

THE MILITANT

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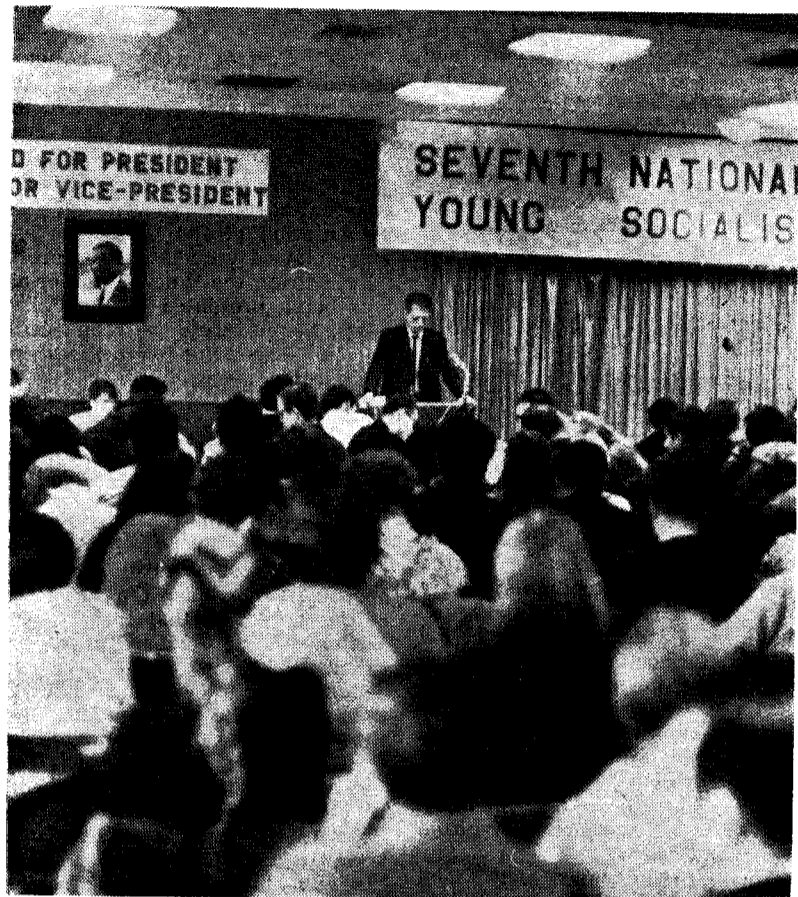


Photo by Hermes

YSA CONVENTION. Lew Jones, national chairman of Young Socialist Alliance, addresses seventh national convention of youth group. See page 8.

Cops Murder S.C. Students

By Les Evans

A mass rally of black people in Orangeburg, S.C., Feb. 11 demanded the immediate withdrawal of the National Guard occupation of that city in the aftermath of the brutal killing of three black students and the wounding of 50 others by racist cops, guardsmen and state troopers Feb. 8.

The rally of more than 800 from the Orangeburg black community declared a boycott of all white businesses in the city until their demands are met. Orangeburg County is 62.9 percent black.

Orangeburg at this writing is still under semi-martial law, occupied by more than 600 national guardsmen and 120 highway patrolmen, in addition to local cops. Eleven black youth are still in jail and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Field Secretary Cleveland Sellers is being held for \$50,000 bail.

[The delegates to the YSA convention unanimously voted to send the following telegram to Cleveland Sellers, SNCC worker now in jail in Orangeburg, S.C.]

The seventh national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance condemns the racist killing of three black students and the wounding of many others by South Carolina national guardsmen. This brutal repression underlines the necessity of black people to vigorously exercise their constitutional right to bear arms and to use any and all means necessary in the pursuit of basic elementary human rights.

(Continued on Page 3)

World Antiwar Actions Called for April 27

— See Editorial, Page 3 —

War Crisis Deepens; More GIs Sent Over

By Dick Roberts

FEB. 13 — Late this afternoon, Lyndon Johnson responded to the critical setback of Washington's military and political situation in South Vietnam by ordering 10,500 more GIs to the battlefield. These forces will probably be drawn from troops already trained but not previously scheduled for duty in Vietnam.

This will bring the total U.S. troop strength to 510,500.

In the first two weeks of bloody fighting against the National Liberation Front offensive in the main cities and towns of South Vietnam, 1,113 American soldiers were reported killed, 5,540 wounded. The total American casualties in the war as of Feb. 3, the fourth day of the NLF attack, were 17,296 killed, 108,428 wounded and 997 missing.

At the beginning of the third week of the revolutionary offensive, the guerrillas continue to hold sections of both Hue and Saigon. Where the rebel forces have withdrawn, whole sections of cities have been bombed to rubble by the U.S. and its Saigon puppets.

In three years, the U.S. devastation of the countryside has driven about two million peasants into refugee hovels in the cities. That number has been increased by a quarter in the last 12 days. Over 500,000 Vietnamese have fled from the city bombing, according to latest estimates. And these figures are based on "sketchy information."

A typical report came from *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Weinraub in the Mekong Delta provincial capital Bentre, Feb. 7. "We're still not too sure of the casualties," a U.S. military officer told Weinraub. "We figure 1,000 dead and 1,500 wounded. We're still digging them out."

An AP dispatch from Bentre the same day quoted a U.S. major: "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it." That is the Orwellian logic of Washington's invasion of Vietnam carried to a new and deadlier stage.

The character of this stage has been made crystal clear in the last two weeks: Even in the cities, only U.S. forces can be counted on to make South Vietnam safe for the landlord regime.

Without the U.S. air attack, most of the 36 cities occupied by the

"The Front does not burn cities, rather it is content to push back the attacks on its sectors. We are committing no criminal acts.

"Now look at the destruction by the adversary in the cities. The Americans have bombed us with antipersonnel bombs, with napalm, with rockets. All this destruction is the work of the Americans. The people are convinced of this." — Statement by National Liberation Front leaders in Saigon, Feb. 8.



Saigon scene

guerrillas two weeks ago would still be held by revolutionary forces. They would not be devastated by bombs. Without the support of U.S. troops, the South Vietnamese forces would have collapsed in Hue and Saigon.

Charles Mohr, *New York Times* bureau chief in Saigon, underlined the situation in his front-page dispatch, Feb. 10:

"The arrival of [U.S.] combat troops [in Saigon] — there were already many American support troops and security and military policemen in the city — was graphic evidence of American dissatisfaction, previously expressed by informed sources, at the slow pace taken by South Vietnamese forces driving guerrilla forces out of town."

Stripped of doubletalk, Mohr's message is South Vietnamese soldiers won't do the dirty work of mauling the cities. Mohr described sections of Saigon held by guerrillas, Feb. 10:

"The great majority of Saigon's residents live in tortuously twisted alleys, many of which end in cul-de-sacs and most of which have no formal names. From the

air, it becomes even more apparent than from the ground that these are incredibly jammed areas.

"The rooms overlap like playing cards in a fanned deck. It is sometimes impossible even to detect the twisting alleys, because they are so closely hemmed and constricted by shanties . . . 'I have always thought of this whole area as a Vietcong combat hamlet,' said one military policeman."

Confronted with this situation in other cities, the Pentagon's answer has been "bomb them." "Although firepower has certainly been used in Saigon and its suburbs," Mohr continued, "it has not been used as strongly as it was in some provincial towns, which were half flattened. Any Government is naturally reluctant to destroy its own national capital."

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Beverly Deepe described guerrilla tactics in Saigon, Feb. 9: "Large sections of Cholon are barricaded off by the Vietnamese Government with puffballs of concertina wire and stop signs."

"But now the Communists have started to barricade smaller alleys (Continued on Page 3)

NATIONAL PICKETLINE

N.Y. Sanitationmen's Strike

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 — After a nine-day strike, the city's sanitation workers are back on the job, under a proposed plan by Gov. Rockefeller to have the state temporarily take over the operation of the sanitation department. The agreement followed a threat by New York City's AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, representing more than one million workers, to stage a general strike if the national guard was called into the city as strikebreakers.

Rockefeller is asking the state legislature to allow a temporary state take-over of the sanitation department on Thursday, Feb. 15. Until a contract is negotiated between the city and the union, the men would be paid at the rate of a \$425 per year increase. Mayor Lindsay had previously rejected this wage increase, and it is not clear at this point whether the governor's recommendation will pass the legislature.

Lindsay has attacked Rockefeller's plan as a threat to "home rule," and charged that the governor was "rewarding" the sanitation workers for what the Taylor Law brands an "illegal strike." That antilabor law, which was sponsored by Rockefeller as well as prominent Democrats, forbids New York public employees to strike. Today, the union was fined \$80,000 and lost its dues check-off privileges for 18 months, under the Taylor Law.

Lindsay is also concerned with the effects that a settlement in this strike could have on other public employe unions and he charges that the sanitation agreement would cause them to raise their demands "to an unmanageable level."

The 10,000 members of the Union of Sanitationmen's Association have been without a contract since July 1 of last year. The highest wage a sanitation worker can get is \$7,956 a year. The work is hazardous, and there were more than 3,000 accidents in the past year because of faulty equipment, as well as from some of the garbage the men have to handle.

A membership meeting of the



LINDSAY, Mayor in drive against union.

union was held outside city hall on Feb. 2. Seven thousand workers heard a mediator's proposal that their wages be raised \$300 a year retroactive to last July 1, with an additional \$100 raise retroactive to this Jan. 1. This proposal was rejected by the city and the union.

The 7,000 rank-and-file members present denounced union President John DeLury, threw eggs at him, taunted him and demanded either an immediate settlement with significantly improved contract provisions or an immediate work stoppage. DeLury responded by suggesting a mail ballot to determine whether there would be a strike, but the pressure from the union ranks was so intense that, after speaking to Lindsay, DeLury said that he favored a strike. The main demand of the union was a \$600 across-the-board wage increase, and a one-year contract.

The strike was 100 percent effective from the start. On Feb. 6, DeLury was sentenced to 15 days in jail and fined \$250, under the antilabor Taylor Law.

Lindsay then ordered am-

balance drivers to cart away garbage around the hospitals, but Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, which bargains for the drivers, said, "We don't want our people being scabs." He threatened a strike if Lindsay attempted to enforce the order, and suggested that Lindsay collect the garbage himself.

On Feb. 7, Lindsay gave the union an ultimatum. He mapped out three courses that the union could follow: 1) continue negotiations and arrive at a settlement by the morning of Feb. 8; 2) submit the dispute to fact-finding; or 3) have a membership vote of the union to vote on proposals to be submitted by a mediator. He made it clear that whichever of these recommendations the union followed, he expected the men to be back at their jobs by morning, Feb. 8. If they were not, he said, he would ask Gov. Rockefeller for assistance, and implied that he would ask for the National Guard to break the strike. The union immediately rejected this ultimatum.

Lindsay, at the same time, ordered 3,000 city employees, members of AFSCME, transferred to the sanitation department to collect garbage. The 3,000 refused, to a man, and Gotbaum again threatened a strike if Lindsay tried to enforce the order.

The Mayor then declared a state of emergency and formally asked Gov. Rockefeller for aid. Rockefeller set up a mediation panel to arrive at a solution, and refused for the time to call out the National Guard, although he made it clear that he didn't rule out that course.

Lindsay Rejects Proposal

On Feb. 9, the mediation panel recommended a settlement of \$425 a year across-the-board wage increase, which the Mayor rejected. The Mayor also rejected a mediation proposal the next day for compulsory arbitration. The union was willing to have arbitration of wages with a floor of \$400, but the city insisted on a floor of \$375. This attitude by the city created an impasse in negotiations.

In the meantime, there were important responses from the city's labor movement. Teamsters Local 813, which hauls garbage from private establishments, refused to cross sanitation picket lines, and its members either did not carry garbage at all, or else hauled it to New Jersey or Connecticut dumps, instead of to those in New York City.

The Social Service Employees Union and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union warned against the use of national guard troops, and at an emergency meeting Feb. 10, the Central Labor Council announced plans for a general strike if the guard was sent in. The council declared that it would "not tolerate the use of militia against any workers."

It was after this threat was made that Rockefeller came up with his temporary solution, which the union agreed to, and Lindsay opposes. However, the men, although back at work, are still without a contract.

—Howard Reed

Sucker Bait — A man who took a couple of minutes to do some simple arithmetic, recently wrote to *Consumer Reports*: "Pity the poor young husband who takes the Alpine cigarette advertisement seriously. Among the 'quality gifts free with new Alpine Dividend Coupons' is an 'Autumn Haze Mink Stole by Renoir' (47,185 coupons). If our young friend switches to Alpine cigarettes when he is 26 and smokes a pack a day thereafter, he can get that stole for his wife when he is 155 years old..."

Anibal Escalante Case: More Details from Cuba

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba, Feb. 12 — The victories of the South Vietnamese guerrillas are the center of the political news here now, but previously the main focus was on the case of Anibal Escalante and 34 others. After a five-day closed trial at La Cabaña, a military fortress here, they were found guilty Feb. 1 of crimes against the Revolution.

Escalante was given 15 years in prison. The others received sentences ranging from two to 12 years. Two of those indicted remain to be tried.

Escalante, a long-time leader of the old Popular Socialist (Communist) Party, was charged with organizing a "microfaction" for the purpose of opposing the political line of the Revolution and with seeking to impair Cuba's relations with the USSR and other countries of the anticapitalist bloc.

In 1962 Escalante had been ousted as organization secretary of the Integrated Revolutionary Organization, predecessor to the present united Communist Party of Cuba. He was publicly denounced at that time by Fidel Castro for sectarian and bureaucratic abuses of his position.

The present trial came after a special meeting of the Central Committee of the party presented charges against Escalante and the others. The committee acted on the basis of a report submitted by Raúl Castro.

So far the only part of the trial proceedings that have been made public is the presentation of the prosecutor. This largely took the form of a polemic against the political positions advanced by Escalante.

These included support of the leaders of the Venezuelan Communist Party and other Latin American CPs that oppose the strategy of armed struggle against imperialism, the claim that the leaders of the Cuban Revolution are "petty bourgeois," that they are "anti-Soviet" and that there is one-man rule in Cuba.

Venezuelan CP Statement

The prosecutor declared that the positions taken by the Escalante group coincided with those of the imperialists and Latin American "pseudorevolutionaries." He cited the example of a statement by the leaders of the Venezuelan CP attacking the Cubans which was reprinted by counter-revolutionaries in Miami and also by the "microfaction" here.

The charge of attempting to impair Cuba's relations with other countries had been elaborated on at the Central Committee meeting by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, the only leader of the old Cuban CP now playing a central role in the party and government.

In his speech bitterly assailing Escalante for having poisoned relations between the old CP and the Fidelistas, Rodríguez described the virulent anti-Cuban sentiment he said he had found in Czechoslovakian government circles on a recent visit there. He said the anti-Cuba campaign there was promoted by the man responsible for Cuban affairs to the Central Committee of the Czech party. Rodríguez held Escalante responsible for this.

He also referred, as had Raúl Castro, to meetings between the Escalante group and the second secretary of the Soviet embassy here. Rodríguez declared that the attitude of the Soviet officials was "intolerable."

Rodríguez told the Central Committee that "the problem of relations with foreign functionaries from other socialist countries must be discussed frankly and openly with the parties of those countries."

"I don't think," he said, "that it is possible to prolong much

longer a situation in which a whole group of functionaries, members of socialist organizations and parties, are working against the interests of the Cuban Revolution here and in their own countries."

Fidel Castro made a 12-hour speech on the question of the Escalante group at the Central Committee meeting, but this has not yet been published.

The published material—Raúl's report, Rodríguez' speech and the presentation of the prosecutor — was followed with intense interest here. During the time the material was being presented in the daily press, people could be seen reading and discussing it on buses, in restaurants, everywhere.

From what I have been able to gather, the general public reaction seems to be that Escalante was deserving of punishment and that action against him was overdue. There seems to be a feeling that the problems relating to the Escalante group have been responsible for some of the difficulties here and that the present action will help clear the atmosphere.

Some, I am told, have considered the fact that he was convicted for the promotion of ideas, as well as for action, as evidence of great foreign pressure on Cuba. But, it is explained, it is felt that Escalante's principal offense was trying to take Cuba's policies into his own hands by maneuvering behind the back of the party and the public.

Guerrillas Blast Guatemalan CP

HAVANA, Cuba — The general command of the Guatemalan guerrilla movement, the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), issued a declaration Jan. 10 assailing the Guatemalan Workers (Communist) Party. The text was published here in the Feb. 12 issue of *Granma*. The FAR has been generally viewed as in political solidarity with the CP, but signs of a rift have been evident for some time. Recently FAR has moved toward fraternal relations with the other Guatemalan guerrilla movement, MR-13. The CP has been hostile to MR-13.

The FAR declared that the CP "has ceased to be a revolutionary force" and predicted that the real revolutionary vanguard party would emerge from the guerrilla movements. The FAR repeated the need for unity of action by these movements, and charged that for the CP leadership armed struggle has been only "a tactical necessity, an instrument of negotiations..."

The declaration explains how the CP has served as an obstacle to the development of armed struggle and bares CP negotiations and attempted deals with capitalists, including an offer to one of the right-wing parties to act as intermediary for the sale of coffee to countries of the Soviet bloc.

Fidel Castro's Tribute to Che Guevara

Text of address to Havana memorial meeting

20 cents

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Popular Songs in Khesanh

Marines at Khesanh are among the chief victims of Washington's unjust war.

The National Liberation Front and North Vietnamese forces, fighting for their country, have rained down a steady barrage of rocket and mortar fire on the camp. A Feb. 12 Associated Press dispatch said of one marine unit

that has been particularly hard hit, Company B, Third Reconnaissance Battalion, that "In three weeks more than half the company was killed or wounded."

"A blank stare," the dispatch said, "is not uncommon at Khesanh, where the enemy has fired as many as 1,500 rounds of rockets, artillery and mortar shells in a single day. The stare is called the 1,000 yard stare. It can be a sign of the beginning of combat fatigue."

The conversations of the marines were very revealing. All that the men talked about was going home, getting out of the war. One corporal said, "Man, it'll be really decent to go home and never hear words like incoming shells, mortars, rifles and all that stuff."

A lieutenant speculated on the outcome of the battle that is taking shape: "When I get back to California, I'm going to open a bar especially for the survivors of Khesanh. And any time it gets two deep at that bar, I'll know someone is lying."

In the evening one of the marines played guitar and the others sang. The favorites were "500 Miles," a mournful ballad about being far from home; and "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" — an antiwar song.

The AP reports that there was a "hard emphasis" on the part that goes, "Where have all the soldiers gone? To the graveyard every one. Oh, when will they ever learn? Oh, when will they ever learn?"

Halstead Gives Talk at Indiana

By Russell Block

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, spoke to an audience of approximately 275 students at Indiana University here Feb. 8. Halstead's speech, billed as "Vietnam: Socialist Alternatives," was well received by a largely sympathetic audience. Those who came to scoff left with deeply troubled expressions on their faces. Most of the questions were aimed at bringing out SWP positions on other issues of importance, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The meeting began on a triumphant note, when we introduced the "Bloomington Three," Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan and Jim Bingham, the three I.U. students and Young Socialists who were indicted in 1962 in the infamous "sedition" case. We distributed over 200 campaign brochures and took up a collection of \$50 for the campaign fund.

... Murder of S.C. Students

(Continued from Page 1)

Protests continued on the campus during the day, Feb. 8. Students staged a "prayer-in" during the early evening and later held a meeting in a ball park near the campus. After the meeting students lit a bonfire on the campus.

A SNCC press release recounts what happened next:

"National guardsmen, claiming that they were fired upon, charged into the crowd of students, firing at random. The students, seeking cover, fell to the ground. The guardsmen continued firing. Practically all students shot were lying on the ground, face down, and were shot in the back."

The Aframerican News Service added that "Although the S.C. National Guard and white authorities have complete control of their local press and have tried to blame the students for provoking the attack, national TV newsmen have verified that the students were unarmed and no shots came from the students. S.C. newsmen and National Guard have also tried to lay blame on SNCC Field Secretary Cleveland Sellers, who was shot and injured along with the students."

According to all the press reports, not a single cop or guardsman was shot during the so-called riot.

The dead black students were Sam Hammond and Henry Smith, both 18 and both students at South Carolina State College, and Delano Middleton, a 17-year-old high school student. The *New York Times* verified Feb. 13 that Sam Hammond was shot in the back. An undertaker told newsmen that Delano Middleton was



COPS RIOT. South Carolina highway patrolmen stand over bodies of two students gunned down when police and national guard attacked campus.

also shot in the back, but racist state officials hastily "disputed" the undertaker's findings.

SNCC charges that Henry Smith was beaten after he had fallen to the ground, mortally wounded.

The governor is maintaining a 5 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew in Orangeburg during which only cops and guardsmen are allowed on the streets. Both South Carolina State College and Claflin College have been closed indefinitely and most of the students were ordered to leave town. The night of the shooting many of the wounded students were refused medical treatment in Orangeburg and had to drive to nearby towns more than an hour away to have their wounds tended.

Governor McNair and other racist officials are trying to blame their victims for the criminal acts of the police. Cleveland Sellers has been charged with inciting to riot, arson, assault with intent to kill, and damaging property.

In a frame-up attempt to shift the blame from the cops, the governor now claims that Sellers was responsible for "the trouble."

Orangeburg's white mayor, E.O. Pendarvis, declared, "We don't have a problem with our Orangeburg Negroes."

Contributions and letters of support are urgently needed and should be sent to: The Orangeburg Defense Fund, c/o SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, Rm. 803, New York, N.Y. 10011.

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345

Monday, February 19, 1968

International Antiwar Actions

The National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has called for massive demonstrations in every city in the world on April 27 against the war in Vietnam.

The mass demonstrations will dovetail with plans already announced by the Student Mobilization Committee and Students for a Democratic Society for 11 days of campus action against the war April 20-30. The Student Mobilization Committee and the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union have called for an international student strike the day before the mass actions, on April 26.

The April actions come at an important time for the antiwar movement. The lies Washington has been feeding the American people about the war have been exploded by the recent events in South Vietnam. It is more clear than ever before that Washington is waging a war against the vast majority of Vietnamese, and that the administration intends to keep sending American men to be killed and maimed in an unjust and immoral attempt to impose Washington's will on Vietnam.

The danger that the war will escalate into a nuclear war was underscored by the recent rumors that swept the capital to the effect that the U.S., in its panic at the stunning losses it has received at the hands of the Vietnamese in recent weeks, was considering using atomic weapons in Vietnam. The fact that these rumors could be taken seriously by senators and congressmen, and by British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, demonstrates the very real danger, ever present in the Vietnamese conflict, that it can escalate into a nuclear war — a war in which the American people would be guaranteed 100 percent losers.

All who are opposed to the war must begin now to organize and build the April actions into the most massive demonstrations to bring our GIs home that the world has yet seen.

... More GIs Sent to Vietnam Battlefields

(Continued from Page 1)

and side streets with water jugs, rain barrels, and the charred remains of tin roofing from previous bombing raids near An Quang pagoda. These home-made Communist barricades become a fluid frontline of resistance warfare.

"At night government forces become island fortresses behind barbed wire and pill boxes. The vast sea of population living between posts are living virtually at the mercy of the Communists — reminiscent of warfare in the ru-

ral areas for years."

Cholon is honeycombed with "local guerrilla and political cadres who know the neighborhoods and the people." Much of their activity consists of knocking on doors at night and talking with people. But they also carry out reprisals against officers of the Saigon government forces.

Contrast the descriptions Mohr and Deepe give of the Saigon working-class sections held by the guerrillas with this story by *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Los Angeles*

Times reporter John Randolph, Feb. 10:

"Just before the shooting started, Saigon presented a picture that, for the capital of a small, poor, weak country in its ninth year of war for national survival, could only be described as disgusting.

"At a time when the country is desperately short of doctors, hospitals, clinics, schools, teachers — and almost everything else — the roar of idiotic firecrackers to celebrate Tet, the lunar new year, was costing Saigon at least tens of thousands of dollars per day . . .

"Combined with this was a New Year's buying spree for gifts of the most luxurious nature. There is much poverty in Saigon, but much prosperity, too. Vietnamese were either badgering their American friends to pick up choice items in the post exchange, or failing that, were paying triple prices for legally imported, tax-exempt luxuries.

Only the Best

"Genuine luxuries, too — Paris perfumes, cognac, choice Scotch, rich materials, TV sets, cameras, watches — and only the very best, too, no second-rate merchandise wanted."

The contrast speaks volumes. On one side stand the rich and well-to-do neighborhoods of Saigon, still largely untouched by two weeks of battle. On the other stand the ghettos of the poor, some already bombed, the rest occupied by revolutionary guerrillas awaiting invasion.

In its Feb. 5 appeal to the people, the National Liberation Front asked South Vietnamese soldiers in the government army to "turn your arms" against officers who refuse to go over to the revolution.

It does not have to be asked why the Saigon regime's army is incapable of crushing the rebel occupation. The question is how many Saigon troops have already

gone over to the side of justice and the fight for freedom? How many more are to come?

Meanwhile in northwestern South Vietnam, some 40,000 North Vietnamese troops, according to Pentagon figures, stand poised to attack a U.S. marine post of 5,000, in turn backed by some 35,000 additional U.S. forces in the area. On Feb. 7, a U.S. special forces post at Langvei, three-and-a-half miles southwest of Khesanh, fell under North Vietnamese attack.

When the survivors of the base reached Khesanh, only U.S. soldiers were admitted. Interviewing the U.S. commander of Khesanh Feb. 12, the *New York Times* explained the decision:

They All Look Alike

"Fearing that the civilians — estimated at 2,000 to 6,000 — and the men who said they were survivors of Langvei might include Vietcong infiltrators, the marines turned the refugees out into the countryside."

Whichever way you turn it, the meaning is the same: the battle is between U.S. invaders and Vietnamese — Vietnamese who might be North Vietnamese troops, "Vietcong infiltrators," or just South Vietnamese government soldiers who some few hours earlier were fighting side-by-side with U.S. special forces men at Langvei. They all look the same.

It is another of many ironies of the war that U.S. military experts have been pondering whether the attack on the cities was a diversion from Khesanh, or whether the concentration at Khesanh was a diversion from the attack on the cities.

Vietnamese revolutionaries stand ready to oppose U.S. occupational forces at any time and in every place these forces are posted. That is what happens when colonial armies invade a country that is turning in ever greater numbers

to the path of struggle for freedom.

And the Pentagon's answer is the same in any case: At Khesanh, just as in the cities occupied two weeks ago, the only "defense" will be massive air bombardment. That is what is different between the French battle at Dienbienphu and the present buildup at Khesanh.

And that is what the Pentagon is counting on no matter how many American soldiers may be hit by the bombs directed at close fire on the attackers. A few U.S. officers have already been decorated in the White House for calling the bombs in on their own positions.

It shows you what the war is like and who is fighting on what side. The way to end this war is precisely the opposite of the one Johnson is following, and there is only one way: Withdraw the U.S. forces, bring the troops home now!

"In towns such as Hue, Vinhlong, Bentre and Mytho, appalling destruction was wrought when encircled allied forces took the decision to destroy the attacking Vietcong forces by destroying the places they had occupied.

"As a result, one American official who has worked in the Mekong Delta for three years has submitted his resignation in a letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk. He said that what he believed to be the unnecessary killing of civilians in the name of defeating the Vietcong had made him decide he no longer wanted to be associated with the United States effort.

"Several other American field workers have spoken of the possibility of resigning." — Charles Mohr, Feb. 14 *New York Times*

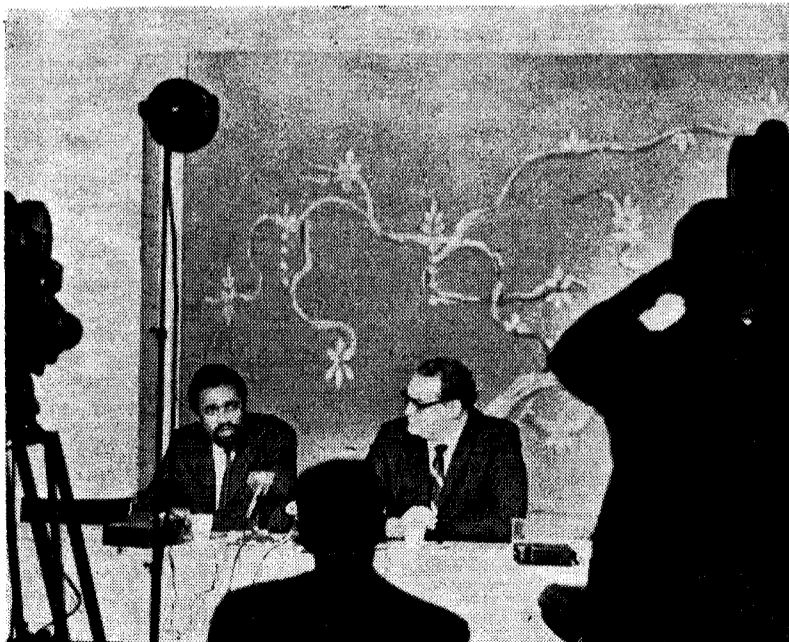


Photo by Hermes

AT PRESS CONFERENCE. UPI, ABC, NBC and other press interview Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Fred Halstead (right) and vice-presidential candidate Paul Boutelle. Both candidates announced plans to take campaign to GIs in coming period. Halstead later deplored Pentagon's consideration of the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam at a campaign rally held coincident with the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Detroit. Other speakers at rally were: Paul Boutelle, Pfc. Howard Petrick, the GI who faced court-martial last spring for discussing his antiwar views with other GIs, and Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Farrell Dobbs.

Headed for Problems

Peace and Freedom Party

By Tom Kerry

The organizers and promoters of the Peace and Freedom Party, which recently qualified as a ballot party in the state of California, find themselves enmeshed in a maze of contradictions that promise to multiply as time goes on.

The central contradiction is to determine whether the formation is intended to be a permanent "third" political party, designed to challenge the major parties for political power; or a "third ticket," devised to provide a "genuine" peace candidate as an alternative to the Republican and Democratic candidates in the 1968 presidential election campaign.

To superficial observers it may seem like a distinction without a difference. But it is a dilemma that has riven the "New Politics" ideologues from the very beginning of the "dump Johnson" movement. For example: Flushed by their ballot victory in California, several PFP representatives came to New York recently, to lend their prestige to a "third party" formation calling itself the "New York Peace and Freedom Party Organizing Committee." They ran smack into a rival "third ticket" formation, sponsored by the National Conference for New Politics, with the mouth-filling designation of "Preparatory Conference for a New York State Independent Convention."

Two Roads

Needless to say, despite all pleas for "unity," each went its separate way, resolved to maintain an attitude of benevolent tolerance — at least at this stage of the development. At the root of the division between the "third ticket" advocates and the "third party" proponents is what attitude to take toward the two major parties in general and the Democratic Party in particular.

The "third ticket" tendency, ardently supported by the American Communist Party, insists upon the necessity of maintaining close ties with what they call the "mainstream," "grass-roots," "reform" sector of the Democratic Party. They would much prefer to have the Democratic Party convention

nominate some kind, any kind, of "peace" candidate they could support as a lesser evil to the Republican nominee. They are, therefore, in the thick of the primary contests waged by Democratic dove Senator Eugene McCarthy, which they view as a means of putting pressure on the convention to "dump Johnson."

But even the most optimistic see the McCarthy gambit as a rather forlorn hope. So the "third ticket" move is held in reserve — an ace in the hole, as it were — as an additional threat to split the vote in the event the Democratic convention remains impervious to pressure and nominates Johnson for a second term. The whole intricate maneuver is intended to convince the Democrats that they can't win with Johnson and that they had better do something about it at convention time.

From the Right

The Alabama racist, George Wallace, who has fielded his own "third ticket" to "dump Johnson," is playing a somewhat similar game, although he has no illusions about what his fellow-Democrats will do at convention time. His aim is to siphon off enough electoral college votes to throw the election into the House of Representatives and by his racist demagoguery to shift the axis of American political life further to the right.

Ironically, it was the announcement that Wallace's American Independent Party had made the ballot in California that sparked the impulse which carried the re-registration drive of the Peace and Freedom Party over the top in the last two weeks before the Jan. 2 filing deadline.

Before that, nobody, including the initiators and organizers of the ballot campaign, believed it was possible for the PFP to meet the difficult qualifying requirements in California. When it was announced that PFP had made the ballot, the leaders were confronted with a whole set of new problems with which they were ill-prepared to cope. The formation had gone through an evolutionary process

in which problems were dealt with pragmatically, with no attempt to think through all the implications of the movement.

In the beginning, for example, PFP had plumped for a King-Spock ticket. In one of their early leaflets they proclaim: "We want to draft [Dr. Martin Luther] King and [Dr. Benjamin] Spock and put them on the ballot in November, 1968. By running in the November general election, we can threaten politically Johnson and the other war politicians."

In another leaflet they query: "What are the millions who oppose the war in Vietnam to do during the campaign as the pressure against dissent becomes even greater? What are we going to do in November?" Their answer? "The best way . . . to register opposition to the war is to provide people with a meaningful choice at the polls in November by waging an independent Presidential campaign."

This is straight "third ticket" language. There is no mention of the need for organizing a permanent third party. The appeal was for registering PFP to put the party on the ballot in order to run King and Spock in the November presidential election. But King soon disavowed any intention of running for office and Spock declared that he would prefer to wait until after the Republican and Democratic conventions to see whether either came up with a "peace" candidate. This effectively denuded PFP of their candidates and ended the draft King-Spock movement.

McCarthy

Meanwhile, the reform Democrats organized in the "grass roots" California Democratic Council announced they were joining the "dump Johnson" movement and would run an anti-Johnson slate in the June primary for convention delegates under the Peace, Progress and Equality label. (Later the "Progress" was dropped and the slate is now known as the "Peace and Equality" slate.)

When Senator McCarthy threw his hat into the ring, the leaders of CDC latched onto his coattails and made him the "Peace and Equality" candidate in their contest with the Johnson forces. The PFP group rejected McCarthy as no "real alternative" to Johnson and, to avoid being outflanked by the reform Democrats, adopted a two-point platform with the qualifying note that it was a "preliminary, nonbinding statement of principles by Party initiators": (1) Demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, and (2) Support for the principles of equality and self-determination for the black minority.

This verbal leftward shift brought PFP into closer communion with the activists and militants of the antiwar movement and was undoubtedly responsible for the burst of energy by this sector of the movement that helped win ballot certification for PFP. With the ballot fight won, the more conscious politicals, especially the Social Democrats, saw in PFP a vehicle for promoting their "third camp" version of "people's front" politics.

SP View

Writing in the Jan. 15 issue of *New America*, official organ of the Socialist Party, Mike Hannon, member of the SP national committee and PFP stalwart, lays down the line:

"PFP's first task," he avows, "is to consolidate its new registrants into a continuing political party. Peace and Freedom views itself as a permanent institution in California, not as a device only for the 1968 elections. Some of the new registrants registered into PFP for the purpose of helping



KING AND SPOCK. Dr. Benjamin Spock (right) and the Rev. Martin Luther King (center). "Third ticket" forces had hoped they would be candidates.

the antiwar party qualify, but with the intent of reregistering back into the Democratic Party before the April 11 deadline. Our job is to keep them in Peace and Freedom by insuring that the party has enough internal life and purpose so that they will not wish to leave." (My emphasis)

Not only does Hannon seek to keep the sheep in the fold; he is equally concerned that the wolves be kept out. For, he enlightens us, "an organization built as loosely as PFP is in danger of being captured by any one of several disciplined groups. It is," he affirms, "the job of every third camp socialist in California and of everyone committed to independent politics to become actively involved in PFP and make sure that does not happen." To that end, he concludes, "Many members of Local Los Angeles [of the Socialist Party] have been busy in the registration campaign."

This clarion call to rally all "third camp socialists" and "independents" is obviously aimed at the Communist Party — which had "walked out" of PFP in the fall of 1967 and then confessed its "error" in the last week of the registration drive and announced its support. Apparently the moribund SP and "third camp" socialists of the Independent Socialist Club hope to preserve the PFP as a happy hunting ground, free from the depredations of marauders from more "disciplined" groups.

New Party

So, in the process of political infighting, what started out to be a "third ticket" in California has been transformed into a formation committed to the perspective of organizing a permanent political party on a national scale. As mentioned before, this creates problems. With the exception of those who had never registered before and a handful who registered "independent," the overwhelming majority of those who put the PFP on the ballot by re-registering were previously registered as Democrats.

Farthest from their thoughts was the idea that in registering PFP they were participating in the formation of a new national political party. In fact, an effective method used by PFP representatives was to assure registered Democrats that once PFP acquired ballot status they could then re-register as Democrats in order to participate in the June Democratic Party primary. PFP has had no convention, has adopted no official platform, and has no program. Such "minor" omissions were justified by reference to California electoral law, which imposed rigid time limits and other restrictions on ballot qualification.

It can be argued that there may be some validity for such procedure in the case of a "third ticket" project, even one that presents no candidates and only a very limited platform, in order to meet admittedly restrictive legal ballot requirements. But to entice

registrants for the ostensible purpose of fielding a "peace" and "freedom" ticket and supporting the democratic right for such candidates to appear on the ballot, only to learn that the initiators really had something else in mind, smacks a little of chicanery if not of outright fraud.

If the organizers and initiators of PFP were out to establish a "permanent third party," if that was, as they now contend, their primary purpose, then the question of ballot status, electoral restrictions, etc., etc., was of secondary or tertiary importance. For then the question would immediately arise: What would be the character of such a party? What is its program? What is its social composition? Would it be a party of capitalist reform or social revolution? Where does it stand on all of the decisive issues of the day? What are its relations to other existing parties and tendencies in the working class and black communities? Etc., etc., etc.

The posing of such questions would be the proper and straightforward method of procedure in undertaking the task of launching a national "third party." Not, as Hannon proposes, that now that the registrants have been hooked on the bait of supporting the right of PFP to have its candidates on the ballot, "we" third camp socialists should make it so pleasant for them they will not wish to leave. That road is strewn with the political corpses of those who thought they could substitute deception, fancy footwork and political juggling for principled political action.

Convention Rigged

As to be expected, the PFP tops are already beginning to hedge on their earlier promises. To maintain their grip on the "apparatus," the practical politicians of the PFP are attempting to rig the convention by narrowing its "eligible" representation to those who registered. Among others, this effectively excludes those under 21, not eligible to register to vote and therefore not eligible as convention delegates, although many of these youngsters did yeoman work in the ballot fight. All this is done ostensibly in deference to California electoral law.

But a "permanent third party" need not defer to California election law. The "Peace and Freedom Movement," as they call it, is allegedly broader than the registered members of the "Peace and Freedom Party." The scheduled March 16 convention has no legal status under California election law, which requires a much more restricted convention to be held in August.

The March 16 convention is to be a "movement" convention not a "party" confab. Yet, when it suits their purpose, the jugglers doff one hat and don another. Viable political formations are never built by sleight-of-hand manipulation. Judging by the evidence now at hand, this latest attempt can only turn out to be stillborn.

Mexican-American Leader Wins Reduction of Charges

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Kidnapping charges against Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres, the Federal Alliance of Free City States, formerly known as the Federal Alliance of Land Grants, were dropped at a Santa Fe, New Mexico, court hearing Feb. 7. It was thus possible for Tijerina and three other members of the Alianza to be released on bail from the State Penitentiary at Santa Fe, where they have been held since Jan. 3.

However, Tijerina chose to remain imprisoned until the \$5,000 bond could be raised for all four Alianza members, which Alianza spokesmen expected to be achieved by Feb. 9.

The kidnapping charges, which grew out of an attempted citizens' arrest of District Attorney Alfonso Sanchez last June 5 at the Tierra Amarilla courthouse, were changed to "false imprisonment." All charges against nine of the Alianza members, including 18-year-old Rose Tijerina, were dropped.

The attempted citizens' arrest last June 5 was a counterattack against continued false arrests and harassments of the Alianza, a militant social movement of Spanish-Americans which is supported by

the majority of the people of Northern New Mexico.

Tijerina is expected to arrive in Los Angeles Feb. 17 for an intensive week of public appearances and fund-raising receptions, mostly organized by the Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights.

Tijerina is scheduled to share the platform with Stokely Carmichael at the Sports Arena, which has a 16,000 seat capacity, on Feb. 18 at 3:00 p.m., sponsored by the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund.

Beginning Feb. 19, noon, he is scheduled to speak at Los Angeles City College; on Feb. 20, noon, at Cal State at L.A.; on Feb. 21, 11 a.m., at San Fernando Valley State College; on Feb. 22, 11 a.m., at Immaculate Heart College; on Feb. 23, noon, at East L.A. City College; and on Feb. 26 at U.C. Riverside and Pomona College.

Tijerina will make a tape for the Les Crane television show and will go on Tempo III, a live television show Feb. 21.

The Alianza defendants have been given support by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Mexican-American Political Association and the Los Angeles Black Congress. Defense committees are being organized in Albuquerque, N. Mex., and Denver, Colo.

Malcolm X Speaks in Paris, 1964

Three years ago, on Feb. 21, 1965, Malcolm X was murdered. Just three months before that, on Nov. 23, 1964, he had addressed a meeting in Paris on "The Black Struggle in the United States."

The excerpts that follow are Malcolm X's replies to some of the questions asked by the audience at that meeting. They are taken from a bilingual issue of the French magazine *Présence Africaine*, *Cultural Review of the Negro World*, No. 62, 2nd quarter, 1967, and are reprinted here in honor of the fallen revolutionary.

Question No. 1: How is it possible that some people are still preaching nonviolence?

Malcolm X: That's easy to understand — shows you the power of dollarism. The dollar makes anything possible. In 196— (I forget what year it was when the Sharpeville massacre took place in South Africa) if you read the testimony of Mandela in court, he brought out the fact that at that point the brothers in South Africa had begun to realize that they had to go into action, that non-violence had become outdated; it only helped the enemy.

But at the same time the enemy knows that once 11 million people stop being confined to a non-violent approach against three million, you're going to have a different situation. They had to use their new modern tricks, so they ran down and got one of the Africans and gave him a glorious peace prize for being nonviolent and it lent strength to the non-violent image to try and keep them a little nonviolent a little while longer. And it's the same way in the States. The black man in the States has begun to see that non-violence is a trick that is put upon him to keep him from even being able to defend himself.

And so there's an increasing number of black people in America who are absolutely ready and willing to do whatever is necessary to see that their lives and their own property are protected by them.

So you have again your imperialists, and whatever else you call them, come along and give out another peace prize to again try and strengthen the image of nonviolence. This is their way of doing things but everybody doesn't always accept those peace prizes....

Question No. 4: Many black Americans are hoping you will be their leader. Do you have a determined political program and I would like to know, if you do have a political program which has already been set up, would you join this with a new organization which is called "Freedom Now [Party]"?

Malcolm X: First, I don't profess to be anybody's leader. I'm one of 22 million Afro-Americans, all of whom have suffered the same things. And I probably cry out a little louder against the suffering than most others and therefore, perhaps, I'm better known.

I don't profess to have a political, economic or social solution to a problem as complicated as the one which our people face in the States, but I am one of those who is willing to try *any means necessary* to bring an end to the injustices our people suffer.

One of the reasons why I say it's difficult to come up and say "this is the solution" or "that is the solution" is that a chicken cannot produce a duck egg and it can't produce a duck egg because the system itself was produced by a chicken egg and can only reproduce what produced it.

The American system was produced from the enslavement of the

President of the United States alone, but he has to be acceptable to every area of the world where the influence of the United States reaches.

If Johnson had been running all by himself, he wouldn't have been acceptable by himself. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was the shrewd capitalists. The shrewd imperialists knew that the only way that you will voluntarily run to the fox is to show you a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative and had the whole world, even the so-called intellectuals who call themselves Marxists and other things, hoping that Johnson would beat Gold-



black man. This political, economic, and social system of America was produced from the enslavement of the black man, and that particular system is capable only of reproducing that out of which it itself was produced. The only way a chicken can produce a duck egg — you have to revolutionize the system.

Question No. 5: The history of the United States has clearly proved that none of the previous presidents has been able to solve integration. Now I'd like to know, Mr. Malcolm, your position insofar as the last election is concerned and what do you think in particular of developments in the future under President Johnson?

Malcolm X: It's the same system. It's not the President who can help or hurt. And this system is not only ruling us in America — it's ruling the world.

Nowadays when a man is running for President of the United States, he's not running for the

water.

I have to say this. Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected because he's supposed to be a man of peace; and he has troops invading the Congo right now and invading Saigon. And places where other countries have pulled their troops out, Johnson is sending his troops in. I'm just telling you what I think of him. He sends Peace Corps to Nigeria and mercenaries to the Congo.

Question No. 6: As a solution to this problem can one envisage the creation of an independent Black State in the United States?

Malcolm X: No! I wouldn't say "No, No." I wouldn't close the door to any solution. Our problem in the States is so deplorable, we are justified to try anything — ANYTHING. Other independent states have been set up. They set up Israel and they weren't called separationists. But when we start talking about setting up something wherein we can rule ourselves, we're labeled separationists. But we are not separationists, nor are we integrationists. We're human beings....

Question No. 8: Are you against the love between a black person and a white person?

Malcolm X: How can anyone be against love? Whoever a person wants to love, that's their business — that's like their religion....

Question No. 11: Do you foresee a total assimilation with equal rights of the Afro-American into the white community of the United States in many, many years to come?

Malcolm X: No! Nobody! Who's going to wait many years? I'm glad you asked the question like that because, you see, the oppressed never uses the same yardstick as the oppressor.

And this is what the oppressor doesn't realize. In his position of power he takes things for granted and he takes it for granted that everybody uses his yardstick. Well, today for a long time, we, the oppressed people, not only in America but in Africa, Asia and elsewhere, had to use someone else's yardstick. When they said "fast," what was "fast" to them was "fast" to us, but nowadays the yardstick has changed. We got our own yardstick. And when you say a long time this assimilation, or a long time this solution, the thing you don't realize is that other generations used a different yardstick.

They had patience and you could tell them a long time and they would sit around a long time, but the young ones that's coming up now are asking, "Why should he wait? Why should he have to wait for what other people have when they're born? Why should he have to go to a Supreme Court or to a Congress, or to a Senate, or to some kind of legislative body to be told he's a man when other people don't have to go through that process to be told that they're a man?" So you have a new generation coming up... necessary to let the world know right now that they're going to be men or there just won't be a human being anywhere else.

Question No. 12: Is there a Negro movement in the United States that wishes to form a Negro State with the Africans?

Malcolm X: Yes, they are important. There are an increasing number of Afro-Americans who want to migrate back to Africa. Now if it were to take place tomorrow you would probably have a limited number. So, in my opinion, if you wanted to solve the problem you would have to make the problem more digestible to a greater number of Afro-Americans. The idea is good, but those who propagated the idea in the past put it to the public in the wrong way and because of this didn't get the desired result. The one who made the greatest impact was the honorable Marcus Garvey. And the United States government... put him in prison and charged him with fraud.

A spiritual "Back to Africa." If our people would try to migrate back to Africa culturally, first try to migrate back culturally and philosophically and psychologically. They would stay where they are physically, but this psychological, cultural, philosophical migration would give us bonds with our mother continent that would strengthen our position in the country where we are right now, and then we'd be in a position to influence that government's policies and keep them from supporting men like Tshombe....

Question No. 18: Malcolm, in the same way you said that there were certain Negroes who had helped and assisted in the sale of their own brothers....

Malcolm X: I didn't say that like that. Before you get into that, I want to remind you of something. Joseph forgave his brothers. Nothing in there where they forgave Pharaoh who purchased him — enslaved him. The country that bought him and enslaved him was destroyed.

Question No. 19 (same questioner): If it was our white ancestors who bought you and enslaved you, we are their children. We are the new generation. Why don't you call us your brothers?

Malcolm X: A man has to act like a brother before you can call him a brother. You made a very good point, really, that needs some clarification. If you are the son of a man who had a wealthy estate and you inherit your father's estate, you have to pay off the debts that your father incurred before

he died. The only reason that the present generation of white Americans are in the position of economic strength that they are is because their fathers worked our fathers for over 400 years with no pay. For over 400 years we worked for nothing. We were sold from plantation to plantation like you sell a horse, or a cow, or a chicken, or a bushel of wheat. It was your fathers that did it to our fathers and all of that money that piled up from the sale of my mother and my grandmother and my great-grandmother is what gives the present generation of American whites... to walk around the earth with their chest out — you know, like they have some kind of economic ingenuity. Your father isn't here to pay his debts. My father isn't here to collect. But I'm here to collect and you're here to pay....

Question No. 21: What I want to say is that you're right in saying that the spotlight that you give on Africa is very important from the psychological point of view, but during the 400 years of deportation of the blacks in America there was true militancy in the black people because there were 156 revolts and there were famous people like Sojourner Truth or Frederick Douglass. Do you not think that it would be important for the new black generation to know, from the historical point of view, the militancy of Negroes in America?

Malcolm X: Yes, it's important, but it's even more important for us to be reestablished and connected to our roots. Douglass was great. I would rather have been taught about Toussaint L'Ouverture. We need to be taught about people who fought, who bled for freedom and made others bleed....

So when you select heroes about which black children ought to be taught, let them be black heroes who have died fighting for the benefit of black people. We never were taught about Christophe or Dessalines. It was the slave revolt in Haiti when slaves, black slaves, had the soldiers of Napoleon tied down and forced him to sell one-half of the American continent to the Americans. They don't teach us that. This is the kind of history we want to learn....

(Very lengthy speech in French from somebody in the audience)

Malcolm X: I would like to thank all of you who have been so patient this evening and have remained here for so long. I hope that no one will get the impression that because I raise my voice from time to time that it is out of disrespect. It's not. It's just that it's the only way I can emphasize how deplorable the situation, which has continued so long, really is; and one of the best ways you can help us in the States is to watch the problem very closely. And when they grab us and arrest us, let them know, well, that they shouldn't have done it.

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LETTERS FROM PRISON

New Book by James P. Cannon

Socialists and students of the radical movement in the United States will welcome this week's announcement by Merit Publishers that it is bringing out a new book by James P. Cannon, the National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

Entitled *Letters From Prison*, the book consists of Cannon's letters to his wife and comrade, Rose Karsner, during his 1944-1945 imprisonment at the federal penitentiary in Sandstone, Minnesota.

The letters are unique in prison correspondence in that, while affording glimpses of the writer's personal relations and containing moving vignettes of prison life, they concentrate upon the political and organizational problems facing revolutionists and their party. One gets grim satisfaction from the realization that, despite prison regulations and censorship, a number of these letters reached their intended destination at the time as articles in *The Militant*, polemics in the SWP's internal discussion bulletins, and points on the agendas of committees directing party work.

The preponderantly political character of the letters resulted in part from the fact that inmates of federal prisons are permitted to write only to "approved" correspondents. Thus frequently Cannon was in fact addressing not only Rose Karsner, his "approved" correspondent, but also the new, unjailed leadership of his party and its membership.

He and 17 other leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis truck-drivers' union had been sent to prison following a celebrated trial marked by the government's first use of the notorious Smith Act. Their real offense was twofold: opposition to World War II and

opposition to an important lever of Roosevelt's manipulation of the labor movement — the reactionary leadership of the Teamsters' union. For this they were railroaded to prison in a trial at which the prosecution's "evidence" consisted in the main of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. In the wartime abrogation of civil liberties, the U.S. Supreme Court repeatedly refused even to hear an appeal of the convictions.

When Cannon and his comrades entered prison on New Year's Day 1944, the smokescreen that had cloaked the imperialists' real war motives from the people was already beginning to be dispelled. Cynicism about the U.S. ruling class's real attitude to fascism — when that fascism did not hold power in a competitor imperialist country — had grown as allied policy displayed itself in deeds. The "equality of sacrifice" program on the home front revealed itself in practice as a swindle providing gargantuan profits for the corporations, and wage controls and a no-strike pledge for the workers. The growing anger of black people — present in increased numbers in the factories and unions — against the hypocrisy of official declamations against Hitler's racism, while U.S. racism at home and in the armed forces continued unabated, was converting the ghettos into powder kegs of revolutionary energy.

To prepare the SWP for the mass radicalization which he saw shaping up was Cannon's principal concern. All his letters are devoted to one or more aspect or detail of this preparation.

First and foremost the preparation meant preserving the party's revolutionary program and attitude from a revision then being

attempted by a tendency which would soon evolve into the Morrow-Goldman faction. This was a belated echo of the greater struggle precipitated by the outbreak of the war. At that time a faction led by James Burnham and Max Shachtman, panicked by the outbreak of the war, abandoned revolutionary Marxism. In its sections on the Morrow-Goldman tendency, Cannon's new book is a valuable continuation and supplement to his earlier *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* and Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*, the classic works produced in the struggle against Burnham-Shachtman.

Equal in importance in Cannon's prison letters is the attention paid to the need of reassembling the scattered forces of the international movement, so many sections of which had suffered terrible losses in the course of the war, occupations, and persecutions by Hitler's Gestapo, Stalin's GPU, and the police agencies of the "democratic" capitalist governments.

A feature of the book that will be of particular interest and usefulness to the younger generation is Cannon's practical proposals for the improvement of the party's work. These proposals cover a wide range of subjects from the readability of the newspaper and education of cadres to a system for electing a more representative national committee.

Cannon's proposals, which are as pertinent today as when they were written, are not drawn from abstract reasoning but from a vast store of experience, and his arguments are studded with concrete examples. Indeed, no figure on the American scene can match him in experience in the labor and socialist movements. Here is a glance

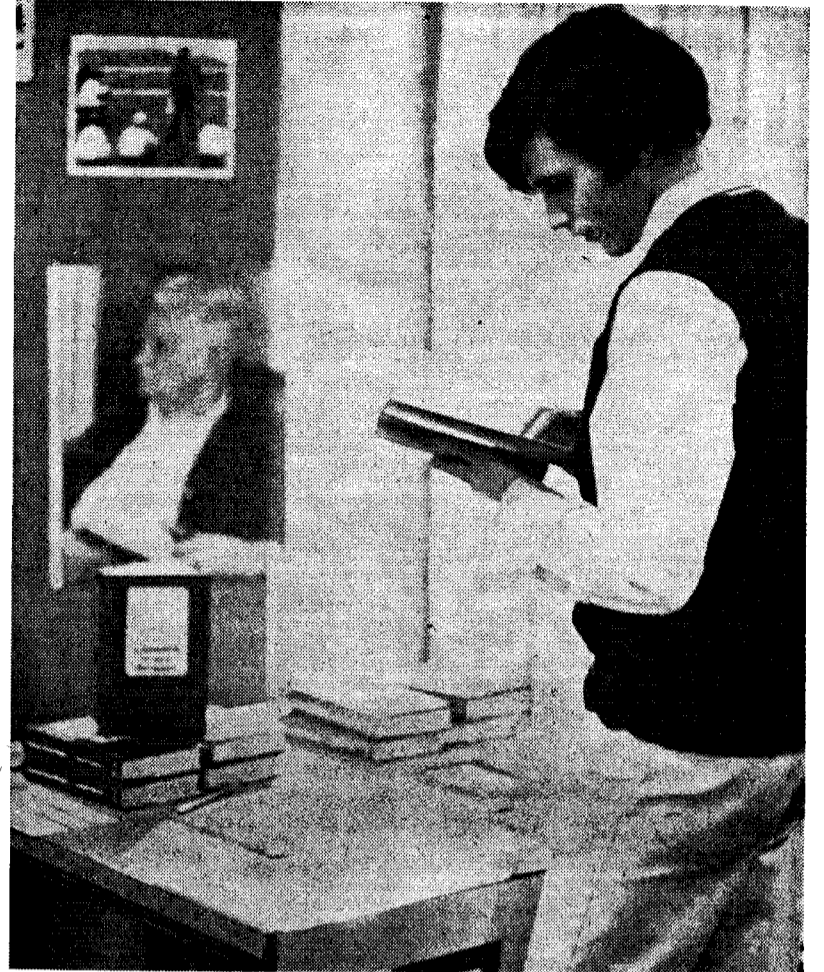


Photo by Hermes

AT YSA CONVENTION. Hot off the presses, James P. Cannon's new book was a best seller at Young Socialist Alliance gathering. Over 200 copies were sold there.

at his record: he joined the IWW in 1911, later the Socialist Party left wing, was a founding member of the American Communist movement and a leader in its first decade, led the fight against Stalinism and was expelled from the CP, and founded the American Trotskyist movement in 1928. He has served as helmsman for 40 years. As important as the extent of this experience is its quality — it was all acquired in consistent

struggle for a true revolutionary line.

The formal publication date of *Letters from Prison* has been set, fittingly enough, for May Day. The clothbound book will sell for \$5.95. But from now until May Day readers of *The Militant* may purchase it at the special pre-publication price of \$3.95. Orders with payments should be sent to Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

In Memory of Harold Swanson

Early on the morning of Feb. 1, Harold M. Swanson, age 56, lost a valiant three-year fight against cancer.

A bolshevik is gone. He might still be alive today to carry on the fight if it were not for the greed of capitalism, which squanders wealth created by labor on instruments of death and destruction. Many realize that the billions spent on armaments could better be spent on medical research to conquer the dread disease of cancer, among other human ailments.

Although he knew there was no hope for recovery, he was not deterred from the purpose and principles of Marxism, which had inspired him all his adult life. He continued to read and concern himself with the problems of this world, such as Vietnam and black liberation and, particularly, the labor movement.

Also, our mother's courage and selfless devotion to him through the long vigil deserves the highest praise.

Harold was born Sept. 7, 1911, in Bradford, Pa., son of a Protestant minister. As a small boy he moved with his family to Buffalo, N.Y.; Alberta, Canada; Little Falls, Minn.; and finally to Minneapolis, where he was to spend most of his life.

Harold became an excellent student who wrestled with that typical problem of the bleak depression years — whether to go on to college or try to enter a trade. Of course, a lack of funds helped form his decision. After graduating from Little Falls High School, he came to Minneapolis only to witness college graduates in search of work. He therefore entered Dunwoody Industrial Institute to learn the electrical trade. He graduated two years later. But there

were no jobs, and the craft unions were then closed tight. For a while the future looked dismal. His marriage to our mother, then Pauline Johnson, in 1934, was a happy event in those troubled times.

Harold's radicalization, however, enabled him to see that this was a period of unprecedented progress, as millions of workers, armed with only their solidarity and determination, battled the bosses and their stooges to build today's powerful unions.

Considering our father's strict religious and sectarian background, we had always been amazed at his early turn to Marxist ideas and the socialist movement, as envisioned then by Leon Trotsky. But the young Harold was kind and compassionate; and fortunately he had been born with the ability to think clearly in the abstract. The next few years of personal hardship, devoted to the building of the unions, were to forge his lifelong identity as a worker-intellectual and a bolshevik.

During the middle and late thirties, Harold found himself on WPA, and soon became active in Federal Workers' section of Teamsters Local 544, as an organizer. His open-minded eagerness to learn enabled him to see that the fundamental forces brutally oppressing the workers were of an economic class nature. This observation led him to the conclusion that the workers must build their own independent political party to take state power out of the hands of the capitalist class. Harold thought the Trotskyist movement would one day achieve that goal of workers' power; and in 1938 he joined the Socialist Workers Party.

The outbreak of World War II became a testing ground for

American radicals, as later events were to prove. Since Harold would not join the Stalinists in supporting U.S. imperialism in the war, but instead took the road of opposing all imperialist ventures, including the role of the United States, he thus became one of the 29 defendants in the infamous Minneapolis sedition trial of 1941, where 18 of the 29 were framed and imprisoned under the Smith ("gag") Act. Harold was one of those acquitted. Shortly thereafter he left Minneapolis to find employment in the converted war industries of Detroit, Mich.

In 1942 Harold took a job as an assembler at General Motors and soon joined Fleetwood Local 15 of the UAW. He later became the editor of its paper, the *Fleetwood Organizer*. He and his wife were also active in party work at the Detroit branch of the SWP, helping to recruit many UAW workers.

After the war, Harold took his family, then of four children, back to Minneapolis and a succession of jobs. In 1950 he went to work at Thermo King Corp., where he remained until he could work no longer. True to form, he soon became active once again in trade union work. During that period of almost 18 years he seldom missed an opportunity to try to radicalize workers while serving in numerous capacities — shop steward, on strike and grievance committees, and finally on the negotiating committee.

Before and during the Cuban missile crisis, he almost lost his job because of the unrelenting stand he took in defense of the Cuban Revolution. Obviously he was in a minority; but when he faced dismissal by the bosses, the more astute workers and union activists rallied to his defense.

Harold's final, and most recent, contribution was undertaken with little regard to the increasing physical pain he endured, as he served on the negotiating committee during the 1966 bitter 10-week strike against Thermo King.

One of his party comrades and a long time friend remembers Harold best as a cheerful and optimistic person. This characteristic, added to his calm, articulate speech, enabled him to reach out to various types of people and a wide variety of militant co-workers. He seemed able to sense another's immediate capacity to absorb ideas, and he was careful not to exceed that point all at once, but rather to build upon it gradually. Despite many of their ideological differences with him, the workers called upon him time and again to shoulder responsibilities with which they knew he could be trusted. Above all, they knew he was honest and principled, and they admired and respected him for it.

Harold was not a forceful leader. His temperament was that of a philosopher and diplomat. He was an avid and excellent reader whose broad knowledge of science and world affairs lent an agreeable flavor to his many arguments against bourgeois morality and the various forms of organized superstition. He never seemed to run short of disarming illustrations for emphasis, for he loathed all forms of indoctrination.

He was also considered by some an authority on Leon Trotsky, the man and his thoughts. He firmly believed the day would come when the "Old Man" would capture the imagination of the majority of this planet's youth. Harold seemed completely free of dogmatism. In his opinion, the essence of Trot-

sky's ideas was such that Marxism was not to be viewed as an end in itself but as an applied science, a method, which evolves and is formulated anew in relation to each new crisis.

His loved ones remember Harold as a thoroughly likable and cultured gentleman who loved music, the performing arts, and the beauty of nature. He was unconcerned with human perfection, as he felt vicariously the pain of anxiety and alienation in others. It was his own source of inner strength which provided for him the ability to bring out in others their own sources of hidden strength and personal identity. Thus friends often commented that "he would really listen" to them, and that he made them feel important as individuals.

Harold showed that he had the utmost trust and confidence in the workers; thus they in turn reinforced his confidence in himself. By learning to accept the faults in others he further cemented that bond of vital communication with his fellow human beings, so necessary to the work of a Marxist and a revolutionary.

Even as Harold struggled for his last few breaths during the final battle, he seemed to be pained more by the daily announced ravages of war than with his own condition. His last few words were: "No more war — no more war — Someday this will be a wonderful world — everybody, love each other — no more hate — no more war."

Left to mourn his passing are: Pauline, his wife and comrade, three sons, two daughters, eight grandchildren, three sisters, and numerous friends and fellow workers.

—David and Richard Swanson

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.]

Israeli Injustice

Bronx, N.Y.

In *The Militant* of Jan. 15 there was a letter signed "M.C." The head of the letter was "Not a Zionist." I am not a partisan of *The Militant's* politics, just a humble believer in Socialism.

The creation of the Israeli state brought the exile of two million peasants. Until this day, they are not allowed to return to their homes, nor compensated. Instead, more bloodshed and more dispossessed people.

The words "liberal," "modern," cannot cover up injustice and murder, whether it was done by arsonists before the state was created, or by the present well-organized army with Nazi methods and Nazi efficiency.

D.B.

The Cold War

Brooklyn, N.Y.

I used to come to your *Militant* Forums frequently held on Friday evenings, as I well remember, some years ago. I've had my different views insofar as the radical movement is concerned. True, the intimidation and the Cold War scared many people away 20 years ago, when the Cold War hysteria was riding high.

Capitalism was about to be finished were it not for the Cold War and the Marshall Plan 20 years ago. Most of all, teachers and persons with civil service positions were in danger of their lives if they dared to mention a word of opposition to the capitalist exploiters or to say the world wars were capitalist imperialist wars.

Everyone was in danger in all of industry, but teachers and civil servants were extremely vulnerable. The Taft-Hartley law was passed in 1947. It was surely the most vicious law passed against labor.

Now we have the Taylor Law which replaced the Condon-Wadlin Law and which has been used against the school teachers first in New York City only this past summer.

It's an extremely vulnerable situation in Asia as well. The Vietnam war has kept the nation from a steep depression. Now a new Korean war may be in the making. They've been inviting the UN to take part in the situation. The UN is a big fraud in replacement of the League of Nations in 1945.

Cuba has done an excellent job since 1959 when Castro took over. A very important measure taken in 1959 was that rents, gas and electric rates were reduced by half. Now practically all of the people in Cuba are beginning to live rent free.

What's happened in Cuba in so short a time is so much more significant in such a tiny country than what's happened in the Soviet Union in 50 years.

E.B.

Marxist Dogma?

Philadelphia, Pa.

The entire tone and outlook of *Militant* reporters and writers is written in a framework of narrow Marxist dogma — the forced attempt to view all world events, all conflict, in fact the entire gamut of people's opinions as stemming exclusively from economic causes.

Marxist thought is responsible for alerting us to the important and substantial role that economics does, in fact, play in shaping our opinions. However important the economy is, though, it cannot be

considered the ultimate cause of all the other ills which plague human society, e.g., war, racism, ethnocentricity, and ultra-nationalism. Just as your Austin reader pointed out [Jan. 15 *Militant*] that the Israeli-Arab conflict cannot be classed as a struggle between reactionary and progressive economic systems (it was, in fact, another example of conflict between different religious and ethnic groups), I feel bound to point up the divisiveness which characterizes any given class (particularly the religious, ethnic, racial and other unimportant conflicts among the American lower class) as well as any given society.

No Marxist society, existing or illusory, can hope to achieve any measure of a utopian society without throwing off the shackles of dogma in favor of flexibility. The moral ideals underlying socialism are good minus the rigidity of their exercise. No society can hope to be progressive if civil liberties are prostrated to unity of action.

And here lies the greatest contradiction in contemporary Socialist thought, and practice. The United States, for all the ills and evils wreaked by the capitalist system, still affords greater civil liberty than any of the "progressive" socialist states lauded by your paper. And for all the shortcomings and unfairness in the protection of these liberties in this country of which you and I are equally aware, true individual freedom is more a reality here than in any of the socialist countries. True Socialism can only come when the outmoded and self-contradictory ideal of economic freedom is replaced by "economic justice" and the greatest possible degree of civil liberty, even where it is inconvenient to your ultimate goals.

To temper criticism with praise, I believe that much (though not

Thought for the Week

"CIA director Richard Helms told members of the House Appropriations Committee in secret that the recent Communist attacks were a severe setback for the allies, according to one committee member.

"At present rates of progress, Helms reportedly told the committee, the war could last 100 years." — Robert S. Boyd in the Feb. 14 *New York Post*.

nearly all) of what is said in your paper is valuable and contains truth that the wide-circulation mass media do not care to discuss. You provide important indictments of the ills prevalent in American society and a much needed "new outlook" on the events which most of our news media forcefeed us in the same dry, mundane manner.

M.D.

Anti-Nasser

I wish to ask you if you are still of the opinion that Nasser is in confrontation with the imperialists now that he is being financed by the Saudi Arabian oil sheiks and after his having pulled his troops out from under the Yemen Republican government.

I would also appreciate a discussion of the following point: Inasmuch as the Arabs were and continue to be the world's chief slave traders and that an Arab regime continues to slaughter blacks by the thousands in the Sudan, how is it that radical blacks look to the Arab world for anti-imperialist allies?

May I also suggest to you that your political support of a regime which has jailed all communists and has more Nazi advisers and functionaries than the West German government itself seems bizarre in the light of your correct criticisms of the Indonesian situation, in which a Bonapartist regime at least tolerated the existence of a three-million member

Communist Party until it itself was overthrown.

The Sukarno regime also was in "confrontation" with imperialism just as much as Nasser supposedly is today. Yet you denounced the opportunism of Mao and Khrushchev in cottoning up to the former regime, while you denounce as Zionists and pro-imperialists those who criticize a parallel lining up on your part with the Nasser regime.

What is it about Nasser that makes him more "anti-imperialist" than Sukarno ever was? At least under Sukarno a three-million member Communist Party flourished, more than you can say about Egypt today or for the past 15 years.

I know I and many other of your readers would appreciate an explanation of this apparent neo-Stalinist opportunism on your part.

Granted that the present regime in Israel is a creature of the imperialists, nevertheless Jewish nationalism has as much right to exist as any other nationalism in the world today. Granted that only socialist-minded regimes in both Israel and Egypt can make real peace in the area, support for a bourgeois-fascist regime in Egypt is wrong for socialists, even though that regime may be temporarily supported by the Soviet Union, just as wrong as laying off the Nazis was during the Hitler-Stalin pact.

A Supporter



Weak in Economics, Too — Last month we told of the mixed-up jet-setter who said that if she couldn't go to Europe (because of LBJ's efforts to keep travel dollars in the western hemisphere), she would go to the Orient. Along comes another lady, accustomed to going to England three or four times a year, who claims that she doesn't spend any money there because the hotels "never send me bills until I get home."

Freeloaders — Not only do congressional junketeers travel at the taxpayers' expense — they receive an allowance of \$50 per day. Ordinary mortals, however, who are able to save up enough for a trip abroad, will be hit by a tax on all daily expenditures over \$7, if proposed travel legislation is enacted.

Can't Win 'Em All — Hubert Humphrey was presented with two gifts during his recent trip through Africa — neither of which received a great deal of publicity. One was a set of matched Somali leopard skins (to make a coat just like Jackie's for Mrs. HHH), courtesy of the king of Ethiopia; the other was a petition from Peace Corps volunteers in the Ivory Coast, protesting U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Stunt Man — It looks as though Hustling Hubert will be LBJ's stand-in as the No. 1 campaigner for the Democratic ticket this year. According to a report in the *New York Times*, "Much of the President's campaigning is likely to be done on radio and TV, with a minimum of the political touring that could expose him... to embarrassing and possibly dangerous encounters with antiwar demonstrators."

They Loved Him — The Arkansas Senate gave two standing

ovations to an ex-inmate who described the state penitentiary (otherwise known as the Arkansas Chamber of Horrors) as "the finest atmosphere for rehabilitation of antisocial inmates that has ever been developed anywhere in the world." The witness thus honored by Arkansas lawmakers is Charles Clarke, founder of the ultraright Patriotic Party and staunch supporter of Robert DePugh, head of the Minutemen.

Won't You Please Come Home — A congressional candidate from the Texas district once represented by LBJ has called on him not to seek re-election, in order to provide "new alternatives in Viet-

nam." In a telegram addressed to the President, the congressional candidate said: "I want your home people to have a clear chance to say to you, by sacred and secret ballot, 'Please don't run again. Lyndon, come home.' I am running to give them that opportunity."

Adding Insult to Injury — As if being packed like sardines in hot, filthy subway cars — and paying for it — isn't enough, New York's long-suffering and overly patient straphangers may become a captive audience for advertising commercials over the subway loudspeaker system.

—Ruth Porter

Weekly Calendar of Events

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

BOSTON

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING. Speakers: Charles Turner, Roxbury community organizer; Linda Phare, member of Omoja; a representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Friday, Feb. 23, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

MALCOLM X'S IMPACT ON TODAY'S YOUNG MILITANTS. Speakers from Black Student Union. Film showing: "Malcolm X, Struggle for Freedom." Friday, Feb. 23, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

at 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesday, Feb. 27 and March 12, at 9:45 a.m.

NEW YORK

A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X: "Black Students on the Influence of Malcolm's Life and Ideas." Film showing of "Malcolm X, Struggle for Freedom" made during Malcolm's last trip to Europe and Africa. Friday, Feb. 23, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SEATTLE

BLACK NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for U.S. Vice President. Friday, Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. Ausp. Militant Forum.

TWIN CITIES

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING. Showing of the film, "Malcolm X, Struggle for Freedom." Saturday, Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Minneapolis. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

BIWEEKLY RADIO COMMENTARY over KPFB (90.6 FM) by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Monday, Feb. 26 and March 11,

New Readers

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

THE MILITANT

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Young Socialists Plan Campaign Against War As Main Task in '68

By Elizabeth Barnes

The Young Socialist Alliance held the largest convention in its history in Detroit Feb. 9-11. Three hundred and fifty youth came from 35 different cities and towns, and among the delegates were students from 43 college campuses and 13 high schools.

The convention mapped plans for building a giant network of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle across the country in support of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign. Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary of the YSA, explained in her report on the political resolution that already there are endorsers for the campaign in all but 10 states. "What makes 1968 different from 1964," she said, "is that this year there are going to be thousands

In a report on the antiwar resolution, YSA national chairman Lew Jones described the deep significance of the recent National Liberation Front offensive in Vietnam.

Jones pointed out that the international antiwar movement is helping to organize an expanding youth radicalization on a world scale. "That radicalization comes mainly in response to the democratic struggles of the colonial world," he said. "That is, in Europe it was the Algerian revolution that was the spark. In this country it was the Cuban revolution, and the struggle of the Afro-American people."

"And today," Jones continued, "Throughout the world, youth are reacting to the Vietnamese revolution and rallying to its defense... American imperialism is throwing down the cudgels, and these youth are taking them up."

Lew Jones described the opportunities facing the antiwar movement as "far surpassing its ability to take advantage of them," and told the delegates, "Our job is to help lead the antiwar movement to take advantage of these opportunities, to reach out and build mammoth demonstrations throughout the world on April 27."

High School Students

In the discussion on the antiwar movement, Dave Comeau, a high school student from New York, stressed the fact that high school students will play an important role in the international student strike planned for April 26. "Already," he said, "the Student Mobilization Committee has contact with students at 130 high schools in New York alone."

Pfc. Howard Petrick, a YSAer on leave from the army who was threatened last spring with court-martial for discussing his antiwar and socialist views with other GIs, described to the convention the nature of the antiwar sentiment within the army. One of the most significant developments he described was the effects of the ghetto rebellions on black GIs. Petrick said the black GIs are more quick to praise the bravery of the Vietnamese revolutionaries than are the white GIs.

"There's a great admiration for the Vietnamese people," he said. "GIs I've talked to coming back from Vietnam will admit this, that these people have something we don't have because they are willing to die. The GIs say that the young South Vietnamese kids that they talk to in the daytime, well, the next day they go out there after a battle and find them dead."

Explain

Petrick pointed out that an important part of educating against the war is "to explain why these people are fighting so heroically for their freedom."

Derrick Morrison, a member of the YSA national executive committee, reported on the document on the black liberation struggle. He explained that nationalism and the assertion of blackness represent a real danger to the ruling class in the United States, "because it begins to undo 400 years of mental whitewashing that was necessary in order to enchain the Afro-American."

Morrison's report described the rapid state of flux now existing in the Afro-American movement, and the gains made during the past year. He said the biggest leap forward has been the proliferation of black student organ-

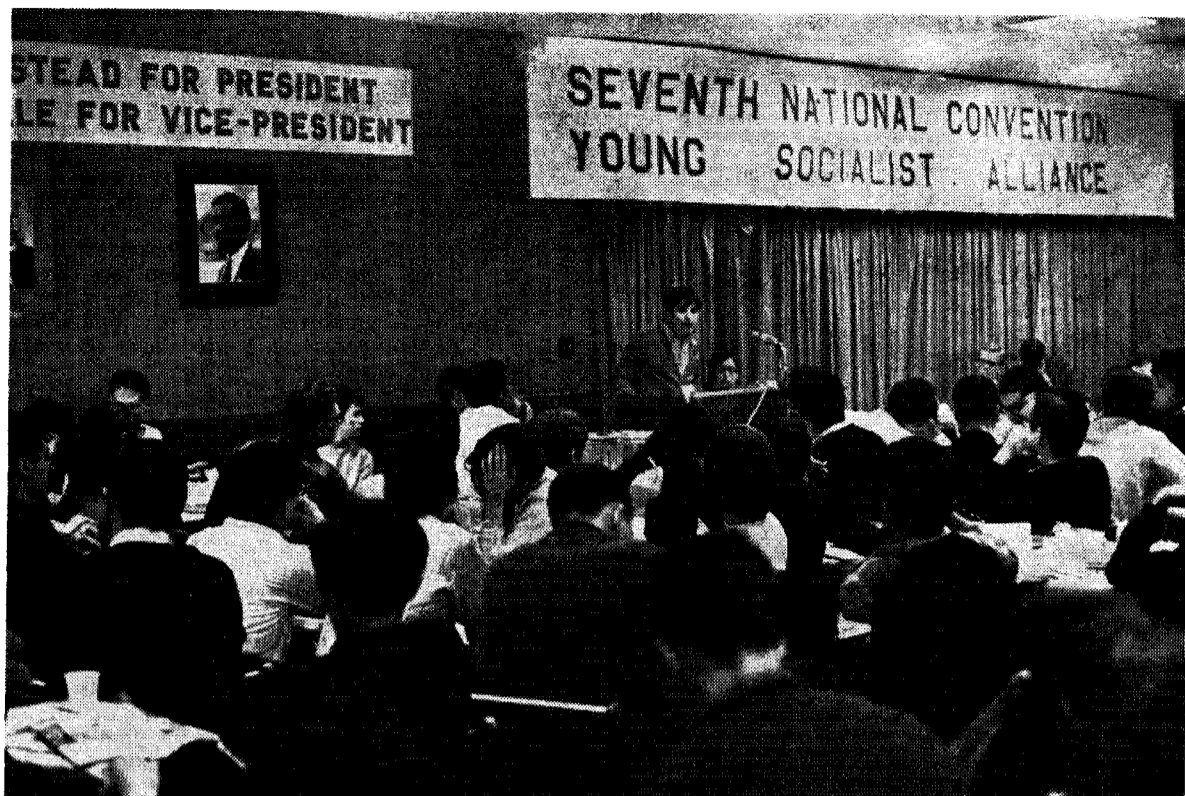


Photo by Hermes

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT. Addressing YSA convention is Dave Watson, one of growing number of high school students joining young socialist group.



Photo by Hermes

TONY THOMAS. YSA organizer in Washington, D.C.

of people who are willing to draw the line on capitalist politics."

Reports from delegates representing different areas of the country confirmed the possibility of a large-scale socialist campaign in support of black control of the black community and to bring the GIs home now. One of the most significant contributions to the discussion was made by Nelson Blackstock of Atlanta, Ga., who described favorable responses to the campaign on campuses in Georgia and Alabama.

This was the YSA's seventh national convention since its founding in 1960. For three months preceding the convention, discussions on proposed resolutions were held in YSA chapters around the country. Delegates were then elected on the basis of these discussions.

[The delegates to the YSA convention unanimously voted to send the following telegram to the "TSU Five," students at Texas Southern University framed up on murder charges following a police attack on the campus last year.]

The frameup against you is part of a wave of attacks against black militants from one end of the country to the other, from LeRoi Jones in Newark to Huey Newton in Oakland. Your courage and determined struggle against this attack is an inspiration to young people all over the country. The seventh national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance meeting in Detroit this weekend expresses its full solidarity with you against the racist frame-up of the Houston police and pledges to continue to contribute to your defense efforts to the fullest extent possible.

izations. "Any attempt to form a national black youth organization, or a black political party, or a black antiwar organization has an automatic base in the Afro-American student organizations," he said. In addition, he pointed to the radicalization in the high schools, the formation of the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union, the boycott of the Olympic games, and the developments within SNCC toward more nationalist consciousness and a greater acceptance of socialist ideas.

Movement Ascending

Referring to the discussions going on in the movement as a result of the government's attacks on black militants, Morrison said, "Now with all of the offensive strides in the central struggle being made, it becomes ludicrous for people to think in terms of this year being the year of oppression, a year in which fascism and genocide loom around the corner. Nobody argues the fact that there have been government assaults on the movement. But we must not fall into the bag of generalizing these specific assaults as being the central feature of the next period. While he is powerful, Uncle Sam is irrevocably on the defensive at home and abroad. And because Uncle Sam is on the defensive, the attacks and frame-ups of black militants will continue."

One of the highlights of the convention was a campaign rally for SWP presidential ticket Halstead and Boutelle held in the evening of Feb. 10. Socialist Workers Party national secretary Farrell Dobbs was the main speaker. He told the audience, made up mainly of young socialists, that "The de-

veloping upsurge that we are witnessing today is not a mere episode, not just an upturn within the framework of the capitalist status quo which is going to recede tomorrow and be forgotten. It is symbolic of a fundamental trend that is developing in this land. The world contradictions of imperialism are hitting the home front with a vengeance."

The convention delegates listened to a report on the growth of the Canadian socialist movement from Gary Porter, the executive secretary of the Canadian Young Socialists — Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. Porter said that the Canadian antiwar movement is very much affected and inspired by the American movement against the war.

YSA national executive committee member Charles Bolduc gave a report to the convention on the organization of the YSA. The most significant fact he pointed to was the sharp growth in YSA membership over the past year. The convention resolutions projected a qualitative expansion in the size and activities of the YSA during the coming period as a step toward the long-run goal of building a mass revolutionary socialist youth movement in this country.

Bolduc reported on the large quantities of literature published and distributed by the YSA over the past year. This included posters and stickers in support of Cuba and Che Guevara, numer-

ous buttons, and three new pamphlets including an introduction to Marxist economic theory, a pamphlet on Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, and one on "Zionism and the Arab Revolution."

At panel discussions held in the evening YSAers exchanged ideas on various areas of work, including socialist educational activities, publication and distribution of the *Young Socialist*, and how best to win new members.

The convention voted to launch a drive for 2,000 new subscriptions to the YSA's monthly magazine, the *Young Socialist*.

At one point the delegates took time out to pay tribute to two founding members of the YSA who died during 1967. They were John Chelstrom, who was killed in a car accident while on his way to an antiwar convention, and Mike Goldman, who died of cancer.

At the close of the convention, a new national committee was elected by the delegates. The committee then met briefly to elect national officers: Lew Jones, national chairman; Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary; and Charles Bolduc, national organizational secretary.

The convention closed as the whole assembly stood for the singing of the traditional fighting socialist anthem, "The Internationale."

"A New Stage of Radicalization... More Political than in the 1930's"

[The following is from the talk given by Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at a public meeting organized by the YSA in Detroit on Feb. 10.]

"You can say that what is happening is that we are coming into a situation that is comparable to the early stage of the radicalization that developed in this country in the 1930s. There is not yet that sweep and scope that was characteristic of the high point of the radicalization in the middle and latter part of the '30s out of which rose the CIO, out of which the working class of this country became organized. We're more in the position we were in immediately following the market crash in 1929 that heralded the depression that brought the radicalization.

"But, we're in the opening stages of a new developing process of radicalization in this country that shows more and more promise of becoming very broad

in its scope, and in the very nature of things it must go much deeper politically than did the radicalization of the 1930s. Now it's in that kind of general situation that we enter the presidential election year. It's a big change since 1964 except in one basic sense. The dissident political trends are still characterized generally by an entrapment of the masses in the concept of lesser evil politics, which means that in one or another form or in one or another way they remain prone to being hooked through the Democratic Party into the old two-party shell game. And it means that they are still susceptible to being tricked into voting into power the imperialist overlords who are making life more and more miserable for them... But, although the change is not yet basic in the sense of a real break with capitalist politics in mass terms, as an immediate potential — there are significant new political winds blowing..."

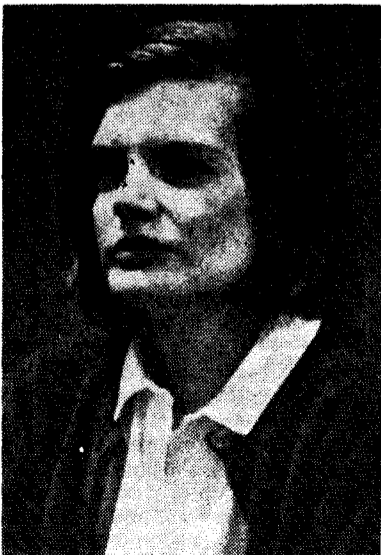


Photo by Dave Wulp
CAROL FRENCH. Delegate from Albany, N.Y., speaking to convention.