

NEW POLITICS

The Communists Get Set For 1968

Gary Allen, a graduate of Stanford University and one of the nation's top authorities on civil turmoil and the New Left, is author of Communist Revolution in the Streets—a highly praised and definitive new volume on revolutionary tactics and strategies, published by Western Islands. Mr. Allen is active in anti-Communist and other humanitarian causes and is President of the Foundation for Economic and Social Progress. A film writer and journalist, he is a Contributing Editor to AMERICAN OPINION. Gary Allen lectures widely.

■ AMERICAN OPINION has sent me into Watts to cover an insurrection, into Berkeley to report the student wars, into Delano to investigate the Communists' organization of migrant workers, into the South to traipse about after Stokely Carmichael and his armed guerrillas, into the dens of hippies to consult on the cult of hallucinogenics, and a hundred places I'd rather not have been for a thousand reasons too obvious to detail. When they requested that I go to Chicago over Labor Day week for the Convention of the National Conference for New Politics, I should have known enough to say no. The last time they sent me to Chicago was to cover a Black Power cookout in which an army of hungry-looking revolutionaries surrounded me and chanted for "Black Power, White Blood."

I should have said no.

But, I didn't.

Unnatural disasters interest me.

Besides, this one was to be held at Chicago's elegant Palmer House. What,

I thought, could possibly happen there? I went to find out.

The creatures of the Left descended on the Palmer House like locusts intent on eating their way to Lake Michigan. They were there by the thousands—crackpot radicals, "Liberals," campus tramps, hippies, homosexuals, Africa firsters, union organizers, crank professors, militant pacifists, schoolboy Lenins, bomb tossers, spear throwers, kooks, and Communists. Lots of Communists! In that group of pyromaniac streetbunders, Cyclops could have passed for Little Lord Fauntleroy and Eleanor Roosevelt for Snow White.

As a reporter, I have covered a lot of political sideshows, but this performance made the Ringling Brothers' Circus look like a backwater carnival. It was like call day for a De Mille spectacular about the Bolshevik Revolution.

The New Politics Convention met to gather the outpatients of the neurotic Left, the psychotic Left, and the conspiratorial Left into a convenient sanitarium so the Communists could diagnose their deviations, settle on a mutually satisfactory syndrome, and send them out more contagious. They came slithering out of Cincinnati and the back alleys of Berkeley, from Cleveland, Washington, New York, Newark, Detroit, Watts, and wherever insurrection and Marxism are being brewed. They came to decide how to most expeditiously dispatch America to political Valhalla; to argue as to the best way to deliver their country to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was doubtless only

a historical happenstance that the Communist Party, U.S.A., was formed over this same weekend, in this same city, forty-eight years ago.

I

THIS LITTLE horror show had been promoted as the most significant gathering on the Left in two decades—the biggest, in fact, since the formation of the Progressive Party. It aimed to build a unified and cohesive political coalition around “Civil Rights,” Black Nationalism, the peaceniks, the New Left, revolutionary labor, and the “Liberal” religious groups. In Communist parlance they came to establish a United Front, one closely paralleling and including the revolutionary “union of the poor” being assembled by Walter Reuther and Martin Luther King as the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

The National Conference for New Politics, the Convention’s sponsoring organization, grew out of a coalition of political Leftists who met during August of 1965 in Santa Barbara, California, at

the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a cosy incubator of revolution endowed by the Ford Foundation. At the time of its hatching the Conference was referred to by the *New York Times* as a “sort of holding company for the dreams of Bobby Kennedy.”

After two years of local organizing, and with a Presidential election on the horizon, the leaders of the Conference announced that they were ready to attempt to put the movement together on a national basis. The official “call” for the Convention said the organization would attempt to “make the election process meaningful,” and would “use other kinds of tactics of creative disorder: sit-ins, marches, rent strikes, labor strikes and school boycotts.”

Bobby Kennedy’s “holding company” was planning quite a show.

Chairman for the New Politics Convention was Michael Wood, age twenty-five, a former fund raiser for the Marxist Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) who achieved national notoriety in *Ramparts* magazine when he exposed the C.I.A.’s bankrolling of the National Student Association. Other luminaries on the Convention Steering Committee included Julian Bond, the pro-Vietcong Georgia Legislator; Paul Booth, a founder of the Marxist Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.); Ivanhoe Donaldson, Marxist Harlem organizer for S.N.C.C.; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, the Far Left’s entry in the 1966 California Gubernatorial race and a lecturer at the Communists’ California Labor School; Myles Horton of the Communists’ Highlander Folk Center; John Hulett of the Marxist Black Panther Party; Robert Scheer, leader of the Communist Fair Play for Cuba Committee who became Editor of *Ramparts*; Stanley Sheinbaum; Dr. Benjamin Spock, the senile Vietnik and handmaiden to mothers’ fears; and, Arthur Waskow, former Administrative Assistant to the “ultra-Liberal” Wisconsin



Communist Lou Diskin ran N.C.N.P. book show.

DOROTHY R. HEALEY
BARBARA NESTOR

July 24, 1967 18-341
1223
Pay to the order of Nat. Conference for New Politics \$5.00
Five and 00/100 DOLLARS

WESTERN BRANCH
4741 SOUTH WESTERN AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Bank of America
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

⑆1223⑆0341⑆ 3745⑆60643⑆

Dorothy R. Healey

to help the New Politics, please complete the
5 mail it to

CONVENTION CENTER
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS
1517 West Howard Street
Chicago, Illinois 60626

I enclose \$ as my contribution to the program of
the N.C.N.P.
I enclose \$ as my contribution to the work of the
Convention
I pledge \$ to be sent monthly ☐ quarterly ☐
I would like to join the N.C.N.P. Enclosed is \$5.00 annual
membership.

NAME Dorothy Healey
ADDRESS 1733 1/2 W. 84 St.
CITY Los Angeles STATE Calif. ZIP
OCCUPATION Housewife PHONE PL 2-5772

July 24, 1967

Enclosed is my check for
\$5.00 for an annual membership.

Dorothy Ray Healey
1733 1/2 W. 84 St.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90047

The N.C.N.P. welcomed Dorothy Ray Healey, Chairman of the Communist Party for Southern California.

sin Congressman Robert Kastenmeier.*

There were 3,200 official delegates and observers, including representatives from the entire constellation of Communist Fronts and their satellites. The honor roll of revolutionary organizations sending members marching on the embattled Palmer House included the pastornik Clergy and Laymen Concerned About the War in Vietnam, SANE, the Draft Resistance Union, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Southern Student Organizing Committee, S.N.C.C., S.D.S., Teachers for a Democratic Society, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Women Strike for Peace, C.O.R.E., the Revolutionary Action Movement, the National Welfare Rights Movement, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, the Socialist Workers Party, the Progressive Labor Party, and the Com-

munist Party, U.S.A. Seldom in all history had so many met with total impunity to wail that dissent is no longer allowed in the very nation from which they dissent with treasonous impudence.

As you may guess, there were no fat inducements offered by America's convention cities to attract this meeting. In fact, the Convention was reluctantly accepted by the Palmer House only after considerable pressure from the office of Mayor Richard Daley, promising that the delegates expected would be mostly quiet academics, student intellectuals, and assorted pious clergymen. The gentle delegates who showed up did \$10,000 worth of damage to the hotel, stole three microphones and ten typewriters, carved "Black Power" into the expensive bronze doors of eight of the hotel's ten elevators, hacked leather cushions with machetes, and smashed hundreds of pieces of furniture.

One hotel executive told me: "These people are stealing everything that is not nailed down, and many of our regu-

*Others on the National Council of the N.C.N.P. include Simon Casady, Donna Allen, Stokely Carmichael, the "Reverend" William Sloan Coffin, W. H. Ferry, Dick Gregory, Professor H. Stuart Hughes, Martin Luther King, Sidney Lens, Herbert Marcuse, Carey McWilliams, and Seymour Melman.

lar guests have checked out after having been threatened, attacked, or insulted in the elevators or restaurants." Another added, "In thirty-four years in the hotel business I have never seen such pigs. The filth on the seventh floor is beyond description." Multiracial delegates of both sexes slept ten in a room while others rolled out sleeping bags in the hallways.

The hotel found it too dangerous to even investigate the constant reports of sex orgies and marijuana parties on the floors occupied (and *occupied* is the right word) by the visiting revolutionaries. As Palmer House executive Florian Von Imhoff admitted: "We heard reports of these things, but we never went into the rooms. There was a very ugly mood on those floors." Apparently "ugly mood" is as strong a euphemism as well-trained hotel executives are permitted. Armed Black Power guerrillas even met the elevators to discourage objections from the management. But, while some hotel residents did report they could not sleep because of the in-

cessant beat of African drums, you will be glad to learn there were no reported instances of cannibalism.

Not unexpectedly, the primary troublemakers were the Black Power delegates, some of whom were veterans of the insurrections in Detroit and Newark. They attacked and threatened hotel guests and white radicals alike. It was a popular pastime for Black Power toughs to corner white women in the elevators, fondling and assaulting them. I was on an elevator with a group of delegates when a ninety-eight pound reject from the Charles Atlas School happened to touch a floor-selector button at the same time as a six-foot, two hundred pound Negro wearing an African toga and carrying a "ceremonial" sword. "Whites don't touch Black men no more," the Negro growled as the "Liberal" cowered into a corner.

In the downstairs restaurant, three Black Power delegates pushed past a line of customers waiting to be seated. When the hostess stopped them and explained pleasantly that there would be a slight

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

35 WEST 20th STREET • NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • NY 10704

July 25, 1967

Michael Wood, Chairman
Convention Planning Committee
National Conference for New Politics
1517 West Howard Street
Chicago, Illinois 60634

Dear Mr. Wood:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the report of July 1967 Bureau I feel you should see. It is from the editorial in the New Politics Convention, as well as other references in the call to your convention contained in this particular issue.

I trust that you will also be interested in the position of the call's report in a recent meeting of the Communist Party which dealt with the question of political action.

I am also sending a copy of this to William Pepper.

Sincerely yours,

Donald Johnson
Public Relations Director

4002.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

35 WEST 20th STREET • NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • NY 10704

August 13, 1967

Mr. Michael F. Wood,
Chairman, Convention Committee
National Conference for New Politics
1517 West Howard St.
Chicago, Ill. 60634

Dear Mr. Wood:

In accord with the purpose of the Convention as outlined in the Call to the Convention and the Rules and Procedures as presented in "New Politics News", the following have been elected as delegates to the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., to attend the Convention: Arnold Tolson, Charles Laidlaw, Gilbert Green, Monroe Foster, Thomas (Monks) and Mike (Daguerre).

While we are confident that our policy and activities which can be documented by many publications does not need extensive explanation, yet we are enclosing copies of pamphlets which can be used for reference.

We have designated our delegation as representatives of our National Committee of 30 members as it is noted in the report that we are working to influence the Convention by the voting strength of our total membership throughout the country.

Arnold Tolson and Gilbert Green will be in Chicago from August 25th to attend any preliminary meetings, and to consider and propose on all matters in which we may have an interest.

Trusting that this is satisfactory and awaiting a favorable reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

Donald Johnson

Donald Johnson
National Organization Secretary

These letters formalized the Communists' participation in the N.C.N.P. The Reds played a major role.

wait, one of the three, a female, shouted: "Shut up, you white bitch, or we'll cut out your heart!" The trio proceeded to seat themselves at an uncleared table, and one of the men screamed at a waitress: "Get over here quick or you're gonna get raped."

Such was life among the idealists and noble visionaries of the New Politics Convention.

II

DELEGATES AND OBSERVERS to the Convention were asked to pay a five-dollar registration fee—but it was waived in case of "need." A considerable number of delegates became needy for the occasion. Hundreds of free rooms were provided by the Convention's backers for delegates who established their inability to pay. And, the Convention also paid travel subsidies for a considerable number of delegates and observers. Free food was served to Convention delegates at 116 South Michigan, home of the Council on Foreign Relations and several other "Liberal" groups, and the Black Power Caucus took full advantage of the hotel's room-service facilities to order regular feasts, complete with gallons of liquor—all charged to the Convention.*

Where did the National Conference for New Politics get the enormous amounts of money to pay for all of this? The primary source was publicly acknowledged: She is an attractive Chicago socialite, Mrs. Lucille Montgomery, age fifty-six. Mrs. Montgomery is a member of the national board of N.C.N.P., is affiliated with the Communists' Highlander Folk Center, and is reported to have earlier this year given \$3 million to an organization well to

the Left of even N.C.N.P. For several weeks prior to the Convention she held training sessions and exercises for the conference staff in her luxurious apartment on the twenty-sixth floor at 1000 Lakeshore Plaza, where she displays copies of *The Worker*, *National Guardian*, and other "progressive" publications. She is fond of telling guests: "My neighbors think I am some kind of a Communist."

There are, alas, a good many who agree with Lucy's neighbors!

The wife of an heir to the Post cereal



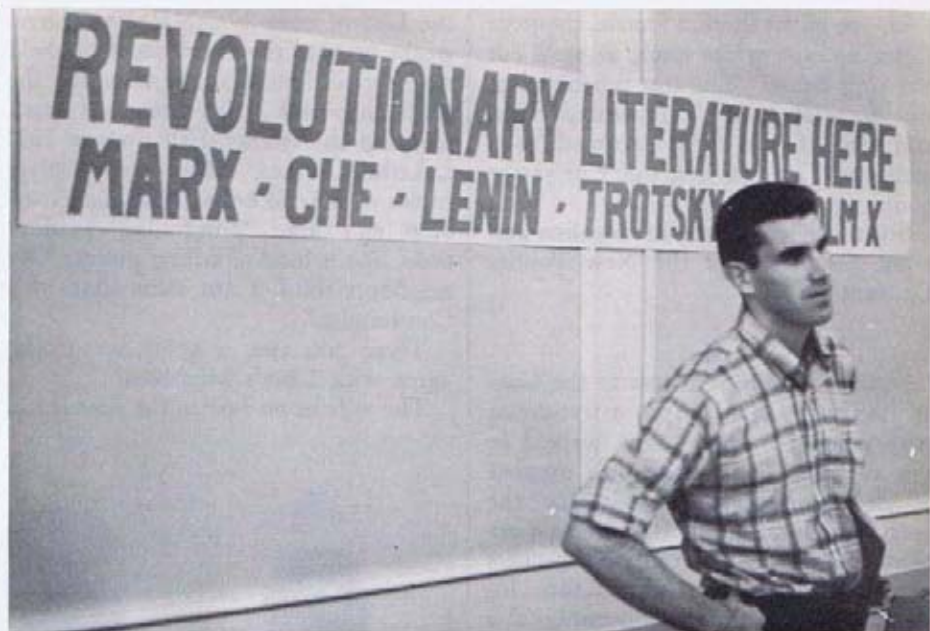
Lucille Montgomery, the N.C.N.P.'s "Mrs. Money."

fortune, Lucille Montgomery is known among the revolutionaries as "Mrs. Money." And there is a "Mr. Money," too. He is none other than Senator Robert F. Kennedy,† sometimes referred to among irreverent Conservatives as the Fifth Beagle.

The national Press ignored Senator Kennedy's role behind the scenes of the New Politics Convention, but it was widely discussed among both staff members and delegates. When comedian Dick Gregory joked with the delegates

*Even so—with all of this available—many of the delegates left the hotel without paying their bills, and fleeing the restaurant without paying was common.

†Earlier this year, Senator Kennedy engineered a grant of \$100,000 from the Ford Foundation for the Black Power revolutionaries of C.O.R.E.



In the book room Communist participation was not hidden but advertised. Sign is above S.D.S. booth.

about "all that 'Liberal' Democrat money that is pouring in here," no one doubted that he was talking about Kennedy money. The Maoist Progressive Labor Party was less guarded, going so far as to distribute a flyer which stated in part:

The National Conference for New Politics (N.C.N.P.) — and its present convention — is in essence a . . . maneuver on the part of Robert Kennedy. . . . King is on the R.F.K. payroll and his speeches are written by Kennedy men.

One of those Kennedy men is Arthur Waskow,* the "principal intellectual" of the National Conference for New Politics, who enjoys praising the shaggy Senator as "a post-cold-war Liberal, not so viciously anti-Communist."

The man who is believed to be Robert Kennedy's chief pipeline to the N.C.N.P. is William Pepper, age thirty, the organization's Executive Director. Pepper, who has been a professional

member of the Senator's New York staff, now describes himself as a "disaffected member of the Kennedy organization." Our contacts on the Convention staff tell us that this is absurd; they claim that it is Pepper who is being used as the conduit for Kennedy money being poured into the National Conference for New Politics. At the very least, one may wonder how so violent a revolutionary ever became a member of the staff of a United States Senator.†

*Waskow is a resident fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, a Far Left research and consulting center in Washington. He is author of half a dozen books and is now writing a primer for guerrilla politics à la Detroit, to be titled *Creative Disorders*.

†Samples from Pepper's speech to the Convention: "We see our nation embracing unbounded militarism, serving only the special vested and economic interests, imposing a brutal American presence on some of our brothers and sisters. . . . The life blood of the existing forces of people long denied the opportunity to determine their own destiny." He then ridiculed the "crusade against Communism," which he says America is engaged in, and called for the President to suspend the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Pepper even spoke of the "starved bodies of our brothers and sisters . . . stacked daily and nightly in the streets. . . ."



Nearly all the books on display in the N.C.N.P.'s literature room were overt Communist propaganda.

A number of the rank and file radicals who want Blood Now *have* become disenchanted with the wooly-headed Wobbly from the Back Bay, and his name was occasionally booed at the Convention. When public opinion forced him to back off somewhat from his pro-Vietcong stand, the Senator's unsophisticated fans on the Far Left felt betrayed. The rank and file pay little attention to the realities of political life, but the more seasoned revolutionaries like Waskow and Pepper have been able to keep them in line.

III

THE CONVENTION organizers were naturally concerned about heading off unfavorable publicity wherever possible. They even came up with a ploy to take away the sting of Communist participation. They arranged with the Communists for Arnold Johnson of New York City, the Reds' National Public Relations Director and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., to head a seven-member

official delegation of Communists to come as "observers."* This enabled the N.C.N.P. to say, "Sure there are Communists here: seven Communists out of 3,200; and they're just observers." Arnold Johnson naturally obliged by strongly denying that the Convention was a Communist Front.

It was a pretty good smokescreen, but not everyone was fooled.† The *Chicago Tribune* of August 31, 1967 made that obvious when it reported: "Federal and local security officers who are closely observing proceedings of the Convention said *several hundred* known Communists are attending as delegates or observers."

*The other official Communist "observers" were Thomas Dennis of Detroit; Mike Zagarell and Gilbert Green of New York City; Roscoe Procter of Oakland; and, Claude Lightfoot and James West of Chicago.

†Joseph Dawson, a Negro who is the son of Representative William Dawson (D.-Illinois), described the gathering as "a convention of Communists, and makers of molotov cocktails. They claim to advocate Black Power, and in doing so they lead the Black people toward violence; they will only damage the gains men have made. . . ."



Communist David Canter edits N.C.N.P. paper.

The Communists, of course, were there to run the Convention. It was interesting to watch them operate as they huddled with each other, or with runners from the various state delegations who were taking orders back to their delegations. According to our informants within the N.C.N.P., debate on the convention floor was mere diversion; the real strategy was planned in a hotel room on the fifth floor, with the Comrades* in control simply transmitting orders to their agents in the fourth-floor convention hall.

I was introduced to Dorothy Ray Healey, the Chairman of the Communist Party for Southern California who got 78,000 votes as a Candidate for Los Angeles County Tax Assessor in last year's election. Dorothy is all smiles; and, if it weren't for the fact that she smokes cigars, you might swear that she was an instructor for Dale Carnegie. As we smiled at each other, she was un-

*Actually, they don't call each other "Comrade" anymore; they use the words *Brother* or *Sister*. Quite a disappointment!

doubtedly thinking how nice I would look in front of a firing squad, and I was picturing her roasting in Hell. Dorothy asked if we "still advocate the abolition of the public school system."

"We are," I quipped, "still opposed to gun-run schools."

She turned to the delegate who had introduced us, flipped the ash from her stogie, and said: "See, they have a line to follow just like we do."

There were Commies, Commies, everywhere; and not a cop to fink. Or at least none visible—though there were plenty of plain-clothes security officers present. Like Lady Clairol's hairdresser, only the F.B.I. knows for sure how many Communists were there; but among those I spotted were Leroy Wolins, Leon Partnoy, Mike Eisencher, Professor Tom Foley, Carl Braden, Rose Chernin, Sam Gold, Don Hammerquist, John Abt, Elizabeth Barnes, Lulu Saffold, Alfred McPherson, Ishmael Florey, Lou Diskin, Dutch Wagner, Joe Brandt, Dorothy Hayes, Richard Criley, the "Reverend" William T. Baird, Jack Kling, Jesse Prosten, Don Healey, Steve Murdock, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, Don Rothenberg, Stu Albert, Danny Queen, Fred Halstead, and Paul Boutelle.

Another Communist, David S. Canter, edits the N.C.N.P. newspaper and was in charge of Press relations for the Convention. Canter's father was one of the founders of the Communist Party in Russia and David was born and spent many years there. He is associated with the National Lawyers Guild and claims to be an attorney for the National Education Association and for Robert and Teddy Kennedy.

The literature room at the Convention was in the competent hands of Lou Diskin, a Communist who runs the Modern Bookshop, the Communist Party's Chicago book store. In addition to the Communist Party, U.S.A., there were various other revolutionary groups peddling literature in the room, includ-



Dorothy Ray Healey smiles over author's shoulder.

ing the Marxist Students for a Democratic Society, whose members are openly solicited by the government for federal careers. The sign over the S.D.S. booth said: "Revolutionary Literature here — Marx, Che [Guevara], Lenin, Trotsky, and Malcolm X." Besides the works of the above mentioned worthies, S.D.S. was also hawking pamphlets by Stokely Carmichael, the latest English edition of Castro's propaganda papers, and reports from North Vietnam by *New York Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury.

Curious to learn the attitude of non-Communist delegates toward Communist "participation" in the Convention, I asked a number about it. Most often the answer was: "Sure there are Communists here. So what? There aren't many of them, and anyone who wants to participate is welcome." Another standard reply was: "The Communists haven't successfully organized anything since the Thirties." A third variation on the same theme came from a reporter for United Press International: "The

Communists are all old men and the kids are after something different."

Since a good ninety percent of the literature on sale, or being handed out in the foyer, was openly Communist, one would expect that it might have dawned on at least a few of these people that the Communists were deeply involved. The harsh fact is that most of the "Liberals" just didn't care; they are really quite comfortable working with the Communists. Gus Hall has said that there are a hundred thousand "state of mind Communists" in America. A couple of thousand of them came to Chicago for this Convention.

IV

"LIBERALS," of course, came believing they were going to nominate Martin Luther King and Benjamin Spock, respectively, for President and Vice President of the United States. The King crossed them up by announcing shortly before his arrival in Chicago to give the Convention's keynote address that he would not be a candidate. Why he did this is open to speculation. One clue was contained in a recent *Allen-Scott Report* which noted that the House Appropriations Subcommittee has revealed:

The F.B.I. has unimpeachable evidence, including photographs, showing that King is now listening to a man who was clearly more interested in destroying the United States than in the plight of the Negro or the war-weary people of Vietnam.

According to the Subcommittee, the F.B.I. has proof that this advisor has been one of the Communist Party's most effective money raisers. The nameless advisor is credited with drafting King's statement describing Congress as "wild with racism," and calling the United States "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today." King's Communist *éminence gris* must also have writ-

ten his speech for the New Politics Convention, delivered at the ancient and decaying Chicago Coliseum. Martin Luther King was certainly in form. The audience broke into a hurricane of applause when he declared:

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wombs of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. . . . We in the West must support these revolutions . . . a morbid fear of Communism [has made Americans] the arch anti-revolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit. Communism is a judgment of our failure. . . .

That, ladies and gentlemen, is about as blatant a display of Communist propaganda and dialectics as you will ever see. But King was not through with his pious offerings to Marx:

We have deluded ourselves into believing the myth that capitalism grew and prospered out of this Protestant ethic of hard work and sacrifices. The fact is that capitalism was built on the exploitation and suffering of black slaves and continues to thrive on the exploitation of the poor—both black and white. . . . The way to end poverty is to end the exploitation of the poor, ensure them a fair share of the government's services and the nation's natural resources. . . .

We must recognize that the problems of neither racial nor economic injustice can be solved without a radical redistribution of political and economic power.

All of this, mind you, comes from a simple Protestant pastor who recently

moved into a \$75,000 mansion. Instead of a Nobel Peace Prize, he should have received the Hypocrite of the Year Award. Martin Luther King is right out of *Animal Farm*, George Orwell's satiric classic in which "all animals are equal but some are more equal than others."

Standing next to the speaker's stand as King spoke, I got yet another Orwellian glimpse. The Big Brother of "non-violent" revolution was wearing elevator shoes!

While King's speech was militant, he assiduously avoided references to political activities and the 1968 elections. Many had journeyed to Chicago to nominate a King-Spock ticket, but after the King's keynote speech the subject was buried. Only the Communists, who had from the beginning promoted the notion, could have killed it.

The crowd at the Coliseum was not too disappointed, however. King had, to their taste, been splendid. And so had master of ceremonies Ossie Davis, formerly of the Maoists' *Liberator* maga-



Castroite Reies Tijerina (L.) listens to M. L. King.



Communist Hunter Pitts O'Dell (former King aide), Lincoln Lynch of C.O.R.E., King aide James Bevel.

zine; and guest of honor Reies Tijerina,* the Castroite felon who had recently led a paramilitary insurrection in New Mexico; and Julian Bond, the Vietnik Legislator from Georgia who screamed into the microphone: "We say the old politicians can ram it!" They had cheered Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace as she attacked "the capitalist class" and declared, "We must become the threat the capitalists fear"—and, they had given her one of the biggest hands of the night when she explained that her colleague, Dagmar Wilson, was in Hanoi doing good deeds for Ho chi Minh.

No, the crowd was not too disappointed.

V

THE NEXT DAY, Friday, parliamentary proceedings were officially opened on the fourth floor of the Palmer House. The ballroom convention hall was decorated with banners declaring: "Don't Mourn for America—Organize!" and "Immediate Withdrawal from Viet-

nam!" and "Full Support for Black Liberation!" As I stood waiting for the opening gavel, a female approached me, "collecting money for starving children in Mississippi." When I asked for names and addresses so that I might help, she explained they were starving for things other than food.

Reporters were there from all over the country, as well as representatives from *Tass* and other Iron Curtain news services. The Convention staff scurried about them passing out mimeographed materials. Clark Kissinger, a former official of the Marxist S.D.S., referred affectionately to the operators of the Convention's mimeograph machines as "Heroes of the Revolution."

Nowhere in the convention hall was there an American flag, and there never was a prayer or benediction. When the session opened, the moderator bowed his head mockingly before the micro-

*On September tenth, Tijerina announced the coalition of his revolutionary Alianza with the Black Muslims. See *American Opinion*, October, 1967.

phone and intoned: "Don't say anything you don't want reported to J. Edgar Hoover."

Friday afternoon featured a double-header, with Dr. Spock and Floyd McKissick taking turns at denouncing the United States in what seemed an absurdity contest.

Spock's speech was essentially a rehash of Gus Hall's booklet, *Which Way America*. Like every other speaker at the Convention,* pediatrician-agitator Spock eulogized the burnings of Newark and Detroit and equated law and order with racism. "White people," he whooped, "have no moral right whatsoever to condemn the Negroes whose anger has boiled over in the ghettos." If Dr. Spock were to apply such reasoning in his baby books, he would be recommending that should a self-righteously angry Junior salt Papa's porridge with prussic acid, Mama ought to raise his allowance.

The crowd loved it.

As Benjamin Spock concluded, the convention hall was invaded by two-hundred Black Nationalists who marched in solemn ranks surrounding Floyd McKissick as the C.O.R.E. leader strutted to the speakers' rostrum. While McKissick lectured he was flanked by two of his lieutenants, both reportedly armed at all times. One wore an army-surplus desert jacket. The other was garbed in flowing African robes and waved his arms in a sweeping gesture whenever he felt the crowd had sufficiently cheered his master's Voodoo.

Except for the incredible costuming, which was terribly reminiscent of *Tarzan and the Cannibals*, the scene reminded me of nothing quite so much as films of a Nazi rally, with Hitler's White Power boys preaching National Socialism and racial hatred. Black Nationalists are the Black Nazis—but the white "Liberals" love them.

Like King and Spock, McKissick called for redistributing the wealth and spoke of the evil "twins of capitalism



One of many such posters on display at N.C.N.P.

and racism." The C.O.R.E. leader then called for the ancient Communist scheme of political separatism, arguing that Blacks† face different problems than white radicals. Blacks, McKissick screamed, are enmeshed in a struggle for "survival," and "concentration camps" have already been made ready for Negro inmates. The next day at a press conference McKissick, who hasn't smiled since the last President of Nigeria was eaten by his constituents, was asked to specify the location of those "concentration camps." His answer was an evasive reference to the internment

*Typical of the more gentle stands taken was that of Norman Thomas' Independent Socialists: "Armed defense would be a crucial aspect of such a movement, for it would allow men and successful struggles within the ghetto. For example: In the past, rent strikes have not usually been successful because the slum lords could rely on the judges and police to order and enforce eviction. A powerful Black movement could commit itself to defending rent strikes from the police in a variety of ways, even possibly burning down buildings where the police were effective in enforcing evictions."

†The hard-line Negro revolutionaries now describe themselves as *Blacks* and use the word *Negro* as a term of opprobrium.

camps used for Japanese Americans during World War II.

VI

FRIDAY NIGHT the National Conference for New Politics convened to decide whether or not to run political candidates in 1968. The delegates were divided into three groups: those who favored the formation of a full-blown Third Party of the Left, entering candidates at all levels; advocates of a third ticket, which would not be a Party but would run candidates for President and Vice President only; and, those who felt that the time, effort, and money should be spent on local organizing, attempting to build the movement. The older, independent radicals tended to favor the Third Party; the Communists and their parrot DuBois Clubbers wanted to keep the way open for a third ticket; and, the New Left stumped for local organizing.

One cannot fully understand the implications of the N.C.N.P. conference without studying the position and motivation of the Communist Party. Writing in the August 1967 issue of *Political Affairs*, the Communists' official theoretical journal, Gus Hall informed the Comrades that the establishment of a Third Party of the Left is inevitable, but that such an act would be premature now: "Many are not ready to organize a new political party, but they are ready to vote and work for a presidential ticket that is independent of the two party system."

The key to getting people "off the two-party tread-mill," according to Hall, is the New Politics movement. "One of the most realistic and promising national movements for mass independent politics," he explained, "is the coalition of independent grouping gathered together under the designation of the National Conference for New Politics."

The Communists are the only political realists on the Far Left. They real-



A McKissick bodyguard poses for the camera.

ize that a Third Party of the Left now has no chance of being anything more than a lever on the major Parties. They know that Communist successes in this country have come from working inside the Democrat and Republican Parties and influencing them by, as Hall says, "...constantly exert[ing] pressure from the Left." Nonetheless, the Communists would like to create a third force, or a potential third force, to use as a bargaining point with the other Parties. An actual Third Party would be too severe, too final, and too isolating. As the *Chicago Tribune* reported on August 27, 1967:

Arnold Johnson . . . has been conferring with the steering committee of the NCNP. . . . Preliminary sounding has disclosed majority support in the various components of the so-called "new politics" movement for a third party effort in 1968. At the request of the Communist party, however, the steering committee reconsidered the question, at a

meeting attended by Johnson in the Palmer House, July 29 and 30, and agreed on parliamentary maneuvers which are expected to prevent a decision by the convention in favor of a third party campaign.

The political Left wants to stay in the "mainstream," and to play the role of the abused wife who, threatening to go home to mother, packs her bags but somehow never quite gets out the front door. They want Robert Kennedy; but, failing that, a Republican Leftist will do. As a spokesman for the Communist DuBois Club stated the proposition at the Chicago Convention: "The most effective means we have for pressuring the Republicans for a pro-peace, pro-freedom position is to begin now to build a broad dynamic third ticket movement." In their hearts, the Communists undoubtedly prefer John Lindsay; but, from a practical standpoint, there was much talk at the Convention of Charles Percy.

The Third Party idea bit the dust on the first ballot, garnering only ten percent of the votes in spite of the fact that there had been considerable support for it among delegates.* In the balloting between a third ticket and local organizing, community organization won by a margin of only two votes out of the thousands cast. Before the Convention was adjourned a compromise was reached allowing for a third ticket when local groups were interested in selecting candidates: thus, the threat of a third ticket — to be used as blackmail on both the Democrats and the Republicans.

The Comrades were informed privately that a nominating convention would be held within three months to decide whether to run a national third

*Voting was weighed according to the size of the organization a delegate represented. The Communists had carefully inflated the size of the Fronts which they represent to achieve disproportionate voting power.



Communist Gil Green was active at N.C.N.P.

ticket or to settle for individual favorite-son candidates. The N.C.N.P. Executive Board was split into two committees, one to concentrate on electoral politics, the other to organize at the grass roots. Although each committee was composed of six whites and six Negroes, they will be unified only by a common aim; organization will be racially separate. In the meantime, money will be split half and half between political activity and organizing at the grass roots for "creative disorder."

The Far Left's political campaign for 1968 is to be built primarily as a protest against the Vietnam War, now the focal point of most Leftist activity in the country. Needless to say, while the Communists and other Leftists rail against the war, their hierarchy thirsts for its termination as Dean Martin thirsts for a return to Prohibition. If the war ended, the Left would lose its most effective issue since the Depression. As the *Chicago Tribune* of September 3, 1967 reported:

In private conversations, however,

AMERICAN OPINION

the NCNP leaders expressed hope that the war will be continued indefinitely. They say it is aiding the revolutionary cause even more than racial disturbances in this country by imposing a financial burden of twenty-five billion dollars a year upon the United States. They recall Lenin's dictum that the United States someday would be forced to spend itself into a financial crisis which would make it vulnerable to a Communist-led revolution.

Were the war to be ended, the Far Left would have to dredge up another issue—and there is none now on the horizon with a tenth the appeal. "Civil Rights" is dead within the white community, having been taken over lock, stock, and molotov cocktail by the Marxist headhunters of S.N.C.C., C.O.R.E., and R.A.M. But with the Vietnam War the Communists have a persuasive issue with enormous appeal to women (napalmed babies), students (the draft), and to "the poor" (all that

money we are spending could be yours). Meanwhile, Ho chi Minh has us tied down in an Asian land war that is cheap for the Communists and colossally expensive for us. The only realistic alternative for America is to turn the heat on, win the war, and get out. As the *Tribune* pointed out, the men running the N.C.N.P. are well aware of that. It's just that their loyalties are with the other side.

VII

AFTER THE balloting on a political course for 1968, things were just beginning to settle down at the Chicago Convention when the Black Power boys pulled a coup. And it left all "Liberalism" quaking to its collective core. When the likes of Art Buchwald and Max Lerner bark at the Left—as they did over this fiasco—things have come to a pretty pass indeed.

While Whitey was holding general meetings in the huge fourth-floor ballroom of the Palmer House, the Black Nationalists spent the first three days



Floyd McKissick, surrounded by bodyguards, said U.S. Negroes are being put in concentration camps.

boycotting the Convention to hold their own caucus. The excuse for holding a separate Black Caucus was their claim that Blacks were not adequately represented at the Convention.

If you could spread that argument on your grass it would make the lawn green.

The front page of the *New Politics News*, sent out weeks in advance of the Convention, carried a statement signed by eighteen Negro leaders declaring: "The signers of this letter appeal to you as Black activists to attend."*



Communist Carl Braden briefs N.C.N.P. delegate.

to participate were sent to several thousand members of key Negro organizations, as well as to participants in the recent Black Power Conference in Newark, New Jersey. Their arrival at the Palmer House looked like an invasion by the entire army of Nigeria. Nonetheless, they boycotted the Convention for three days; and not until Saturday did the Black Caucus adjourn into the

General Session to present its demands.

So telling were the thirteen demands issued by the Black Caucus that we think it instructive to present their statement in its entirety:

We, as Black people, believe that a United States system that is committed to the practice of genocide, social degradation, the denial of political and cultural self-determination of Black people, cannot reform itself; there must be revolutionary change. Revolutionary change does not mean systematic exclusion of Blacks from the decision-making process as was done here in this convention. This exclusion raises serious doubts that white people are serious about revolutionary change. Therefore, responding to our revolutionary consciousness, we demand that this conference:

1. Respond to the importance of Black participation by regrouping all committees, giving fifty percent representation to Black people.

2. Make the conference slogan not peace and freedom, but freedom and peace.

3. Support the concept of self-determination for Black people.

4. Give total and unquestionable support to all national people's liberation wars in Africa, Asia and Latin America, particularly Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, and Venezuela.

5. Condemn the imperialistic Zionist war; this condemnation does not imply anti-Semitism.

6. Condemn the further disenfranchisement of the people of Harlem and demand the immediate re-seating of Adam C. Powell, the duly elected representative of the Harlem people. Powell must immediately be restored to his former Chairmanship of the House Committee on Health, Education and Welfare.

*Signers included Julian Bond, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Dick Gregory, Floyd McKissick, Al Raby, Mervyn Dymally, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Mark Comfort.

7. Assist indigenous local freedom and political organizations in voter registration, political education, and the election of Black candidates whom Black people select.

8. Give support to Black control of the political, economic, religious, and social institutions in Black communities.

9. Call upon all "so-called" freedom loving white people who wish to strike a blow for humanity to unshackle their minds from old conceptual structures and deal anew with the Twentieth Century facts of Black liberation efforts.

10. Make immediate reparation for the historic, physical, sexual, mental and economic exploitation of Black people.*

11. We strongly suggest that white civilizing committees be established immediately in all white communities to civilize and humanize the savage and beast-like character that runs rampant throughout America, as exemplified by George Lincoln Rockwells and Lyndon Baines Johnson.†

12. Go on record as supporting all resolutions issuing from the recent National Conference on Black Power in Newark, New Jersey.

*Cleveland Robinson was quoted in the *New Politics* as follows: "The black man believes that this nation was stolen from him, over the centuries, and that the white man has done him so much harm that we can never be adequately compensated. But we are prepared to negotiate. We want reparations. We want billions of dollars paid to us as an organized people, not as charity for which we should be grateful, but as a partial return for what is rightfully ours . . . the reparations should provide us with sufficient income to live in comfort and dignity. . . ."

†George Lincoln Rockwell had abruptly stopped running rampant two weeks before the Convention. Apparently, the news had not yet reached the civilizers.

§The almost comic irony of a group of Black revolutionaries, many of whom were dressed in the garb of the African jungles, demanding white civilizing committees was lost on this audience. The Caucus was led by a togaed creature named Barbu.

13. Support the Conyers Bill to rebuild Detroit Black communities destroyed by Gestapo police tactics and Army occupation.

The Black racists gave the conference a simple ultimatum: accept the Black Caucus demands in their entirety, without modification, or face a walkout.

They meant business.

Since about half the audience was Jewish, condemning Israel at this meeting was the equivalent of showing up at a John Birch Society rally and de-



Communist John Abt addresses the N.C.N.P.

manding the deportation of J. Edgar Hoover. That plank swallowed mighty hard; but, nonetheless, it *was* swallowed—along with all the rest of the demands. To hell with democracy! To hell with one man, one vote! Revolutionary, anti-Semitic Blacks with fifteen percent of the delegates got fifty percent of the votes. That's Black Power, Baby. Or maybe it's *black mail*. Either way, the Convention voted by a three to one ratio to accept the incredible demands of the Black Caucus.§

Why, I wanted to know, would even "Liberals" accept such vicious and degrading demands? I began asking delegates their reasons for supporting the Black Caucus. The militant white revolutionaries gave the most plausible answer: The Blacks have the only grass-roots revolutionary movement now in existence and the white radicals, including the Communists, cannot afford to lose them.* As one member of the Communist DuBois Club put it: "You didn't see any whites out burning down the suburbs in Newark or Detroit, did you?"

During the debate, Communist Mike Zagarell explained that the Black Caucus represented a "national group." He contended: "National groups should confront another group on the basis of equality, regardless of the number of people in each group."

The rationalizations of the "Liberals" were incredible: "I didn't care what the demands were," an S.D.S. delegate told us, "the thing was simply a test of our sincerity." A "Liberal" high school teacher from Indiana gushed: "I feel that if we just prove to them that we are sincere they will return the trust and start to exercise responsibility." With supporters like that, the Black Caucus demands could have included a Hip, Hip, Hooray for Dachau, Auschwitz, and Buchenwald—and they would still have passed.

The most typical reaction of the white "Liberal" towards the Black Power take-

*According to the *Chicago Tribune*, a white Chicago teacher representing a women's "peace" group counseled Black Power proponents to "kill as many honkies as you can . . . but not to withdraw from the N.C.N.P."

†Not everyone swallowed the Black Power take-over so readily. Some were dismayed. In the foyer outside the main ballroom a heavy-set woman approached one of the militant Black Nationalists and said, "Look, I've given lots of money to the civil rights movement, I'm a member of C.O.R.E., and I've marched with you in demonstrations. What do you think of me?"

"Lady," he replied, "to me you're just a fat honky Jew!"

over was to rationalize it away in terms of self-guilt—guilt for crimes he never committed. As one delegate told me: "Look, these people have been oppressed by us for four hundred years, and now they want to run something. I think it's the greatest thing that has happened in the U.S. in two hundred years." I didn't see any four-hundred year old Negroes at the Convention; but, with all of those Black Power troops roaming around, I must admit that I felt it intemperate to mention it.

It was frankly unnerving to watch the white radicals stand to cheer each call for the spilling of white blood, especially in view of the fact that the Black Power fanatics, insane with hatred, regard even the people who have done the most to build their movement, the white "Liberals" and radicals, with utter contempt.† But, the Black sadists provoked cheers from the white masochists at every demand for butchering whites. As columnist Mike Royko put it in the *Chicago Daily News*:

The next time there is a "New Politics" convention here, I will make a bundle of money by setting up a stand and selling bull whips. The white liberal intellectuals will buy the bull whips and give them to the Black Power delegates. . . . The Black Power delegates will then beat the white liberal intellectual delegates and make them happy. . . . When a young man in overalls, sunglasses, and sneakers shouts that Whitey must be killed, the white intellectual liberal says, "Look what I have done to you, poor boy. Kill me first!"

The white Mensheviks accepted the domination of the Black Bolsheviks. In the package came an acceptance of the resolutions adopted by the Newark Black Power Conference. I couldn't find anybody on the convention floor



James Forman of the Marxist S.N.C.C. was loudly cheered by N.C.N.P. as he called for white blood.

who had the slightest conception of what was in those Newark resolutions. The Newark Conference condemned Christianity, and the Black Power caucus condemned Israel. Who cares? The peaceniks were asked to support "wars of liberation." Who cares? The New Left, which chats endlessly about America's bankrupt morality, which scribbles thousands of words of self-praise and self-righteousness in hundreds of "underground" papers, showed the world what first-class hypocrites they really are.

Can anyone believe after this that, if the Communists and their Black Nationalists were to come to power, those same "Liberals" would hesitate for a moment to rationalize away firing squads and concentration camps?

VIII

SATURDAY'S Black Power coup was followed on the Sabbath with the arrival of H. "Rap" Brown, one of America's two foremost authorities on matters incendiary. The other one,

Stokely Carmichael, a member of the N.C.N.P.'s national board, was unable to attend the Convention as he was abroad checking out democracy in the lands of Castro and Ho. "Rap" was himself fresh from his triumphant broadcast over Radio Havana. He was eagerly awaited by a Convention where Chairman Brown was referred to with nearly as much reverence as Chairman Mao.

But "Rap" has his pride and dignity, man. He wan't goin' to talk to no crowd that was eighty-five percent honkies, even though many had served jail sentences for their "Civil Rights" activities. The Chairman of the Black Caucus announced to the expectant crowd that Brown refused to address them and would speak that evening to a "Black Only" meeting. That's Black *Apartheid*, Baby. But don't criticize it or you're a honky redneck; and that is almost as bad as being for law and order.

We were soon informed that in Brown's place Mr. James Forman, the Marxist Director of International Affairs

for S.N.C.C., would deign to throw pearls before us honky swine. You may be asking yourself what a "Civil Rights" group is doing with a Director of International Affairs. If so, it can only be because you haven't heard of the Communists' wars of national liberation in which colonial nations are to be freed from the bonds of civilization. James Forman is a warrior in that cause.

Forman and his entourage of flunkies and bodyguards marched quickly into the hall. Whooping like cannibals attacking a missionary's cottage, they



Marxist James Forman; a hairy Gandhi in a toga.

seized the speaker's platform sending moderator Simon Casady and other assorted Whities scurrying for safety. Dressed in a flowing white robe, Forman stared at the crowd like a hairy Gandhi. "We are not Americans, we are Africans . . .," he shouted. "Those of us who have been trained to fight in Vietnam, for example, and do not want to fight and live in this country, may very soon have to form a Black International and return to Africa to fight or die for the liberation of the Mother

Country. Africa is our home! One Africa, One People!"

I wondered how a fellow would say, "Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer!" in Swahili, as the crowd, including the whites, leaped to their feet to cheer.

Next, Forman called for a boycott of new automobiles produced by General Motors. It was to be a protest against G.M. investments in South Africa. A reporter next to me leaned over and whispered, "If this works out, there is going to be one awful demand for second-hand Cadillacs next year."*

I was *not* amused!

Forman—who was, after all, only a guest speaker—soon began asking the crowd to pass resolutions by voice vote in the name of the Convention. Finally a brave little old lady stepped to one of the microphones on the convention floor and demanded to know why Mr. Forman didn't call for a "No" vote on any of his resolutions. He growled back: "This is a dictatorship and I am the dictator."

When several of the delegates booed and hooted, Forman tried to turn the thing into a joke: "Jesus Christ [the only time His name was mentioned during the five day Convention], can't we have a little fun? Because I said I'm the dictator don't take me too seriously. Of course, I don't need to apologize."

Forman then switched his venom to political affairs:

We Blacks, and we alone, have the responsibility to wage our own war of liberation as we see fit. No one, absolutely no one in the world or the

*Later I queried a number of delegates about the G.M. boycott and asked if they were concerned about the tens of thousands of Negroes who would be laid off from their jobs if the boycott were successful. They weren't. The greatest good for the greatest number, and you can't make an omelet without breaking eggs, and all that. Besides, they didn't think Walter Reuther would permit a layoff. And, if he gets his guaranteed annual income, they said, it won't make any difference.

United States, has the right to dictate to us the forms of our struggle. We insist on our right to define the manner in which we will fight our aggressors. It is our right, our responsibility, and anyone who doesn't like it can go to hell. [Standing ovation.]

"The dispossessed must assume direction and give leadership to the New Politics," Forman continued to the cheers of both white and Negro delegates. "If you're not going to support us, you go your merry way, and we're going to liberate you whether you want to be liberated or not."

Lashing out at the Democrat Party, the hysterical S.N.C.C. leader now screamed: "Black Power is a threat to white power. . . . We are prepared to wage a struggle to take that power. . . . We must take the Blacks out of the Democratic Party. . . ."

In closing, Forman reiterated that the war with Whitey was inevitable, and that the Negro faced genocide: "If Johnson is willing to use napalm in Vietnam, you know what he is prepared to do to us niggers in America." This was followed by shouts of *Uhuru* and chant clapping as the Convention erupted into chaotic screaming, stomping, and guttural execrations. A bearded creature in a dirty toga broke out the drums, and the convention floor turned into an African nightmare.

Elsewhere in the hotel, as Black Nationalists exploded from "Rap" Brown's performance, a newspaper photographer was punched and his camera stolen. A second photographer, who was a Convention delegate, was apparently taken for a newsman and beaten also. Further violence was prevented by undercover Negro detectives who hustled the two white men into a nearby room, only to be told by the bloodied delegate that he saw nothing wrong in what happened to him. "They're making a revolution," he said, "everything's fine."

IX

LABOR DAY was devoted to passing the resolutions which had been drawn up in the various caucuses. Most were the standard Leftist line: Be kind to Communism abroad, and copy it at home. There was even a resolution to outlaw advertising, claiming it is responsible for inflation! That one passed unanimously.

There was only one solution to any problem: confiscate someone's property. Does Aunt Hattie in Monkey's Eyebrow, Idaho, have a hangnail? Give her a subsidy. Is there a chap in Denver who doesn't want to work? Give him a guaranteed annual income. Is there a Negro who feels he is the victim of "four hundred years of oppression"? Then he is, of course, entitled to reparations and should not be expected to work for a living. One could hardly wade through the lachrymosity flooding the Palmer House as the resolutions were proposed and unanimously passed. The white "Liberals" were looking at government as if it were a nest hen; the Black Nationalists wanted a capitalist in every pot.

The glamour, however, was gone out of the Convention. The high morale which prevailed among the delegates at the beginning was now gone. By Labor Day afternoon, two thirds of the crowd had evaporated as delegates came out from under the rhetorical ether of the Black Caucus and realized they had been made to look ridiculous. The hardcore revolutionaries stayed to the bitter end, but it was obvious the Convention ended at a low ebb with many disillusioned "Liberals" trying to figure out how they could rationalize their acceptance of such things as that anti-Semitic plank to the folks back home.

The Convention looked to be a clear-cut case of political suicide. Surfaces, however, can be deceiving.

Our contacts inside the N.C.N.P. agree that the Black Caucus was used

by the Communists as a ploy to prevent the Convention from making a definite political commitment to specific candidates on a third ticket at this early date. The ploy was overplayed when the Black Nationalists, drunk with power, went berserk.*

In the coming months, look for the Communist Party to move to strengthen its discipline over the Black Nationalists. Gus Hall recently flew to San Francisco to hold a key meeting for just such a purpose. The Communists face the problem of dealing with and manipulating paranoids and psychotics of their own making. They are playing with a double-edged razor blade; but, alas, they are very nimble.

The typical Black Nationalist is a revolutionary, a Nihilist who thirsts after destruction for destruction's sake. The Black Nationalist knows little of the theory of dialectical materialism; he is an expert on molotov cocktails. Ideology is not his forte; he is only cannon fodder for the Revolution. He scoffs at the idea that he is under the influence of the Russians. The Chinese, maybe yes, but the Russians are just more damn honkies to him. Remember, however, that in Russia it was the Communists who capitalized upon the blind destruction of the Nihilists. The Reds intend to use the Negro revolutionary movement in this country in just that manner.

The Communists know they must have two separate movements within the Negro population in order to make their strategy successful: They must have control of the "non-violent" movement and put it forward to the white

community as the lesser of evil alternatives; when its power is challenged they must then employ commando shock troops to force the schemes of their "non-violent" agents. Right now, the shock troops are the key. The Communists in Chicago would thus have submitted to the Black Nationalists no matter how outrageous their demands were: They simply cannot afford to lose the street guerrillas of the Communist movement. If there were no "Rap" Browns and Stokely Carmichaels, their Martin Luther Kings would be finished. Temporarily, at least, the tail is wagging the dog.

I do not mean to imply that the Communists are not in control of the Black Power movement. Far from it! At the Convention there were hundreds of Blacks wearing red stars, Mao pins, and buttons displaying the likeness of Karl Marx. But, as always, the disciplined leadership is in the minority.

How do you control a group in which advocates of the wildest, most outlandish action get the most support; where anyone trying to bring reason or sanity into play is denounced in maniacal terms as an Uncle Tom? The agent trying to carry Gus Hall's order to his streetbunders has a real problem. So does America! Whether the Black Nationalists follow Gus Hall's plan of controlled burning and selective terrorism, or whether the Mau-Mao faction goes completely berserk and attempts wholesale destruction before the Communist Party is ready — either way — America is in trouble.

With the New Politics Convention, the Left has taken a great step towards isolating itself on an island of revolutionary fanaticism. It must now take steps to reestablish the image of reasonableness. It will, for example, be tougher for the New Left to recruit on campus this fall and not be ridiculed for its absurd performance in Chicago. Certainly it will be tougher for the "Civil

*A Los Angeles Black Nationalist, speaking to a group of white "Liberals" the week following the Convention, told the Whites to sell their homes, liquidate their investments, and turn the money over to the people in Watts, or: "When the revolution comes, you will be the first people we will kill—and we know who you are." As always, the Revolution devours its own children. "Liberals" first!

Rights" movement to raise money after alienating its Jewish contributors who, according to the *New York Times* of September 15, 1967, make up the financial backbone of "Liberal" causes.

Recognizing the image problem, C.B.S. telecast an hour special on the New Left during the week following the New Politics Convention, to assure the public that "the movement is based upon American ideals," and that there was virtually no Marxism nor Communism involved. The program was in essence a recruiting film for the New Left, badly needed to refurbish a crumbling image nearly finished at Chicago.

In what was certainly one of the most dishonest documentaries in the sordid history of television, C.B.S. did everything possible to not only whitewash the New Left but to cover up the schisms resulting from the N.C.N.P. Convention. Hopefully, this propaganda was so blatant that it will backfire in the same way as the Black Power takeover.*

On the plus side of the Convention, from the Communist viewpoint, was the successful gathering of so many different groups from which to mold their political United Front. N.C.N.P. now has an enormous mailing list which it will attempt to use in coordinating its "creative disorder." The next test will come in its ability to turn out large numbers for the invasion of the Pentagon on October 21, 1967, as part of the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Russia's October Revolution. It is to be a "black and white together" operation headed by "Rap" Brown (if he is out of jail) and Jerry Rubin, the Castro-trained Berkeley midget who uses hair spray to affect his Karl Marx hair-do.

*Originally Phillip Abbott Luce, a defector from the Communists' Progressive Labor Party, was scheduled as part of the C.B.S. special, but apparently Luce revealed too much of the real background of the characters C.B.S. was presenting as harmless idealists: Phillip Luce's segment was deleted so that there was not a discouraging word about the juvenile Marxists.

Meanwhile, it's back to the boards for the community organizers, preparing new revolutionaries for sit-ins, rent strikes, burn-ups, and the like, confident in the knowledge that though they walk through the alley of the shadow, Walter Reuther is always with them. And, after all, Walter learned his "community organizing" at the free university of Gorki, class of '35.

Funny thing, too. A recent *Allen-Scott Report* reveals that Walter Reuther plans to form:

... a new political coalition with militant civil rights, peace, student and welfare groups to influence the 1968 presidential election. . . . UAW associates say Reuther, who is de-committing himself from President Johnson, is firmly convinced the time will be ripe before the end of 1967 for him to lead the big union into this coalition. With the new coalition Reuther believes he can force the 1968 presidential campaign to revolve around the Vietnam-welfare issues, which he contends will attract a 'third party' candidate of national stature. Sen. Robert Kennedy . . . is Reuther's personal choice to head up the proposed new "Peace and Prosperity" Party.

How about that! Isn't that a dandy coincidence? Of course, Reuther ignored in coincidences at Gorki U.

The N.C.N.P. will most likely be reunited and given a transfusion from the U.A.W. which, combined with incoming cash from the foundations and the War on Poverty, may yet successfully patch together the Communists' "coalition of the poor." Who knows, it may be Robert Kennedy for President in 1968, after all.

You'll have to admit that if that happens there will, at least, be a whale of a lot of activity in government bonds. Selling them! ■ ■