

# WORKERS' POWER NO.4

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARYLAND

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## Preamble to the old AFL Constitution - until 1955

"A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressor and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protestation and benefit."

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We are all witnesses to this. If we stand aside, we are as culpable as those men and women who became an army of bystanders while a race of people was being efficiently turned into bars of soap and lampshades.

--John Osborn

EDITORIAL

Dear Reader:

The reason for the change in our format is that we have lost our editor. He left for "personal reasons." His primary area of work was in the mechanics of our press. We make no attempt to cry "sour grapes," as our paper must suffer a certain technical setback due to his loss. However, although this and future issues may not look as "professional" and may even cost us more money to produce--it is the contents which count. We think we have things to say which need saying and we plan to continue to do so. As issues of importance to the class struggle develop, we will report them, comment on, analyze, and actively intervene in them.

We are also initiating a policy change on the frequency of publication. Our first three issues have convinced us that bi-weekly deadlines are far too demanding on our resources. We have been able to meet our deadlines, but only at the expense of other political work which we deem more important. From here on in, we will publish Workers Power by number rather than by date. Its frequency and size will be determined by felt need and ability.

Readers are encouraged to submit articles, comments, and letters to Workers Power--as well as to help with its typing, collating and stapling.

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Announcement

The WPM has been carrying on an increasing number of discussions concerning socialism. Recent topics have included "The Transitional Program," "Fascism--What it is and how to fight it," "The Labor Party in America," "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," and "The Third Stage of Imperialism." All of the above discussions revolved around the books and pamphlets by the same name, which are available at our headquarters for 25¢ to 50¢. Our discussions are free, informal, and generally at a level that people new to our movement can understand, participate in, and gain from.

For information on our next discussion, call 523-3703.

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Workers Power is published by the Workers Party of Maryland  
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On May 26, Negro employees of Bethlehem Steel Co. marched on Washington to demand equal exploitation. As things currently stand they are exploited more than white workers, through refusal of the company to upgrade their job categories and a general segregation in locker rooms and company housing facilities.

Of the lowest paid category, "laborers", some 3500 are Negroes to some 1600 whites. Plenty of room at the bottom--where they stay--even after 20 and 30 years service. Great place for a young black fellow to grow--to grow old, that is. Of 211 truck drivers, 5 are black. (Everybody in management knows that Negroes don't know how to drive trucks!) Out of 204 company cops, Bethlehem trusts only 3 Negroes. There is one whole black technician (he's gotta have a desk by the front door!) out of a force of 387. Of 398 professional workers--how many Negroes? Exactly--none! And the future? Of the company's 4-year apprenticeship program--out of a total of 159, there are a full 10 Negroes.

Now with all those so-called "Civil Rights" laws that JFK, LBJ, and their ilk supposedly won "for us" you'd think that the company must be breaking one of them. They're probably breaking a whole bunch of them. But, after all, aren't laws meant to be broken. And besides, with all them "irresponsible" black leaders calling for such nasty things as a little "power" for black people the government apparently isn't sure that the 3500 black workers at Bethlehem deserve equality.

#### Bethlehem Defies Government

Last year the Department of Defense, through its "Office of Contract Compliance" admitted that racial discrimination was rampant in this largest steel plant in this old "democratic" country. They "ordered" the company to end all discrimination, not immediately but by late March or early April (whichever suited it best) or "sanctions" would be placed on it. What happened when this company defied the U.S. government? Why the U.S. government surrendered, of course--unconditionally. Any definite date for sanctions against the company have been dropped.

While black men and boys are killing and dying in Vietnam to protect the investment interests of such companies as Bethlehem, the U.S. government is currently rewarding this racist company with 51 million dollars in cost-plus "defense" (meaning war) contracts. On April 15, we were reminded from whose pockets that \$51 million came.

Workers Power reporters covered a rally at Sparrows Point on April 21 called by the Steelworkers for Equality, Core, and the Inter-denominational Ministerial Alliance. The black steelworkers there exhibited a militancy and an anxiousness to fight which can be expected from desperate men with families which must be fed and cared for despite rising prices and rising taxes. But there was a strange combination of clear mixed with fuzzy thinking when it came to what sort of program to pursue.

On the one hand there was no doubt that company racism was primarily a political issue and that the protest was being taken to its source--the federal government. It was also made clear that black unity was essential to fight the bosses (and perhaps the bosses' government).

On the other hand, little was said about what to do politically and economically if the May 25-26 demonstrations fail to end discrimination at Bethlehem.

One suggestion, however, that the Negro workers buy stock in the company and then confront the other stockholders met with little enthusiasm from the workers--who know better. What effect would that have other than to delay more effective action. Does anyone doubt that the tremendous trusts which own Bethlehem (and dozens of other such companies) already know of the discrimination--much less give a damn what some minority stockholders may think? They want their company to discriminate. It helps turn black and white workers against one another the better for the company to keep down working conditions and wages of both black and white workers.

#### Black And White-4-Unite And Fight

The real power of the black workers is their power to stop production through strike action and their power to replace the bosses' government with a workers' government, through organizing a political party built on organized labor.

To achieve these goals it is necessary to unite all black workers, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, around a common democratically run organization which can hammer out an effective program, strategy, and tactics. At the same time it is necessary to win white workers over to the cause through explaining who our mutual enemy is and by effectively fighting that enemy.

When that is done no worker will have to beg for equality or a decent standard of living. When all workers are united we can tell the bosses that they can no longer grow rich off our labor because then we can run the government and all the companies of, by, and for the workers. We won't have to share any part of what we produce with the stockholders.

With the political unity of the working class we can produce a decent world for all.

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#### LBJ and the KKK

Robed Ku Klux Klansmen marched through Atlanta on June 4 to express support of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. Negroes laughed as Confederate flags passed by.

--The Baltimore Sun, June 5, 1967

## After the Baltimore Teachers' Union Victory

By a BTU Teacher

After a day of voting on June 16, 1967, Baltimore's public school system became a union system. The victory of the militant Baltimore Teachers Union over the self-styled "professional" Public School Teachers Association was close--but significant. Basically, this victory is part of a growing trend of white collar workers to cast off elitist concepts of "respectability" (which concepts are foisted on these workers by the power structure to maintain the status quo) and organize and fight for recognition of basic rights. More specifically, the union's success came about on the last minute votes of the Negro and probationary-provisional teachers--two groups which have no illusions about the nature of education in a big city system. Education has become a tough demanding job, not, as Shaw implied, a refuge for incompetents--therefore, teachers must be adequately compensated and school systems must be adequately equipped. In choosing the union as sole bargaining agent, the Baltimore schoolteachers were giving voice to this realization.

However, the mere fact of a union victory is not enough. We must ask what must be done to make this victory meaningful to the students, teachers, and parents of Baltimore.

### Build The Union

We suggest first of all that the union must now expand. Maintenance workers, cafeteria workers, even the school secretaries should be included in the same union with the classroom teachers. By thus expanding, the union presents its best defense against manipulation by the power structure. As it stands now, the various groups of workers who run the schools are senselessly divided; thus, the power of the individual unions is hampered. It must be pointed out that the often-forgotten maintenance workers, cafeteria workers, etc. are absolutely vital to the running of a school--more so, in one sense, than the teachers. If these people were to withhold their services for a few days--if there were no heat and light in the schools--the city council would have to avoid stalling and reach an agreement with the union.

### Slave Labor Law

The anti-strike law which came along with the right of collective bargaining is completely undemocratic, a means to deprive the union of power, and as such should, if a crisis arises, be ignored. Any law which demands that a teacher work against his or her will is a slave labor law and should be treated accordingly. Actually, as was demonstrated in New York--twice, laws mean nothing if they cannot be enforced. The Baltimore teachers have already won their right to strike by striking--should the worsening Baltimore city school conditions demand it, they will undoubtedly strike again. (The immediate result of such an undemocratic law among the municipal workers is that these workers are now agitating for a strike.)

The role of the "arbitration" organization, which was called in to mediate the strike, was questionable. The union must learn to rely on its own strength and the strength of the working people of Baltimore--not on outside mediation. It must be added that there is no "impartial" mediator in a labor dispute. The role of an arbitrator is not that of a psychiatrist in a family crisis--he is not dealing with emotional problems, but economic conflicts. To put it in its simplest terms, the workers want to be paid their full value and the employer-power structure wants to give as little as possible. The conflict between the two is determined by the strength of the respective opposing forces--that is the class struggle. In the final analysis, we have to rely on ourselves.

The events leading up to the union's victory--especially the two-day strike--show that the Baltimore teachers (as are teachers everywhere) are beginning to realize where they really stand in the educational bureaucracy. The School Board ignores the situation in the classroom while the administrators, who are controlled by the Board, also blithely ignore the needs of the classroom teacher. The teacher is supposed to muddle through, underpaid and underequipped, out of a sense of "dedication" and "professionalism" (a psychiatrist would call this "masochism") while the student, at the very bottom of the educational slag heap, is completely forgotten. As Baltimore Sun writer Gene Oishi put it, "The situation has resulted in the classroom teachers being largely ignored in the formulation of school policies and budgets, leading to charges of "administrative tyranny" and "paternalism." Teachers not only can identify the situation correctly, they now realize that they will get nothing unless they organize and fight. Until the school systems are run entirely by and for the students, teachers, and parents (which will only take place in a socialist society), there will be a conflict between administration and faculty.

The union must now educate its membership--as well as the outside community. Too many people, including the teachers involved in the strike, knew nothing about the history of labor struggles in this country--a history of which they now are a part. Through talks, articles, discussions, classes etc. the union members must come to a better understanding of their part in the American labor movement. Also, this part of our history should be gone into thoroughly in every American history class. (The WPM is prepared to lend assistance in this area--where we have done a good deal of study and have had more than a little experience. We wish to share this knowledge with students and teachers as well as all other workers.) Too often students whose parents and grandparents played a role in this struggle know nothing of it.

#### Build Union Press

Just as better publicity from the union would have been effective during the strike (to inform the public and the striking and non-striking teachers exactly what was being done and why), a better union newspaper is now needed. Rather than a mere gossip sheet, a union paper should be a militant educational periodical. It should supply the direction needed for further conflicts with the power structure, as well as serve as an avenue for teachers to discuss and debate their unions policies, struggles and activities.

To really represent the needs of the teachers of Baltimore, the union should be tightly controlled by the rank and file workers. Active participation by these people should be encouraged; any attempt (from within or without) to frustrate this activity and control should be vigorously fought.

Eight thousand individual teachers are isolated politically--the same eight thousand welded into a tough fighting union (as an active part of 100,000 other organized Baltimore workers) is potentially the most powerful force in the world. White-collar unions such as the BTU represent one of the highest educated and most socially aware sectors of the labor movement--as such, these unions can make a unique contribution to organized labor. The members of such unions can achieve a comprehensive grasp of the problems which confront all working people--excessive rents, high prices, unfair taxes, unequal opportunities, racism, and wars like the present one in Vietnam. In the area of civil rights, for example, a dynamic well-informed union can do more than organizations like CORE, U-JOIN or the NAACP. Why? Because a union is directly involved with racism as it affects working people; it has the financial and manpower resources as well as the ability to unite with other involved unions to actively fight for civil rights. Not only is it not dependent on outside finances and resources, but it is in a position to directly relate problems of racial discrimination to the problems of the working class in general, and to explain to white workers, through their unions, how racism weakens the entire working class--as it divides it in the face of its enemy.

In every situation, the teachers' union should use its position as part of organized labor to push for the whole of organized labor--to organize the unorganized, as well as the unemployed, fight for a shorter work week with no loss in pay, and actively fight for workers' rights on every front--including the political front--for a united front of all working people to form our own labor party. The teachers have already taken a "giant step" by (correctly) identifying their economic and political situation as that of "traditional" labor--it is now their job to continue this struggle to its ultimate victory--a school system run of, by and for the students, teachers and parents in a world run of, by and for the working people.

#### BOORED OF EDUCATION

An indication of the sincere concern for the education of our children was shown by Baltimore City when it finally agreed to provide educational facilities for 225 trainable retarded children not now in school.

It only took a court suit to make the city fulfill its legal obligation.

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"Less than 1% of the several million Americans on public welfare rolls are capable of taking jobs, assuming that jobs are available, according to a recent government analysis. . . ."

--National Guardian, 5/6/67, p. 3.

**DRAFTEE TOLD, "DON'T CALL US, WE'LL CALL YOU"**

Joel Meyers, a member of Youth Against War and Fascism, reported "as ordered" to his induction center at Ft. Hamilton Army Base in New York and distributed leaflets and explained to the other draftees that the war in Vietnam "is an imperialist war of aggression." When officers tried to snatch his leaflets, he protested that he still had his freedom of speech. MPs chased him around the hall in an effort to get him away from the other draftees. "You don't want us to think!" shouted Joel. "And no wonder you don't. American youth have nothing to gain from this war. The government just uses us as cannon fodder to shoot down an oppressed people fighting for their independence."

"I was ordered to report to this room for induction, and I refuse to violate that order by leaving," he protested. Finally, overpowered and handcuffed, he was carried to the Provost Marshal, who, not wanting the other draftees to hear any more such talk, ordered Joel, "Get out of here and don't ever come back!" According to the 5/26 Workers World, the adult affiliate of YAWF, Joel obeyed that order.

Joel Meyers' delightful experience reveals that those of us who oppose U.S. policy in Vietnam can principled and effectively both resist the draft, stay out of jail, and continue open opposition to the war system.

It's like having our cake and eating it too--without even the slightest tummy ache.

The fact of the matter is that the government is now much more afraid of a socialist activist in the army than out for the simple reason that young men being shot have more reason to examine why. Furthermore, the U.S. Army has a pretty good idea how a principled Marxist would conduct himself while marching into battle with his officers behind him and his comrades in the NLF before him.

**Don't Go To Jail--Organize!**

Remembering that had it not been that the Tsar's army had been thoroughly infiltrated by Bolsheviks, it could not have been won over to the side of the Russian workers in 1917, and the revolution might well have been smashed; the day may not be as distant as surface appearances would have us believe that revolutionists will be using subterfuge to get into the armed forces--just as labor organizers must do to organize scab shops. After all, it's a scab army.

It is with this in mind that we denounce as thoroughly misleading, misdirected, and ineffective any attempt to combat the war with refusals to be inducted.

"We Won't Go!" may sound very militant, especially when shouted by angry black youths. And we have no question of the sincerity and guts of many who yet advocate such a line, but that doesn't mean that it is an effective tactic.

We believe that many of these youths are courageous enough to switch to more revolutionary tactics as their political understanding develops. And the hard cold fact is that, as the civil rights movement discovered, the government has more than enough jails and concentration camps to spare to accommodate all the draft resisters. Can you name a police state which didn't?

Furthermore, there is no place the government would rather have its real opponents but in jail. Short of being killed, that's where they are least effective. That too is why all political prisoners try to escape from such prisons.

But it probably won't be necessary for the government to utilize its vast stockpile of prison camps, because whether you call it a draft resisters union or not, the reality is that men get drafted individually and if the one-year sentences of the first few doesn't break the "union", the 3, 4, 5 and more year sentences will convince the brighter (meaning the majority) youths to change their tactics.

In the long run--and short run too--the only way to end the war system is to end the political rule of the warring class. There is no better way to do this than to help us build the Workers Party.

--R.K.

#### THE REALITY BEHIND THE "NEWS"

Part of a letter from a U.S. Government employee written June 24, 1967 from Saigon.

Saigon is a mess. Dirty, dirty, dirty. There's no order or law, but juvenile delinquents running wild on motorcycles, stealing and beating people up. The city is vastly overcrowded, of course, with everyone trying to make money; and black marketeering is rampant. The place is a brothel--as Fulbright said--and these silly exercises in burning up P.X. goods in the streets are laughable if they weren't so disgusting. This is petty stuff: The Americans are the ones who are squandering the money through port thievery, in cahoots with the local merchants or anyone else who will join in the game. Morrison-Knudsen is being questioned, as you've no doubt read in the papers, for having lost (or otherwise disposed of) \$100 million in equipment, etc. Well, it's bigger than both of us and no one who wants to stop it, can. The people just laugh at the government, though most do not seem to want communism. Yet it's the only group that can discipline these people and get the country on some honest footing by starting from top to bottom and cleaning all facets of the present regime out, as these are the French-educated or those who fought alongside the French against the Viet Minh, for the most part; and the people have no faith in them, especially given the corruption at every level.

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U.S. spent at least a trillion dollars on Cold War armaments since World War II. --D.F. Fleming, The Western Political Quarterly, March 1965, p. 74.

Total U.S.-owned assets in the rest of the world is nearly \$100 billion, increasing at rate of about \$6 billion a year.

--Militant 11/1/65

## THE BANKRUPTCY OF LIBERALISM

### Nationalism, Racism, and Capitalism

Racism, anti-Semitism, and nationalism are part of the basic fabric of the capitalist system. All grew up with the rise of bourgeois capitalism in the western world. At about the same time that Martin Luther caused a major schism in the universal Catholic church, the church began to lose its dominant power over the whole continent of Europe, and the continent broke up into individual nations. These events were interconnected, and both resulted from the first introduction of the capitalist system replacing feudal society. Feudal society was strictly stratified, while emerging capitalism by necessity had to be mobile, hence the break-up of the church and international society.

At the same time anti-Semitism became more virulent than it ever was in the Middle Ages. In the stratified international feudal era there was a place even for Jews. In the new nationalistic period there was not. In this period they were subjected to great pogroms and mass expulsions--witness the Inquisition. Most important at this time Negroes almost exclusively became slaves. In the Middle Ages some slavery from a former period had survived, but it was not based on racial principles. With the entrance of capitalism almost the only slaves who remained were black. This is significant. The black man in chains was the origin of racial principles in modern society. It meant that the rulers of society kept the black man forcibly one or two stages behind the development of white labor--which in turn was already being subjected to hitherto unparalleled exploitation.

While the white man moved into the new age of capitalism, the black man remained in slavery. It is true that as capitalism advanced to its higher stages, slavery became too unprofitable, and the emancipation movement grew. The last areas to hold onto slavery were those where capitalist industrial production made its last impact--the European colonies and the southern United States. The American civil war was fought between two societies--one, the North, was at the spearhead of the capitalist system, and the other, the South, tried to preserve a feudal-type society for all time. The more progressive North naturally won and abolished the southern slavery system. However, emancipation from slavery did not yet mean that colored Americans entered into full equality with their white compatriots.

After the civil war American capitalism advanced with unprecedented speed to the peak of its productivity. When it reached this peak (around the turn of the century when world capitalism entered the pre-revolutionary period of protracted economic crisis, war and revolution), the time became ripe for the counterthrust of the Socialist revolution to replace capitalist society with an even more progressive form that would carry society even further. Naturally the leaders of capitalism resisted the attempts to remove them from the historical scene. This is the very essence of class warfare. At this very moment, when only socialism and not capitalism could carry the means to advance society, the resisting capitalists became

regressive and no longer progressive to the world social order. The nationalism which in the fifteenth century represented the energetic advance of the world over the stagnant feudal order now became the means for capitalists to divide the militant working class and hold it in submission.

The international proletariat fighting together offered the best means of vanquishing international capitalism. However, the minority of capitalists strove and still strive to divide the working class by stressing the artificial differences of national association rather than the real differences of class. The introduction of national differences for strike-breaking by American capital is well known. Only when the American proletariat of all nationalities and races have worked together for their own economic betterment have inroads against capitalist domination occurred, as in the early years of the populist movement or the CIO movement during the thirties.

As immigration to the United States dwindled and white Americans adopted similar attitudes and habits, the use of national differences to divide the proletariat in large measure disappeared. However, the difference of race remained, and the capitalists made use of it to exploit the proletariat collectively or individually. The bosses exploit colored Americans more than any other workers. In other words, while the capitalist class continues to steal a large portion of the labor of all American workers, they steal more from black workers. At the same time, the capitalists try to divert the discontent of the white workers towards the black workers just as the Nazis in Germany directed worker discontent towards the Jews. As long as they keep the American working class divided, the capitalists do not have to fear the legitimate wrath of the working class against themselves.

This overt pragmatic use of racial hatred is, of course, directly opposed to the liberal pronouncements of "equal opportunity" for all. According to the liberals anyone can rise to the summit of society by his own individual efforts. (They totally disregard the facts--that society is arranged in such a way that the capitalists are in permanent control and will be until there is basic revision of the social structure, so that the workers control the society.) To eliminate this apparent contradiction of racism, the ruling liberal establishment of American capitalism helped develop the "civil rights" movement. Their basic idea was that if they could remove obnoxious legal racial strictures, their philosophy of "equal opportunity" would work in practice as well as theory.

However, despite law after law, the basic suppressed situation of the American colored community did not change. Relative black unemployment, income and housing segregation has actually increased since the advent of the "civil rights" movement. The liberal establishment is so persuasive that even the most fiery southern conservatives no longer speak of "putting niggers in their place" but use high-flown euphemisms like "respect for constitutional law." It is exactly because of these gross hypocrisies of the conservatives that we can also see the more sophisticated contradictions of the honey-tongued liberals.

The liberal civil rights movement reached its climax in 1954 with the Supreme Court school desegregation edict. After that the liberals considered that racial harmony had been reached at last! When one or two colored youths entered all-white schools in big southern cities, they considered that the racial millennium had arrived. They had no consideration for the millions upon millions in rural and urban areas of north and south alike whose real position did not change one iota. The liberal satisfaction with tokenism revealed the complete bankruptcy of its solution to solve the crisis of the races in the United States. The net effect of its policy was to continue the division of the proletariat by dividing even the black people of our country. Now the white liberals turned to the small number of black Americans whom they had allowed to escape from their ghettoized existence to demonstrate that their philosophy was the proper attitude. They told them, in effect, "See, you achieved equality with white America by your own efforts. If ninety-nine per cent of your fellow black citizens cannot do so, it's nobody's fault but their own." Thus the liberals try to win away the black leadership from the just struggle against racism.

As the bankrupt policy of liberalism became obvious, black America sought and, indeed, today still seeks better black leadership which would adopt a more intelligent and more effective policy to solve their problems than the empty civil rights movement.

The effect of the whole capitalist attitude toward black Americans is to freeze the black proletariat in a subservient social position even more than the white proletariat. This stratification at the bottom of the socio-economic scale has many similarities to the stratification of the serfs in feudal Europe. Because of this the black revolution in America today is both a nationalist (or bourgeois) movement and a socialist (or proletarian) movement. Some of the leaders of the Black Power movement are only interested in completing the nationalist-bourgeois part of the revolution--in having black capitalists replace white capitalists as the exploiters of black workers. The more class conscious leaders realize that for Black Power in white America to succeed, the revolution must be carried through to its completion in both the black and white communities, i.e. that the socialist revolution must succeed throughout the entire nation--and world.

However, the nationalist bourgeois aims of the black power movement alone cannot solve the fundamental problem of racism in America. In effect, it continues to separate the working class into two camps--black and white. As the past has demonstrated, only when the entire working class is united against its class enemy--the capitalists--can true freedom and true power come to all. The way to achieve black power is the way to achieve white power, that is, through working class power. Black and white together must turn to socialism to end the racism which today so debilitates our nation.

--Paine

8½ million American families earn under \$2,000 a year.

## IS ISRAEL A NEAR EAST FORMOSA?

By L. Marcus

June 29, 1967

New York, NY--On June 4th the Vice President of Egypt was en route for consultations with U.S. officials. On June 5th, Israel launched its blitzkrieg. The major question to be answered to date is, did Washington give Israel's war machine the green light? There is strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that Johnson & Company did just that.

Contrary to the hullabaloo from Cairo and elsewhere, it is quite plain that Nasser did not intend to invade Israel. Had he intended to do so, his only course would have been to launch an unannounced air attack, with immediate blitzkrieg on the ground. Instead, he resorted to a great show of force, doing nothing while Israel mobilized for real war.

Nasser's real object was the creation of a United Arab military federation, another effort to establish some form of Arab federation, like his United Arab Republic. The Israeli issue was his only available gimmick for forcing his Arab neighbors into such a pact. He had to make some sort of show of force against Israel in order to force Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, etc. into the kind of bloc he urgently requires.

Behind Nasser's latest gambit is the growing financial crisis of the Egyptian semi-colonial capitalist government. Egypt is broke. Long-term development projects, such as the Aswan dam, have failed to pay off up to this point. Meanwhile, Egypt's debts to foreigners are piling up; Egypt is desperate for sources of capital to carry out its current building projects. The present tightening of the world money markets, partly as a result of U.S. measures to defend the American dollar, partly as a result of the growing recessions in West Germany, France, Britain and elsewhere, has shut the flow of funds into Egypt down to a mere trickle.

The only source of wealth in the near east from which Nasser could solve his immediate problems is the oil controlled by British and American cartels. To solve Egypt's urgent, immediate problems, Nasser needs to create an Arab Common Market which can effectively hold up British and U.S. oil interests, get bigger royalties, and pool the profits for the use of all the Arab countries in the bloc. If oil interests refused to come across, the threat of nationalization would probably suffice to compel the imperialist bankers to come to Egypt's financial aid in other ways, such as long-term, cheap loans.

While Egypt has no significant oil resources of its own, Nasser had powerful arguments with which to woo oil-rich Arab regions into his bloc. None of these Arab countries can solve any of their own pressing problems without squeezing additional funds out of British

and U.S. oil. Yet, from past experience, none of these Arab regimes dares to attempt such a squeeze on its own. Iran is not the only country in which the CIA has dug up some overgrown sheiks and colonels to overthrow local governments with their eyes on squeezing or nationalization imperialist oil holdings. Every Arab ruler would like to squeeze imperialist oil interests, but none dares without the backing of the armies of all of the Arab countries around him. At the same time, the threat of shutting off Near East oil shipments--even for a time--to Europe and the Far East would threaten to weaken the British pound and Japanese yen. The higher cost of oil shipped from the U.S., Latin America, Canada etc. would push down the value of the currency of every country forced to seek alternatives to Near East cheap oil.

Nasser had good political grounds for imagining he could pull off such a bit of blackmail. His bonapartist government is almost the very model of the kind of regime U.S. imperialist interests would like to see established in such countries as Chile or South Vietnam or India. Nasser is maintaining a stable political regime while at the same time creating favorable conditions for profitable new imperialist investment in Egypt... Once the Aswan dam is working, once Egypt begins to develop a prosperous, nationally-sufficient native agriculture, the U.S., Britain, and West Germany, in particular, would have excellent prospects for continuing in Egypt the kind of investment expansion they have enjoyed during the past fifteen years of Marshall-Plan developed Europe. From Washington's standpoint, a regime either to the right or left of Nasser (who, despite Soviet aid, hustles every native communist in sight off to the hoosegow) would be a serious setback to imperialist interests. Washington has to put up with Nasser's blackmail schemes--to a point.

Although Nasser seems to have won a point with Washington's current talk of aid to a new Near East common market project, it is also rather evident that Johnson & Company were not prepared to see Nasser get the kind of blackmail power an independent Arab federation would have put into his hands. The dilatory tactics of Goldberg et al. in UN proceedings have little resemblance to U.S. action during the Suez crisis. Washington showed every intent of allowing Israel to give the Arabs an aggravated shellacking. Washington is willing to bail out the Arab capitalist regimes, but on its terms, not Nasser's. Whether Johnson gave Israel the green light or not, Israeli blitzkrieg conveniently coincided with Washington's oil policies.

Arab anti-Israeli chauvinism is introduced into this picture by the reactionary Israeli regime itself. The blatantly racist Israeli government with its policy of religious bigotry, its Jim-Crow policies toward Black Jews and Arabs, its expropriation of Arab peasants, and its imperialist role in the Suez crisis, its support of French imperialism in Algeria and U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, is justly hated by the fermenting rank-and-file of all left-wing Arab nationalists. Israeli persecution of Arabs makes anti-Israeli postur an outstanding demagogic factor in all Arab politics. For an Arab

politician to call for the destruction of Israel is like an appeal to flag, country and motherhood in U.S. jingoist demagogery. Israel may have had nothing to do with what Nasser was after; waving the Israeli issue was the only way an Egypt capitalist bonaparte could swing his fellow Arab bonapartes into line for his federation policy.

Contrary to Zionist nonsense now selling at inflated prices among American Jews, the current war has no connection with anti-Semitism by the Arabs, nor any connection with the need of persecuted Jews for a homeland. If Israeli policy were one of joint economic regional development, a socialist policy, the Jew in the Middle East would be regarded as an ally and benefactor by the very layer (the militant nationalist rank-and-file Palestine Arabs) which is now the focal point of Arab hatred of Israel. Instead, under present Zionist policy, Israel plays the role of an advanced capitalist country clearing the wilderness of "Indians" (Arabs) to make way for the expansion of the Israeli capitalist economy, which is nevertheless victimizing Israeli workers with an unemployment rate of over 10%. The military expansionist element in Israel's policy in the recent blitzkrieg, the announcements that it intends to hold onto major parts of the land it has seized, only deepends the just hatred of the Arab toward his oppressor, the Israeli capitalist regime.

All-in-all, there is no clear-cut case for "goodies" versus "baddies" in this Near East crisis. There is a reactionary Israeli regime and a collection of Arab bonapartist-capitalist regimes, including that most nauseous gang, the Saudis. Our only policy, reluctantly, is to recognize that in this case the Arab nations are semi-colonial capitalist regimes being oppressed by advanced capitalist, imperialist power. The fundamental human interests of the Arab or Israeli workers and peasants are represented by no one in more than a purely negative way. Unfortunately, our only policy is that of defense of the Arab and Jewish workers and peasants as the oppressed victims of both the capitalist state of Israel and the bonapartist-capitalist Arab states as well as of the largely U.S. investor-owned oil companies. Until we have a real socialist movement in this country, there is little more that we can do.

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#### "AND A LITTLE CHILD"

NEW YORK--An outdoor Memorial Day rally against the Vietnam war was held on 114th Street and Lenox Avenue. The rally and the march through Harlem which preceded it were sponsored by the Black United Action Front.

The meeting started with a speech by 11-year-old Darrell Boutelle. He began by saying, "I am 11 years old, and when I reach the age of 18, I hope that you adults would take care of business properly so that the white slavemasters would not be in a position to draft me to fight their dirty wars."

--The Militant, June 5, 1967.

VIETNAM SUMMER IN BALTIMORE

The local Baltimore affiliate of the Vietnam Summer Project--initiated on a national basis by Martin Luther King, among others--is rapidly proving itself incapable of capitalizing upon the recent upsurge in the anti-war movement that has followed from the success of the April 15 mobilization. Through a process described below, Baltimore Vietnam Summer has decided "for now" to concentrate all its energies, especially those of its young volunteers, in conducting a poll (in the classic liberal tradition of responding to an issue by taking another poll). Moreover, not only is the poll itself deficient in that it is so constructed that it demands that a person commit himself to positions before there is any opportunity to influence him through discussion, but also there was no immediate attempt to draw contacts into discussion groups. Only recently after several weeks of polling has a speakers bureau been formed to serve discussion groups that might spontaneously arise.

However, the monstrous "error" of those in charge of Vietnam Summer has been not so much the choice of ineffective techniques of intervention but where they have chosen to intervene. Initially, they decided to limit their activity to north-central Baltimore City (Guilford, Roland Park, Govans)--without doubt the richest, the whitest, the most Catholic section of the city with the most conservative political tradition of any area in the city; where compared with other sections of the city fewer are angry about the war and where many are quite satisfied with their high-paying jobs in government or the military-industrial complex if they themselves are not in that 1% of the U.S. population--our ruling class--that lives off the 80% of the stocks and the 100% of the government bonds that they own. The "leaders" of Vietnam Summer cynically defended this action by declaring that only from Guilford and Roland Park can the peace movement find a "peace candidate" and the money to run him! Now after several weeks of indulging in this political lunacy the same leaders have now suddenly discovered that Rep. Friedel's 7th Congressional District is, after all, a better area in which to concentrate. Suddenly the richest Jewish area now exercises the fatal attraction that the richest Catholic area has lost.

By these actions Vietnam Summer has turned its back on the working people and the Negro people and is showing utter contempt for precisely those people who must suffer the hardships of the war (the draft with its class and racial discrimination, inflation, strike-breaking, wage-guidelines, etc.). Instead of appealing to the working class in whose self-interest it is to end the war and which alone possesses the power to end the war, Vietnam Summer has demonstrated its supreme confidence in our ruling class--the warring class--to stop a war fought in its self-interests by its government.

In the face of this obscene hypocrisy we have continued to press for recognition of the fact that war has its root in capitalism and that so long as the root remains uncut and capitalism exists to exploit colonial peoples abroad and the working class at home, then war is inevitable. Thus, we oppose the idea of bourgeois "peace"

"candidates" who try to deceive working people into believing that peace is possible under the present system of predatory world capitalism and who effectively act as left-covers for Wall Street and the Pentagon. We continue to raise Lenin's demand to turn the anti-war movement into an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist movement.

As one would suspect, the political sterility of Balto Vietnam Summer has resulted from the control that right-wing pacifists have gained over Vietnam Summer through a series of shady, undemocratic maneuvers. These right-wingers have guaranteed that there is to be no dialogue between right-wing pacifism and genuine radicalism. At orientation meetings volunteers are told what to do and are denied any opportunity to determine their own policy or to deepen their own understanding through political discussion.

Several steps have led to the present degenerated state of Vietnam Summer. Until recently the Balto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam worked very well as a democratic united front of all anti-war groups. In the wake of the success of the April 15 mobilization the Workers Party of Maryland pushed for a new membership organization (in addition to and not meaning to substitute for the Coordinating Committee) which could draw in new people who participated in the march and in which these new people would determine their own policy. This idea was vetoed by right-wing pacifists convinced that the program of the WPM would have too great an influence in such a democratic organization. Then SDS and the WPM were reluctantly granted the opportunity to exercise their right to send out, in their own names, an announcement of the formation of a new membership organization in the general post-mobilization mailing of the Coordinating Committee. This was sabotaged by Herman Heyn, now a "leader" of Vietnam Summer, who deliberately mailed the letters before SDS and the WPM could get its announcement in them--the day before the agreed date of the mailing.

Then at a subsequent Coordinating Committee meeting a few weeks later the same right-wingers who so bitterly opposed a membership organization completely reversed themselves on this issue. As a majority of the Coordinating Committee they voted to dissolve that organization and to form a membership organization of their own under the screen of the Vietnam Summer Project. They were forced to act when the Coordinating Committee began discussing whether to run Vietnam Summer under its auspices. During the discussion they were reassured that the WPM would oppose their plans to squander the energies of Vietnam Summer in preparing to run bourgeois "peace candidates" and in peddling their ineffectual and actually class-discriminatory dogma of draft resistance. To this they reacted by voting to "suspend temporarily" the activities of the Coordinating Committee and to "encourage individuals" to join a Vietnam Summer membership organization. Of course, this time the right-wingers could dispense with the hopeless task of trying to win a majority in a democratic organization of new people and could pack their new organization with their old majority from the Coordinating Committee. In fact, for a number of weeks the policy of Vietnam Summer was determined by a purposely amorphous "permanent staff." Recent "elections" merely legalized the status of this phantom leadership.

Unortunately, what has occurred in Baltimore has not been a local aberration but appears to be indicative of what is happening to Vietnam Summer nationally. Recently a Spartacist League member was expelled from the Detroit Summer Project because he raised too many questions about democracy and finances. Indeed, who knows where the money is coming from? All that can be determined is that it is apparently coming in under the strictly observed stipulation of right-wing establishment control. Under these circumstances the actions of Vietnam Summer strongly raise the suspicion that money may be coming from the CIA. The CIA has given money under similar conditions (to Norman Thomas as well as to student groups) in order to insure that developing young radicals waste their precious time in such idle, innocuous makework as polltaking at the country club, an insanity that quickly demoralizes and then politically emasculates them. Vietnam Summer has already appeared to have made a science out of developing "projects" and "programs" that do just about everything but confront the system--capitalism--that makes war and the draft inevitable. If it has not done so yet, it certainly would be in the interest of the CIA to give to Vietnam Summer if the Project continues on its present disastrous path.

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### Turn The Anti-War Movement Into An Anti-Capitalist Movement

The Vietnam war is, to Marxists, less an issue of war vs. peace as it is a matter of victory or defeat of revolution. Only looked at in this light can we effectively struggle to end war by putting a revolutionary end to the warring class.

For imperialism to conduct the most brutal wars against an exploited people is as natural to it as it is natural for an exploited people to rebel. This is why Lenin raised the slogan during World War I to turn the anti-war movement into an anti-imperialist movement. His tactic is just as valid today.

Those sections of the anti-war movement which are unwilling to take a stand on the side of revolution (both in Vietnam and in America) are leading the movement into a blind alley of ineffectuality. Worse still, they will increasingly find themselves in the camp of the warring class (i.e. calling on the cops to expel revolutionary groups from demonstrations and supporting "peace candidates" who endorse the capitalist system) as they attempt to have both peace and capitalism at the same time.

--A. Robert Kaufman

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"...partisans who may be captured should not be shot but hanged in full view of the village....in the case of attacks on German soldier or units, all villages within a radius of four kilometers should be razed to the ground and the male inhabitants sentenced to death by hanging." -Order given in 1941 by Johann Adolf von Kielmansegg, commander of NATO in central Europe includin the British Rhine army. -National Guardian 11/26/70

### THE GALLANTRY OF G.I.'S

Here are a few eyewitness accounts of the war in Vietnam as related to us by several of our veteran friends.

A Green Beret sergeant arrives in Vietnam. When asked if he has ever killed before, he replies that he has not. He is taken to an American detention camp for NLF prisoners and told to kill a POW with a knife. He does so.

Hundreds of dead Vietnamese women and children are bulldozed into a pile. A G.I. looking for amusement empties a clip of ammunition into the pile.

A G.I. brags about breaking the New Year's truce five times.

An NLF captive refuses to talk. A Special Forces officer kicks him to death.

A refugee camp becomes too large; too many mouths to feed. The American guards eject 150 of the refugee inmates. Once outside the camp, they are herded into one large group, surrounded and gunned down by American guards.

You have full permission to use this letter in your magazine, if you so desire. You may use our full names.

U.S. Army Artillery and Missile Center  
Fort Sill, Oklahoma

SP/r Richard Wheaton  
Pvt. Andrew Stapp  
SP/5 Paul J. Gaulthe

--A Minority of One, June 1967

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### THE CRACK OF DOOM

#### COFFEE HOUSE

103½ West 22nd Street

Folk Music

9:00 to 1:30

\$1 cover

Fridays: The Dulaney Valley Boys--a fast-moving bluegrass group

Saturdays: Ballads and blues by:

Larry Kirby, Bob Bardoff, Steve Forest, Liz Miller

Wednesdays and Thursdays: 8:15-12:15: Jon Peartree, Bruce Grams

Hoots on Sundays with Larry Kirby; sing or listen!

Special: No charges on Sundays

YOU DIDN'T READ IT IN THE SUN

The ad the Interfaith Peace Mission submitted to the Morning Sun has an interesting history. During the last week of May, they approached the Sun with Vol. I, 2 of the Vietnam Journal. Since then they have been educated to the hard facts which control a partisan press. They have found once again that dissent is guaranteed as a right, but only until it is tried!

Item #1-The management told them that this second ad would appear only if they agreed to publish the names of 10-12 sponsors on the ad itself.

Item #2-When they discussed this matter with Mr. Schmidt of the advertising department, and protested this decision, they were informed that 20 sponsors were now required.

Item #3-They collected and submitted over 30 sponsors on June 2, 1967, including the names of clergymen, seminarians and business people from the three major faiths.

Item #4-On June 5, 1967, the Morning Sun gave them a "proof copy" of the ad. They rearranged part of the layout and corrected mistakes. Then they made a check payment of \$896.80. This was answered with a receipt, and they were given assurance by the newspaper that the ad would appear on Wednesday morning, June 7, 1967.

Item #5-On Monday evening, June 5, 1967, they were told by phone that two further conditions must be met for publication of the ad: 1--All sponsors must stipulate that they had read the ad, approved it and authorized the use of their names. 2--Every quotation used in the ad must be documented.

Item #6-Submitting to the Sun's demands again, they collected all authorizations and documentations in four days.

Item #7-On Monday, June 12, 1967, they submitted to the Sun 39 authorizations and all documentations. This ad was scheduled for the Morning Sun on Wednesday, June 14.

Item #8-On Tuesday morning, June 13, 1967, the Sun notified them of their rejection of the ad after prolonged consideration.

On Friday, June 16, 1967 they demonstrated in front of the Sun building to protest the obvious and outrageous denials of basic rights involved in their relationship with the Sun papers. The Sun has abridged the rights of dissent of the Baltimore Interfaith Peace Mission. Moreover, it has subjected their members to the indignity of conforming repeatedly to unjust demands, all of which they met up to the point of the final rejection of the ad. Finally, at least verbal contracts were unilaterally broken.

This was the second time the Sunpapers was picketed for refusing to carry out its supposed obligation to the reading public. On October 15, 1966 The Sunpapers was picketed because it repeatedly refused to print press releases informing its readers that Robert Kaufman was a socialist write-in candidate for Governor of Maryland. A six-foot dummy of "The Publisher" was burned in effigy on The Sun lawn to punctuate the point. This entire protest of press blackout was itself unilaterally blacked out by the Baltimore press media.

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#### NEW ERA DISCRIMINATES AGAINST WORKERS POWER

The following self-explanatory leaflet was distributed at the New Era Bookstore on May 13th. Attention was drawn to the leaflet by five demonstrators who carried such signs as:

New Era Bans Workers Power  
New Era Practices Censorship  
New Era Shows Contempt for Freedom of Speech and Press  
New Era Discriminates  
Smash the Klan--Defend Press Freedom

Many customers were surprised at the New Era's policy and asked the manager why he refuses to sell Workers Power. He gave three different customers three different answers. A few customers refused to read our leaflet and tore it up. All of which proves again that you don't have to be a right-winger to be a "know-nothing." There are, unfortunately, still many on the left who faithfully follow the command, "Thou shalt not think." A local supporter of the store, the leader of a group which claims to be "communist", was approached by a WP reporter. His reply was an unprintable obscenity.

One reporter and three photographers covered the event but not a word about it appeared in press, radio or TV.

#### How to Fight Klan

Four days after the event, "Mr. Peeps Diary" did carry a somewhat jumbled mention of the issue, in which store manager Lee invoked a brand new reason for not selling WP. According to Lee, we "have allegedly hinted that (we) might resort to counterviolence if the KKK resorts to violence." This is a dastardly lie! We did not say that we might resort to counterviolence. We definitely advocated the use of counterterror in any case where the government is unable or unwilling to prevent Klan terror. As such we took a clear position on the side of Robert Williams and the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina who answered the Klan with the only language they understand--with guns. We oppose the self-proclaimed friends of the Negro people (both black and white) who advise turning the other cheek

when the Klan strikes. Black people need fewer cheek turners and more Nat Turners. The most humorous part of the "peeps" article is when Lee stated that he is not now and has never been a member of the Workers Party. To allay any doubts about his real politics he felt it necessary to volunteer a similar disclaimer to membership in the Klan. We can well understand why he felt this disclaimer was necessary. We would welcome a clear statement on just what Mr. Lee's politics are.

It is indeed educational to compare how much press coverage the Klan and the Fighting American Nationalists received when they picketed the New Era (while we defenddd it) to prevent it from selling literature they disapproved of; with our demonstration opposing their refusal to carry certain locally published periodicals.

#### SDS "Intervenes"

The position of the local SDS chapter on the bookstore's censorship was revealing--to say the least. Two days after the Workers' Party picketed, two SDS members reproved us for using this tactic. Before resorting to a demonstration, which served only to "divide the left", they said, we should have asked SDS to "mediate" for us by sending the New Era a letter condemning their stand. It was still not too late for SDS to do this, we replied. Accordingly, two Workers Party members brought the subject up at the next SDS meeting. To our surprise, one of these SDS "Radicals" objected, stating that she felt SDS was being "used" by the WP. The essential issues--freedom of speech and solidarity among the left--were lost in the following discussion, as another SDS member stated that he felt that SDS shouldn't get "involved" with groups to the left of itself. The statement that finally passed was a watered-down and highly generalized one, which refused to mention either the Workers Party or Workers Power by name. Though this weak support is better than none, it illustrates the barriers of fear and conformity that exist even in a group of so-called "student radicals."

It has also come to our attention that The Long March (with whose editorial policy we have serious differences) has also been banned from the New Era--which was easily their largest outlet. Invoking both the radical tradition of "An injury to one is an injury to all" and the civil libertarian tradition of "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it", we advise our readers that the Long March is obtainable at 242 S. Broadway, Baltimore, Maryland.

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#### ANNOUNCEMENT

The WPM will run its organizer, A. Robert Kaufman, as a write-in candidate for Mayor of Baltimore in the General Election on November 7, 1967. We are most anxious to line up speaking engagements for Kaufman to explain our electoral program. If you can arrange such a talk or panel at your union, school, church, club or living room, please contact us. Volunteers and donations are, of course, always welcomed--and needed.

### FIRST STAGES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"Hooligans, showering insults and bricks at policemen, were taught a lesson in respect for law and order as officers fired into the rioting mob, killing 5 and wounding 5. Officials later blamed the incident on the incitement of outside agitators."

The above quotation was not taken from an American newspaper in the summer of 1967. It might well, however, have been printed in a British newspaper in March of 1770--describing the Boston Massacre.

This incident of rebellion, like its current prototypes, was carried out by the most militant (and consequently the most advanced) section of a people who were soon to rise up in a successful revolution and overthrow their oppressors.

The "outside agitators" in this earlier case were likely to be Virginians. The "traitorous rantings" of such "irresponsible" leaders as Jefferson, Paine, Adams and Franklin were, no doubt, giving expression to the growing anger of the American people of their day--as are Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael in our day. We can well imagine too the prototypes of Gov. Agnew spouting such phrases at the fathers of the first American Revolution as, "I'd like to put them in jail and throw away the key!"

At the Boston Massacre too, one of the first to fall in America's first revolution was a black man--Crispus Attick.

Their demands too were similar to today's: "British go home!" "Yankee go home!" "Whitie go home!" "America for Americans!" "Black Power in the Black Community!" "Poor People's Power!" "Freedom Now!"

Like the current uprisings, the Boston Massacre was more or less an example of spontaneous combustion, lacking organization or articulated demands. These things were to be developed--through struggle.

Many of those who were later to join the revolution were initially confused by conflicting reports of the incident and condemned the rebels. Today they are revered as the patriots.

For years revolutionary socialists have been calling attention to what Marx said over a century ago. "Labor in a white skin cannot be free so long as labor in a black skin is in chains."

Now we see photos of black and white workers "educating" white workers in Newport News, Virginia, with their fists; and black and white workers in Detroit, in full cooperation and brotherhood, reclaiming some of the merchandise their collective labor has produced.

Truly it is better to live history than to read about it. But Santiago said, "Those who refuse to learn from history are doomed to repeat it." Now, more than ever, it is necessary for us to discover and study our history--the history of man's struggle for freedom. Experience, it may be argued, is the best teacher, but

the lesson is learned, let us learn it all the better and avoid the mistakes of the past.

Serious study of revolutionary movements in industrially advanced societies such as ours teach us that they can succeed only under the following conditions:

1. That a leadership be developed intellectually schooled in the history of the class struggle and the forces underlying our present era and;

2. That the people organize themselves democratically, enlisting all of the oppressed sections of society, into a political organization of the working people.

That is the immediate task which lies before us. Let us not delay, lest the opportune time for victory pass us by and our rebellion be smashed in blood.

R.K.

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#### POLICY STATEMENT

The Workers Party of Maryland is not a party in the classical meaning of the term.

We realize that the first task in the building of a real Workers Party is the development of a revolutionary intelligentsia to be drawn from revolutionaries who, having come over to the side of the working class, become professionals in revolutionary theory. Their founding task is to analyze capitalist society, particularly its economy, to determine the way in which the movement in the economy is leading to new capitalist economic and social crisis. This grouping must, at the same time, determine the main material tasks of reorganizing the means of production which will confront the socialists in that impending crisis, and to define the scientifically practicable solution to those problems as a "maximum program." The ensuing task of the cadres is to connect the policies of the maximum program to the issues of day-to-day struggles of the working class and its social allies. Such "abstract" program must be connected to the class and its allies through the persons of the most advanced, tiny minority of the potentially revolutionary class and its allies. Initially, even the most advanced worker militants and others will reject not only the maximum program, but also its immediately practical ramifications in terms of immediate class issues of struggle. No matter, if the maximum program and its derivatives have been scientifically grounded, the experience of struggle itself will demonstrate that the socialists' perspective and program corresponds to reality, while trade-unionist thinking and other expressions of capitalist ideology in the working class do not. So, through the experience of struggle, leading workers

will see, first, that the transitional proposals of the socialists uniquely correspond to reality, and, from that starting-point, they will also be won to the view that the maximum program itself is the unique solution to the problems of life. Provided, of course, that the transitional form of the maximum program is continually and most actively advanced through the course of these struggles. Once the most advanced workers begin to be won to the program, thus attaining a form of socialist consciousness, it is necessary to fuse the initiating cadres of revolutionary intelligentsia with the workers' political leaders to form some sort of workers' revolutionary party.

In light of this policy statement we realize that our original constitution, drawn up by our erstwhile chairman, was unrealistic for our group at such an early stage. We intend to maintain a far less formal structure.

Those who are in agreement with our general perspective are invited to join us.

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#### NAZI RALLY FIZZLES

The National States Rights Party held a rally on the evening of June 10 at Merritt Point Park in Dundalk. A few hundred spectators, interspersed with a large force of Baltimore County riot police and assorted plainclothesmen and communications media people, milled around as a dozen or so of the neo-Nazi faithful applauded three or four semi-literate racist speakers.

The rally opened with an attack on the Workers Party of Maryland because WPM members had distributed anti-Nazi leaflets to most of the crowd. Over 400 leaflets were surprisingly well received at the rally, as had been a similar number at the all-Negro section of Dundalk known as Turners' Station. Robert Kaufman, WPM organizer, had been arrested the previous evening at Turners' Station while distributing leaflets. The local white druggist (and apparently the biggest merchant in Turners' Station) had ordered Kaufman's arrest because he was supposedly "standing on my pavement." A total of five hours had to be spent in jail before the excessive \$255.00 bail could be raised. (At Magistrate Court it was revealed that the complainant was not the white merchant who had ordered the arrest but a colored employee of his. The case will be heard by a trial jury.)

Interviewed by WJZ-TV (but not broadcast), Kaufman explained that had more people in Germany done what the WPM is now doing to fight Nazism, they would not have had to suffer the Hitler period and World War II. He added that when it comes to the system's need for a scapegoat, the Negro in this country serves the same role as did the Jew in Germany. If Negroes do not organize to defend themselves, they will suffer the same fate.

\*Samples of the two leaflets distributed at Turners' Station and at the neo-Nazi rally are reproduced at the end (last two pages) of this issue.

Copy of leaflet distributed at New Era Book Store on May 13

NEW ERA BOWS TO THE KLAN

The New Era Book Store, the only so-called "progressive" book store in Baltimore, refuses to sell Workers Power, the bi-weekly organ of the Workers Party of Maryland.

The New Era should have known by now that freedom of the press is nothing but an empty phrase when a bookstore refuses to display and sell some particular "controversial" periodical. It is not that the New Era is the only Baltimore book store or news dealer which practices such discrimination--most of them do. But shouldn't we expect more from the New Era?

Was it not, after all, this very book store which was the brunt of a nearly successful attempt by the Ku Klux Klan, Fighting American Nationalists, and Baltimore Police Department to close down or destroy the store because these thought controllers disapproved of "communist" literature sold there?

If the New Era practices the same kind of censorship, how is it qualitatively different from its neo-fascist inquisitors?

Perhaps this boycott of a genuinely revolutionary socialist periodical is merely a first step by the New Era to comply with the Klan demands?

When the KKK attacked the book store we defended it--as much as circumstances would permit. When the New Era hampered its own defense, we commented on its tactics in our paper. We suspect that this specific criticism (included in a lead article titled "Smash the Klan" in Vol. 1, No. 1 of Workers Power) is the real reason that the thin-skinned, undemocratic, cowardly owners of the store banned our paper. We cannot think of any other reason why this store which carries the News American, Sun, National Review, Worker etc. should choose to deny its customers the chance to read Workers Power. We may never know for certain because store manager Robert Lee refuses to tell us why he won't sell it.

It is not our intention to interrupt the already slow business of the New Era. Just the opposite. We hope to encourage it to sell genuinely radical periodicals, books and pamphlets which it doesn't dare touch--particularly the works of Trotsky and Trotskyist commentary.

It currently treats this subject the same way that the Soviet and Chinese bureaucratic elites do--they pretend that it just doesn't exist.

Such overprotection of assumed "dull witted" minds is not in the best interests of the people--as most New Era customers well know.

We urge customers to ask the store manager what he is afraid of, and why he won't carry Workers Power. Perhaps your views on freedom of the press may enlighten him--civil liberties wise. (We understand that he is a member of some freedom of the press committee.) We further urge those who want to know what they are missing to subscribe to the periodical that is too radical for the New Era to handle.

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Trotskyism is the term that separates the outright liars, criminals and illiterates of the "socialist" movement from a tradition which used to identify the small fraction of honest socialist men and women in the movement.

## TAX LANDLORDS--NOT PEOPLE

The financial crisis in which Baltimore finds itself is no different from that of all large American cities.

The rich are moving out of the cities, away from the pollution which their system produces and into the low-tax haven suburbs.

The decaying, out-worn hulks of our inner cities are left for the working poor to exist in.

These workers, too, would like to escape into the fresh air of the surrounding counties but housing discrimination and finances prevent their escape.

Meanwhile, in the city, schools, colleges, nurseries, health and recreational facilities, and decent jobs must be provided for the growing number of children of working class families.

None of this is presently being done at the necessary scale.

Overcrowded, rat and roach infested slums must be replaced with clean, comfortable, and attractive homes for all. Neither is this being done. There is not one major city in the U.S. which is eradicating slums as quickly as new slums are being created.

The worsening conditions of overcrowding, unemployment, and underemployment, especially among the youth--aggravated by a largely irrelevant, overcrowded school system run by improperly trained, overworked, and underpaid teachers--is forcing our youth into what society calls "crime".

### What is the solution?

If the entire country were run for the needs of the American people, the problem could be easily solved; indeed, it would never have existed. Federal, state, and city taxes would soak the rich--not the poor. The federal and state governments would provide the necessary funds to rebuild and maintain our cities--not just because the cities are needed for industry and commerce but because the majority of the American people live there and nothing is too good for the people.

America is, however, not yet run by the American people--something we must all work for. But what can we do until then?

If Baltimore City taxed the rich, they could threaten to leave town. In large measure they already have.

But they cannot take their real estate with them.

The Workers Party of Maryland proposes that we tax, not the poor, not the small property owner, but tax the landlords--out of existence.

The slum dwellers themselves pay enough for housing to completely eliminate slums--they always have. The only trouble is that the rent which is paid by the tenant for housing is stolen by the landlord in the form of "profits". What's more, this constant thievery of the poor by the rich is "legal". The City of Baltimore makes it "legal"; and that is why Baltimore City, its Mayor and City Council stand condemned before the mass of her so-called citizens.

No one should have the right to own the roof over another man's home or to drain his income through rent--any more than a man should

have the right to own another man's tools of production.

Most rented property in Baltimore, commercial and industrial as well as residential, has paid for itself many times over since it was built--incidentally, by the underpaid labor of generations of exploited Baltimore workers.

The city must tax the big landlords out of existence, take over the property, and run it, for once, in the interests of the tenants. Rents should be reduced to 10% or less of income (as is so in Cuba today). Buildings should be properly maintained and money over maintenance costs should be used for building decent homes for all, decent schools, health and recreation facilities. (Provisions should be made to see that small landlords will not suffer and, in so far as much real estate is in fact owned by the multi-million dollar trusts and banking houses--which inturn are owned by an infinitesimally small number of people--landlords should be made exempt from paying mortgages on property reverting to the city. Let the trusts take the loss.)

The resulting building boom could appreciably reduce unemployment.

Neighbors could organize themselves to plan, supervise, and work in the reconstruction of their own neighborhoods in cooperation with the building trade unions.

The middleman's profits (over and under the table) of the construction industry could be saved by the city operating its own construction company.

DPW spending could be halved and quartered as much of welfare is presently little more than a subsidy to the slumlords.

Safer housing will also save the city in fire and health expenses.

Consumer prices could be reduced too, as small merchants will enjoy lower rents.

Further money could be saved by simply reneging on the \$428,274,500 city debt. This money initially came from the unpaid labor of millions of exploited workers and there is no moral reason why a city run for the interests of its working people should honor such a debt. The usury charges alone on this debt will amount to \$12,768,529 this year.

The resultant higher real incomes for more Baltimoreans should markedly reduce "crime" and consequently the expense of "crime prevention".

In a just and secure Baltimore we need never have a long hot summer. Without it we surely will.

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50% of all personal taxes in the U.S. come from those who earn less than \$2,500.

--Congressional Record, p. 24458.

We may set it down as a historical law: Fascism was able to conquer only in those countries where the conservative labor parties prevented the proletariat from utilizing the revolutionary situation and seizing power. --Leon Trotsky

### CREDIBILITY GAP

A joke that's going around in Washington about how you can tell if Lyndon's telling the truth when he appears on TV. If Lyndon places his finger alongside his nose, the story goes, or pulls his earlobe, or strokes his chin, he's telling the truth. If he moves his lips, he's lying.

--National Guardian, June 24, 1967, p. 10.

Copy of leaflet distributed in Turners' Station on June 9 & 10

FIGHT RACIST TERROR

The anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-working class National States Rights Party plans to hold another hate rally at Merritt Point Park this Saturday night (June 10) at 7:30 p.m.

This is the same racist outfit which held similar hate rallies at Patterson Park last summer in which the dominant rally chant was "Kill Niggers!"

After one of these rallies gangs of racists foraged into the black community unopposed by organized black defense units and tried to lynch Negroes in front of their own homes. Numerous blacks were injured. A few white rioters were finally arrested by the racist police force, which could have prevented the riot had it wanted to.

We can expect the same thing from Saturday's "rally".

The purpose of such "rallies" is to convince your fellow white workers that their real enemy is not the bosses, but are all black people; and that they can attack black people with immunity--"open season", they call it. The purpose, too, is to intimidate black people through violence or the threat of violence.

Will you be intimidated?

These racist bullies are cowards. They only attack black people when it is safe to do so--when they vastly outnumber their victims. If they had to face a body of just 50-100 organized, able-bodied black men, they would slither away like the snakes they are.

We call on black men who take their manhood seriously not to be intimidated but to courageously attend the racist rally being held at your doorstep--and attend in force. Then if the racists dare to shout--or even whisper--"Kill Niggers!", instead of foraging into the black community and beating up lone, defenseless Negroes at will (as they did last summer), they will have to first contend with a block of black men, ready and able to say to them, "Over your dead body, you will!"

The only sure way to prevent violence against Negroes is for Negroes to organize for their own self-defense--as do the Deacons for Defense and Justice.

The eyes of the entire state will be on you Saturday night.

You will have some white allies there--not many--but some.

The Workers' Party of Maryland, which is a party for all working people, black and white, is yet pitifully small. However, we will be there by your side to share your destiny--in victory or defeat.

Meet us there, brothers!

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Lifetime earnings of nonwhite elementary-school graduates was 64% of whites. High school graduates, 60% of whites. College graduates, 50% of whites. --Daedalus, Fall 1965, "The American Negro", Philip Hansen. Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

Fascism is the fighting organization of the bourgeoisie during and in case of civil war. --Trotsky, "Through What Stage Are We Passing?", 4th International, Summer 1964, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 72.

Copy of leaflet distributed at National States Rights Party rally on June 11

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY?

The National States Rights Party is to America what the Nazi Party was to Germany. It is anti-union, anti-Negro, and anti-Jewish. It seeks to divert the attention and energy of working people away from working out real solutions to our very real problems through dividing the American working people and turning one section against another--thus weakening us all.

Just as the Nazis in Germany successfully diverted the righteous indignation of the German working people away from the German industrialists by falsely blaming the Jewish people for Germany's economic crisis--the N.S.R.P. is attempting a similar diversion towards your fellow workers.

They get their money from some antilabor bosses.

Why?

Because the one thing the bosses fear more than anything else is the unity of black and white workers. They know that every successful workers' strike for higher wages and better working conditions has resulted from just such unity.

Race prejudice serves only the bosses, who must be laughing up their sleeves at us every time they see black and white workers at each other's throats.

Your black fellow workers are struggling for the same good life for their families as you are for yours. Neither black nor white workers can achieve it alone.

The black workers you see here tonight are not anti-white--they are anti-Nazi. They think that their country is too good for the bosses and their Nazi agents to be run for their own profits. They know that as American workers we are the most highly productive workers in the world--and if the value of what we can produce were divided among the workers, there would be plenty for all.

The N.S.R.P. is not concerned with our very real problems of unemployment, low wages, high rents, and high prices. They offer only hate.

Don't let the Nazi-like N.S.R.P. make suckers out of us.

What we need is a Workers' Party based on organized labor to fight the bosses. Join our black fellow workers and union members in fighting against the bosses for a good life for us all.

As is the case with all such parties, the ultimate aim of the N.S.R.P. is to smash the labor movement. The Nazi Party in Germany started by destroying Communists, Socialists, and trade union leaders--then the Jews, Catholics, and Poles. It eventually destroyed all of Germany--and a good bit of the rest of the world.

Join your black brother workers in destroying the N.S.R.P. before it destroys us.

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We see in Communism more now than before the incarnation of human destructive forces . . . We therefore oppose any attempt at spreading Communism, wherever it may take place . . . We shall always and everywhere champion peace and freedom against aggression.

--Adolf Hitler, 2/20/38