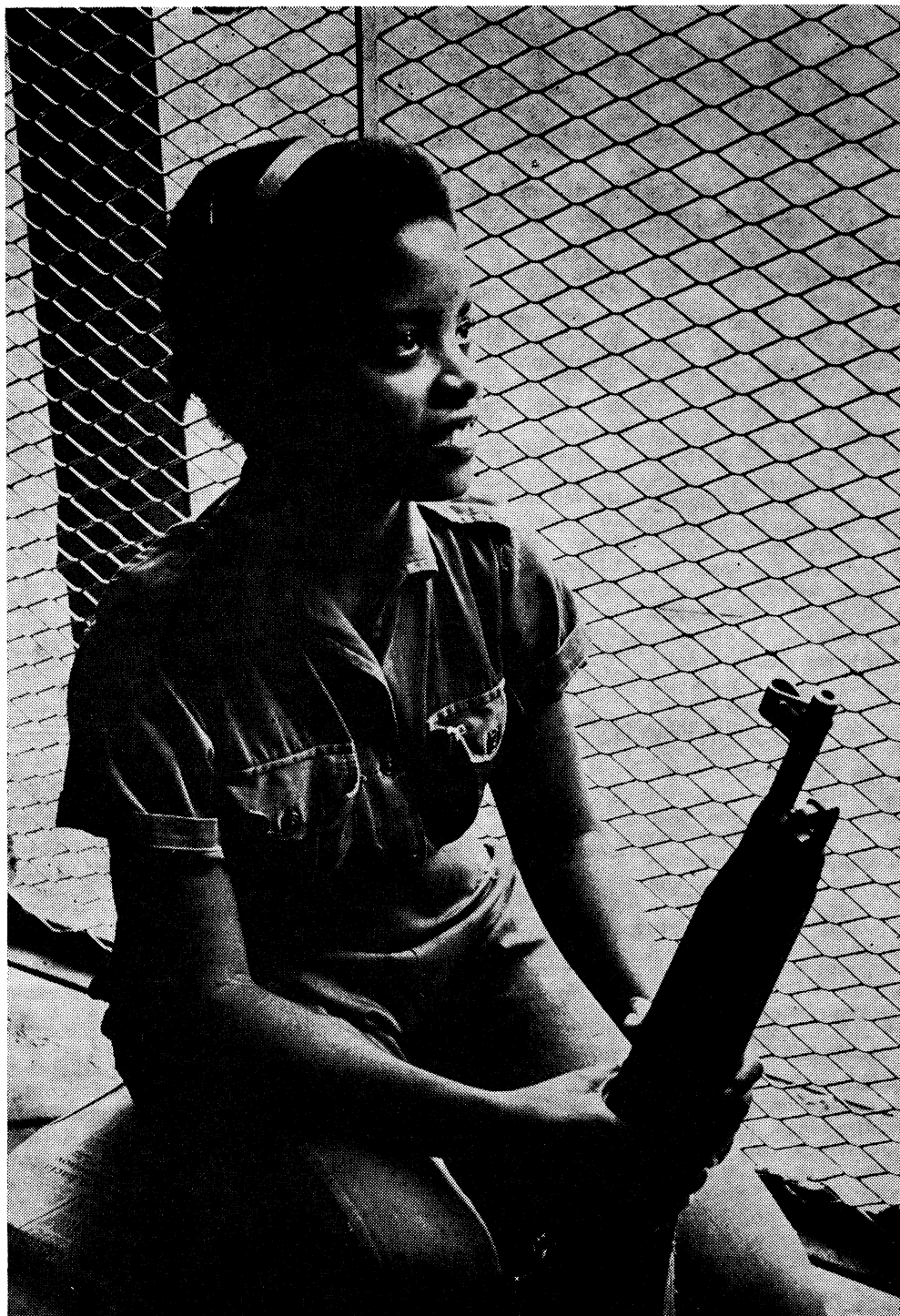
Eventually, the United States Congress passed a Civil Rights Bill and a Voting Rights Bill, assuring us of those rights for which we had been agitating. By this time, however, more and more of us were realizing that our problems would not be solved by the enacting of these laws.

In fact, these laws did not begin to speak to our problems. Our problems were an inherent part of the capitalist system and therefore could not be alleviated within that system.

The African-American masses had been outside the "civil rights movement." For four years they watched to see if any significant changes would come from the nonviolent demonstrations. It became clear to us that nothing would change and in the summer of 1964, only a couple of weeks after the Civil Rights Bill was passed, the first of what is now over 100 rebellions occurred. The following year, the same year that the Voting Rights Bill was

enacted, one of the largest rebellions occurred in Watts . . .

The "civil rights movement" could never attract and hold the young bloods who clearly understood the savagery of white United States and who are ready to meet this savagery with armed resistance. It is the "young bloods" who contain especially the hatred Che Guevara speaks of when he says, "Hatred as an element of the struggle, relentless hatred of the enemy that impels us over and beyond the natural limitations of man and transforms us into an effective, violent, selective and cold killing machine."



CUBAN MILITIA GIRL. Black freedom was won in Cuba through socialist revolution.

The black power movement has been the catalyst for the bringing together of these young bloods: the real revolutionary proletariat ready to fight by any means necessary for the liberation of our people. In exposing the extent of racism and exploitation which permeates all institutions in the United States, the black power movement has unique appeal to young black students on campuses across the country.

These students have been deluded by the fiction that exists in white North America that if the black man would educate himself and behave himself he would be acceptable enough to leave the ranks of the oppressed and join white society. This year, when provoked by savage white policemen, students on many campuses fought back, whereas before they had accepted these incidents without rebellion . . .

We are moving to control our Af-

rican-American communities as you are moving to wrest control of your countries — of the entire Latin Continent — from the hands of foreign imperialist powers. Therefore there is only one course open to us. We must change North America so that the economy and politics of the country will be in the hands of the people. Our particular concern is our people — African-Americans. But it is clear that a community based on the community ownership of all resources could not exist within the present capitalist framework. For the total transformation to take place, whites must see the struggle that we're

people in the United States and of the Americas. Our victory will not be achieved unless they celebrate their liberation side by side with us. For it is not their struggle, but our struggle. We have already pledged ourselves to do what we are asked to aid the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, to free it from domination by United States business and military interests. And we look upon Cuba as a shining example of hope in our hemisphere.

We do not view our struggle as being contained within the boundaries of the United States as they are defined by present-day maps. Instead we look to the day when a true United States of America will extend from Tierra del Fuego to Alaska, when those formerly oppressed will stand together, a liberated people.

Victims of Imperialism

Our people are a colony within the United States; you are colonies outside the United States. It is more than a figure of speech to say that the black communities in America are the victims of white imperialism and colonial exploitation. This is in practical economic and political terms true. There are over 30 million of us in the United States. For the most part we live in sharply defined areas in the rural black belt areas and shanty-towns of the South, and more and more in the slums of the northern and western industrial cities . . .

In these cities we do not control our resources. We do not control the land, the houses or the stores. These are owned by whites who live outside the community. These are very real colonies as their capital and cheap labor are exploited by those who live outside the cities. White power makes the laws and enforces those laws with guns and nightsticks in the hands of white racist policemen and black mercenaries.

Colonial Status

The capitalist system gave birth to these black enclaves and formally articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status as was done, for example, by the apartheid government of Azania [South Africa] which the U.S. keeps alive by its support. The struggle for black power in this country is the struggle to free these colonies from external domination.

But we do not seek to create communities where in place of white rulers, black rulers control the lives of black masses and where black money goes into a few black pockets: we want to see it go into the communal pocket. The society we seek to build among black people is not an oppressive capitalist society — for capitalism by its very nature cannot create structures free from exploitation. We are fighting for the redistribution of wealth and for the end of private property inside the United States.

The question that may be asked is how does the struggle to free these internal colonies relate to your struggle to destroy imperialism. We realistically survey our numbers and know that it is not possible for black people to take over the entire country militarily and hold large areas of land.

In a highly industrialized nation the struggle is different. The heart of production and the heart of commercial trade is in the cities. We are in the cities. With our rebellions we have become a disruptive force in the flow of services, goods and capital.

Since 1966, the cry of the rebellions has been "Black Power." In this cry, there was an ideology implied which the masses understood instinctively. It is because we are powerless that we are oppressed and it is only with power that we can make the decisions gov-

engaged in as being their own struggle.

At the present time, they do not. Even though the white worker is exploited, he sees his own best interest lying with the power structure. Because of the racist nature of this country, we cannot work in white communities, but have asked those whites who work with us to go into their own communities to begin propagandizing and organizing. When the white workers realize their true condition, then there will exist the possibilities for alliances between ourselves and them.

However, we cannot wait for this to happen, or despair if it does not happen. The struggle we are engaged in is international. We well know what happens in Vietnam affects our struggle here and what we do affects the struggle of the Vietnamese people . . .

Our destiny cannot be separated from the destiny of the Spanish-speaking

peech

erning our lives and our communities. Those who have power have everything; those who are without power have nothing. Without power we have to beg for what is rightfully ours. With power we will take our birthright, because it was with power that our birthright was taken from us.

Black power is more than a slogan; it is a way of looking at our problems and the beginning of a solution to them. It attacks racism and exploitation, the horns of the bull that seek to gore us . . .

To enslave another human being, one needs a justification and the United States has always found this justification in proclaiming superiority of whites and the inferiority of nonwhites. We are called "niggers"; Spanish-speaking people are called "spicks"; the Chinese, "chinks"; the Vietnamese, "gooks." By dehumanizing us and all others of color, it therefore becomes just, in the mind of the white man, that we should be enslaved, exploited and oppressed . . .

Weapon of Liberation

Because our color has been used as a weapon to oppress us, we must use our color as a weapon of liberation. This is the same as other people using their nationality as a weapon for their liberation.

This coming together around our race was an inevitable part of our struggle. We recognize, however, that this is not the totality, only the necessary beginning.

Black power recognizes that while we are made to feel inferior, this is only so that we may be more easily exploited. Even if we destroy racism, we would not necessarily destroy exploitation. Thus, we must constantly launch a two-pronged attack; we must constantly keep our eyes on both of the bull's horns . . .

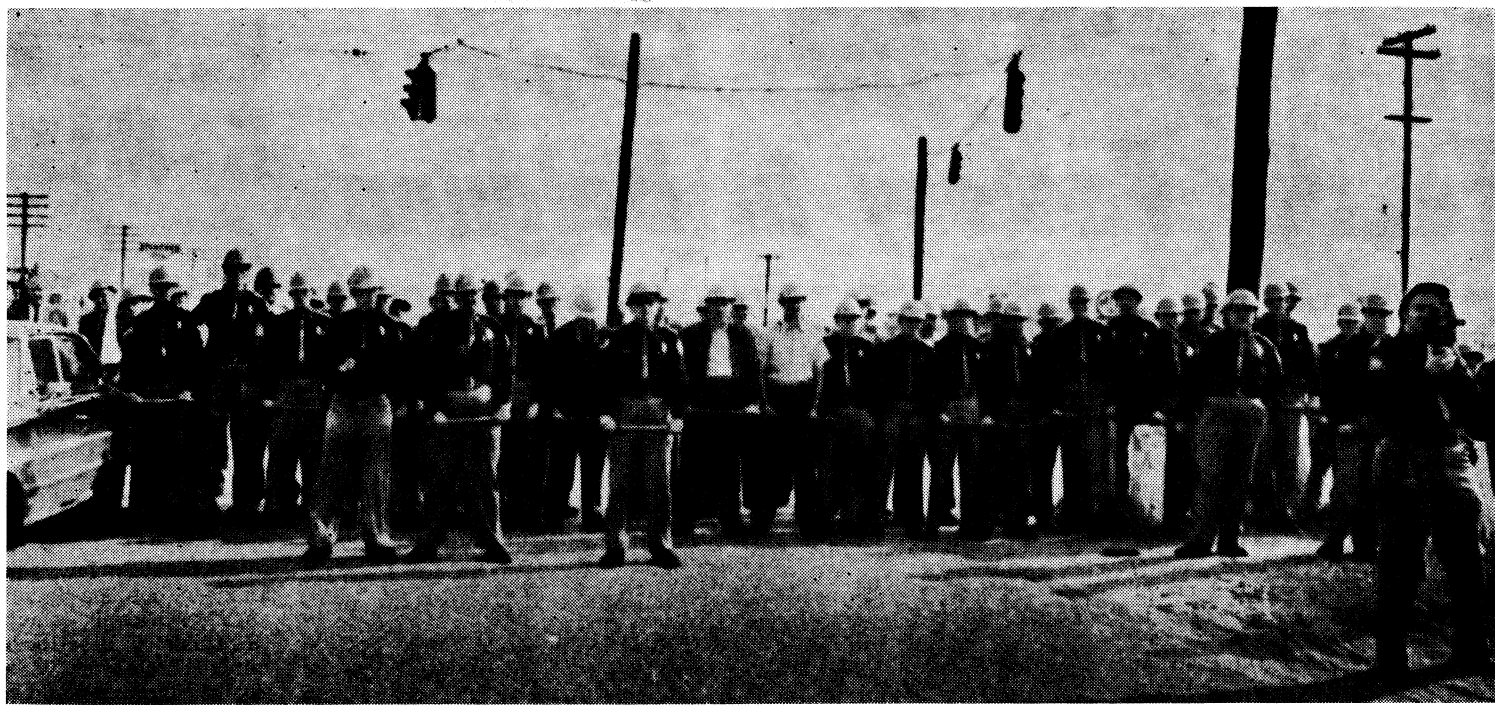
In our economic analysis our interpretation of Marx comes not only from his writings, but from how we see capitalism's relationships to people of color. The labor movement of the United States — while in the beginning containing some great leaders in the struggle against the absolute control of the economy by the industrial lords — essentially fought only for more money. Those few who had the vision of extending the fight for workers control of production, never succeeded in transmitting their entire vision to the rank and file. This labor found itself asking the industrial lords not to give up their control but merely to pass out a few more of the fruits of this control. Unlike us, they do not raise questions of redistributing the wealth inside the U.S.

Third World

Thereby, did the United States anticipate the prophecy of Marx and avoided the inevitable class struggle within the country by expanding into the third world and exploiting the resources and slave labor of people of color. U.S. capitalists never cut down on their domestic profits to share with the workers. Instead they expanded internationally and threw the bones of their profits to the American working class. The American working class enjoys the fruits of the labors of the third world workers. The proletariat has become the third world; the bourgeoisie is white western society.

The true potential revolutionaries in this country are the black youths of the ghettos — those who have developed insurgence in the cities are African-American and Latin communities where past rebellions have taught important lessons in dealing with the government's armed reaction to our uprisings.

These rebellions should not be taken lightly. In the past three years, there have been over 100 uprisings in the internal colonies of the United States.



SELMA, ALA., 1965. Line of cops face first Selma-Montgomery civil rights march. Soon after this picture was taken, cops attacked demonstrators. Such resistance by rulers to civil rights demand helped deepen black revolt.

These are no doubt reported to you as "minor disturbances initiated by a few malcontents." These are major rebellions with numbers of participants who are developing a consciousness of resistance.

It is with increasing concern that we see the United States will by any means necessary attempt to prevent the liberation struggles sweeping across the third world. But in particular we know that the United States fears most the liberation struggle on this continent. In order to secure itself geographically, the United States must have Latin America, both economically, politically and culturally. It will not do for the Anglos to be isolated on a continent of hostiles.

Black power not only addresses itself to exploitation, but to the problem of cultural integrity.

Destroyed Culture

Wherever imperialism has gone, she has imposed her culture by force on other peoples, forcing them to adopt her language and way of life. When African slaves were brought to this country, the Anglo saw that if he took away the language of the African, he broke one of the bonds which kept them united and struggling. Africans were forbidden to speak to each other in their own language. If they were found doing so, they were savagely beaten into silence. Western society has always understood the importance of language to a people's cultural consciousness and integrity. When it has moved into the third world, it has moved to impose its own language. In Puerto Rico, where Yankee cultural imposition is at its height, English is taught in all high schools for three years, while Spanish is taught for two years.

Divide and Rule

Anglo society learned other valuable lessons from the enslavement of Africans in this country. If you separate a man's family, as was done to the slaves, you again weaken his resistance. But carry the separation further. Take a few of the weaker slaves and treat them as house pets — the lighter-skinned slaves (the offspring of the master's rape of the African woman) was preferred. Give him the crumb from the master's table and cast-off clothing and soon he will fear to lose these small comforts. Then use his fears by getting him to report on the activities of the bad slaves — report the impending revolts and uprisings. Distrust and dissent is created among the Africans, and thus, they will fight among themselves instead of uniting to fight their oppressors.

Today's descendants of African slaves brought to America have been separated from their cultural and national roots. Black children are not taught of the glory of African civilization in the history of mankind; they are instead taught about Africa: the dark continent

inhabited by man-eating savages. They are not taught of the thousands of black martyrs who died resisting the white slave masters. They are not taught of the numerous uprisings and revolts where hundreds of brave Africans refused to submit to slavery. Instead, their history books read of "happy slaves singing in their fields . . . content with their new lives." Those "few" slaves who did resist are called "trouble-makers," "malcontents," "crazy."

Enslaves Minds

Black children in North America grow up aspiring only to enter white society — not only because white society eats better, is housed and clothed better and can make a better living — but also because they have been bombarded by the white-controlled communications media and educated by black teachers with white minds (our petty Yankees) that white IS better — white is beautiful. Anglo features, manner of speech and aspirations are to be acquired if one is to be successful, even *within* the black community. The white man hardly needs to police his colonies within this country for he has plundered the cultures and enslaved the minds of the people of color until their resistance is paralyzed by self-hate.

An important fight in the third world therefore is the fight for cultural integrity. Wherever western society has gone, as Frantz Fanon tells us, she has imposed through force her culture . . .

We are working now to increase the consciousness of the African-American so it will extend internationally. The United States fears this more than anything else, not only because such a consciousness would destroy within black communities the minority complex so carefully cultivated by the Anglos, but because it knows that if the black man realizes that the counter-insurgency efforts of this country are directed against his brother — he will not go — he cannot go. Then it will become crystal clear to the world that the imperialist wars are racist wars . . .

Malcolm X

The African-American has tried for the past 400 years to peacefully exist inside the country. It has been to no avail. Our history demonstrates that the reward for trying to peacefully co-exist has been physical and psychological murder of our peoples. We have been lynched, our houses have been bombed and our churches burned. We are now being shot down in the streets like dogs by white racist policemen and we can no longer accept this oppression without retribution. We must join those who are for armed struggle around the world.

We understand that as we expand our resistance and internationalize the consciousness of our people as our martyred brother Malcolm X taught us, retaliation from the government will come to us as it did to him . . .

But black power means that we see ourselves as part of the third world; that we see our struggle as closely related to liberation struggles around the world. We must hook up with these struggles. We must, for example, ask ourselves: When black people in Africa begin to storm Johannesburg, when Latin Americans revolt, what will be the role of the United States — and that of African-Americans. It seems inevitable that this nation will move to protect its financial interests in South Africa and Latin America which means protecting white rule in these countries. Black people in the United States then have the responsibility to oppose, at least, to neutralize, that effort by the United States . . .

It is a question of the Third World starting a new history of man, a history which will have regard to the sometimes prodigious theses which Europe has put forward, but which will also not forget Europe's crimes, of which the most horrible was committed in the heart of man, and consisted of the pathological tearing apart of his functions and the crumbling away of his unity.

No, there is no question of a return to nature. It is simply a very concrete question of not dragging men towards mutilation, of not imposing upon the brain rhythms which very quickly obliterate it and wreck it. The pretext of catching up must not be used to push man around, to tear him away from himself or from his privacy, to break and kill him.

No, we do not want to catch up with anyone. What we want to do is go forward all the time, night and day, in the company of Man, in the company of all men . . .



Striking Workers Occupy Textile Factory in Belgium

M. Triest

GHENT, Belgium—In the dreary suburb of Ghentbrugge, near the old town of Ghent, one small factory catches the eye: Above the entrance there are two black flags waving and the walls of the buildings are covered with a proud and strange slogan: *We Occupy the Factory.*

Through a member of one of the unions I was granted an interview Aug. 22 with the organizing committee of this new labor action. They received me in an office near the gate. At the windows of the main building workers were waving at each visitor who entered their mill to gather information or to bring messages of sympathy.

What had actually happened? Some workers read in the newspapers Aug. 3 that the new management of the cottonmill "Cotonnière Gantoise" had decided to stop operation near the end of the month. This would mean that most of the 150 workers, and certainly those over 35, would lose their jobs, despite the fact that about 15 of them had been working there for more than 20 years.

Considering the general crisis in the textile industry, they would hardly find other work and no guarantees were offered of any other kind of jobs. So the militants of the unions (mainly the socialist and Christian unions, but also the small liberal union — the Communists belong to the socialist union) came together and decided to follow the example of two other factories in Belgium (a steel-mill in the south of the country and one near Antwerp) and to occupy the factory.



STRIKING WORKERS. Sign reads, "We Occupy Factory."

This, of course, is an illegal method, not protected by the law, but nevertheless the union officials, who were contacted, promised to endorse the workers.

Both the workers and their organizers seem to be ready for a long fight. They get about one third of their wages and their full family allowances (paid by the unions), and this does not allow for any luxury. They have declared they are prepared to hold out until they get a decent answer from the bosses.

Some new demands are already heard among the strikers: they want the bookkeeping of the factory under the control of both labor and the owners, they are no longer satisfied with a general accounting from the front office that cannot be checked. They are tired of those so-called enterprise coun-

cils where the workers cannot even decide the most necessary health measures to be taken (to say nothing of the real direction of the factory).

The workers know they might lose this battle, if the owners can hold out another month. But they also know that this occupation of the mill can be a signal for all the threatened factories in the country, and they are willing to fight for this issue, to give, as they themselves put it, "an example for all our fellow workers."

Every day they receive letters, calls and telegrams from union locals, factories, student groups, individuals and newspapers. Folk-singers and bands come to entertain them in the evening. And people from the neighborhood bring them home-made pies and bread.

Political Victims Aided By Mexican Committee

The Mexican Political Prisoners Defense Committee has been formed in Mexico City to aid political prisoners of the Mexican government. Announced Aug. 9 after its founding meeting at the University of Mexico, the committee will devote its immediate attention to the case of the 14 men arrested July 19 in a sweeping raid by the government.

Several political tendencies on the left are represented among the "Fourteen" and one is an unaffiliated labor lawyer. Most are Mexican, one is a Salvadorean and another, Daniel Camejo, born in Venezuela, is described as a "prominent Trotskyist." Although political differences could be expected to preclude cooperation of the "Fourteen" in the past, they are all charged with conspiring to overthrow the Díaz Ordaz government.

They have been held without bail and have been subjected to physical and mental torture. Peter Camejo, brother of Daniel and a leader of the American antiwar movement, was summarily deported to the U.S. when he tried to see what he could do for his brother. Camejo's mother, also a U.S. citizen, came to Mexico to see her arrested son. Seeing the conditions under which the prisoners are forced to live — without beds, in cells without doors, open to the harsh climatic conditions of the Mexican plateau — she asked if she could obtain a bed for her son. The prison authorities assented but then harassed her for days before allowing her to bring the bed in.

Most of the Defense Committee's supporters at this time are students, since nine of the "Fourteen" are students. The committee's intent however, is to involve as many radical and progressive organizations as possible in the

defense. It hopes to extend its activities to defend all political prisoners in the country.

The committee is distributing a statement by the "Fourteen" with a description of their backgrounds and the treatment they have been getting in prison.

Until the committee has its own address, correspondence and contributions should be directed to *Perspectiva Mundial*, Apartado Postal 27-509, Mexico 7, D.F., with the note "para el Comité."

In another development relating to the Mexican witchhunt, Bertrand Russell released a statement on the case of the "Fourteen." "These men should not be persecuted for holding unorthodox political views," he said. "The charges brought against them should be scrupulously and impartially investigated by an independent international commission," he added.

10,000 in Chile: "Free Blanco!"

(*World Outlook*) — The Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile [CUT—Chilean Trade Union Federation] and the Federación de Estudiantes [FECH—Student Federation] held a mass meeting May 1 to demand the release of Hugo Blanco, the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader.

Oscar Nuñez, secretary general of CUT, declared "on this day of labor, the organized Chilean workers demand the freedom of the Peruvian fighter Hugo Blanco." There were more than 10,000 people at the meeting.

CUT represents the majority of Chilean workers and peasant unions.

... Black Convention in Chicago

(Continued from Page 1) cated to Malcolm X and the black people of America.

It was brought out by the African speakers that Africans are very much aware of their brothers and sisters in America, despite the lies and distortions used by the imperialist powers to keep them divided.

James Forman presented details of the launching of "armed revolutionary struggle against the fascist, illegal white governments of Rhodesia and South Africa." He called on black people to disseminate information to the black community on the African struggle so that no Afro-American troops will ever be used to put down the revolution in Southern Africa. Referring to Afro-Americans as "Africans living overseas" he said we must "develop an Afro-American 'skills bank' which will be prepared to send non-Uncle Tom doctors, engineers and industrial technicians to help build Africa. He also called for a selective boycott of 1968 General Motors cars, because of GM's investments in South Africa.

Forman asked all black people who want details on the Conference on Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa to write to Mr. E. S. Reddy, The African Division, United Nations, New York, New York.

A collection was taken at the rally and the proceeds were given to the national offices of SNCC and CORE.

On Saturday, the Black People's Convention convened at Christ Methodist church for workshops. More than 150 people participated

in discussion on four key areas of the black liberation struggle: political prisoners, economics, education and communication, and black youth.

Summaries of the workshops were presented to a Sunday meeting of 300 people which was addressed by H. Rap Brown. A. Kimani of the Democratic Liberation Party of Washington D.C. presented the workshop reports.

He said that the political prisoners' discussion dealt with the "two levels" of prison for black people. The first level is that of black radicals who are harassed and indicted for their political beliefs, the second is that America means prison for its 22 million black people who are prisoners of the system of exploitation and oppression.

The economics workshop brought up the fact that black workers are still slaves because they have no control over their jobs. It was pointed out that what is not needed is black capitalists because their role would also be one of exploitation. Possibilities of black cooperatives and land reform were also covered.

The workshop on black youth was held because it is the youth of black America who are pushing the revolution. It was agreed that black radicals must find methods of communicating with and exchanging ideas with black youth.

The final workshop on education and communication concluded that we must reach and educate black people at whatever level they are on. Study groups should be formed and a network of communication established through a black pub-

lication.

Among those who addressed the Sunday session were Arthur Harris of the Seventeen Afro-Americans Accused, H. Rap Brown, and James Forman. Harris explained the necessity for victims of political oppression to build their defense by going out to people and getting support by telling the truth about what happened. He reported that Herman Ferguson, one of the 17 accused who was fired from his job as an assistant school principal, has the support of Brooklyn parents to the extent that they are demanding that he be made principal of their children's school.

James Forman also went into the question of how the "liberal-labor" coalition operates to support the Democratic Party. He demonstrated how the biggest threat to the Democratic Party is national independent black political party formations. He said, "The Democratic Party can't survive without the votes of blacks."

Because of the power that black political groups could have, he said that the government uses McCarthyism to brand any such movements as Communist. By doing so it hopes to "isolate, crush and destroy" any independent thrust of black people for their liberation.

Forman pointed out that the black power movement is dangerous to the government because it is antiwar. Black troops are being used, he said, to obfuscate, or cloud over the fact that the war in Vietnam is a racist war.

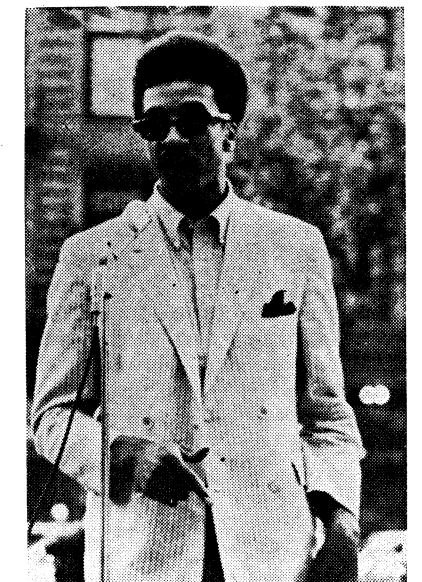
H. Rap Brown congratulated the Black People's Convention for

having been established. He stated that "There can be no radical political reform for America as long as it is in the context of the Democratic Party. Brown said that we are on the eve of the black revolution because America has escalated the war on black people. He deplored the statistics of the war in Vietnam in which "22 percent of the troops on the front line are black, 30 percent of the casualties are black, while they tell us we are only ten percent of the population."

Turning to the rebellions sweeping the ghettos of this country, Brown said that more people have been killed during the nonviolent civil rights movement, than during the three years of ghetto rebellions. Blacks will have to use violence in the defense of their communities, he said, but the rebellions are ahead of a political ideology which must be developed.

Echoing the words of Malcolm X, Brown called on radical blacks to examine socialism. He spoke of how African countries must turn to socialism to find solutions for their problems. "Capitalism must exploit and wage war to be profitable," he said.

Brown went on to say that blacks must begin developing and writing down ideas for the liberation struggle. He said that "we must know the roles that blacks have played in history." Referring to the activities of Che Guevara and the use of napalm against the peasants of Guatemala, he said black people should be informed about the worldwide struggle. In this fight he said, "Cuba has no war with black people."



H. Rap Brown

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.]

SNCC Appeal

Mill Valley, Calif.
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has asked support for a nationwide trading stamps drive through which it hopes to equip its Atlanta, Ga., garage. SNCC has recently been able to obtain, through redeeming stamps, three mini-buses as well as several battery chargers, and tire-changing, wheel-balancing and other equipment which enables it to keep its cars operational.

All kinds of trading stamps can be used, SNCC says, but most helpful are S&H Green, Blue Chip, Top Value, Holden Red and Gold Bond. It asks that stamps be sent to Marin County Friends of SNCC, P.O. Box 210, Mill Valley, Calif. 94941.

Al Lowry, Chairman
Marin Friends of SNCC

Small Farmers

Minneapolis, Minn.
The destruction of the small farmer is continuing at a faster and faster pace. The latest figures from the Department of Agriculture show that the number of small farms went down by more than 20 percent between 1959 and 1966.

Farms with sales of less than \$10,000 a year dropped from 3,269,000 in 1959 to 2,215,000 in 1966. A drop of over a million farms in seven years!

It is the big corporation farms that are making the biggest gains at the expense of the small family farm.

The big farms — with sales of \$20,000 or more — made up only

16 percent of all farms in 1966 but it was these big farms that got 55 percent of the total farm income. The small farms with less than \$2,500 income got only 7 percent of the total income although they make up almost half of American farms.

The income average of the big farms has increased from \$11,506 in 1959 to \$17,539 in 1966. But the income average of the small farms declined from \$868 to \$796 in the same period.

Joe Johnson

Dim View of SLP

Ottawa, Canada
There have been many letters recently concerning unity of the left. Included in the left is the Socialist Labor Party; however to seriously talk about unity and the SLP really shows a lack of knowledge of the SLP. These people are not only sectarians but hard ones "to boot." Recently in Toronto some friends and I attended the annual public meeting of the SLP in Canada.

The meeting to begin with was not very democratic: they refuse to allow any other group or individual to sell or give out literature outside their meeting hall. If one persisted in this outside the SLP hall the hotel house detective would be notified.

When it came to the question period, when anyone asked a question challenging politely the views of the guest speaker, the speaker would reply quite rudely and always throw in some innuendos such as "Trotskyites." When one questioner tried to dispute a position of the SLP the chairman told him to sit down and hire his own hall. There were only to be questions — no discussion. Just plain dogma!

Finally one questioner asked her if she would debate or take part in a symposium with other socialists. The reply was quite interesting. Apparently the SLP will discuss or debate with liberals or conservatives, but not other socialists, especially Communists or Trotskyists. The speaker accused all other socialists of being "liars," and therefore the SLP will take part in no such activities. Unity with the SLP is hopeless because of this blind sectarianism.

J. R. G.

Cancellation

Brooklyn, N. Y.
Please remove my name from your subscription files, as I am not renewing and have no intention in the future. If you really gave a little "honest and searching analysis" once in a while it would be worthwhile. However since you always parrot the line (i.e. Israeli "aggression") The

Militant simply has no credibility (and is DULL). Why can't you be a little like Ramparts?

R. M.

Renewal

Toronto, Canada
Please send the special combination subscription to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. Five dollars is enclosed.

Keep up the fine work for the change that is necessary — the change that will liberate mankind so we can stand up and be proud that we are members of the human race.

W.R.

Capitalist War

Midlothian, Md.
Every government of the United States has been a capitalist government. Sometimes the Republican and other times the Democratic Party is in control. All are controlled by the wealthiest and richest families of the U.S.

And what is the product of them having control? It is depressions and wars; wars that are unnecessary like the war in Vietnam. Why has the U.S. got troops over in Vietnam blowing up cities and destroying the resources of the Vietnamese people?

It's because Wall Street has large investments in Vietnam. And they know it is best for their interests to support the Ky government and put down the revolution which is being fought because the people are being exploited and don't receive enough pay for their labor to exist on.

The capitalist wants all for profit. Capitalist greed caused the war between the states in the U.S. in the 1860s. Rich men went to Africa and brought black people here against their will and bought and sold them for slaves to gain profit. The capitalist government of the U.S. supported that act for many years. It finally caused the war between the states with thousands of men dying on the battlefields of the U.S. That is the product of capitalist greed in the U.S.

The U.S. airlifted mercenary troops into the Congo a couple of

years back and left dying women and children scattered about the streets. Why? Because Adlai Stevenson, for one, had large investments in the Congo.

The same in the Dominican Republic where Nelson Rockefeller has large investments.

I say to all young men: Don't go to Vietnam and murder innocent people you never saw before. Those people are fighting the South Vietnamese government that has kept them living in poverty and exploitation so the U.S. capitalists and the South Vietnamese capitalists can profit in Vietnam.

It's time for young men to wise up. The war agitators in Washington are getting big bonuses from Wall Street to send men to Vietnam and other places in the world to protect their investments.

William Cecil
Midlothian, Md. 21543

Thought for the Week

"MOSCOW, Sept. 2 (Reuter's) — Soviet nuclear missiles are aimed at populated Western administrative and political centers and will be launched if the West starts a war, according to Marshal Nikolai I. Krylov, commander of Soviet strategic rocket forces."

It Was Reported in the Press

Intelligence — Reporting on the eve of the New Politics Chicago conference, the Aug. 29 New York Daily News reported that U.S. security forces had uncovered evidence of Communist Party interest in the parley. The always well-informed News explained: "These agencies believe the Communists hope to turn the 'New Politics' movement into a political front as a successor to the defunct Progressive Labor Party."

Reclassification Due — We trust his local draft board has noted the reports that George Hamilton has been dumped by Lynda Bird.

Pretty Slick — "Our tax structure is riddled with loopholes, some bullet-hole size, some port-hole size. But the most gaping loophole, big enough to drive an oil truck through, is the 27½ percent oil depletion allowance. The revenue that seeps through the smaller loopholes and gushes through the oil loophole must be made up by less privileged taxpayers. They are now being asked to pay an additional ten percent for guns, tanks and planes, while the oil millionaires spend their share on Cadillacs, caviar and furs. [Senator Paul] Douglas claims to know one oil millionaire who in 1964 paid less income tax than did a \$55-a-week scrub woman." — Syndicated Washington columnist Jack Anderson.

Most Heart-Breaking Story of the Week — We don't have at hand the various estimates of the extent of the multi-billion-dollar international business interests of the Vatican. At any rate there apparently is some defect of management. A leading church spokesman told a Catholic laymen's convention that the Vatican was having trouble raising the cash to balance its budget. Maybe if they paid taxes they could manage better.

Tried Too Hard — Chicago cops advised Avis to knock off a projected ad campaign urging people to "steal" one of their cars for the weekend. Chicago is second only to New York in car thefts.

Adding Insult to Injury — Washington has a proposal to substitute a single federal tax of 20 cents on a pack of cigarettes for the present variety of state and local taxes. This would add an estimated \$15-a-year to the cost for an average pack-a-day coffin nail consumer.

Note to Rat Pack — Frank Sinatra, for some reason, was singled out as an example for Soviet youth by the Lithuanian publication, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, which, according to an Aug. 28 Moscow UPI dispatch, reported that Sinatra "reads a lot." It added that, "He hates only racism, fascist ideology and coercion. He loves little children."

Free-Enterprise Answer — When we were a kid people were always bugging us with the stumper: Under Socialism, who'll carry out the garbage? We were reminded of this on reading that in Chesapeake, Va., convicts from the state prison are being used as strike-breakers against locked-out AFL-CIO unionists. The prisoners remain under guard while making the collections.

Appetite Jaded? — Bristol Farm Food Products will soon be marketing canned elephant meat. It will be, however, bite-sized. A 10½ ounce tin will retail at \$4.25. It should prove a nice change in the lunch bag from chicken salad.

Our Rational Society — Europeans, who also pay high prices

and taxes, have been protesting the recent burning, dumping and plowing under of bumper fruit and vegetable crops. The destruction of food, mainly in France and Belgium, is being subsidized by the European Common Market to "stabilize" prices. One week, French farmers were paid to destroy 1,000 tons of Grade A tomatoes.

Steady She Goes — Mrs. Fred J. Tooze, who insists that booze is a bigger menace than communism, was elected to her eighth straight term as president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Closing the Gap — A committee studying Italian government bureaucracy recommended abolition of an office which still coordinates weather data relating to the North African colonies Italy lost during World War II.

Getting Nervous — The National Security Agency has asked Congress for an extra million to build a new incinerator. The present plant is inadequate for burning papers.

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION IN S. E. ASIA. Speaker, Bala Tampoe, secretary, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International and general secretary of the Ceylonese Mercantile Union. Thursday, Sept. 14, 8 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

WHY THE NEW POLITICS CONVENTION SPLIT. Speaker: Harry Ring, staff writer for *The Militant*, Fri., Sept. 14, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Myths About Malcolm X: Two Views

The September-October Issue of the *International Socialist Review* features two articles on Malcolm X: by Rev. Albert Cleage, the chairman of the Detroit Inner City Organizing Committee, and by George Breitman, the editor of *MALCOLM X SPEAKS* and author of *THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X: THE EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY*.

In addition, it contains a discussion of guerrilla warfare in relation to Latin-American revolution by Livio Maitan, a leading member of the Fourth International. Maitan takes issue with Régis Debray's widely discussed *REVOLUTION IN THE REVOLUTION?*

Also: "The Vanguard Party and the World Revolution." A new article by James P. Cannon, founding leader of the Communist Party and national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

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ISAAC DEUTSCHER

A Tribute by George Novack

Isaac Deutscher's sudden death from heart failure in Rome at the age of 60 removes a great figure from the ranks of world socialism. The place this superbly gifted Marxist scholar and historian occupied will not soon be filled.

He died shortly before the 50th anniversary of the Russian October is to be celebrated. This epoch-making event shaped the direction of his life. The ideals of the first great victory for the forces of socialism inspired his youth in Poland and he became a communist at 19. He was active in the Polish Communist Party and an editor of its press until he was expelled in 1932 for his criticism of Stalinist policies.

Left Opposition

The political degeneration of the Soviet Union culminating in Stalin's autocracy aligned him with the Communist Left Opposition and until 1938 he was associated with the organized Trotskyist movement. He moved to London in 1939, became a British citizen, and contributed to leading periodicals in England and elsewhere. He came to be esteemed in diversified circles as the most perceptive authority on Communist affairs.

His most recent published work, *The Unfinished Revolution*, given as the Trevelyan Lectures at Cambridge University, is a masterful review of the achievements and shortcomings of the first half century of the Soviet Union.

Deutscher selected for lifelong study the three outstanding figures in the rise and decline of the Russian Revolution: Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. He finished biographies of the last two. His life of Lenin was designed as the central panel in his triptych of the Bolshevik leaders. Like Trotsky, whose chapters on Lenin were also left uncompleted, he was unable to round out that work before death knocked on his door. Who now has the literary skill and political acumen to match theirs and give us an adequate portrayal of Lenin's life and thought?

Applied Dialectics

Deutscher's writings were distinguished by immense learning and guided by a sure grasp of the mainsprings of history and politics. He brilliantly defended and applied the fundamental principles of scientific socialism, from the method of dialectical materialism (including the dialectic of nature) through the labor theory of value and the crucial role of the class conflict between capital and labor to its conception of the future socialist man. Unlike the New Left ideologists, he could see no merit in any faddish recipes for "amending" Marxism which consisted in amputating one or another of its essential doctrines.

He was not a studio portraitist but a fresco painter in the grand manner who depicted gigantic personalities of our age engaged in titanic combats and history-making events. Although his political biography of Stalin, published in 1949, first brought him to broad public attention and aroused considerable controversy, he will pro-

Deutscher Memorial Scheduled in N. Y.

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting for Isaac Deutscher will be held at the Militant Labor Forum here on Friday evening, Sept. 22. Among the speakers will be George Novack, Harry Braverman, and Prof. Melvin Leiman. The meeting will begin at 8:30 and will be held at 873 Broadway.

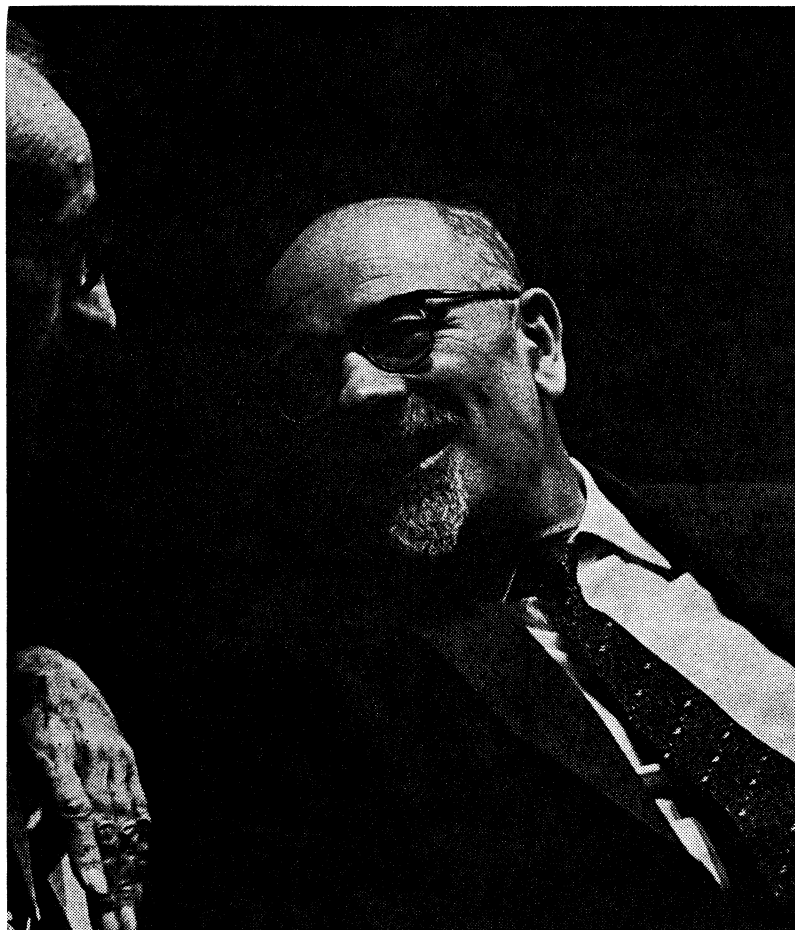


Photo by Finer

AT NEW YORK ANTIWAR RALLY. Isaac Deutscher chats with A. J. Muste. Deutscher gave active support to U.S. antiwar movement.

bably be best remembered and longest read for his treatment of Leon Trotsky's dramatic career. Mehring's life of Karl Marx is the only comparable biography in Marxist literature but Deutscher's work surpasses it in almost every respect. Furthermore it is more directly pertinent to the unresolved major issues in the twentieth-century struggle for socialism.

The Trotsky trilogy has been translated into various languages and published in many countries, though not yet in any Communist land.

The magnitude of Deutscher's achievement cannot be fully measured without grasping the political context of that period which suffered so fearfully from the oppressive weight of the Stalinist apparatus and the mythology it foisted upon world communism and the intellectuals in its tow. His work sharply challenged its falsifications of Soviet history and distortions of Marxism. More than any other person since Trotsky, he succeeded in piercing Moscow's edifice of lies and casting light into its dankest and dirtiest corners.

True Picture

To use one of his own comparisons, he revealed the real role and true ideas of Trotsky which had been buried under a mountain of Stalinist slanders, as an art expert cleans and restores the original brilliant colors of an old masterpiece encrusted with muck and soot. His works were one of the most reliable and widely-read sources of knowledge about the facts and meaning of the historic conflict between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

His exposition of Trotsky's deeds and ideas has informed and educated thousands of socialists throughout the West and also, presumably, by subterranean ways in some Communist countries where his writings are taboo. The enthusiastic reception he received as the main invited guest at the Second Socialist Scholars Conference in New York last year was an index to the respect he had won on this side of the Atlantic.

I first entered into direct relations with Deutscher in 1962 in connection with the preparation of an anthology of Trotsky's writings, published as *The Age of Permanent Revolution*. After the untimely death of the originator of the project, the American sociologist C. Wright Mills, I approached Deutscher to write the introduction to the collection and he accepted. When the book went to press in 1963, he expressed pleasure that our collaboration had been 'so smooth and harmonious.'

The Prophet Outcast

Several weeks later I sent him the following appreciation of the last part of the Trotsky trilogy which had just appeared. "You can easily imagine with what tense feelings I have read the pages of *The Prophet Outcast* for here is told not only the titan's struggle of L. D. with his destiny but the story of our entire generation. This third volume confirms what the first two had indicated, that the subject had found a biographer who could keep him company on the most elevated ground. I believe that the Old Man, who detested ikon-makers, would have relished your critical, understanding, judicious handling of his later years.

"I learned a great deal about the last period of L.D.'s career I hadn't known before. All the more will the oncoming generation of young rebels appreciate what you have given them. By presenting the truth about Trotsky and his views you have done for this stage of the struggle for socialism what Buonarotti did when he recalled the image and ideas of Babeuf at its inception."

He wrote in reply: "I was very moved by your warm appreciation of *The Prophet Outcast*. I need hardly tell you that I value it all the more because it comes from one of the 'old guard.' You compare this work with Buonarotti's account of Babeuf and the Conspiracy of the Equals. Now, this precedent was very often in my mind while I was working on these three volumes; I often referred to it in talks with my wife;

and it is very gratifying that it should have occurred to you too."

My letter also contained some points of criticism regarding his views on Trotsky and the Fourth International. The weak sides of Deutscher's positions came from the same source as his strengths. He had to undertake his political analyses and carry on his researches when the world revolution was in recession and, even after it had revived, the traditional Communist and Social-Democratic establishments were extremely powerful while the revolutionary vanguard opposed to their disastrous policies remained organizationally small and weak.

This induced him to underrate the importance of the Fourth International and its constituent sections, not only during Trotsky's last exile but in current revolutionary politics. However, he never attempted to form any "Deutscherite" grouping around his special viewpoint but pursued a consistent course as an independent revolutionary journalist and unaffiliated Marxist. This part suited him well and in his case produced valuable results.

Not an Example

However, his individual choice could not serve as a model for those militants who wanted to take the next logical step and participate in building revolutionary parties in their own countries along Leninist lines. Thus many young people who had been introduced to the ideas of Trotskyism through his books entered the formation adhering to the Fourth International, despite Deutscher's unwarranted disparagement of its worth. Others, unfortunately, have used his example as a pretext for rejecting any organizational commitment.

This lack of unity and balance between his theoretical attainments and political insight and his organizational practice was to some degree reflected in certain one-sided judgments and orientations. Among other questions, the official Trotskyist movement differed with his appraisal of the ruling bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin, his ambiguous stand on the necessity for an antibureaucratic political revolution by the masses to democratize the degen-

erated and deformed workers states (although in recent writings he saw this as a more probable eventuality for the Soviet regime), and in his negative attitude toward the Hungarian uprising of 1956. Although his outlook was thoroughly internationalist, he showed less understanding of the Cuban revolution and of the black power tendency in the United States than for developments in other sectors of the world revolution.

In recent years such disagreements did not prevent his friendly relations with some of the more prominent Trotskyist spokesmen. We learned a great deal from his articles on current affairs and very likely he benefited from frank and fraternal exchanges of views between us.

Supported Antiwar Struggle

Deutscher was one of the first European visitors to grasp the significance of the resurgent radicalism in the United States, as he was among the earliest to discern the drift of the changes in the Soviet bloc after Stalin's death. The speeches he gave at Berkeley and Washington during the 1965 teach-ins were among the highlights of that early phase of the antiwar movement. To the day of his death he continued his opposition to the criminal course of American imperialism through his participation in the War Crimes Tribunal.

As an historian, Isaac Deutscher was the peer of any of his contemporaries, whatever their persuasion. But he was a scholar of a special type. Objective in his judgments, he was not in the least neutral in his sympathies, his politics or his activities. He firmly allied himself with the world socialist revolution and the cause of the oppressed on all continents.

He takes his place among that illustrious company of Marxist scholars which embraced Plekhanov, Mehring and Riazanov in an earlier generation. His reputation and influence will not dwindle with his death. It should grow as new revolutionists demand to know the truth about the events and individuals described and interpreted with such artistry and insight in his works.

August 23, 1967

H. Rap Brown Gives Talks In Detroit Despite Threats

By Judy Watts

DETROIT, Sept. 5 — H. Rap Brown, despite a threat on his life by a Detroit area racist, a threat by Detroit police that he would be arrested if he attempted to speak here, and a four-hour delay while an airline pilot balked at flying with him as a passenger, spoke to large crowds here, Aug. 27. The SNCC chairman addressed two assemblies of black youth at a massive rally called by the *Inner City Voice*, a soon-to-be published black community newspaper.

Brown spoke to more than 1,500 blacks who had jammed into every inch of space in the Dexter Theater, operated by a black theater troupe. At the same time a crowd estimated at between two and three thousand blocked traffic for several hours on Dexter Ave. waiting for a roof-top address by Brown.

H. Rap Brown minced no words when he declared that justice in America "stinks of its own hypocrisy," while citing the treatment

of Adam Clayton Powell and Muhammad Ali as examples. He insisted that before black people can control their communities they must be prepared to defend them.

He called on all black residents of Detroit to support the People's Tribunal to try the accused murderers of three black youth in the Algiers Motel during the July rebellion.

John Watson, editor of the *Inner City Voice*, said that two of the objectives of the paper would be to present the truth about the Vietnam war and support those opposed to it, and to fight for amnesty for all those arrested during the rebellion.

Also in Detroit, two fund raising groups were established to aid in raising the bail money that was necessary to free H. Rap Brown. The H. Rap Brown Defense Committee, a committee of 20 women; and the Black Justice Committee, composed of 25 teenagers, are examples of the growing concern of this black community for the welfare of its leaders.

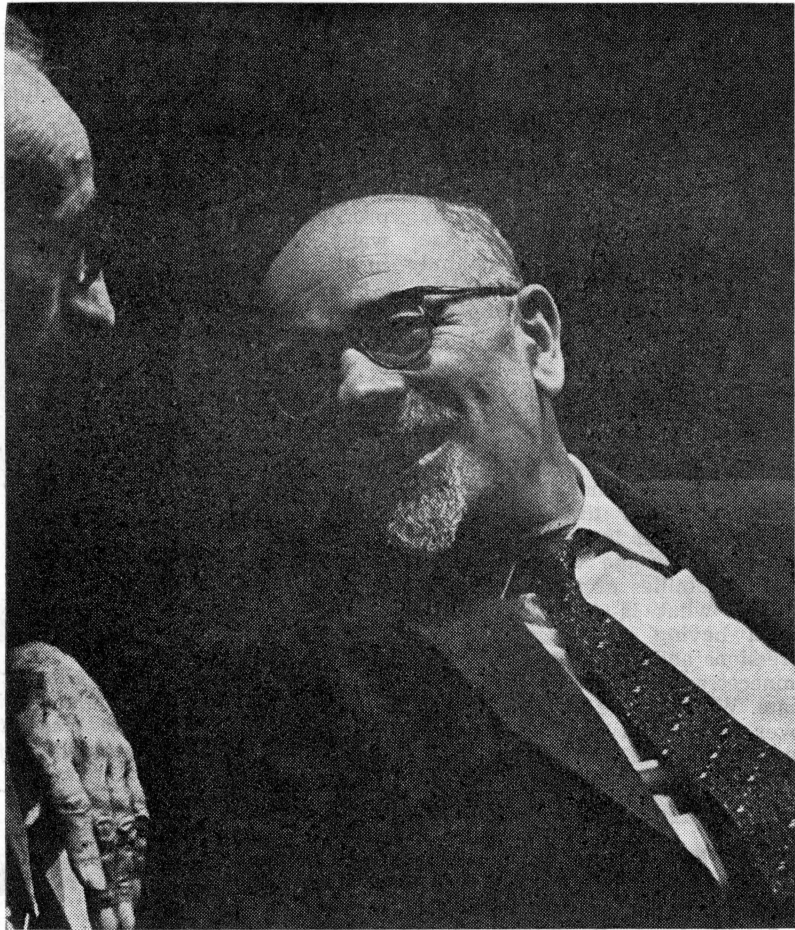


Photo by Finer

AT NEW YORK ANTIWAR RALLY. Isaac Deutscher chats with A. J. Muste. Deutscher gave active support to U.S. antiwar movement.