

THE MILITANT

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Photo by J. D. Patrick

SOCIALIST CANDIDATE. Robert Wilkinson carries "Vets" sign in antidraft demonstration in Madison last fall.

Vietnam Vet Runs In Wis. Campaign

MADISON, Wis. — The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee announced the candidacy of Vietnam veteran Robert Wilkinson for Governor of Wisconsin on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, at a press conference here March 11. Wilkinson, who spent 1965-66 in Vietnam with the Air Force, is a leading antiwar activist in Madison. In addition to being one of the founders of the Madison Veterans for Peace, he is a former editor of the antiwar newsletter, the *Crisis*, and is presently chairman of the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV). He is the author of a series of articles on his experiences in Viet-

nam, which appeared in recent issues of *Veterans Stars* and *Stripes for Peace*, and is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Vietnam veteran's opposition to the war developed out of his firsthand observations while serving in Vietnam. He spent off-duty hours working on the staff of the *Saigon Daily News*, a position that afforded an excellent opportunity to view the Ky dictatorship and to discuss with the Vietnamese people their reaction to the U.S. intervention in their country.

Robert Wilkinson's campaign for Governor will center around the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and for black control of the black communities in Wisconsin. Wilkinson has pointed especially to conditions of poverty and racist oppression in the black communities of Milwaukee's inner core and similar areas in Racine, Kenosha, Beloit and Madison.

The socialist candidate has called for a big vote against the war in the referendum to be held here April 2. The measure that will appear on the ballot demands "an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam."

The referendum effort is being coordinated by Madison Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam, and is being backed by the Madison CEWV and other groups. Wilkinson, along with many other antiwar activists and socialists, is working hard for a massive "yes" vote.

Wilkinson will also build support for the SWP national ticket of Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President. Wisconsin supporters of an independent, socialist alternative in 1968 should write to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 202 Marion Street, Madison, Wis. 53703. Phone 256-0857.

Howard Petrick Gets Discharge From Fort Hood

By Elizabeth Barnes

MARCH 22—A victory for freedom of speech for GIs was won this week when Pfc. Howard Petrick was discharged from the Army. Petrick's release means that the Army brass definitively gave up on its perspective of court-martialing him for discussing his antiwar and socialist views with fellow GIs.

The Army, however, gave Petrick an "undesirable" discharge on the grounds that he is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. Petrick intends to fight for an honorable discharge in the federal courts.

Petrick told *The Militant* that Army authorities have known about his membership in the SWP and YSA ever since his induction a year and a half ago. "The real reason for my discharge is not

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Kennedy Bid Reflects Crisis in Ruling Class

By George Novack

On March 16, a few days after Senator Eugene McCarthy received 42.4 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire Democratic primary, Senator Robert F. Kennedy announced that he, too, had decided to challenge Lyndon Johnson for the Democratic nomination.

Unless, as is unlikely, the President refuses to run for a second time, this portends a bitter battle between Kennedy and Johnson at the Democratic convention in Chicago next August which will deeply divide the Democratic machine.

Kennedy's long-deliberated decision to enter the race is a response to the serious predicament that has engulfed America's ruling class. It has been struck by the onset of three converging major crises: the specter of a military debacle in Vietnam created by the successful Tet offensive and the encirclement of Khesanh by the National Liberation Front and North Vietnamese forces; the disintegration of the international monetary structure; and the pending confrontation with the black community in the urban areas.

Each of these critical situations is linked with the others. The chronic imbalance of payments has been steadily worsened by expenditures for the Vietnam war and rendered acute by Johnson's declaration that he will send more troops.

The tax increase and reduction in appropriations projected by the President and Congress to slow down the attack upon the dollar virtually excludes any substantial steps to meet the needs of the Afro-Americans and dampens any hopes for measurable improvement in their conditions or prospects.

The alarm that Johnson's course has produced within ruling circles is evidenced by the opposition to its disastrous consequences expressed by publications ranging from the *Wall Street Journal* to the San Francisco newspapers.

These more sober heads have been unable to persuade or pressure the man in the White House to reassess or revise his reckless policy in Southeast Asia. They feel an urgency to get rid of an unpopular and discredited president and prepare a replacement for him, as they shifted from Hoover to Roosevelt after 1932.



Kennedy

The significantly strong vote from both Democrats and Republicans for McCarthy in New Hampshire served to strengthen the fears that have already fissured the forces at the top.

These are the underlying reasons for the sudden emergence of so-called "peace candidates," such as Senators McCarthy and Kennedy and Governor Rockefeller, in both the Democratic and Republican camps. Each of these aspiring capitalist politicians hopes to ride the mounting popular sentiment against the war all the way to the White House.

Not one of the trio intends to turn against the global imperialist strategy pursued for decades by the Washington policy-makers of both parties or to cut down the military machine which implements and enforces it.

McCarthy was ready to serve as Johnson's running mate instead of Humphrey in 1964 and voted for all war appropriations. While he talks about negotiations over Vietnam, he does not propose to withdraw U.S. troops either from Vietnam or South Korea, where they have been stationed for 15 years after the truce there.

McCarthy noted that Robert Kennedy and his brother had chosen the two chief cabinet members Johnson entrusted with administering the war in Vietnam, Secretary of State Rusk and the recently retired Secretary of De-

fense McNamara.

At the news conference announcing his candidacy, Kennedy told reporters that he favored stopping the bombing of North Vietnam to get negotiations started. But he added that "if the negotiations are unsuccessful or if they use that period of time in a way adverse to our military forces there, then I think that we can take retaliatory action."

Although the "dump-Johnson" drive has picked up steam, it will not easily attain its objective. The ruling class has two ways of doing this within the framework of the two-party system. One would be for Kennedy to take the nomination from Johnson next August (McCarthy is not so formidable a contestant). The other would be for someone like Rockefeller to beat Nixon for the Republican nomination. Neither of these alternatives is assured.

This uncertainty makes it possible that, on top of the military, economic and social crises that have spurred Kennedy, McCarthy and Rockefeller to make their bids as presidential nominees, a crisis of political leadership for the American ruling class may be added.

A number of public figures and newspapers are saying that the country has not confronted an emergency of this magnitude since the Great Depression and even since the Civil War.

This observation was confirmed by Fred Halstead, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, at a press conference in New York March 11 on his return from a nationwide speaking tour. He said that the surge of radicalism he encountered in the places he visited, and especially on the campuses, was already in some respects as strong as that of the 1930s.

Kennedy and McCarthy have consciously undertaken the assignment of keeping this dissidence within the confines of the capitalist two-party setup and preventing it from engaging in or supporting what the Senator from Minnesota calls "irregular political movements."

The purpose of the Socialist Workers Party campaign, on the other hand, is to give the antiwar activists and young rebels a clear-cut anticapitalist alternative to all the upholders of the system responsible for the current crisis.

April Days of Protest

Nat'l Roundup On CHOICE 68

Letters have been flooding into the Socialist Workers campaign office from CHOICE 68 coordinators at colleges and universities across the country, asking for information on the Halstead-Boutelle campaign for distribution on their campuses.

Gary Myerscough, chairman of CHOICE 68 at Regis College in Denver, Colo., writes: "I want all the candidates to have an equal chance to present their views. Therefore could you send us some campaign materials—posters, buttons and literature. We would also like to extend an invitation for you to speak here on our campus. The school has a field house which can seat 4,000. . . . We are in contact with four other colleges and are working together. Let me know if and when you can make it and I will see if we can set up

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STUDENTS:

Vote!

April 24

STUDENTS:

Strike!

April 26

EVERYONE:

March!

April 27

To Bring the GIs Home Now!

Student Strikes, Mass Marches

More than 200 high school students marched and rallied against the war in Boston March 16. Participants from over 30 high schools took part in a march from the Boston Common to the Community Church, where a rally was held. The action was organized by the Greater Boston High School Student Mobilization Committee, which plans to participate in the April days of protest.

Boston's part in the International Day of Protest April 27 is being organized by a new coalition of antiwar groups. Tentative plans now call for a demonstration at a war plant in the area.

In the Bay Area, a big march is planned in San Francisco on April 27. The action is being co-

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THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Some time ago the *New York Times* featured Joseph Patrick Molony, chief United Steelworkers spokesman for the 60,000 striking copper workers, as their "Man in the News." The article gave a thumbnail sketch of the life of Molony and wound up quoting one of his famous mixed metaphors:

"We've got our nose between their [the industry's] teeth and we won't let go."

From the latest report "they"—with the help of Johnson, the NLRB, etc.—have succeeded in biting off that nose!

A tentative agreement with Phelps Dodge Corporation, expected to set the pattern for settlement of the strike for the rest of the copper industry, has been announced.

Officials of half of the 26 unions involved, including the USW under two major demands in the nine-month old strike: uniform contract provisions and common expiration dates. One union negotiator said, "The union bargainers have realized all along that they couldn't win their full demands so the gains they won could be considered 'great progress.'"

Two Categories

The proposed contract separates Phelps Dodge workers into two parts — those in the Arizona and Texas mining and refining departments, and those in New York (Yonkers) and Arkansas wire and cable operations. In the first category, a 40-month contract with a \$1.13 per hour increase in wage and fringe benefits (only 54 cents in actual money increases over those 40 months) will expire June 30, 1971. The wire and cable workers' contract, with less "liberal" fringe benefits but the same wage gains, will expire about three months earlier, on March 24, 1971.

Negotiations are still going on between the unions and the other three corporations — American Smelting, Anaconda, and Kennecott. Whether these companies will succeed in further whittling down the wage and fringe benefits tentatively agreed to by Phelps Dodge — and further splitting up the union contract structure — remains to be seen.

To quote Mr. Molony once again: "Their idea of fringe benefits is to abolish flogging."

A new procedure will be followed in the forthcoming steel negotiations — local issues will be settled first, with negotiations on a plant-by-plant basis. Local issues are those involving problems of uneven incentive pay, unsafe working conditions, unsanitary washrooms (!) and seniority. Basic contract issues are wages, retirement and insurance.

According to R. Conrad Cooper, executive vice president of U.S. Steel, and I.W. Abel, United Steelworkers Union president, local issue talks will begin in April, with basic negotiations starting in New York in June. After a preliminary meeting in New York, where both sides will air their problems and views, direct negotiations on a company-by-company basis will begin at each corporation's home base.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, early bargaining this year is an attempt to avert a steel strike because "both sides consider it all but certain that President Johnson would intervene in negotiations if it appeared a strike is imminent . . . Moreover he is considered particularly likely to try to avert a strike in an election year . . ."

The strike of glass production workers, involving 50,000 members of the Glass Blowers Association against more than 100 glass manufacturers, is now in its sixth week. The average wage of these workers is \$2.78 per hour. Before the strike began the union had rejected an industry offer of a 17 cents per hour increase the first year of a three-year contract, a 4 percent increase the second year, and a 3 percent raise the third year.

Teamsters Union officials, the mayor of Detroit and the newspaper industry, using scare tactics that the lack of newspapers is fomenting false rumors about more riots in the ghetto, have succeeded in gaining a settlement of the Teamsters strike against the *Detroit News*, and the lockout of the *Free Press*. A mail ballot is reported as favoring a \$30 a week increase in wages by a vote of 336-194.

However, as reported last week by Sarah Lovell, this will not end the news blackout in Detroit. The typographical unions which are also on strike involve the printing pressmen, the paperhandlers, the platehandlers, the typographers and the photoengravers.

Newspaper officials say they expect the Teamsters settlement terms to serve as a pattern for the other striking unions. But the strikers say NO.

Marvel Scholl

Father Grieves for Son Killed in Vietnam

Harold Block of Portland, Ore., father of Pfc. William J. Block, recently killed in Vietnam, said his son's death was "all for nothing."

"I can't see it [the war]. It's getting worse, not better."

RIOT COMMISSION REPORT

'Control of Disorder'

By Dick Roberts

[This is the second in a series of articles on the "Riot Commission Report." The first article pointed out how the report whitewashes the role of police in inciting ghetto uprisings.]

The one concrete thing the President's "Riot Commission" report has already accomplished is to give further impetus to police forces around the nation to "improve" their weapons and "sophisticate" their tactics for dealing with potential ghetto uprisings.

This is not an accidental by-product of the commission study. It is a stated intention of the report and there are no less than five out of 17 chapters and one special supplement on the subject.

"Control of Disorder" is the title of Chapter 12 of the report, and this chapter dispenses with high-sounding rhetoric about social improvement in the first sentence:

"To analyze the complex social causes of disorder, to plumb the impact of generations of deprivation, to work for broad and sensitive efforts at prevention are vital tasks, but they are slow and difficult."

"Law and Order"

The commissioners get down to business in the next sentences: "When, in the meantime, civil disorder breaks out . . . simpler principles emerge. Preserving civil peace is the first responsibility of government . . . Our society is founded on the rule of law. That rule must prevail." (p. 323)

The chapter is devoted to making recommendations for immediate changes in police control of ghetto rebellions. It insists that present-day police forces are too small, do not have sufficient anti-riot training and their weapons are too crude:

" . . . sufficient manpower is a prerequisite for controlling potentially dangerous crowds; the speed with which it arrives may well determine whether the situation can be controlled." (p. 326)

"It is apparent that most American cities would not have enough policemen quickly available to assure control in the event of a sudden large disorder . . . Despite the obvious importance of well-trained police in controlling disorder, the Commission survey of the capabilities of selected police



TANKS IN NEWARK "RIOTS." Riot Commission urges use of "minimum force necessary" to contain black community, and doesn't want tanks used — unless "necessary."

departments disclosed serious deficiencies." (p. 327)

"The deficiencies in police training for disorders are magnified by the fact that standard police training and operations differ radically from training needed for the control of riots." (p. 328)

"The cardinal requirement is to have enough men available to put into effect whatever tactics are used . . . Specific riot control tactics are discussed in the Model Operations Plan . . . which has been prepared for separate distribution to police departments." (p. 329)

The commissioners apparently felt that some of their advice to police was not fit for public consumption and they prepared several reports for the eyes of police and city officials only. But a section in this chapter on "the use of force" is probably indicative of the content of these secret reports.

Tactical

The question of killing, it emphasizes and underlines, is not a moral one but a tactical one. It is simply a question of preparing the police to be best able to control ghetto residents.

They quote a riot-control manual of the FBI: "The basic rule, when applying force, is to use only the minimum force necessary to control the situation . . . Ill-advised or excessive application of force will not only result in charges of police brutality, but

also may prolong the disturbance." (p. 330)

"The Commission recommends that in suppressing disorder, the police, wherever possible, follow the example of the U.S. Army in requiring the use of chemical agents before the use of deadly weapons . . . The Commission believes . . . that the urgent need for nonlethal alternatives requires immediate attention and federal support." (p. 331)

Implementation

These are not idle suggestions. Many articles in the press recently report that the sophistication and perfection of riot-control forces is well under way around the country. This had certainly been in the works before the Riot Commission study: the presidential commission gave it further "justification" and support.

Thus, according to the March 9 issue of *Business Week* magazine, "Since the riots last year, the FBI has given 325 seminars in riot-control tactics across the country to more than 13,000 police authorities . . . It has also mailed out 32,000 special booklets on 'prevention and control of mobs and riots.'"

The *Wall Street Journal* reported March 11 that police departments "in many cities are buying automatic weapons, rifles with telescopic sights, the disabling chemical Macée, tear gas, riot shields and reconnaissance helicopters."

There is clearly no contradiction between these steps and the Riot Commission report; they are what it recommends. And it is utterly foolish and misleading to believe that the Riot Commission would come up with riot-control tactics any different from those advocated by the FBI, the army or any other repressive institution of the capitalist state specializing in these tasks.

Two Sides

Their job is to maintain capitalist law and order and to deal with any threats to that law and order accordingly. The law stands on one side: "Mobs," "riots" and "rioters" stand on the other.

The Riot Commission report proposes the reinforcing, rearming and remodeling of the police forces which provoke and incite violence. In so doing, it runs counter to the only realistic solution to police violence against black people, which is to place the control of the police in the hands of the black community itself.

But black control of the black community was not the intention of the Riot Commission at all. Its intention was to devise ways and means precisely to block black people from determining their own fate.

Young Socialist, Militant Offered in Joint \$1 Sub

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle have made available a special combination subscription to *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* magazine, for the duration of the 1968 election campaign.

In addition to being active campaigners for the Halstead-Boutelle ticket, these publications are indispensable for gaining an accurate view of the progress of their campaign, a revolutionary socialist analysis of the '68 elections, and a picture of the day-to-day struggles for a better society here and throughout the world.

For example, *The Militant* will carry a special weekly feature column on the progress of the campus campaign to *Get the vote out!* in CHOICE 68, the national collegiate presidential primary to be held on April 24.

The Militant offers weekly analysis and reportage on the events in Vietnam, the antiwar movement, the black liberation struggle, the labor movement, the international struggle for socialism. The *Young Socialist*, a monthly revolutionary socialist magazine, has carried articles ranging from in-

terviews with leaders of the Afro-American struggle, such as an interview with Malcolm X in 1965, to discussions and appraisals of the antiwar movement, features on Cuba and the Latin American revolution, and articles on the socialist and antiwar movements abroad.

This special combination offer, lasting through November 1968, is available for \$1.00. It includes six months of the *Young Socialist* and three months of *The Militant*.

No supporter of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign; no participant in the black liberation struggle; no supporter of the Cuban, Vietnamese and colonial revolutions; no antiwar fighter; no one who consider himself or herself a fighter for a better world — a world without wars, inflation, racism, poverty, oppression and exploitation — can get along without a subscription to these two publications.

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N. Y. Memorial Meeting Held For Rose Karsner Cannon

By Les Evans

NEW YORK, March 17—More than 100 people attended a memorial meeting here today to pay tribute to Rose Karsner Cannon, a founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, who died of cancer March 7 in Los Angeles. She was 78.

A majority of those in the hall were young people who had joined the movement for socialism in the last few years, but there were still many who had known Rose well in the decades of struggle during the 60 years she devoted to the cause of socialism. The room was decorated in red rather than black, a more fitting color for the passing of a revolutionary. A large vase of red roses stood on the speakers table.

The meeting was chaired by Jack Barnes, national director of the 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign.

Speakers at the meeting included Marvel Scholl, contributor to *The Militant* and long-time financial director of the SWP; Evelyn Reed, the party's national education director, and a writer for *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*; and Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Marvel Scholl said, "So long as our party exists—so long will Rose remain alive." She described Rose Karsner's early years of poverty in Rumania, her emigration to the United States and her joining the Socialist Party of Debs at the age



Photo by Hermes

AT MEMORIAL MEETING. Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party national secretary, addresses New York memorial meeting for Rose Karsner Cannon.

of 18. "We dip the red flag that she bore," Marvel Scholl said, "in sorrow at her passing, but then we raise it high—she would not have had it otherwise."

Evelyn Reed described her friendship of many years with Rose: "Rose was the first close woman friend I had in the American Trotskyist movement. That was some 28 years ago. . . . To me she was the American counterpart of Natalia Trotsky. All those who knew Rose well became deeply attached to her. A number of objective historical factors have brought it about that our party in the most backward of all the big industrial countries has one of the largest and ablest contingents of women fighters for socialism. But certain individuals are also responsible for that fact. To my mind the most important has been the work done and the example given by Rose Karsner Cannon from the beginning of our movement."

Farrell Dobbs declared that Rose Karsner Cannon's "60 years of revolutionary devotion to humanity" should be "a symbol for today's youth." He attributed her steadfastness in the socialist movement to her "firm grasp of the revolutionary potential of the working class and the fact that she kept faith with its historic role in forging man's socialist future. She personified the ingredients that make a socialist warrior."

Dobbs pointed to Rose's early close friendship with Eugene Debs as an example of the fighting spirit that always drew her to the genuinely revolutionary fighters for socialist freedom. "She had the best instincts from the start. She was drawn to Debs because she sensed in him the real McCoy. She opposed World War I at a time when opposition to a war was a much tougher thing than it is today." He described her role in the early years of the Communist Party, the beginning in 1921 of her lifetime partnership with James P. Cannon, and her teamwork with him in founding the American Trotskyist movement.

"Rose was seldom prominently in the forefront," Farrell Dobbs said, "but she made big contributions. She was loyal, devoted, unfaltering. She gave her best without hesitation. Rose was an organization woman — no prima donna. She was a blood sister to the foot troops of revolutionary history. She brooked no compromise with capitalism—or with the misleaders of labor. And she always rose to her fullest stature during times of crisis. . . .

"When World War II came she

proved a tower of strength in our ranks. Eighteen of our leading comrades were imprisoned — among them her husband, Jim. Rose set an example for the wives of the other prisoners, for the whole party. As usual, she proved herself a soldier of the line, tough as hickory.

"After the war she handled the logistics of a vital international task. Revolutionary cadres were regrouping in war-torn Europe, many in desperate personal need — especially those who survived the Nazi concentration camps. Rose played a major role in the American Committee for European Workers Relief, which undertook to meet those needs.

"Her efforts in that task were characteristic of her human compassion. This trait formed a part of her mutual affinity with Debs. They were both staunch battlers, as blood and bone of the exploited and oppressed. At the same time they had much human understanding and a capacity to love their fellow man.

"There was nothing maudlin about this important trait in Rose. She had a fighter's anger against the class enemy. She disdained sneering skeptics—and battled political opponents—but she was patient and understanding with sincere people."

Describing her as "a right gal," he said, "She was a generally outward-looking person, not at all immersed in herself. She didn't ask what the party could do for her but what she could do for the party. Never a dabbler, Rose gave all that she had to give in the socialist cause and she never thought of herself as making personal sacrifices. She knew that the party gives more than it takes, that it helped to make her a rounded person leading a purposeful life."

Dobbs concluded by saying that "Rose enjoyed 78 vigorous, meaningful, rewarding years. She did what she wanted to do—basically, she ran her own life. She didn't make victory in her time a condition for serving the movement, but was content to be a revolutionary socialist, to be part of the movement that is at the political summit of modern thought and of meaningful social action. . . .

"Rose left this life with the happy knowledge that youth are coming forward to grasp the torch she hands to them, and they will have her dedicated example to guide them. So, as we say hail and farewell to our beloved Comrade Rose, we take solace in the comforting thought that she will live on in the minds of all of us who now survive her and beyond our times in the memory of socialist mankind."

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... April Days of Protest

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ordinated by the newly formed Bay Area Peace Action Council.

The Associated Students (student government) at San Francisco State College plans to join the student strike there April 26.

In Los Angeles, the Peace Action Council has called for a mass march down Broadway to City Hall on April 27.

In New York, the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee has already distributed 200,000 leaflets and more than 60,000 stickers to build the April 27 twin marches down Fifth Avenue and Broadway to Sheep Meadow in Central Park.

Letters have come in to the Student Mobilization Committee in the last week alone reporting plans for actions during the student strike at Wesleyan University in Delaware, Ohio; San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif.; George Washington University, Arlington, Va.; Duke U., Durham, N.C.; Orange Coast College, Orange County, Calif.; Sonoma State College, Rohnert Pk., Calif.; as well as schools in Wilmington, Delaware; Birmingham, Mich.; Fredonia, N.Y., and a number of high schools in the Detroit area.

A letter from Sonoma State College in Northern California to the SMC declares: "We are having weekly meetings at Sonoma State to discuss the strike. We have a good, active group of 40 people who are really involved in preparing for the strike. . . . We will go to the draft board in Santa Rosa (the only direct representation of the war around here) and have a peaceful picket line. . . . The four days before the strike we will have notable speakers on the campus. . . . We hope to have Pete Camejo, Robert Scheer, Felix Green and John Gerassi. . . . We have 12 endorsers from the faculty so far."

The Washington, D.C., chapter

Letters From Prison

Letters from Prison is a new book by James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. It is a compilation of the letters Cannon wrote while he was in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn., in 1944. Cannon, who was national secretary of the SWP at the time, had been convicted along with 17 other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 under the notorious Smith "gag" Act.

These letters constitute a combination of a party leader's working correspondence, a guide to national and international politics for professional revolutionists, a manual for organizers, and a prison journal.

Letters from Prison is available at a special pre-publication price of \$3.95 until May 1. After that, the hard-cover book will sell for \$5.95.

The following is an excerpt from Cannon's letter of Nov. 26, 1944.

The greatest power of Marxism

of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union has secured the support of the Black Student Union, a citywide group which coordinates black students on all high school campuses, for the student strike. The Washington Mobilization Committee has called a demonstration in D.C. on April 27.

More than 150 students from high school and college campuses throughout Long Island, N.Y., met at C.W. Post College March 16 to map out plans for the April actions and to set up a structure to coordinate their work.

In Great Britain, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, the organization which built the March 17 London demonstration of 20,000 against the war, has reprinted in full the Student Mobilization Committee's appeal for the April actions.

SANTIAGO, Chile (From a letter by Fernando Alegría, well-known Chilean poet and professor of Chilean and Spanish-American literature at the University of Chile. The letter was addressed to the chancellors of all major Latin American universities) — "Mr. Chancellor: I take the liberty of addressing myself to you to request your support and the support of the renowned university over which you preside for the international demonstration for peace in Vietnam and for the right of self-determination of the peoples, called together by the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, which will take place in universities the world over on April 26 of this year. . . ."

LUSAKA, Zambia (From the Unity Movement of South Africa) — "I would like to assure you that the Unity Movement of South Africa wholeheartedly supports your campaign to end the war which the U.S. government has so unjustly unleashed on the unfortunate people of Vietnam."

derives from the fact that it gives a rational basis to the impulse of the masses to make a better world; a scientific assurance that the irresistible laws of social evolution are working on their side; that the idea of socialism, of the good society of the free and equal, is not a utopian fantasy but the projection of future reality. When this idea takes hold of the people, it will truly be the greatest power in the world.

It seems to me somewhat undignified, somewhat lacking in the sense of proportion, for one who has grasped this idea to be deterred or turned aside by such trifles as concern for one's personal fate. *No importa*, as they say in Spanish—"it does not matter." What matters, as the Old Man [Trotsky] expressed it, is "the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a particle of the fate of mankind, and that one's life will not have been lived in vain."

OUR MAN IN HAVANA

Third World Art Exhibit

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba — "An artistic triumph," "a stunning impact," "brilliant," "truly remarkable."

These are the kinds of words and phrases that go through my mind as I sit at a typewriter trying to think out how to convey some conception of the quality of the Third World exhibit which is drawing thousands of visitors daily here.

Prepared by a team of Cuban artists, occupying a pavilion a block long and a quarter of a block wide, the Third World exhibit is a powerful political indictment of the role of imperialism in the colonial countries.

The exhibit represents the most successful synthesis of art and politics that I have ever seen. And I say this as someone who has never been particularly enthusiastic about certain attempts at the combination of the two.

The political tone is thoroughly revolutionary and the indictment is savage. But there isn't a strident note and the overriding theme is deeply humanist.

Artistically, the Third World exhibit is completely modern. It's a king-sized, unified utilization of color, lights, sound, music, pop art, cartoons, poster art, stark negative-type photo blowups, life-size cutouts, movies and recordings. There is sardonic humor and gut-jolting polemic.

What Man Has Created

The opening is spectacular. Amidst a giant, tinkertoy-like maze is a huge color reproduction of Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel work of God creating man. From there you go on to what man has created.

To ease you into the exhibit there is the sardonic touch. Columns of American poster advertising — "South Africa, the big, beautiful breathtaking country."

Just beyond is a huge wall with familiar faces — Donald Duck, Superman, the Fox and the Crow. Given an animated quality by rotating lighting, each comic strip deals with the same theme — how to handle an oil discovery in Latin America. With Donald Duck as a financier, Superman as Esso, and the Fox and Crow as Texaco, they wind up in a big, single panel, acting in unison.

Nearby is an honest-to-god Tarzan movie which makes you realize how much racism you absorbed as a kid without even realizing it. "Savage" Africans and animals alike flee through the jungle in terror as the mighty Tarzan simply emits noise.

There is a long, dim tunnel. Lining the sides is a single, repeated figure — a negative-type blowup of a hungry child.

At the end of the tunnel there is light. A pop art exhibit, not merely of a Campbell soup can, but the totality of America — blinking emblems of Chiclets, Pepsi, Hotpoint, a big juke box, the works. Almost unnoticed in the center, a chart of the comparative illiteracy and infant

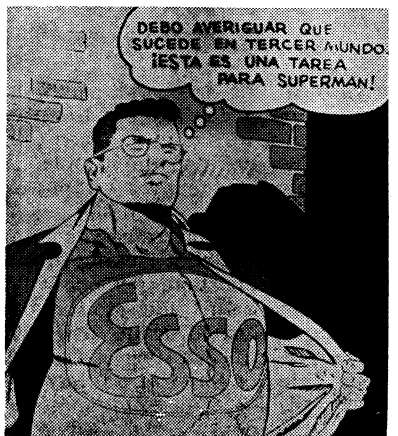


Photo by Ring

CARTOON PANEL. Superman is thinking: "I have to find out what is happening in the Third World. This is a job for Superman!"

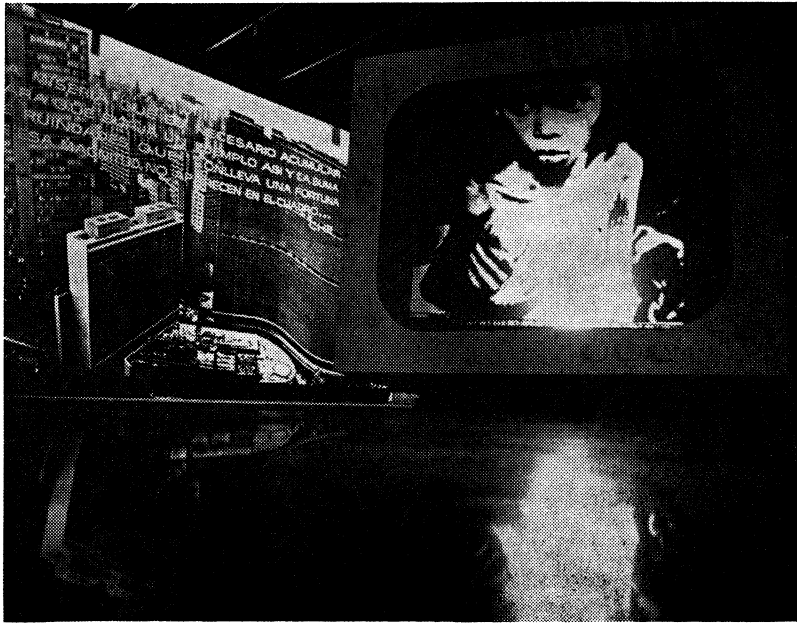


Photo by Martin

CONTRASTS. TV-like box alternated between showing this youngster of the colonial world, and color advertisements for U.S. products.

mortality rates throughout the world.

Nearby is one of the most powerful things in the exhibit. A TV-like box flashes color ads for American products. There's Miss Clairol in all her beauty. The robust cowboy lighting up his Marlboro. A sleek, happy American family at their TV. A frosty glass of Coke. At intervals between these ads there is the simple, stark face of a Vietnamese, or perhaps Bolivian, boy with deeply penetrating eyes. People stand in front of the blinking box in dead silence.

Theme

Another tunnel, this time of psychedelic lights and color. The theme music of the exhibit begins to penetrate. First it's a bit grating to the ear. Then you find yourself humming it. Although more modern, it has the quality of the music of the "Three Penny Opera."

You walk through a group of life-size, lifelike cutouts of demonstrators holding aloft their placards, "War to the Death."

A panel of information about Latin America takes your eyes upward toward the ceiling. At first glance there is a repetition of the Michelangelo work. But no. It's a splendid, pickle-pussed LBJ reaching out to create man in his own image — a second LBJ. It

takes a few seconds to penetrate and then everyone starts chuckling.

Then an outstanding display of photo blowups, introduced by a laughing, sanctimonious-looking Adlai Stevenson. Next to him is a poster of Uncle Sam's hand clasp that of a neighbor. Below, the poster is turned upside down and Uncle's hand has the other in a vise-like grip. A rogue's gallery of Latin American "gorillas" follows.

Occupying two corner walls is an immense photo mural. It's introduced by a repetition of photos of LBJ in uniform, gun in hand. In the last one the face is that of a gorilla. It leads into the official photo of the planting of the American flag at Iwo Jima. But there's an addition. The flag is planted between a mass of bodies.

Adjacent is the notorious photo of the captured Vietnamese guerrilla being questioned with a knife-point embedded in his stomach.

The music begins to recede and an insistent chant reaches your ear — "freedom, freedom, freedom." There is an entire wall of illuminated photos of Che (perhaps the only artistically flawed thing in the exhibit) and a call to armed struggle. You walk out past films of Cuban soldiers and other guerrillas manning machine guns and hurling grenades.

You emerge somewhat limp.

Cuba Announces Move On Small Businesses

HAVANA, Cuba, March 18 — Cuba's remaining petty enterprises — small stores, bars, snack carts, dry cleaners, etc. — were taken over by the state March 16.

All bars, state and private, were shut down. The move was described as part of a "revolutionary offensive" against "antisocial and counterrevolutionary" elements. In a March 15 speech, Fidel Castro lashed out at small shopkeepers, charging them with black marketeering. He also charged that bar owners were making 200-300 pesos a day. He then tersely announced that all state-operated bars, as well as the newly intervened private ones, would be shut down. He said, "We are here to promote work, not drunkenness."

The move comes in the midst of intensive efforts to cope with food scarcity. Hundreds of thousands of city dwellers have been mobilized for harvesting and other agricultural work for periods ranging up to three and six months.

Castro said that beer would be available in groceries. Restaurants that served beer with meals con-

tinue to do so. The takeover of the small shops seems to be generally accepted with favor. The principal reaction to the closing of the bars seems to be one of bewilderment.

HAVANA — Addressing a huge throng on the steps of the University of Havana, Fidel Castro spoke here March 13, on the 11th anniversary of the death of José Antonio Echevarría, the student leader who died in an unsuccessful attempt on the life of dictator Fulgencio Batista.

For a number of years Fidel's March 13 speech has been devoted to international issues. This time, in an address of nearly five hours, he devoted himself almost completely to a domestic issue that is presently a central subject of discussion among the Cuban people. This is the problem of food rationing, which was made more acute when the government was compelled to announce Feb. 21 the suspension of the distribution of milk to all except children, old people and those who were ill.

Student Protests Deepen Crisis of Polish Regime

By George Saunders

(World Outlook) — Polish students are showing determination to continue their fight for socialist democracy despite harsh police repression and an unparalleled campaign of slander against them in the official press.

Student demonstrations in Warsaw began March 8 and culminated March 12 in an outpouring of tens of thousands, including many workers, who fought police for eight hours. Then, as street protests subsided in Warsaw, students in outlying areas began solidarity demonstrations.

In Cracow and Poznan March 13 student demonstrators clashed with police. Solidarity meetings in Lublin, Gliwice, Gdansk, Lodz, Szczecin, and Wroclaw were calm. Cracow students who began a boycott of classes March 14 were joined by the Warsaw students the next day. Some Warsaw students were reported planning a 72-hour sit-in strike.

Purge

The Gomulka regime has responded with many arrests and has begun to purge liberal elements within the party; relatives of demonstrators and Jewish party members have also been ousted.

In a judicial amalgam of the Moscow Trials type, the regime is blaming Zionists, liberals, and — of all things — old Stalinists (!) for the disorders. With phrases such as "Zionist and cosmopolitan," the ruling clique of the Polish party is reviving memories of the last months of Stalin's rule which culminated in the "Jewish Doctors' Plot." It is clearly trying to stir up an ugly tradition of anti-Semitism for its reactionary political ends.

The leading clique, headed by party chairman Wladyslaw Gomulka, President Jozef Cyrankiewicz, and Interior Minister Mieczyslaw Moczar, is using the occasion to strengthen its hand by removing from the party those with differences on various questions. The existing differences within the party over Mideast policy are really incidental. The truth is that the leading group fears that the protests of students and intellectuals, paralleling recent events in Czechoslovakia, may cause a split within the bureaucracy which could mean that the present leading group might share the fate of Novotny and his entourage.

They are shoring up their defenses in advance, not only by repressing the dissident students and intellectuals but by removing "unreliable" elements from their own midst.

Resolution

The students have borne themselves well in the face of the regime's methods of violence and pressure. A meeting of 8,000 at Warsaw Polytechnic School adopted a resolution that included the following demands:

Respect of the constitution, especially its guarantees of freedom of speech; release of all students arrested since March 8; punishment for those who called police onto school grounds in violation of university autonomy; guarantees against persecution of teachers who sympathize with the students, etc.

Their political stand, in the resolution, included assurances to "our professors and all Poland that we wish to study and build socialism," and a declaration opposing anti-Semitism and also Zionism, and rejecting "anti-Russian tendencies."

The key question is to what extent the working masses will intervene in the situation. The regime's campaign of rallies against "enemies of People's Poland" is aimed at heading off such an eventuality. In Poznan the stu-

dents responded by chanting at workers coming back from such a rally, "Long Live the Workers of Poznan" and "We Are Not Zionists."

There were reports that workers were not responding enthusiastically to the official campaign. According to one report, half the workers at the Zeran auto factory in Warsaw disobeyed orders to attend a rally against the student demonstrations.

That the crisis in Poland is only a local variant of similar trends elsewhere in Eastern Europe can be seen from some of the international ramifications of events in Warsaw. The Warsaw students, in their first demonstrations, raised the cry "Long Live Czechoslovakia," clearly encouraged by the example of liberalization there.

Support

These sentiments of solidarity were reciprocated in Czechoslovakia. A rally of Communist youth in Prague March 13 adopted a resolution of support for the Polish students and condemning the official Polish press attacks on them.

On March 16, a rally of 1,200 Czechoslovakians who had fought in the Spanish Civil War, or against Hitler in World War II, passed a resolution protesting the use of anti-Semitism by the Polish party and government in its campaign against the students.

The East German regime of Ulbricht took a characteristic measure to prevent the spread of the contagion from Poland and Czechoslovakia. It announced a ban on outdoor demonstrations — against the Vietnam war! It obviously feared that anti-imperialist action would overflow into anti-bureaucratic channels.

By way of ironic contrast, in West Berlin March 13, a group of 500 young people, most of whom had participated in recent anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations, marched down the Kurfuerstendamm to express "solidarity with students and workers demonstrating against authoritarianism." Carrying red flags and a giant portrait of Trotsky, their placards bore such slogans as "Against Stalinism in Poland" and "Against Cyrankiewicz's Instigation of an Anti-Semitic Pogrom."

In Moscow, bureaucratic nervousness was evidenced in a blackout of news about developments in Warsaw and Prague.

Pro-Independence Youth Leaders Arrested in P.R.

By Richard Garza

NEW YORK — The Movement for Puerto Rican Independence and the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union organized a spirited picket line in front of the U.S. Army recruiting station on 125th Street here March 9. The protest was over the arrest in Puerto Rico of five leaders of the Youth Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (JMPI).

Those arrested were Alberto Pérez Pérez, national secretary of the JMPI; Manuel de J. González, national vice secretary; Raul González, a member of the national secretariate; and two pro-independence youth, Israel Rodríguez and Miguel Rodríguez.

They were charged with violating the selective service act by calling on Puerto Rican youth not to serve in the U.S. armed forces. The JMPI has been in the forefront of the struggle against the war in Vietnam in Puerto Rico. The arrests occurred after a demonstration at an Army base Johnson was visiting.

New Attack on Dollar

By Dick Roberts

MARCH 19—The historic gold rush in Europe last week shattered the illusion that Washington can preserve the dollar as the reserve currency in international finance at its present exchange rate with gold.

It showed that partial steps to reform the currency system cannot hold back sudden eruptions in the money markets when the world economy itself is threatened with crisis. The panicky atmosphere that gripped financial centers during the rush portended problems for international capitalism of much greater dimensions than the loss of the dollar's power and prestige.

An international monetary crisis, which could further slow down world trade and precipitate recessions on an international scale, is in the making. And the inexorable forces of capitalist anarchy pressing toward this calamity are beyond the power of the present world banking system to control.

The two-price gold system patched together in Washington Sunday is simply a stopgap measure to avoid full dollar devaluation for the time being. It cannot reverse the domestic inflation which has eroded the dollar's

value. In the long run, more likely, it will increase the very pressures for complete devaluation it is supposed to prevent.

Typical of the wave of profound pessimism in the financial press last week was Albert Kraus's comparison between the present gold crisis and the preparation for World War I, in an article on the front page of the *New York Times* business section March 13:

"[In the period leading up to World War I] there was a peculiar sense of helplessness, of inevitability about the situation, as if nothing could be done to halt the march of events.

"There is something of the same feeling about the approaching international financial crisis today. Publicly, the experts voice cautious optimism at the advent of each new prop for the pound and the dollar.

"Privately, they wonder if anything less than a miracle—a quick end to the war in Vietnam, for instance—will be big enough and soon enough to prevent a repetition of the breakdown that brought the international financial mechanism to a halt in the summer of 1931."

The massive gold purchasing in European markets punctured the illusion of a crisis-free world capitalism divorced from the disrupt-

ive forces of private competition. This brutal competition for gold was not the work of amateurs and small-time speculators.

Huge quantities of gold were bought up by big private and corporate interests. Far from being irrational "hoarders," they made the cool calculation that the present exchange ratio between the dollar and gold cannot be maintained and they proceeded to invest accordingly.

Nor was this competition solely between U.S. and European interests. Numerous reports reveal heavy gold purchasing by Americans through foreign agents. In an attempt to force an immediate rise in the price of gold, spokesmen for gold mining interests in the U.S. Senate joined with the administration critics to come within two votes of defeating a bill to remove the gold cover on the dollar.

The fact that the gold rush followed firm assurances from central bankers that they could preserve the present exchange rates all the more reinforced the impression that they are actually losing control of the situation.

Discount Rate

In Basel, Switzerland, March 10, Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin assured the banking system that Washington could survive any onslaught. He promised steps to improve the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit. This included raising the federal reserve discount rate to 5 percent, the highest level since 1929.

But the world bankers wanted more than that. *New York Times* correspondent John Lee wrote from Zurich March 12 that the European bankers might be divided into camps favoring or opposing gold speculation, but "on one point," he maintained, "the two camps agreed.

"They both look to Washington for the political decisions that alone can resolve the current stress-decisions concerning the huge United States expenditure for the war in Vietnam, the United States balance-of-payments deficit, domestic inflationary pressures."

With no immediate assurances from Johnson that he would pursue the desired anti-inflationary course, gold speculation developed into a stampede. On Friday, March 15, Britain closed its banking system. The same day, the *New York Times* made a blistering editorial condemnation of the Johnson administration:

Indictment

"... the current gold rush is a manifestation of much deeper feelings—rational and irrational. In a real sense, it represents a massive vote of no confidence in the way the world's most powerful and richest nation is managing its political and economic affairs....

"[Speculators] are seeking protection against a nation that has squandered much of its vast resources, that has become mired in an escalating war that they think it cannot win, that appears paralyzed and divided, undisciplined and leaderless."

And the same day, Robert Kennedy threw his hat in the ring to win the Democratic Party nomination away from Johnson.

But the economic forces that precipitated the gold crisis go much deeper than the recent foreign and domestic policies of the Johnson administration. Although it is by no means ruled out that Johnson will incorporate many of the suggestions of his critics long before the elections next November, the remedies they offer cannot fundamentally alter the critical situation.

The gold crisis reflects two deeper crises facing world capitalism. One is the recent slowdown in the rates of domestic and inter-



Nebelspalter, Switzerland

Headline reads: "Hard but secure."

... CHOICE 68 Roundup

(Continued from Page 1) other speaking engagements for you."

The campaign committee has received similar letters from the University of Connecticut; the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C.; Maryknoll College in Glen Ellyn, Ill.; Clark College in Vancouver, Wash.; St. Mary's College in Orchard Lake, Mich.; Viterbo College in La Crosse, Wis.; High Point College in High Point, N.C. and scores of other campuses.

As a result of Fred Halstead's tour of Texas, a new group of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle has formed and is applying for official campus recognition at the University of Houston. The group has 15 members to start with.

The Paper, a newspaper published by Michigan State University students in East Lansing, carried a front-page article in its latest issue entitled "None of the Way with LBJ, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Support Fred Halstead." The article, by George Fish, begins: "It was about halfway through the afternoon of Thursday, February 16, when I arrived at Wells Hall to see what Fred Halstead, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the United States, had to say. Expecting a small, lukewarm crowd to have gathered to see 'just another leftist speaker,' I was amazed at the audience of about 300 interested students that had already gathered in the sterile lecture room...."

The article ends by saying "... despite these reservations, the Halstead-Boutelle campaign

could be an extremely effective organizing tool for the Left and, as such, should be supported. On this campus, a Halstead-Boutelle organization would be the only organization which could seriously present a threat to the McCarthy machine."

On March 16 and 17 radio station WNUS in Chicago held a round-the-clock call-in discussion on the developing financial crisis and the war in Vietnam. Garry Mack, Chairman of Students for McCarthy in Chicago; Ed Heisler, Illinois campaign director for Halstead and Boutelle; and Doug McKenna, Chairman of Youth for Kennedy, all called in and held a three-way debate.

During the discussion Heisler challenged the spokesmen for McCarthy and Kennedy to a public debate on the '68 elections as part of the CHOICE 68 campus presidential preference poll. They reluctantly agreed to the debate, which will be held at the University of Illinois Chicago campus on March 19 at 8 p.m.

Ed Heisler said to the McCarthy and Kennedy supporters: "McCarthy and Kennedy haven't said a single word, they haven't issued a single statement of solidarity with the many black people in this country who are being framed up and harassed by the federal government because of their activities for black power.

"Senator McCarthy has opposed all the demonstrations that have taken place against the war in Vietnam. He hasn't done a single thing to support or build — he hasn't even endorsed — any of the many demonstrations that have been held by hundreds of thousands of people against the war."

The following letter was received by the Campaign Committee from the Liberal Student Union at Friedrich-Alexander University in Bruck, West Germany: "Here in our area are several brigades of the U.S. forces. There is a U.S. high school with about 1,000 students, and at our university are about 250 American students. Therefore we decided to organize support for Halstead and Boutelle in our area and at our campus. Please send us posters, buttons and brochures."

—Caroline Lund

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

national economic growth which threatens the emergence of simultaneous overproduction in the major capitalist powers. This slowdown has already caused a marked slowdown in the rate of world trade growth.

The second is the inflation of the dollar coupled with the chronic U.S. balance-of-payments deficits. These have been spurred on by the escalation of the Vietnam war. But they basically flow from the whole postwar course of U.S. imperialist expansion overseas and militarization of the American economy.

This is the source of huge public debt, massive deficit spending and continuous inflation.

It is anxiety about the fate of the inflated dollar, side by side with growing uncertainty and instability in trade, that is pushing world capitalism away from accepting the dollar as "good as gold." Exporters are less and less happy about holding dollars, when the day-to-day fate of the dollar is uncertain.

Uncertainty

Insecurity about the currencies of the major trading countries—and the U.S. is the largest—will throw a pall of doubt over world trade. As world trade slows down, it deprives national economies of foreign markets, possibly leading to simultaneous price inflation and recession in these domestic economies.

It could be coupled with protective trade measures, higher tariffs, border taxes, devaluations—precisely a repetition of the steps leading to world depression in the 1930s.

But such events take place over a matter of many months if not years, and international capitalism apparently feels it can buy valuable time right now by intensifying the assault on the American working class. This is the essence of all the "reforms" urged on Johnson by his foreign and domestic critics:

"Now," states the March 15 *New York Times* editorial cited above, "the pressure of events combined with previous inaction in Washington to meet those events compels us to urge an immediate increase in taxes to make clear that the nation will bear the burden of financing the cost of Vietnam."

Pious words for an old recipe—the one, for example, Harold Wilson has been attempting to pursue in Britain for the last two years. Increase taxes and increase unemployment in order to tone down the inflation in order to save the dollar—that is the formula. Burden the workers with the costs

and problems of international finance capital.

As to toning down the war, Johnson is already doing that, isn't he? Instead of Westmoreland's requested 206,000 additional troops, LBJ has reportedly agreed to send only 35,000 to 50,000. The problem with the solution to the Vietnam war offered by foreign central bankers, along with Robert Kennedy and others, is that it fails to take cognizance of one central fact: Washington is losing the war.

Toning down is no solution if the revolutionary forces continue their present offensive. It just means more defeats, more losses, more reinforcements and more money.

The alternatives to the present gold crisis offered by capitalist spokesmen vary only in the degree to which they attempt to inflict capitalism's problems on the working people and oppressed of the world.

Solution

No voice of capitalism here or abroad has publicly offered the only practical solution to the exacerbation of the gold drain caused by the war: immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces.

The big gripe the *New York Times* has with Johnson is that he didn't increase taxes two years ago when it would have been somewhat easier to get the bill through Congress. The dovish presidential aspirants prefer to keep silent on the question.

Fundamentally, in fact, world capitalism cannot solve the problems which ultimately derive from its internal anarchy: that is, the competition within nations between different capitalist interests and the competition between nations for international markets.

These are the forces which are driving the world economy towards a potentially catastrophic interruption of world trade and disruption of international currencies.

A world socialist economy, on the contrary, founded on the interests of the masses rather than a few private individuals, would be able to remove such crises. There would be no private or national interests competing to wreck the currency system to gain profits.

International finance could move toward a single recognized world currency—and the "barbarous relic" gold could ultimately be displaced from trade and finance. It would no longer be necessary as the final hard cash mediator of international capitalist competition.

Black Liberation Notes

The *Philadelphia Tribune*, the third largest Afro-American newspaper in the country, is taking a poll of its readers on how they feel about the Vietnam war. Thus far the results are coming in better than five to one in favor of bringing the troops home.

In order to participate in the poll, which has been running since Feb. 13, *Tribune* readers have been asked to clip out a coupon from the paper and check one of three different positions — "Get Out of Vietnam," "Stop the Bombing and Negotiate," or "I Support LBJ's Current Policies."

Up until last week each issue of the paper reported five to one returns in favor of withdrawal, but after the Tet offensive the withdrawal vote increased to seven to one. Only 3 percent of the votes have been in favor of LBJ's current policies!

Mrs. Kitchen, the mother of a black GI recently killed in Vietnam, is demanding that the Army look into the circumstances of her son's death. She says that she believes her son may have been killed by an ambush of white U.S. soldiers — and not by "hostile forces" as implied in the telegram she received from the Army.

Mrs. Kitchen says that her son, Lt. Eddie Kitchen, wrote home to Chicago just before his death saying that he feared reprisals because of his outspoken opposition to the flying of Confederate flags on some Army vehicles and installations.

"I am quite disgusted in seeing some of the things I have seen here," he wrote. "We are fighting and dying in a war that is not very popular in the first place, and we still have some stupid people who are still fighting the Civil War . . . I have expressed my dislike of some of the situations. I do not know if this was a wise decision, but I pray that all will be well."

Lt. Kitchen also wrote in other letters that Afro-American GIs were sent into dangerous spots "on the line" while white soldiers were held back.

A measure to drop the gold backing for the dollar was rushed through the Senate and became

Votes Favoring Vietnam Pullout Increase to 7-1 in Tribune Poll

As of last week 19,251 G.I.'s have been killed in the Vietnam war since 1961.

Meanwhile, the desire on the part of *Tribune* readers to bring American troops home from Vietnam increased in the last two days as ballots received in the last two days rose to a 7 to 1 margin in favor of withdrawal, as compared to the previous high of 5 to 1.

Of the 24 ballots received, 21 favored "withdrawal," 2 called for negotiations (stop the bombing), and 1 person, a "hawk," said he favored present U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Views ranged from "I am opposed to the war because it is immoral," as written by Mrs. Sylvia Newcomb to "I am a hawk," by Alfred Brown. Mrs. Newcomb resides at Box 61, Christopher Mill rd., Medford, N.J. Brown lives at 5020 Kingsessing ave., Phila.

FIRST POLL OF KIND
The *Tribune* "Vietnam Ballot" project, the only one of its kind being offered in a Negro newspaper in the country, is the first consistent general public indication that the American people "signed up" with the war and "opposed" it.

The *Tribune's* poll differs from other references to the war as Federal programs are cut back to meet the \$20 billion war bill presented to the public treasury annually. While President

★ CAST YOUR VOTE ★
ON THE
★ VIETNAM WAR ★

and send it to:
THE PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE
526 South 16th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19146

I FAVOR THE FOLLOWING POSITION:
(Please check one)

Get Out of Vietnam

Stop Bombing and Negotiate

I Support LBJ's Current Policies

PLEASE PRINT YOUR:
Name

Address

From March 12 Philadelphia Tribune

law in less than a week when the gold crisis became acute. It seems that Congress can move quickly when the needs of the economic system in this country are at stake. But a civil rights bill is a different matter.

Ever since this session of Congress began in January, the legislators have been discussing the civil rights bill. And now the House Rules Committee has just voted to hold up consideration of the bill for another three weeks. This would give real estate agents more time to mount a campaign against the open housing section.

Actually, the so-called civil rights bill is now looking more and more like an "anti-black-people" bill. It includes penalties for persons who cross state lines "with intent to incite a riot" and for anyone who makes or demonstrates the use of fire arms or incendiary devices "intended for use in riots." The cops are explicitly exempted from these provisions.

March 21 marks the eighth anniversary of the Massacre at Sharpsville South Africa. On that

day eight years ago, scores of Africans were killed and hundreds wounded when they sought to demonstrate against the brutal tyranny and oppression suffered by 15 million black South Africans.

For the first time in modern Mississippi history, a white man has been convicted by a state jury for a civil rights murder. This happened on March 15 when an all-white jury in Hattiesburg, Miss., convicted Ku Klux Klan member Cecil Sessum for killing Vernon Dahmer, a voter-registration drive leader.

Plans are being made by Le-Roi Jones, Godfrey Cambridge and others to protest a projected Hollywood movie based on William Styron's "The Confessions of Nat Turner." Those who "refuse to remain silent while a Southerner emasculates Nat Turner" have been urged to contact Anti-Black Defamation, 4237 1-2 Leimert Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.

—Elizabeth Barnes

11-Month Hospital Strike Wins Union Recognition

By Rachel Towne

CLEVELAND, March 14 — The controversial 11-month strike of nonprofessional employees at St. Luke's Hospital here was settled March 10 when strikers voted unanimously to accept an agreement and return to work. The agreement provides for recognition of the union—the Building Service and Maintenance Union, Local 47, AFL-CIO—as bargaining agent for the 400 nonprofessional employees. The strike began over union recognition.

The agreement also includes a modified union shop, giving Local 47 representation of all strikers, replacements hired during the strike, and all future employees (who must join as a condition of employment). Nonprofessionals who did not strike are not required to join the union but are not prohibited from doing so.

However, union negotiators pledged not to strike for any reason in the future and agreed to submit to final and binding arbitration on all matters not settled through negotiations.

The hospital must rehire all strikers and have them back at their old jobs within 30 days. Strikers will be rehired at the current rate of pay and seniority is retroactive to the beginning of the strike—April 12, 1967. Negotiations on a contract setting wages, working conditions and a grievance procedure will begin in a week.

Settlement of the strike followed the submission to the City Council of a proposed ordinance, by the Cleveland Federation of Labor, which would specifically give employees of nonprofit organizations the right to organize.

Because such a law did not exist, the hospital trustees had maintained they could not legally negotiate with a union, although there is no law actually prohibiting them from doing so. After the proposed ordinance was announced, the trustees were under a great deal of pressure from other hospitals and employers to settle, in an effort to block passage of the bill.

The powerful Cleveland Hospital Council, which represents and speaks for the 46 hospitals in this area, played a strong anti-union role throughout the strike. It issued a statement during the first months of the strike stating

that a union would "interfere with patient care." After the proposed ordinance was announced, the Hospital Council made a dramatic about-face in policy, urging hospitals to voluntarily hold elections on union representation if requested by employees. According to Joe Murphy, president of Local 47, the Hospital Council has hired lawyers to fight passage of the ordinance.

Under pressure of the proposed ordinance, the trustees finally met with the union—which they had refused to do for the previous 11 months. A settlement was reached in a few days. Last summer the union had offered to accept a no-strike clause and binding arbitration, but they could not get a meeting.

Three days after the settlement was reached, Mayor Carl Stokes announced he would ask the City Council to drop the ordinance, although he had originally said he supported it. As of this writing, the issue has not been resolved.

The strike began with a dramatic walkout by close to 400 union members, the majority of whom are black women. They are among the lowest paid workers in this area.

The strike received wide community support, especially from church groups and Afro-Americans. A group of clergymen organized a boycott of two downtown department stores whose executives were also trustees of the hospital. Several Roman Catholic groups gave public support as did the NAACP and the Methodist Church. St. Luke's is a Methodist hospital but the trustees were not moved by the church's position.

Local unions gave some support and money, especially Butcher's Local 500 and Meatcutter's Local 427. In September the CFL began a boycott of the hospital, urging members not to use it and suggesting that Blue Cross be asked to discontinue payments, that unions with health insurance have companies stop paying St. Luke's and that workers injured in industrial accidents not be sent there.

Thousands Join Columbia Univ. Protest of War

By Paula Reimers

NEW YORK, March 13 — Seventy-five percent of all classes at Columbia University were canceled today because of massive support for a one-day "Moratorium" on classes in protest of the war and draft.

More than 3,500 students and 100 faculty members refused to attend classes. Instead, they crowded into assembly halls to listen to antiwar and antidraft speeches.

The Moratorium Coalition, which planned and directed the action, was formed three weeks ago as a broad grouping when Washington announced the end of graduate student deferments. The Coalition includes the class presidents of Columbia College and other student government leaders. The executive board of the Barnard College Undergraduate Association issued a statement expressing its "fullest support" for the Moratorium. The University student council called upon all students and faculty to participate in it.

The Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam is working to draw the many groups that supported the Moratorium into active support for the April 26 International Student Strike.

'Riot Control' Attacks Unions and Blacks

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, March 17—The common cause of organized labor and militant black communities, long denied and often repudiated by sanctimonious "labor leaders" anxious to demonstrate "responsibility" by deploring and denouncing "the riots" of last summer, is everywhere affirmed by the plans and actions of the ruling class. One example is "antiriot" legislation to be used equally against black uprisings and union strikes.

The *Michigan AFL-CIO News* (March 13) reports, "Proof positive that a packet of so-called antiriot bills are intended for use against organized labor in legal strike situations came last week on a key vote in the State Senate."

Our "labor statesmen" have been overeager to hail and endorse the flood of "antiriot" bills pouring into the state legislatures, but here in Michigan they began to have some second thoughts and sought guarantees that such legislation would not be used against strikers.

They wanted it clearly understood that any repressive legislation designed solely to keep these

unruly black ghettos in check would have the wholehearted support of the labor lobby, but they demanded in exchange that unions be specifically exempted from such legislation.

To this end they prepared an amendment: "The provisions of this act shall not apply to individuals or groups of individuals engaged in concerted activities in a bonafide labor dispute, and using lawful means in pursuit of a lawful labor objective." This amendment was defeated, 16 to 20. The vote occurred on a straight party line division, only Democrats voted for it.

The Republican senators who defeated the amendment argued that it would hardly look right to pass draconic legislation aimed exclusively against one sector of the population and specifically exempt others.

The proposed "antiriot" legislation is a catch-all bill that provides stiff penalties for gatherings of five or more persons "acting in concert to wrongfully engage in tumultuous or violent conduct and thereby intentionally or recklessly cause or create a serious risk of causing public terror or alarm." Other similar legislation under consideration here would permit

local and county authorities to proclaim a "state of emergency," create a statewide special reserve force to serve as an auxiliary to the State Police, give police authorities a legal weapon against "any person who incites or exhorts any other person . . ."

"Labor's concern," says *Michigan AFL-CIO News*, "is that language ostensibly aimed at riot situations is so broadly worded that it could be applied to a picket line disturbance or against union officials who would be cited under its provisions as being responsible for the independent acts of persons connected with such a disturbance."

These narrow-gauge union spokesmen have yet to learn the cause of the ghetto uprisings and are too blinded by race prejudice to see the brutal provocations of racist police in the black ghettos. They like to pretend that "the guardians of law and order are on our side," forgetting that company property rights always take priority over strikers' needs when the cops are called. They think the Michigan Democrats gained glory by voting to exempt unions from the vicious, vindictive, fascist-type measures for more police power, ignoring the fact that Democratic

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.]

McCarthy Campaign

Lakeview, Minn.
It was not surprising to hear that a third candidate is running for the President of the United States.

It became important for the capitalist class to have a peace candidate because of the discontent in the middle class toward the war in Vietnam. Senator McCarthy, who is liked by the young people, intellectuals and clergymen appears to be the likely prospect.

McCarthy himself feels that it is important to keep the people within the two-party system. In the *Wall Street Journal* dated

Thursday, Nov. 16, 1967, he is quoted as saying, "Someone must give these groups entrance back into the political process. We may lose, but at least in the process of fighting within the political framework, we'll have reduced the alienation. This is absolutely vital."

If one looked into the record of McCarthy in the Senate during the last few years, one could draw the conclusion that he is not serious in his opposition to the war. McCarthy has cast his vote in favor of every regular and supplementary appropriation for the U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia. He voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1964. He twice voted against amendments proposed by Gruening (D-Alaska) which would have prohibited the sending of draftees to Vietnam against their will. He voted in favor of continuing the Selective Service system from July 1, 1967, to July 1, 1971.

McCarthy is only playing the role that the capitalist class wants him to play, and that is to keep the peace movement within the Democratic Party.

F. Adrian Luoma

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

MALICE IN WONDERLAND—An exposé of the drug industry. Speaker: Dr. Gerald Kroll. Friday, March 29, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass Ave.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

BLACK NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM IN THE 1968 ELECTION. Speaker: PAUL BOUTELLE, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President. Friday, March 29, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

BLACK NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM IN 1968. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Friday, March 29, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

STRIKE LEADERS SPEAK ON MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENT STRIKE. Friday, March 29, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR ROSE KARSNER CANNON. Sunday, March 24, 3 p.m. Channing Hall, 2936 W. Eighth St.

NEW YORK

THE CURRENT UPSURGE IN THE EUROPEAN STUDENT MOVEMENT. A firsthand report by Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary, Young Socialist Alliance, just back from the West Berlin demonstrations and meetings with European youth. Friday, March 29, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

PROBLEMS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN TODAY—What is Our Way Out? Speaker: George Aubid, Sr., Ojibway militant. Saturday, March 30, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Minneapolis. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

PHILADELPHIA
SOVIET WRITERS AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. Speaker: George Saunders, contributor to *The Militant* and *World Outlook*. Friday, March 29, 8:30 p.m. 686 N. Broad St. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

28 claimed that the National Liberation Front forces in South Vietnam killed, wounded or captured 90,000 Allied troops in less than a month of liberation offensive begun in January (quoted from *Akron Beacon Journal*, Feb. 28). Although it was not mentioned how many American soldiers were killed, we can presume that it was much more than was mentioned by Dick Roberts who seems to have just repeated what the Pentagon said on this subject.
J.M.

SMC Conference

Chicago, Ill.
I subscribed to *The Militant* recently and have noticed the major portion of the paper involves news stories. This has been somewhat discouraging to me because I was hoping to see some political theorizing in order to enable me to evaluate the Socialist Workers Party's Trotskyite philosophy and if they are superior to other leftist philosophies in the U.S. today.

I fully realize the hatred the Progressive Labor Party has for the SWP because they consider the SWP "bourgeois," etc., etc. Also, I read in *New Left Notes* that the Progressive Labor Party people at the Student Mobilization Committee conference to End the War in Vietnam opposed the proposed student strike set for April 26. Then why, in the Feb. 5, 1968, *Militant* did the article on the conference and the debates there fail to mention the PLP line and the SWP's answer to that line? Only the Communist Party-SWP conflict was examined. Why?

H.B.

[The news article on the Student Mobilization Committee conference did report the debate that took place there with a small

Thought for the Week

"There are a lot of crooks around and some of them are central bankers." — An economist quoted by the *Wall Street Journal*, March 18.

group of supporters of the Progressive Labor Party. We did not devote a separate discussion article to that debate because it was of only peripheral importance to the conference as a whole. The motion brought in by the Maoist PL'ers called for opposing the student strike and dissolving the Student Mobilization Committee.

[Of the more than 900 antiwar activists present, fewer than 40 supported the proposal of the Maoists. It was difficult to take seriously a proposal to "advance" the student antiwar movement by dissolving it. — EDITOR]

Labor Party: "Caricature"

Portland, Ore.
For Barry Sheppard to write (*Militant*, Jan. 29, 1968) that the British workers are politically further advanced than those of the U.S. because they have "their own" party is simply ludicrous and indicates a profound misunderstanding of the dynamics of revolution and the role of the Marxian party in that process.

The Labour Party is not a workers' party but a caricature of such a party. It spurns the class struggle as outmoded before the conciliatory, above-class, modern state. Its history and structure is that of the counterrevolutionary German Social-Democracy of the Second International. Just as assuredly as that party, in continuance of their imperialist war alliance, sided with the bourgeois militaristic reaction against the German workers, just so will English Labour side with a militant

reaction if such is necessary to continue the retreat before the interests of moribund English capital.

The Labour Party is the party of the trade union bureaucracy and the electoral machine of ministerial prostitutes of whom Wilson is the ideal "statesman." There is no "crisis of leadership" and no Wilsonian "treachery." To write such garbage in a responsible, revolutionary paper, at a time when great masses of the British people are learning by their own experiences the true nature of the Labour Party, can only serve the interests of those in power.

Wilson is maintaining the inviolable capitalist state which has always provided the foundation on which the Labour Party constructed its fine edifice of words for the workers and legislation for the bosses. It is the task of the Marxian party to destroy the capitalist state and to lead the development of the transitory workers' state. The histories of the Russian and German revolutions show by their divergent results that one of the most important conditions for the success of this tremendously difficult task is a party effectively combating all forms of opportunism — political, economic, and theoretical. The German experience shows that such a party cannot be created overnight in a period of crisis.

The most stringent opposition to the Labour Party and calling for the development of a true workers' party must be our slogan.

Peter B. Kershner

The Great Society

Ghoulish Tactics — Lobbying against a proposed amendment to strengthen a New York State law banning fraudulent "package deals," undertakers have harassed legislators with unnecessarily detailed, itemized price lists, too graphically describing specific body restorations. George J. Roberts, president of the New York State Funeral Directors Assn., denied that anything was done "intentionally to upset anyone."

Streamlined Service — And an Atlanta undertaker will soon be offering busy mourners a drive-in service for viewing the departed. Hirschel Thornton is building five windows in a row as an extension on his funeral home. Each six-foot-long, lighted window will contain a body in an open, conveniently tilted coffin, and the display will face a driveway. "So many people want to come by and see the remains of a relative or friend," the enterprising undertaker said, "but they just don't have the time. This way, they can drive by and just keep going."

Inner Conflict — Pity labor faker George Meany. He'll really have a problem if his millionaire pal Rockefeller runs against his millionaire pal Johnson (to whom Meany is pledged) in November. Come to think of it, doesn't George have any friends who work for a living?

Profound Analysis — In a diatribe against the report of the Commission on Civil Disorders, William F. Buckley offers these pearls of wisdom to readers with stomachs strong enough for his syndicated swill: "What caused the riots isn't segregation or poverty or frustration. What caused them is a psychological disorder . . ." The solution? "We need St. Paul, counseling patience and forbearance, and reminding us that true

justice is reserved for another world." Somehow we suspect that black people may feel this is carrying gradualism a little too far.

Spoken in Jest—It was reported from London on March 15 that travel agents, airlines and hotels were refusing to accept U.S. dollars. At an exchange office, an American traveler asked the banker what was the safest currency to hold today. "Maybe it's Russian rubles," the banker replied with a smile. Many a true word . . .

Smells the Same — American military commanders in the Mekong Delta will no longer call their bloody missions "search and

destroy." The name's been changed to "reconnaissance in force."

He's Willing — San Diego police are after Henry Phiel, Jr., in connection with an unpaid ticket for jaywalking he received just before his marine outfit shipped out for Khesanh. Pvt. Phiel has suggested he be extradited.

Minds and Hearts — So successful has the Saigon "government" been in rallying the masses to its cause that they are now offering rewards to anyone providing information to the police about deserters and draft-dodgers. A Reuters dispatch reports that the going rate is \$41 and \$16 respectively.

— Ruth Porter

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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Italian Student 'Occupations' In Battle for Univ. Reforms

By Mary-Alice Waters

MARCH 18 — The University of Rome has been occupied by its students for 47 days now, and the struggle between the students and the Italian government is far from over.

The students at the University of Rome are not alone in this fight, which began in Turin and rapidly spread across the country. When I was in Italy last week every single public university was occupied by the students; university education had come to a standstill; the struggle was spreading to the high schools; attempts to use police power to force the reopening of the universities had brought only more determined resistance from the students; and the left-of-center government was

desperately trying to find some way out of the impasse.

The major grievances of the students are directed against the archaic structure of the universities and the authoritarianism of the professors and the administration. Even on the physical level, conditions are abominable. In Rome, for instance, students told me there are close to 70,000 students enrolled at the University, and there is physical room for only 6,000. In order to get a seat in a lecture, students must arrive hours ahead of the scheduled time.

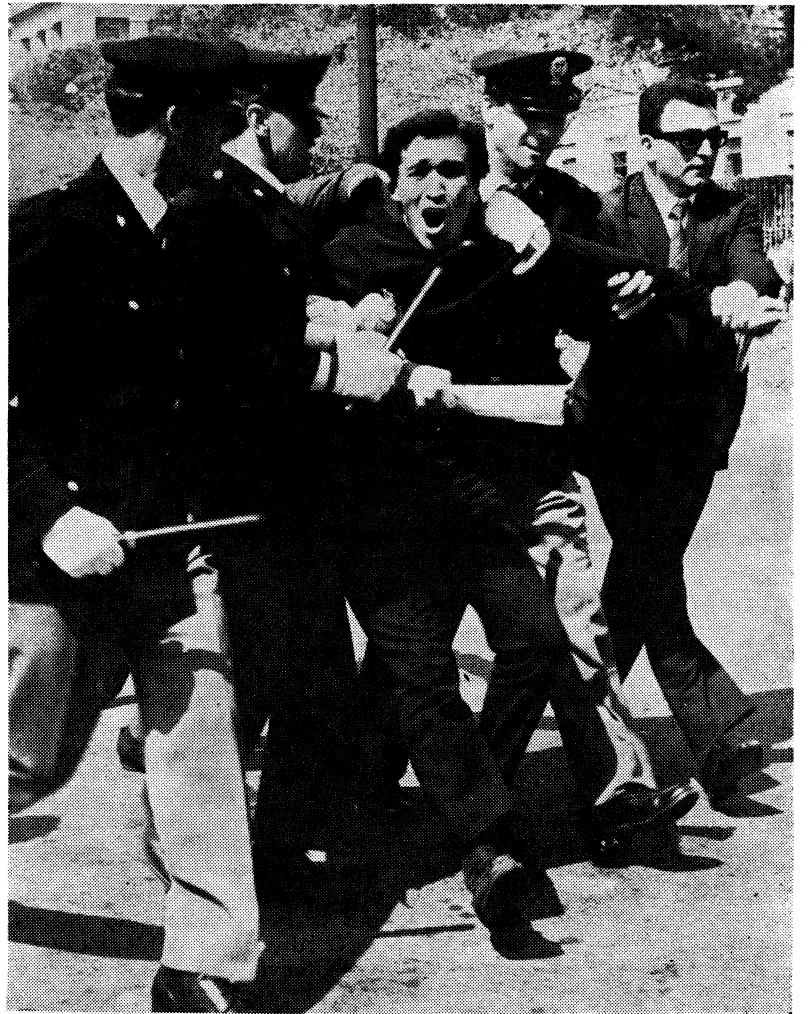
For those who are fortunate enough to get a university education — and the percentage is far smaller than in the United States — they must choose at the age of about 14 what they want to major in. From then on their course of

study is fixed. Needless to say, there are few students who at 14 can accurately project what their interests will be at 18 or 20.

The students have put forward several demands: 1) that examinations be public and that all be permitted to attend (most examinations are oral); 2) that students be allowed to discuss their grades with the professors and that these discussions also be public; 3) that the students be allowed to reject the professor's judgment by leaving the examination and returning to take it again at a later time; and 4) that examinations be given when the students are ready to take them, not just once or twice a year at the professor's convenience.

Numerous professors considered these conditions just and accepted them. The faculty of the College of Letters and Philosophy at the University of Rome voted to hold exams under these stipulations in the universities occupied by the students, presenting the administration and government with a serious problem. If they accepted the results of the exams given under these conditions the students had won a major victory and an important voice in the managing of the universities.

It was at this point that the struggle became increasingly bitter, and the government called out the police to evict the students from the universities. In Rome, on March 1, the now famous battle of Valley Giulia took place as the police viciously attacked students



POLICE ATTACK. Cops attacked students at university of Rome on March 1.

Halstead N.Y.C. Tour Wins Campaign Gains

By Eric Dorian

NEW YORK, March 19 — Many hundreds of students from New York City campuses heard Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, who made over a dozen appearances last week on the New York leg of his national speaking tour. The campuses he spoke at included Fordham, Queens College, Barnard College, Adelphi, City College, New York University, Brooklyn College, Post College and the State University. He also made a trip up to Yale in New Haven.

In general the reaction to Halstead's informal presentations and non-rhetorical answers to questions was serious and friendly. Fairly typical was the response of students attending the Barnard College meeting at Columbia. They warmly applauded Halstead's talk after listening with concentrated attention. In the question period that followed, the students were particularly interested in Halstead's discussion of the draft and antiwar sentiment among GIs.

It is becoming clearer each day that capitalist "peace" candidates are attempting to bring young people who are in the process of becoming radicalized back into the Democratic and Republican parties. Halstead was able to deal with this question head-on in two debates with supporters of Eugene McCarthy. One debate was at the Militant Labor Forum with Alex Rosenberg, Democratic District Leader from the 65th Assembly District, and the other was at Brooklyn College with Hans Reinisch.

The axis around which their support for McCarthy turned was the supposed "effectiveness" that such a candidate offered over "irregulars" like Halstead. Rosenberg was particularly emphatic about this, pointing out that for the sake of what he regarded as a way to reach people, he was willing to suffer with Democratic Party politics, which, he said, often made him "puke." Halstead explained

that such suffering served no purpose, since "effectiveness" would best be served by keeping the antiwar movement independent of the capitalist parties.

A reception for Fred Halstead sponsored by Murray Kempton, Ralph Shoenman, Ruth Gage-Colby and Flo Kennedy proved highly successful, netting over \$800 for the campaign.

Story of Chicano Strikes

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, March 17 — "Brown Power," a militant, new, brown nationalism was the unifying force behind the strike of thousands of Chicano (Mexican-American) high school students here who walked out of their classes demanding an end to inferior education and the denigration of their culture.

By March 15 most of the thousands of Chicano students involved in nearly two weeks of the strike had returned to their classes with the feeling the battle had just begun.

The Board of Education is listening and responding to student demands and has agreed to meet as a body in the East Los Angeles Mexican-American neighborhood. Police have agreed to stay off the campuses unless violence actually occurs.

At Jefferson High, in the black ghetto, well organized and articulate students boycotted their classes in the same period and demanded a black principal. They were supported by the faculty, and the school was closed down for three days. When it reopened March 13, Jefferson High had a black principal, a black vice-principal, and a black head-counselor.

School board members agree that because of the walkout, *barrio* (Mexican-American neighborhood) high schools will not be the same hereafter. The Los Angeles Times notes:

"And in the vast Mexican-American districts of the city and county of Los Angeles — where 800,000 people with Spanish names make their homes — leaders of a movement to unite what they call 'La Raza' swear the barrios will never be the same, either.

"The school walkouts [are] the first act of mass militancy by Mex-

ican-Americans in Southern California. 'Viva La Revolution,' the youngsters' signs read. 'Viva la Raza.' Raza translated 'race' but is used in a sense of 'our people.'

"The men and women of the once conservative older generation jammed school board and civic meetings, shouting their approval of what their children had done. Parents of students arrested during demonstrations even staged a sit-in in the Hall of Justice."

(A Garfield High teacher said, "The students have found a new weapon, a new monster — and we support them.")

"Observers within the community," the Times continues, "say [the walkout] heralds the entry of a powerful new force on the American scene: a newly united Mexican-American movement drawing a nationalistic, brown-power fervor from 4.5 million people in five Southwestern states."

Students have been talking about a walkout for some months, and one of the first people spoke to was Sol Castro, 34-year-old teacher at Lincoln High who grew up in Los Angeles barrios. Castro, with the Educational Issues Committee and the college students in the United Mexican American Students, played a unifying and supporting role in the walkout.

The Brown Berets, a Chicano defense organization, was on hand during the walkout to prevent police attacks on the students. "When the police started hitting with sticks we put ourselves between the police and the kids and took the beating," according to David Sanchez, 19-year-old head of the Brown Berets. During the process, 65 Brown Berets were arrested.

Wearing berets and sometimes army fatigues, the Brown Berets, who are in the main college stu-

in front of the College of Architecture when they attempted to enter the school. But the impact on the students was to strengthen their unity and determination to fight.

For most of the students it was also their first experience with the brutality of the state authorities and they learned some im-

portant lessons very rapidly. Because of the deeply democratic character of the student committees set up to discuss and decide on what actions to take, the students felt all the more committed to the correctness and justness of their demands.

The experience has brought many of the students to comprehend the role played by the university in a capitalist society and led them to raise such slogans as "We Don't Want a School of the Bosses." Demands for stipends for university students in order to insure better opportunities for working-class youth have also figured importantly in the developing ideas of the students.

On March 16 students from all over Italy gathered in Rome to discuss and lay plans for coordinated national student actions. Scuffles provoked by ultraright-wing students provided the pretext for further police attacks on the students.

Panther Leader Asks Ballot on Separation

By Roger Filene and
Mary Kraft

RICHMOND, Calif. — Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense called for a plebiscite to be held in black communities throughout the nation to decide whether "they want to be separated into a sovereign nation of their own."

The demand was raised in a speech delivered at the Peace and Freedom Movement state convention here on March 16.

Cleaver said that "as our major political objective, the Black Panther Party is calling for a black plebiscite, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony, in which only black colonial subjects be allowed to participate. The plebiscite is for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny. In the past many people and organizations have stated what they believed the will of black people to be. The Black Panther Party

believes that it is the right of black people themselves to state for themselves the destiny that they desire.

"We feel that the burning question to which only such a plebiscite can supply the answer is: Whether black people want to be integrated into Babylon, or whether they want to be separated into a sovereign nation of their own, with full status and rights with the other nations of the world.

"In our perspective on our struggle for liberation, the black plebiscite would play a key function. In the colonial analogy, it would correspond to the role of the first or the key political campaign that happened in all countries emerging from colonial bondage. In Guinea the political focus was provided by the campaign against de Gaulle's constitution. In Ghana it was the national election that placed Kwame Nkrumah at the head of the government. The campaign leading to the plebiscite would be the means of solidly organizing Afro-America along national lines."

Socialist Campaign Materials

Write to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, for list of socialist election campaign materials available, including posters, pamphlets, buttons, etc.