

THE MILITANT

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Viet Vote in Wisc. Slated for April 2

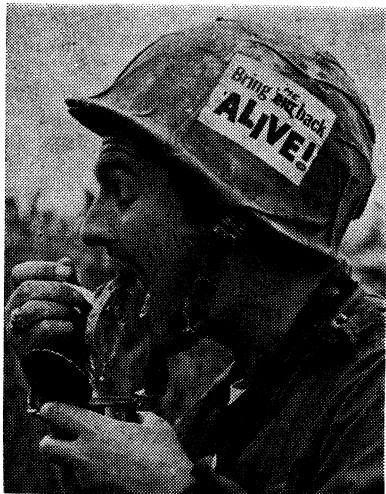
MADISON, March 24 — "In one week, residents of Madison will have a chance to vote directly on the war — for staying in or getting out," Bob Wilkinson, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Wisconsin, stated today.

"A big Yes vote on question 8, for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops, will be an unequivocal answer to the bipartisan war makers," Wilkinson continued. "It will carry a lot more weight than the rigged polls and votes for 'peace' candidates with vague positions on the war."

Bob Wilkinson is a veteran of the Vietnam war, a leading antiwar activist, and the present chairman of the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

As the movement for the April 2 antiwar referendum enters its last week, supporters have an optimistic outlook. Plans are set for a citywide mobilization on March 30 to distribute leaflets calling for a Yes vote.

Meanwhile the right wing is pulling out all the stops to defeat the referendum. Anthony Caserta, national commander of the American Veterans of World War II and Korea (AMVETS), has been imported to lead a vicious, red-baiting campaign claiming that the Madison Veterans for Peace — which Wilkinson helped to found — are not "true veterans."



This nonresident of Wisconsin said the referendum was organized by "communist-oriented . . . outsiders."

Caserta, who blew in from Alliance, Ohio, admitted that many members of the Madison community support the referendum, but that was only because most of them have sons or other relatives about to be drafted. "They could be swayed very easily," he stated. The "imported organizers were brainwashing the Madison public."

Among those urging a Yes vote is Wisconsin "dove" congressman Robert Kastenmeier.

Socialist Campaigns Set In Michigan, Minnesota

DETROIT, March 22 — The Socialist Workers Party announced a full slate of candidates for the November elections in a press conference here yesterday.

Frank Lovell, Michigan state chairman of the SWP, declared that the candidates will campaign throughout the state in support of the Vietnamese and black revolutions and in favor of immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and black control of the black community.

In addition to Lovell, who is running for Congress in the 12th district, the announced candidates were: Evelyn Kirsch and Joseph Sanders, Wayne State University students active in antiwar work there, for WSU Board of Governors;

Other Offices

Helen Schiff, a former student at Berkeley and the University of Wisconsin, for University of Michigan Board of Regents; Linda Belisle and George Bouse, Detroit-area schoolteachers, for University of Michigan Regent and Michigan State University Trustee, respectively;

James Griffin, a young auto worker and antiwar activist, for Congress, 17th district; Henry Austin, a steelworker and experienced labor spokesman, for Congress, 16th district; Sarah Lovell, member of the Detroit Typographical Union, 18th district; and John Belisle, United Auto Worker

member from the Ford Rouge Plant, 2nd district.

In Wayne County, former SWP candidate for attorney general, Robert Fink, for sheriff; Edith Gbur, Michigan secretary of the Alexander Defense Committee, for county clerk; and Edward D'Angelo, campaign fund-raising chairman, for auditor.

Evelyn Sell and Ellen Robinson are candidates for openings in the state Board of Education.

The press conference was attended by two television stations, the Associated Press and four local radio stations. (Detroit's major newspapers are still on strike.) Most of the candidates are available for speaking engagements.

The Michigan SWP Campaign Committee has offices at 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201, phone TE 1-6135.

MINNEAPOLIS—Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Vice President, announced here March 19 that David Thorstad would be the SWP candidate for Congress in the Minnesota 5th Congressional district.

Thorstad, 26, is a native of Thief River Falls, Minn. From February to August 1967, he was a member of the Paris Secretariat of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal which investigated Washington's war atrocities in Vietnam.

War Protests Planned Nationwide, April 27

MARCH 27 — Massive antiwar demonstrations for April 27 have now been announced for the seven largest cities in the nation and at least eight other cities. The big seven are New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco and Boston.

Demonstrations are also planned for Washington D.C., Minneapolis, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Austin, Seattle and Newburgh, N.Y. Many other actions are expected in cities throughout the country and internationally.

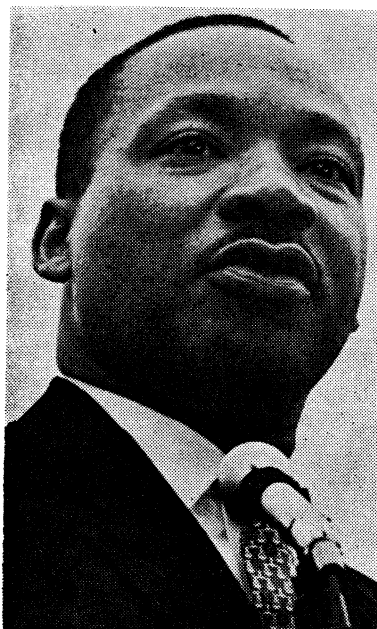
The New York protest will include twin parades down Fifth Avenue on one side of Central Park and Central Park West on the other side. It will culminate with a giant rally in the park on Sheep Meadow.

Martin Luther King, Dick Gregory and Jean-Paul Sartre are among those who have already agreed to address the rally.

The rally is being planned to provide entertainment as well as speech-making. Art D'Lugoff of the Village Gate is arranging for the top names in show business to perform, and singer Janis Ian has already planned to appear.

The New York action one month from today is sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, a broad coalition of peace, community, political and religious groups.

The "Parade Committee" was in-



Dr. Martin Luther King

strumental in organizing the half-million strong antiwar march to the UN on April 15 last year, the largest war protest in U.S. history.

The two simultaneous parades this year are designed to enable the marchers to reach the rally within a reasonable amount of time. Last year the parade was so

large that many persons never reached the UN rally.

Although this year's New York march is local, while the April 15 mobilization last year was national, there is every reason to expect a massive turnout. Opposition to the war in all strata of the population is considerably deeper.

According to the most recent Louis Harris poll, "For the first time since the United States became heavily engaged in the war in Vietnam, the American people's confidence in this country's ability to handle the situation there by military means has sharply declined."

In a survey of "basic support to war policy," Harris concluded that this had dropped from 70 percent in February 1967 to only 54 percent this month. "By 52 to 31 percent the people are opposed to sending another 100,000 U.S. troops to Vietnam."

If even a small fraction of those who oppose the war can be brought out April 27, the sum total participating in the cities across the nation will be in the millions.

Jean-Paul Sartre's willingness to speak at the rally is a symbol of the international scope of the protests planned for the "April Days." Sartre's ability to come to New York, however, is conditional on an improvement in his arthritic condition.



Jean-Paul Sartre

Black GIs Fed Up

Elizabeth Barnes

Recently the press has published a whole series of letters from black GIs in Vietnam showing that they are fed up with the racism practiced on the battlefield.

One of the most recent came from Barry Wright, a GI who only two years ago made the newspapers during a black rebellion in Chicago when he advocated that black GIs adopt the slogan, "Build Not Burn." Now he is in Vietnam, and his mother, who recently received a tape-recorded letter from him, says, "He's a different man . . .

he doesn't want to remember that slogan."

Wright was especially angered by the attempts of white soldiers to spread racist ideas among the Vietnamese. "Whitey has lost no time in teaching the Vietnamese to hate Negroes," he said in his taped message. "Although they can't speak English, they can say nigger quite clearly."

"In the villages and bars and restaurants run by Vietnamese, people are reluctant to serve Negroes and do not attempt to hide (Continued on Page 3)

April Days of Protest

Nat'l Roundup On CHOICE 68

In the past week the Socialist Workers campaign office has received requests for literature and speakers from over 80 colleges and universities participating in the national campus referendum CHOICE 68. In almost every letter the CHOICE 68 coordinator has indicated his intention to provide every candidate with an equal opportunity to present his views to the student body.

The campaign committee has already sent out over 6,000 pieces of campaign literature (that's over 300 pounds worth!) to these schools.

An example of the letters coming in from CHOICE 68 coordinators is this one from Golden, Colo.: "I am in charge of the Halstead for President committee on the campus of the Colorado School of Mines. We need campaign literature, information, and posters. . . With this material we will be able to print and distribute any (Continued on Page 3)

STUDENTS:

Vote!

April 24

STUDENTS:

Strike!

April 26

EVERYONE:

March!

April 27

To Bring the GIs Home Now!

International Student Strike

MARCH 26 — The Student Mobilization Committee reports that letters of support and requests for additional information about the April 26 international student strike are pouring into the New York office from all over the world and from numerous high schools as well as university campuses.

A telegram from the Zengakuren, Japan's large and militant student organization, states "Support your calling April 26 strike. Zengakuren rally for it planned March 28."

A Belgian participant in the February 18 West Berlin international march against the war writes: "Our demonstration was a big success . . . Thank you for the buttons — many demonstrators asked for them . . . We hope April will be even more successful . . ."

From Hewlett Harbor, N.Y., the (Continued on Page 6)

NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Steelworkers Convention

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., March 20 — The Special Convention of the United Steelworkers of America, held here today for the sole purpose of increasing the dues and establishing a "strike and defense fund," was ordered by the International Executive Board's meeting of Jan. 16, 1968. Between that date and the convention, resistance to the IEB proposals had been growing. The larger, more militant locals, representing the basic foundation of this million-member international union, had instructed their delegates to vote down the change advocated by the top officers.

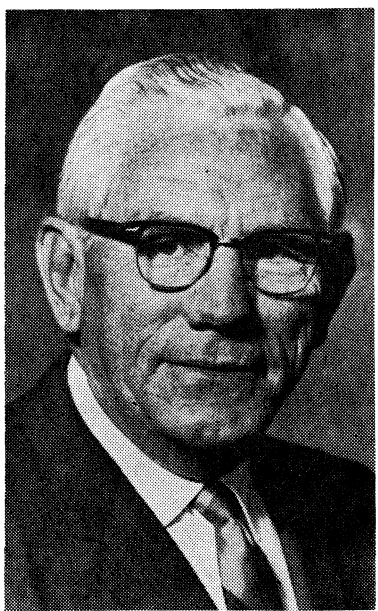
The officials attempted to restrict the discussion to finances. The delegates, however, insisted upon expressing their grievances against the international leadership because of its failure to "provide effective representation against the steel companies."

At the hotel and in front of the convention hall, groups of delegates took signed pledges to support rollcall voting. Delegates from the larger locals each represented 1,000 members, from the smaller only a few hundred. Without a roll-call vote the larger locals would be disfranchised. The 11 delegates from Aliquippa, Pa., Local 1211, with 11,000 members, distributed a leaflet requesting the IEB to submit their proposed financial changes to the membership.

Staff Should Leave

Delegates from Locals 2227 and 5370, in the first motion of the convention, called for staff members on the union payroll to leave the convention hall. The basis for the motion was that the question of a dues increase represents a conflict of interest between those paying dues and those whose income comes from dues payments. The motion carried in a voice vote recognized by Chairman (Secretary-Treasurer) Burke.

However, the motion was ignored by the officials. Later, when a delegate rose to question Chairman I. W. Abel as to why the motion to absent the staff was not being carried out, Abel simply brushed it aside with the com-



I. W. ABEL, Steelworkers chief felt the heat from delegates at recent convention.

ment, "The staff members are not outlaws." Other delegates rose to complain that while their locals had voted to oppose the IEB proposals, staff members delegated by these locals were unprecedentedly violating these local mandates by voting in favor of the IEB.

The distrust of the delegates was again revealed when they objected to the way the rules of the convention were presented. One after another they rose to demand that the rules be printed and distributed to permit study before the vote. The chairman of the rules committee indignantly sought to disparage the opposition by pointing out that, except for the order of business, the rules were identical with those of previous conventions, and that he had been a member for 35 years and chairman of the rules committee continually since 1947.

Not "Big People"

A young black delegate from Local 1010 (Indiana Harbor) immediately followed this with the comment, "Some of us have not been around for 35 years, are not 'big people' and can't go by what has been done by other conventions but must answer to our membership about this particular convention." Abel then promised to distribute printed copies after lunch, but immediately took the vote and declared the rules adopted.

After four delegates had been declared "out of order" for moving for a roll-call vote on the financial resolution as a whole, Chairman Abel finally recognized the motion. He did so immediately after both top officers had made lengthy addresses and before controversial Section 4, dealing with the guts

of the change (the dues increase), had been discussed. In a standing vote it appeared that one-third of the delegates supported the roll-call motion (a 30 percent vote is required). Chairman Abel immediately declared the motion lost and went on to the next point. With many hands waving for the floor, a delegate demanded a recount. Abel's attitude was revealed by his comment just before the vote that he was for democracy "but one must distinguish between democracy and mobocracy." He denied the request for a recount and, amid boos, moved to the next point.

After a lengthy discussion on Section 4, with about 90 percent of the speakers opposed to its dues-increase provision, Chairman Burke listened to the resounding voice vote against its adoption and then meekly declared, "The ayes seem to have it."

In the face of loud opposition, a standing vote was permitted. The chair immediately ruled in favor of the IEB without benefit of a head count.

Uproar

Loud NO's rose from the floor. Groups of delegates could be seen in discussion around each of the 10 or more microphones spread over the great convention floor, angrily waving for recognition.

Then a delegate representing 8,000 members of Local 2605 challenged the vote and demanded a roll call on Section 4. The chair denied this, citing the previous ruling of the chair against the previous roll-call vote.

Another delegate then attempted to correct the chair, stating that the previous vote applied to the package as a whole and not to the separate sections. This was rejected by the chair; but the opposition by now was intransigently hostile.

Chairman Burke vainly tried to "get on course" but the next speaker from the floor challenged the chair and appealed to the membership. Vice President Molony took the chair, called for a voice vote on Sections 4, 5, 6 and 7, declaring them all carried and permitting little or no discussion, despite NO votes that sounded as loud as AYE votes.

Every section of the IEB resolution faced loud opposition. The hardened hostility generated by the conduct of the officials was reflected by Chairman Abel who protested toward the end: "Can't we at least have a unanimous vote on this section inasmuch as it is taken without change from the existing constitution?" And, again, appealingly, "We don't have to be torn asunder. This is nothing for us. Our careers are behind us. This is for the union. We need not fight."

How Can I Vote

A delegate from District 31 immediately countered from the floor, "How can I vote when I can't even stand and be counted?"

And a delegate from Local 3672: "I want to go on record as voting against everything that has been brought before this convention."

In face of the continuing demands from the delegates, whose main desire was to get their opposition into the written convention record so that they might be better able to protect their status, Chairman Abel pleaded, "Those who want to make the record of their opposition, please write your point on a piece of paper and pass it up to the podium."

The box score of the discussion from the floor showed that of the total 87 speakers taking the floor, 67 were definitely opposed to the IEB's resolution, 8 had indefinable positions, and only 12 expressed support. The opposition came mostly from the larger locals and from the relatively younger delegates, both white and black.

—Howard Mayhew

'House Negro' Stars In Riot Panel Report

By Dick Roberts

[This is the third of a series of articles on the "Riot Commission Report." The previous articles dealt with the emphasis in the report on the essential role of the police force to maintain capitalist "law and order" in the ghetto.]

Second only to the police, a new hero of "law and order" emerges in President Johnson's riot commission report. He is the "counter-rioter." Malcolm X described this phenomenon in his famous "Message to the Grass Roots" given in November 1963:

"You have to go back to what the young brother here referred to as the house Negro and the field Negro back during slavery . . . The house Negroes . . . would give their life to save the master's house — quicker than the master would . . ."

"If the master's house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would . . ."

"The field Negro was beaten from morning to night; he lived in a shack, in a hut; he wore old, castoff clothes. He hated his master. I say he hated his master. He was intelligent . . . When the house caught on fire, he didn't try to put it out; that field Negro prayed for a wind, for a breeze . . ."

"Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, to keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent." (*Malcolm X Speaks*, pp. 10-12)

Johnson requested the commission to find out "the characteristics — including age, education and job history — of those who rioted and those who did not; the ways in which groups of lawful citizens can be encouraged to help cool the situation." (p. 109)

"Counter-rioters," according to the commission, appeared in most of the uprisings they researched. But the model was in Tampa, Fla., in June of 1967. The Tampa incident was provoked when a white police officer, J.L. Calvert, shot and killed an unarmed Afro-American youth, Martin Chambers.

In Tampa, where blacks comprise 20 percent of the population, "There was no Negro on the city council; none on the school board; none in the fire department; none of high rank on the police force. Six of every 10 houses inhabited by Negroes were unsound," the report admits.

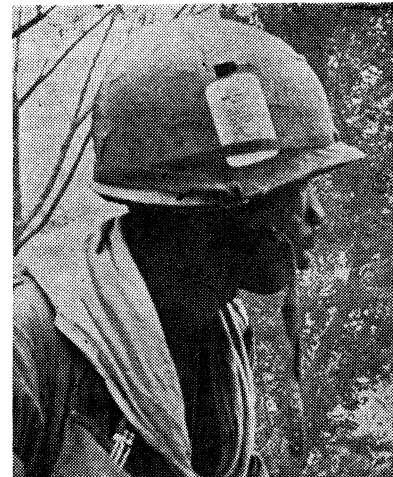
"Many were shacks with broken window panes, gas leaks, and rat holes in the walls. Rents averaged \$50 to \$60 a month. Such recreational facilities as did exist lacked equipment and supervisors." (p. 43)

Nevertheless, according to the report, teams of black youths were organized by three older black "community leaders" to "patrol the streets" and "keep order."

"The concept of the Youth Patrol was expanded. Participants were identified by phosphorescent arm bands, and later by white hats. During the next 24 hours 126 youths, some of whom participated in the riot, were recruited into the patrol. Many were high school dropouts . . ."

"With the verdict that Officer Calvert had fired the shot justifiably and in the line of duty, apprehension rose that trouble would erupt again. The leaders of the Youth Patrol were called in . . . Despite the fact that the verdict was not to their liking, the White Hats continued to keep order." (pp. 46-47)

Were "counter-rioters" usually young, long-time residents of the community? On the contrary.



BLACK GI. High percentage of "rioters" do not feel they should fight for system. Many black GIs beginning to feel same way.

Here is what the commission study found about the "rioters" and "counter-rioters."

"The typical rioter in the summer of 1967 was a Negro, unmarried male between the ages of 15 and 24 . . . He was not a migrant. He was born in the state and was a life-long resident of the city in which the riot took place . . ."

"Although he had not, usually, graduated from high school, he was somewhat better educated than the average inner-city Negro . . . Nevertheless, he was more likely to be working in a menial or low status job as an unskilled laborer . . ."

"He rejects the white bigot's stereotype of the Negro as ignorant and shiftless. He takes great pride in his race and believes that in some respects Negroes are superior to whites . . ."

"He is substantially better informed about politics than Negroes who were not involved in the riots. He is more likely to be actively engaged in civil rights efforts, but is extremely distrustful of the political system and of political leaders.

"The typical counter-rioter, who risked injury and arrest to walk the streets urging rioters to 'cool it,' was an active supporter of existing social institutions. He was, for example, far more likely than either the rioter or the noninvolved to feel that this country is worth defending in a major war [read Vietnam — D.R.] . . ."

"He was considerably better educated and more affluent than either the rioter or the noninvolved. He was somewhat more likely than the rioter . . . to have been a migrant." (pp. 128-129)

"There were no male self-reported counter-rioters in the Detroit survey who earned less than \$5,000 annually." (p. 131)

"Perhaps the most revealing and disturbing measure of the rioters' anger at the social and political system was their response to a question asking whether they thought 'the country was worth fighting for in the event of a major world war.'"

"Of the self-reported rioters, 39.4 percent in Detroit and 52.9 percent in Newark shared the view that it was not . . . Almost none of the self-reported counter-rioters in Detroit — 3.3 percent — agreed with the self-reported rioters." (p. 135)

The contrast speaks volumes. On one side, the "lawless" critic of the racist exploitative capitalist system who sees very little reason why he should fight and die to uphold that system in Vietnam, or in any other imperialist war.

On the other side, the "law-abiding" defender of the system. The one who works for it, who isn't likely to have lived a long time in the ghetto, and who goes capped in his White Hat into the streets to help the police. The riot commission knows its friends from its enemies.

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OUR MAN IN CUBA

Pilot Project in San Andres

By Harry Ring

SAN ANDRES, Cuba — This region of the province of Pinar del Rio is the site of one of Cuba's unique pilot projects. I had first heard of it a year ago when I read a speech by Fidel Castro opening the San Andres school project. But the speech gave only part of the picture of what's happening.

The region of San Andres occupies about 50 square kilometers of a beautiful mountain and valley region. Prior to the revolution, the bulk of the land here was owned by three *latifundistas*. Most of the people were sharecroppers. The exploitation and oppression is said to have been ruthless. Peasants were often evicted from their land and left to go hungry.

The area was one of primitive isolation. There was no electricity in most of the area and, aside from the main highway, no roads. If a child became sick he had to be taken as far as 40 kilometers to the nearest town by mule or carried on a stretcher. "A calf was worth more than a child," commented one farmer.

Yet, after the revolution, counterrevolutionary bands began to function in the mountainside of

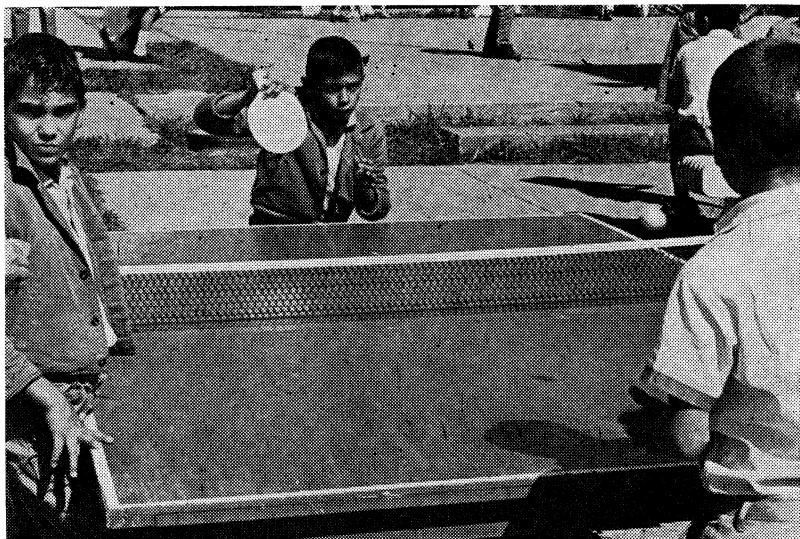


Photo by Harry Ring

AT SAN ANDRES SCHOOL. Project has brought new life to inhabitants.

San Andres, and Rebel Army forces came in and cleaned them out.

As he invariably does when there is such a development, Fidel came to find out why the counterrevolutionary bands began to function in San Andres.

With the revolution, he found, the landless of San Andres were given land, and those who had land that they already cultivated were given title to it. But little had been done either to develop the agricultural facilities of the area or to significantly change the conditions of life of the people. A project was initiated in which the school project, of which I had heard, was but one part.

Proprietors

Although Cuba is working mainly through large state farms to develop its agriculture (only 30 percent of the country's farming is now in private hands), no effort was made to "collectivize" the peasants of San Andres. Instead, their way of life as private proprietors was revolutionized.

The 1,203 families in the area were organized into 23 farm cooperatives, with 55 members in each. There is a tractor for each cooperative. Seed and fertilizer are provided free. Where needed, loans are made on the same interest-free basis as in all of Cuba. A team of agronomists provide technical counsel on cultivation, cattle-breeding, etc.

Through their cooperatives, the people of the area participate in the management of the plan, along with representatives of ANAP, the national association of small farmers. Each farmer continues to own his own piece of land, ranging in size from three-quarters of a caballeria to two caballerias [a caballeria is about 33½ acres].

The main cash crop in the valley is tobacco. In the mountains it's coffee. The government buys the crops at pre-established, stable prices.

Pioneer Spirit

San Andres is now another area of Cuba that suggests the atmosphere of the old pioneering days in the western part of North America — but on a socialist basis.

Roads were built and are being extended. Electricity was brought in. The worst homes were torn down and replaced. There is now a hospital staffed by a doctor, a midwife, two nurses and two social workers. Where previously there had been two schools in the area there are now 22, and more are being planned.

In the valley is the central school project. Ranging from the equivalent of the first through the ninth grade, it is a boarding school with 450 students. The buildings are ultramodern, the facilities excellent and the grounds beautiful. The students seemed happy and the teachers relaxed.

At the school, Manolo Diaz, 28, president of the municipality of

San Andres, provided facts and figures that brought the project into focus.

He also cleared up a point that I had been curious about since I first heard of San Andres. There are 500 children getting nursery care from the age of 45 days up. I had thought the children were left there by the week, and I had wondered if parents were willing to board so small an infant. It turns out that children in San Andres are accepted for nursery care by the day. Only the older children are boarded from Monday to Friday.

Actually, the nursery plan is even more impressive. There are now five nurseries scattered accessibly throughout the region, and five more will be completed this year.

After being briefed, we piled into a jeep driven by Clemente Gonzales, the local Party secretary. He charged up a freshly bulldozed dirt road that went right up the side of the mountain. Obviously familiar with the terrain, he didn't bother to look at the road but pointed out the coffee and other sights as we bounced onward and upward.

Nursery

We veered off the road onto a level area. There on this once remote hillside sat a nursery that looked like something out of *House and Garden*. Inside, the children were having their afternoon naps, except for one muchacha who awoke cooperatively to pose for pictures.

Up to another small plateau and there were two large buildings. One a central laundry for the area, the other a cafeteria for those working in the fields so they wouldn't have to go home for lunch. The nurseries, the laundry and cafeteria, along with a restaurant in the valley, are intended to free the women of San Andres as much as possible from housework and permit them to participate in the agricultural process. (There's also a new beauty parlor.)

As we bounced further up the mountain, Gonzales pointed to homes that were completely new and modern and others still old. He showed us a large bulldozed area on a plateau and said it would be the site eventually of 1,200 homes that will be constructed in lots of 50. It had been decided, he said, that this was superior to replacing the old homes spread across the area, each isolated from the other.

The peasants of San Andres are secure in the ownership of their land. But the thinking of some has begun to change. In addition to private farms in San Andres, there is now also a good-sized *granja*, or state farm. Employed on it are 50 farmers who decided voluntarily to turn their land over to the state to create the large farm and get with the mainstream of Cuban agriculture.

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Monday, April 1, 1968

New Israeli Aggression

The Zionist rulers of Israel are taking the people of that country deeper and deeper into the morass of a war that in the end they cannot hope to win. The brutal military assault by 15,000 Israeli troops on the Jordanian villages of Karameh and Shune March 20 was so clearly an act of open aggression that the United Nations Security Council was forced to vote unanimously March 24 to condemn Israel's action as a "flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of the cease-fire resolutions."

The justifications for the assault put forward by the Israeli government are particularly odious coming from men who claim to speak in the name of the Jewish people. The idea of "massive retaliation" against a whole people for the acts of resistance of particular individuals or groups against an occupying army horrified the world when Hitler's armies leveled towns such as Lidice.

It is the Israeli occupation of Arab lands that provokes armed resistance. There has never been a military occupation that did not breed resistance, and Israel's posturing as the Washington, D.C., of the Middle East, ready to "send the marines," is not proving to be any exception.

Thousands are joining the resistance movement, led by Al Fatah and other Arab organizations, in the aftermath of the Israeli government's attack. Reports indicate that the engagement of March 20 may have been a military as well as a political defeat for the Zionist forces. Many Israelis outside of the government are reportedly questioning the wisdom of their rulers' course.

Indeed, the policies of Zionist colonialism, acting in close alliance with U.S. imperialism, are leading the Jewish masses of Israel into a fearful trap, fully as dangerous as the terrors they fled to Israel to escape.

...Student Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

message: "I am interested in supporting the April 26 International Student Strike. I am also interested in organizing the strike at my high school, George W. Hewlett High School . . ."

Delano High School, McFarland, Calif.: "There is a group of us . . . who support the call to the April 26 International Student Strike..."

Brooklyn Polytechnic: "Things at Brooklyn Polly are well under way. There is a teach-in scheduled for March 27 . . . A student strike will take place on April 26..."

Duke University, Durham, N.C.: "On March 18 fifteen individuals were arrested on the campus . . . They were . . . protesting the presence of the recruiter from Dow Chemical . . ."

Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas — "I am the organizer and coordinator for a new peace group on the SMU campus, called the Community of Conscience . . . Would you please send all the information available about the activities of the whole week."

The New York address of the Student Mobilization Committee is 17 E. 17th St., N.Y., 10003. Phone, 212-255-0062.

...Black GIs Fed Up

(Continued from Page 1)

the fact that Negroes are not wanted."

Wright said that on his base the Vietnamese civilians were told by white GIs that the black man's skin is "dirt" which would rub off on anyone who touched a black GI. He said they have also been told that the black GIs are "well trained monkeys" whose tails had been cut off so they can wear uniforms.

Other things mentioned by Wright were the racist graffiti such as "Nigger Go Home" which are found on the walls of barracks and washrooms, and the Confederate flags which he says are "flown everywhere."

Wright says, "If something isn't done, there will be a race riot over here in the war zone . . . Racial hatred has grown to the point where we never know whether we will get a bullet in

the head from a Viet Cong or in the back from Whitey."

Last week *The Militant* reported the story of a black lieutenant, Eddie Kitchen, whose mother believes he was killed in Vietnam by white U.S. soldiers during a combat operation. Kitchen wrote home just before his death that he feared reprisals after taking action against the flying of Confederate flags in his unit.

It is clear that many of the white GIs in Vietnam are taking out the frustrations of fighting a losing war on the black GIs. The diary of a black GI reprinted recently in *Look* magazine mentions "the pressure" as a possible reason for the actions of a white sergeant who sometimes is "human" and at other times, "treats us souls like dirt." The diary goes on to say, "These guys bug me more than Charlie. I'm learning one hell of a lesson in here. Whitey's a good teacher."

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L.A. Memorial Meeting Held For Rose Karsner Cannon

By Joel Britton

LOS ANGELES, March 24 — More than one hundred friends and comrades of Rose Karsner Cannon met here today to pay tribute to her life and work. They came from several cities in California and spanned many generations.

The speakers were Tiby Alvin of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party, Jaimey Allen of the Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, and Joseph Hansen of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

Beatrice Hansen, who chaired the meeting, said: "Like us in Los Angeles, comrades and friends of Rose throughout the world have been deeply moved by her death, even though some never had the privilege of meeting her personally." She read cables from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, from the League for Socialist Action in Toronto and Vancouver, and from Trotskyist organizations in England and Italy.

Beatrice Hansen also read telegrams from branches of the Socialist Workers Party and locals of the Young Socialist Alliance, as well as excerpts from messages from dozens of friends of Rose and Jim and figures in the radical movement.

A moving letter was read from Max Shachtman, who recalled the difficult early days of the Trotskyist movement. Although deep political differences had divided them, his respect, admiration and love for Rose still remained.

Party Worker

Tiby Alvin spoke about working with Rose in New York and Los Angeles in the socialist movement. "I worked under her direction on the American Committee for European Workers Relief. I learned to know her as a party worker. She could not tolerate sloppiness, inefficiency or irresponsibility in any aspect of party work. We packed and shipped tons of food and clothing to our European friends, and woe betide any seaman who came through the office, who did not pack a load to carry with him if he was shipping to a European port."

Tiby also pointed to Rose's warm personal qualities. "Rose anticipated the human relationships that would exist under the new order of things when the rule of the jungle will give way to the really human relationships that mankind can achieve.

"In doing so, she set an example for all of us, the finest kind of example of complete devotion to working for the socialist society and determination to live today as we confidently expect those who follow us to live in the future."

Beatrice Hansen told about some of her recent experiences while working and living with Rose and Jim. "I saw the keen interest Rose had each day in what was happening in the world around her. Her constant inquiries about what was going on in the Los Angeles branch, her concern for all her comrades, her deep desire to help out when possible in any way, her interest in the anti-war movement, and in the activities of the youth. She had one regret — that she hadn't been able to meet personally more of the young new comrades whose activities she followed closely and read about in the *Young Socialist*.

"Rose was very pleased when the work began and was completed on the book *Letters from Prison*. When we took her the first copy off the press, she began once again reading the letters that were written to her 24 years ago. She was willing to let us take a brief



Rose Karsner Cannon

rest, but she had begun talking about the next book — the one she wanted most, a collection of speeches by Jim for socialism.

"Rose was a party person in every sense of the word. She participated in the internal struggles of the party, and knew how important the lessons of these struggles are, especially for new comrades. But her real feelings were with the mass movement and taking the cause of socialism to the broadest base possible. That is why she wanted the next book to be *Speeches for Socialism*.

"When we got a copy of Lockwood's book, *Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel*, Rose read it and enjoyed it immensely. Oh, how Rose wanted to go to Cuba."

Jaimey Allen was introduced as one of the active young comrades

who knew Rose. She told of how Rose had made an impact on her from the time she was very young, both personally and politically.

"Rose spent a great deal of time with the young women in the YSA, holding classes and sessions to discuss the nature of this society, how it affected women, and to emphasize the need for education and political understanding. She urged that all young comrades educate themselves as broadly as possible so that they could become complete human beings, more valuable to themselves and more valuable to the movement.

"About a year ago I was at Rose and Jim's with some comrades. Rose was telling us about some of the things she had done as a young girl. How she had heard Eugene Debs. She also told us that she had participated in the suffragette movement, not as a leader, she said, 'But I was always there, and I always marched.' Jim said that he had been trying to think of exactly how to sum up Rose's contributions to the revolutionary movement and that that was it — 'Rose was always there, and Rose always marched.'

"To me, as a young comrade, Rose is an inspiration. For those not so fortunate to have known her, remember that, through her dedication and sacrifice and hard work, she helped to build our party and in so doing she helped to bring us a step closer to the realization of a better life and a better world."

Joseph Hansen gave the final tribute to Rose, setting it in the broad historical context of the past 60 years of wars, revolutions, and economic crises.

World Tributes to Trotskyist Leader

[The following are excerpts from some of the many telegrams and messages in tribute to Rose Karsner Cannon sent to the Los Angeles memorial meeting or to her husband and comrade, James P. Cannon, from all over the world.

[Branches of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance across the country, from Boston to Seattle, sent messages, as did many individuals who had known Rose. There were also messages from Gerry Healy of the British Socialist Labour League, the Spartacist League in the U.S., the Vancouver League for Socialist Action, and the Canadian Young Socialists/Ligue de Jeunes Socialistes.]

We are all saddened by painful blow. We have lost an uncompromising fighter and staunch internationalist. You have lost your closest comrade and partner. We dip our flag in salute.

United Secretariat
Fourth International
Paris, France

... I have never met a comrade who was more entirely devoted and steadfast in the work and fight for the grand cause of socialist freedom, or less concerned about common reward and pompous recognition. And I myself never can and will never want to forget the earliest years of my life when I was warmed by the friendship and the affection and the understanding of Rose and Jim. For me personally it was a harsh hour that tore and kept us apart.

Max Shachtman

The unfortunate news about the passing away of Comrade Rose Karsner Cannon reached here to-

day. Allow me to convey to you, and especially to Comrade James Cannon, my solidarity in your mourning and in saluting the devotion and the example which Comrade Rose has bequeathed to all the youth of the world Trotskyist movement.

Daniel Camejo
Lecumberri Penitentiary
Mexico

How characteristic of Rose that, when our leading comrades were being imprisoned for upholding our convictions, she told the women of the Party and the Party as a whole: "Don't mope while the men are away." That was Rose — not a moper when the going got tough (real tough) but a doer, a thinker, and a firm believer in our victory.

We mourn — but we shall not mope. We honor her memory, her life, and her accomplishments. Her loss means that we must work harder to bring about the victory of the socialist revolution throughout the world...

Larry Siegal
Vincent R. Dunne
Twin Cities SWP

... She was a revolutionary woman, a person who was living proof that the revolution can be "a way of life" — and a good life — for the vanguard, not only of the working class but of a doubly oppressed section of the working class, in capitalist society. She was an example of a truly emancipated woman — so emancipated from petty bourgeois concepts that without making any principled concessions to male chauvinism she could reject letting any bourgeois feminist tendencies interfere with the strategic tasks of reconstructing society to eliminate the material basis for oppression

[The following are excerpts from the speech given by Joseph Hansen to the memorial meeting for Rose Karsner Cannon held in Los Angeles on March 24.]

Rose was won to the socialist movement at the age of 18 during the 1908 presidential campaign. What converted her?

A young person of today, concerned about truth and justice, would find Rose's reasons quite understandable, I think. The America of 1908 was a land of promise and opportunity, a land of freedom and democracy, a haven for the oppressed and persecuted of countries ruled by kings and dictators. America was the hope of humanity. At least that was the way it was pictured by the propagandists, the recruiters of cheap immigrant labor, the professional patriots and Fourth of July orators. The reality in America was somewhat different.

Poverty, hunger, alternating unemployment and backbreaking toil, no social security, lack of educational opportunities, bitter struggle over wages and working conditions, trigger-happy cops, rapacious bosses, sordid and corrupt political machines — all of this compounded and intensified in the ghettos — for the low-level income groups that was the America of 1908. As an immigrant child in New York, Rose knew it first hand.

It was difficult to explain this contradiction between the promises and pretenses of American capitalism and the reality; and it was still more difficult to see how things could be remedied in view of the attitudes of those running the country.

This was precisely where socialism came in. Its explanation of the nature of the economic system

and its evolution and how it would be possible, on the basis of the achievements of capitalist technology and its organization of the economic process, to build a truly free world, a world of abundance and peace and well-being and fraternity among all peoples, was absolutely convincing to Rose.

She never forgot the illumination and expansion of mind and outlook that came when she grasped the socialist message. It was still with her in her last days. She always felt it to be her most elementary duty to pass it on; and she found special pleasure in bringing it to young people.

The socialist movement in the United States when Rose joined it, was in a period of upsurge. It was winning local elections and scoring successes in many areas. The possibility of a socialist victory on a national scale in the relatively near future seemed real. All the theoretical work necessary for an understanding of the nature of the task and what to do about it appeared to have been accomplished. What was required now was action. The slogan popularized by the Cubans today would have been understood to perfection by the militants of 1908: "The duty of a revolutionist is to make the revolution."

There were differences in the American movement at the time on precisely how this was to be done. One wing, reflecting the reformist view advanced in Europe by such figures as Eduard Bernstein, thought it might be accomplished through the ballot. A different wing felt that this was delusory and that what was required was direct action by the workers and farmers. However, the real depth of the difference between the two positions was not widely appreciated or deeply understood.

of women, as well as all other forms of human oppression...

Jean Simon
Cleveland

Rose's death grieves every member of our political committee from the oldest to the youngest with a deep sense of personal loss. As her comrades and associates we know the full value of her work. Although the party is strong because of her contributions for 40 years, it will be the poorer without the presence of her rare personality. At the cornerstone of our movement there will continue to bloom an imperishable Rose.

Political Committee
Socialist Workers Party

... I happen to be one of the comrades of the younger generation who was fortunate enough to know Rose personally. I'll never forget the 75th birthday party we had for you and Rose in Los Angeles at the forum. It was there that I first heard Rose speak directly to the girls in the YSA, encouraging them to educate themselves, to develop themselves as leaders and participate as such in the struggles for socialism. Many times after, Rose spoke to me personally about herself as a woman in the movement and her feelings about our young women revolutionaries.

This was Rose's personal contribution to me as a developing revolutionist...

Evelyn Kirsch
Detroit

We share in your the loss of that exemplary woman, revolutionary Rose.

Ross Dowson
League for Socialist Action/
La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière
Canada

Will you please convey to Jim Cannon and to the comrades of

the Socialist Workers Party the expression of the deep sorrow of the Italian comrades for the death of Comrade Rose Cannon. We shall always remember Comrade Rose as an example of a revolutionary fighter and militant.

Livio Maitan
Italy

... The young socialists of today are able to take part in the new resurgence of the socialist movement in this country because of the hard and determined work that communists such as Rose have carried out in the dedication of their lives to replacing the world capitalist order with the world socialist society.

Young revolutionaries, members of the Young Socialist Alliance, will carry forward the example and tradition that she has left to those of us who have the responsibility to carry out the struggle for a better world.

National Executive Committee
Young Socialist Alliance

... Here in Cuba, with its achievements and problems, I have seen a tremendous verification of our ideas, and I have thought of how much people like Rose contributed to keeping those ideas alive and so uniquely relevant...

Harry Ring
Havana, Cuba

Deepest sympathy to you in our loss of Comrade Rose, a fighter in the movement for world socialism.

Ernest Tate
London, England

I share your sorrow in the loss of Comrade Rose. Her warmth and compassion toward me and my family during the Trials left a lasting impression on me...

Pauline Swanson
Minneapolis

Reality and Do the Best to Change It'



EARLY ISSUES OF MILITANT. Rose Karsner Cannon carried out important organizational work during early, tough years of struggle to build Trotskyist movement.

A common attitude, particularly strong in the IWW, was to discount the importance of theoretical clarity and to insist on the sovereignty of action.

This was the movement in which Rose was formed and it was only later that she came to understand the true importance of theory in advancing revolutionary action. One can easily imagine her in 1908 saying, "Let's get going. What are we waiting for!" and setting an example herself. Conviction and action were always closely associated in Rose's mind, and she rather quickly made her way as an activist, gaining invaluable experience in the broad movement advancing under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs.

What this meant to her can be judged from the fact that on a wall in her home you can still see a framed photograph of Debs, now rather faded, autographed as follows: "For Rose Karsner, my loyal comrade and friend, with affection and devotion. Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, April 20, 1922."

"To Rose with Love"

On the same wall, she kept two other items, a photograph inscribed: "To Rose with love. L. Trotsky, July 25, 1939"; and a message of solidarity and appreciation written in Chinese, sent by Chen Pi-lan and Peng Shu-tse, two of the founders of the Chinese Communist party and of the Chinese section of the Fourth International, to Jim and Rose on the occasion of their 75th birthday celebration.

With her bent for action, her capacity for forming friendships, her preciseness and talent for following through on details, it was completely natural for Rose to be attracted to party-building as such; that is, the recruiting and development of cadres, the operation of the party machinery, the tasks of keeping it functioning and moving, warding off attacks on it, seeking to expand and improve it.

In this field, she first came into national prominence as secretary of *The Masses*. This famous socialist journal, which assembled one of the finest staffs of its kind ever seen in this country, gained wide circulation and influence on the eve of World War I.

She was similarly prominent in activities of this kind in the founding period of the Communist Party — the early twenties — and once again in the Trotskyist movement, which in 1928 lifted the banner of revolutionary socialism that had been dropped by the

Communist Party under the baneful influence of Stalin.

The tortuous movement of history, however, denied Rose the opportunity to fully display her capacities as a party-builder in close contact with the masses. Tasks and responsibilities were imposed on her that required other qualities, particularly the qualities of endurance and steadfastness in adversity.

The first great test came in 1914, six years after she joined the socialist movement. In that year, the warnings of the Marxists about capitalism engendering a world war — an almost unimaginable event in those days — were borne out. For the first time, humanity experienced a conflict of such destructiveness, such brutality and carnage, as to seriously raise the possibility of a decline into barbarism. The war was part of the cost mankind had to pay for delaying the socialist revolution.

World War I

At the same time, Rose saw a revolutionary leadership, which had advocated and fought for socialism as the only possible alternative to capitalism and its wars, collapse in a stunning betrayal. Outstanding figures of the Second International violated all the principles of the class struggle and of internationalism, becoming supporters of their own national bourgeoisie in an imperialist war.

The perspective of an early victory for socialism thus appeared to vanish overnight. At a crucial moment, the masses were left abandoned, without a revolutionary leadership. Those were dark days for the young people who had decided to dedicate their lives to the cause. All the basic premises on which they had made their commitment seemed placed in question. For the first time, the immensity of the problem of constructing a revolutionary leadership was felt in the international socialist movement.

The period of groping and uncertainty was relatively short, however. In 1917 the Russian czar was overthrown and this was followed by the victory of the workers under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

It is difficult for us today to visualize what exultation, what hope and enthusiasm, what a feeling of triumph the Russian revolution of November 1917 aroused among the workers and poverty-stricken masses throughout the world.

The effect among the socialist

cadres was even more pronounced. The success of the Russian workers was taken as a living example of what can be done under correct leadership when the conditions are ripe. The whole Marxist prognosis and program had been confirmed by an actual revolution. This revolution was recognized as the greatest single event in the history of the class struggle up to that time.

Rose's generation not only swung into action as the most ardent defenders of that revolution. They accepted the Bolsheviks as new teachers and leaders. They went to school again, so to speak, in order to assimilate the lessons of the Russian revolution and to adapt and apply them to American conditions.

It now seemed certain that the Russian revolution would be followed shortly by revolutions in other countries, above all in Europe. The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky were of this opinion and the revolutionary socialist cadres everywhere shared their expectations.

Revolutionary Defeats

Revolutionary situations did come about, one after another. Each of them testified to the will of the masses to take the road to socialism. But the great betrayal of the Social Democracy in 1914 was now repeated on a still more colossal scale, owing to the role of the bureaucratic caste that usurped power in the Soviet Union. The Russian revolution was not rapidly extended as anticipated. The actual course of history proved to be far more complex and devious than anyone, even the most farsighted, had imagined.

In the wake of the defeats in Europe, figures like Mussolini, Hitler and Franco rose to power. The fascist horror shattered the working-class organizations in Italy, Germany and Spain, and depressed the masses throughout the world. The threat of a new imperialist conflict grew more and more ominous. A possible invasion placed the fate of the Soviet Union at stake. Worst of all, the corrosion of Stalinism ate ever deeper into the defenses of the Soviet Union, and repeatedly drained away the new forces in other countries that sought to follow the example of the Bolshevik revolution.

To recruit, train and keep together cadres capable of maintaining the principles and program of revolutionary socialism under such

conditions was a task requiring great stamina, self-sacrifice and devotion. Looking back at it now — those decades of isolation, of persecution, of unbridled slander and desperate poverty, it seems a miracle that the Trotskyist movement survived. That it did survive can be credited to the endurance, clear-sightedness and devotion to principles of comrades like Rose, who knew how to stand firm against both Stalinism and imperialism when all other tendencies crumpled or gave way under the pressure.

* * *

Rose reminded me many times of Natalia Trotsky, whom I had the privilege of knowing quite well in the late thirties. Isaac Deutscher made Natalia the heroine of his biography of Leon Trotsky. Deutscher felt unbounded admiration for Natalia's fortitude in the face of immense personal tragedies and for the strength she displayed in upholding Trotsky in the darkest hours of exile, persecution, vilification and the murder of their comrades, friends and even children.

Rose did not have to go through experiences as bitter and as tragic as those that befell Natalia, but she felt the sting of the same blows that struck Natalia, for those blows were directed against the entire Trotskyist movement, being designed to shatter it everywhere and destroy all its cadres; and the victims were Rose's own comrades, too. . . .

Striking Similarity

Besides their remarkable inner strength, the most striking similarity between these two women was their youthfulness of mind and outlook. Both of them retained the mental resilience they had when they first became socialists. World happenings absorbed them. They were alert to the meaning of events. They formed opinions and defended them. Developments in the Trotskyist movement and in the radical movement as a whole were of intense interest to them. Comrades who knew or saw Natalia in the last few years of her life noted that she was still like this. Rose remained youthful to the very end at the age of 78. In fact, in letters to her closest comrades she commented on what a strong contradiction it is to feel that your mind has remained young while your body has become old and subject to all kinds of ailments and weaknesses that seem as if they shouldn't belong to you. . . .

Women like Natalia and Rose are heroines of socialism. It should be noted, however, that neither Natalia nor Rose regarded themselves as heroines or tried to live up to any image of heroism. Both of them were very chary of praise, were ready to suspect anyone who offered it, and were generally embarrassed over it. They preferred the simple respect accorded to all comrades in the movement who carry out their duties.

Among the reasons for this attitude was their feeling of having received more from the socialist movement than they had given to it. They felt deep gratitude for the emancipation they had found in the movement and its ideology.

One of the greatest compensations was the understanding that the period we are living in is among the most fascinating in history. It is an immensely difficult period, of course. Its uncertainties, unrest, crises, dictatorial regimes, mass terror and mass slaughter, wars of mounting horror and threats of worse to come, bring tensions at times to almost unendurable levels. It is an inhuman time from which all of us would like to escape. Many do fall into escapism of one kind or another.

But this is also the period in which the entire era of the division of society into classes is coming to an end. We are close to the transition point between capitalism and the classless society of the future in which the exploitation of man by man will be something known only in the history books — like cannibalism. Every major event in the world affects the timing of the outcome — either delaying or hastening it.

We have reached the point now where all that is really required is determination by a sufficient number of thinking people to face reality and move into action. The role of the party has become truly crucial.

To face reality and do the best you can to change it with the resources at hand — Rose lived by that code. This was one of the main sources of that inner confidence and stability, that independence of mind, so characteristic of her. This was also one of the main sources of her endurance.

How well she has already been vindicated for maintaining that long vigil and holding of the fort!

First of all, in World War II, despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union was victorious over the invading imperialist armies. The first workers' state survived the most terrible of tests and became a fresh source of strength for the world revolution. The USSR now stands as one of the two strongest powers on earth, thanks to its planned economy.

The Soviet victory assured the success of the Chinese revolution and a mighty surge forward throughout the colonial world. The basic relationship of forces between capitalism and revolution shifted in favor of revolution and this shift has become irreversible.

As if to drive the point home, tiny Cuba, only 90 miles from the U.S., overturned capitalism, opening the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere and setting an example for all of Latin America.

Revolutionary Upsurge

The rejuvenation of the world revolution shattered the Stalinist monolith, as the Trotskyist movement had predicted it would. The Khrushchev revelations furthered the process by toppling the cult of Stalin. New revolutionary currents keep appearing. In the Soviet Union itself ferment among the intellectuals is growing and becoming more difficult for the bureaucratic regime to keep bottled up. A similar situation exists in the East European countries.

The Fourth International now has sections, groups or sympathizing parties in some 40 countries.

Grave setbacks, as in Brazil and Indonesia, have occurred, but in the accelerating tempo of events today they were not able to paralyze or reverse the revolutionary trend. The stability of imperialist rule in the colonial world is gone and not even a Johnson can restore it.

Thus in the last three years of her life, Rose was privileged to see the Vietnamese people write one of the brightest pages in the history of colonial struggles for freedom and to see the Vietnamese revolution inspire and set afire a new generation of youth, not least of all in the United States.

At the close of six decades of revolutionary activity, Rose had the privilege of participating in this glorious battle and doing her bit to defend the Vietnamese revolution.

To a fighter like Rose, whose thinking was so highly political, this was life at its keenest — observing events of such immense significance to the fate of humanity and consciously participating in these events on the side of revolution and the future.

Black Liberation Notes

The students at Howard University literally took over the campus March 19-23 in the most successful and well organized demonstration held there yet. For four days and nights, close to 1,000 students occupied the administration building, while hundreds more demonstrated outside.

One newspaperman, impressed by the spirit of the demonstrators, called the take-over a "joyous coup." But, while their morale was high, the students were also serious — and the discipline and tight organization of the demonstration reflected this.

The students who occupied the building were organized into crews to handle food preparation, cleanup, the switchboards, and guards to check people going in and out. Study hours were held. When the demonstrators decided on a policy of no drinking — there was no drinking. Recorded speeches by Malcolm X and LeRoi Jones were played to help pass the time, and the students were awakened at 7:00 in the morning to the music of Aretha Franklin and James Brown.

The head of the Board of Trustees called it "the work of anarchists." On hearing this, a student replied, "There's no anarchy here, there's order and control — only we're in control."

In a compromise agreement with the administration, the demonstrators won their main demand — to let the student government, and not an administration-controlled body, handle the trial of some 39 students who interrupted the school's Charter Day ceremonies in order to present their grievances. In addition, none of the students who took part in the take-over will be punished, and the administration has agreed to set up meetings to discuss other demands, including the establishment of a black-oriented curriculum and the creation of a campus judiciary system controlled by students.

The 2,000 or so demonstrators who formed the core of the protest were supported almost 100 percent by the rest of the student body. When the university closed down the school and demanded

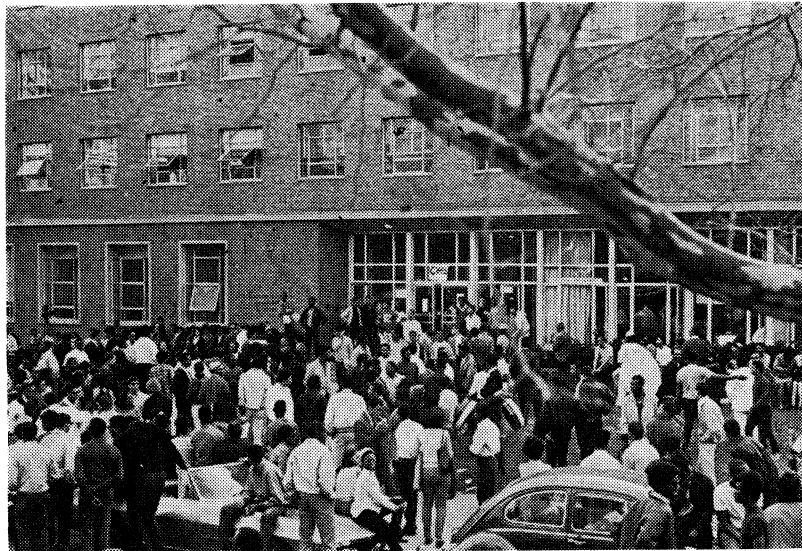


Photo by Joe Miles

STUDENTS TAKE OVER. Howard University students in front of administration building they occupied.

that the students go home, many refused to leave the dorms. The girls in one dorm organized a defense committee to defend their right to stay on campus. Their slogan was, "Nobody Puts Us Out or Locks Us In."

In Macon County, Ala., the state's only black sheriff turned the tables on the white police chief of nearby Notasulga County this month by arresting him on charges of beating a black youth.

According to the March 24 *New York Times*, Sheriff Amerson's arrest caused no "noticeable stir" in the white community. The article also says that Lucius Amerson is breaking other local precedents by advocating that black people run for every office and take over the County, where Afro-Americans outnumber whites.

Amerson is almost certain to be opposed by the conservative Macon County Democratic Club, a black political organization backed by businessmen and faculty members at Tuskegee Institute. The Democratic Club has long supported the idea of a biracial government so as not to "frighten" the white community.

The Chicago Teachers Union has charged that books used in the Chicago school system distort

Afro-American and American history. To prove their point, the union's educational director picked out a series of racist quotations from history textbooks. Here are some samples:

"Many well-known American songs, such as Dixie, Swanee River, Old Black Joe and Oh Susannah, go back to the leisurely days of the South before the Civil War. Plantation owners lived in luxury and peace..."

"The South has changed considerably today, but for many people the memory of a different, older way of life lingers on." (*North American Neighbors*, New Catholic Geography Series.)

"The carpetbaggers were bitterly hated by the rest of the Southern whites, and so, of course, were the scalawags. This was natural because both groups were keeping the loyal Southerners from governing their own states.

"To the Southerners it was like having a neighbor come into one's home and run it without the rightful owner's being able to do a thing to stop him." (*Your Country's Story*, 1953 edition.)

"The leading hater was Thaddeus Stevens, a Pennsylvania Congressman." (*History of Free People*, 1964 edition.)

—Elizabeth Barnes

tour in Eau Claire, Wis., and in Minneapolis, Minn.

The Peace and Freedom Party held a state convention in Richmond, Calif., on March 19, and Socialist Workers campaign supporters came to exchange ideas with the delegates and to let all the delegates know about the socialist, antiwar, and black power

CHOICE 68 is a nationwide campus poll on the presidential elections and the war in Vietnam. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, heads alphabetical list of presidential candidates. Besides presidential vote, there is a referendum on the war in Vietnam, and on the "urban crisis."

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle are urging a vote for Fred Halstead, for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, for a permanent cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam and urges a write-in vote for "Black control of the black community" on the "urban crisis" referendum.

The Halstead-Boutelle campaign now has endorsers from North Dakota. The socialist campaign reached into the state for the first time when Paul Boutelle spoke to students at North Dakota State University in Fargo last week.

The SWP campaign now has a new group of endorsers: American Indians for Halstead and Boutelle. Six American Indians signed up as Halstead-Boutelle supporters during Paul Boutelle's

Case for a Black Party

What is Politics?

By Clifton DeBerry

What is the road to our freedom? How can we reach the black masses? How can they be organized and mobilized to assert their real power?

These are the questions uppermost in the minds of serious Afro-Americans.

I believe the answer to all of these questions is: mobilization of the black community through the organization of an independent black political party.

The idea of such a party is at present advocated by only a few, but it is an idea that is being considered and discussed. Many serious militants raise objections to the idea of an independent black political party, and I would like to discuss some of these objections in this and future articles.

One response I have heard is, "Politics? Why that's Whitey's bag."

This is true if what you mean by politics is supporting the Democratic or Republican parties. These are the parties of the capitalist class that maintains the racist system in this country. Black people are the victims of capitalist politics.

But there is more to politics than capitalist politics, more to politics than the Democrats and Republicans. Politics refers to everything connected with the government — the legislatures, courts, cops, Army and Navy, and all the other branches of government — and also how these bodies behave and whom they serve.

Politics is concerned with the most important questions, questions of government policy and how that policy is carried out. Politics is bread and butter; politics is life and death. Whether you live or die can depend on politics.

It is politics that determines such questions as: Shall antiblack laws be passed, such as the "stop-and-frisk," "no-knock" and "antiriot" laws? What will be the relation between the police and the black community? Shall police be prosecuted for violating the rights of black or Puerto Rican citizens — or will their brutality be denied or winked at? Will the cops and Army and National Guard be used to keep the black community "in its place"?

Shall the national armed forces

be used around the world to stop revolutions by the oppressed in order to keep puppets, dictators and generals in office? Shall black people be drafted and forced to fight against their colored brothers abroad? What kind of foreign policy should we have? Should we be supporting South Africa's apartheid regime?

What kind of schools shall we have? Shall Afro-American history become a part of every school curriculum? How much money will go to schools in the black community? Who will control the schools in the black community?

Shall people be denied the right to vote because they are not white? Shall all segregation laws be abolished — and shall the government use its power to stop all discriminatory practices in society and punish those who attempt to discriminate against black people?

Shall taxes be raised? Shall poll taxes be abolished? Shall the minimum wage be raised to \$3 an hour to meet the high cost of living? Shall more money be spent for better schools, for a crash program for decent low-cost housing, for job training, apprenticeship training and on-the-job training?

All of these issues and many more are certainly relevant to the struggle for Afro-American freedom, and all of these issues are political. They all relate to government. At bottom, they all boil down to what kind of government we have.

Politics is not just a fight to get elected to office, for patronage, or to get on the pie — although that's one feature of Democratic and Republican politics. Political action is a struggle over what kind of government and who controls the government — political action is a struggle to control the destiny of the black community and the nation.

To gain our freedom, to control our own communities and our whole lives, black people must engage in political action. The question is, what kind? And the first thing to decide is who and what we are for and who and what we are against. Next week, I will discuss "political action" in support of the Democratic and Republican parties, and why this kind of political action is wrong and harmful to the struggle of black people.

... CHOICE 68 Referendum on War and Presidency

(Continued from Page 1) additional material that we need.

"The committee was formed in response to the school entering the CHOICE 68 campaign. We do not intend to disband after the election on April 24, but will continue our effort until the national elections in November."

Nine hundred students crowded into the Student Union Hall at Valparaiso University in Indiana March 19 to hear SWP presidential candidate Fred Halstead speak on "Socialism in America." According to a Halstead supporter at the meeting, "So many students couldn't get into the room that it was necessary that a P.A. system be connected to the rest of the Union so that hundreds more could hear in the rest of the building."

After listening to Halstead, students heard a speech by Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party, and then attended a panel discussion at which they could address questions to Halstead or Aptheker. The speeches by Halstead and Aptheker were part of a "Week of Challenge" at Valparaiso, in which various controversial speakers were brought to the campus.

Several Valparaiso students are starting a Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle group. Two of them decided to become electors to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Indiana.

While campaigning in the Midwest, Paul Boutelle was the main speaker at a rally, to demand the release of H. Rap Brown, held in front of the Federal Building in downtown Minneapolis. The rally was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee to Liberate Rap Brown, in response to a request for such actions sent out by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

The Halstead-Boutelle campaign now has endorsers from North Dakota. The socialist campaign reached into the state for the first time when Paul Boutelle spoke to students at North Dakota State University in Fargo last week.

The SWP campaign now has a new group of endorsers: American Indians for Halstead and Boutelle. Six American Indians signed up as Halstead-Boutelle supporters during Paul Boutelle's

campaign of Halstead and Boutelle.

More than \$400 worth of socialist literature and Halstead-Boutelle campaign literature was purchased by the Peace and Freedom delegates during the convention.

An SWP campaign headquarters was set up across the street from the convention, and many delegates dropped over to engage in discussions. About 30 delegates signed up as endorsers of the Socialist Workers campaign.

Fred Halstead converted several Kennedy supporters during a speech to 150-200 students at Georgia State College in downtown Atlanta. The meeting, held March 23, was sponsored by the Committee on Social Issues.

A reception was held for Halstead in Atlanta at which 17 of the 60 people in attendance became endorsers of the Halstead-Boutelle ticket.

Soon after Halstead's arrival, Atlanta was briefly visited by Senator Robert Kennedy. The local press reported that, although both candidates were basing their campaigns largely on the issue of the Vietnam war, the two had decidedly different solutions: while Kennedy only hinted at some vague

negotiated settlement, Halstead called for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

A total of 1,708 signatures, or more than double the 800 required, have been collected in New Jersey to put the Halstead-Boutelle ticket on the ballot in that state. Most of the signatures were obtained on a cold, rainy Saturday in low-income housing projects.

Halstead-Boutelle campaigners reported an excellent response to their appeal to help put candidates on the ballot who stand for bringing the GIs home from Vietnam now. One petitioner reported that only two persons out of the 90 she spoke to declined to sign because of support to the war.

Petitioning is also going forward in Kentucky where bad weather has likewise been a problem. There have been petitioning mobilizations on two weekends. On the first weekend it rained. And the next weekend Kentucky experienced one of the heaviest snowstorms in its history. In spite of the weather 850 signatures out of 1,000 required have already been collected.

—Caroline Lund

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Rose Karsner

Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sorry to hear that Rose Karsner died. It is a great loss to all of us. She was the kind you cannot replace. We all have inherited a great gift in knowing Rose, and should carry on as she would, as a memorial to her.

B. and E.

PFM Convention

Berkeley, Calif.
The California founding convention of the Peace and Freedom Party gave voice to many radical ideas, but at the same time revealed something about the PFM's real character, especially in its choice of candidates to represent it.

The proposed candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party for U.S. Senate is Paul Jacobs, journalist, writer, and infamous for his witch-hunt role in the labor movement

in the 1950s in helping to victimize militant workers and drive "reds" out of the unions. Though he recently "apologized" to the PFM for his past, his opportunism hasn't fooled anyone. Even a moderate trade unionist like Sidney Roger, who is sympathetic to PFM, blasted Jacobs' nomination on radio KPFA the following day. All of PFM's radical labor workshop resolutions cannot help it out of this one.

David Warren

Resistance at Reed

Portland, Ore.
Many of the students graduating from college this spring will be drafted by the end of the summer. We, comprising 66 percent of the male seniors of Reed College, Portland, Oregon, will not serve in the armed forces of the United States.

Our decision is irrevocable. Our consciences do not permit us to participate in this senseless and immoral war.

We are sure that tens of thousands of students throughout the country will join us in resistance.

Gary Achziger, Alan Ackerman [and 67 additional male seniors of Reed College]

Black Education in Philly

Philadelphia, Pa.
The true question is: Are white Americans really an education-minded people when blacks are concerned?

Gratz High School, located in North Philadelphia, has an enrollment of approximately 4,000 in a building designed for 2,600. Its gym is totally inadequate for this population and its athletic program has suffered as a result. The cafeteria was recently remodeled and is still overcrowded. The lack of proper sanitary facilities is a constant sore spot to teachers, children and parents. The lack of sufficient classrooms has forced the school to operate on shifts. The vocational shops are grossly under-equipped and most are operative only on a very limited basis. Building and maintenance shops are completely inoperative.

You wonder how this could go on without the city officials doing something about it. Naturally, the conditions could not prevail without their knowledge. The city officials have been promising to do something about the Gratz problem since 1935.

Their answer was to expand the facilities, add 16 classrooms, a gymnasium and athletic facilities. The money was finally appropriated in 1967 — 32 years later — by the Board of Education and sanctioned by the City Planning Commission.

The site had been selected and all was well until after elections in 1967. Mayor Tate, a white Catholic Democrat, won a smashing victory, and suddenly the City Planning Commission reversed its position on the site.

The Board of Education could use its right of eminent domain and still get the property. For some reason, the Board of Education has been hesitant to do this.

Inhabited by elderly white families are 14 homes which are needed to complete the expansion of

Gratz High School. Homes have been found for these families four blocks from their present residences. However, the families decided they did not wish to move. The Mayor stated publicly that the city would withhold tax appropriations from the Board of Education if it used its right of eminent domain.

Perhaps someone should remind Mayor Tate that over 40,000 black families have been uprooted and not all relocated, just for the expansion of Temple University alone.

The Black Sisters of Philadelphia

New-Old Subscriber

Canton, Mass.
Some years back I used to subscribe to *The Militant*, and I always found it interesting and up-to-the-minute reading, with news not to be found elsewhere.

As the horrible cold war heats up in ominous escalation more and more each day, I want again to keep better abreast of things through the columns of *The Militant*.

E.T.

'Brutally Frank'

Bronx, N. Y.
I am a new subscriber and I would like to congratulate you for printing such a brutally frank and

Thought for the Week

"My position on Vietnam is very simple. And I feel this way. I haven't spoken on it because I haven't felt there was any major contribution that I had to make at the time. I think that our concepts as a nation, and that our actions have not kept pace with the changing conditions. And therefore our actions are not completely relevant today to the realities of the magnitude and the complexity of the problems that we face in this conflict." — Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, "What does that mean, Governor?" — Reporter, From the March 22 Washington Star.

truthful paper. It's really refreshing to know that there are still some intelligent people left in the press who are aware and want to make others aware of what this government is really doing.

A friend who is also a subscriber told me about *The Militant*. He gave me a few back issues, which I read and was almost shocked. I say almost because it's no surprise to find out about the underhanded machinations of this "hypocritical government," to quote my friend.

I am trying to explain to other people that this government deletes much of what is actually happening and much of the truth about what they are really doing in other countries. But unfortunately, there are too many who are brainwashed and too narrow-minded to even listen to the truth. Maybe they're just afraid to learn the truth about the "Great Democ-

racy" or maybe they're too "Americanized."

I just hope that your reporters will continue to give interested individuals the same honest information they are giving them now, and that others will soon see through this phony society and its false prophets.

F.V.

Nearly Brainwashed

Clinton, Mich.
As a high school student who goes to a very capitalistic-minded school and feel that I was on the verge of brainwash, I feel a tendency toward gratitude for *The Militant* which through its publications has combated this filth which was gradually seeping into my life and gave me a different and better outlook on the world and L.B. Johnson's USA — how it is corrupted and how this can be changed.

N.C.

The Great Society

Substitute — A couple of months back we reported on how Chinese pilots said that with Mao's thoughts in their minds they didn't need compasses or radar to enable them to fly, even in clouds or dense fog. Now a Peking newspaper advises farmers to study the works of Chairman Mao instead of relying on fertilizer.

Slanting the News — The same item inadvertently appeared twice in the *New York Times* of March 20—once on page 3 and again on page 30 — but the reader would never know it was word for word the same story if he were just reading headlines. Gist of the item was that a Gallup Poll had found that the proportion of pollees who would "go all-out to win a military victory in Vietnam, using atom bombs" had shown virtually no change over the last 10 months. On page 30 the item was headed, reasonably enough, "Survey Finds No Increase in Number of 'Superhawks.'" On page 3, however, some superhawk headline writer came up with "Poll Finds 27% Favor Atom Arms in Vietnam."

Of Puppets and Puppeteers — Speaking of South Vietnam, noted Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal points out, in his recently published *Asian Drama*, that "the powerful, supporting government easily becomes the hostage of its client and dependent on his precarious circumstances." Or as Malcolm X told a Militant Labor Forum audience in New York on Jan. 7, 1965: "You know, when the puppet starts talking back to the puppeteer, the puppeteer is in bad shape."

Crocodile Tears — At the height of the gold rush, a Zurich banker, who was at the very moment buying gold in London and selling it to clients all over the world, sadly said: "Don't they realize, these people who are buying gold, that they are destroying the whole monetary system of the world?"

Richest City in the World — Patients in New York's municipal hospitals die because, as a result of shortages in equipment, there is such a great delay in making diagnoses. "I hate to think of the number of cancer patients walking around for two or three months before getting an X-ray," a doctor at Metropolitan Hospital

testified. Also: "The outpatient department is so bogged down that many patients don't bother to come back. . . . They enter the hospital via the emergency room months later with extensive metastasis [cancer that has already spread]."

Austerity — A special Air Force plane made a special trip to fly Hubert Humphrey's tuxedo from Washington to Scranton. Cost of "Operation Monkey Suit" was about \$352. Looks like LBJ's call for "austerity" applies only to people who don't have tuxedos.

Stymied — At a recent Washington forum called to discuss what contribution the science of "systems analysis" could make to improve social conditions and effect social change, the assembled mathematicians, economists, and space engineers (who in recent years have revolutionized Defense Department fiscal and research policies) confessed they could handle the "inertness" of complex military machines but not people or their problems. Maybe that's because machines don't demand jobs, housing, and better schools — nor do they fight for human rights.

Individual Enterprise — An investigator for the New York Telephone Company charged that Leonard Hinka threatened to set up "stuffing" schools all over the country to teach others how to rob public phones, if the company didn't pay him \$20,000 (his yearly take) to leave New York. (The name derives from the technique — plastic is "stuffed" into coin-return chutes of pay telephones, and trapped coins are later removed.)

Shoe on Other Foot — Testifying before a Senate subcommittee investigating drug abuse, Vietnam veteran John Steinbeck 4th said that amphetamine ("speed") is officially supplied to GIs there. "The drug is very popular, especially to the combat soldier because it gives him a superhuman amount of energy and in this way it could be said that it is beneficial to him but purely as a fighting machine," said Steinbeck. What will happen now to one of the favorite phrases of prowar journalists — "drug-crazed Vietcong suicide squads?"

—Ruth Porter

Weekly Calendar

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

BOSTON

CONSCIOUSNESS AND POLITICAL ACTION. Speakers: FRED HALSTEAD, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and LOUIS KAMPF, professor of English at MIT. Friday, April 5, 8:15 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

EYEWITNESS IN CUBA. Carl Davidson, interorganizational secretary of SDS, reports on his recent trip to Cuba. Friday, April 5, 8 p.m., 302 S. Canal St., donation 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

AN EVENING WITH PAUL BOU-TELLE, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President. Friday, April 5, 8 p.m., 3737 Woodward Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

REVOLUTIONARY CUBA TODAY. Speaker: Paul Shinoff, just returned from trip to Cuba with SDS group. Friday, April 5, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. Fourth St. Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

CUBA TODAY — AN EYEWITNESS REPORT by Harry Ring, staff writer for *The Militant*, just returned from three months in Cuba. Friday, April 5, 8:30 p.m., 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

THE U.S. DILEMMA IN VIETNAM AND THE 1968 ELECTIONS. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*, managing editor, *International Socialist Review*. Friday, April 5, 8:30 p.m., 686 N. Broad St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

New Readers

If you would like to be sure of receiving every issue containing Harry Ring's special on-the-spot series from Cuba, order an introductory four-month subscription now. In addition, you will receive FREE a copy of the November-December 1967 issue of the *International Socialist Review* containing Fidel Castro's speech at the OLAS conference held in Cuba last summer, and the general declaration issued by OLAS. Send this coupon and \$1 to

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Polish Students Face New Gov't Repression

By George Saunders

With signs of growing support from the working class, Polish students have persisted in their campaign of demonstrations for socialist democracy. The Gomulka regime has responded to the sharpening tremors with punitive measures, such as the dismissal of six leading Warsaw University professors March 25, and with the violence of police clubs and of anti-Semitic vituperation.

In Cracow and Warsaw, students took up the tactic of sit-in strikes after engaging in street demonstrations and boycotts of classes. The sit-in by 5,000 students at the Warsaw Polytechnic School March 21 had the greatest impact, coming as it did in the wake of a speech by Gomulka calling for an end to demonstra-

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, issued a statement March 15 supporting the struggle of the Polish students. The statement declared: "It is an integral part of the worldwide upsurge of revolutionary forces which seek to create a new socialist world by coordinating the struggles against imperialism, capitalism, and the usurpation of power in the workers' states by a privileged bureaucracy." The full text is available from *World Outlook*, P.O. Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010. Cost: 50 cents.

the hour, they faced expulsion from school.

Workers Solidarize

At the March 20 meeting where the Polytechnic students voted to strike, a message from workers at a rolling-stock plant in Wroclaw was read expressing solidarity with student demands. During the 48-hour strike, hundreds of adults came up to the spiked fences of the school campus and passed money and food through to the students.

Late on the second day of the strike, March 22, some 10,000 people gathered outside the campus. The regime obviously feared that the enthusiasm of the students might spread. At 7 p.m. a column of riot police took up positions on the street bordering the campus. The crowd dispersed. At 8 p.m. an official ultimatum, broadcast over television, warned that unless the students ended their strike within

Apparently stirred by the ultimatum, the crowd of 10,000 reappeared at Workers Unity Square across from the school. At 9 p.m., the crucial hour, a student representative appeared on the balcony of a school building overlooking the square. He announced that, while some were leaving, 4,000 students had voted to defy the ultimatum. Cheers went up from the crowd: "General Strike," "Workers With Us!" The crowd outside and the students within joined in singing the Internationale.

The students held out for several hours more and then disbanded. The demonstration revealed good discipline and thorough organization on the part of the rebels. The firing of the six professors was in retaliation for this bold resistance.

Univ. of Buffalo Campus In 3-Day Radical Parley

BUFFALO, N.Y. — The upsurge of antiwar sentiment on American campuses, already evidenced at Harvard, Columbia and Wisconsin, reached maximum intensity with the highly successful "Strike for Knowledge — Stop the War" program at the University of Buffalo March 19-21. A series of 18 panel discussions and other activities, including a mobile "guerrilla theater" doing antiwar skits, kept this university community of 20,000 students humming for three days.

The unorthodox educational event began with an overflow symposium on draft resistance which included the novelist Mitchell Goodman, one of the group indicted with Dr. Spock. During the rest of the first day, audiences of 400-500 students listened to panels on Vietnam, U.S. Imperialism, and Reform or Revolution in America's Future, which featured Ralph Schoenman, director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party.

In addition to University members, the three-day sessions brought in such guest speakers as Stanley Faulkner, attorney for the Fort Hood Three; Jonathan Schell, *New Yorker* reporter recently returned from Vietnam; Go Long from Harvard, who initiated the statement by South Vietnamese students in the U.S. condemning the war; Peter Seidman of the Student Mobilization Committee; and Gwen Patton, Secretary of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union.

The "Strike for Knowledge" was

sponsored by the University Community for Rational Alternatives and supported by eight other campus organizations. Faculty members opposed to the war either dismissed their scheduled classes or related their subject material to the war.

On March 8, by a vote of 91 to 37, the Faculty Senate passed the strongest denunciation of the Vietnam war yet adopted by a major American university. It stated that the war was "immoral, illegal, contrary to American principles and to the best interests of the United States, and genocidal to the Vietnamese people."

What was churning up the campus could be seen in the prominently displayed headline of the Feb. 16 *Buffalo Evening News*: "Draft Will Call Most Grad Students." The faculty resolution stated its opposition to "military conscription in any form."

The McCarthy-Kennedy challenge to Johnson has also heightened campus interest in national politics. Supporters of the capitalist candidates ran into stiff competition from the team publicizing the Socialist Workers election campaign who manned a conspicuous display on the main floor lounge in front of the largest meeting hall. These workers sold \$207 worth of literature, secured numerous endorsers for the SWP ticket, and organized a promising committee of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle whose first task will be to bring out a big vote for the SWP presidential candidate in the CHOICE 68 collegiate poll April 24.

Army Caught Experimenting With Genocidal Nerve Gas

By Les Evans

The circumstances surrounding the mass killing of sheep in Utah by the release of deadly nerve gas last week raised ominous questions about the competence or rationality of the capitalist rulers of this country, and the future they may have in store for us and the rest of the world.

First reports were that sheep had begun dying in Skull Valley, Utah, March 14, the day after secret nerve gas tests were carried out at the Army's Dugway Proving Ground, about 20 miles away. After a week the dead sheep numbered more than 5,000, while Army officials, evincing a marked lack of concern about the danger to humans as well as animals, continued to assure the press that they had "no comment" to make.

The Army Testing Command finally informed Senator Moss of Utah March 21 that 320 gallons of a "persistent gas" had been sprayed from a plane.

These are gases that, according to the *New York Times*, "inhibit the interaction of enzymes that govern transmission of nerve impulses, so that the impulses are not passed. Muscle action is slowed or stopped." Very small amounts kill extremely quickly.

The government and the Army then began a campaign of evasions and outright lies to cover their tracks. A government health official announced March 22 that "an outlawed chemical used to preserve seed grain might have caused the deaths." The next day an Army spokesman said that a



Los Angeles Free Press

military investigation had established "no definite cause of death." By this time the total of dead sheep had reached 7,000.

The Army, however, has not made known to any outsiders the names, composition or reaction symptoms of the gas it was testing March 13.

The lie was given to the Army and government assertions March 23 when the head of a special Utah investigating team reported,

"We are as positive as medical science can ever be" that the animals died from nerve gas.

This produced a shameful half-admission from Brig. Gen. William W. Stone that "there was increasing evidence that a chemical such as used in nerve gas had killed the sheep."

And what will the Army say if the 7,000 killed in the next accident with these horror weapons are not sheep?

Calif. Peace and Freedom Confab

RICHMOND, Calif. — The California Peace and Freedom Party held its founding convention here on March 16, 17 and 18.

About 1,000 delegates and alternates were present, together with 100 to 200 observers. The majority of the delegates were young people becoming radicalized in the antiwar movement. The McCarthy and Kennedy forces were conspicuous by their absence.

About 50 or 60 delegates were black or Spanish-speaking, and they formed a Black and Brown Caucus. Also present was a contingent of members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, led by Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, both of whom addressed the convention.

The first plenary session passed on the rules and agenda, and then the delegates broke up into workshops. The second plenary session took up "special issues." Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver opened the session with speeches urging the convention to endorse the Black Panther Party's 10-point program, which spells out the right of the Afro-American people to self-determination.

After Cleaver spoke, a fight broke out over a motion to free Huey Newton "by any means necessary." Huey Newton is a leader of the Black Panther Party framed up in Oakland on a charge of murder.

Mario Savio and other speakers objected to the formula "by any means necessary." After a close initial vote upholding Savio's objection, the convention passed a compromise, reading: "Free Huey Newton by any means necessary which would also further the black liberation movement."

The convention endorsed the Black Panther 10-point program. The Black Panther Party spokesmen declared they would continue

their coalition with the PFP, urging black people to register PFP. Three members of the Black Panthers, including Huey Newton, will be candidates of the PFP.

As the convention proceeded, three basic political currents emerged. Robert Scheer led the more conservative wing of the active PFPers. He outlined his position in an impromptu talk given outside the auditorium on the second day. He does not put major emphasis on building a third party, although he gives lip service to the idea. Scheer announced his support for Phil Drath, a "dove" Democrat, over the PFP candidate in Drath's district. Scheer argued Drath would have greater impact than the PFP candidate.

The Communist Party, which had little support among PFP activists here, lined up with Scheer's position as a stepping-stone to their own stated position in favor of working within the Democratic Party for McCarthy and Kennedy. The CP would support PFP if all efforts to "dump Johnson" in the Democratic Party fail.

Scheer's position had very little support at the convention, and an attempt to draft him for PFP senatorial candidate fizzled out.

A second current was represented by the Independent Socialist Club, which is well entrenched in the apparatus of PFP. The ISC's main strength was in the Alameda County (Berkeley) delegation, plus a few in the Los Angeles delegation, including support from Socialist Party member Mike Hannon. These are the "third camp" socialists, and they would like to convert PFP into a "permanent" third party.

The ISC was instrumental in getting an amendment to the foreign policy motion passed placing the PFP against "imperialist interventions" by "any . . . nations,

capitalist or Communist." This amendment was part of a calculated attempt by the ISC to slip in their anti-Communist third-camp position and turn the PFP into a new social-democratic formation.

The third current at the convention consisted of newly radicalized independents, those who provided the legwork to build the PFP. These agree with the ISC on breaking with the Democratic Party, but do not necessarily support the ISC "third camp" stand. In general, they support the National Liberation Front in Vietnam and consider Che Guevara to be a hero. The ISC, on the other hand, is opposed to the Cuban revolution and the NLF.

The last day of the convention was devoted to picking a senatorial candidate. The ISC-backed candidate, Paul Jacobs, won in a close roll-call vote over Hugh Manes, a Los Angeles attorney. Jacobs played an infamous role in the early period of the cold war in witch-hunting "Communists" out of the CIO unions. Today he repudiates his previous record and has taken a clear position on civil liberties for all.

Although the whole Peace and Freedom movement began ostensibly as a movement to provide an alternative to Johnson, the convention tabled any consideration of a presidential candidate. Nor did the convention adopt a program for the party. Many of those who had registered Peace and Freedom last winter to put the party on the ballot, presumably have gone back into Democratic Party politics in the McCarthy and Kennedy movements.

While a motion was passed to endorse Stop the Draft Week here in April, the delegates never discussed the massive antiwar actions planned for the end of April.