

# Disruption at N.Y. antiwar demonstration

By Carl Davidson

A preliminary to the fall offensive against the Vietnam war took place last week with a series of demonstrations in several cities commemorating the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Demonstrations were held in New York, Chicago, Boston and Atlanta, among the cities. The main demands called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, support for the black liberation struggle and, in keeping with the Hiroshima-Nagasaki theme, an end to the U.S.-Japan security treaty and the U.S. occupation of Okinawa.

The most extensive series of actions took place in New York, organized by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, a broad coalition of antiwar groups.

Aug. 2-9 program began with the leafletting of many churches and synagogues around the city. The focus shifted to Rockefeller plaza Aug. 4, where demonstrators demanded an end to the U.S. domination of Latin America. The next day, demonstrators showed up at City Hall, demanding that the City Council pass a resolution calling for an end to the war. On Hiroshima day, Aug. 6, a 30-hour action began in Times Square featuring the reading of the names of all the GI's killed in Vietnam and the names of bombed Vietnamese villages.

Two other actions took place on the same day, including one led by a new organization, Asian Americans for Action. They held a militant demonstration at the U.S. mission to the UN, protesting the U.S. occupation of Okinawa. Several people were arrested. Later, a candlelight procession started from Times Square to Central Park. In the park, the marchers placed candles in hundreds of Japanese paper lanterns which were then floated on the lake.

On Aug. 7, the committee organized a noon-hour rally in the garment district.

The headquarters of New York's draft boards were targets

"Ultras" block stage at N.Y. antiwar protest.



Photo by New York Press Service

## Anti-Nixon protest

Special to the Guardian

San Clemente, Calif.

The Los Angeles Peace Action Council is planning a demonstration at the summer White House here Aug. 17. The planners are calling for marchers to assemble at South El Camino Blvd. for a mass march. Up to 5000 demonstrators are expected to picket the summer White House and participate in a rally.

PAC has been negotiating with civic officials to get a parade permit and site for the rally. In an attempt to get permission to use the school yard of Concordia School, near Nixon's home, PAC members attended school board meetings and were met with continued rebuffs.

The San Clemente City Council has refused a parade permit. Although the march will be held whether or not the permit is issued, PAC is seeking legal action in Santa Ana courts, charging the city council with violation of the First Amendment. Phil Chroniss, attorney for PAC, said, "We are trying to bend every effort to work with the community to make this a peaceable march."

Aug. 8. Ten were arrested at the federal building after a two hour sit in.

These actions were designed to build support for the major event, an antiwar march Aug. 9, Nagasaki Day. While the march was, at best, a qualified success, the numbers of people turning out were less than anticipated. About 3000 marched from Times Square to Central Park and about 6000 attended a rally in the park. But numbers were the least of the problems.

From the beginning, there was a squabble between the Parade Committee and several militant groups as to who would lead the march—antiwar GIs, as the committee suggested, or those carrying NLF flags. The flags won out.

The next conflict was more complex. The Parade Committee originally planned to march in the street but decided to march on the sidewalk due to the small number of marchers. The alternative was to speed down a broad street with a march that would last less than 30 minutes.

Police wanted the march to go into the street, but committee officials said they talked the cops into allowing use of the sidewalk. To a number of militants, however, this was not a "revolutionary" decision—since sidewalks, apparently, are reserved for reformists and grandparents.

Half-way along a somewhat dispirited march, some militants and those immediately behind them broke away from the march into the street and arrived at the rally site ahead of everyone else.

As the marchers arrived, the "ultraleft" had taken over the stage, set up their own sound equipment and were conducting their own meeting.

When the committee officials asked them to leave the stage so the meeting could begin, the "ultras" refused. An argument followed, complete with chants from the audience and shouts from the stage. The NLF flags were the issue. Compromise: the flags could stay, but get the people off. No go. New compromise: the flags could stay, get those without flags off. No.

The argument intensified and there was some pushing and shoving. Allan Ginsberg showed up, chanting "Om" and "Hare Krishna." Finally, as a rock band started playing, an agreement was worked out. The "ultras" moved back a little, allowing speakers to move to the front.

### Free-for-all

By this time, several hundred people left in disgust. The crowd was clearly angry at the provocation and disruption. Unionist Al Evanoff, chairman of the rally, started to speak, but was interrupted when Walter Peague, of the Committee to Aid the NLF, cut in with his own PA system, playing Vietnamese music. In a brief free-for-all, someone ripped an NLF flag. Things settled down.

First, two GIs spoke, but they could hardly be heard because of the heckling—"CP off the Stage."

The next speaker, Mary Kochiyama, tied together all the themes of the week's action: Vietnam, Okinawa, A-bombs and fascist repression.

SDS interorganizational Secretary Jeff Jones followed with a short speech berating the antiwar movement for not being an anti-imperialist movement and a call for support for SDS's Chicago antiwar action in October. Jones also supported the provocation of the "ultras" on the stage: "Anyone who attacks the NLF flag will be dealt with."

The most important speech was given by Jim Johnson, a militant black ex-GI, one of the Fort Hood Three and the first to refuse to go to Vietnam. Johnson had just returned from North Vietnam where he had gone to bring back three American POWs. After describing the destruction in North Vietnam, along with the total resistance and organization of the Vietnamese people that defeated the U.S. air war, he said, "I am totally convinced that the Vietnamese have defeated the U.S. in Vietnam. Where the U.S. needs to be defeated now is on the second front, here at home." He also compared the provocation on the stage with the harassment the police and customs officials had given him at the airport.

The closing speech was given by Suzanne Bellamy, from the New York Black Panther party, who explained the party's position on war and ended with the call for "All power to the people," which, for a brief moment, united everyone, until the crowd gradually dispersed.

## Georgia woman returns flag

A mother in Georgia, embittered by her son's death in Vietnam, has sent the American flag from her son's coffin to President Nixon.

Mrs. Miles Stewart, a businesswoman in Warner Robbins, Ga., included a letter to the President which said, "I do not want a flag which represents a country which is sacrificing her young men as this one is doing."

Pvt. Wayne Stewart, 22, was killed in combat last April. Mrs. Stewart has been writing to congressmen and military authorities, but she has only received cold replies. A previous letter to the President got no response.

This time Mrs. Stewart said, "I hate the flag for what it stands for in Vietnam—the murder of our young men. But I love it for what it is supposed to stand for."

# Panther leaders blast SDS

By Jack A. Smith

Two leading members of the Black Panther party have delivered a strong attack on Students for a Democratic Society.

In an interview in the Aug. 4 Berkeley Barb with party chairman Bobby Seale and chief of staff David Hilliard and in a separate article by Hilliard, the national Panther leadership virtually characterized SDS as a fascist organization. Both attacks were published in the Aug. 9 Black Panther, weekly party organ.

In a separate interview with Guardian West Coast correspondent Art Goldberg Aug. 7, the Panther leaders elaborated on their remarks.

At issue in the dispute between the Panthers and the nation's largest white radical organization was the refusal of SDS to endorse all aspects of a nationwide petition campaign for community control of local police initiated by the Panthers.

The community control campaign was the one concrete outcome of the United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) conference called by the Black Panther party in Oakland, Calif., July 18-20 and attended by about 3000 persons representing some 40 organizations.

Until the conference, relations between the Panthers and SDS had been marked by extreme cordiality. On March 30, delegates to the SDS national council meeting in Austin, Tex., passed a resolution declaring that "within the black liberation movement the vanguard force is the Black Panther party." During the national SDS convention in Chicago June 18-23, Panther party influence was important in the expulsion of the Progressive Labor party from SDS.

The UFAF resolution on community control demanded that all communities—black, brown and white—demand control over the police. While endorsing control by black and brown communities, SDS balked at the concept of white control over police in white communities, arguing that this would result in strengthening of white supremacy. Meeting the day after the conference, SDS's national interim committee passed a resolution criticizing community control for white communities on the grounds that it "has the effect of deflecting the issue from that of fascist repression against black and brown people and from the struggle for self-determination in the colonized nations to a kind of parity among communities which are not, because of white supremacy, equal. It also disregards the reality that whites, because of the ideology of racism and the desire to hold onto

their 'privileges,' are often the oppressors of black people. 'Community control' cannot be put forward as contentless—for the whites, it should only mean control by a class-conscious working class." (See text of SDS resolution, page 5.)

Referring to SDS's agreement to support the petition in the "colonies" (black and brown communities) but not in the "oppressor country" (white America), Hilliard wrote in the Black Panther: "How abstract and divorced from the reality of the world around them they must be to think that the Black Panther party would allow them to leave their communities and begin to organize the colony; to control the fascists in the oppressor country is a very definite step towards white people's power, because James Rector was not shotgunned to death in the black community. It seems they prefer to allow the already legitimate reactionary forces to take roost or sanctuary in the white communities."

Stating that the "Black Panther party will not be dictated to by people who are obviously bourgeois procrastinators," Hilliard went on to imply that SDS, among other groups, was "at best national socialist" (i.e., fascist). (See text of Hilliard statement, page 5.)

## Rudd says petition evades issue

The Panther chief of staff interpreted the SDS resolution to mean in part that the white youth group sought to work within the black and brown communities but was reluctant to do so in the white community. In an article in the July 23 SDS organ New Left Notes, national secretary Mark Rudd wrote that the two primary reasons SDS refused to support the petition were that "raising 'white community' control evades the issue of domestic colonization and thereby evades the thrust of the black liberation struggle itself" and that the concept of the "white community" basically "serves the ruling class by stressing 'white interest' over class interest, that is, the interest of workers as members of the oppressor nation rather than their interest as members of the oppressed class. This position already exists in certain suburbs and small towns where white working-class people use racist police forces to 'protect' them from blacks (and where the local bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie control the police, workers with false racist consciousness often approve their use against black and brown people)."

The political blockbuster came in the Barb interview with Seale and Hilliard.

Seale referred to SDS as "a bunch of those jive bourgeois, national socialists and those national chauvinists who gonna try and dictate what they're going to do in the black community." The Panther chairman also lashed out at rumors that the Communist party "dominated" the UFAF conference.

Most of the interview was devoted to Hilliard's blast against SDS.

"The one thing that we're very careful of doing now," Hilliard said in answer to a Barb question, "is distinguishing real friends from real enemies. So that whether you call them Trotskyists or PL, SDS, ISC [Independent Socialist Clubs] or whatever brand of initials that they come under, if they're taking sides with our enemy, then we say that out enemy's friends are also our enemy."

Speaking specifically of SDS, Hilliard continued:

"My attitude, and I think that I share the unity of concept and will with the Party, is SDS is dizzy from success. That they have asserted the right for the revolutionary vanguard of the oppressor country. But the Black Panther party hasn't endorsed that. We don't see SDS as being so revolutionary. We see SDS as just being another pacification front that's given credit by the fascist establishment in order to cause diffusion in hopes that this would weaken the support for the Black Panther party. . . . SDS had better get their politics straight because the Black Panther party is drawing some very clear lines between friends and enemies. And that we're going to make it very clear that we're not going to be attacked from any of those motherfuckers."

Later in the interview, Hilliard referred to "those little bourgeois, snooty nose" SDSers, threatening that "we'll beat those little sissies, those little schoolboys' ass if they don't try to straighten up their politics. So we want to make that known to SDS and the first motherfucker that gets out of order had better stand in line for some kind of disciplinary actions from the Black Panther party."

Asked why Panther-SDS relations apparently fell apart during the UFAF conference, Hilliard gave this reply:

"The conference was a magnifying glass, you know. The conference was sort of a dissettling process, you know. It was like weeding out the good from the bad; it was like making a distinction between the reactionaries and the revolutionaries. . . . All of the so-called revolutionary forces from the oppressor country are still just as oppressive as they were when they were born. And that they're not revolutionaries, that they are national chauvinists, that they are national socialists. That the kind of socialism that they advocate is nothing more than an acute case of racism, manifested in every organization that white counterparts are allowed to participate in. And that we're sick and tired of those motherfuckers telling us or trying to dictate to us how we should run our struggle, who to align with."

Referring to SDS's non-support of the community control resolution, Hilliard said:

"It is obvious that all these little splinter organizations, all these little Boy Scouts and Brownie groups that call themselves revolutionaries, are coming up against something that's obviously too revolutionary for them to deal with. They criticized the circulation of our petition not because they're not intelligent enough to realize the revolutionary implications of it but because one always finds excuses for taking the least line of resistance. . . . They must think that the Black Panther party is full of fools, full of ignorant niggers. But we want to make it clear to all the SDSers and PLers, the pigs and the fascists that we have a mind of our own. . . . We make our decisions and we support who we want to support and that we're here to make revolution

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Panthers walking through the Casbah in Algiers. Left to right, Eldridge Cleaver, Masai Hewitt, Julia Wright Herve (daughter of author Richard Wright) and at right, David Hilliard.



Black Panther party photo