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Students for a Democratic Society



# new left notes sds

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## CHICAGO PANTHER OFFICE RAIDED

At five o'clock on Wednesday morning, June 2, more than five hundred police, federal marshals, and FBI agents cordoned off a five block area around the office of the Illinois Black Panther Party. Armed with automatic weapons and wearing bulletproof vests, FBI agents entered through the roof, broke down the front door, and dragged six Panthers, two of them women, off to jail.

Following the arrests, police wrecking crews with axes went to work on the office, destroying the fixtures and equipment and confiscating all literature, weapons and ammunition, posters from the walls, files of contributors, and over \$1,000 in cash from the Breakfast for Children fund. Food from the breakfast program was scattered all over the floor.

The six Panthers were booked on charges of "harboring a fugitive," and two were held on phoney assault warrants which were filled in at the police station.

This follows by three weeks a similar (no feds) attack on the SDS national office, at which time five SDSers were arrested. No fugitive was found in the building, no warrant was produced for the guns and ammunition, and the state obviously had no case. Four of the six were released on their own recognizance.

It is clear that the only purpose for the early morning raid was to get the files of the organization and destroy the office. The press never even mentioned charges on the Panthers, but simply showed a load of guns being taken from the office. This is a further attempt on the part of the ruling class to whip up racist hysteria, which is necessary for this growing pattern of fascist terror to take place.

In the last month repression against the Illinois Panther Party has accelerated tremendously and has included the jailing of chairman Fred Hampton for two years for supposedly stealing ice cream bars and giving them to neighborhood children.

The use of federal agents against the party indicates once again that the attacks against the movement are being run on a nationwide scale out of Washington and that we can expect more of the same in the near future.



Fred Hampton, Chairman, Illinois Black Panther Party

# FREE CHAIRMAN FRED!

THE GOVERNMENT VERSUS FRED HAMPTON AND THE PEOPLE: an example of contradictions

Press Release of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

### I. THE JURY

Although it is said that every defendant has a right to a trial by a jury of his peers, Fred Hampton was tried by a jury which was selected from a list including few poor black young people; even the blacks on the list were for the most part thrown out by the State's Attorney.

Although a defendant is supposed to have the right to dismiss jurors who are prejudiced against him, Fred Hampton was allowed to probe for prejudice only by asking potential jurors questions in the presence of each other, so that each juror quickly learned from the answers of prior jurors what was the acceptable answer to questions on prejudice.

### II. THE TESTIMONY

Although witnesses are not supposed to be allowed to unduly inflame the passion and sympathy of the jurors, the ice cream man who testified against Fred Hampton

was allowed to testify in an army uniform.

Although jurors, in judging the credibility of witnesses, are to take into account the content and manner of the witness's testimony, the jury that tried Fred Hampton ignored the many inconsistencies and "I don't know" answers of the ice cream man.

Although police officers are public officials whose duty is to protect the innocent by thorough investigations of cases and truthful testimony in court, Officer Duffy, who testified against Fred Hampton, has a long record of personal vendettas and harassments against Fred Hampton; and Officer Duffy committed perjury during the sentencing hearing on Fred Hampton, thus further destroying the credibility of his testimony.

Although the ice cream man was sworn to tell the truth, he testified that Fred Hampton simultaneously stomped on his chest and tried to choke him, a physical impossibility; and he also testified that when he pointed out Fred Hampton as the offender, Fred Hampton was wearing a shirt with the footprint of the ice cream man on it, but that shirt and footprint were never introduced into evidence.

### III. THE JUDGE

Although Judge Sidney A. Jones, Jr. is under oath to uphold his constitutional duty to be fair and impartial during a trial and to disqualify himself if he is unable to be fair and impartial, he tried Fred Hampton at a time when the judge's job was at stake because of the judge's finding not guilty a hoodlum who had run over a child.

Although Judge Jones took responsibility for his decision in the child death case, he stated that he could take no responsibility for granting bail for Fred Hampton, who was accused not of killing children but of taking ice cream bars for them.

### IV. THE LEGAL SYSTEM

Although justice is, in legal theory, based upon the truth, Fred Hampton's trial illustrates how it is in fact based upon the stories of the State's witnesses, who can easily be taught to tell the stories so as to make it impossible for the defense to prove incompleteness, inaccuracies, and lies.

Although the state has at its command immense investigative and lawyer resources, Fred Hampton had only himself and an attorney who agreed to represent him for free.

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# FREE FRED

(continued from Page 1)

Although the real issue in Fred Hampton's trial was the racism of the ice cream man, the police, and the jury, the legal system precludes the raising of these issues by strict rules of relevancy and stringent limits on what constitutes proof.

Although Americans admire such legendary figures as Robin Hood, the criminal law penalizes severely even those, such as Fred Hampton, who are accused, tried, and convicted without proof of being Robin Hoods.

Although the legal system is theoretically neutral about a person's politics, (e.g., a person cannot be held to answer in court about how he casts his ballots), Fred Hampton was tried, convicted, and sentenced solely because of his politics and most especially because of his efforts to build power among poor people which is a threat to those who control the legal system (i.e., Mayor Daley, who effectively appoints and fires judges, prosecutors, and police officers).

Although the law is theoretically enforced equally against all citizens, the prosecutor and the police have in fact unbridled discretion to choose who is arrested and charged and what they are charged for—a discretion exercised to find a way, among the government's arsenal of "criminal laws", for putting Fred Hampton in jail.

## V. THE VERDICT

Although a People's trial in which the transcript of the government's trial was used for evidence found Fred Hampton innocent, the government's trial found him guilty.

## VI. THE SENTENCING

Although the law requires that a judge base his sentence on the "moral character" of the defendant, Judge Jones asked not about Fred Hampton's activities on behalf of poor people, but only about whether he attended church, had a good-paying job, and lived at home with his parents.

Although the defendant's political beliefs are not lawfully relevant to how long a sentence he is given, Prosecutor McGhee was permitted to inquire into Fred Hampton's political beliefs.

Although the minimum sentence would normally be one year for a youthful first offender found guilty of an unarmed robbery, Fred Hampton was sentenced to a minimum of two years and a maximum of five years.

## VII. BAIL PENDING APPEAL

Although the law and Constitution clearly allow for a defendant to be admitted to bail pending a final determination by an appellate court that his trial was legally held, Fred Hampton was denied bail.

Although judges usually consider, when they are deciding whether to grant bail, the defendant's record of convictions (Fred Hampton had only a \$25 fine on his record), the defendant's past record in appearing for scheduled court dates (Fred Hampton never missed one, and he has always turned himself in upon learning of outstanding warrants against him), the defendant's ties in the community (Fred Hampton's life and work is centered in the Chicago area), Judge Jones denied Fred Hampton bail without even inquiring into these facts.

Although Officer Nuccio, who was convicted for the murder of Ronald Nelson, and all of those convicted for the murder of Jerome Huey are all walking the streets free on bail pending the outcome of the appeal in their cases, Fred Hampton, convicted of stealing ice cream for children, is imprisoned while his appeal is pending.



Attorney General Mitchell

# HUAC'S BACK

(special to New Left Notes)

HUAC, disguised as the House Internal Securities Committee, has begun its series of hearings on SDS. Tuesday, June 3 was the first day of the hearings. HUAC investigators have been compiling evidence on SDS for months. These hearings mark the first significant public showing of HUAC since they put on their new liberal face.

As to what this first set of hearings will deal with, Ichord, chairman of the committee, said, "We will commence with a review of data concerning SDS which has already been established with relative certainty. We will then hear witnesses who will testify concerning statements attributed to national officers of SDS in order to better understand their true purposes. The hearing will progress to the anatomy of a local chapter of SDS, the first being the one at Georgetown University. Witnesses will include students, faculty, and administrators." The first order of business was to submit into evidence a fact sheet on SDS which was drawn up by the HUAC staff and which ran down SDS's positions on various types of organizing, SDS structure and officers, purpose and various comments by J. Edgar Hoover.

First witness was a pig named Brad Mallard from Gainesville, Florida. He was testifying on his observations at a SSOC-SDS rally at the University of Florida at which Mike Klonsky spoke. He submitted four pictures for evidence, all of which showed Klonsky before and during the rally. He also testified that Klonsky described himself as a revolutionary communist during the rally. The members of the committee were glad to hear it, and judging from the question and answer period that followed it looks as if they may try to establish enough evidence for some sort of charges.

Another witness, Anthony Ripley, a reporter for the New York Times, testified that in covering the '68 SDS Convention he heard both Klonsky and Dohrn call themselves revolutionary communists during the proceedings, which also made the committee very happy. He testified also that he was booed loudly when he identified himself at the convention. Representative Stokes,

HUAC's token black, asked him, "What was the racial constituency of the people in attendance at the convention?" and "What was the racial make-up of the newly-elected officers?"

The third witness was an investigator for HUAC who attended a meeting at Kent State University in April at which Bernardine Dohrn spoke. He testified he heard Bernardine say that carrying guns is justified, and that she would "murder for self-defense and murder for revenge" and that she defended organized revolution. This concluded the testimony on the national officers for the first day. The main function of the first three witnesses was to establish under oath that national officers Klonsky and Dohrn were in fact revolutionary communists and to verify that they had been traveling to campuses all over the country.

The hearings then moved to cover the complete story of Georgetown University SDS in Washington, D.C. The last witness of the day was the academic body president of Georgetown University, Father Thomas Fitzgerald. His testimony involved mainly the development of GU SDS and the incident there when pig-mayor Alioto of San Francisco was prevented from speaking by a well-disciplined group of SDSers. He particularly emphasized the actions and backgrounds of four of the Georgetown University people. He presented much evidence on SDS, including literature, photographs, and testimony. Representative Stokes again made a complete ass of himself when he said, referring to Georgetown University SDS, "In my opinion any organization that can only attract 15 or 20 members out of a student body of 7500 just doesn't have too much sex-appeal."

The second day of testimony began with a faculty member of Georgetown University who testified more on the development of SDS and on the Alioto action. He also stated that in his opinion "SDS is winning." Other testimonies in the second day of the hearings all came from either administrators or students of Georgetown U., and all emphasized the actions of a few key people in relation to various actions at the University through the year. The second day's hearings ended with a surprise showing of a ripped off print of the Black Panther film distributed by Newsreel. The film had been chopped up a little to better serve the Committee's purpose. It was followed by a discussion of Washington Newsreel in particular and how Newsreel films have been used on various occasions at Georgetown U., and a statement by Ichord that Newsreel interested him in that it openly promotes violence and revolution.

This set of hearings is only the first of a series that is likely to continue through the summer and fall. HUAC may have changed its name and its style, but it is still basically the same old HUAC.

## New Left Notes

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# A ROCKY TRIP

(special to New Left Notes)

Nelson Rockefeller first became involved in Latin American politics way back in 1937 and 1939, when he travelled the continent as a director of Creole Petroleum Corporation. As a symbol of American imperialism, he drew attacks from the Communist and leftist newspapers of Latin America. He met these attacks in person: Nelson would go to the editor's office, introduce himself, and explain the true nature of his "benevolent" capitalism. He has remarked that, while he didn't really expect to change their ideas, he at least gained some knowledge of "the enemy."

In 1939, Mexico nationalized US oil companies. Standard Oil of New Jersey sent Rocky as their personal negotiator. His dealings with President Cardena convinced him of the necessity for good public relations with governments and people if US corporations were to hold onto their foreign wealth.

In 1940, Nelson Rockefeller wrote a memorandum to FDR expressing the fear that the US was in danger of losing its political and economic position in the hemisphere because not enough was being done to secure Latin America to the Allied side of the world war. FDR agreed, and \$140,000,000 was provided to set up the Office of the Coordinator



Venezuelan students overturn a truck.

of Inter American Affairs (CIAA) with Nelson as its head. The Office lasted for five years.

The job of the CIAA, as defined by FDR, was to "maintain liaison between the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, the several departments...of the Government... coordination of the activities of the Government with respect to hemisphere defense, with particular reference to the commercial and cultural aspects of the problem." What it aimed to do was to pressure the Latin American countries into ceasing their trade with Axis powers, which amounted to a considerable market, and then to "take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the closing of European markets to draw the Latin countries closer into our orbit." In other words, to replace Latin American-European trade with Latin American-US trade. The other aim of the CIAA was to propagandize on behalf of the US, not just for purposes of war, but with an eye to future relations.

CIAA set up the first big government information program in foreign countries. It spent millions of dollars on the dissemination of US movies and magazines, and advertising on local Latin American radio stations. It sent famous US personalities to entertain in Latin American countries. Although newsprint paper was in short supply and heavy demand during the war, it was supplied to Latin American publishers by the CIAA. Newspapers not friendly to the US were simply not supplied with paper. A research center was also set up by the CIAA to keep it confidentially informed on political, social and economic happenings.

Other policies that Nelson helped to

advance were the Pan American Highway (which he saw as a means of stimulating the sale of US goods due to increased tourist trade) and a post-war plan for the economic development of Mexico. The latter plan called for a huge investment by private companies. Its aim was to speed industrialization of Mexico in order to provide a market for advanced machinery. Realizing that this would mean unemployment for workers, Rockefeller personally went to the labor union leaders to win them over to the idea. In fluent Spanish, he explained that although some workers would be out of jobs temporarily, it would benefit the country as a whole in the long run. He added that it was for the workers anyway, and if they didn't like it, the plan wouldn't go through. (This, although the agreement was already signed!)

## Rockefeller and Oil

There are three principal Rockefeller oil companies in Latin America: Standard Oil of New Jersey, of which the Rockefeller family holds 13.51% of stock; Mobil Oil Company, of which the Rockefellers hold 16.34% of stock; and Standard of California, of which the family owns nearly a quarter of the shares. The majority of the wells and dredges and refineries of these companies and their subsidiaries are in Argentina, Aruba, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Barbados, and Guatemala.

## "Goodwill Mission"

All in all, Rockefeller's tour was billed as a "goodwill mission" of the Nixon Administration. They couldn't have sent a better good-humor man than Smiling Rocky.

In the La Paz, Bolivia airport, he found himself trapped. His party couldn't leave the airport because all the access roads and streets of the entire city were filled with demonstrators waiting for the chance to get at his throat. So he left Bolivia after only three hours, saying he'd be "happy to come back after things have quieted down a little..."

In Quito, Ecuador, street-fighting intensified after a student was killed by police. In an effort to appease the people, Rockefeller pulled four hundred-dollar bills from his pocket, offering them to a student leader as a memorial scholarship for the murdered student. The leader spat at Rockefeller: "The blood of an Ecuadorian cannot be bought."

The government of Venezuela, which has been getting a little uppity with the imperialists lately, issued a statement about Rockefeller's trip: "...it has provoked events which could make difficult...future relations between the US and Latin America..." and they uninvited him to Venezuela, where Rocky owns, aside from his enormous oil holdings, two rice farms and two cattle ranches. "I took on this mission because I just love Latin America," he is quoted in the New York Times.

As evidence of direction from outside the hemisphere for the student demonstrations which beleaguer him on his trip, Rocky said that two days before his arrival in Colombia a "leader of the Paris student uprising," of Swiss nationality, arrived "with instructions to organize student protests."

The American people are supposed to believe that the demonstrations against Rockefeller are just students "cutting up" a little bit—that there is no opposition to US imperialism and all that Nelson Rockefeller symbolizes among the masses of Latin America.

## Further Reading

An excellent rundown of the Rockefeller empire may be obtained from the North American Congress on Latin America, special issue on the Rockefellers, June 1969. Order from NACLA, Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025.

# BLOODY OIL

(The research for the following leaflet on the Curacao oil strike was done by the Research Organizing Cooperative, 330 Grove Street, San Francisco, California 94102.)

On May 30, 1969, widespread rebellion broke out on the Dutch colonial island of Curacao, some 200 miles northeast of Caracas, Venezuela. The rebels were oil workers employed at the gigantic Shell Oil refinery on Saint Anna Bay, the capital city of Willemstad, Curacao. Their rebellion was carried out not only against the management of the refinery, but also against the allies of that management: the colonial government and military and the foreign economic interests.

The strike began the same way many strikes begin. Employees of the Werkspoor Caribbean, a subsidiary of Shell, went on strike for higher wages and benefits. The management, as usual, refused to negotiate, and they began to recruit and bring in scabs, hoping to break the strike. But the oil workers (the Curacao Petroleum Federation) and the dock workers (the Harbor Union) recognized the needs of their brothers and voted to strike in support of the demands. They decided to show their strength in a march on Willemstad. The march began peacefully, but as the marchers entered the city police ordered them to disperse and then opened fire on the workers, killing four and critically wounding the union leaders, shot in the chest. To prepare for even more ruthless suppression, Dutch marines were called in.

The Labor Party, the largest political party in Curacao, supported the strike, but the Colonial Prime Minister, Ciro Kroom, is responsible to the Queen of the Netherlands, who appoints him. The Queen is responsible only to God and Shell. So when the Prime Minister asked for aid from the Royal Dutch Marines, they were sent immediately, no questions asked. But the Dutch citizens who paid for the Marines did more than ask questions. Demonstrators in the Hague, the Dutch capital, staged a strong militant protest, demanding that the troops be removed. The Queen didn't give a damn. She sent the troops anyhow.

Angered by the government's disrespect for the needs of the people, the workers responded to the use of arms by shooting back. They set fires in the refinery. They set fires to the foreign businesses that support Shell, the Hotel Americana, the International Curacao, the Hilton Curacao, the Holiday Inn, the Tauber Department Store, and others owned by American and European interests. Finally the workers, led by labor leader Amador Nita, seized a local radio station, where they broadcast their strike demands and insisted that the Prime Minister step down within 48 hours. The Prime Minister certainly isn't about to do that.

Curacao has been under the thumb of oppression for a long time. Because the harbor at Willemstad is one of the deepest and calmest harbors in the Caribbean, European Imperialist powers have been fighting among themselves for its control for centuries. During the 16th century Curacao became a major center for the trading and shipping of slaves brought from Africa. Today the population is still over 85% black. But the island became most important when Rockefeller's Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell began to discover the vast oil deposits of Venezuela. In 1916, the Panama Canal opened the door to world trade. In the same year, Shell built the refinery on Curacao. Not to be outdone, in 1929 Rockefeller's Standard Oil built a refinery on the nearby island of Aruba. Today this refinery (under the name of Lago Oil and Transport Company and still under the control of Rockefeller) is the largest in the world, refining 500,000 barrels of oil daily, nearly twice the size of the Shell Curacao plant. Every day tankers deliver nearly a million barrels of crude oil from Venezuela to Aruba and Curacao. There it is refined and shipped across the whole world, making unbelievable profits for Standard Oil and Shell.

Royal Dutch Shell is the largest corporation outside the United States. In 1967 its sales totaled \$8,376,000,000. Its assets were \$12,870,000,000, of which \$7,245,000,000 were invested capital. Their profits, after taxes, were \$742,000,000. These profits came from the theft of resources which rightfully belong to all the people. The profits were made possible by the hard work of 172,000 people the world over who work for Shell. Standard Oil's crime is even larger. In 1967, Standard Oil of New Jersey received a profit of \$1,232,000,000.

The resources for these profits come from countries like Venezuela, which is potentially the second richest country in the world. Instead, 40% of the population lives outside the money economy. 22% are unemployed, and the country must use over \$100,000,000 a year of its revenue to import foodstuffs, in a country with enough land, were it properly used, to export food. Instead, the resources of Venezuela are used to make Rockefeller and his look-alikes with Shell even richer.

Last week, Rockefeller was forced to stay away from Venezuela. The people of that country were prepared to protest the crimes of this man and of the people he represents. And Rockefeller, shamelessly, was able to say: "This is the work of subversive elements, directed from the outside in many cases." (Rocky, just who is the outside agitator?) "This has demonstrated that deep dangerous elements exist in this hemisphere." Rocky knows only too well that justice is pounding at the doors of his empire.

In 1961, the average hourly wage of unskilled workers in Curacao ranged from 48¢ to 78¢ an hour. Skilled workers were treated better, at 61¢ to \$1.22 an hour. Clerical workers made between \$85 and \$160 a month. Since that time inflation has forced real wages down. It isn't hard to see that the owners of Shell figure that if workers in Curacao will do the job so cheaply, they won't have to worry about a strike in Martinez, California. Why should they worry about having to pay workers more here if they can find cheaper labor somewhere else? That's why we must support the strikes at Shell Curacao.

When the workers at Shell Curacao strike, they are striking for all working people. Their enemies in struggle in Curacao are the same as in Martinez, or in Vancouver, British Columbia, where a strike against the Imperial Shell refinery has been going on since May 23rd. The management makes no distinction between these struggles. Just as the management of Royal Dutch Shell killed Dick Jones in Martinez in an effort to break that strike, so that same management in Curacao has killed four strikers with that same intention. We must declare our solidarity with the struggles of our brothers wherever they are. With solidarity, we will surely win. Power to the people.

SUPPORT THE BOYCOTT: DON'T BUY STANDARD OR SHELL PRODUCTS.



# BOYCOTT Standard Oil

# LEAGUE of REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS

## an interview with john watson....part 2

(Reprinted from THE FIFTH ESTATE)

*Editors' Note: John Watson, editor of the Wayne State University South End, has been involved in Detroit revolutionary politics for a number of years. Former editor of the black community newspaper, The Inner City Voice, Watson was one of the original founders of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. He is currently serving as a member of the Central Committee of the League.*

FE: Speaking about the white radical organizations, recently there has been criticism from the Progressive Labor Party on the basis that there should not be separate unions for black and white workers, as this splits the working class. The accusation is that separate black unions are a form of nationalism, which has to be considered reactionary in all its forms. What is the League's outlook on the question of nationalism? Does it recognize a distinction between revolutionary and reactionary nationalism and if so, what is that distinction?

JW: On this question of the Progressive Labor Party, and the criticism which it has leveled at us, in the first place our activities are based upon reality. They are based on an analysis of the real world, not some sort of subjective wishes about how we would like the world to be.

The real facts of the matter are that this is a racist society, it is a monopoly capitalist society, the entire society is divided up according to class and according to caste. This is a fact. Black people don't unite with the white working class simply because Progressive Labor says that that might be a good thing. White workers don't eliminate their racism simply because Progressive Labor says that this might be a good thing.

If you look at the history of the black liberation movement over the last 200 years, you'll find that there have been numerous coalitions, alliances, mergers, between black and white workers. Almost every time that this type of organization has developed and moved to the point where it was actually threatening the system, the system resorted by attacking the movement through racist campaigns.

I think the Populist Movement is one of the clearest examples of this where you had millions of black and white farmers united in a movement against the monopolies and trusts which were oppressing them in this country. In the 1880's and 90's and the early 1900's all the segregation codes were passed, the mass media in this country invented most of the Amos'n'Andy and Sambo type stereotypes which you have towards black people.

This type of massive propaganda campaign had a telling effect upon the mentality of the white farmers who were aligned with the black workers. Essentially what happened was that the whites who were originally directing their hostility towards the ruling class were convinced that the ruling class wasn't really their enemy, that black people were really their enemy. And you had the formation out of movements like the Populist Movement of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan which instead of moving towards the liberation of all people directed its efforts toward the further subjugation of black people.

Therefore, we have learned time and time again that when we are involved organizationally with white people who are susceptible to racist overtures from the ruling class, we can get messed with. What this lesson tells us is that we have to have independent organizations which can act on the behalf of black people and in the interests of black people regardless of the kinds of positions which white organizations or white people are going to take.

If white people decide they are going to take a

counter-revolutionary position because of the Detroit News and the Detroit Free Press and TV-2 and WWJ and NBC and the mass media goes onto a racist harangue, then it is still going to be necessary for us to fight for our freedom. If we are involved in an organization which is composed of a majority of white people, a majority of whom are white racists, it will just be a simple vote for the white racists in the movement to say, we no longer need to struggle for black liberation. What we're going to do is fight against crime in the streets or something like this. We will not allow ourselves to be put in a position where our future depends upon the good faith of the white community.

The Progressive Labor Party which hasn't organized a worker, has no right at all to attack the League of Revolutionary Black Workers or DRUM or any other component part of the League. They are another one of these little groups which have a conception of themselves, a very egotistical and ethnocentric conception of themselves, as the vanguard party.

If you're the vanguard party, it means that if anybody else is moving in a revolutionary direction and mobilizing masses of people into revolutionary organizations, there must be something wrong with the program they're following because the only correct program is the program of that particular party. As a result of this particular kind of outlook they find it necessary to attack anybody who is trying to do anything for whatever dogmatic reasons they can find. Either you're a nationalist which is counter-revolutionary or you're backwards or you're just developing or something else.

From their point of view, you reach the pinnacle of revolutionary development when you decide to become a member of Progressive Labor. We're not members of the Progressive Labor Party and we're not about to become members of the Progressive Labor Party or any other existing white organization because none of them are doing anything which shows us that they're capable of organizing a mass revolutionary struggle in this country, among blacks or whites.

As far as the question of black nationalism is concerned, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers recognizes that black nationalism in and of itself represents a broad political spectrum from left to right. There are black nationalists who are essentially black fascists, and you have other black nationalists who are essentially black Marxist-Leninist Communist revolutionaries.

We understand that there are black nationalists who simply feel that they as individuals have not been getting a big enough piece of the pie of black exploitation and who are not moving in the interests of black people. We oppose the idea that the solution to our problem is the establishment of a new economy in which you have black capitalists, black factory owners, exploiting black workers the way the white people have. We see the solution to the problem not simply as one of establishing a nationalist organization or a nationalist community, but one in which all forms of exploitation and oppression are eliminated within that community.

FE: How do you feel that white radicals should relate to revolutionary black union movements and also how do you feel they should relate to white workers?

JW: As far as relating to our movement there are a number of things which are needed to continue to carry out a program of organizing the entire black working class. There are all sorts inputs into the movement, of which of course the first and primary one is money. We are constantly in need of funds to

fight the legal struggles which we have, to put out the publications, to hire organizers, to run our offices, etc.

Second, there are a number of specific types of projects which white radicals can work on which so far most of them have been quite hesitant to do. There's a great need for an expansion of—and this is just one particular project—printing facilities within the black community.

We've heard that over 50 SDS kids will be coming to Detroit this summer who want to become involved in the organization and the development of a revolutionary union movement. It seems to me that these students could put their time to better use by attempting to set up print shops which had multilith and mimeograph machines, letterset presses and other types of equipment throughout the city, than if all of them simply went into the automobile factories and worked next to the workers for a few months.

There are other kinds of inputs which the movement needs. For instance, we need some permanent fund-raising apparatuses around here. Some of the more progressive white radicals in the city have already moved in this direction of setting up legal self-defense, which provides a regular fund for people who are in need of legal assistance and bail money.

We are in bad need of photographic equipment. The League would like to begin to move into the production of films so we can have more vehicles for the reeducation of black people to the true nature of the system. However, at the moment we don't have the resources, and the administrative staff doesn't have the time to put into that kind of project. White radicals who are really interested in doing something could get together and figure out how to beg, borrow or steal these kinds of photographic equipment.

We could go on and on and on and talk about all the kinds of inputs which we need on that level.

Second, of course, I think that white radicals who want to support DRUM and the League should politically support us every chance they get. For instance, they should not tolerate organizations like the Progressive Labor Party or anybody else denigrating the kinds of political positions we take. There has been an awful lot of talk not only among PL but within organizations like SDS which have distorted both the history and the positions of DRUM. I think that some of the things which SDS said were said in a paternal light.

They misconstrued the political sophistication of our movement, in terms of us having a clear understanding of racism, monopoly capitalism and imperialism and also having an understanding of how to move to attack these evils. I think that white radicals who want to do something for us should do all they can, for instance, to let people who they have connections with know about the existence of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, what our program is, what we're doing in practice and the kinds of needs we have.

Of course, the major role of white radicals should be to organize the white workers. A lot of the same sorts of inputs which are needed in terms of organizing black workers are needed in terms of organizing white workers, i.e., print shops, photographic equipment, other types of communication networks, funds, etc.

There is a developing need for organizers to actually go into the plants to mobilize people. The reason that I sort of shy away from emphasizing that particular point, however, is that no workers need simply missionary people to come into the plants who think they got to do missionary work. If you've got five students who want to work in the plant it would probably be best if two of them went inside and three of them stayed outside to support those two who are in there.

If students consider themselves sufficiently so-

phisticated and aware of the problems and conditions in the plants and decide to move into the factory, they should push to educate the white workers along a certain political line. That line, and this is very important, is the position that black workers are the vanguard of the revolutionary movement.

Now I know that many white radicals have espoused this position as a slogan, but it is more than a slogan — it's true. Therefore, white workers should prepare to accept leadership from the most advanced section of the proletariat.

White students who intend to enter organizing work in the plants should think that position through very rationally and carefully. If they expect to do any serious political work in the plants they must explain the concept of the black vanguard. We believe that it is extremely important that they push that position when they begin to organize white workers.

I think that once these kinds of conceptions are understood that we'll begin to make great progress both in the further organization of black workers and stimulating the organization of white workers.

FE: How have the UAW and other unions generally reacted to the formation of black revolutionary union movements in places under their jurisdiction?

JW: They have reacted with total hostility, and vicious attacks upon our movement. The UAW, for instance, is going around selling an awful lot of wolf tickets about what they are going to do to black militants within a plant. For instance, there has been a lot of talk within circles of the UAW that they are going to form goon squads which are going to physically expel us from the various automobile plants. Emil Mazey, the Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW called us a greater threat to unionism than the Communists were in the 30's and 40's. I guess this means that he wants all the right-wing liberals in the UAW to mobilize themselves to go for a concerted attack against us, perhaps even on a physical level.

The UAW sent out 350,000 letters to their membership in the Detroit area branding us as segregationist people who are trying to divide the working class and are working against the interests of workers as a whole. They have also publicly stated that they will refuse to support any black workers who are fired when we are carrying out DRUM activities, which is, of course, a violation of their own constitution. They have a responsibility to their membership, to anybody who is fired or disciplined by the company, but they have stated publicly that they won't to this any longer.

On a local level within the unions there are a lot of contradictions between the kinds of positions union leadership takes toward us because of the fact that we have such a mass base of support in the plants which we have organized. Many of the union leaders find it impossible to openly oppose us because their membership would go against them. Most of these union leaders are just existing by a thin thread anyway since they don't represent the interests of the workers, but generally they represent the interests of the company. They are very afraid of further development of a revolutionary organization among black workers.

I think that it can be reasonably assumed that there will be a great struggle over the next six months to a year between the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the union bureaucracy that exists within the UAW, the AFL-CIO, and the Teamsters, especially the UAW and the AFL-CIO. Exactly how these struggles will come out is difficult to say right now since in a legalistic sense the UAW always has the upper hand.

You'll notice that even though the overwhelming majority of the rank and file at the Sterling Plant went on strike against the conditions that existed out there, the UAW was able to meet this particular rebellion by simply placing the union under trusteeship and sending down an administrator from the Solidarity House to run the union. Therefore, even if you take over the union on the local level, the International has such power according to the ruling class's law that they can move to administratively stop the workers from exerting their own power.

But the thing that we have which the UAW doesn't have is the support of the workers on the primary level, that is, the support of the workers at the point of production. The most important power that you have is the power to be able to close down the plant. The union can run down all the rules and regulations and laws, articles in the constitution and contracts that it wants to. But if you can pull a large enough number of workers out of the plant, that plant isn't going to run until we decide that we're going to run it again.

The AFL-CIO has also been selling us some tremendous wolf tickets in regards to the attempts of blacks to organize, especially among the skilled trades and construction workers. As you know, it's been a historical fact that the construction and building trade unions have been some of the most segregated and racist unions in the country. We're beginning to move to organize black workers into unions which can begin to take some of these high-paying jobs which we've been continually denied.

The AFL-CIO in this area has also stated that they will attempt to crush us. In the long run it will be impossible for the union bureaucracies to crush our movement. But we recognize that there's a long

and bitter struggle ahead of us in dealing with these enemies of the revolution.

FE: In terms of a long range perspective, has your experience with League organizing given you some insight or ideas into where the general revolutionary process is moving in this country and the kinds of things that it will ultimately culminate in?

JW: We have some definite conceptions of how the revolution is going to be accomplished in this country. In the first place we're organizing in automobile plants on the basis of the local struggles which black workers are faced with in the industries in which they are working. But we find that any time we carry out a strike at a particular plant the company doesn't simply rely on the resources which it has at that particular plant to suppress our strike but moves to bring in outside police, moves to bring in the courts, moves to use the mass media, moves to use a number of resources which are available to the ruling class to suppress the struggle. Therefore, at a particular plant sometimes we find that in the struggle against the company the workers are overwhelmed by the amount of strength which the company can bring to bear against us.

If you consider this in a theoretical sense it's no different from the kinds of struggles which are taking place on an international level where American imperialism is allowed to concentrate superior forces in a small area of the world in order to suppress a liberation movement. For instance, look at the struggle which went down in Santo Domingo. Che Guevara has told us that the response to this kind of tactic of the ruling class is to spread their forces throughout the world by the opening up of "two, three, many Vietnams," so that each local guerilla movement can deal more effectively with their local situation.

You can relate this to the situation as it exists in this country. We have found that in the future when a particular plant goes down and the ruling class brings in the police and courts and all the rest of that stuff, we're going to have to respond in some sort of fashion in which we can bring equal force against them. By and large this is one of the reasons for the organization of the League, so that workers in different industries and different plants could support one another in these struggles.

Given a protracted and intensive struggle, this kind of development would inevitably lead to a general strike in which it would be necessary for all the workers in a particular city or a particular geographic area to close down the industries in support of any particular struggle. A general strike on a local level, of course, can be met by the ruling class on a national level, that is, they can bring in the national guard, the state police, the FBI, the army and whatever else might be necessary to suppress this particular kind of struggle.

However, I think the development of a general strike here in a city like Detroit over the next two or three years would be a very positive development in terms of concretely demonstrating to masses of people their ability to mobilize themselves and bring immense power and pressure against the system.

In the long run because of the contradictions in capitalist society, capitalism can't make any kinds of really significant reforms with American industry or within the society at large. The process of increasing productivity standards within the plant isn't just a simple accident. It has to do with the necessity of the expansion of capitalism in an attempt to constantly increase profit in relation to overall capital investment. This simply goes to say that given the context of any kind of general strike or struggle on that level, the ruling class will be forced into a position of suppressing or attempting to suppress that type of activity.

Our response to such a repression on a local level will obviously have to be to escalate our attack on the national level. I think that we have to think in terms of being able to have national general strike.

If a national general strike reaches the point of absolute confrontation between us and the system and if the ruling class refuses to capitulate to the demands which we lay on it, it would probably resort to the type of tactics which were used to suppress the unorganized general strike which was held in July of 1967 in Detroit. That is, it would probably try to garrison off the community and starve us out.

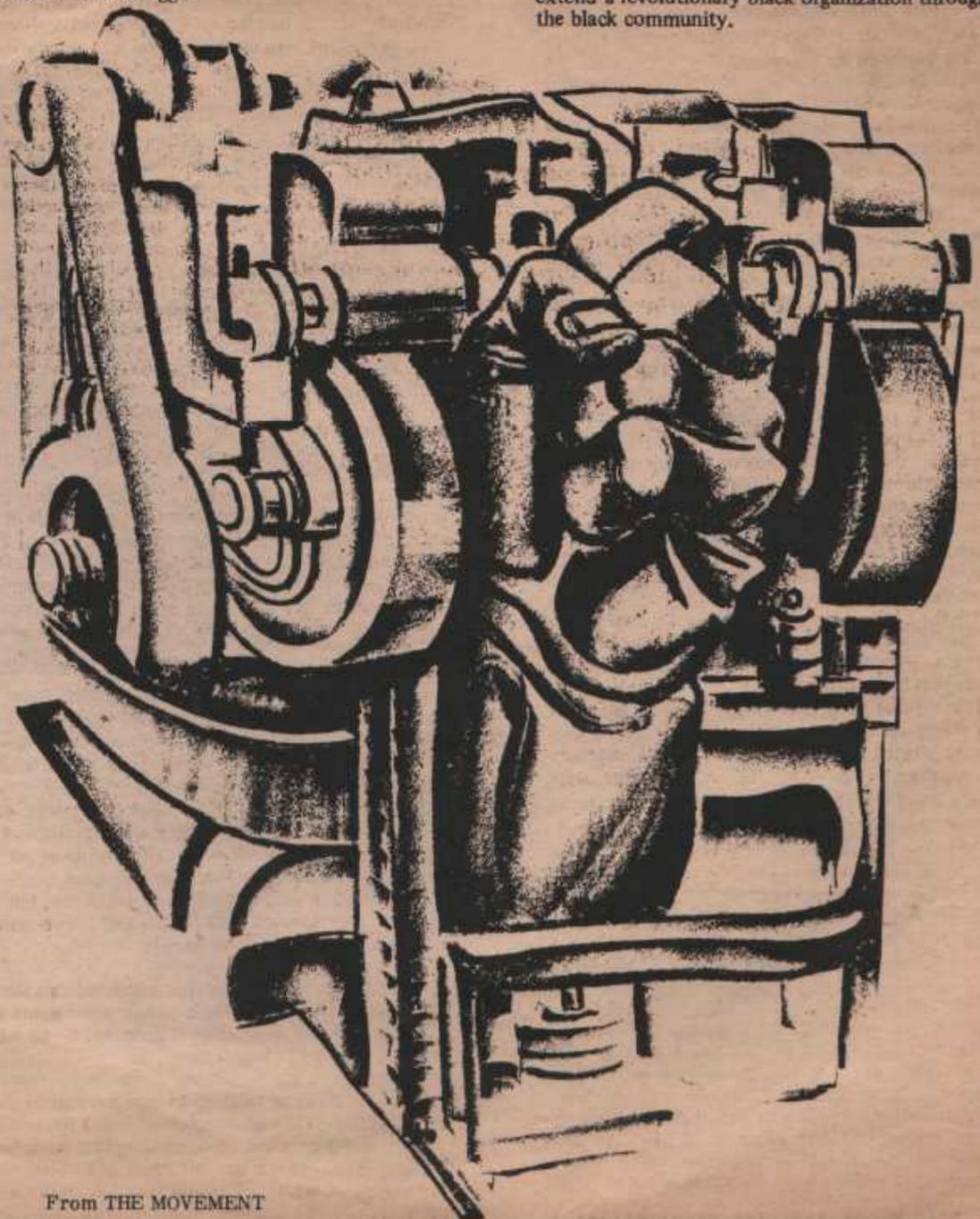
A revolutionary organization and revolutionary leaders simply cannot tolerate the starvation of our community and facing that kind of position we would have no choice but to call for the workers to go back into the factories and assume control of the means of production and distribution in order to feed ourselves and feed the community.

Assuming control of the means of production essentially means that you are at the first stage of assuming state power. It is from the escalation of this type of struggle and from the reaction of the ruling class to it that we see the development of an overall revolutionary movement which will forever overthrow capitalism and imperialism and racism.

FE: In the context of this long-range perspective where is the League generally going in the short-run? Is it going to be confined to a local level or are plans now being made for national expansion?

JW: At the moment we are tightening up the organization on the local level and expanding to new plants and new memberships on a local level. Our interim medium-range plans are of course to begin to expand outside of this immediate geographic area to organize black workers wherever they might exist.

Our ultimate intention is to organize black workers as a whole, as a class throughout the country and proceeding from that basic mass organization to extend a revolutionary black organization throughout the black community.



From THE MOVEMENT

# A Resolution on Race and Class

The following resolution has been submitted to the National Convention by:

Bob Cohen, Columbia U SDS, Marxist-Humanist  
Anne Duncan, U of Chicago SDS, Marxist-Humanist  
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Boonie Flug, Wayne State SDS, Marxist-Humanist  
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Because we are American revolutionaries and because of the history of racism in America, the dynamic relationship between class and race must be understood if we are to know what our relationship to the labor movement and the black movement must be. To those who see the black question only as one of black people as super-exploited members of the working class, we say you are ignoring the very real history of the black man as a national or colonial



question in this country. To those who see the black question only as a nationalist question, divorced from class, from its relation to white labor, we say you are ignoring the great historic periods of black nationalism—when it was conscious of its class character.

Let us state at the beginning how we view the relationship of race and class: the black people are the touchstone of American history. At each stage in history, they anticipate the next stage of development of labor in its relationship with capital; they anticipate the next surge forward of humanity's development. Because of their dual oppression—as race and as class—and because of their self-activity, creativity, it could not be otherwise.

The black population is the vanguard in the movement to transform the reality of our class divided, racist society. They are vanguard because they have, throughout history, been masses in motion. This vanguard role stands out at all crucial points, whether that be the movement for the abolition of slavery leading to the Civil War or Populism; the fight against the very first sign of imperialism (when the US betrayed the Cuban fight for freedom from Spain by itself turning conqueror in 1895), or the building of the industrial unions in the 1930's; the sense of internationalism, or the present attempts to re-construct society on totally new, truly human foundations.

To see how the race question has continually pushed the class basis of America to the foreground, and how class has always been the cutting edge of revolutionary black nationalism, we must begin with the past—the black past and the Marxist past.

First, the black past has always been international. Neither the African nor the American black revolts were one-way streets. The two-way road to revolution was in fact triangular, from Africa, to the West Indies, to the United States, and the other way around. In a word, the color question was, at one and the same time, a national question and an international one.

In Africa the black man was in the majority; in the US the Afro-American is in the minority. The strategy of black revolt here, thus, was and is much more complex—and also more challenging, for the revolt is occurring in the bastion of world capitalism. Here the relationship between white labor, black revolt, white radical youth is crucial to the dialectics of liberation. It has been so throughout our history and is so today. The red coloration of revolutionary Marxism has been an integral part of this dialectic. It has worked to bring about the coalescence of white and black revolutionary forces.

## THE CIVIL WAR

Unfortunately much of the native Marxist movement

has, from the beginning, misunderstood the relationship between class and race. At the time of the Civil War there were self-styled American Marxists who evaded the whole issue of the War by saying they were opposed to "all slavery, wage and chattel." Compare them to Marx, who wrote in 1860: "In my opinion, the biggest things that have been happening in the world today are, on the one hand, the movement of the slaves in America started by the death of John Brown, and, on the other, the movement of the serfs in Russia....I have just seen in the Tribune that there has been a fresh rising of slaves in Missouri, naturally suppressed. But the signal has now been given."

What is important here is that Marx, unlike other radicals of his day, never separated his philosophy of freedom from the concrete struggles of human beings for freedom. He was constantly looking for what he called "new passions" and new forces which would bring down the old and construct the new. The industrial proletariat was central, but he saw that a people's struggle for self-determination could be a spark to ignite that proletariat. And it proved to be so on the question of white labor's fight for an eight-hour day. Here is how Marx expressed it in "Capital":

"In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the agitation for the eight-hour day that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."

There were whites in the United States, the Abolitionists, who did align themselves with the black slaves' fight and with freed black abolitionists. Together they fought for three decades to bring about the irrepressible conflict and transformed it from a war of mere supremacy of Northern industry over Southern cotton culture to one of emancipation of slaves.

The point is not history for history's sake, but that there is much in this that applies to us today. We too have self-styled Marxists who state an obvious truth, that "the material basis of racism is capitalism's driving need to maximize profits," (Ann Arbor NC resolution on racism), but from there proceed to disregard the black question as a question. Instead it is dismissed as just an appendage to the class question. Everything is treated mechanically, and as a result the ideas coming forth from the black revolt itself are ignored and one's own ideas are neatly put on top no matter what form the struggle. That is exactly what is happening with the black nationalist movement today, with one group in SDS dismissing nationalism as reactionary and another group in SDS proclaiming it knows what is the correct "vanguard" in the black nationalist movement.

## GARVEYISM

Black nationalism is not new on the American scene. One mass organizational form was the United Negro Improvement Organization organized by Marcus Garvey in 1918.

The period 1916-1921 saw a massive emigration of black people from the South to the northern industrial cities. They were confronted by ghetto degradation, lack of jobs, and the anti-black Jim Crow exclusionist policy of the existing craft unions of the period. Competing for even the lowest jobs with whites, they were frequently used as strike-breakers against the craft-only unions. Such monumental oppression created the consciousness of group identity, of group oppression—as black people.

The appearance of Marcus Garvey, a West Indian printer, gave voice to this consciousness. In his paper *Negro World*, begun in 1918, Garvey addressed "Fellowmen of the Negro Race"—throughout the world: "Black man, you were once great; you shall be great again....If the world fails to give you consideration because you are Negroes, four hundred millions of you shall, through organization, shake the pillars of the universe and bring down creation, even as Samson brought down the temple upon his head and upon the heads of the Philistines" (quoted in *Black Moses*, by Edmund David Cronon).

It was not so much Garvey's ideas for repatriation of Africa that won a mass following among some six million mostly proletarian blacks and gained the *Negro World* a circulation of 200,000 in 1921, but rather that he had tapped the magnificent force of black consciousness among the masses of black people both in America and throughout the world.

Garvey stressed the African cultural heritage which had for so long been ignored. Today there are some in SDS who dismiss culture as reactionary. Instead we must look both at cultural nationalism's positive features and at its limitations. Let us take the slogan "Black Is Beautiful". The positive feature of this new culture is that it upsets what America has been living by since its inception—the dominant prejudices which demand that white is right and black is wrong—by counterposing to this the reality in

such slogans as "Black Is Beautiful".

The limitation of culture is that such positive features are but beginnings. If pure culture replaces freedom as a goal, then in place of revolt will appear arrogance. Culture cannot be a substitute for revolution, but a first step towards revolution. That it can be transformed into its opposite is seen in certain groups where "cultural nationalism" becomes appended to the system as "black capitalism".

The point for us in SDS is to see that there is a movement, a dialectic, to thought, from consciousness through culture to philosophy of revolution. It is tied to the movement of history from slavery through serfdom to free wage labor. It is tied to the dialectic of the class struggle in general, and under capitalism in particular as it develops through specific stages from competition through monopoly to state. At each stage it calls forth new forms of revolt and new aspects of the philosophy of revolution. The new forms of black revolt and thought are part of this dialectic.

If Garveyism has much to say about black nationalism, it also exposed the failure of the American left to deal with the race question. The stage was set in 1903 by Eugene V. Debs, a founder of the Socialist Party, in declaring: "Properly speaking, there is no Negro question outside the labor question." Despite the fact that Debs was a great native socialist whose work in the labor movement is unmatched to our day, he misunderstood the black question. While it is not an excuse, he did make that statement back in 1903. But what can we say of Progressive Labor, who cannot shine Debs' shoes? After the experience of the Garvey movement, the black workers in the CIO, the whole Civil Rights movement of the 1960's, now in 1969 PL still denies there is a black question. It is truly ludicrous.

Many of the radicals during the Garvey period as well as some black intellectuals of that day (Dubois's "talented tenth") refused to listen to the voices of black masses being elicited by the Garvey movement. Garvey sensed more affinity with Lenin's International than with the black "talented tenth" in the US. Lenin felt it necessary to hit back at those radicals who did not see the national question. He censured for "national egoism" those who failed to recognize the National Question as it applied both to easily recognized nations like the Irish, or minorities like the ghetto Jew in Poland or the Negro in the United States.

It was to this point that Claude McKay, the great black poet, spoke when he addressed the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922:

"Much has since been written on the sameness of the Negro and American culture in order to prove that the Negroes are not a nation. But what these writers have failed to show is: Why, then, does there nevertheless exist a Negro problem? The sameness of the Negro and American culture does not explain this. And this is the nub of the matter."

Garveyism is not just in the past. In its demonstration that not a few intellectuals or small parties, but black masses in motion, are the vanguard, its says much for today's struggle. In its look at African cultural heritage, it shows how culture can



play a role in a freedom movement. Its demonstration of the isolation between would-be leaders and masses is still true today.

## THE CIO AND WORLD WAR II

Two movements—the black movement, the labor movement—have run parallel in our history. The parallelism is the characteristic feature of American class struggle. Only when these two great movements coalesce do we reach decisive turning points in United States development. The formation of the CIO was such a turning point.

In its time, the birth of the CIO changed the industrial face of the nation, changed black-white relations among the working class and showed the class aspect of black nationalism. In the process of fighting for industrial unionism, white labor began to drop some of its racism. On a national scale, white and black united to gain recognition. There are stories from plant upon plant of white and black unity.

At the Hudson plant in Detroit, the entire plant walked out in protest against the unjust treatment of black women workers. During the Little Steel strike of 1937, blacks fought alongside whites on the

picket lines. At Republic Steel one of the ten strikers who was shot and killed by the guns of the cops was a black worker.

"The Republic Steel strike demonstrated that in a time of crisis white workers would not only struggle side by side with Negroes, but would also follow them as leaders and honor them as martyrs.... The strike had shown that some Negroes, acting on the basis of their class alignments, would subordinate racial loyalty even to the point of criticizing and fighting Negro strikebreakers." (Quoted in Daniel Guerin's "Negroes on the March")

The Marxist movement in that period was both good and bad. In contrast to many black intellectuals who separated themselves from the new element in the black movement—black workers on the move—the American Communist Party both in and outside the factory was with the black population in many battles. But with World War II and the German invasion of Russia, the American Communist Party, following Stalin's line, abandoned the black movement altogether. Before the invasion, A. Philip Randolph's March-on-Washington Movement (an all-black mass organization which planned to mobilize 100,000 to march on the nation's capital to demand an end to job discrimination) was too moderate for the Communists. After Hitler's invasion, the Movement was "too belligerent". Everything was subordinate to the crusade against Hitlerism. The struggle for black emancipation had to be laid over to a better day. Here are two quotes from the period: "Four hundred years of Negro slavery are nothing beside Nazi persecution of Jewish peoples, people of the occupied countries." (James W. Ford, a black leader of the Communist Party, February 1942) "Hitler is the main enemy... the foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered as secondary." (Eugene Gordon of the Daily Worker, March 1942)

The NAACP was criticized by the Communists as being "too militant". During the 1943 race outbursts in Harlem, the Stalinists sided with the city and state authorities against the black masses. It is this "heritage" that many young PL people should know before telling SDS the correct line on the black question. Many of their own leaders were around in the CP in those days.

But our task is not to argue with the old left. We are a new generation of radicals who must deal with today.

It is easy to contrast the reaction of Bill Epton of PL upon the death of Martin Luther King, Jr.—"We do not mourn the death of King, he was merely

an obstacle in our way"—with that of the black workers all across the country who wildcatted and stopped production over the assassination of Dr. King. This was not "bourgeois consciousness"; it was that black workers damn well knew that the assassination of King was an attack on all black people. But unfortunately this failure to listen to what the black masses were saying is not limited to those like PL who will condemn all who do not follow their party line.

It is also true of the resolution passed at the Austin National Council Meeting on the Black Panther Party. In this resolution SDS proceeds to identify "the vanguard force" of the Black Liberation Movement as the Black Panther Party, which has "an essentially correct program for the black



community". Is this not merely the other side of the coin of what PL does? Who gave SDS the right to decide for black people who the vanguard force is, what the correct program for black liberation is, not to mention the correct military strategy and the right to determine what is revolutionary nationalism?

What about the black worker and his caucuses in the union that fight both management and the labor bureaucracy? Aren't they part of the vanguard, or is only "a party," not self-activity of masses in groups like these to be considered "vanguard"?

Today, the revolutionary aspirations of black people are creating many new forms, many different types of organizations—Black Panthers, black caucuses in the shops, welfare rights movement, black GIs, black students on campus, the revolt in the cities. All show that it is the self-activity of the masses, the mass movement from below, that is the real vanguard.

With the Ann Arbor and Austin resolutions on racism, aren't we just falling into the same old way of "fitting" the color question into a preconceived model for revolution? Isn't it time we broke with

mere sloganizing and began seriously working out a philosophy for human freedom for our day as Marx did for his epoch and Lenin did for his? If so then we must begin by moving away from the old radicals toward the new elements struggling for freedom. We must begin by listening to the forces for revolution. We must see these forces not just as muscles to be used, but as minds which have the thoughts and creativity to build something new.

We live in a white racist society. But there must of necessity be a relationship of white and black to once and for all rid ourselves of this monster. In the 1960s there was a relationship between the black population, especially black youth in the Civil Rights movement, and white youth. Today a new relationship is needed. One involving race, class, and the unifying cement of revolutionary Marxism. But we cannot aid in bringing about this relationship if either we do not recognize the uniqueness of the black struggle in America which we have tried to point out in this paper, or if we try and dictate to the black men and women who shall be their leaders and what shall be their program. The black masses have been creating their own movement for freedom. They have rejected black leaders who sought to speak for the masses; they will certainly do the same to whites.

Revolutionary Marxism, Marxist Humanism, begins precisely with this listening to the new revolutionary elements now emerging in this country and the world over. This is how Marx created a philosophy of freedom for his day. This is the task for our day if we are to get a coalescence of forces. It is for this reason that we do not here offer programmatic suggestions. We have to know where and how to look for answers before we can hope to find them. The Ann Arbor and Austin resolutions on racism show a breakdown in the method whereby concrete answers for today can be found. We feel that SDS must begin by listening to the new voices of revolt and getting its own theory together. If we begin working out the theoretic preparation for revolution, the programs will fall into place. Activity in no case waits on "programs".

If we are serious about the necessity of white labor, revolutionary youth, and the black liberation struggle coming together as a revolutionary movement, and are determined to elicit the ideas of people fighting for freedom, then we will be on the road to a real transformation of society.

## Van Lydegraf

(continued from Page 8)

material of the academic symbolic factory, not its proletarian, who in reality is found in its kitchens, in its basements and to an increasing extent in its graduate drudges. When the student becomes a "product" he is a "free" man, hence the school cannot directly sell him in the market for a profit. So schools are supported by a social levy—partly from workers' wages, partly from surplus value which is a deduction from profits or capital.

To reduce all social relations to the single form of productive wage labor is to "honor" Marx by destroying his method, his content and his scientific passion.

3. Intellectuality is confused completely with literacy (in its literal meaning). Politically, ideologically, the US is not more literate than China of 20 years ago—it is very illiterate and mis-educated—the intellectual role is very necessary with us. (Lenin did not organize an "intellectual's movement" either, but he did more intellectual labors than anyone.) The balance of the section is merely restatement of the above.

### CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

It is very difficult to give a short treatment of classic Marxist theory of cyclical economic crisis; the subject is very complex and it is nowhere brought altogether except in a popular form by Engels in *Anti-Duhring* ("Socialism—Utopian and Scientific," Chapter 3). Further cyclical crisis is by no means the major part of what Marx had in mind when he wrote of basic contradiction and revolutionary solutions. So here we attack popular simplistic explanations not so much for inadequacy, but because they falsify the essence.

1. "The basic contradiction of capitalism is that between the price of labor and its productivity." Labor has no price. When embodied in a commodity, labor determines the price of that commodity over the long run (disregarding fluctuations in the value of money). Hence the contradiction between the "price of labor" and its productivity is a complete absurdity. But suppose Mellen had said what he meant, what then?

The price of labor power (that is, of the worker for a certain time) is in contradiction with the productivity of labor. (This of course is a Mellenism, not a statement of Marx.) But in fact the value added by labor to the product must always exceed the value which is paid out in wages, or there will be no profit, no surplus value, no social surplus. (On a social scale, of course, individual enterprises may run at a loss.)

So the price of labor power must "always be exceeded by its productivity" in good times or bad or there will be no production; capital demands a profit. So capitalism normally runs with a "total production of goods produced by labor greater than the demand for the goods based on the wages paid for labor." For the wages of the workers are but one part of the demand for goods. Engels formulated this contradiction properly as the tendency of production of commodities to expand at a different and more rapid rate than does the market for goods. But without going further into details, this is not, contrary to Mellen, the basic contradiction of capitalism.

2. The basic contradiction of class society in general is that between the development of the productive forces and the relations of production. In the case of capitalism in particular, this takes the form of a contradiction between social production and private appropriation.

So, Mellen is wrong from the very start in all matters of basic importance. The centrality of collapse by wage struggle and cyclical crisis was never a view held by Marx or Engels or any major Marxist. Lenin wrote entire books against this idea. Such concepts flourished chiefly in the US, with its very sharp cyclical crises, especially after that of 1929.

3. "Two things—monopoly capitalism and imperialism..." These are not two things, but two sides of one and the same identity. Further, competition in terms of price is not eliminated, it is shifted and changed in form—the price squeeze on the underdeveloped countries, etc.

4. "A general increase in money wages means only a general price increase and no increase in real wages." Nonsense. There are almost no general increases in money wages anymore. Certain sectors—steel, auto, maritime, etc.—increase much more than others. Prices go up, but not evenly. Some workers gain in real wages, others fall further behind.

5. Here at least we get a sound idea, if one-sided. Now capital ceases to be liberal and moves to a "militarized, authoritarian regimen." But whoops, "Since investments in social services and welfare do not produce the return or acceleration effect on the economy of military hardware investments, many social institutions are starving for funds."

Is this not reversed, upside-down economism? Since the state pays for both—are not the arms more profitable precisely because the ruling class must needs rely more on force than circuses (social service) in the last analysis? Do the arms lobbyists make the policy or do the priorities of imperialism make the lobbyists?

6. Social institutions serve classes, so, for economic and political reasons quite independent of immediate occupational status, class struggle does indeed manifest itself in issues like the draft, ruling class use of schools, police, etc.

7. There is a raging crisis taking a shape other than that of a great depression. We will (for strategic and tactical reasons) have to get into protracted people's war. But these derive from quite a different set of causes than Mellen's "analysis and theory."

8. With a faulty analysis, Mellen cannot properly define the questions to be studied. What we have to study is what is obstructing the creation of a vanguard movement among industrial workers (but not excluding very strategic roles for communications, service, intellectual workers and workers in uniform). Through knowing what we must destroy here, we can learn to build this force on a new basis. Why? Because:

a. To expedite the most speedy and efficient and thorough defeat and dismemberment of the institutions and mechanisms of the system of imperialism by a force which can also supply and nourish the people's army and help deliver blows at the strategic times and places.

b. The only organized force ready and able to begin to build up the material base of the new life as well as ultimately its superstructure are the workers—when the old has been cleared away, construction follows.

c. When won to revolutionary consciousness—to the ideas of Marx-Lenin-Mao—workers, both industrial and others, become a vanguard not only in constructing the new life, but also in resisting the restoration of old ideas and old classes.

Young people will be integrated in all these phases, in many cases as a leading component of the people's army in destroying the old, as trouble shooters and shock forces in repairing the damage which attends the task of destroying the old system and rebuilding on new lines, and as ideological fighters to put down old ideas and ways and give life to the new.

So we have no sympathy with Mellen's fear that if industrial workers move up to assume their class functions this will somehow detract from the glorious initiatory role of the movements of the young people. There is work enough and glory enough for all fighters—and if some of the old classes also desert to our side, we will share both the danger and the glory with them also, according to their works.

# Reply to Mellen

by Clayton Van Lydegraf

MEMO ON ARTICLE BY JIM MELLEN IN NLN OF MAY 13, 1969

(This is a memorandum: it is not a full reply nor carefully weighted. Since it is quickly done, some error will creep in, but the basic concepts were carefully gone over for my recent pamphlet—so they reflect positions which I am prepared to defend.)

My procedure will be to go through the article as it is presented citing errors in theory and definition, factual mis-statements and also indicating agreement or a contrary position on various conclusions.

## SECTION TITLED "CLASS ANALYSIS"

1. The increasing polarization of capitalist society into two great classes noted by Marx is not equivalent to the wiping out of the petty bourgeoisie or, more loosely, the middle classes. This tendency is well advanced, but far from complete. More on this below.

2. "...the socialization of the means of production is in the objective class interests of the overwhelming majority of the people... which is a radically different situation than ever existed before." This is factually untrue. The October Revolution of 1917 and the more recent Chinese Revolution were objectively in the interests of the "overwhelming majority of the people" of those countries.

3. "...large corporate (liberal) monopoly bourgeoisie and the petit (petty, small) bourgeoisie..." The big capitalists are not liberal, they are reactionary. They use liberal tactics and have a wing that plays liberal politics reflecting some sectional interests, but imperialism is characterized by growing reaction of the whole—see Lenin's Imperialism.

4. The petty bourgeoisie includes smaller capitalists, but it includes not only small industry, but also landlords, farmers, coupon clippers, and professionals and artisans who are "self-employed" (not only those who employ others), free lance commission agents, franchise owners, etc.

Monopoly gobbles up small industry, it also creates it in new forms—sub-contractors, dealers, etc. The economic dependence of these groups on big capital does not in the least abolish them or make their interests completely identical with big capital.

Thus one-half of Mellen's basic rationale falls to the ground. The middle classes rot in our midst—but do not disappear and may not yet be made to go away by holding our noses.

5. The only political aspect of the petty bourgeoisie given by Mellen is the reactionary form of its anti-monopoly strivings (a la George Wallace). But this is not all of it. Several other sides of the politics of the middle groups are of great importance: a. there is anti-monopoly reformism and radicalism, b. anarchy and unstable revolutionary moodiness, and c. gravitation toward genuine revolutionary alliance with the workers.

The first of these (a) is the chief source of infection of workers with gradualism, reformism, and revisionism. (b) is having a revival, based on advanced decay of the system, and (c) is represented by worker-peasant and worker-national liberation alliances.

Here Mellen has "offhand" dropped the entire strategic basis of the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions and the Black liberation movement, as well as the definition by Mao Tse-tung of the nature of the present world situation.

In passing—Wallace personifies and uses petty-bourgeois reactionism, but he represents and serves the reactionary side of monopoly (its chief side) and is sustained by it.

6. "...In speaking of students, management, skilled workers..." of course this is a mixed bag—but all of them often express middle-class ideology. Middle class ideology is bourgeois in content and is promoted by the ruling class—but not for its own consumption—big capital is class conscious in its own right—it is a seller, not a buyer, of most of its ideological wares.

7. It is a crucial point to emphasize that when Mellen rejects the common habit

of classing middle or intermediate and dependent co-opted groups as middle class or petty bourgeois in psychology or political role, this is not at all a matter of giving an accurate economic classification instead of a wrong and sloppy one, as Mellen would have it. What he does is to substitute a mechanical, that is a non-Marxist transfer of economic status directly to the different realm of political role where it does not serve but destroys all scientific definition. This is economism and mechanical determinism, not dialectics.

Political class role is determined by consciousness and deeds—not directly by economic class status. Basic economic causes assert themselves only as the result of long struggle which is both practical and ideological in nature. This is conditioned by a further important fact—ideology persists long after a class has declined in its economic role—monarchy is still around, bourgeois ideology and classes exist under socialism—Mellen's thesis would lead to repudiation of the necessity of cultural revolution.

## THE BLACK VANGUARD

1. Mellen treats racism as arising from the privilege of white workers and bases the anti-colonial nature of black liberation on the fact that white workers participate in the oppression of the black. Actually "racism" is a false rationale (there is no scientific basis for the term) which is used by the ruling class to justify imperialism and national oppression and super-profit arising thereby. Privilege is the bait to get workers to swallow the rationale, hook, line, and sinker.

Anti-colonialism is the inevitable response to the fact of colonization by the oppressor state and society—the white workers are accessories, the prime movers are the ruling classes.

2. "...the Black liberation struggle is the vanguard of the working class movement..." In what sense? Is this comparable to the role of China, Vietnam, etc., that is, by example and by engaging the same class enemy—or is it literally and organizationally meant?

Here one must choose: a) We are an integrated white and black working class and blacks are just more militant and class conscious workers who naturally lead as a reaction to racial oppression. Or b) The tendency is toward liberation and national emphasis in black worker demands and organizing and the road to unity is via international solidarity.

White workers had better count on getting in the vanguard of their part of the action (in the direct sense, as indeed the most political of the black leaders have been urging) and fight for both support of special black demands and class demands, in the interests of all.

(I personally think there is a lot of bull in the glib general nomination of blacks as the vanguard of the entire working class—do we really mean to follow them—or just let them go first and get mowed down? Or are you advising the Panthers to start recruiting whites?)

3. "Consciousness." Absence of working class and socialist consciousness is not merely a vacuum—it is the presence of bourgeois or feudal ideas—usually "middle class" in form—again the basis of economist, reformist, revisionist, pure trade unionist, etc. ideas.

4. "Privileged workers under capitalism can never acquire wages equal to their productivity..." (garbled—he means product, cvl) And not as a class under any system. But many workers get wages and produce nothing of value whatever; how can Mellen explain that?

5. Marx and Lenin did not see industrial workers as a "vanguard in the development of class consciousness." In fact, Lenin stated that the main role of the working class is its organizational role (after the vanguard has been won ideologically and politically). (from Part V of "Left Wing Communism")

6. The last part of this section seems to correctly pose the need for further study, so it is unjust to dwell on its inadequacy—but if Mellen is serious about his theme, this section should be expanded to the major basis of the entire analysis.

## NEED FOR THEORY

1. "We need a theory which will help us understand..." This is what 6 above is all about. This is what I started to deal with in my "The Movement and the Workers" and what others in various ways (role of white supremacy, etc.) have been working on. It has nothing to do with "(insisting) on the vanguard role of factory workers in our changed circumstances..." (as an assertion of orthodoxy," although that could apply to some arguments from PLP. Still, the revolutionary youth movement is differentiated from the worker-student alliance concept, not by "orthodoxy" of the latter, but by the difference between a political movement and an economist tail to official labor reformism with a "left" fig-leaf—and by the difference between anti-imperialism and hostility to that struggle.

## POSITION OF YOUTH

1. "Proletarianizing of the role youth plays..." There is a grain, and more, of truth here as to political role—but as an economic category it is completely contrary to Marx. "Intangible though his product may be, the soldier provides a very necessary labor for capitalism—no different than any other service labor." This is really weird.

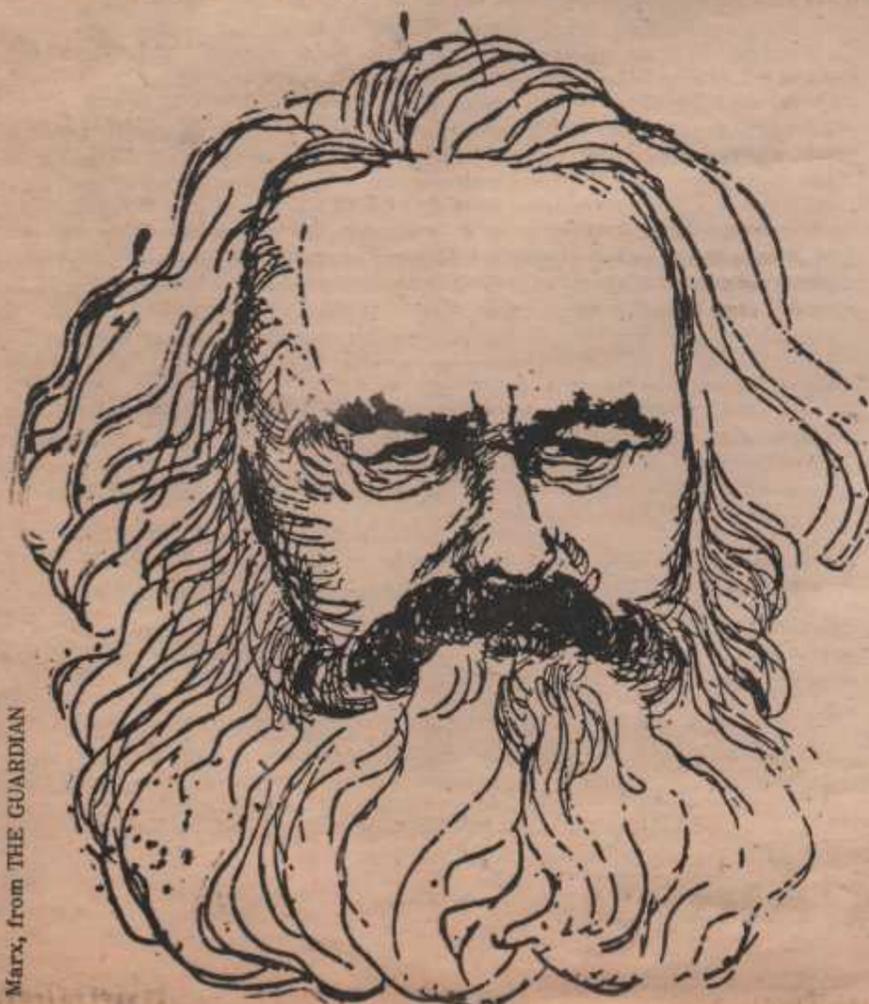
The soldier's "product" is not at all intangible—it supplies the force needed to sustain the ruling class state. This is indeed a necessity for the ruling class. But this "product" never appears in the capitalist market place.

The soldier is not a productive laborer in the economic base—he is a mercenary at the service of the superstructure. Neither does he command or freely dispose of his own labor power—he is engaged in a form of involuntary servitude. He does not reproduce the values which he consumes—he is a parasite on the social surplus. He or she is indeed a worker in origin and destiny, but a degraded one, in the direct service of his class enemy, and oppresses more than his civilian brothers and sisters, until the day he musters out or turns his gun around. His service is quite different than that of the service workers whose product enters directly into the economy through wage labor and the market place, as for example do the services of a hotel maid or a janitor.

2. Students do not sell labor power at all—not even in the restricted sense that the soldier does as a mercenary. If the student contributes to developing his own labor powers for future sale, that is perhaps virtuous. However, it no more turns him into a worker than do the similar efforts of Prince Charles make him King of England. (Although, of course, by Mellen's definition, Charles is just as much a worker as any other.)

The schools are also part of the superstructure, not the economic base. They contain workers: staff, faculty, administrative. The student is the symbolic raw

(continued on Page 7)



Marx, from THE GUARDIAN