

THE MILITANT

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The horror of Hiroshima is still felt after 23 years

By Fred Halstead and Barry Sheppard

(Barry Sheppard, editor of The Militant, is in Japan with Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers presidential nominee, on the first stage of a world political tour.)

HIROSHIMA, Aug. 6—Twenty-three years ago today Washington unleashed the terrible power of atomic weapons against the civilian population of this city. The awful consequences of that criminal act are still unfolding for those who survived the initial blast.

The names of 63,524 people who were killed in the explosion itself have been listed by surviving relatives. Many more are not on this list, as whole families were wiped out. The Japanese government census in 1950 estimated that between 223,000 and 253,000 were killed here, and another 73,000 in Nagasaki.

A young Japanese student militant—who was born three years after the explosion—described, with a depth of feeling as if he had been there himself, the carting away by truck of the bodies of the dead and partially dead, to be thrown into the sea. Others were buried. In one mass grave, 10 meters wide, 20,000 people were buried. In his halting English, he told us quietly, "It was very awful."

Many Americans know something about the initial mass destruction caused by the

bomb, although official U.S. figures on the number killed are calculated to cover up the true picture. But it is not generally known in the states that the bomb is still taking its toll and has profoundly affected the lives of everyone who was here 23 years ago.

Countless numbers go through life maimed and scarred. Each year more die from injuries and radiation-produced diseases such as leukemia. All who were in Hiroshima at the time of the blast live with the knowledge that they may develop radiation diseases at any time, or that their children or their children's children may be born with defects as a result of that single blast of radiation in 1945.

But the most important effect on the survivors has been social and psychological. There is a pronounced difference in the mental attitude of the survivors and those who have come here since the war.

Today in Hiroshima we attended the Japan Congress Against A and H Bombs (Gensuiken). At a reception for foreign delegates to the conference, Hiroshima Mayor Setsuo Yamada referred to this deep social and psychological damage done by the bomb. In general, we were told, the bomb survivors are filled with fear and apprehension. Many have lost the will to live. These symptoms also appear among their children.

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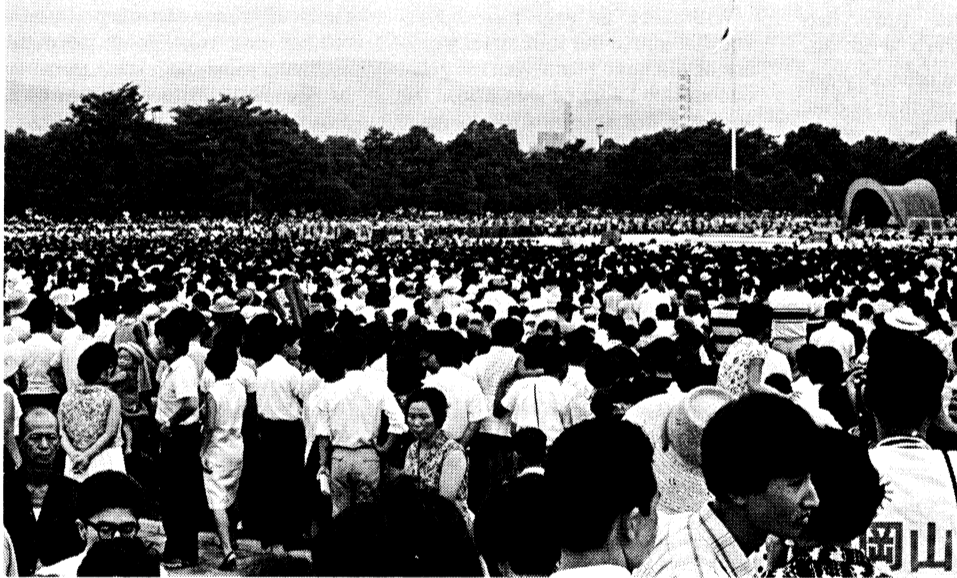


Photo by Barry Sheppard

HIROSHIMA MEMORIAL DAY. Over one hundred thousand attend Aug. 6 memorial of U. S. atom bomb attack. Memorial monument at right.

SWP on ballot in Rhode Island

By Steve Chase

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The secretary of state's office announced here Aug. 13 that the Socialist Workers Party had qualified for a place on the Rhode Island ballot for the November election. SWP campaigners turned in petitions with 1,780 signatures, of which 601 were validated by local boards who checked each signature. A minimum of 500 signatures of registered voters is required for ballot status.

Two other groups, the Peace and Freedom Party and the Independent Coalition, failed to get on the ballot. A total of 266 signatures were validated on PFP petitions. The PFP is considering appealing what appears to be blatantly unfair actions of the Providence board of canvassers which ruled invalid 905 of 1,100 signatures gathered in Providence.

The Independent Coalition, a pro-McCarthy "fourth party" group, turned in 700 signatures, of which 400 were ruled invalid.

This will be the first time the SWP has appeared on the ballot in this state.

Dube opens U.S. tour on French rebellion

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Aug. 10—Jean Dube, a former leader of the outlawed French Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) arrived here today to begin a national speaking tour. Dube is soliciting support for an end of the government ban of revolutionary organizations and the release of political prisoners held by the de Gaulle regime.

His tour is part of an internationaleffort, sponsored in this country by the American Committee to Defend the French Students. Similar organizations have been formed in Canada and a number of European countries, including France.

In a brief talk before flying to his first scheduled appearance in Detroit, Dube gave these details on the French arrests:

●Alain Krivine, a prominent leader of the May-June uprising, and 14 others are being held.

●All of the arrested youths are alleged

Huey Newton trial: State witnesses flounder

--see page 8--



Photo by Charles Britton

FUNERAL OF BLACK PANTHER. Coffin of Thomas M. Lewis, 18, carried by Black Panthers in Los Angeles funeral Aug. 10. Lewis and two other Panthers were murdered by cops in filling station attack Aug. 5. Brown Berets also served as pallbearers. See story page 8.

Brutal cop attack on Watts festival

By Joel Britton

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 13—The third annual Watts summer festival commemorating the anniversary of the 1965 Watts upheaval ended with an armed police attack on residents of the black community.

At least three black people were killed and dozens injured. Six cops were reportedly hurt. Thirty-five people were arrested, 28 on felony charges.

The entire Los Angeles police department and all the sheriff's deputies were mobilized Sunday night, Aug. 11, after several hundred black people sought to prevent the arrest in Will Rogers' Park of a woman whom police said was suspected of drunkenness.

Police chief Tom Reddin said he employed this "massive response" because it was best to "overreact and control" the situation. The National Guard was alerted as fires and looting developed in response to the police actions.

A police helicopter, armed with tear gas

and using a spotlight, was brought in. One police station came under fire and a barricade of cars was erected in defense against the police "sweep" of the park.

Spokesmen for the Black Congress, a coalition of organizations in the black community, have condemned the police for waging "war" against the black community. One of the directors of the Watts Festival called the police tactic a "mass and wholesale, unwarranted assault."

An overflow city-council meeting Aug. 12 saw militant Mexican-Americans joining with black spokesmen to demand an end to the police killing, arrests and harassment in their communities. They demanded that the "white gestapo police" be removed. They also demanded an investigation of the "criminal conspiracy now in operation by the Los Angeles police department to disrupt and destroy the black and brown communities."

This weekend's killings came less than one week after three young Black Panther Party members were killed by police. Thus, tensions in south-central Los Angeles are especially high. Even the city council recognized the wisdom of scheduling public hearings on "police-community relations," which will be held Aug. 14. But they have taken no action on the demands of a "crisis coalition" of black and Mexican-American organizations set up to protest the killings of the Panthers.

Carl Vasquez of the United Mexican-American Students Association warned the council: "Gentlemen, make no mistake about it, there is a war between our communities and the police, and it can be fought at the negotiating table or in public hearings, or if you choose, in the streets."

Walter Bremond, chairman of the Black Congress, told the council, "if you don't do something about our grievances, the black and brown communities are going to move on their own."

A few hours after the council adjourned, fires and looting again broke out, not on the scale of August '65, but causing tens of thousands of dollars worth of damage.

Over 100 representatives of the Peace and Freedom Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers Party and antiwar groups picketed police headquarters Aug. 12 in solidarity with the Black

(Continued on page 8)

to be members of the JCR and they are charged with reconstituting the organization following the government ban.

●They will be tried by a special state security court set up for the prosecution of the ultraright terrorist Secret Army Organization which attempted to overthrow the French government in 1958.

●This court is directly appointed by the Council of Ministers; there is no jury; each defendant will be tried separately; as far as is known, there is no possibility of appeal.

Dube described the circumstances under which seven of those arrested were rounded up in Paris. Five were attending a 40-strong meeting of a worker-student commission. These commissions are similar to the Action Committees formed during the revolutionary upsurge. There are a number of them still functioning in Paris. The five were charged with organizing the meeting.

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Friday, August 23, 1968

Afro-Americans and the Republican convention

By George Novack

The circumstances of Richard Nixon's presidential nomination by the Republicans give further proof—if more was needed—of the contempt that these agents of the white supremacist rulers of the United States have for the feelings and demands of Afro-Americans. Look at what happened.

The Republicans held their convention at Miami Beach, the most tightly segregated pleasure spot in the country.

The Southern delegations exercised a veto power over the proceedings and main decisions at the sessions. The domestic part of the platform was carefully fashioned to suit their racist attitudes. No concrete set of measures was urged to relieve the injustices and inequalities suffered by the black people. Instead, the platform's emphasis on maintaining "law and order" was calculated to justify continued official repression of militant protest against intolerable wrongs.

The white supremacists were especially pleased by Nixon's choice of the border-state governor Spiro Agnew as his running mate. They approved the Maryland politician who had assailed not only militant but moderate black leaders. Agnew had ordered the arrest of 227 black students who were conducting an orderly sit-in at the state house to protest conditions on their campus.

During the Poor People's Campaign in Washington this spring, he condemned the use of federal property for the Resurrection City campsite and scornfully referred to "the so-called poor people—with Cadillacs." He blamed the uprisings not on the callous mistreatment of Afro-Americans, but on "the permissive climate and the misguided compassion of public opinion" and called on police to shoot anyone who failed to heed their commands to halt.

Nixon's own trucking to the racists was symbolized by the on-stage and off-stage activities of Senator Thurmond of South Carolina, who was the Dixiecrat candidate for President in 1948. This repulsive racist served as one of Nixon's principal managers and was at his side as he accepted the nomination. Nixon's acceptance speech drew acclamations from the Southern delegates when he declared: "The first civil right of every American is to be free from domestic violence" and promised to appoint a U. S. Attorney General and judges who would "restore order and respect for law in the country."

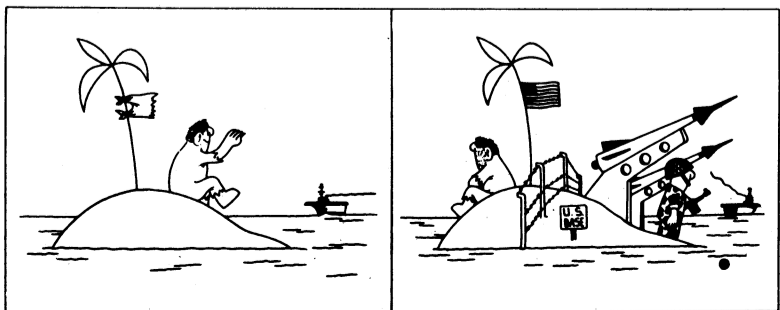
Nixon's naming of Agnew embittered the more liberal Northern Republicans, who have to get reelected, and dismayed most of the 78 black delegates. One of these Uncle Toms said: "There is no way in hell I can justify Nixon and Agnew to Negroes."

Two well-known Afro-American personalities quickly announced they could not go along with the Republican ticket. The first was James Farmer, former national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, running for Congress as a Republican-Liberal candidate in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. The second was Jackie Robinson, who resigned as community-relations director on Governor Rockefeller's staff to campaign for the Democrats.

The ex-ballplayer turned banker and businessman said he feared that "if Nixon wins, people will be so frustrated there will be the most horrible riots in all our major cities."

Robinson's warning was warranted by the battles that raged in misnamed Liberty City only a few miles from the Republican convention auditorium. While its proceedings were coming to a close, cops were shooting, killing and arresting black men, women and children who had risen up against police brutality. National Guardsmen were called in to occupy 100 square blocks of the ghetto area. This was the first large-scale explosion in Miami, where authorities had boasted that such a thing was out of the question.

Today, after eight years under two Democratic administrations, Afro-Americans are more frustrated and angry than ever. Yet Jackie Robinson can propose nothing better than more of the same by electing a third Democratic President. His despairing jump from the Republican frying pan into the Democratic fire exposes the futility of seeking a solution for the problems of black people through either of the parties controlled by big business, warmakers and white supremacists.



Wieslaw Fugiewicz in DIKOBRAZ, Prague

Peace and Freedom: 'radical'

Takes exception

to Militant's 'jibes'

Minneapolis, Minn.

As a member of the California Peace and Freedom Party, I must take exception to your paper's constant jibes at our party.

The Socialist Workers Party chose Fred Halstead for President in November, 1967. When it suddenly discovered, in January, 1968, that PFP had made the ballot in California and had blossomed into a mass movement, the SWP psychologically was unprepared to reorient itself and enter into the mass movement. Instead of joining in the work of building the party, it chose to stand aside and carp at it.

The PFP allegedly does not have a working-class base. What of it? Are thousands of militants, opposed to imperialism and racism, to have to wait until George Meany or some other labor faker forms a "labor" party, one which probably would be prowar, procapitalist and anticommunist? Or is the only permissible course to join a minuscule socialist group like the SWP? Why not try to organize a mass, antiwar party, based on the already militant, and then go to the people with a structure, rather than wait for that will-o-the-wisp, a union-based labor party? You don't mind if the blacks jump the gun on labor; why should the antiwar movement have to wait on the sidelines? Why should your party push on electorally and not the PFP?

You will say that it is permissible for the SWP to run because it advocates socialism. Fine, but so does Paul Jacobs, our candidate for U. S. senator, and Huey Newton, the PFP's candidate for Congress, to name only two among many PFPers who do.

The PFP does not officially advocate socialism, but that is due, in my opinion, only to the youth and inexperience of its members. One candidate, Mario Savio, frankly says he isn't sure what anyone means anymore by socialism, given the huge range of social formations covered by that term, running from the monarchist British Labour Party to the Mao-cultist Chinese regime. While I think such a position doesn't come to grips with the problem, still, are you prepared to deny Mario Savio's credentials as an antiwar, civil-liberties candidate? Are you prepared to repudiate a political party whose nonsocialist members are ideologically no worse than a Mario Savio?

Prepared to listen

The youthful members of PFP are prepared to listen to anyone who has solutions to offer, and they are prepared to work to build the party. This year the SWP has been stiff-necked and refused to enter the PFP as an ideological tendency along with all comers. But next year, Fred Halstead will not be running. Perhaps then you will change your minds.

Your paper has talked scornfully about PFP returning to liberalism, as if a party soon to give its nomination to Eldridge Cleaver is in any danger of doing that! The prophets of the SWP have even gone so far as predict, in conversation, on many occasions, that the PFP will not outlast the election, which is just nonsense.

No intelligent observer can fail to see that the PFP has its serious problems and faults, but it isn't a dying party; no party that gets 410,000 votes in a local election first time out is exactly suffering from an incurable disease, unless success is now likened unto illness.

Leonard Brenner Glaser

(See article by Tom Kerry on page 6.)

Stalinists and Che

New York, N. Y.

The English language edition of the Cuban paper *Granma* had a roundup of the response around the world to the publication of Che's Bolivian diary. Some of the things reported show how deeply the pro-Moscow Communist parties opposed Che's revolutionary line of action.

The French CP paper, *l'Humanite*, ran an article about the diary which was headlined: "The Bolivian Peasants Do Not Support the Guerrillas."

An edition of the diary was published in Chile, and it was widely advertised. *Granma* reported that "all papers carried paid advertisements for the publication of the diary—with the exception of the pro-U. S. mouthpiece of Chilean and foreign capitalism, *El Mercurio*, and *El Siglo*, voice of the Communist Party." Talk about treachery.

J. B.

'Employers will love this generation . . .'

Berkeley, Calif.

Who said these wise words in 1959?

"The employers will love this generation. They aren't going to press many grievances. They are going to be easy to handle. There aren't going to be any riots."

Guess again. It was none other than President Clark Kerr of the University of California at Berkeley.

How many people are saying the same things about the American workers today. "The employers will love this generation . . . etc., etc."

Will they be any more foresighted about the industrial workers of the next years than the great educational wizard was about the students not so many years ago?

F. S.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall,

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.

Antiwar slogans in insurance strike

New York, N. Y.

You don't normally think of insurance agents as militant trade unionists. But recently some white-collar workers of this type at Metropolitan Life's main offices in New York City departed from the "norm."

Backed up by dockworkers from the Maritime Council of New York, the strikers massed in the street in front of the office building, blocked traffic, and fought cops who tried to move them away.

Another striking thing was the way these demonstrators incorporated the slogans and tactics of other sections of the anticapitalist struggle. The strikers denounced "police brutality" as the cops tried to move them, and to show their determination, white-collar and blue-collar workers linked arms, chanting, "Hell, no! We won't go!"

Antiwar activists who were discouraged that alleged dockworkers attacked the Whitehall "Stop the Draft" demonstrations last December can take heart from this incident. The workers may yet be the best allies of the antiwar movement.

Charles Gardner

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GIs, vets hold Berkeley teach-in

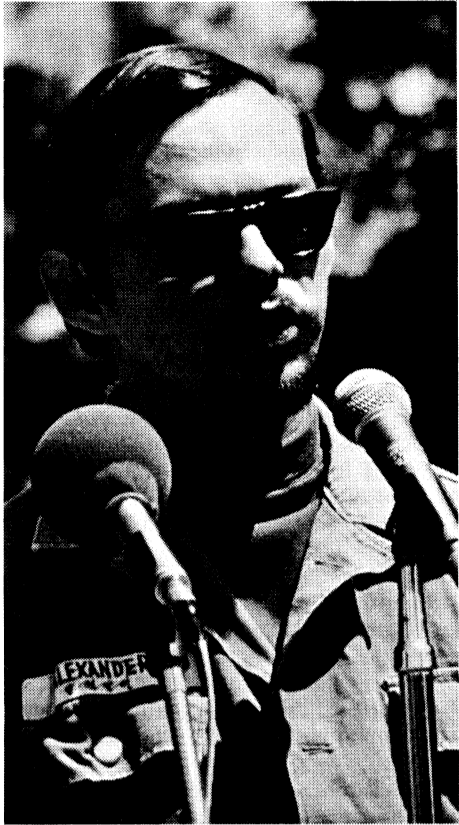


Photo by Anita Alexander
RON ALEXANDER. Vietnam "advisor" speaks out against war at Berkeley teach-in.



Photo by Ron Alexander
GI TEACH-IN. Former Green Beret Master Sergeant Donald Duncan addresses Berkeley teach-in held by GIs and veterans. Over 100 soldiers attended. Only one spoke in favor of U. S. policies.

By Mike Maggi

BERKELEY, Aug. 10—GIs and veterans of the Vietnam war held a successful "GI-Teach-in" here today attended by 800 people, including about 100 soldiers. The teach-in was held in response to a call by the Student Mobilization Committee for demonstrations on the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. After speeches directed against the war by several veterans, the microphone was opened to GIs and veterans in the audience.

Of 17 servicemen who took the mike, only one spoke in favor of the war, say-

ing it was "necessary to stop Communism."

Featured speakers included Donald Duncan, former master sergeant in the Green Berets, and Dennis Steele, who was a sergeant in the 101st Airborne Division in Vietnam two months ago.

Steele is one of several GIs and veterans who have just begun publishing a free antiwar newspaper for GIs in the Berkeley-San Francisco area. The new paper is called *Task Force*. It takes its place alongside several other popular antiwar newspapers for GIs like *The Ally*, *Stars and Stripes for Peace*, *Vietnam GI* and *The*

Bond.

Steele declared that he had originally volunteered for duty in Vietnam. Experiences in "search and destroy" missions, however, showed him that the U. S. was not "protecting the people from the threat of a dictatorship imposed from the North." In reality Washington is fighting the people of South Vietnam for control of that nation.

"The war is causing the destruction of a civilian population by the United States of America," Steele stated, "for no other reason than to advance America's political and economic interests."

Frank Grinnon, an Air Force veteran and another editor of *Task Force* stated, "I would like to say one word about the present negotiations from the GI point of view. That word is bullshit!"

Efforts began at the teach-in to build a Sept. 21 GI march in San Francisco. This has been called by several airmen at Hamilton Air Force Base. It will start at the Presidio Army Base and march to the Civic Center.

Steele and Grinnon said that copies of *Task Force*, free for GIs, could be obtained by writing to 2001 Milvia Street in Berkeley.

Hiroshima day protests in Cleveland, Portland, Ore.

By Marta Prince

CLEVELAND—About 500 demonstrators participated in an Aug. 9 Hiroshima Day memorial for Cleveland-area GIs killed in Vietnam. The marchers assembled at dusk and proceeded under a banner reading "Bring the GIs Home Now!" to the Art Museum lagoon where a speak-out was held by relatives of Vietnam GIs.

Rachel Towne, whose brother, an Air Force lieutenant, is in Vietnam, related how her brother's attitude toward the war and the military has changed during his eight months there.

Marie Tuck, whose son David is a Viet-

nam veteran well-known for his testimony before the War Crimes Tribunal in Sweden and whose second son has just received orders for Vietnam, spoke of the necessity for building a strong, vocal antiwar movement.

The memorial was climaxed by a candlelight ceremony patterned after Japanese Hiroshima Day ceremonies. Candles were lit and set afloat for each of the more than 250 Cleveland-area GIs who have died in Vietnam. As the candles floated slowly across the lagoon, demonstrators marched along the bank in a candlelight parade.

The memorial was called by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, a broad coalition of antiwar groups.

By David Herman

PORTLAND—Five hundred people turned out for a rally here Aug. 6 called to commemorate the victims of the American atomic bombing of Hiroshima and to point out the connections between that event and the Vietnam war.

The rally, sponsored by students at Portland State College, was one of the largest held yet in Portland. High school and college students predominated in the crowd.

Rev. Eric Robinson, the "Man with the Mike" on radio and the executive secretary of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, chaired the rally.

The main speaker was Hideo Hashimoto, professor of religion at Lewis and Clark College. Prof. Hashimoto, a Japanese-American, spent the period during World War II in a Japanese-American relocation camp. He condemned the bombing of Hiroshima and urged Americans to work toward ending the Vietnam war.

Other speakers included Paul Pinegar of the Oregon Resistance, Peter Kershner of the Portland Committee for Halstead and Boutelle, and Gregory Kerns of the Oregon Peace and Freedom Party.

The crowd enthusiastically received the Portland Zoo, a local rock band whose music began and ended the rally.

Why Washington feared a lull on the battlefield in Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

On Aug. 2, President Johnson clarified any doubts that might have risen in recent weeks about U. S. policies in Vietnam. Typically enough, Johnson's far-reaching policy statement was revealed to the American public in a "leak" to the *New York Times*. It appeared in a front-page article by *New York Times* Washington correspondent Peter Grose, Aug. 3:

"The Johnson Administration decided this week to make a tough interpretation of ambiguous intelligence data from Vietnam," Grose revealed. "This resulted in a hard clarification of what had been a deliberate ambiguity in the U. S. negotiating position."

"The result has been a narrowing of both sides' room for maneuver in the dilatory talks in Paris on the Vietnam war, and there is a prospect of new outbursts of heavy fighting in South Vietnam."

The "ambiguous intelligence data" Grose is talking about is a series of Pentagon reports which allege that North Vietnam is preparing for a new large-scale attack similar to the Tet offensive of last February. What is supposed to be "ambiguous" about them is that they have occurred during a relatively long lull in battlefield operations and a period of a sharp decline in American casualty figures.

And that is "ambiguous" because it is precisely what Washington spokesmen in Paris have been demanding since last June. Put yourself in the position of Averell Harriman. "Now," the *New York Times* stated July 22, "precisely the situation the diplomats feared[!] has emerged. For a month or so, Saigon has been spared the enemy rocket attacks which Ambassador Harriman so vigorously protested on June 12. There is a general lull in combat throughout Vietnam and, at the fringes of the talks here, tempting but vague hints from Hanoi about the significance of the lull."

There could hardly be a clearer indication of the total phoniness of Washington's position in Paris. Washington is supposed to be seeking peace in Vietnam. That is supposed to be the reason Johnson nar-

rowed the scope of U. S. bombing north of the DMZ.

In reality, however, Washington is using the Paris talks as a cover for escalating the war. It has continued to increase its troop commitments, and although it narrowed the geographical area of North Vietnam it was bombing, it increased the level of bombing attacks. That is why U. S. "diplomats feared" a lull in the war on the battlefield. That threatened to reveal for all to see the hypocrisy of Washington's "peace" stance.

"The implicit question was," Peter Grose stated in his Aug. 3 article, "why not give Hanoi the benefit of the doubt and take the recent lull in combat as evidence of de facto restraint?"

But if Washington did that, it would have to "reciprocate." In fact, Washington has been continuing to raise troop levels since the Paris talks opened. When Johnson returned from the top-level meetings in Honolulu with Saigon dictator Thieu, July 21, he declared: "The big rumors about meeting here to discuss stopping the bombing or to pull out or to do these things are just pure tommyrot and fiction."

And it follows that any rumors about Washington seriously seeking peace in Paris are "just pure tommy rot and fiction." The U. S. position in Vietnam today remains what it has been from the outset: to impose its own version of a government on the peoples of South Vietnam through military force.

SWP sets Myers for Calif ticket

BERKELEY, Calif.—The Socialist Workers Party has announced the candidacy of Derrel Myers for state senator from the 11th state senatorial district.

Myers was one of the principal organizers of the June 28 rally here in support of French students victimized by the de Gaulle regime. It was this rally which was attacked by police and led to the week-long "Battle of Berkeley."

Myers' campaign will focus on support for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, for black control of the black community, and on the need to build a revolutionary socialist movement in this country.

Derrel Myers is a 25-year-old native Californian who began his political activity in 1960 when he helped organize the first CORE chapter in Stockton, Calif. In 1963 he was one of the Bay Area organizers of the student trip to Cuba, and he initiated the Los Angeles demonstration in support of the SDS antiwar march on Washington in 1965. Since then, he has been an active participant in the antiwar and socialist movements.

The Berkeley Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee has its office at 2519-A Telegraph Ave.

**Malcolm X
 The Man
 and His Ideas**

by
George Breitman
 25 cents

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



Photo by Barry Sheppard

ONE BUILDING REMAINS. The U.S. atom bomb exploded in Hiroshima Japan 23 years ago killed over 200,000 persons and others still die from the blast today. Strangely, the only building not completely destroyed stood and still stands today near the center of the explosion.

...in Hiroshima

(Continued from page 1)

This morning the people of Hiroshima came to a memorial meeting for those killed by the bomb. Shortly after 8 a.m., in the Peace Memorial Park, all stood in silence as a gong rang out the precise moment of the awful anniversary.

Aug. 15, the time of the Buddhist Bon festival, is the traditional day to honor the dead in Japan. In Hiroshima, that day is moved up to Aug. 6.

This evening we are observing this ceremony, as hundreds of thousands of citizens of Hiroshima and others from around Japan come to the Memorial Park. Many thousands launch paper lanterns with candles inside in the river. The thousands of lanterns slowly make their way down the river and out to sea. Each lantern represents someone who has died, and here the ceremony has become part of the atomic bomb memorial.

As we walk among the people of Hiroshima tonight, and watch the lighted lanterns drift down the river, and see the flowers and incense brought to honor the victims of the bombing, we cannot help but feel a great bitterness that this unspeakable crime was committed by Washington in the name of the American people. Clearly the overall consequences of this act have only begun to unfold.

There are very few foreigners in this crowd, and most of those are not Americans. This commemoration is not part of the tourist route. It is not mentioned in the pamphlet put out by the Japan Travel Bureau in English. This is a deeply human and deeply Japanese affair. Many of the children, especially, are dressed in traditional Japanese clothes, rather than in the Western styles which now dominate

the cities.

The people wander about this large park, which has been built in the area immediately adjacent to the center of the bomb blast. At exactly that point, the girders and part of the walls of a large building, which strangely was the only building for some distance not completely destroyed by the blast, still stand.

Nearby there is a memorial to the dead of Hiroshima, and people have been placing flowers there all day and night, until they have piled up high. Parents from far and wide lift their small children so they can look over the flowers and see the memorial to the dead of the atomic bomb.



Photo by Barry Sheppard

FRED HALSTEAD at Hiroshima ceremony. Thousands upon thousands of Japanese gather each year to pay tribute to those horribly murdered by Washington's atomic weapons.

Dube schedule in New York

Jean Dube, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) at the time of the revolutionary upsurge in France last spring, will speak on "The May Uprising in France" at two public meetings in New York this week. He will address a meeting sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance at 7:30 p.m., Thurs., Aug. 22 in Room 602, Hamilton Hall, Columbia University. On Fri., Aug. 23, at 8:30 p.m., he will speak at the Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, near 18th St.

Nat'l Mobilization rally at Democratic convention

By Lew Jones

The National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) is planning a series of demonstrations in Chicago during the Democratic Party convention, Aug. 24-29. These demonstrations, however, will have a different character than the previous NMC marches of April 15 and Oct. 21, 1967. Instead of militant antiwar actions, the NMC is now organizing actions that attempt to influence the decisions of the Democratic Party.

Several days of activity have been projected by the NMC. On Sunday, Aug. 25, several demonstrations will be held in downtown Chicago "to greet the delegates arriving that afternoon." On Monday, Aug. 26, the NMC has no plans, but includes in its schedule a rally called by the Coalition for an Open Convention and the credentials challenge by the Black Mississippi Coalition. Various protests at "institutions which represent the forces of militarism, racism, and exploitation in LBJ's 'Great Society'" will be conducted on Aug. 27, President Johnson's birthday. At the time of the nominations for the presidential slot, a march will be held on the convention hall. To conclude the activities, a "People's Assembly" is scheduled for Aug. 29.

The National Mobilization leadership (including pacifist Dave Dellinger and former Students for a Democratic Society leaders Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis) claim their demonstration is oriented toward "issues" and not "candidates" and therefore should be supported by all, regardless of electoral beliefs. This description is not quite accurate.

One premise that goes unstated is that the proposed actions will influence the Democratic Party to reform itself in some fashion. This premise runs throughout the entire schedule for the "protest" and is manifested in such activities as demonstrations at delegates' hotels and support to McCarthy rallies for an "open" convention. But it is epitomized in the plans for a march on the convention when the balloting for the presidential nominee occurs. This type of action can only have the pur-

pose of intervening in the Democratic Party to "improve" it, to make sure it makes "correct" decisions.

One could well ask why the NMC, which in the past has built massive demonstrations directly against the Democratic controlled government, would now want to act to reform that party.

A political party like the Democratic Party is not an institution of government, it is not a "public" body. It is a *voluntary* association of professional politicians who are in it for what they can get out of it and because they *believe* in the things the Democratic Party stands for: war, racism, poverty for the many and great wealth for the few.

Shouldn't it be clear that no matter what the Democratic Party decides, it will be against the interests of the antiwar movement? The Democratic Party is not an innocent bystander to be won over by the antiwar movement; it is the architect of the war.

The Democratic Party convention will be a gathering to decide which candidate will best be able to rule capitalist America in an orderly fashion. Part of the game that is played every four years is to get those who are breaking with capitalist politics to participate in this selection and commit themselves to supporting a candidate.

The crime this year is that some of the leaders of the independent antiwar movement are now trying to steer thousands of radicalizing youth into this political shell game.

Even if the organizers of the demonstration wanted it to be a militant, antiwar action aimed at all warmakers, the Democratic Party convention would not be the right occasion.

The convention is the highpoint of all the campaigning that has occurred in the last several months. It is certain to be the grand finale of the McCarthy "crusade." The McCarthy machine launched a month-long campaign in August to culminate at the convention, when thousands of McCarthy supporters will arrive in Chicago to demonstrate for "their" candidate.

In such a situation it would be very difficult to separate antiwar actions from actions in support of McCarthy. In the midst of the large pro-McCarthy actions, it would be next to impossible to get across the idea that certain demonstrations are for self-determination in Vietnam and against the Democrats, including McCarthy.

In fact, it would be better to try to get across that message at another time and place, when clarity can be maximized. To try at the convention means throwing the weight of the antiwar movement behind McCarthy, even if this is not the intention.

That a demonstration such as this could be organized says something about the kind of changes that are occurring among some leaders of the antiwar movement. Under pressure from various "peace" candidacies and the Paris negotiations, some, such as Dellinger, Hayden, and the Communist Party, have turned from the fight against the war to less radical protests. This step to the right politically has manifested itself in the organization of the Democratic Party convention demonstration.

It is clear that what is involved is an attempt to sidetrack the antiwar movement. One waits in great anticipation for the Aug. 29 "People's Assembly" to see how far to the right the organizers will actually want everyone to go.

Thousands of youth will be in Chicago for the convention, of course, and it is important that the antiwar movement utilize the opportunity to organize them into its ranks. The Student Mobilization Committee, for instance, plans to distribute its literature, including a leaflet publicizing its conference to be held Aug. 31 and Sept. 1 at the University of Chicago.

At the SMC conference, plans will be made for fall actions to demand the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. At its last meeting, the SMC voted to hold massive actions in the fall when the greatest number of Americans could be reached, regardless of the peace candidates or peace negotiations.

For more information, write to the SMC at 9 S. Clinton, Rm 225, Chicago, Illinois, 60606.

CALENDAR

DETROIT

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Sat., Aug. 24, 11:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Black Nationalism. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135.

BLACK NATIONALISM. A series of lectures and discussions. Fri., Aug. 23: Self-determination and Separatism: The Debate; Fri., Aug. 30: The Independent Black Political Party and its Place in the International Revolutionary Movement. 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum

LOS ANGELES

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—Toward Socialism or Capitalism? Speaker: Phil Passen, organizer, Los Angeles Young Socialist Alliance. Friday, Aug. 23, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth Street. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: An Eyewitness Report. Jean-Pierre Dube, a leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR). Fri., Aug. 23, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

Cops keep hands off Chicago war protest

By Naomi Allen

CHICAGO, Aug. 10—Nearly 2,000 Chicagoans staged a march and rally here today to commemorate the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and protest the war in Vietnam. The march went from the Federal building up State Street to the Civic Center.

Dave Dellinger of the National Mobilization Committee, Bernadine Dohrn of the Students for a Democratic Society, and Maxwell Primack of the Chicago Peace

Council were featured speakers.

The march was led by pallbearers carrying three coffins draped in flags and followed by a sign reading "The Chicago Peace Council Mourns the Victims of U. S. Racism." Other posters declared "No More Hiroshimas, No More Vietnams," "Support Our GIs in Vietnam, Bring Them Home Now," "Stop the War, Racism, Poverty."

In contrast to the April 27 antiwar demonstration which had been brutally attacked by Mayor Daley's cops, this one was peaceful and had a city permit. The police "change of heart" was undoubtedly influenced by the recent publication of an investigation by a number of prominent Chicago intellectuals into charges of police brutality at the April 27 demonstration.

Entitled "Dissent and Disorder: A Report to the Citizens of Chicago on the April 27th Peace Parade," it concluded that the use of armed force to prohibit demonstrations and obstruct the rights of free speech and peaceable assembly was unconstitutional. The investigators had used newsreels, photographs and an impressive amount of testimony by hostile as well as friendly witnesses. Their conclusions were well-publicized and helped to mobilize opinion on the side of the demonstrators.

Participants in the investigation included: Dr. Edward J. Sparling, president emeritus, Roosevelt University; Warren Bacon, vice-president of Inland Steel Corp. and a member of the board of education; the Rev. E. Spencer Parsons, dean of Rockefeller Memorial Chapel; and Prof. Harry Kalven Jr., of the University of Chicago Law School.

Minneapolis antiwar rally

By David Keil

MINNEAPOLIS—More than 500 people gathered here Aug. 3 for one of the most impressive and broadly based rallies in the history of the Minnesota antiwar movement. The demonstration, sponsored by the Minnesota Mobilization Committee, was called under the slogan: "Bring our men home from Vietnam now—alive!"

Speakers included Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate David Thorstad; Arnold Murray of the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union; James Hajicek, organizer for the Minnesota Organizing Committee of the Peace and Freedom Party; Dave Gutknecht of the Resistance; Mulford Q. Sibley, well-known scholar and educator; Richard Killmer of Minnesota Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam; and William Braatz, Socialist Labor Party congressional candidate.

Puerto Rican students issue solidarity call for jailed revolutionaries

NEW YORK—Manuel De J. Gonzalez, president of the Puerto Rican Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI, Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia) has issued a call for North American solidarity with the victims of political persecution in Puerto Rico. The U. S. colonial government there is engaged in a vicious campaign of repression aimed at leaders and militants of pro-independence forces, particularly the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI, Movimiento Pro Independencia) and FUPI.

In a letter dated July 5 to Lew Jones, former national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, Gonzalez describes some instances of the persecution.

On April 25, in an attempt to disorganize the demonstrations scheduled for the next day in response to the U. S. Student Mobilization Committee's call for an international student strike, the Puerto Rican government issued warrants for the arrest of 25 university students, including the leadership of FUPI. The warrants were issued in connection with events that had occurred 10 months before, on Sept. 27, 1967. At that time the police had attacked a student demonstration, invaded the university campus and fought a seven-hour pitched battle with student defenders of the university, in which a worker was killed and four students were wounded by police bullets.

Three days after the successful April 26 demonstration, the accused students surrendered. They have been indicted on counts of conspiracy, inciting to riot, first and second-degree arson, and malicious damage to private property. If convicted, they face possible 17-year prison sentences. (See *The Militant*, May 10, 1968.)

Since April, several MPI activists have been arrested, held for several days and interrogated in attempts by the government falsely to implicate the MPI in a series of acts of sabotage that have been carried out against U. S.-owned firms. The cops have used offers of money and threats of long imprisonment to try and turn these militants into traitors.

The last week in June, two MPI activists were arrested and charged with having burned a U. S.-owned business. Although no evidence linking them to the arson was presented, \$40,000 bail has been set for each.

Mary-Alice Waters, national chairman of the YSA, pledged in a letter to FUPI, "full solidarity in the fight against government repression of your organization." She pointed out that "the current attacks on the leaders and militants of FUPI and the MPI show that those who seek to perpetuate Puerto Rico's colonial status are alarmed by the growth of the independence movement in your country. As in other parts of the world, the U. S. government is demonstrating in Puerto Rico that it is willing to use any means necessary to hold on to its profitable domination of Puerto Rico."

In his letter to the YSA, Manuel de J. Gonzalez states, "We need concrete manifestations of solidarity: public statements of your organizations, statements of important people in your country, the organization of acts of solidarity, etc." FUPI will make speakers available to address solidarity meetings in the U. S.

Contributions and correspondence can be sent to: Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.



Photo by Bruce Marcus

PHILADELPHIA DEMONSTRATION. Hiroshima Day is marked by American war protesters.

Philadelphia antiwar rally

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 10—In today's sweltering heat, about 200 people turned out for the Hiroshima Day anti-Vietnam-war demonstration. Featured speaker was former Pfc. Howard Petrick, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance who was harassed by the Army and received an undesirable discharge recently for his antiwar views.

The demonstrators marched from City Hall down Market Street, Philadelphia's main shopping district, to a rally at Independence Hall.

The overriding theme of the demonstration was solidarity with the GIs. Leading the march was a contingent of Philadelphia Veterans for Peace, followed by a huge luminescent banner of the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee, reading "Support our GIs—Bring them home now."

In addition to Petrick, other speakers were Helen Evelev of Women Strike for Peace, Josh Markel of Resistance, Carl

Barus of Vets for Peace, and Spec. 4 Al Meyers, an antiwar GI stationed at Ft. Dix. Chairing the rally was Rich Feigenberg of Student Mobilization here. Meyers got the biggest ovation when he expressed the overwhelming antiwar sentiment of GIs at Ft. Dix.

Petrick urged antiwar activists to attend the Labor Day weekend Student Mobilization Committee conference to plan a massive fall antiwar action "in solidarity with the GIs."

A member of the Penn Summer Coalition for Peace recounted a very successful leafleting of GIs at Ft. Dix. Dix is an open base, and two carloads of leafleters simply entered the base one evening last week, "blitzing" the movie theaters on base as GIs poured out. A sergeant barked at the troops not to take the leaflets, but the soldiers pretended they didn't hear him and took stacks of leaflets to pass out to their friends.

Jean Dube addresses 140 in Detroit meeting

DETROIT, Aug. 10—Some 140 people, mainly young, attended a meeting here tonight to hear Jean Dube, a leader of the French student revolt. Dube stressed the international political significance of the forthcoming trials of Alain Krivine and 14 other alleged members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR).

He pointed out that Jean-Paul Sartre and other leading French intellectuals have expressed willingness to testify in Krivine's defense.

The Wayne State University meeting was organized by the Detroit Committee to Defend French Students and backed by a broad coalition of groups supporting the imprisoned revolutionaries. These groups include in Detroit: *Black Conscience* maga-

zine; the *South End* and *Inner City Voice* newspapers; Resist; People Against Racism; the Organization of Arab Students; Students for a Democratic Society; the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

The Detroit committee, which already has 36 members, has formed a large mailing list and collected \$75 for defense work. In addition to the Wayne State talk, Dube was interviewed for the Lou Gordon Show, to be broadcast Aug. 24, and met a number of lawyers, faculty members and other professionals to discuss further defense activities.

Jean Dube is presently a student of economics at the University of Paris. He learned English while studying in Canada for a year.

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

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Peace and Freedom: the trouble with a 'minimum program'

By Tom Kerry

Once again the Socialist Workers Party is taken to task for its "negative" attitude toward the Peace and Freedom Party. In last week's issue of *The Militant* our reply was to David McReynolds, PFP candidate for Congress in New York. This week, it is to a letter from a young California PFP member published on page 2 of this issue.

The letter raises some fundamental questions worthy of consideration. But if the discussion is to be fruitful it must be based on what is and not on wishful flights of fancy that have no relation to reality.

We are informed, for example, that after PFP had made the ballot in California, it "had blossomed into a mass movement," and that the reason the SWP had remained aloof was that it was "psychologically" unprepared to reorient itself "and enter into the mass movement."

To my knowledge not one authoritative spokesman for PFP is foolhardy enough to claim that it has now, or had at the time of the California ballot certification, "blossomed into a mass movement." At best they hope that it will so blossom in the distant future. And even that hope is largely hinged on what happens at the Democratic Party convention scheduled for the latter part of this month.

As in our reply to McReynolds last week, we begin with the question: What is the PFP? Is it primarily an electoral coalition or only incidentally an electoral coalition and primarily a serious effort to establish a permanent "radical" political party which seeks to utilize the electoral arena as a vehicle to organize a new party? There seems to be complete and utter confusion on this score.

Again, as I was compelled to do in my article last week, I rely heavily on the one tendency in PFP which has sought to grapple with this problem, the Independent Socialist Clubs of America, which sparked the PFP effort in California.

Let me quote again from their definition of PFP in the June-July issue of the *Independent Socialist*: "In concept," they say, "Peace and Freedom is an all-inclusive radical party, aspiring to be inclusive of a wide ranging assortment of radicals with the most disparate and clashing ideologies, including the anti-ideology ideology."

The ISC theoreticians recognize that so "wide-ranging" an assortment of radicals tends to fly apart when confronted with any serious, controversial question. The trick is how to keep the coalition together. The ISC pundits concede that there are only two ways in which it can be done. One is through the unifying cement of a commonly held ideology as expressed in a full radical program. Given the acknowledged diversity of views in the PFP this is immediately ruled out as utopian.

The only other alternative, they conclude, is to attract large numbers, that is, to become a mass movement. This, they say, would offset the centrifugal force engendered by a "wide-ranging assortment of radicals with the most disparate and clashing ideologies." The ISC theoreticians contend PFP can attract large numbers only through the device of the "minimum program."

"Permanent radical party"

To begin with the ISC leaders insist that the PFP electoral effort is incidental to the primary objective of establishing a permanent radical political party. They insist there can be no compromise on this score. But how does the idea of the mini-

mum program fit into this expressed aim?

The device of the "minimum program" cuts both ways. An electoral coalition composed of diverse, disparate and clashing tendencies can be held together only on the basis of a *minimum* program. This is as true of the PFP coalition as it is of any other electoral coalition. In addition, conventional political wisdom views the "minimum program" as a guaranteed vote-catcher designed to attract the largest possible number of supporters.

It is this contradiction that has impaled the leaders of PFP on the horns of a cruel dilemma. To build a viable *permanent radical* political party, the unity of radical *ideas* are an indispensable prerequisite. For an electoral coalition, what counts are *numbers*. The idea that numbers alone will provide a cohesive cement to bind together a "wide-ranging assortment of radicals with the most disparate and clashing ideologies," is a pipedream. If, by some miracle, PFP does succeed in attracting significant numbers it will become a battleground for the contending ideological factions in a war to the bitter end.

And by *numbers* I mean active members, not *votes*. Our PFP correspondent tends to blur the distinction when he reminds us of the 410,000 votes one of their candidates received in a local election. He hails this as a great success. Let us see. If the primary aim is the building of a permanent radical party, electoral activity must be viewed as a means of propaganda and education designed to further this aim.

The case in point is a good illustration of the basic contradiction that afflicts PFP. Our correspondent refers to the election campaign in Los Angeles last June for the office of District Attorney. It was a "nonpartisan" election, that is, the candidates were not listed by party label. Michael Hannon, the PFP candidate, ran against the incumbent, a right-wing racist hated and despised by the black and Mexican-American communities.

The major piece of literature circulated by PFP for their candidate blared forth the message: End Lawless Law Enforcement! Build Respect for Law! Only the political initiates could tell whether it was a "left-wing" rather than a right-wing "law and order" tract. A reporter for *The Militant*, covering the campaign (*The Militant*, July 5, 1968), observed: "But no innocent voter learned that the Hannon campaign was for withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, favored black power, or was for the replacement of the corrupt American system by a 'new political system.'"

Failed to educate

The major lesson of this experience was driven home by our reporter who pointed out that: "As a result the campaign failed to educate a single voter about the need for fundamental social change. It failed the first test of any radical election effort."

Was the Hannon campaign anything to boast about? It all depends on what criterion is applied. If the aim was to capture votes through the medium of a "minimum program" it could be so viewed. If, on the other hand, it is viewed from the professed aim of promoting the idea of a permanent radical political party, it was a resounding fiasco.

I am not impressed by the assurance that "many PFPers" advocate socialism, as individuals if not as candidates. Nor am I impressed with groups who call themselves "socialist" joining with anti-socialists and procapitalists in an electoral coalition on a platform of capitalist reforms.

Our PFP correspondent scoffs at the "miniscule" SWP. The question of size is a relative matter. Compared to the total population of this country, and even to the size and influence of the two major parties, both PFP and SWP can be considered "miniscule." Compared to the PFP the SWP is not all that "miniscule." As a matter of fact it is very likely that our candidates will appear on more state ballots than PFP.

But that is neither here nor there. We do not pretend to be a mass party or a party with mass influence. Our strength lies not in numbers but in the power of our ideas. That is why we view our elec-



Photo by John Gray

NOMINATING CONVENTION. Los Angeles Peace and Freedom Party nominates Eldridge Cleaver for President.

toral effort primarily as a campaign of propaganda and education. Our election-campaign material is designed to educate and convince, at least the more politically advanced section of the population, of the necessity to abolish the capitalist system of labor exploitation and racial oppression, not to patch it up and make it work.

Which brings me to the question of the agency or agencies of radical social change, which we define as social revolution. At this point our young correspondent waxes indignant. "The PFP," he declares, "allegedly does not have a working-class base. What of it? Are thousands of militants, opposed to imperialism and racism, to have to wait until George Meany or some other labor faker forms a 'labor' party, one which probably would be pro-war, procapitalist and anticommunist?"

No working-class program

I don't know what he means by "allegedly!" The PFP has no working class base, period. What of it? he asks. True, PFP cannot be faulted for not having a working-class base, but it can for not having a working-class, that is a revolutionary, program—a program that represents the historical interests of the working class, black and white, the only truly revolutionary class in modern, advanced capitalist society, without which there can be no talk of a successful social revolution.

The PFP has neither working-class base nor working-class program. (We leave aside for later consideration the question of the "alliance" between PFP and the Black Panther Party.)

In social composition PFP is based on the unstable, highly volatile middle class, and only on a very small section of that class to boot; and it has a program of capitalist reform. How to classify it? It exists, at present, as a "miniscule," if you will, propaganda group not at all certain of its role nor its future place in the political firmament. A "radical," if you insist, party of capitalist reform, at least radical in rhetoric if not in program and practice.

No, we do not counsel anyone to "wait" until George Meany, Walter Reuther, or any other labor bureaucrat decides to form an independent labor party. That would be advocating waiting until doomsday. If and when a labor party comes into being it will do so as a result of struggle—against the Meanys, Reuthers, and their ilk.

As Marxists we are convinced that the working class, as a class, because of its material interests and its role in the process of production and distribution, is inexorably driven into struggle against its capitalist exploiters.

Unfortunately, the American working class has as yet not progressed beyond the stage of union consciousness. This is largely due to a hidebound, reactionary, bureaucratic leadership, which today functions as labor lieutenants of the employing class. That is why we advocate uncompromising and unrelenting struggle against this leadership to convert the unions into revolutionary instruments of struggle against capitalism instead of pliable tools of the political agents and parties of the capitalist rulers.

We do not hold with the view now cur-

rent among large sections of the "New Left" that the American working class is hopelessly corrupt and incapable of change. Such a view does not conform with either history or scientific truth.

Why, of all the sections of our society, is the working class selected as the one social layer incapable of change?

It was not so long ago that the present vocal generation of rebellious youth were stigmatized as the "silent generation." They changed!

It was not too long ago that the masses of black people were relatively quiescent, not satisfied or contented by a long shot, but certainly not in the present mood of nationalist awakening, militant mass ferment, and increasingly open revolt. This is a revolutionary change.

By what rule of experience or reason is the great mass of the working class to be excluded from this process? If anything, the recent French events offer eloquent testimony to the contrary.

Because we are convinced that the American working class as a whole can and will change, we utilize our election campaign to advocate that the workers break with the bankrupt policy of supporting Democrats or Republicans for public office and that they form their own independent labor party and run their own candidates on their own program.

For parallel reasons we utilize our election campaign to call upon the black masses to do likewise; that is, to organize their own black independent political party, under their own direction and control, and run their own candidates for public office.

A meaningful alliance can be forged between exploited labor and the oppressed black minority only if the black masses organize their own party, consolidate their own power, and then as power to power enter into an alliance with an independent working-class party to advance the interests of both.

Is this a realistic perspective? Not if one thinks in terms of this year and this election campaign. But the idea is father to the deed. At least in this election we can advance and promote the idea. For we are convinced that the formation of a mass black independent political party on a national scale, by blowing the Democrat-Labor-Negro coalition skyhigh and setting a powerful example, will compel the organized labor movement to move in the direction of political independence.

But what does the PFP have to say on these burning questions? While they remain silent on the idea of the formation of a labor party and give lip service to the struggle for black liberation, they insist that the road to salvation is only through Peace and Freedom.

We don't believe it!

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Correction

The article entitled "F&P says break with P&F is final" on page 4 of last week's *Militant* contains an error. The article states that "those constituting the Freedom and Peace Party bolted the Peace and Freedom group at a state parley last March. They walked out after a proposal was voted down that would have given the black caucus 50 percent of the vote." Actually it was the Peace and Freedom group that voted to sever ties with Freedom and Peace after the 50 percent vote for the black caucus was passed at the state parley last March.

Kremlin violates Czech right of self-determination

The following are excerpts from a declaration issued Aug. 1 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.

The escalating pressure which the Kremlin and its agents have exercised and continue to exercise against the leading bodies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has rarely been surpassed in brutality: the insults and open threats in the press and on the radio; the uninterrupted campaign of intimidation in the speeches and statements by the leading spokesmen of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic; the blackmailing threat of an economic blockade; the closing of the frontier to tourist travel from Poland and the GDR; the continuing military maneuvers in Czechoslovakia itself and at its borders: all directed to force a capitulation of the present leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The excuses with which the Kremlin justifies this pressure are as transparently without basis as they are cynical. There is no imminent threat of "imperialist infiltration" or "aggression" against the CSSR. The number of West German tourists in the CSSR is lower than in other workers states such as Rumania and Bulgaria; the number of American visitors lower than in the Soviet Union itself.

Imperialism, caught in the wasps' nest of the Vietnam war, has no intention of creating a second front in Central Europe. On the contrary, the leading spokesmen of world capital voice their anxiety lest the "international relationship of forces" be upset as a result of the Czech events, an anxiety, ironically, that matches that of the Kremlin.

Trade relations with the imperialist countries, and initiatives of collaboration with Western monopolies, are being expanded by the present CSSR regime, but on a more modest scale than in Yugoslavia or in Rumania. In fact, nothing similar to the agreement between the Italian monopoly FIAT and the Soviet government has yet been proposed by the new Czech leadership.

Stalinist discredit

Undoubtedly reactionary former bourgeois political forces are still present in the CSSR, although their social basis is extremely limited. But these forces can find an echo in the working population of the country—of which the overwhelming majority are wage and salary earners—only because of the tremendous discredit which Stalinism and the Novotny regime have brought to socialism. Any move in the direction of socialist democracy weakens this echo. Any move which reverts towards a bureaucratic dictatorship, hated and despised by the masses, strengthens the influence of reaction among the more backward sections of the people. It is therefore necessary to emphasize: the sudden anxiety which the bureaucracy in Moscow, East Berlin, Warsaw, Sofia and Budapest displays as to the "counterrevolutionary danger" in the CSSR is entirely without foundation. It is hypocritical through and through.

Far from favoring "imperialism," the upsurge of the Czechoslovak masses and the steps towards socialist democracy are powerful blows against the anticommunist hysteria which the leading imperialist circles try to maintain in the West and assist revolutionary anticapitalist developments there. Nothing would assist the development of socialist revolution in Western Europe as much as an emergence of true socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia. It is the brutal intervention of the Kremlin in the Czechoslovak developments which provides grist for the mills of imperialist propaganda.

What the Kremlin and its henchmen fear above all is not "imperialist" infiltration in the CSSR, but the infiltration of critical communist ideas into the USSR, Poland, the GDR, Hungary and the other bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states.

What they fear is the effect which the modest steps in the direction of socialist democracy achieved today in the CSSR might exercise upon the discontented students, intellectuals and workers in their own countries.

What they fear is the ferment of political revolution which the Czech developments

are sowing in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe under the Kremlin's rule, increased by the sparks which the new rise of revolutionary possibilities in the imperialist countries—symbolized by the May 1968 revolutionary events in France—are spreading everywhere.

For that reason, it is the duty of every revolutionist, of every socialist and communist, to demand an immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from the CSSR, an immediate stop to all pressures, blackmail and threats against the Czech government and people by any outside force.

Right to self-determination

The Czechoslovak workers and peasants have the right to determine their own fate, without intervention by the Kremlin and its henchmen. They have the right to freely determine for themselves the ways and forms in which they want to go forward on the road of building a socialist society.

They have the right to determine for themselves how far they are willing to extend the basic principles of working-class democracy to all the toiling layers of the population.

It is a sign of the complete degeneration of the ruling bureaucracies in Moscow and of the other CPs allied to it that what makes them most furious is not at all the presence of imperialist propaganda—you can today find bourgeois newspapers in any Eastern European capital—but the freedom which the Czechoslovak masses have conquered for communists, socialists, revolutionary intellectuals, students and workers to express their own critical ideas about the building of socialism. Can one find a more abject caricature of "communism" than that of Brezhnev, Gomulka and Ulbricht, clamoring for the reintroduction of censorship upon Czechoslovak communist and socialist writers, journalists, intellectuals, students and worker militants?

We are convinced that "liberalization" is not identical with the establishment of socialist democracy, which means political and economic power in the hands of the working class, through a congress of democratically elected workers' councils (soviets). We do not favor a regime of "liberal," technocratic and "efficient" bureaucrats any more than a regime of "conservative," political and "inefficient" ones. We want to replace both by true socialist democracy, after the pattern outlined by Lenin in *State and Revolution*: all power to a congress of democratically elected workers' councils; full freedom for all working-class tendencies which accept the socialization of the means of production; self-management of the workers on factory, regional and national levels, in the framework of a democratically centralized, planned economy; elaboration and application of the plan under constant control of the workers; strict limitation of income inequalities.

Toward workers' power

We call on the workers of Czechoslovakia to stay more vigilant than ever, to defend all the conquests obtained after February, 1948, against capitalism, and all the conquests obtained after January, 1968, against the bureaucracy, while constantly forging ahead towards the building of real workers' power.

This vigilance is all the more necessary as there is a real danger that the "liberal" bureaucracy will try to compromise with the Kremlin by slowly whittling down the freedoms of speech and publication of the left-wing revolutionary tendencies.

Faced with the pressure and threats by the Kremlin and its agents, it is perfectly admissible to form a united front with all those who defend the right of the Czechoslovak workers and peasants to freely determine the way in which they want to build socialism.

We call upon the revolutionary students, intellectuals and workers in the USSR, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary and all the other European workers states to fully support the Czechoslovak workers' right of self-determination. Taking inspiration from the Czech events, they should step up their fight in their own countries for the elementary rights of socialist democracy, which the Czech vanguard is already conquering: freedom of the press, of association, of demonstration for all working-class tendencies!

Hands off the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

Steel profit grab blamed on workers

The National Picketline

Following a pattern established after World War II, the steel monopolies have once again made a major profit grab under the pretext of "combatting" higher labor costs. The long-standing steel policy is to go for a 3-to-1 increase in prices over wages, attempting to match every dollar increase in wages with a three-dollar increase in prices.

This is undertaken by a combination of "selective" and "across-the-board" price increases. Year in and year out the steel firms raise prices on one or another product. Then, after wage negotiations with steelworkers, the industry raises prices on all its products, blaming it on "intolerable" wage increases.

The selective price increases are announced on back pages of the financial press. Across-the-board increases receive national publicity; the government sometimes intervenes under the pretense of holding price increases at an allegedly "equitable" level relative to wage increases. In every case an examination of the facts proves this to be a fraud. What actually is happening is that the capitalist government winds up covering for the steel barons in a profit-grabbing price gouge that is falsely blamed on "inflationary" wage demands.

This year has been no exception to the rule. To begin with, the wage increases in the steel industry could have been easily absorbed by the steel monopolies at the rate of price increases in 1967-68 prior to the new price boosts.

This much was admitted by the federal government itself. According to one administration official quoted in the Aug. 2 *Wall Street Journal*, "If the industry would merely continue the pattern of the past 12 months, in which selective increases have raised finished-steel prices about 2.2 percent, they would have covered the extra wage costs involved in the settlement."

Here is how the figures break down: The 6 percent increase in steel wages amounts to only a 2.5 percent increase in costs to the manufacturers because labor costs account for only about 40 percent of the industry's total costs. In addition, the productivity of steelworkers is increasing at an average rate of 3 percent a year.

Consequently, just in terms of increasing productivity and selective price increases, the higher steelworkers' wages would be more than matched in the forthcoming year. But the steel giants weren't satisfied with that. Bethlehem steel announced a 5 percent across-the-board price increase July 31, the day following the wage-negotiation settlement.

Blames workers

That would have amounted to a 4-to-1

ratio of price increases to wage increases according to figures cited by the Johnson administration. Since this was too raw for the government to defend it brought pressure, and the price increase was "rolled back" to a 2.5 percent level. Then the Johnson administration joined with the corporations in falsely blaming the price hike on the workers by pronouncing it "commensurate" with wage levels.

But we have already seen that continuing selective price increases were more than commensurate with wage increases before any across-the-board price increase. The new 2.5 percent across-the-board hike—if that is the actual figure—puts price increases at least twice as high as wage increases. And there are reasons to believe that the actual final increases are higher than that. *Business Week* magazine, Aug. 10, calculated U.S. Steel price rises at "closer to 4.5 percent."

In addition, the overall price increase by no means guarantees that it won't be followed by continued selective price increases. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 8, "A high administration official said the White House 'doesn't expect' any further price increases from U.S. Steel . . . He shied away from calling this a 'pledge' . . ."

The truth of the matter is, the steel monopolies will continue to raise prices and continue to rake in gigantic profits. The day following the wage settlements, U.S. Steel announced its second-quarter profits—more matter for the back pages of the financial press; U.S. Steel's profits surged 79 percent from June 1967 to June 1968 on a 40 percent increase in sales!

That means its prices rose nearly twice as fast as its sales, and it nearly doubled its profits. U.S. Steel was the leader, but it was by no means exceptional. The average profit increase in the same period for all steel corporations was 55 percent. And, in the same period, the average weekly wage increase of workers in American industries was a piddling 6.2 percent.

This is how inflation actually works against wage earners. Johnson's "intervention" in the steel-price increases didn't put a stop to inflation at all. In reality, it put the official stamp of approval on another inflationary price hike by the wage-gouging monopolies.

— Dick Roberts

The Great Society

UP THE POOR!—The government of the United States, a great partisan of poor people, sent a bill for \$71,795 to the Poor People's Campaign to cover the cost of dismantling Resurrection City.

SINCERITYVILLE, USA—A New York outfit is offering a color print of the late John F. and Robert Kennedy. Full color. One buck. The ad is headed: "In sincere tribute."

HOLLYWOOD TOUCH—Twentieth Century Fox has announced production of a film called "Che!" which they claim will be based on the life of Ernesto Che Guevara. We began to have our doubts when we discovered that Omar Sharif has been cast in the title role, and the director, Richard Fleischer, is best known for his work in "The Boston Strangler" and "Doctor Dolittle."

SCHOOL PREPARATIONS—Readying themselves for the fall school opening, the French government is busily pouring asphalt over the cobble-stone streets in the Latin Quarter.

BRAVERY UNDER FIRE—The Michigan American Legion was moved by the heroism in battle of Dow Chemical. They named Herbert Dean, president of the people-roasting corporation, "Citizen of the Year" for "performing a vital service to

the armed forces" and "because, during the recent demonstrations against Dow, you and your people conducted yourself in exemplary fashion."

FLEECE-LINED?—De Pinna's in New York is featuring "young, sporty coats for men." A hot item is a leather-trimmed calf trench coat. \$525.

FOR GIRLS WITH GOOD FIGURES—James Galanos, the fashion designer whose dresses start at \$500, explains, "I design for a specific group of women who are, let's say, monied."

FOR BROAD-BASED EXECES—A current status symbol is a 500-pound, oversized desk sitting on aluminum or bronze (the bronze looks like gold) for only \$6,000. A matching 200-pound cube-shaped chair (to match the occupant's head?) is thrown in for \$2,000.

ECONOMY MOVE?—Food companies assume a growing sophistication is responsible for the growing market for such gourmet items as elephant meat, French-fried silkworms and quail eggs. We haven't priced any elephant meat lately, but we wouldn't be surprised if it's cheaper than center-cut pork chops.

— Harry Ring

State case flops in Newton trial

By Ed diTullio

OAKLAND, Aug. 14 — What really happened about 5 a.m. on Oct. 28, 1967 at 7th and Willow streets in the West Oakland ghetto? The frame-up murder trial of Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, has yet to furnish credible answers, although it is now in its sixth week, and the prosecution has called most of its witnesses.

Thus far two key witnesses for the prosecution—a bus driver, Henry Gier, who has said he actually saw Newton kill one cop and wound another, and the cop who was wounded—have taken the stand. But their "eyewitness" testimony turned out under cross-examination to be inconclusive, conflicting or in contradiction to what these same witnesses had previously told police inspectors and the grand jury which indicted Newton.

The DA's case was unexpectedly muddled further this week with the appearance of a third key witness for the prosecution—Dell Ross, the man Newton is alleged to have kidnapped. He had told police and the grand jury that Newton had forced him, at gunpoint, to drive Newton and a companion away from the scene of the shooting.

Ross, a black man about 30 years of age, surprised the DA by taking the fifth amendment and refusing to answer questions even at the risk of being sent to jail for contempt. When he was granted immunity from all criminal prosecution in any jurisdiction, except for perjury or contempt, he answered all further questions with, "I don't remember."

Actually, it was a suggestion of the judge himself, who said, "I can't send you to jail for not remembering" and "You probably don't remember," that allowed Ross to take the cue and answer, "Right, I don't remember anything" and continue in that way. This allowed the DA to say he would try to "reconstruct Ross' memory." He then read Ross' grand-jury testimony, ostensibly to Ross to refresh his memory, but actually to the jury and into the record. Defense attorney Charles Garry's motion for a mistrial on the grounds that "this is not a free and voluntary witness" and "the very reading of those questions before the jury is prejudicial" was denied.

Garry then surprised everyone by producing a taped interview he had had with Ross on July 28, in which Ross completely repudiated every point in his testimony to the grand jury that was damaging to the defense! He said in this interview that "at the time, I was too frightened to talk" because of an outstanding warrant for "some parking tickets," and that he went along with whatever was expected of him in his statement to the police and his testimony to the grand jury. "I am not proud of what I said to them," he said in that interview.

This taped interview also explained why Ross was afraid to testify at the trial:

Garry—"You were afraid if you were to testify and tell the truth . . . they would prosecute you for not telling the truth when you were before the grand jury. Is that what you were afraid of?"

Ross—"That's right."

Ross admitted that it was not true that

he had seen Newton with a gun, as he had told the grand jury.

Although Ross—dubbed the "amnesiac witness" in the press room—"couldn't remember" his interview with Garry any more than he could remember anything else, Garry believed his taped interview was at least as convincing as the testimony the DA managed to read into the record, that Ross' testimony "certainly hasn't damaged my case." Ross' own lawyer, Douglas Hill, told reporters that Ross' interview with Garry was "his latest statement and represents his best recollection at this time."

Both Newton and Garry are confident as to the outcome of the case. "My attorneys are very capable, very beautiful people," Newton said. "Sure, we'll have a victory, and I am going to go on organizing the black community to liberate the black community from exploitation—starting in two weeks!"

Garry's blistering cross-examination has cast doubt on practically all the prosecution's case, but he does not expect the truth to become clear until the defense presents its own case—"The truth will come out from the witnesses we are going to present." Newton will take the stand in his own defense and says he is anxious to testify, to "just tell the truth."

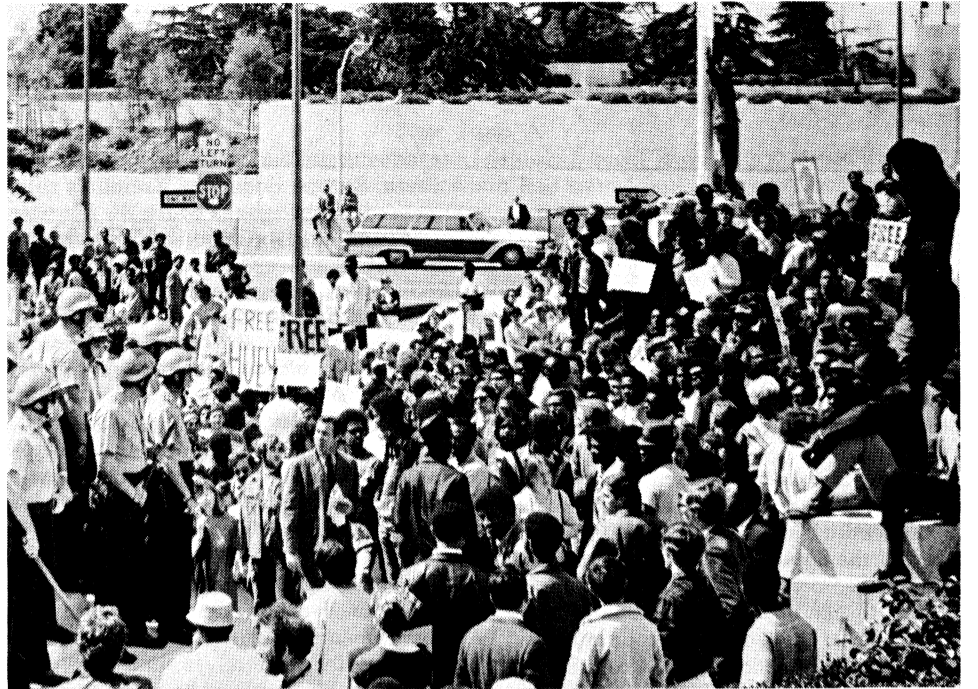
Newton is confident, relaxed and in good spirits. Newsmen covering the trial have noted his calm dignity in the courtroom, his frank appreciation of objective reporting, and his forthright answers to their questions.

In an interview on Aug. 12, Newton described the harassment he has been subjected to by the cops since his arrest. "Last night about 12 o'clock I was half asleep when a policeman started calling me many profane names . . . Periodically they will harass me in such a fashion, and the harassment is intensifying."

In the same interview, he said, "I want to express my gratitude for the support we are getting, not only across the country but internationally." The idea of "Free Huey" defense committees pleases him very much, not only because of the effect on his own defense, but particularly because he thinks they help to organize the black community.

He emphatically believes that the repression of black militants and attempts to buy them off will in the end serve to forge better revolutionaries. "It is going to help us organize against the exploiters. We are going to gain by it. No force is stronger than the people, and the people will get the victory."

Newton is soberly reflecting on the needs of the black struggle and on what his future role as a black revolutionary must be. "When Bobby Seale and I founded the Black Panther Party," he said last Monday, "we were organizers. We'd sleep about three hours a day and the rest of the time work on organizing the party. But things have changed now. Maybe they will expect many answers from me that I don't have. I haven't been able to keep up with my reading as well in here. I realize people will be demanding much more when I get out, and I hope I will be able to give it to them."



"FREE HUEY!" Demonstration outside Oakland courthouse on first day of Huey Newton trial. After fifth week, prosecution rested case in which two "star" witnesses totally contradicted themselves.

3 Panthers murdered by Los Angeles police

By Maren Jasin

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 13 — Three members of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party were murdered in cold-blood by police Aug. 5. Two police were wounded in the confrontation.

Ever since the Black Panther Party opened up a headquarters at 4115 So. Central here in Los Angeles, they have been plagued by police harassment. Cops have kept the Panther office under constant surveillance. They regularly tail Panther members on foot and in cars and take down the license numbers of cars parked outside the office, checking with storeowners in the area to determine which cars are driven by Panther members.

The Aug. 5 confrontation began when the cops, recognizing a car in which a number of Panthers were riding, asked the Panthers to pull over to the side. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Free Press*, Panther deputy minister of information Earl Anthony described what happened:

"They [the cops] saw this opportunity to pull the brothers over to harass them and try and provoke the brothers into a situation where they could open fire on them and try to justify that. So they pull over to the filling station and from the accounts of everybody who was around there, they came out firing on the brothers. One of the brothers, the first brother out, never had a chance, and the people who were around the scene said the pigs came out firing and murdered the brothers in cold blood. And the brothers' only shooting came from the brothers' trying to defend themselves from the attack."

One of the three Panthers who were killed was 18-year-old Thomas Lewis. According to the L.A. Panthers' deputy minister of defense, after Lewis was shot, "the pig handcuffed his [Lewis'] hands behind his back and began to stomp on him."

The Panther spokesman said that "witnesses claim that the brother looked as if he wasn't hurt that bad, but I imagine after the attack on him by these pigs that

could have caused anything, you know, hemorrhages, internal bleeding—and he died from it at the hospital."

The other two Panthers killed were 21-year-old Stephen K. Bartholomew, who was an area captain of the Black Panther Party, and Robert Lawrence, 22.

Stephen Bartholomew's brother, Anthony, who is not a Panther member, was also at the scene of the shooting but was able to escape alive. After police began a search for him, he turned himself in Friday night.

Police invade community

After the shooting, droves of shotgun-armed police and plainclothesmen, some in helicopters, were sent into the black community. Even Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch flew in from the Miami Republican Party convention, upon Governor Reagan's request.

The Black Panther Party sponsored the funeral for Thomas Lewis Aug. 10. Before the funeral, outside in the parking lot of the Trinity Baptist Church, about 150 male Panthers and 25 female Panthers, 30 members of the Malcolm X Society and 20 Brown Berets (a Mexican-American organization) mobilized in military drill formation, each group in its particular uniform. About 500 people quietly watched the solemn demonstration. The groups in formation filed into the church first and the onlookers followed.

The funeral service included hymns, prayers, the reading of various telegrams and messages and brief speeches by L. A. Panther minister Al Prentis Carter and Oakland Black Panther leader Bobby Seale.

... Cop attack

(Continued from 1)

Panthers and the black community. Their signs read, "L. A. Pigs, Stop Killing Blacks," and "No Armed Police in the Ghetto."

A planning meeting has been called for Aug. 21 by the Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights, Peace and Freedom Party, the Young Socialist Alliance and other groups to organize a massive solidarity demonstration for Sept. 7. Solidarity meetings and actions are also being planned at the University of California at Los Angeles and other campuses.

John Gray, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from the 29th congressional district, condemned the killings of the Black Panthers and the police violence of last weekend. He stated, "I support the demands of the black community. The Black Panther Party is being singled out because it represents a conscious, organized force in the black liberation struggle. It recognizes the need for self-defense and for destroying the capitalist system that oppresses black people. The Black Panther Party must be supported by all who stand for social change and civil liberties."



Photo by Charles Brittin

AT PANTHER FUNERAL. Panthers in military formation in memorial to murdered brothers. Brown Berets on left.