

LBJ Stalls and GIs Die — Get Them Out Now!

THE MILITANT

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Fight for Withdrawal More Vital Than Ever

By Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle

Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President

The need for the antiwar movement to fight for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam through continued mass mobilizations in the streets is more urgent than ever.

Washington has escalated the war once again. More troops are being sent to Vietnam. The bombing of North Vietnam has reached the highest levels of the war in the past few weeks. The bombing in South Vietnam continues heavy and brutal, with increased use of B-52s. The killing of Vietnamese goes on, and the death toll of the GIs mounts.

The antiwar movement faces an immense challenge. It must mobilize as never before. It must bring massive new forces to bear in the struggle to end the war.

The situation has become more complex and therefore more confusing. False hopes have been stirred by diplomatic maneuvers which may lead to talks with North Vietnam. Washington's objectives have not changed. It still seeks to crush the Vietnamese revolution. It still seeks to stay in Vietnam.

As long as this policy is continued the war will drag on. The people of Vietnam have demonstrated that they will fight to the death for the right to determine their own fate and the future of their country. They will not "negotiate" that right. This is the fundamental lesson of the bloody and costly war. It's high time this lesson was learned in the United States. Get the GIs out of Vietnam. Get them out once and for all.

Don't be deceived by Johnson's announcement that he is not running for reelection, and that therefore the war will soon be over. This is a most dangerous delusion. Johnson personally bears immense guilt for the war; but its causes run much deeper than the malevolent political ambitions of this executive of the ruling class.

The war in Vietnam is directly related to the expansionist drive of U.S. imperialism. It is part of a policy going back to Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy. It is part of the necessity felt by the big banks and corporations, who control all of the politicians in Washington, to crush revolutions and extend imperialist domination.

Any of the Democratic or Republican candidates who make it to the White House will follow the same fundamental policy as Johnson. That is why McCarthy and Kennedy are both opposed to withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam. All they have is a tactical disagreement with the way Johnson was running the war.

McCarthy and Kennedy seek to take the antiwar movement off the streets and into the "safe" channels of the Democratic Party where they can control it.

But it is precisely the mass street actions of the antiwar movement, demanding that the GIs be brought home now, to which credit must be given for forcing Johnson to step aside, and which have been the source of the pressure felt by all the capitalist politicians, "dove" as well as "hawk."

The movement must keep up its momentum. Stay in the streets and press forward ever more vigorously the demand to bring the GIs home now!

The 2-Week Toll After Johnson Announced 'Negotiation' Offer

642 GIs Dead 4,038 Wounded

(April 1-13)



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VICTIM OF U.S. ATTACK. Vietnamese child wounded in "search and destroy" operation near Dong Tre in South Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese — men, women and children — have been killed or maimed by Washington's war of aggression, and they are still falling, victims of this monstrous war.



A gigantic strike of almost 200,000 telephone workers in 40 states is now in progress. The strike began on April 18 after negotiations between the Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO) and the Bell System (a euphemism for the octopus monopoly, the American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation) broke down.

On April 21 the Bell System obtained injunctions in Alabama and Kentucky. The injunctions ordered workers to return to their jobs immediately but they have said they refuse to do so. Joseph A. Beirne, president of the CWA, said the injunctions had "set us back just at a time when the first signs of a breakthrough had appeared." Weekend negotiations which had promised this "breakthrough" were immediately suspended.

The strike was called after the CWA served notice on the Bell System that it was reopening wage and wage-related questions as provided in a three-year contract signed in 1967. The union is asking a 10 percent wage boost. The companies refuse to consider more than a 5.6 percent increase for one year, or 7.6 percent for the remaining 18 months of the 1967 contract. Average telephone workers' wages are \$2.87 per hour.

At an annual meeting of AT&T stockholders in Boston on April 17, the company chairman, H. I. Romnes, told the assembled coupon-clippers that "AT&T has gotten off to the best start of any year in its history . . . the increase in telephones has been greater than ever before . . . in mid-April we are serving nearly 1.2 million more phones than on Jan. 1 . . . long distance calls have increased (this quarter) by 150 million . . ."

Mr. Romnes refused to answer a stockholder's question on profits, but did indicate that a security analyst had predicted 1968 earnings of \$3.95 a share, against \$3.79 in 1967.

In view of the above, the corporation's concern about Johnson's so-called guidelines of 5 percent to "avert inflation" are exposed as a fraud.

Joseph W. Beirne, the CWA president, knows the temper of his own rank and file. And since he has no desire to "become an ex-leader" (*New York Times* editorial, April 15) he is talking tough. He will have to keep on

talking that way until he has an acceptable contract to present to his members because these militant men and women are in no mood to go back to their switchboards, to repairing broken-down equipment and installing new central office apparatus unless they get more money — at least equal to those wage hikes won by other workers in the last period.

* * *
The Sanitation workers in Memphis have won their long and bitter struggle for union recognition, dues checkoff and small wage increases. On April 16 the city of Memphis capitulated. Wage increases amount to 10 cents an hour on May 1 and an additional 5 cents on Sept. 1. Promotions will also be on the basis of seniority. Previous wages had averaged \$1.70 per hour.

This strike, which was marked by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., had the support of the entire Memphis black community. One of the strikers, a thin, aging collector, said "We won, but we lost a good man along the way."

This fight was won on much more than a picket line by the actual workers involved. Dr. King led one march down the streets to demonstrate the support of the black movement behind the strikers. He was killed by an assassin's bullet while planning a second such march — and this march, the day before his funeral, brought many trade unionists from elsewhere in the country to demonstrate against the murder and for the Memphis strikers.

The black community carried on an economic fight side by side with the strike. A boycott of Memphis stores hurt all merchants, but the most seriously hurt were the family businesses of Mayor Henry Loeb (Loeb laundries and barbecues). Many of these establishments also lost windows. In an April 17 "Man in the News" column in the *New York Times* featuring Henry Loeb as a "Resistant Mayor," a brother of the mayor, Lawrence, was reported as preparing signs for his windows reading, "Don't break my windows: I don't like Henry either."

* * *
A graphic description of how many members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters feel about the man who engineered the many frame-ups against James Hoffa and the IBT comes from a front-page editorial in the March 28 issue of the *Washington Teamster*:

"Bobby Kennedy has come and gone but the nausea lingers on.

"Now that the air has once again been cleared of the sickening pungency this aging teeny-bop musters wherever he goes, some of the questions that were unanswered in the foisted furor of his appearance last Tuesday in Seattle can be restated under slightly calmer circumstances."

Further along, the editor, who has a way with adjectives, characterizes the Kennedy Little Brother as "this barber college dropout."
—Marvel Scholl

Halstead, Boutelle Urge: Defend Black Panthers

APRIL 22 — In a statement released today, Socialist Workers Party candidates Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle stressed the crucial importance of defending the Black Panther Party of Oakland, Calif., against the attacks of the Oakland police.

"The murder of 17-year-old Bobby James Hutton is part of a deliberate plan by Oakland police to destroy the Black Panther Party," they charged. "At stake is the basic right to self-defense and the right to organize politically."

The statement pointed out that "The Oakland police, notorious for their racism and brutality, have again and again attacked, harassed, and arrested Panther members — the most flagrant examples of this being the arrest of 24 Panther supporters after a demonstration at the state Capitol last May 2; the shooting and indictment on murder charges of Panther Party Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, on Oct. 28; and, most recently, the murder of Panther treasurer Bobby James Hutton, the wounding and imprisonment of Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, and the wounding of Warren Wells and imprisonment of seven others."

The SWP candidates outlined a number of things that can be done for the defense of Huey Newton, Eldridge Cleaver and



Photo by Kangas

BOBBY SEALE. Black Panther Party chairman points to cops on rooftop at April 6 memorial rally for slain Panther treasurer Bobby James Hutton.

the other victimized members of the Black Panther Party:

1. Send funds to the Eldridge Cleaver Defense Fund, c/o Kathleen Cleaver, 2860 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94705.
2. Hold defense meetings at which the real story of the attacks on the Panthers can be told and funds collected.
3. Enlist support for the case from prominent individuals and

organizations. (Recently a number of well-known writers, including Maxwell Geismar, Murray Kempton and Norman Mailer, signed a statement in support of the Panthers.)

4. Send a telegram to Harry W. Kerr, Chairman, California Adult Authority, 413 State Office Building No. 1, Sacramento, Calif., demanding that Eldridge Cleaver's parole status be reinstated.

SWP Campaign News

It's been a hectic, fruitful week. Halstead - Boutelle campaigners all over the country mobilized to get out the maximum vote for the CHOICE 68 student referendum on April 24, and to build and participate in the International Student Strike on April 26 and the mass antiwar actions on April 27.

On dozens of campuses Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle debated supporters of the capitalist candidates, distributed 125,000 copies of the special *CHOICE 68 Militant*, pasted up campaign posters, distributed leaflets, manned literature tables, and canvassed dorms. Many campaign committees were so flooded with requests for speakers in connection with CHOICE 68 and the student strike that many campaigners had to take off from work in order to cover them all. In New York City there were 26 meetings in seven days; in Los Angeles, 15 meetings in four days.

On April 16 SWP New York Congressional candidate Judy White spoke at an all-night teach-in at Connecticut College, a girls' school in New London. One YSHBer who accompanied her had visited the same campus about two months earlier and noted a big increase in antiwar sentiment and interest in socialist politics over that short period.

Chalk up a victory for civil liberties in the Deep South. On April

18 a meeting was held for Fred Halstead at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, sponsored by the Student Liberal Federation.

The mere fact this meeting was held is significant. Last October the SLF attempted to organize a meeting on campus for Paul Boutelle, the SWP vice-presidential candidate. But LSU officials would allow Boutelle to speak only if the Louisiana coordinator of the John Birch Society, Jack L. Welch, was included on the program. The SLF refused to go along with this outrageous condition and crude violation of student rights. The campus meeting was canceled but a highly successful meeting was organized for Boutelle off-campus.

Since then the students and faculty have waged a vigorous and successful campaign to abolish the restrictive speakers policy. Consequently Halstead was able to speak on campus to about 75 students, a third of whom asked to be put on the mailing list. The campaign support produced by Paul Boutelle's visit to Baton Rouge last October was considerably augmented by Halstead's appearance.

An April 10 release of the College Press Service carried a long, very fair article based on an interview with Fred Halstead. Over 300 campus newspapers with a potential readership of 3 million students subscribe to the CPS. Phil Semas, who conducted the interview, said of Halstead: "He is a big man with thinning hair. He doesn't look at all like a Presidential candidate, but when he talks he reveals a deep understanding of the issues, expressed in a common sense, working man's tone of voice." The article covered Halstead's views on the war in Vietnam, the Black Struggle, CHOICE 68, and electoral politics.

At the end of the article on Halstead was this note from the editors: "This is the second in what we hope will be a series of interviews with some of the candidates and potential candidates for President. We've asked them

all but so far only Fred Halstead and Senator Percy have agreed to be interviewed. We will be making renewed efforts, especially on Kennedy and McCarthy, who are most accessible, and try to get more interviews between now and the CHOICE 68 vote."

The voting for CHOICE 68 took place on April 10 at Hanover College in Indiana. When the campus CHOICE 68 coordinator sent in a report to the CHOICE 68 national office on the results of the vote, she reported that "A couple of students, who are in the process of forming an SDS chapter here, insisted on a write-in alternative for the third referendum question. I told them that was not to be done, but they felt the necessity of such an action." Halstead and Boutelle supporters campaigned for a write-in for "Black Control of Black Communities" on the third referendum question which was on the "urban crisis."

—Jon Britton

Truth Kit Exposes McCarthy Record

The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee recently published a pamphlet that is having a big political impact. The 16-page publication is called "The Truth About the McCarthy Campaign" and explains what is wrong with Senator McCarthy's campaign and why, if he were elected, he would not fundamentally alter U.S. foreign policy or the oppression of black people.

Several calls have come in to the Campaign Committee office from people who have been impressed by the pamphlet and want to exchange information on Senator McCarthy's record.

The pamphlet sells for 25 cents a copy and can be ordered in bulk at 15 cents from the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

CELEBRATE MAY DAY. Internationalism: *The Road to Peace*. Speakers: Gusti Dante, Socialist Workers Party; Steve Bates, Young Socialist Alliance. Friday, May 3, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Hall 307. Donation 50 cents. Refreshments. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

MAY DAY 1968. Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Political Revolution in Eastern Europe. Speaker: Max Goldman, Socialist Workers Party. Chairman: Phil Passen, Young Socialist Alliance. Friday, May 3, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth Street. Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

CELEBRATE MAY DAY '68: Featured speaker: Jack Barnes, campaign director, Socialist Workers Party 1968 election campaign. "Today's Advancing Revolutionary Struggle." Special guest: Pfc. Howard Petrick. Banquet, 6 p.m. Saturday, May 4, 873 Broadway, near 18th St., Contrib. \$2.50; under 18, \$1.50. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

MAY DAY 1968 AND TODAY'S RADICALS. Speaker: Jack Barnes, national campaign director of the Socialist Workers Party. Friday, May 3, 8:30 p.m. 686 N. Broad Street (door faces Ridge Ave.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MAY DAY BANQUET 1968:

JACK BARNES

Socialist Workers Party 1968 election campaign director

Speaks on:

Today's Advancing Revolutionary Struggle

Special Guest:

Pfc. HOWARD PETRICK

Antiwar GI, recently discharged from the Army

Sat., May 4, 6 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St.

Contrib. \$2.50, under 18, \$1.50

Ausp. Militant Labor Forum

RIOT COMMISSION REPORT

Distortion of TSU-5 Case

By Dick Roberts

[This is the fourth of a series of articles on the "Riot Commission Report" — the survey of black uprisings conducted by a presidentially appointed panel last year. Previous articles in *The Militant* have discussed the "riot" panel's attitude toward the police force and "counter-rioters."]

The shortest chapter of the report — two pages out of 608 — is on "Organized Activity." It states, "the Commission has found no evidence that all or any of the disorders or the incidents that led to them were planned or directed by any organization or group, international, national or local." (p. 202)

One might think that this extremely important point would take up more space in the report.

It knocks the props out of any number of local, state and federal prosecutions deriving from the ghetto outbreaks. Many of these prosecutions are still taking place; many of the victims are still under indictment, and some are still in prison.

In spite of its admission that there was no "conspiracy" behind the outbreaks, the report whitewashes these prosecutions. In the same short chapter, it declares:

"Militant organizations, local and national, and individual agitators, who repeatedly forecast and called for violence, were active in the spring and summer of 1967. We believe that they deliberately sought to encourage violence, and that they did have an effect in creating an atmosphere that contributed to the outbreak of disorder . . ."

"Investigations are continuing at all levels of government, including committees of Congress. . . The Commission has cooperated in these investigations. They should continue." (p. 202)

Example of Whitewash

A noteworthy case in point is the outrageous frame-up of the "TSU-Five." These are five black members of the Texas Southern University Friends of SNCC who presently face charges with possible death penalties resulting from a brutal police attack on a TSU dormitory May 16, 1967.

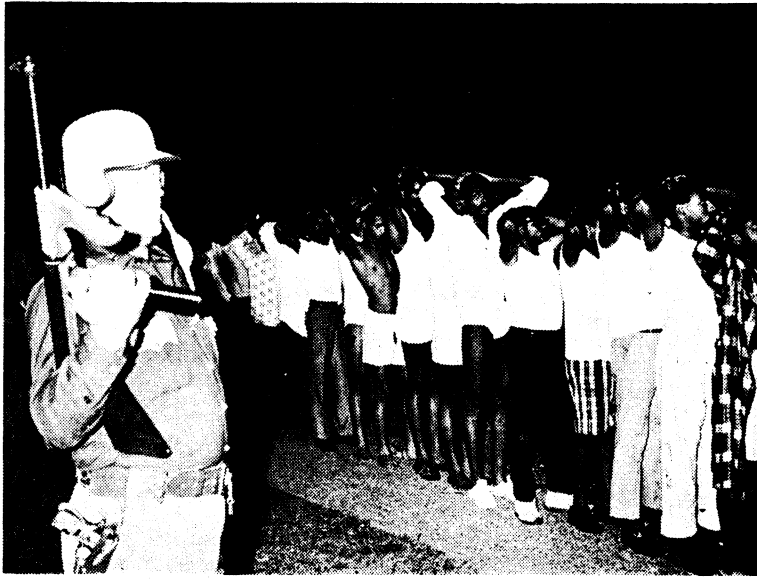
During the police attack, one officer was killed, most likely from a ricocheting police bullet. The five Afro-Americans have been charged with instigating the "riot" which led to the death; their organization has been blamed for the police violence; they have been "investigated" by one of the witch-hunting congressional committees supported by the "riot" commission.

The commissioners' report, however, steers clear of this congressional smear. It does not mention one word about the five youths facing death charges and the circumstances surrounding the state frame-up. It gives a virtual prosecution version of the incident involved:

"That evening [May 16] college students who had participated in . . . protests returned to the campus . . . About 50 of them were grouped around a 21-year-old student, D.W., a Vietnam veteran, who was seeking to stimulate further protest action," the report says.

"A dispute broke out, and D.W. reportedly slapped another student. When the student threatened D.W. he left, armed himself with a pistol, and returned. In response to the report of a disturbance, two unmarked police cars with four officers arrived. Two of the officers questioned D.W., discovered he was armed with a pistol, and arrested him."

"A short time later, when one of the police cars returned to the campus, it was met by rocks and bottles thrown by students. As police called for reinforcements, sporadic gunshots reportedly came



AFTER POLICE ATTACK. Texas Southern University students lined up outside dormitory.

from the men's dormitory. The police returned the fire.

"For several hours, gunfire punctuated unsuccessful attempts by community leaders to negotiate a truce between the students and the police. When several tar barrels were set afire in the street and shooting broke out again, police decided to enter the dormitory.

"A patrolman, struck by a ricocheting bullet, was killed. After clearing all 480 occupants from the building, police searched it and found one shotgun and two .22 caliber pistols. The origin of the shot that killed the officer was not determined." (p. 41)

It sounds like the police, responding to a student fracas, came near the dormitory, were fired upon, and subsequently "cleared" the alleged snipers from the building.

But here is how it was reported by one of the *community negotiators* who had tried to calm the situation, the Rev. William Lawson, in the May 27, 1967, *Forward Times* of Houston:

"For some reason Houston police focused on the easily identified concentration of Negroes at Texas Southern University . . . Students, already irritable, yelled jeers at the growing buildup of squad cars. Heavy weapons and police dogs were in evidence near Jeppesen stadium.

Throw Melon Rind

"Some students threw a watermelon rind at a parked squad car. The air was tense as the two police officers emerged and the students ducked off the street—all except one, who claimed that city police had no right to intimidate him on state property. He was a student, Douglas Wayne Waller ["D.W."] a veteran of the war in Vietnam.

"He was seized and arrested, and the students screamed their rage as he was taken to jail . . ."

"I was one of the arrested Sunnyside protesters [a demonstration earlier in the day—D.R.]. At the request of the mayor, I was released . . . and rushed to the campus of Texas Southern where I was told a 'riot' was building up . . . But when the squad car arrived, it was obvious I was too late.

"The city police had already assembled a show of force . . . with scores of squad cars, barricade style, and helmeted officers with aimed guns were holding the dormitories in their sights. They had already judged the entire student body and found them potentially dangerous, and were now lined up for attack . . ."

"Most of the student leaders were in jail or off campus. We cornered a couple of three students and began to tell them the lie [sic] that Chief Short was removing the invasion force . . ."

"But they knew better, and somebody yelled, 'Then we'll block

the street ourselves!' We turned desperately to see big sheets of corrugated metal being thrown out into the streets to obstruct cars, and behind us rolled two large tar barrels from the construction materials. They had been soaked with kerosene, and somebody threw a match at the metal cylinders.

"It burst into flames . . . Girls locked in their dormitory, yelled approval at the flaming tar barrels in the street, and we left to return to the Chief. It was too late. It was then that the 'riot' began. Chief Short, without warning anybody . . . gave the command to charge the dormitories, and to shoot as they charged . . ."

"Over 600 policemen ran down the empty street on the defenseless parking lot side under the bright street lights. And they loosed a salvo of shots that sounded like a hundred machine guns as over 5,000 round of ammunition were poured forth.

"They were in each other's way. Young rookies who had never seen real danger fired wildly. One policeman shot another. . . They shot through windows despite instructions to shoot high, and kept shooting when students inside begged to be allowed to bring out wounded Morris English, shot through a wall while he lay on his belly."

Lawson describes the shooting of the officer who was killed. "The FBI has been to the spot still soaked with his spurting blood, and they know it [the shot] did not come from a dormitory. There are no rooms or windows on the east end of the dormitory!"

Police Attack

Lawson describes the subsequent "clearing" of the dormitory: "The police . . . broke open doors with axes, ripped down ceiling tiles, broke mirrors, and brutally attacked students with clubs and dogs."

The hundreds of students inside were forced out of the building where they had been hiding from the barrage. They were still in their pajamas or underwear. They were arrested. Of the five Friends of SNCC members subsequently blamed for the policeman's death, only two, John Parker, 20, and Trazawell Franklin, Jr., 20, were at the dormitory.

Charles Freeman, 18; Floyd Nichols, 25; and Douglas Wayne Waller, 21, were not on campus. Waller, as described, was under arrest. Freeman and Nichols were in a different part of town checking out the arrest.

The facts make it completely clear that the "TSU-Five" were framed. They face death charges because of their ideas and because they dared to express these ideas. The real attack in Houston was a murderous assault on a defenseless student dormitory by trigger-happy and club-swinging cops.

Who Knocked Ky Off Haylift?

I'm not particularly surprised that some people are confused about what we're fighting for in Vietnam, or even about exactly what our relations are with our fellow freedom fighters in the Saigon government. In fact I'm a bit confused myself.

For instance, there's the big hullabaloo about whether or not the CIA once fired Vice President Ky from a sabotage job for running opium on the side. Meanwhile, UPI is bleating because some Saigon troops took time out during the Tet offensive to rip up a railroad in order to sell the ties.

Denials have been made about Ky and the opium. But it's not clear whether they've gone so far as to deny he was peddling opium, or, more reasonably, that they would ever consider firing a man for something like that.

According to the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures, Ky was hired by the CIA back in 1963 to fly South Vietnamese into North Vietnam for such things as blowing up railroads and bridges. On the way back from these chores, the committee said, Ky would stop off in Laos and pick up some opium for sale in Saigon. (The CIA deal was called "Operation Haylift.")

A spokesman for the general "just laughed" when he heard the story. He pointed out that everyone knows the general isn't interested in money matters. In a later statement, the general agreed.

By this they may have been trying to say that it was simply a case of trying to demonstrate to an employer a display of American know-how.

American Way

At any rate, the only possible justification that I can think of for firing him was that he might not have been all that conversant with the American Way and just might possibly have deprived one or another superior of their proper percentage of the take.

Be that as it may, the official statements on the matter must be considered somewhat ambiguous. For instance, the State Department declined comment, stating somewhat frostily: "We would never have any comment regarding the head of state of a foreign country."

I assume this refers to the CIA. But I hadn't realized relations were that strained.

The U.S. Embassy in Saigon said there is no truth that Ky was removed for opium smuggling or any other reason. What then? Certainly it doesn't help our image abroad to suggest he was removed for no reason at all. However, at least the statement does assure we'd never fire an employee for peddling a bit of opium.

Certainly, the matter warrants investigation. If the general got a bum deal, he deserves back pay, plus compensation for any possible loss of revenue on opium sales. Fair play aside, everyone knows good help isn't that easily come by these days.

And furthermore, the UPI should be told to knock off all the noise about the Saigon soldiers who picked up some extra cash by lifting (literally) 12.6 miles of railroad track, plus equipment. According to an April 10 UPI dispatch, the soldiers, aided by Saigon police and other government officials, disposed of the track plus 30,000 steel ties, railroad tools, light fixtures, and what have you.

Some of the ties were reported to have turned up in bunkers built for the protection of government officials. Others were said to have been seen on the black markets of three provinces. The UPI expressed concern that

some of the material might also have fallen into the hands of the guerrillas. However, if it was sold and not just given away, there's no cause for concern. It bolsters our free-market policy.

And it's simply hitting below the belt to make a big point of the fact that the Saigon troops were gathering up the railroad for resale while U.S. troops were being belted around in the Tet offensive.

After all, if you can't make a quick buck when the opportunity presents itself, what in hell are we fighting for?

A final point about Gen Ky. Some may argue that he should have at least let the CIA know what he was doing. That's almost as silly as suggesting that back in 1963 the Kennedy administration should have let the American people know it was waging aggression on North Vietnamese territory.

—Herman Chauka



POPPY SALESMAN? Ky with wife.

Oakland 7 Trial May 3

OAKLAND, Calif. — On May 3 seven young men will be facing trial here on felony charges, stemming from Stop the Draft Week activities at the Oakland induction center last fall.

The Alameda County grand jury charged the "Oakland Seven" with conspiracy to commit such misdemeanors as obstructing sidewalks, creating a public nuisance, trespass and obstructing police. It is the conspiracy charge which is a felony, and the defendants face possible three-year jail terms if convicted.

"Technically," District Attorney Coakley explained, "a thousand of the demonstrators could have been indicted for their actions, but we simply don't have enough courts so we have to take the most militant leaders."

The defendants are Frank Bardacke, Steve Hamilton, Mike Smith, Bob Mandel, Jeff Segal, Reese Erlich and Terry Cannon.

The conspiracy law under which they are charged is a denial of free speech. Funds are urgently needed to aid the defense, and contributions can be sent to: Stop the Draft Week Defense Fund, 6468 Benvenue Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94618.

Arab Students in U.S. Meet To Plan Revolutionary Goals

By Peter Signorelli

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—Over 100 Arab students from midwest USA and Canada convened here over Easter weekend to discuss the present stage of the Palestine liberation movement.

Among the discussions held at the convention were the following: the theory and practice of armed struggle and wars of national liberation; the objective conditions for armed struggle in Palestine and in Kuwait; the lessons of the struggles in Algeria and southern Arabia; the Sino-Soviet dispute and its development with regard to the Arab world; the role of the Arab students in the U.S. and Canada in aiding the struggles for national liberation and revolutionary social change; and, highlighting the convention, discussion of al-Fatah, the revolutionary Palestine liberation movement.

A standing ovation was given to a black militant speaker from Chicago who declared his support to the Palestine liberation movement. Urging increased communication between the forces for black liberation in the U.S. and the forces struggling against imperialism in the Arab world, he pointed out that the two struggles are integral components of the entire international struggle of the "Third World."

Among the resolutions presented here, the most immediate one deals with a proposed sit-in by the Arab students at the Arab embassies in Washington. The resolution characterized the present Arab governments as bankrupt and inadequate for the production of the social, economic, political and psychological forces necessary to mobilize the Arab nation in its struggle for fundamental social change and in its struggle against Zionist Israel and imperialism.

The established Arab political parties were found to be presently incapable of giving leadership to the struggle. It was pointed out that it is now necessary to focus attention on the workers and peasants as the main forces of the struggle. The sit-in is to serve as a rallying point for Arab students and will demand that the Arab governments arm the people, begin immediate political education of the people, and that they gear their economies toward preparation for armed struggle against Zionist Israel and imperialism.

The discussion of al-Fatah was the focal point of the convention. Discussing Palestine's place in the context of the international anti-imperialist struggle, the speaker emphasized that the Palestinian war of liberation is not simply a struggle against Zionist Israel, but that at the same time it is a struggle of the entire Arab world against Western imperialism.

Furthermore, he stated, not only



BURNED BY NAPALM. Egyptian prisoner, victim of Israeli napalm attack in last June's war. Israeli victory has caused Arab revolutionists to make new appraisal.

is al-Fatah a movement for the national liberation of Palestine, but that concurrently and necessarily, it is a movement for social revolution. Al-Fatah, he stated, seeks to employ a program of social revolution to explode the inertia of the Arab masses, unleashing their energies into an armed struggle for social change as well as for national liberation.

He characterized al-Fatah as a catalyst to set into motion the dynamic potential of the oppressed Arab classes for the building of the social, economic, military and psychological forces capable of ending the present stagnancy of the Arab world. At the same time, he added, al-Fatah is becoming a demarcating line for the existing political tendencies in the Arab world, rallying and unit-

ing genuine revolutionaries and exposing those who today parade as champions of struggle against Zionist Israel and imperialism. Recognizing the prolonged nature of the struggle ahead, the representative from al-Fatah stressed the need to psychologically arm the people in addition to their physical armament. Consequently he urged the assimilation and popularization of the lessons of the struggles of Algeria and southern Arabia and of the revolutions of China, Cuba, and Vietnam.

Pointing out that al-Fatah is presently organizationally and politically independent of the existing left-wing parties and groups in the Arab countries, he stated emphatically that al-Fatah will never compromise nor collaborate with any government or political group which stands in the way of the development of the armed struggle along revolutionary lines.

There was a general belief at the convention that as the U.S. recognizes its defeat in Vietnam, it will turn its attention more fully now to the oil-producing Arab world, and that a "Vietnam" will develop in the Middle East as the Arab peoples intensify their struggles against Zionist Israel and imperialism.

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

Interview with a Guerrilla

Questions on Al-Fatah

Some idea of the outlook of al-Fatah, the leading Palestinian guerrilla organization, can be gathered from an interview that appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1967 issue of *Tricontinental* magazine, published in Havana.

Al-Fatah (Movement for the Liberation of Palestine) is only one of many armed guerrilla organizations of the Palestine refugees, but in the last year it has come to the fore as the most resolute and daring of the underground fighters. Teófilo Acosta, a Cuban journalist, visited one of the al-Fatah training camps. Bashiri, the *nom de guerre* of a political leader of the organization in Damascus, explained its origins and objectives. Acosta asked him the purpose of al-Fatah's struggle. He answered:

"To bring down the economic, political and social system in Israel, to destroy her institutions through a war that will be long and bloody but sure to succeed."

No Racial Hatred

When asked what would be done when the guerrillas took power, he said, "Our movement is not of a racist character. We are not motivated by racial hatred. We are not fighting the Jews as such. We are fighting against Israel as a Zionist state — at the service of U.S. imperialism — that forcibly displaced our people from their lands and homes in 1948 and, more recently, in June 1967.

"For this reason we have not proposed, as have other Arab leaders, to drive the Jews into the sea. Simply, once we have re-

covered control of the territories that belong to us, we will dismantle the Israeli state apparatus, award indemnities to the affected Palestinians, send the invaders back to Europe or their countries of origin, and invite those Jewish citizens who have long been there to live together with us, if they so desire."

Difficult Venture

Bashiri continued:

"We know that this is not an easy undertaking but we refuse to regard it as impossible, as do the poor in spirit. Those who hold that point of view say that we are mad, that we are a group of adventurers. The 11 men who, together with Fidel Castro, started off in the isolation of the Sierra Maestra shortly after the *Granma* landing should be asked what they think about this. The heroic Vietnamese combatants or veterans of the Algerian war of liberation should be asked. Go back to the example of the Bolsheviks to determine whether or not we can attain our objectives. This is a question of application of an inviolable revolutionary principle: faith in the power of the masses, organized and armed."

Another guerrilla leader added, "Since January 1959 we have carried out over a hundred actions within the territory occupied by Israel. Tel Aviv itself has recognized our effectiveness. In our press communiqués we have been objective and honest, as we were advised by Major Ernesto Che Guevara when we spoke with him in Algeria in 1965."

Derrick Morrison Debates RFK, McCarthy Supporters

By Bob Gebert

NEW YORK — At the "Urban Crisis" CHOICE 68 panel at Columbia University on April 15, representatives of Kennedy and McCarthy clashed with Derrick Morrison, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New York's 20th congressional district.

State Senator Thompson of Bedford-Stuyvesant, Kennedy's representative, drew an analogy between Kennedy's program and Roosevelt's, which he said was designed to prevent "a revolution." This theme also dominated the talk by Robert Ginsberg, McCarthy's representative, who emphasized that what was needed to solve the crisis was to give black people "the feeling that they are Americans . . . the right to feel that they are governing themselves."

Ghetto Oppressors

Morrison charged that the two Democrats had the viewpoint of the rulers, that their "main intent was to try to get the ghettos quiet." He said he had the viewpoint of the oppressed black people, who are trying to win self-determination, just as the Vietnamese are.

Senator Thompson asked Ginsberg where McCarthy intended to find the resources to pay for his minimum income program. Though neither Democrat could offer any new source, Morrison proposed two huge ones: the Vietnam war money that would be freed if the U.S. withdrew, and the tremendous corporate profits that would be freed by nationalization of industry.

When a questioner quoted Malcolm X's point that if blacks had full voting rights, the unseating of the Dixiecrats would make the Democrats too weak to rule — both Democrats said their candidates hoped the Dixiecrats would be unseated by liberal Democrats. But Morrison pointed out that,

despite a liberal majority, the 1964 Democratic Convention refused to seat the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, seating the Dixiecrats instead.

In answer to another query, Ginsberg boasted about how few machine hacks supported McCarthy's campaign, but Morrison noted wryly that McCarthy is going to have to win them over before November or he'll never get elected.

There was a good deal of laughter when McCarthy's representative announced that "there has been black power in Harlem for 20 years." Morrison tried to explain to him that having a black congressman who is controlled by the Democratic Party is not black power — this requires black people to organize *independently*, in their own party, to elect representative responsible only to the black people and to fight for black control of the black communities.



Derrick Morrison

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Friday night at 8.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-8135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls., Minn. 55403. FED-

eral 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 982-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Merit Books, 2519-A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 849-1032. Open 12 to 6 p.m., Monday thru Saturday.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412, Phila., Pa. 19101.

ST. LOUIS. Phone EVergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S.F., Calif. 94114. 552-1266.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party, L.A. 2-4325. 5257 University Way, Seattle, Wash. 98105.

How a Suppressed Report Exonerated H. Rap Brown

New information from the "secret" report of the "Riot" Commission on SNCC leader H. Rap Brown's role in the events in Cambridge, Md., last July was released April 17 by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Despite the fact that the report, which the Commission refuses to publish, exonerates Brown of the charges of "inciting to arson and riot," he still faces trial on those charges in Cambridge.

Brown was held under \$100,000 bail in New Orleans, on a trumped-up charge, from Feb. 21 until April 6, when bail was lowered to \$30,000, which the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee was able to put up. Federal authorities immediately arrested Brown, although they were well aware of the information in the "secret" report, and took him to Richmond, Va., where he was held until a court appearance in Cambridge April 18. He is free now under \$30,000 bail from New Orleans and an additional \$10,000 from Cambridge, on the condition that he remain a virtual prisoner within New York City. His bail will be forfeit if he leaves the city.

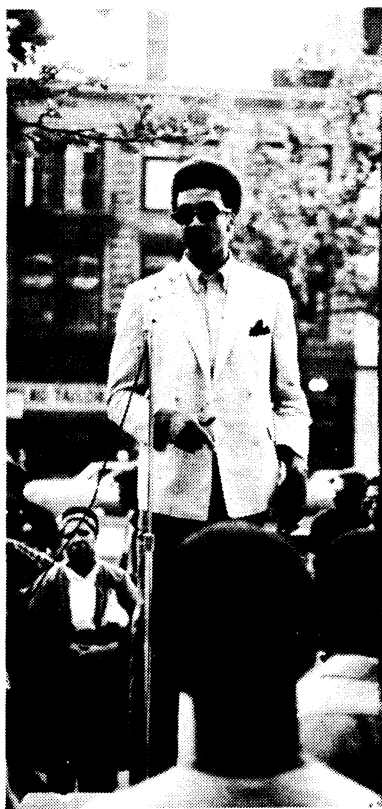
Under the circumstances the contents of the secret report are extremely important in establishing whether there are any "legal" grounds for this harassment. The 35-page document has never been released to the public. It was prepared for the Commission on Civil Disorders by a team of social scientists headed by Dr. Robert Shellow, assistant deputy director for research at the National Institutes of Mental Health. Copies made available to congressmen were leaked to the press March 5, but to our knowledge the daily press has printed no more than a few sentences of the document.

The longer excerpts released by the National Mobilization Committee include the following:

"What has come to be known as the Cambridge riot was in fact a low level civil disturbance. For a few hours on the night of Monday, July 24, and an hour on the night of Wednesday, July 26, there were small-scale disorders by Negro crowds, but nothing of the magnitude anticipated by local authorities or reported in the press."

According to the chronology given in the report, Rap Brown gave a speech in Cambridge about 10 p.m., Monday, July 24. After the speech he walked with 25-30 people toward Race Street, the dividing line between the black and white sections of town. Without warning a deputy sheriff stationed at Race Street fired a shotgun twice, wounding Brown. The group retreated to Pine Street. At about 11:30 a car of whites made three runs through the black community, "either shooting or throwing firecrackers." A black cop, because of "local custom," said he could not stop the car because he was not allowed to arrest whites. By the third run, some Afro-Americans began shooting back.

At 12:15 someone shot and wounded a cop, "away from the



H. Rap Brown

area of most activity . . ." About 2 a.m. a fire broke out at the dilapidated Pine Street School in the black community—this spread to two square blocks and was the main evidence of the so-called riot.

At 9 p.m. Wednesday, July 26, National Guard troops used tear gas to disperse a peaceful rally on Pine Street.

"This ends the series of events termed the Cambridge riots . . . If we accept widespread mass violence as one of the definitive characteristics of a riot, the term seems inappropriate to the events in Cambridge," the report comments.

The report traced bitterness in the black community from the civil rights struggles of 1963, then detailed the events in the months just prior to the "riot":

"The racial situation in Cambridge began to move toward a second phase of escalating conflict with a movement toward new leadership attempts in early June 1967. The precipitating incident setting the new organizational attempts in motion was a fight between a Negro youth and a white youth in which the white youth was aided by his dog, encouraging the latter to bite the Negro boy. The angry father of the Negro youth went to the States Attorney of Dorchester County to protest and met rebuff. The failure of this important official to act on this matter of great symbolic importance quickly generated intense anger toward the States Attorney . . . Matters were not helped any when the white youth, found guilty in court, was given a suspended fine at the same time that a Negro youth was being held on \$25,000 bond for setting false fire alarms. . . ."

The Pine Street School was a sharp issue in the black community in Cambridge:

"There was a very widespread consensus throughout the community, according to our informants, that the school should be destroyed. The school was a condemned fire trap, dangerous to children, and a focal point for the anger of parents, since the school administration was adamant in its insistence that the school would be used when classes began in the fall."

The Shellow report described the real effect of Brown's speech:

"Brown's presence, or the anticipation of it, served as a catalyst which brought out latent antagonisms and predispositions to action—especially on the part of the Cambridge officials . . . In brief, the mayor, et al, expected Brown to start and lead a riot that would be coherent, deliberate, and well planned . . . The police were prepared to assume any large group of Negroes walking toward the business section had arson on their minds and that force would be necessary to turn them back. . . ."

"Despite the fact that a riot did not occur, newspaper accounts of the disturbance tended to propagate the notion that Brown incited a riot in Cambridge."

The report concluded:

"In summary, the role of Brown seems to be this: to have induced in city officials a sense of an impending riot, which then became the basis of their subsequent actions and interpretation of events. To the extent that Brown encouraged anybody to engage in precipitate or disorderly acts, the city officials are clearly the ones he influenced most. Indeed the existence of a riot existed for the most part in the minds of city officials and to the extent that Negro disorder occurred, it can best be interpreted as a response to actions of the city officials. . . . Brown was more a catalyst of white fears than of Negro antagonisms, the disturbance more a product of white expectations than of Negro initiative."

Another section of the report, which did appear in the daily press, added that Cambridge Police Chief Brice G. Kinnamon "went on an emotional binge in which his main desire seems to have been to kill Negroes . . . the chief was not in control of his emotions. There can be little doubt that he was out for revenge."

SOCIALIST FUND

An Appeal to Readers

By Evelyn Reed
Fund Director

The Socialist Workers Party has collected almost \$10,000 of its \$26,000 Spring Fund Drive at the end of five weeks. The drive ends on June 15.

We appeal to YOU, the readers of *The Militant*, to help us fulfill this Fund "in full and on time."

Of *The Militant* readers who have already contributed to this Socialist Fund, some have written letters of appreciation. One friend writes:

"I gladly contribute to the SWP Fund because I believe it is the best exponent of political socialism in the United States, and a consistent advocate of international labor solidarity." That's a good

reason for contributing — if you feel the same way, let's hear from you the same way!

Another reader, a GI who says he has "served his country for 21 years in two wars" and has "completely lost faith in the present American way of life," writes, "please accept my contribution with the heartfelt regret that it cannot be greater."

If you are against the war in Vietnam; if you are against oppression of black people at home; if you are for advancing the socialist alternative to capitalist oppression and misrule — you have excellent reasons for contributing to our fund. Just clip the coupon and send it to us with your donation — today.

I Want to Help

Enclosed is my contribution of \$..... to help fulfill the \$26,000 Socialist Fund.

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Monday, April 29, 1968

SWP Election Mailbag

[Following are excerpts from the many letters received by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee in the past week.]

Western New Mexico University
Silver City, N.M.

"Although time is short for the campaign of CHOICE 68 I would appreciate it if you would send me as much material for Halstead and Boutelle as you can. . . . I feel that Mr. Halstead is presenting himself as a good choice for President. Although I do not agree with many of the things Mr. Halstead says, I feel that he deserves proper representation both here and at my home."

Detroit, Mich.

" . . . I would like to see Halstead become President because he has better ideas than any other candidate running. Kennedy says he wants to try to stop the Vietnam war but can't say he will. Johnson said the same thing and he got elected. Now look what he's done! . . . I will use the material for a report in school and others (my friends) will read it also for they are all interested."

Milwaukee, Wis.

" . . . Here in Milwaukee there is a ground swell for McCarthy. I am one of the few people on campus who doesn't wear a button for him. He is not in my estimation a true peace candidate. He has flatly said he will not withdraw for a long time; actually

he has only said he will negotiate, which I think means saving the face of the war-making interests. Paul Boutelle may sound more violent than McCarthy but he said that he was for withdrawal of all troops from everywhere and dismantling all of the missile bases. Now that's a real peace candidate for you!"

Clarkston, Ga.

"I am interested in the entire platform of the Socialist Workers Party and would appreciate any information you have available. I also would like to help the organization financially, but I am not working and I find any donation that I make could be a hindrance on my existence."

Philadelphia, Pa.

"Recently I had the great pleasure of meeting and talking to Mr. Halstead after he had given a talk at West Chester State College, Pa. As I listened to Mr. Halstead, I realized that most of my past thoughts were being crystallized in his discourse. I am now most interested in your party's platform and as much information as you would send to me. . . ."

Boston, Mass.

"First of all, I just saw Fred Halstead speaking here at MIT a few days ago and have confirmed my repulsion for the war in Vietnam, the Black Suppression, and capitalist manipulation. I would like a copy of your 16-page booklet, "The Truth About the McCarthy Campaign," so that I can show it to friends to convince them that we are in for more of the same with 'Eugene.'"

Portland, Ore.

"What do I do to join the Young Socialists?"

Silver City, N.M.

"Would it be possible for your organization to send me any materials about Mr. Halstead's campaign, including such things as his platform and ideas on the vital issues that face America today? As I will be able to vote this year, I want to know as much as possible about the men I may be casting my ballot for."

Beatrice, Nebr.

"Please send any literature and other campaign materials available immediately. Also please inform me how someone goes about becoming an active member in your party."

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George Breitman

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The Truth About Kennedy-McCarthy

By Harry Ring

One vote-getting California politician had an effective way of dodging questions about his stand on issues. When someone at a campaign rally would demand to know where he stood on some issue that divided the electorate, he would shout back: "I'm all right on that!"

This technique seems to be favored by both Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy.

Both men are aware of the present wave of radicalism in the country. Both are trying to ride it to the presidency. Nor is it simply a matter of opportunists trying to cash in on something they really aren't committed to. Both are consciously trying to manipulate and to coopt these movements. As McCarthy candidly explained when he threw his hat in the ring, they want to get the demonstrators off the streets and into "politics" — not just any kind of politics but into capitalist politics. Both are seeking to contain the movements against war and racism and to ensure the preservation of the status quo.

To do so they have to talk left. They have to persuade antiwar activists, black power militants and opponents of the system that they can accomplish their aims through the Democratic Party, through their particular candidacies.

The extent of their demagoguery is such that some antiwar activists, for example, actually believe Senator McCarthy favors the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Similarly, others have the idea that Robert Kennedy is a supporter of black power.

The plain fact is that both men oppose withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Both are opposed to black power.

This is not really surprising. Both are unqualified supporters of the capitalist system and both understand that withdrawal from Vietnam and black control of the black communities are contrary to the interests of the industrial and financial magnates who rule America and who are trying to rule the world.

This may not be readily apparent if you simply judge by what they are saying right now when they are bidding for votes. Hard experience has demonstrated that if you want to know what a politician will do if elected, you have to judge by something more substantial than his campaign oratory. It's necessary to study his entire political record.

Kennedy, for example, is making a demagogic pitch for the ghetto vote. He has even put some black people on his payroll. Some of those he has hired suggest he is for black power.

What's the record? Old-timers in SNCC and other Southern-based rights groups that were active during the days when Kennedy was attorney general should find the suggestion a bit humorous. They will remember how the Justice Department under Kennedy hounded them with a frame-up "conspiracy" indictment in Albany, Ga. They will remember how the Justice Department under Kennedy tried to railroad Robert Williams and others in Monroe, N.C., to jail on a phony kidnap charge and forced Williams to leave the country.

Kennedy's alleged sympathy for ghetto aspirations is of rather recent vintage. While he now tries to fog over the issue, he did not hesitate to speak out against black power in the days before he was hustling presidential votes.

For example, at a Senate hearing Dec. 8, 1966, Kennedy asserted: "In my judgment, the slogan 'black power' and what it is associated with has set the civil rights movement back considerably."

True, the Senator isn't saying

such things at the moment. But he has never repudiated that official statement nor suggested in any way that he's changed his mind.

Weighing his current campaign oratory against his previous record should make clear that in office it would only be realistic to expect him to behave consistently with his record and not with his present demagoguery.

by the growth of antiwar sentiment in the U.S.

Because of that situation a growing sector of American business circles see a negotiations approach as necessary to their aim of containing and eventually crushing the liberation movement and of cooling off the antiwar movement.

Kennedy is a conscious spokes-

expected U.S. troops would remain in Vietnam a "long, long time." "I expect there would be some formal arrangement," he delicately stated, "to say who would be there and in how many numbers."

Similarly, Mr. McCarthy leaves open the question of how many troops should be allocated to America's ghettos and how they should be used.

During the Wisconsin primary campaign, McCarthy shocked his young supporters when he leaned over backward in a blatant effort to avoid alienating racist-minded white voters. The situation was so scandalous that two of his top campaign aides resigned.

At a press conference, newsmen noted that some of his supporters were unhappy because only one of his 49 campaign headquarters in the state was in a black area and because there wasn't a single black person in any prominent position on his campaign staff.

In response, the Senator snapped: "Most of you fellows are frustrated campaign managers," and aggressively insisted he wouldn't change his campaigning. (Later he made a bit of a concession to the pressure from his campaign staff by taking a fast walk through the Milwaukee ghetto.)

Residents of the nation's ghettos may be seething with anger about the massive force directed against them during the outbreaks in the wake of the King assassination. But Senator McCarthy was quite pleased. He says the police and National Guardsmen used a "commendable" amount of "restraint."

He added, vote-consciously, that he doesn't really agree with Chicago Mayor Daley's stand for more shooting. But, he continued, according to the AP, "should rioting occur this summer under different conditions, there might be cause to reexamine policies."

In 1964, a tremendous hoax was perpetrated on the American people by Lyndon Johnson. Using the most unprincipled demagoguery, he counterposed himself to Goldwater as a man of peace who would see to it that American soldiers would not have to wage the war in Vietnam. As a result of that election experience, large numbers of Americans resolved not to be swindled again.

But a new confidence game is being set up that in some ways is even more invidious. Radical-minded young people who want to change society are being conned into thinking they can do so by joining political machines dedicated to the preservation of the present "way of life." They are being coopted into the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns in a deliberate effort to sabotage the antiwar and black power movements.

In 1964, Afro-Americans and antiwar activists were advised to declare a "moratorium" on demonstrations to ensure the election of Johnson. Now the demonstration organizers are being asked to leave their posts to work for capitalist politicians like Kennedy and McCarthy. These campaigns are being run in direct competition with the movement.

This is an important reason for supporting the Socialist Workers presidential ticket. First of all, Halstead and Boutelle, unlike McCarthy and Kennedy, actually stand for the things the movement activists want. They are for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. They are unconditional supporters of black power. They are for revolutionary social change.

And Halstead and Boutelle are part of the antiwar and black power movements. Their campaigns are designed to help build those movements, not to coopt and destroy them.

McCarthy's Voting Record

Did you know that Eugene McCarthy:

- Voted for every appropriation for the Vietnam war.
- Voted for the Tonkin Gulf resolution.
- Voted in 1966 to kill a proposed amendment that would have prohibited the use of draftees in Vietnam unless they volunteered.
- Voted consistently against admission of China to the UN.
- Voted for the 1962 "Cuban" resolution authorizing the President to take any necessary action to get "offensive" missiles out of Cuba.
- Voted during the crisis in 1955 to authorize the President to use U.S. forces to "protect" the islands off the coast of China.
- Voted for every contempt of Congress citation of HUAC witnesses, including Arthur Miller and Carl Braden, during his time in the House of Representatives.
- Voted for HUAC appropriations in 1956.
- Voted for Student Loyalty Oath Bill in 1959.
- Voted against withholding of federal school aid from segregated schools in 1961.
- Voted in 1954 for Dies motion which made membership in the Communist Party a felony.
- Voted for admissibility of evidence gained by wire-tapping in 1954.
- Voted in 1963 for federal aid to church-supported colleges, and against permitting taxpayer suits to obtain judicial review of constitutionality of law.
- Voted to raise pay of all military personnel except privates, in 1958.
- Voted to exclude about 1,000,000 additional workers from minimum wage coverage in 1960.
- Voted for compulsory arbitration of two major issues in railway dispute in 1963, and for prohibition of strikes on secondary issues for 180 days.

This is equally true of his present peace posture. Robert Kennedy was a principal architect of the aggressive U.S. foreign policy that led us into our present plight in Vietnam.

When John F. Kennedy was President, Robert was his principal foreign policy adviser. He helped shape U.S. intervention in Vietnam. (In 1963, under the Kennedy administration, the CIA was organizing sabotage expeditions into North Vietnam.) The Kennedys organized the ill-fated 1961 invasion of Cuba. In 1962 they brought the world to an "eyeball-to-eyeball" confrontation with nuclear disaster during the Cuban "missile crisis."

In a special film made for Kennedy's campaign committee, former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara offered this tribute:

"Robert Kennedy acted as a prime presidential agent on policy matters across the board. . . . One of the first projects I undertook, early in 1961, was a review of the relationship of United States military strength to its world-wide commitments. . . . we concluded that a substantial increase in the United States armed forces and the defense budget was required. . . . it was a wise and courageous decision for which Robert Kennedy deserves a major share of the credit."

Kennedy's present talk in favor of negotiations in Vietnam is consistent with that basic policy. He is still acting on the basis of ensuring U.S. "world-wide commitments." The thing to understand, though, is that those "commitments" are not to the peoples of other countries. They are commitments to the world interests of U.S. imperialism.

Right now those imperialist interests are seriously threatened by the powerful advances of the Vietnamese liberation movement and

man for that section of the American ruling class, not for those concerned with genuine peace in Vietnam. He certainly has no concern for the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese people, not to speak of support of the guerrilla fighters.

It is for these reasons that Kennedy is opposed to withdrawal from Vietnam. For him negotiations are an instrument for keeping U.S. forces there, not to get them out.

That's why he was moved to declare March 19 that the demand for withdrawal from Vietnam was tantamount to "holding up the white flag."

All of these things are equally true of McCarthy. The biggest issue dividing him and Kennedy is that they both want to be President. In fact, McCarthy said March 19 that if he couldn't get the Democratic nomination, he would support Kennedy.

"I would have to support him," McCarthy explained. "Our positions are the same on most issues."

That, at least, is the truth. Like Kennedy, McCarthy has voted faithfully for all war appropriations in Congress. Like Kennedy, he voted for the Tonkin Gulf resolution. Like Kennedy, he voted to extend the draft for another four years.

Also concerned about U.S. "commitments," McCarthy took issue with Johnson's talk about getting the troops out of Vietnam within six months after negotiations are over (whenever that might be). At a Nov. 30, 1967, press conference, McCarthy responded that this was a bit too radical. He thought a five-year limit on withdrawal would be better.

Last March 16, McCarthy upped the ante, saying that even if there were a settlement in Vietnam, he



ON OCT. 21 MARCH. Supporters of Halstead

Revolution

Unlike the Republican and Democratic candidates, socialist candidates are activists

Fred Halstead

Fred Halstead, the SWP candidate for President, is 40 years old. He lives in a public housing project in the Chelsea district of Manhattan with his wife and four children.

He has been one of the leaders of the antiwar movement since its founding, and as a member of the administrative body of the Spring Mobilization Committee and the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, was a principal organizer of the April 15, 1967, antiwar demonstration of half a million in New York, and other antiwar actions.

Fred Halstead's antiwar activities go back to World War II when he was a sailor, 18 years old, stationed in the Pacific at the end of the war. At that time the ruling circles in the U.S. hoped to keep a large part of the wartime draftees mobilized after the armistice was signed. Their calculations were upset by the massive movement which swept through the troops in Europe and the Pacific demanding that they be brought home.

Banner

Halstead first remembers coming across the going-home movement in the Red Cross building in Shanghai, where U.S. servicemen used to stop for hamburgers. There, in the lobby, was a large banner which announced a meeting and said, "GIs Unite! We Want to Go Home."

Halstead and his buddies in the Navy joined this movement, which became so overwhelming it soon forced the Pentagon to demobilize the armed forces.

More recently, Halstead helped organize the "Hands off Cuba" demonstration in New York City during the 1962 missile crisis. This was one of the first attempts at building a broad, nonexclusive antiwar demonstration.

The SWP candidate has also been active in the labor movement since he was a teenager. He has participated in a number of strikes and organizing campaigns, including the Imperial Valley California agricultural strike in 1949 and the Square D Electrical Workers strike in Detroit in 1954 (when he was twice arrested).



ON OCT. 21 MARCH. Supporters of Halstead and Boutelle carry banner on Oct. 21 march on Pentagon.

Revolutionary Nominees

Unlike the Republican and Democratic candidates, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle are not seeking to cripple the antiwar and black power movements, but to build them. Both socialist candidates are activists in these movements.



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The Socialist Alternative



Members of Halstead and Boutelle carry banner on Oct. 21 march on Pentagon.

Presidential Nominees

Democratic candidates, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle are antiwar and black power movements, but to build them. Both activists in these movements.

In 1955 Fred Halstead became a staff writer for *The Militant*, covering many events in the black struggle beginning with the historic Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott.

As a resident of New York's Lower East Side area, he was an activist in the 1964 rent strike movement and wrote a book about the citywide rent strike movement called *Harlem Stirs*.

Paul Boutelle

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, was born in Harlem 35 years ago and has lived there most of his life. During the past eight years he has been active in the black movement in Harlem and Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Like many black youths, Boutelle dropped out of school early and began to study on his own. "My first awakening was a nationalist awakening," he says, "a feeling of pride in being black and a revulsion and hatred for what this racist capitalist system is doing to people of color throughout the world."

"Around 1957 I began listening to many militant and Afro-American speakers, from Malcolm X to the nonreligious black nationalists. I felt then, as I do now, that black nationalism is necessary to the liberation of black people."

Black Party

In 1963 Boutelle became active in the effort to build an all-black Freedom Now Party. He became chairman of the Harlem Freedom Now Party and in 1964 ran as that party's candidate for state senator from the 21st district in Harlem.

In 1965, he helped organize and was founding chairman of Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam. He later became secretary of the Black United Action Front, a coalition of organizations and individuals that organized the Harlem contingent in the April 15, 1967, mobilization against the war.

Boutelle is chairman of the Alexander Defense Committee, a group established to aid Dr. Neville Alexander and other members of the South African liberation movement who are now serving long terms in South Africa's apartheid prisons.

He has also participated in the campaign to defend the 17 black militants framed up on unconstitutional charges of "criminal anarchy" in New York.

Through his studies and his experiences in the black struggle, Boutelle became a Marxist. In 1965 he joined the Socialist Workers Party.

He is married and has a 12-year-old son, Daryl, who is already active in the black liberation movement.

Socialists want to head off the disaster the people of the United States are being led toward by the bipartisan policies of the Democrats and Republicans — twin parties of war and racism.

Despite Johnson's "limitation" of the bombing, the war in Vietnam continues, with more bombing, more troops, more death and destruction for the Vietnamese, and more American casualties. Kennedy and McCarthy present themselves as "peace" candidates, but are both strongly opposed to the U.S. getting out of Vietnam, the only realistic and just way to end the war and stop the killing.

While U.S. troops are in Vietnam attempting to crush a popular revolution, the black people in this country remain victims of racist oppression. The Democrats and Republicans offer only tokenism on the one hand and repression on the other, in answer to the just demands of the black people.

Alternative

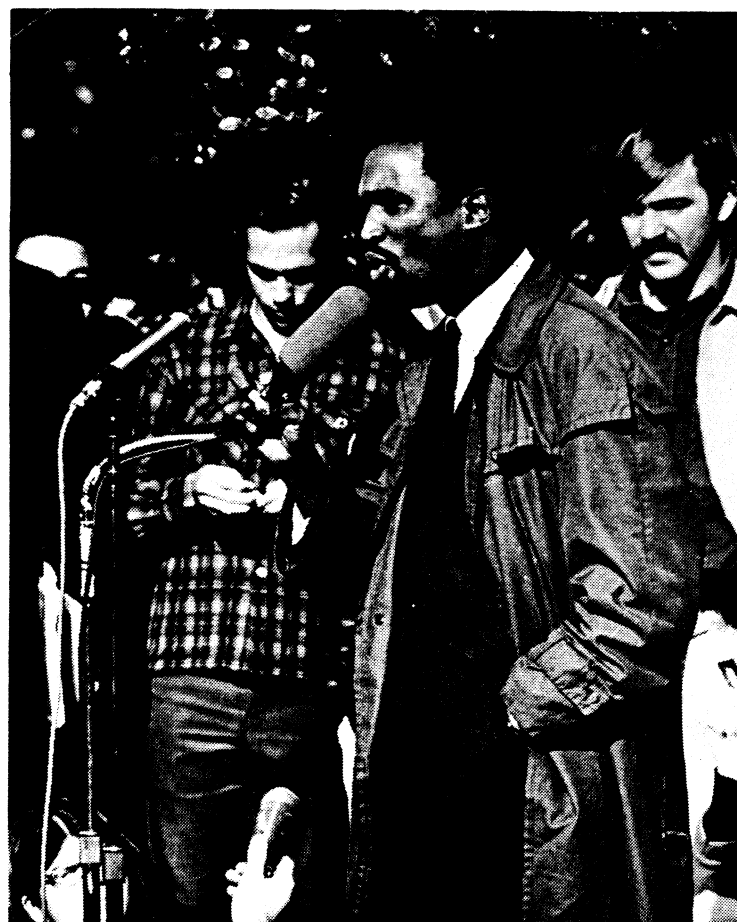
In 1968, a clear-cut opposition and radical alternative to the war-making and racist Democrats and Republicans will be presented by the Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle. Their campaign is aimed at building an independent movement that can work to change the capitalist system as a whole.

Here are some of the planks in Halstead and Boutelle's platform:

Stop the war in Vietnam — bring our men home now! Support the right of GIs to discuss the war and freely express their opposition to it. Abolish the draft — no draftees for Washington's imperialist war machine. Organize a national referendum to give the people the right to vote to withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Hands off Cuba and China. Support the struggles of the Asian, Latin American, African and Arab peoples for national independence and social liberation.

Support the black people's fight



FOR VICE PRESIDENT. Paul Boutelle speaking at rally on Berkeley campus.

for freedom, justice and equality through black power. Black people have the unconditional right to control their own communities. The black communities should have control over their schools, and city, state and federal funds should be made available to them in whatever amounts needed to overcome years of deprivation in education.

Appropriate whatever funds are necessary to provide jobs for every unemployed Afro-American, with preferential hiring and upgrading to equalize opportunities in apprenticeship programs, skilled trades, and higher paying technical and supervisory occupations.

It is the right of Afro-Americans to keep arms and organize themselves for self-defense from racist attacks.

For an independent black political party to organize and lead the struggle for black power on all fronts and by any means necessary.

Support labor's fight against inflation and government control. Defense of the unconditional right to strike. Repeal all antilabor laws. No freeze on wages. Rank-and-file control over all union affairs. Equal rights in the union and on

the job for black workers and for members of other minorities, and full union support to the Afro-American struggle for equality.

For an independent labor party based on the trade unions, to defend the rights of all working people against the parties of the bosses, and to fight for a workers' government.

For a planned, democratic socialist America. Nationalize the major corporations and banks under the control of democratically elected workers' committees. Plan the economy democratically for the benefit of all instead of for the profit of the few.

A socialist America will be an America of peace and prosperity, without poverty or slums or unemployment, and without wars like that in Vietnam. It will put an end to racism and, for the first time after over 400 years of oppression, guarantee unconditionally the right of self-determination for black Americans. It will signal an unparalleled growth in culture, freedom and in the development of the individual.

For more information, write to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Photo by Leonard Gordon

FOR PRESIDENT. Fred Halstead (just right of banner) on march to Boston Common April 3 for rally called by The Resistance.

Endorse the Socialist Campaign

- Please send me more literature on the Socialist Workers Party election campaign.
- I want to help organize a meeting for a candidate.
- Enclosed is a donation of \$.....
- Although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the Socialist Workers Party platform, I endorse the SWP's 1968 presidential ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. Add my name as an Afro-American for Halstead and Boutelle

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873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

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SUPPORT FOR TICKET GROWS

Schoenman, McGowan Back SWP

With six months to go until election day, the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket has already won more support than in any previous campaign since it first fielded a national ticket in 1948.

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Ralph Schoenman

the Halstead-Boutelle ticket as a means of advancing the anti-imperialist struggle in the U.S.

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Salutes SWP

Similarly, the noted literary critic Maxwell Geismar declared: "I am glad to state publicly that I will endorse the political slate of the Socialist Workers Party on a national level, as I have done on a state level . . . I salute your national program of political action as a necessary element for those of us who see no other real alternative."

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The ticket has also been endorsed by the Oklahoma University chapter of SDS.

Attorneys who have defended many activists in progressive causes and who favor a vote for Halstead and Boutelle include Jack Peebles of New Orleans and Harry Nier of Denver.

As the socialist campaign continues to gain momentum, it can be assumed that independent support will continue to grow. This offers the best opportunity in years to reach a maximum number of Americans with socialist alternatives on the great issues of the day and by doing so to significantly advance the building of a revolutionary movement in the United States.



Felix McGowan



John Wilson

Styron Nominated in Illinois

CHICAGO — The Illinois Socialist Workers Party campaign committee announced April 8 the candidacy of Dan Styron for U.S. senator. Styron will be running against Everett Dirksen, Senate minority leader and one of the foremost supporters of Johnson's war policies in Vietnam.

In a recent statement to the press Styron said, "The occupation of black neighborhoods by cops, National Guard units from the suburbs, and the U.S. Army must be ended immediately. Black Americans have a right to determine what happens in their community. They have a right to run their own schools, law enforcement agencies, fire departments, political organizations, and whatever other type of organization they feel is necessary for that community."

Before entering the senatorial race, Styron was a staff member of the April Parade Committee which is organizing a massive antiwar demonstration in Chicago for April 27. As part of his campaign, Styron is seeking to build the April 27 demonstration and the International Student Strike scheduled for April 26.

For the next two months Styron



Dan Styron

will be touring the Midwest, speaking in support of the Halstead-Boutelle ticket and his own senatorial candidacy. Until April 27, Styron will be touring in Illinois and Missouri. He will then continue his tour through Indiana,

Kentucky, Southern Illinois, and Missouri.

Dan Styron was a student at Berkeley, Calif., in 1964, and participated in the Free Speech Movement which shook the University of California campus there. He has been active in the antiwar movement in Berkeley and New York, as well as in Chicago. He served on the executive committee of the Berkeley Vietnam Day committee, and in the summer of 1965 he became active in the New York Parade Committee.

After moving to Chicago in 1966, he helped to found the Student Mobilization Committee and became a coordinator for the Chicago Student Mobilization Committee.

For more information, contact the Chicago campaign office at 302 South Canal St., Rm. 204.

Suggestion — Now that the "Be Clean for Gene" slogan has inspired students to trim hair and beards for McCarthy, no doubt the Kennedy forces are in the market for a similar, catchy phrase. A thoughtful reader, impressed with the high moral level of the Kennedy Kaper, submits "Be Slobby for Bobby."

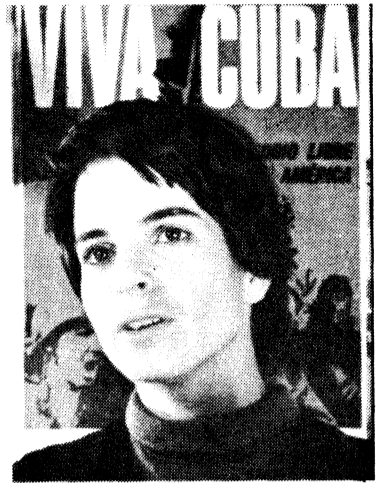
Seattle Antiwar Leader Is SWP Senate Nominee

SEATTLE — The Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator from the state of Washington is a leader of the antiwar movement in the Northwest. Debbie Leonard was a founding member of the University of Washington Vietnam Committee and served as its chairman. As director of the Seattle Spring Mobilization Committee, she helped organize a contingent of 800 persons who traveled to the San Francisco demonstration on April 15, 1967.

Before resigning to launch her campaign, Debbie Leonard worked as a welfare worker. As a member of the welfare workers union (AFSCME), she helped mobilize a contingent of welfare workers to participate in the Seattle demonstration in support of the Oct. 21 march on Washington, D.C., last fall.

At a well-attended press conference here March 26, the socialist candidate told reporters that her campaign would center around the demands raised by the SWP presidential ticket, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and for black control of black communities.

The *Seattle Times* quoted Mrs.



Debbie Leonard

Leonard's attack on Senators McCarthy and Kennedy, whom she accused of attempting to take advantage of the immense and very genuine antiwar sentiment in the nation and to channelize it into the Democratic Party and thus behead it." Local TV stations gave extensive news coverage to the press conference.

For more information, contact the Seattle SWP campaign office at 5257 University Way N.E.

Socialist Candidates Enter City and State Campaigns

In addition to its presidential ticket, the Socialist Workers Party has entered a number of state and local elections around the country. Elsewhere in this issue there are stories on four socialist candidates for U.S. Senate: Hedda Garza in New York, Peter Camejo in California, Dan Styron in Illinois, and Debbie Leonard in Washington.

The SWP has announced that it will run two other candidates for Senate, in Ohio and Washington, and the party has entered the gubernatorial race in Wisconsin.

Ohio Candidate

In Ohio, Eric Reinthaler will be the SWP candidate for Senate. Reinthaler has been a long-time trade union militant in the Cleveland area, and is an active member of the University Circle Teach-In Committee.

Pearl Chertov is the SWP senatorial candidate in Pennsylvania. She has served on the organizing committee of the Philadelphia Mobilization Committee which organized participation in the April 15 and Oct. 21 demonstrations last year, and the April 27 demonstration this year.

In Wisconsin, Bob Wilkinson, a Vietnam veteran and chairman of the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam, is the socialist candidate for Governor.

There is not space to list all of the congressional candidates — four each in New York and Michigan alone. In Minnesota, David Thorstad is the SWP candidate for Congress in the 3rd congressional district in Minneapolis. From February to August 1967 Thorstad was a member of the Paris Secretariat of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal which investigated U.S. atrocities in Vietnam.

UAW Member

In Michigan James Griffin is running for Congress in the 17th district. He is a young member of the UAW and a founder of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Other congressional candidates include John Gray in Los Angeles and Joe Carroll in Newark, N.J.

In Detroit, Evelyn Kirsch is running for the Wayne State University Board of Governors. Miss Kirsch is a senior at WSU, chief organizer of the WSU referendum on the Vietnam war in April '67, and editor of the campus protest paper, the *Wayne Reply*.

Books and Pamphlets

Works on the Afro-American struggle

- The Case for a Black Party, Introduction by Paul Boutelle 25¢
- The Black Uprisings, Newark, Detroit 1967 25¢
- Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination 95¢
- Malcolm X Speaks Cloth \$5.95 Paper 95¢
- The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary By George Breitman Cloth \$4.50 Paper \$1.95
- Malcolm X Talks to Young People 35¢

Works by Che Guevara

- Socialism and Man 35¢
- Vietnam and World Revolution 20¢
- Che on Guerrilla Warfare Cloth \$3.50 Paper \$1.65

On the Vietnam War

- Germ Warfare Research for Vietnam, by Phil. CEWV 50¢
- GI's and the Fight Against War, by Mary-Alice Waters 25¢
- Immediate Withdrawal vs. Negotiations, by Caroline Jenness 15¢

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John Wilson



Felix McGowan

Which Is the Underdeveloped Country?

Medical Care in U.S. and Cuba

By Marvel Scholl

In the current medical crisis, with capitalist politicians of all stripes "viewing with alarm" the worsening situation of the American people's health, it is time a few sharp words were spoken.

We in the Socialist Workers Party have always contended that the crisis in health care cannot be solved under capitalism where profits are all-important, human welfare secondary. We advocate the socialization of medicine and of the entire pharmaceutical industry. This would be one of the first orders of business of a socialist government.

In the interim, however, until a socialist government comes into being, we propose the nationalization of both the medical profession and its close ally, the drug industry, administered under strict government control. We believe that the only solution for the many facets of the whole problem is to take all profit out of human misery. Put the doctors on an adequate salary, the hospitals under the control of salaried specialists, just as they are in most of Europe. And expropriate the most lucrative of all industries—the pharmaceuticals, which last year topped all other industries with a 21.1 percent profit on investments.

Poised for a fight against any suggestions, however minute, that the American people have a right to good health care without first lining the purses of the medical profession, is the American Medical Association. A declaration of war on this issue was made last June at the installation of Dr. Milford R. Rouse as president of the AMA. In his inaugural address he said:

"We are faced with many problems and many challenges. We are faced with the concept that health care is a right rather than a privilege.

"Several major steps have already been taken by the federal

government in providing health care for large segments of the population. Other steps have been proposed—these we must continue to oppose.

"What is our philosophy? It is the faith in private enterprise. We can, therefore, concentrate our attention on the single obligation to protect the American way of life. That way can be described in one word: Capitalism." (Emphasis added.)

Thus spoke the leader of the medical profession in the U.S. The American Medical Association, with an almost captive membership of 220,000 members, has abandoned its primary purpose, as set down in its own constitution—the betterment of health care and the preservation of life. Its "single obligation" now is the health and welfare of the "free enterprise" system.

The AMA looks upon the medical insurance and nationalized health services in countries of Western Europe as "socialized medicine." It has been successful (except in Saskatchewan) in helping the Canadian Medical Association keep doctor services out of the national health insurance plans in Canada.

Yet in those capitalist countries where adequate health care has been recognized as the right of the people, not a privilege, health standards are far higher than in the United States. Infant mortality rates, gross death rates, longevity tables, all show the U.S. at the bottom, Western European countries at the top or near it. Compare, for instance, infant mortality rates in England (19.1) with the U.S. (21.6 for whites, 41.1 for nonwhites). In the longevity tables Sweden stands at the top with an average life span of 76 years; the U.S. is No. 21 with 66 years (a five-year drop in as many years).

Since the very idea of the kind of health systems currently in effect in Europe has the Ameri-

can Medical Association in a cold sweat, consider how they view the socialized medicine in Eastern Europe, Russia, and Cuba! Let us look at Cuba and see how a genuine socialized medical system works for the betterment of the people.

First we must realize that Cuba suffers from almost every kind of shortage, except sugar. Food and medicine are in very short supply. But one shortage which only time can solve is of trained teaching personnel in the schools. We must keep these obstacles in mind in assessing the gains this tiny island has made in beginning the building of socialized medicine.

In 1959, after a mass exodus of AMA-type physicians who fled the country with Batista, there were only 1,121 doctors left to man the 87 existing hospitals and clinics, almost all of which were in the cities. By 1964 the number of Cuban-educated medical men had risen to 4,855. The one medical school, at the University of Havana, had only four teaching hospitals to train its students in clinical medicine. In 1964 a new medical university was opened in Oriente Province, and many new teaching hospitals were accredited.

Education is free, and students receive an allowance in addition to all other costs. Once internship is over, a medical student is required to serve two years in a rural community, after which, if he qualifies, he can return to school for graduate work.

Cuba has also worked hard training other medical personnel—dentists, technicians, nurses, and paramedical workers (aides, attendants, etc.)—for the hospitals. In 1959 the nursing staff numbered 822—now it is claimed the number has risen to 6,667. In the beginning of this forced march there were 179 dentists. According to a small booklet published by the Cuban government in 1964, that number had swollen to 997. In 1959 only 87 hospitals served



Photo by Ring

PREVENTIVE CARE. Children in Cuban nursery receive complete medical care—free.

the whole country. Sixty-six new institutions, mostly in the rural areas, were in operation by 1964, with bed capacity of 5.7 per 1,000 population.

A chain of outpatient polyclinics is being built. The aim is to locate these health centers sufficiently close together to limit each to serve 3,000 patients, with full staffs covering all specialties. The clinics will also serve as community centers to serve as both social and educational centers. Even though the shortage of doctors and teachers is acute, those clinics already in existence, although sometimes crowded, are serving their communities well. Lectures and seminars on good sanitation, mosquito control, the role of a balanced diet in health, are well attended.

But it is difficult to achieve the eradication of disease caused by hunger and hidden hunger in a country where food itself is hard to get. The U.S.-engineered boycott of Cuba sharply curbs the export from any "friendly" country ("friendly" to the U.S., that is) of the vital commodities so desperately needed to nourish the people and serve their medical needs. So Cuba has had to allot much of its land to the growth of food stuffs, thus reducing the one money-crop, sugar, with which it pays for everything else it must import.

But even against these odds remarkable progress has been made. In 1932 the infant mortality rate stood at 107. In 1964 it had been brought down to 34.8 per 1,000 live births. Compare this with figures from the rest of Latin America: Brazil, 125.3; Ecuador, 104.3; Paraguay, 104; the Dominican Republic, 100.5; Guatemala, 98.

The gross death rate has been reduced to 7.1 per 1,000 population. (The gross death rate in the U.S. is 9.6!) In other Latin American countries the gross death rate is: Guatemala, 17.3; Ecuador, 13.5; Colombia, 12.0; El Salvador, 11.5.

In nine short years Cuba has eradicated polio. The fight against tuberculosis, once a main cause of death, is being won, as is the battle against leprosy, malaria, and the gastrointestinal diseases caused by parasites (worms—hook, round and tape).

The life span is expanding. Not too long ago a Cuban peasant or worker who achieved 40 years of age was considered very old in-

deed. Only the hardiest survived to reach the 50s or 60s.

You have only to look at photographs of happy, healthy children in Cuban schools and nursery schools to see the direct impact of socialized medicine on the young. These pictures tell the story far more graphically than a whole book of statistics!

Yet in the United States, where the most advanced medical technology in the world is available (if you can afford it), the national health standards are dropping, infant mortality is on the rise, maternal death rates (especially among the nonwhites) are going up. Tuberculosis, once thought conquered with the wonder drugs, is making a comeback. The life span is shrinking. Cancer, diabetes, strokes and degenerative heart disease are robbing old people of the joy of life which should be theirs, and then taking life itself. Children in the city ghettos and rural slums are dying of nutritional deficiency diseases—sometimes actually starving to death.

The cost of fee-for-service medical care in this country has risen faster than any other segment of living costs—a conservative estimate is 30 percent since 1957.

Yet that "cost" cannot be counted simply in dollars and cents. Far more important is the cost reflected in the lowering health standards in this, the richest country in the world.

And so it will continue to be until that day when a socialist government takes over and begins to put the "care" back in medical care. Only then will the AMA boast—"the United States has a quality of health care unsurpassed anywhere"—be a reality. And it will not be the American Medical Association who makes the boast but the whole people who will learn, for the first time in our history, that Hippocrates, the father of medicine, never envisioned medicine as a profession whose sole aim was to get rich quick.

Life in El Fronton

The imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco remains in great danger under the conditions prevailing at the island fortress of El Frontón. Blanco, who has been jailed since 1964, was sentenced to 35 years in prison last year for his work in organizing peasant unions. Blanco is a well-known Trotskyist and a leader of the Fourth International.

The following items, taken from the March issue of *Solidarité Pérou* ("Solidarity with Peru"), the

bulletin of the French Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru, bears testimony both to the horrors practiced under the "democratic" regime of President Belaúnde Terry and to the venality of the Peruvian press.

The first item is the account given in *Correo*, a Lima newspaper, of an atrocity committed in El Frontón—which is on an island in Lima's harbor—where a number of political prisoners are held.

The second is a letter from a correspondent of the committee in Lima reporting the truth about the incident.

Correo: "A guard on the island penitentiary, El Frontón, machine-gunned the prisoner Alberto Gamarra Eyzaguirre, known as 'The Lunatic,' who jumped him armed with a stick. Gamarra was struck by five bullets and fell dead in the main yard of El Frontón.

"Several prisoners present tried to stir up a riot but the guards kept the crowd in order by firing into the air.

"There was no mutiny, nor any attempt at mass escape; it was only a slight incident," an official assured us.

"Gamarra attacked one of the guards, whose name was not revealed. The sound of machine-gun fire awakened the whole prison population. The prisoners started a ruckus and made menacing gestures at the policeman who had killed their companion. The po-

liceman had to be protected by his colleagues . . ."

The Lima correspondent of the French committee, March 31:

"The story was quite different. The prisoner was an insane person who wandered into a forbidden zone to answer the call of nature. He was riddled with bullets in front of everybody. He didn't do anything or say anything.

"You can imagine the atmosphere of terror reigning in El Frontón. The papers published only a few totally false lines.

"If those in command in El Frontón want to liquidate Hugo Blanco, they can do so without any scruple and no one could interfere . . . His situation is very, very dangerous . . ."



Hugo Blanco

The Case For a Black Party

Introduction by Paul Boutelle
22 pp. \$.25

BLACK POWER

By Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton
198 pp. \$1.95

Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders
608 pp. \$1.25

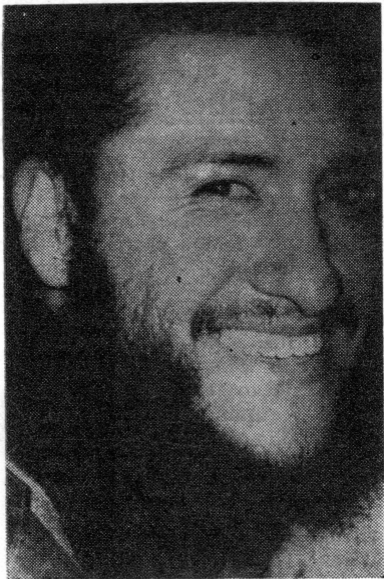
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Hugo Blanco

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.]

Black Uprisings

Philadelphia, Pa.

Your coverage of the assassination of Martin Luther King and the outbursts arising from it was the best and most truthful that I have read. I think the April 15 issue was terrific.

The ruling class seems to have a habit of always blaming these outbursts on single individuals, which of course is not what really causes the explosions. It seems a bit strange that this time they haven't blamed a single individual. Of course they couldn't blame Rap Brown, because he is in jail. I wonder, though, why they haven't blamed Stokely Carmichael. If it weren't for the fact that Dr. King is already dead, they would probably blame it on him, but they can't kill him twice even in the age of overkill.

They seem to have found a suspect for the murder, one white man named Eric Galt, and who knows if they'll deign to imprison him for murder. But you can bet they wouldn't dream of indicting him for "inciting to riot." That they only blame on black people.

Amy Lowenstein

Cuban Refugees

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The United States imperialist government has recently published a pamphlet which you may find interesting in that it sheds light on why Cuba's refugees were unable to get along in Fidel's Cuba. It is published by the Children's Bureau and is entitled: *Cuba's Children in Exile: the Story of the Unaccompanied Cuban Refugee Children's Program*.

I will quote you the relevant

section; it refers to the problems most of the Cuban youngsters had in adjusting to the American way of life:

"While there is said to be less racial discrimination in Cuba than in this country, the Cubans had sharper distinctions between social classes. Children from "privileged" families tended to ostracize the laborers', the farmers', and the fishermen's sons and daughters. In the first days of the Unaccompanied Cuban Refugee Children's Program, many Cuban youth refused to perform manual labor, especially in sight of other Cubans . . ."

Another section of this pamphlet continues:

"Many of the youngsters came from families with servants and had been waited on all their lives. Some children were genuinely shocked when asked to take out the garbage or even to pick up their clothes. The Cuban male had an exalted role in the household; helping with housework or child care was considered unmanly."

No wonder they, and their parents that sent them because they "began to fear the influence of communism on their children," don't dig Fidel. He might make them cut sugar cane and certainly pick up their own clothes.

J.B.

Generation Gap

San Francisco, Calif.

There always has been a certain antagonism between older people and the more vigorous, exuberant and usually noisier young. It is a phenomenon currently described as the "generation gap," and in America it has assumed monstrous and deadly proportions.

America, becoming a world power by military means, has been compared to the British Empire, but there is this basic difference. Britain built her empire with a volunteer army and mercenaries while this country is

building hers largely with a conscript army — that is by sending tens of thousands of young Americans involuntarily to their death.

Jean Carper, in an article dealing with military conscription in *The Nation* (March 11), wrote these lines, "The old men conduct the war from the safety of the home front, while the impotent young (many not even old enough to vote) must kill and be killed at the bidding of their elders."

Future historians — that is if the human race has a future — will record that America was a nation which devoured its own young.

Dale Rasmussen

"Law and Order"

Elmhurst, N.Y.

On Monday, April 8, the *New York Times* in its leading article defined the spirit of Dr. King's life work as "the maintenance of law and order."

What does the *Times* mean?

Let the oppressed practice love and nonviolence. As long as they don't become revolutionaries, the system is safe. Encourage the black and white victims of a predatory society to "turn the other cheek." It helps to maintain the system. It stops the building of a bridge between thought and action. It even discourages thought itself. So the *Times* puts the thoughts and understanding of the ruling class into clear perspective — "the maintenance of law and order."

Order is the purpose of law, and law subsists by power. Power means violence to maintain power. When the *Times* talks about law and order it really means power. The power of the ruling class to uphold its racist, exploitative and sadistic society by all the repressive means known to it. This is the "law and order" of this society. This is the reward of non-

Thought for the Week

"The nation is in the midst of the worst financial crisis since 1931. In 1931 the problem was deflation. Today it is inflation and equally intolerable."—William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

violence, of protest, of dissent. This is the answer to the call of the oppressed for economic and social justice.

Those who do not share Dr. King's philosophy are called "criminals" by the *Times*. Who are the criminals that this garbage paper indicts? Stokely Carmichael and all revolutionaries, answers the *Times*. This is the real voice of capitalism talking. This is the demonstration of the love, the affection and the brotherhood of the "Great Society." This is the lesson that the *Times* learns from Dr. King's precepts.

This perfidious rag is silent on the application of law and order when it applies to the burning of villages by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Property is only protected by law when it is owned by United States capitalism. The bamboo hut of a Vietnamese peasant is not protected by law. The few, meager possessions of an evicted family in Newark are not protected by law. The miserable possessions of a black man in Detroit that are deliberately smashed by a riot-happy cop are not protected by law. But don't you dare to protest or stage a sit-in inside the sacred precincts of Dow Chemical — that is properly protected by law.

Marat

Partisan of De Leon

Menasha, Wis.

Please permit me to comment on the editor's note appended by Mr. Sheppard to R.A.'s letter which appeared in the April 8 edition of *The Militant* plugging the pro-

gram of the Socialist Labor Party of America, i.e., Socialist Industrial Unionism as conceived by the late Daniel De Leon. Mr. Sheppard wrote the following:

"While learning something from De Leon, Lenin and Trotsky led a revolution through democratic organs, the soviets, that were not (nor under the circumstances could they have been) exactly like the Socialist Industrial Unions De Leon envisaged."

It seems to me that you missed the thrust of R.A.'s argument. He certainly did not imply that Lenin and Trotsky should have instituted De Leon's conception of Socialist Industrial Unionism as that would have been absurd under the circumstances, since Russia was a devastated, agrarian land, populated primarily by an ignorant, superstitious peasantry.

Bona fide socialism, i.e., Marxism-De Leonism, is possible only in an industrial nation. Leninism and/or Trotskyism as revolutionary tactics can only work in agrarian nations, but only to the point of obtaining power for the oppressed. If the basis for industry is present, then, as Lenin pointed out, the *ultimate* form of government must be Socialist Industrialism or Unionism as conceived by Daniel De Leon. If the basis for industry is not present, then Socialism is impossible while a communitarian sharing of the proceeds of the sale of agricultural commodities to industrial nations may bring a higher standard of life.

Robert E. Nordlander

The Great Society

Boring from Within? — A Moscow paper, *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, charged that foreign film makers are out to undermine Soviet society with movies featuring nude women, gangsters and jazz. The paper said they charge higher prices for better pictures, like westerns, and profit-conscious import officials buy the cheaper, more subversive comedy and gangster films. On reflection, we can see where nude women and jazz can be subversive of the established order of things. But we always assumed that gangsters, like cowboys, were pillars of society.

Social Progress Report—Stoke-

ly Carmichael and H. Rap Brown are among those listed in the new edition of "Who's Who."

White Man's Territory — The federal government has moved to bar the red man from infringing on a sacred white right. An April 19 UPI dispatch from Washington reports: "The Federal Trade Commission issued today guidelines to crack down on the sale of machine-made goods being passed off as hand-made by Indian artisans or craftsmen."

Social Security — Without a word of debate, members of the New York state legislature adopted a bill permitting themselves and their staffs to retire at half pay after 20 years. The pension is computed on the basis of their most lucrative years in government and their expense accounts are included in the tally. The only shortcoming to the measure that we can see is that the bill doesn't also provide them with half of what they stole during their tenure.

We Never Thought of That — Annemarie Huste, Jacqueline Kennedy's former cook, says the key to good cooking is good ingredients.

TV Revolution—NBC, in a radical break with tradition, will open a TV series about a middle-class, black, widowed nurse trying to make a life for herself and her children. The producer, Hal Kanter, says it will start off low key and then really get controversial. An example of his revolutionary approach, as cited by the *Wall Street Journal*: "An episode about a Negro failure who blames his downfall on his color. Julia's role — to prove to him that he's using race to excuse his own personal faults."

Problems, Problems—"But what blouse can I wear with that suit?" fretted Mrs. Pierre David Weill, a stockbroker's wife, as she considered a \$4,200 white lamb suit at a Bergdorf Goodman showing.

A Drag — To resume where we left off several months ago—researchers report that smoking causes a definite lag in reflex responses. In a knee-jerk reflex test, the response dropped as much as 67 percent immediately after the subject had a cigarette.

Creeping Disbelief — The rector of Sweden's Upsala University, asked to appraise the Swedish view of the U.S., said: "There is disbelief in the United States just now, especially among our young people, and I feel it creeping on myself."

Solution — New York's City Finance Administrator Roy Goodman has come up with the solution to the racial issue. He wants special slum schools to give business training so that the black man can "become a more active participant in the capitalistic system." "We would aim to produce black capitalists and, hopefully, a few black millionaires," he said. He visualized the use of intelligence tests in selecting those who would be offered this golden opportunity. We assume that anyone who got a high mark on the I.Q. test would be disqualified.

Business Opportunity — Reflecting on Mr. Goodman's proposal to train potential black capitalists, we wondered what field of financial endeavor he might direct them toward. Then we saw a headline in the *New York Times* financial section stating: "Riot Control Equipment Stocks Strengthen."

—Harry Ring

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Photo by Della Rosa

REIES TIJERINA. Leader of Alianza (left) speaking with Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from California.

Ex-Cop Tries to Bomb Mexican-American H.Q.

LOS ANGELES — An ex-deputy sheriff lost his hand in an attempt to bomb the Albuquerque, N.M., headquarters of the New Mexico land grant movement April 16.

A man identified as William Fellion apparently broke a window of the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libre (Federal Alliance of Free City-States) with his gun, returned to his car for dynamite, and then stumbled over the curb as he again approached the building. His right hand was found in the debris in front of the building. Fellion drove to his home in shock and is now hospitalized in serious condition.

Reies Lopez Tijerina, founder of the Alianza, received a report in Los Angeles of the bomb attempt from his brother Cristobal Tijerina, who was in the Alianza headquarters at the time of the attack. Reies Tijerina said, "Apparently the police want to use force against the Alianza because they have no law on their side. 'There have been all kinds of threats against the Alianza,' Reies Tijerina said, "and this attack now is part of the pattern of attacks against black and brown leaders and organizations. Dr. King was killed, Bobby Hutton of the Black Panthers was killed. The black and brown must now unite stronger than ever.

"This bombing by the ex-deputy

sheriff in Albuquerque, and the police statement, as reported by the Associated Press, 'that there is no connection between the bombing and the Alianza,' makes it that much easier to prove a conspiracy on the part of New Mexico police to assassinate Alianza leaders, a conspiracy reported to us months ago by Anglo friends."

Tijerina added, "This is not the first time a man who has attacked the Alianza has lost his hand. A police official named Gonzalez who made a false arrest of me later lost his hand in a logging machine — and his uncle died as he attempted to save him. 'And Jack Vaughn, who has attacked the Alianza in Chama, N.M., accidentally blew himself to bits with dynamite. Fate is on our side.

"The police are using dirty tricks against us. They attack us and protect others who attack us. This only proves we are dealing with cowards, not braves. This means we will win. Victory will be ours. The thieves will not inherit the earth."

Although several people were in the Alianza building at the time of the attack, no one was injured. The headquarters was not damaged beyond the side window, which was apparently broken by Fellion's pistol. Scratches were found on the pistol.

Crispus Attucks, the first black man to die in the American Revolution, is discounted by the Daughters of the American Revolution as a "rioter."

"It's a misnomer to think of him as a part of the American Revolution," a DAR aide said at national headquarters.

"He actually took part in a riot which was held before the established date" of the American Revolution, April 19, 1775.

The riot they are talking about was the famous Boston Massacre, which rallied popular opinion against continued British rule.

The DAR is a conservative all-white organization of American women who can prove their lineal descent from anyone who aided or fought in the movement for American independence.

The ironic thing is that if the likes of the DAR matrons had been running things back in 1776, there would have been no revolution at all.

When asked if they would accept a black person into membership who traced his lineage from Crispus Attucks, the answer of a DAR staff member was, "He was just a boy and, besides, he was never married."

Attucks was fifty years old when shot down by the British in Boston.

The day after Dr. Martin Luther King was shot, a wave of boycotts, demonstrations, marches and rallies swept high schools in the black community. In addition, black high school students played a prominent role in the spontaneous rebellions in the streets. The reaction was an indication of the depth of the radicalization going on in the high schools.

Many cities closed down the schools to avoid student protests. In Detroit, the students themselves closed 20 schools by marching out in what were called "memorial walkouts."

In Chicago, every high school in the black community saw some kind of demonstration or spontaneous reaction, including walkouts, marches and rallies.

The *Michigan Chronicle*, Detroit's large circulation black

Black Liberation Notes



Dr. Martin Luther King

newspaper, announced recently that it is dropping use of the word "Negro" in news stories. From now on, "black" or "Afro-American" will be used to refer to black people.

The change comes as a result of a survey of *Chronicle* readers in which 83 percent said they preferred to be called "Afro-American" or "black."

Out of the 398 responses received, "black" got 183 votes; "Afro-American," 147; "Negro," 19; "colored," 21; and "African-American," 15.

The *Chronicle* reported that many readers expressed "extreme repugnance" to the term "Negro."

In black communities around the country, the slogan of "black unity" is being put into practice with the formation of united front coalitions of various organizations to work on common projects. Such fronts have been formed in Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Boston, Minneapolis, and most recently, Chicago.

After the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, the united front coalition in Boston held a huge rally of over 2,000 where 21 demands were publicly announced. As each demand was read aloud, the crowd shouted agreement, with the loudest response going to the demand for expropriation of white-controlled businesses in the ghetto.

Other demands included black control of schools in the black community, the renaming of all black schools after black heroes, and control by community organizations of antipoverty funds.

In Minneapolis, a group called the "Urban Coalition" recently put forth 14 demands, including calling for an end to the war in Vietnam.

A recent *Los Angeles Times* report from Nigeria on the impact in Africa of Dr. King's assassination ended with the following comment:

"Many Africans already tend to think of the United States as the champion of whites in Africa because of its refusal to support the African guerrilla movements now under way in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. The murder of Dr. King will strengthen that image."

According to University of California sociologist Rodney Stark, nationwide research has revealed that racism not only flourishes among white Christians in this country, but active church members are the most bigoted among them.

While participating in a symposium in Berkeley recently, Stark commented, "On Sunday morning those Americans who most need to have their prejudice shaken are more likely to be found in church than home reading the newspapers or watching the football game of the week."

—Elizabeth Barnes

Camejo Campaigns in Berkeley

BERKELEY, Calif. — Several hundred students at the University of California at Berkeley responded enthusiastically to a speech by Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, on Sproul Hall steps April 12. Other speakers at the rally included former Pfc. Howard Petrick, recently discharged from the Army for his antiwar and socialist views, and Mike Ferber, one of the Boston Five, indicted along with Dr. Spock for his opposition to the draft. Mike Parker of the Peace and Freedom Party also spoke, urging students to attend a rally in Oakland for slain Black Panther leader Bobby Hutton. The rally was sponsored by the campus Young Socialist Alliance.

Camejo told the crowd about the CHOICE 68 campus presidential primary poll scheduled for April 24. He urged a vote for SWP candidate Fred Halstead, declaring, "A vote for Halstead will be a vote for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and for black control of the black communities."

Camejo called for students to write in "Black control of black communities" in the section of the

CHOICE 68 ballot on the "urban crisis."

"The choices given to you by *Time* magazine," he said, "are stated in such a way as to ask you what the great white father should do for black people: should he give black people some more houses or maybe a little more education, or more money, or what? This evades the crucial issue that black people have no control of their own lives. The only way to remedy this is for them to organize to control their own communities and not wait for liberals to help them."

Howard Petrick said, "GIs are a cross section of American society. They have the same ideas and talk about the same things that everyone else is talking about, with this difference: They are the ones who have been conscripted against their will; they are the ones who might die in Vietnam, so they are immediately concerned about the war. The GIs are a segment of society the antiwar movement should try to reach, because there is opposition throughout the Army to the war. Hardly a base exists now in which antiwar activity of some kind is not going on."

Earlier, during the previous week, Camejo spoke to a rally of more than 1,000 Berkeley students, called in support of the struggle of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The April 1 meeting, sponsored by the Tri Continental Student Committee, was carried through in spite of harassment from university officials. Songs and music "from revolutionary Vietnam" had originally been scheduled as part of the program, but the administration canceled permission for the rally until these were dropped. The university officials charged that the inclusion of such music might be "treasonous and possibly seditious as well."

Speakers at the rally, in addition to Camejo, included former Green Beret Donald Duncan; Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Mario Savio; spokesmen for the Peace and Freedom and Progressive Labor parties; and Nguyen Van Luy, a Vietnamese American.

For more information on the California state campaign, contact SWP campaign offices: 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley; 2338 Market St., San Francisco; and 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles.



Photo by Hermes

AT BUS TERMINAL. Hedda Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator from New York, passes out "Letter to GIs" written by Fred Halstead. Hedda Garza was joined by young socialists in distributing pamphlet to GIs. The Socialist Workers presidential candidate wrote "Letter" in response to a letter from a GI. Pamphlet explains SWP stand on war to GIs, who suffer the consequences of the war directly and have right to know the facts about it. Since GIs can vote, they have right to know views of all candidates. New York young socialists plan to make leafletting of GIs a prime activity of campaign in coming months. Hedda Garza found response from GIs very encouraging, and several soldiers asked for extra copies to bring back to their buddies.

Blacks in Prison Cell Sprayed with MACE

CHICAGO — Interviews in the Chicago *Sun Times* with black prisoners arrested during the recent outbreak reveal that prison guards "on occasion sprayed Mace into the cells. 'If we get a little noisy, the guards use their Mace,' said one of the inmates." Mace is a chemical which disables people, causing severe pain and burning sensation on the skin, eyes, etc., and often has aftereffects. Many participants in demonstrations have run afoul of this latest "riot-control" weapon. But this is the first reported use of the weapon on helpless victims locked in prison cells.

Such sadistic actions highlighted the city's repression of the black community as a whole. Hundreds of people were injured during the uprising, as 5,000 federal troops and 6,700 National Guardsmen augmented the all-out police effort. Close to 3,000 people were arrested, many of them herded into police vans in round-up style. Some 700 young people were arrested for mere curfew violations. Many were held in overcrowded bullpens. According to the Chicago reporter for the *New York Times*, "some in the bullpens had had nothing to eat for 24 hours or more."

"Three prisoners interviewed by the *Sun Times*," that paper reported, "said their diet until Friday [a week] consisted of a roll for breakfast and a bologna sandwich for lunch and supper. 'If you know somebody you might be able to get a little more,' one of the prisoners said."

"For several days after the disorders," the newspaper went on, "the tiny cells, designed for one or two men, often held four or even five. Those unable to find bunks used the floor for a bed and their coat for pillows, inmates of the jail said. None of the cells in the tier visited by the *Sun Times* reporter contained blankets or mattresses."

Prison superintendent Winston Moore was unabashed in admit-

ting the barbaric prison conditions. "We had as many as 186 men on a tier built for 39," he said. "That is correct and I make no apologies for it."

The courts also helped to perpetuate these conditions. Excessive bail was set—\$2,000-\$5,000 was quite common for those arrested, many of them charged only with disorderly conduct. As of this date, there are still over 200 people in jail who could not make bail. Some families report that they have been unable to locate relatives.

Afro-American lawyers of the Cook County Bar Association are giving legal aid to the defendants. Larry Kenon, a black lawyer, told the *Daily Defender* that the "Association would be available to all persons who are unable to afford a lawyer and that they would follow the cases 'to the finish.'"

The city has even tried to place obstacles in the way of assuring legal defense to the victims. A special meeting called by the presiding judge of the criminal division to determine procedures for the hearings attempted to bar the Afro-American lawyers—but they "crashed" the meeting, anyway.

Defendants unable to afford legal aid are assigned to the Cook County public defender, Gerald Getty. But, according to the *Daily Defender*, Afro-American lawyers "have charged that Getty 'is very hostile' towards the volunteer lawyers and the black lawyers in particular." As a result, most defendants have objected to being represented by the public defender and have asked for aid from the Cook County Bar Association.

Black ministers and professionals are organizing financial aid for the defendants and are arranging to bring food and supplies to the prison inmates.

Funds may be sent to the Community Legal Defense Organization, 6042 S. Kimbark. Phone: PL 2-4024.

Frame-Up of Black Militants In Wake of Chicago Uprising

By Gus Horowitz

CHICAGO — Among the many black people arrested during the outbreak here were five militants who are charged with arson and conspiracy to commit arson. Their arrest made front-page, banner headlines in the Chicago newspapers and is a patent frame-up.

The sole "evidence" against the accused men is from an undercover police agent provocateur. The agent, according to the *Sun Times*, "masquerading as an expert in revolutionary tactics, joined Negro militant groups last September." The identity of the police agent has been kept well-hidden. No other "evidence" has been mentioned.

The five men arrested are Frederick Andrews, Edward Crawford, Andrew Brown, Curlee Reed, and Anthony Williams. Police also said that they were "searching" for others.

Andrews is an organizer for the Garfield Organization, a militant Westside community group. He was arrested as he was preparing to leave for the Memphis march held after Martin Luther King's assassination. Andrews is also a leader of ACT, another militant black organization.

The Rev. Ulysses S. Doss, president of the Garfield Organization, said: "The board of directors of the Garfield Organization knows of absolutely no evidence concerning the charges of arson against one of our organizers, Frederick Andrews. The community is watching with skepticism the case against the accused. . . . We refuse to allow the city to crucify innocent persons in time of crisis, making scapegoats of them for the city's failure to remedy the ghetto's ills." Andrews had been harassed by arrest in 1966, during a previous uprising, but was acquitted of all charges.

Edward Crawford, another of



BULL CHARGES. This cop wasn't practicing theory of nonviolence during ghetto outbreak in Chicago after murder of Dr. Martin Luther King.

the victims, is president of the National Negro Rifle Association. In 1967 Crawford was a candidate for alderman, but his name was stricken from the ballot by the board of election.

Andrew Brown, another member of the Garfield Organization, was shot in the leg by police and arrested outside County Hospital. Curlee Reed is a member of the Christian Action Ministry, another black organization. The police said they have also issued a warrant for another member of the Garfield Organization, a former photographer for SNCC.

All but Brown were arrested in a police raid on the headquarters of the Garfield Organization. The

headquarters was left a shambles by the police, according to witnesses to the arrests.

The five men were held on bond of \$120,000 each, an unusually large figure. Felony Court Judge Daniel J. Ryan refused to reduce the bond. Also arrested in the raid on the Garfield Organization was Phillip Gise. Gise was arrested for burglary and held on \$50,000 bond. He was also shot in the leg by police during the uprising and appeared in court on crutches.

The identity of the victims, the use of a police agent, and Daley's threat to uncover a "conspiracy" all point in the direction of a frame-up against militant leaders in the black community.

What the Ghetto Thinks of Daley

CHICAGO, April 17 — Mayor Daley astounded this city with his frankness this week. He stated that he was "disappointed" that Chicago police hadn't acted strongly enough in carrying out his orders to "shoot to kill any arsonists" during the recent rebellion in Chicago's black community. Despite the fact that nine people were killed by police, most of them clearly innocent bystanders, Daley wasn't satisfied. He also called on the police to "shoot to maim or cripple" suspected looters. "A looter is a potential burglar," said the Mayor to justify his position.

In reporting Daley's news conference, the Chicago *Sun Times* said that "during questioning by reporters, Daley repeatedly referred to what he saw as the failure of police to use stern action during the disturbance. . . . Asked why a shoot-to-kill policy wasn't [!] observed during the disturbances, the mayor said, 'I assumed the orders were given. I would assume any [police] superintendent would issue orders to shoot any arsonists on sight.'"

The *Sun Times* also reported that "Daley said that he was disappointed to learn that of almost 2,700 persons arrested during the disorders, only 16 were arrested for arson."

"I'll surely take action to improve [!] the police department," Daley threatened.

The editorial in the same issue of the *Sun Times* put the lie to

Daley's statements about police restraint. "During the worst of the melee, however," said the paper, "there appears to have been unrestrained gunfire by a few policemen in a small area on W. Madison. Four men were killed, one or two of them innocent bystanders. . . . Eyewitnesses told *Sun Times* reporters of indiscriminate shooting by policemen. It is not known whether there were snipers in the area; no policemen or firemen were wounded during that period."

Gave Background

In fact, the *Sun Times* had run a long article the day before, giving the background and circumstances of the nine who died. None of the nine men was carrying weapons. Witnesses to the events leading to the murder of five of them showed that they were innocent bystanders, shot by the police. Two others were the victims of indiscriminate police fire. As one observer stated, in describing some of the Madison Street shootings, "It sounded like a whole lot of shots — like a machine gun." Another man was burned to death, and another bled to death.

Mayor Daley's unrestrained call for even more murderous action drew prompt and vigorous criticism from all quarters. Russell Meeks, a Westside militant, said, "I think black policemen and justice-loving white policemen — if there are any — should resign

en masse." Robert Lucas, Chicago chairman and regional director of CORE, called Daley's statement "the kind of nonsense that is now creating a warlike situation. Daley," Lucas said, "has now told policemen who are already racists and eager to kill black people, that they ought to step up their job." Lucas charged that Daley has "set this city on a collision course. . . . As far as black people are concerned, we know we are on the move. We won't be stopped."

One young militant called in to the *Daily Defender* (an Afro-American newspaper) to sum up the situation aptly, "What the mayor is doing could be likened to a kangaroo court. It's just a little more than legalized lynching."

By contrast, presidential aspirant Eugene McCarthy remarked, "I think it's the kind of order that might be given with many qualifications. . . . If it was an absolute order, I'd like to see the order." McCarthy and Kennedy are eagerly seeking Daley's support for the Democratic Party nomination. It is not expected that Daley's racism will diminish their courtship of the mayor.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, national director of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket, said that Daley's call for more shooting "is consistent with his mentality" toward black people in Chicago. The Daley machine, said Jackson, "supplied the fuel that fed the social insurrection."

Styron Raps Daley

CHICAGO — Dan Styron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator from Illinois, has condemned the action of the city of Chicago in arresting five black militants on arson charges and detaining them under abnormally high bail of \$120,000 each.

Styron stated: "The police and Daley's Democratic administration are attempting to victimize and intimidate black leaders. They hope to make the arrested victims the scapegoats for their own failure to alleviate the oppressive conditions in the ghetto which produced the recent outbreaks, and to cover up their own criminal and brutal acts of suppression. The only evidence against those arrested is the unsupported statement of a police informer whom the police have not brought forth or identified.

"This victimization is another in the series of violent attacks on the black people of Chicago by the police and Chicago city officials, acting in concert with the National Guard and the Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington.

"The need is plain for black people to control their own communities and to organize to protect themselves from victimization."

McCarthy Truth Kit Finds New Readers

The pamphlet, "The Truth About the McCarthy Campaign," published by the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, has stirred up considerable interest in the New York headquarters of both Kennedy and McCarthy.

It seems that someone in the Kennedy headquarters made a number of photostatic copies of McCarthy's voting record from the Socialist Workers pamphlet and circulated them among McCarthy supporters. As one McCarthy supporter exclaimed, "It is stunning. A lot of our people are trying to figure out how to answer it."

She was very anxious to know when the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee is publishing a similar pamphlet on Kennedy.