

MARTYRED SOCIALIST ANTIWAR FIGHTER

THE MILITANT

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A Political Assassination

Statement by Socialist Workers Party

The following statement was issued May 17 by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party:

A young socialist antiwar fighter, Leo Bernard, was slain yesterday in the Detroit headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party by an ultra-reactionary gunman. Two other Wayne State University students, Jan Garrett and Walter Graham, are in the hospital, critically wounded.

This shocking, tragic and ominous deed is not an isolated act. It follows the bombing of the W.E.B. DuBois Club offices in San Francisco and the bombing of the headquarters of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee.

The pattern is one of terroristic intimidation against the American antiwar, anti-racist, radical youth and socialist forces. The Detroit victims were members of the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance, both energetic participants in the protest movements against U.S. intervention in Vietnam and in the Freedom Now struggle of the Negro people.

This murderous assault was politically motivated. It was a product of the witchhunt atmosphere that has been stirred up and intensified by the "dirty" war in Vietnam. From the White House on down to the John Birchers and the Ku Klux Klan, the country is being incessantly incited against the "communist menace." Today's glorified "hero" is the killer in the green beret in Southeast Asia.

This bloody blow at the antiwar and socialist forces is a terroristic attempt to curb dissent. It is tragic confirmation of the recent warning by Senator Fulbright that the war hysteria whipped up by all the reactionary forces, beginning with the Pentagon, menaces freedom of speech and the hard-won liberties of the American people.

Taking the official propaganda as a cue and a license, the Detroit murderer armed himself and set out to kill some "communists."

This super-patriotic supporter of Washington's foreign policy of intervening against "communism" in places like Vietnam and Santo Domingo, is like many others also a rabid white supremacist. In March he applied for admission to Verwoerd's South Africa, saying he was "armed and prepared to fight against the Communists." Unlike the mercenaries hired by the CIA to crush the freedom fighters in the Congo, he was turned down and so took to hunting for victims closer to home.

American capitalism and its rulers are becoming increasingly prone to violence. Over TV and radio, in the press and comic books, violence is shown and glorified day and night. The supreme madness of this system is the stockpiling of nuclear weapons capable of wiping out the entire human race. And Johnson's policy of escalating the war in Vietnam has made this possibility very real.

The Socialist Workers Party, as the most intransigent opponent of U.S. imperialism, mourns the martyred Leo Bernard. But it pledges to fight all the more resolutely to advance the socialist cause for which he died.

The best way to honor Leo Bernard is to stand firm and close ranks against all assaults by the forces of reaction.

Defend the right of all Americans to speak out!

Build a bigger, stronger antiwar movement!

Forward to a socialist America in a socialist world — a society cleansed of violence where peace, justice, equality and an end to poverty can be realized!

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT, May 17 — Leo Bernard, 27, devoted fighter for a socialist world of peace and brotherhood, is dead, the victim of the anti-communist hysteria spawned by the ruling powers of this country.

He was shot dead on the afternoon of May 16 in Debs Hall, local headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, by a fanatical anti-communist. Two of his comrades, Jan Garrett, 22, and Walter Graham, 19, were seriously wounded by the gunman.

Garrett was struck by bullets in the neck, thigh and groin. Graham was wounded in the chest, side, leg and neck. Both were in critical condition but after operations were expected to recover.

Leo Bernard had been an SWP candidate for Congress in the 1964 elections. Garrett is Wayne County chairman of the SWP and a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. Graham is a member of the YSA.

The shooting has had a deep impact here, particularly among students active in the antiwar movement. They recognize what happened was a product of the red-baiting and attempt to stifle dissent in this country and have reacted in solidarity against the attack.

More than 40 students went to the hospital to offer needed blood for the wounded when the news broke of the triple shooting.

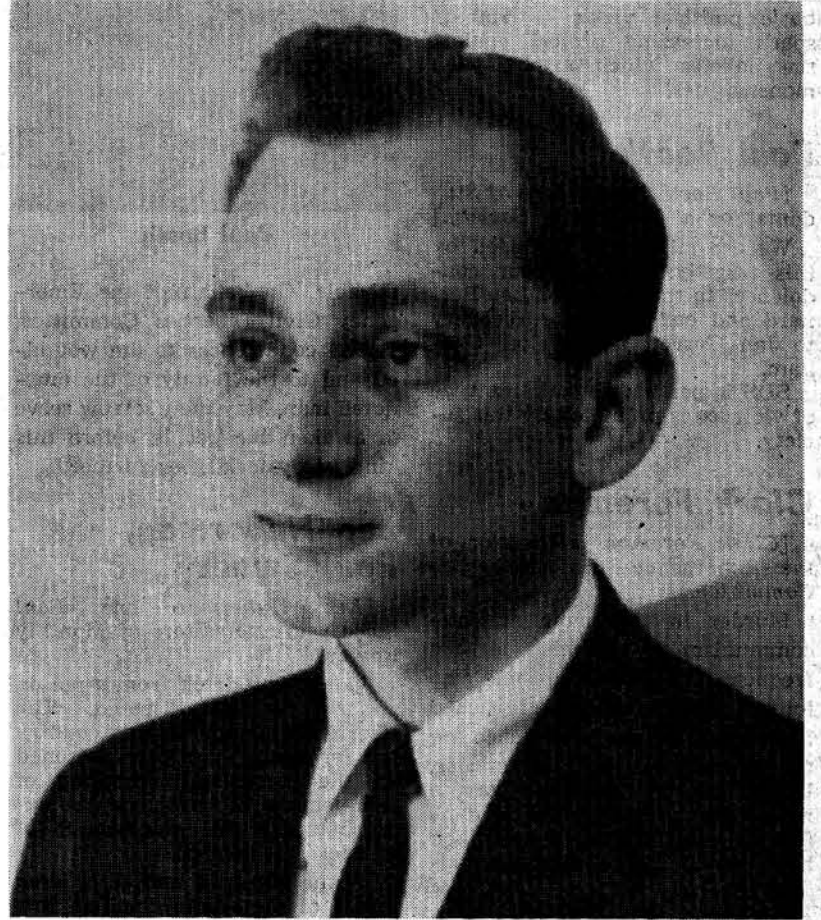
Three hours after the shooting, police arrested Edward Waniolek, a 40-year-old cab driver fired from his job a month ago.

Went to Hall

After telling his wife, "I'm going to kill some communists," Waniolek went to Debs Hall and asked to see some books by Lenin. He then ordered the three young men, "Line up against the wall. You're all a bunch of commies." He fired wildly at them using an automatic pistol and a rifle. Waniolek then fled.

Police arrived soon after, alerted by nearby persons who had heard the shots and cries for help and by Waniolek's wife who had called to report her husband's threats. Waniolek offered no resistance when found by police officers at the main library although he still carried a loaded pistol.

The police were already aware of Waniolek's threats to "kill some



LEO BERNARD

Oct. 24, 1938 — May 16, 1966

communists." Lt. Rollins of the Special Investigation Bureau said that the U.S. Secret Service queried him about Waniolek March 4. At that time Waniolek had visited the Union of South Africa consul in New York. Rollins reported, "Waniolek claimed that the United States was overrun with communists. He told the people at the consulate that he was armed and prepared to fight against the communists."

Waniolek gave the consul a six-page statement presenting reasons why he wanted to enter the Union of South Africa. He concluded the statement with the declaration that he had three rifles in Detroit and was returning there to "start shooting communists."

The consul notified the Secret Service who in turn notified the Detroit police. Mrs. Waniolek was visited by agents from the Secret Service and the Special Investigation Bureau. Although Mrs. Waniolek said she was "afraid for my husband, afraid he might do something wrong," she refused to make a complaint because she did not want him committed to a mental institution. She said that he had talked about communists and communism for years.

Frank Lovell, Michigan chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, stated, "This tragedy is a result of the anti-communist and

(Continued on Page 2)



Jan Garrett



Walter Graham

Set N. Y. Memorial for Detroit Victims

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting will be held here Friday, May 27, 8:30 p.m. for Leo Bernard, the young socialist slain in Detroit by a right-winger.

So far, the speakers include: James Aronson, editor of the National Guardian; Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party; Elizabeth Barnes, national secretary, Young Socialist Alliance; Clark Foreman, director, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; and A. J. Muste.

There will also be representatives of Students for a Democratic Society, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs and, tentatively, Monthly Review.

The meeting will be held at 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

STATEMENTS BY PUBLIC FIGURES

Reactions to Detroit Shooting

James Aronson

[James Aronson is editor of the National Guardian.]

The distortion that brought about the killing in Detroit is a reflection of the national distortion which can produce mass killings such as are taking place in Vietnam under the guise of anti-communism. It should serve to alert all persons who dissent from the national policy whatever their basic political views — and to spark increasing protest against the policies which inspire such monstrosities.

Paul Booth

[Paul Booth is president of Students for a Democratic Society.]

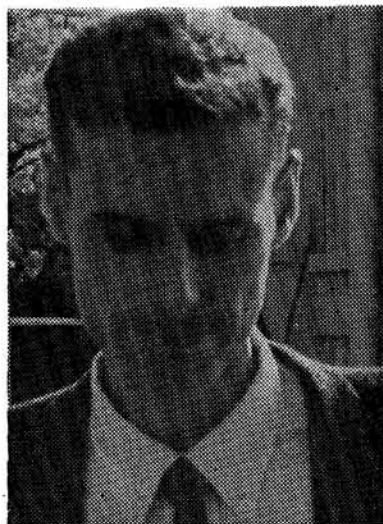
We are all deeply saddened by this tragedy. We send our condolences to the family of Leo Bernard and our hopes for recovery to Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

SDS is persuaded that this type of violence is promoted by this society.

Clark Foreman

[Clark Foreman is director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.]

Murder in the name of anti-communism is becoming all too frequent. Those craven people who for two decades now have preached hatred and advocated violence are the accomplices in this murder. Unless we can find some way to reason and peace, we are in danger of losing all the values which have made our civilization ad-



Paul Booth

mirable. On behalf of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, I send condolences to the wounded and to the family of the murdered man. May their sorrow serve to awaken the people before this kind of hysteria goes further.

Leo Huberman, Paul Sweezy

[Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy are co-editors of Monthly Review.]

People who drink from a poison stream become diseased. The stream of thought in this country has for many years been poisoned by the incessant hammering of anti-communist propaganda exacerbated by the glorification of murder in Vietnam.

In the diseased and disordered minds of some who drink in this poisoned stream, communism is equated with a desire to change the status quo, and radicals of all varieties become targets of abuse — even of murder, as the attack on the SWP workers in Detroit shows.

We express our solidarity with the victims of this madness and call upon all radicals to continue the struggle for a social order in which such an outrage will not be possible.

Staughton Lynd

[Staughton Lynd is an antiwar activist and member of the editorial board of Liberation.]

So far as I know, Leo Bernard is the first person in the peace movement to be murdered. Many people in the civil rights movement have been murdered and the

circumstances in which Leo Bernard was killed should make all American radicals realize that they can be killed at any time. It should make us realize that the whole of America can become the way the American South has been.

The least that we can do is to reaffirm our commitment to continue our work.

Sidney Lens

[Sidney Lens is a writer and official of the Chicago Building Service Employees Union.]

The emotional binge which is carefully being built up by the press and the politicians in the wake of the Vietnamese war inevitably leads to violence of this kind no matter what the mental character of the actual murderer happens to be. A national leadership which sponsors napalm bombs and gas warfare must also take responsibility for actions such as this.

I want to express my solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party in meeting this challenge and others on the left who are also the victims of an administration which pursues an inhuman policy in Vietnam.

Carey McWilliams

[Carey McWilliams is editor of The Nation.]

News accounts would indicate that the murder of one, and the wounding of two, workers in the offices of the Socialist Workers Party in Detroit was the product of a disordered mind. But disordered minds can be stimulated by an overheated political environment.

For some time now it has become increasingly apparent that the discussion of Vietnam and related issues was in danger of triggering just such a reaction. All the more reason, then, for insisting that proper precautions be taken to ensure the fullest freedom to express views critical of the official policy on Vietnam.

A. J. Muste

[A. J. Muste is chairman of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.]

What should cause the people of this country to pause is the reflection that there are many Americans who have the same attitude towards the killing of "Communists" as this perhaps demented killer. The result is that the United States is spending billions of dollars and sacrificing American youth in Vietnam in supporting a regime headed by Marshall Ky who regards it as his mission in life to hunt down suspected "Communists" and imprison or kills Vietnamese who instead call for an end to civil war in their country.

... Detroit Shooting

(Continued from Page 1)
anti-socialist hysteria fostered in this country for the last 20 years... "The killer apparently was deranged, but his derangement was given a political form. No investigation will be complete until we know who encouraged or stimulated this homicidal attack."

A memorial meeting will be held for Leo Bernard at Debs Hall on Friday evening, May 20. So far, speakers include: Frank Lovell of the SWP; Marilyn Levin of the YSA; Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP; Lew Jones, national chairman of the YSA; and a representative of the Detroit Committee to end the War in Vietnam.

A group of professors at Wayne State University are planning to hold a memorial meeting there on Wednesday, May 25.

Young Socialist Alliance Assails Detroit Killing

NEW YORK, May 17 — In a statement released today, the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance said of the murder of one young socialist and the wounding of two others in Detroit:

"This act of terroristic violence is not an isolated event. It follows closely after other attacks which have been aimed at intimidating our generation of radical youth. In recent weeks the national office of the W.E.B. DuBois Club in San Francisco was bombed, Du Bois Club members were attacked by a mob in Brooklyn, and the headquarters of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee was dynamited."

The two wounded young men, Jan Garrett and Walter Graham, are members of the YSA. Leo Bernard had been a member of the YSA until October of last year; when he left the youth organization because of his age.

Student Support

Lew Jones, national chairman of the YSA, said that "we are particularly heartened by the spontaneous response of solidarity and support from students at Wayne State University, many of whom volunteered to give blood for the victims when they heard of the shooting."

The YSA statement said of the murderer: "His action confirms the warnings of many that any attempt — official or unofficial — to stifle the growing opposition to the war in Vietnam will be a menace to the civil liberties of all Americans. Our response must be to



Lew Jones

build a stronger and more effective antiwar movement.

"The Young Socialist Alliance calls on all those who are shocked by this ominous killing to unite against the reactionary assaults on the antiwar movement, the Freedom Now struggle and the socialist movement.

"We are grieved by the loss of Leo Bernard. But we are all the more dedicated to the fight for the socialist ideas for which he died. We are all the more determined to build a society free of violence and war, race hatred and inequality. This is the best way to honor Leo Bernard."

Death of Detroit Socialist Is Product Of Gov't 'Kill Reds' Hate Propaganda

The glorification of "killing communists" which resulted in the murder of a young socialist in Detroit comes directly from the Johnson administration. Official statements coldly discuss the "kill ratio" in Vietnam and proudly announce the "body counts" of "communists" and "suspected communists."

This hate propaganda is reflected in the pronouncements of U.S. officials from the President on down.

"Figures on communist casualties are encouraging," said the President of the United States recently, in a speech accepting a "freedom" award in New York.

Another example is the following conversation between a civilian psychological warfare expert and a U.S. Army general in Saigon, quoted in the May 15 *New York Times*:

"We don't need psychological warfare," the general said. "There are 20,000 Vietcong guerrillas in this country. We'll kill them and the war will be over."

"But you don't understand," the civilian said. "You can't win a guerrilla war that way. The French killed Communists for nine years and they lost the Indochina war. You have to win the support of the peasants and give them a decent government."

"The French didn't kill enough," the general said. "If you kill enough you win the war."

Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, warned against the possibility that verbal attacks on antiwar protesters may turn into something much more vicious. "It is by no means certain," he said in an article on "The Fatal Arrogance of Power" in the May 15 *Times*, "that the relatively healthy atmosphere in which the debate is now taking place will not give way to a new era of McCarthyism."

The "kill communists" propaganda of the Johnson administra-

tion is the soil out of which the ultra-right grows. Where the ultra-righters turn up as counter-pickets at antiwar or civil rights demonstrations, their slogans are "kill reds" and "better dead than red."

By "reds" they mean anyone who opposes racism or opposes the war in Vietnam. And those they refer to as "better dead" are the people they consider "red." They want to implement Johnson's program for Vietnam here.

The murderer who set out to "kill communists" in Detroit was a product of the poisonous policy of the Johnson administration.

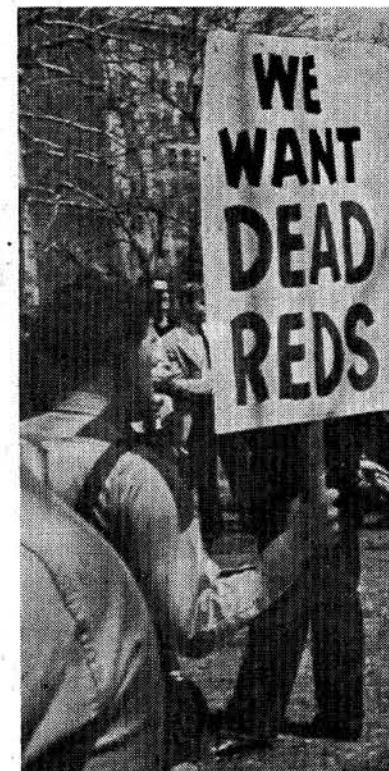


Photo by Finer

POISON. Right-wing pro-war demonstrator urges death for dissenters. TV always gives such signs a good play.



Clark Foreman

Leo Bernard Was Immersed In Socialist, Antiwar Fight

Leo Bernard was very active in both the socialist and antiwar movements. He joined the Detroit chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance in March, 1964, and served both as treasurer and on the YSA's executive committee. In 1964, although he was not a member yet of the Socialist Workers Party, he ran for U.S. Congressman on the party's ticket. Shortly after, he joined the SWP.

Because of this age, he left the YSA in October, 1965, and devoted himself to SWP activity. At the time of his death, he was headquarters director for the party. He was always ready to take any assignment in the organization, from keeping the headquarters clean to mimeographing leaflets or running as a party candidate.

He was very active in the Detroit antiwar movement, and had been treasurer of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam. He was known as an excel-

lent fund raiser in both the antiwar movement and the party.

Leo was born Oct. 24, 1938, in Detroit, where he lived his entire life. A graduate of Cass Technical High School, he attended Wayne State University for a number of years. He studied electrical engineering for four years, and was on the verge of getting a degree in biology.

Although he was working during the present school term, he was planning to return to school and become a limnologist (a specialist in fresh water biology).

He had worked on a number of jobs. During the last few years he was a social-medical worker at Receiving Hospital. He was working as a draftsman shortly before he was killed.

He is survived by his mother, father, three brothers, and his wife, Garlene Boone Bernard. They were married on March 13, 1966.

Mrs. Bernard is a member of the YSA.

RENEWS VIETNAM APPEAL

Castro's May Day Speech

[The following is a section of the speech delivered by Fidel Castro at the May Day rally in Havana's Plaza de la Revolucio.]

In foreign relations, the dangers threatening us from without are the same that have always threatened us, with the difference that we are constantly growing stronger, better armed and better trained, better prepared to resist any imperialist aggression.

And, as concerns the imperialist aggressions, we count fundamentally on our own strength. We must not count upon anyone except ourselves. We do not believe that it is good for any people to base its security upon being defended by others, rather than by themselves, and particularly when we see what is happening in Vietnam.

To tell the truth, this does not frighten us or discourage us; it teaches and prepares us. It strengthens our spirit. And we know that with what we have we are a very hard bone to gnaw on. But we cannot but feel indignant when viewing the aggressive, savage and criminal actions of the imperialists against the people of Vietnam; the criminal, repugnant and cowardly aggression; the piratical aggression that places Mr. Johnson among the worst criminals that humanity has ever known, among the worst pirates.



Fidel Castro

What is the difference between the Yankee savagery in Vietnam and what the Nazis did, when they annexed Austria, or when they cut Czechoslovakia into pieces, or when they invaded Poland? We know well the fruits of that savage aggressive policy.

Even farther way, thousands of miles away, in the very heart of Asia, the imperialists use hundreds of airplanes in bombing raids slaughtering women and

children, waging chemical warfare against no less than a socialist country. And they do it with considerable impunity.

For whatever causes or motives, the imperialists are showing tremendous aggressiveness, criminal aggressiveness. And we know the imperialists well for the cowards and opportunists they are. This is why they vent their fury and commit all manners of savage acts. And they will continue doing it — we said this at the time of the October Crisis — they will continue so long as they can get away with it, so long as they are not stopped.

And we believe, really, that peace would be much better preserved by letting the imperialists know what they can do and what they can't.

In the long run, letting them do as they please, letting them carry out their piratical and vandalic actions, does not contribute to peace. This is an enormous error. It contributes to increasing the danger of war.

The crimes of Vietnam and Santo Domingo weigh upon the conscience of Johnson. Not Johnson — Johnson is only a representative of the financial oligarchy, of Yankee imperialism, and these crimes and acts of vandalism weigh upon their guilty consciences. Are they, perhaps, try-

Ky's Danang Coup: A Move By LBJ to Block Elections?

By Dick Roberts

MAY 17 — Premier Ky's blitzkrieg attack on Danang May 15 ends any pretense that the U.S. puppet will allow the south Vietnamese to elect a Buddhist-dominated government in the proposed elections — if these elections are to be held at all. Danang is the largest city in the overwhelmingly Buddhist northern region of south Vietnam.

It was there that the civilian movement was launched which almost toppled the Ky regime last month. Since then Danang had been held by anti-Ky forces, and it undoubtedly would have become the center of the campaign to unseat Ky's government in the planned elections.

What worried Washington about these elections, however, was not so much the fact that they would bring in a new government, as the strong probability that any genuinely representative government would seek an end to the war through negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

On April 22, Washington gave warning of its intentions to hold off elections through a CBS interview with Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge. Following the interview, May 1, Lodge was flown to this country — conveniently absenting him from the scene of Ky's subsequent military takeover of Danang.

May 7, Ky held a press conference in which he told reporters that he would be in power for at least another year. Although Rusk initially attempted to deny that Ky really meant this, Washington did not make any moves to prevent Ky from following out the logical implications of this statement — military moves to bolster his regime.

On the contrary, Washington made moves in the other direction. May 10, Johnson held top-level meetings with Lodge, the Joint Chiefs and the National Security Council. This was almost a week before Ky's Danang attack.

Instead of making one single statement of criticism of the Ky regime — much less make any moves against it — the Washington policy makers approved plans for a drastic escalation of the war.

May 13, the U.S. launched the largest air-strike of the entire war against north Vietnam. On that date alone, 130 multi-plane bombing missions were launched from south Vietnamese bases and the off-shore Seventh U.S. Navy Fleet. And on May 16, Ky launched his night-attack of 1,000 Saigon marines on the unsuspecting Buddhist city.

Although the Defense Department

"There are 61,000 tons of bombs in inventory in Southeast Asia, Mr. McNamara began. The 50,000 tons of bombs dropped in March compared with 48,000 tons a month dropped in Europe and Africa during World War II and an average of 17,500 tons a month dropped during the 37 months of the Korean war." — The April 21 New York Times

PRINCETON, N. J., May 11 — "We have used our power not willingly and recklessly ever, but always reluctantly and with restraint." — Lyndon B. Johnson.

ment is no longer releasing the number of individual planes being used in its daily raids against north and south Vietnam, it is possible to get some idea of just how great this escalation was from the daily totals of multi-plane missions.

In the week ending May 9, there were 200 multi-plane bombing missions against north Vietnam, whereas in the following week, ending May 16, there were over twice that number — 484 multi-plane missions. The number of U.S. planes shot down over north Vietnam jumped from 227 on May 3 to 243 by May 14.

Then on May 13, also, came the charge from Peking that on the previous day five U.S. planes had flown into Chinese territory and shot down a Chinese plane. Had the top-level Washington meeting given the go-ahead to some plan to provoke China into a drastic new stage of the war?

No Flat Denial

That uneasy impression was not the least bit relieved by a statement in the *New York Times* May 14 that "the Administration appears to be dealing cautiously with the Chinese charge. One reason may be the feeling that the Chinese in the past have not made such specific charges without being sure of the facts."

Meanwhile American casualties are approaching the horrendous total of 20,000. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 11, Defense Secretary McNamara stated that 3,234 GIs had been killed and 15,000 wounded in the course of the war. McNamara also gave the latest figure for refugees from the bomb-torn south Vietnamese countryside — 900,000.

Additional, and possibly very serious problems for Johnson may be in the making in the south Vietnamese Confederation of Labor's 50,000-man strike which is today entering its second day. The trade-unionists are protesting Saigon police brutality.

Appeal by N. Vietnam Unionist

The following is an excerpt from the April 17 May Day letter to the workers of the world from Hoang Quoc Viet as quoted in the April 22 issue of the Vietnam News Agency Bulletin, Rangoon, Burma. The author is the president of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions.

"With the deep sympathy and approval of those having the same enemy — U. S. imperialism — and the common task of struggling to win and consolidate national independence, the workers and peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries have undertaken wide and vigorous activities in support of the just struggle of the workers and people of Vietnam.

"Still more important is that the workers and people of several Asian, African and Latin American countries have been pushing ahead their armed struggle against old and new colonialisms, especially U.S. imperialism, for national liberation in coordination with the workers and peoples of Vietnam.

"The support by the workers and people of the three continents was also expressed in the Tricontinental Conference's historical resolution in which it was solemnly stated: '... The defense of the Vietnamese people's just cause has become the central strategic revolutionary task of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples...'

"In the U. S. itself, despite repression and blackout by the ruling circles, the American workers and people are waging an ever stronger struggle, the peak of which is the 'international days of protest' against the aggressive war in Vietnam which took place in late March, 1966, drawing in the masses of workers and people in 125 regions of the U. S.

"This is an unprecedented antiwar movement in the history of the U.S. It is an invaluable support, a splendid combined struggle of the American workers and people and the workers and people of Vietnam."

ing to intimidate the peoples by this? Are they trying to frighten the peoples? Well, here is a good example: The example of Cuba. Vandalism, far from frightening the peoples, prepares them for the struggle. Imperialist vandalism makes our people firmer and more decided. It shows us all the criminal and savage essence of imperialism. It strengthens the peoples' hatred and their indignation, and it prepares them for the struggle. This is what they gain by their vandalism in Vietnam, in Santo Domingo and in all the places in the world under imperialist attack, and among that host of nations is our people, our revolution.

Today, international workers' day, our thoughts are entirely with those peoples who are fighting: our homage of solidarity to Viet-

nam, Santo Domingo and all revolutionary fighters in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Today our people comply in an exemplary manner with their international duty and conscience placing in the center of their minds and hearts the struggle of the heroic peoples who are fighting and will defeat the imperialists. Because all the peoples, united, carrying out the battle cry of Karl Marx, uniting in combat against imperialism, helping and supporting each other, will be stronger than the imperialists. Let us cry out more fervently today more than ever. "Long live the heroic people of Vietnam!" "Long live the heroic people of Santo Domingo!" "Long live proletarian internationalism!" "Long live Marxism-Leninism!"

Patria o Muerte, Venceremos!

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

"The Deteriorating U.S. Position In Saigon"

will be discussed by

A. J. MUSTE

Winner of 1966 Ghandi Peace Award. Led group of six Americans who recently demonstrated in Saigon against the war

I. F. STONE

Noted journalist, publisher of I. F. Stone's Weekly. Just returned from fact-finding trip to Saigon and other points in Asia

the international implications:

ISAAC DEUTSCHER

Biographer of Stalin and Trotsky. World renowned authority on the cold war. (This will be Mr. Deutscher's only New York appearance before returning to London.)

MONDAY MAY 23 8 P.M.
Manhattan Center 34th St. & 8th Ave.

contrib. \$1

ALSO: This meeting will be a rally to announce and prepare support for the next major united action against the war sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee.

Auspices

Fifth Ave. Peace Parade Committee
5 Beekman St., Room 922
New York, N.Y.

FUNDS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED

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Monday, May 23, 1966

Powell Slams Vietnam Draft

Over the years, many unkind things have been said about Adam Clayton Powell. But no serious political observer has ever charged that the Harlem Congressman is insensitive to the moods and thinking of his constituents.

Powell keeps a sensitive finger on the pulse of Harlem and, in his own way, often chooses to articulate what Harlem is thinking. For this reason it is particularly heartening that the Manhattan Democrat unleashed a blast at the Vietnam war and the discriminatory way black people are being dragooned into fighting that war.

Branding the student draft deferment tests as "reminiscent of Hitler," Powell declared May 10 that the tests were rigged against Negroes whom this society deprives of an adequate education.

"First we provide an inferior education to black students," he observed, "Next we give them a series of tests which many will flunk because of an inferior education. Then we pack these academic failures off to Vietnam to be killed."

He said he had found little support for the war in Harlem or among other poor people. He added that the U.S. has no business trying to "impose an idea by force" and that the Vietnamese people should be free to determine their own destiny.

"America," Mr. Powell said, "should be comforted in the knowledge that a higher percentage of black soldiers is already dying in what is ingloriously being referred to in many areas of the black community as the 'white man's war' against brown people."

Mr. Powell knows whereof he speaks. If the antiwar movement continues and intensifies its efforts, it will help immeasurably in providing an avenue of expression for the black ghetto's opposition to the "white man's war" in Vietnam.



Adam Clayton Powell

China's Thermonuclear Test

The Chinese explosion of a thermonuclear device is an impressive testimonial to the capacities of a planned, nationalized economy — even one operating under the most severe handicaps. The Chinese breakthrough was accomplished despite the U.S.-imposed difficulties and despite precious little aid from the Soviet Union.

It is, of course, of obvious significance that Washington refused China's offer to join in a declaration that neither would be the first to unleash nuclear war. But China's development of its atomic capacity should have a deterring effect on the Johnson administration whose aggressions are limited only by what it thinks it can get away with.

Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$1,200	\$1,052	88
St. Louis	150	131	87
San Diego	200	158	79
Cleveland	1,000	710	71
Chicago	1,800	1,280	70
Philadelphia	300	209	70
Detroit	1,400	962	70
San Francisco	900	532	59
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	574	57
Seattle	500	250	50
Newark	150	54	36
Milwaukee	400	132	33
Allentown	175	55	32
New York	5,800	2,166	29
Oakland	900	250	28
Los Angeles	4,400	1,022	23
Denver	125	26	21
General	600	397	66
Totals thru May 9, 1966	\$21,000	\$10,460	50

Politics, Peace Candi

By Barry Sheppard

An important debate is shaping up within the antiwar movement over whether or not to support "peace candidates" in the coming elections. Those who are for peace candidates identify as such any Democratic Party politician who is the least critical of Johnson. The right wing of the movement, led by such forces as SANE, Women Strike for Peace and the Communist Party, are pressing for the election of such candidates.

The central focus of the May 15 "voter's march" on Washington organized by SANE was building support for peace candidates. In preparation for the march, SANE circulated a "voter's pledge" which committed signers to "support and vote" for candidates who agree to "work vigorously" for "U.S. steps to scale down the fighting and achieve a cease fire." The Women Strike for Peace issued a similar pledge with slightly more militant demands.

The Communist Party vigorously supported the voter's pledge and march. The May 15 *Worker* baptized the SANE march a "People's Convention" and editorialized: "Understanding the power of the ballot in this critical year of Congressional elections, the People's Convention is set to arouse the American people to use that power to guarantee the election of peace candidates and force the Congressmen now in office to declare their support of the people's demand for an end to the Vietnam war."

Clearly, any Democratic Party politician who says he is for peace in Vietnam is eligible for the mantle of "peace candidate," and SANE, WSP and the CP are ready to throw themselves behind him and demand that the rest of the movement follow suit.

The issue raised by the supporters of peace candidates is an important one for the antiwar movement. At stake are the fundamental aims of the movement, and important questions of strategy and tactics.

One of the arguments advanced by those who favor supporting peace candidates is that the movement should "advance" beyond "mere protest" to the level of "politics."

Before discussing "peace candidates" per se, we should take note of a basic fallacy in this argument — the assumption that electoral action is all there is to politics.

What Is Politics?

Political issues are all those which relate to what the policies of the government are and who controls the government. All important questions of our time tend to become political questions, questions of government policy and who makes that policy. Foreign policy and war are obviously political issues, and the antiwar movement, which has as its objective the reversing of a fundamental policy of the U.S. government, is clearly a political movement.

In fact, the movement against the war in Vietnam is the most important political development in the United States today. Its demonstrations and rallies are political in content, and represent powerful forms of political action. They have produced the largest political opposition movement in this country in decades.

Initiated and led by youth from the campus, the antiwar movement has attracted hundreds of thousands of active participants. These demonstrators reflect the growing opposition of millions. Each new national action of the movement has been larger and more militant than the previous, and there is every indication that the movement will continue to grow in scope and depth.

A unique feature of the anti-

war movement is its development parallel to the escalation of the war. This marks it off from previous pacifist movements which were opposed to war when there was peace, but collapsed when the shooting started. In this respect, the antiwar movement is unprecedented in 20th century America.

The new movement strikes deeply into the vital interests of the rulers of this country, the capitalist class which is waging the war in Vietnam. Foreign policy is the most jealously guarded domain of the ruling class. Especially on the question of war, the capitalists demand "unity" and support from the population as a whole. The antiwar movement not only challenges the right of the ruling class to make all decisions on war, but is opposing them on a real war while that war is being waged. It is implicitly challenging the right of the rulers to rule on this specific issue.

It is false therefore, to call the demonstrations of the antiwar movement "merely protest" as against the "real politics" of electoral activity. Campaigning for office is but one form of political action.

Coalition Politics

What the supporters of peace candidates propose is not simply electoral activity, but coalition politics, which is something else again. Coalitionism means supporting a section of the capitalist political parties. In the past 30 years, coalitionism in this country has meant supporting the Democratic Party, and has been practiced by most of the labor and Negro leaders, and some sections of the left including the Communist and Socialist parties.

Coalitionism has been justified with many arguments. Some have called the Democratic Party the "friend of labor" or the "friend of the Negro people." Others say it is a "lesser evil" to the Republicans. Sometimes one hears the argument, which has been most recently advanced by the Communist Party in its "new" draft program, that labor, the Negro people and the left should support the liberal wing of the Democratic Party in order to take the party over or split a new liberal party from it. And now we hear the argument that the way to build an effective antiwar movement is to support Democrats, and perhaps a Republican or two, who say they are for peace in Vietnam.

Let's first take a look at the record of 30 years of coalitionism. Has it resulted in any gains for the labor and Negro movements? Has it curtailed witchhunting and protected our democratic rights? Has it brought us any closer to peace?

On the basis of the record, coalitionism has been a dismal failure. We have seen the passage and use of reactionary legislation aimed at hamstringing the unions, such as the Taft-Hartley and Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin laws. The Smith Act, McCarran Act and other similar thought-control measures have cut into the Bill of Rights.

The Negro movement has registered some gains, although the struggle to win equality remains an unfinished task. But even the gains which have been won are not the result of coalitionism, not the result of electing liberal Democrats, but directly as a result of the independent struggle of the Negro people in the streets. It has been this struggle which has forced concessions from the government.

The failure of coalitionism is most evident in foreign policy and the question of war. The Democrats have been in power for most of the last 30 years, and have presided over World War II, the Korean war and the war in



Vietnam, leaving aside World War I. The Democrats, with full support from the Republicans, engineered the cold war, built up the massive military machine and have intervened in country after country around the world.

The Democratic Party is a war party. The reason for this, in the opinion of Marxists, is that it is committed to the preservation and extension of the capitalist system.

Briefly, Marxists see the U.S. capitalists emerging from World War II as the chief beneficiaries and victors of the war among the big capitalist powers. As the "victors" of the war, the rulers of the U.S. claimed the spoils of war — the markets of the world. They extended their economic and political tentacles everywhere they could. As the old colonial empires of the European and Japanese capitalists collapsed, U.S. investments and dollars moved in. From their position of military and economic strength, the U.S. capitalists extended their economic control many times over, and even penetrated deeply into the economies of the other big capitalist powers themselves.

Political influence and control went hand in hand with economic control, but with a new twist. In place of the old colonialism, which ruled subject countries outright as political colonies, the new colonialism or neocolonialism of the U.S. uses covert means to keep nominally independent states in Africa, Asia and Latin America "friendly" to the U.S. — that is, friendly to the U.S. corporations which own key sectors of the economies of the underdeveloped countries, friendly to the presence of U.S. military bases and friendly to U.S. political interests.

This new tactic of neocolonialism, which has replaced to a large extent the old colonialism, was necessitated by the rise of the colonial revolution after World War II. The masses in the colonies and former colonies are demanding a better way of life and freedom from foreign domination. Therefore U.S. imperialism has been forced to mask its domination behind "independent" local governments. These local governments range from outright puppets to more independent governments which nevertheless guarantee and defend the interests of U.S. imperialism, at the expense of their own people. In other words, neocolonialism is the same old economic imperialism with a new face.

ates and the Antiwar Movement



For example, the French colony of Indochina was an outright political subordinate of France. By contrast, the present government of south Vietnam is nominally independent — but it is certainly clear that it is merely a creature and tool of the U.S., ready to wage war against its own people in the interests of U.S. imperialism and of the reactionary sections of Vietnamese society.

Just as was the case for the old imperialism, the U.S. is ready, willing and able to use force to back up its diplomacy and trickery in defending its empire. The vast military machine with bases scattered around the world, the CIA, the war in Vietnam — all testify to this readiness to wage war.

The imperialists have run into a major problem which limits their ability to carry out their plans of world domination. That problem is the colonial revolution itself. To win real independence from the imperialists, to begin to construct a better life for the masses of the people, the colonial revolution tends to go beyond the limits of neocolonialism and capitalism. In China and Cuba, the demands of the masses of peasants and workers for a better life drove the revolution in those countries in the direction of socialism, and tore those countries out of the confines of the capitalist world.

Counter-Revolution

To prevent more Chinas and Cubas, the imperialists are ready to overthrow governments, as they did in Guatemala and Iran, to intervene in countries undergoing revolutionary processes which they consider "dangerous," as in the Dominican Republic last year, and wage long, costly and dangerous wars, as in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese revolution and war is a case in point. The struggle against the French resulted in France's pullout from Vietnam in 1954. The northern part of the country remained in the hands of the revolutionaries, and developed along non-capitalist lines. The southern part was turned over to reactionary landlords, and remained under imperialist influence. The U.S. stepped into this situation, bolstering the reactionary Diem regime, training its police and army, etc.

The Diem government attempted to use its U.S.-bolstered police and army to once again place the peasants under

the control of the landlords (the peasants had taken over much of the land during the struggle against the French). This move by Diem provoked the guerrilla war by the peasants. The U.S. increasingly intervened into that civil war on the side of the reactionary Saigon government, in order to keep south Vietnam in the "free" — that is, capitalist — world.

The U.S. imperialists are concerned about Vietnam from the point of view of their global strategy of keeping the world safe for U.S. investments. They are afraid of the political impact a victory for the revolution in Vietnam would have in encouraging other peoples around the world to take the same path as the Vietnamese. They are also concerned with Vietnam as part of their strategy in Southeast Asia, and with the prevention of the spread of revolution in the whole area. And finally, they view Vietnam and Southeast Asia as an important military base to keep pressure upon China, and keep alive the possibility of eventually using the area as a base of attack against China.

The capitalists' world-wide strategy includes not only the containment of the anti-capitalist revolution to the Soviet Union, China and the other countries where it has triumphed, but also the eventual rolling back of those revolutions if possible. That is what the cold war is all about. The cold war, with its hot spots like Vietnam, and its ever-present danger of nuclear war, is the strategy of imperialism in our time.

To carry out this policy of war, the capitalist class of this country needs to contain and limit the extent of protest against its war policies at home, because without the support of the American people it cannot think of carrying out war. The Democratic Party and the practice of coalitionism is one of the most important keys to maintaining politicians in power and to containing protest in such a way as to render it harmless to the policies of the rulers.

Coalitionism has strengthened the hands of the warmakers. By drawing dissent and opposition to war into the Democratic Party, the ruling class achieves a two-sided victory. First, it traps such dissent into choosing between the liberal and conservative wings of its own apparatus. Either wing is pledged to defend capitalism and its interests. Second, it blocks the

formation of independent anti-capitalist opposition to its rule and its policies.

The last presidential election was a case in point. Goldwater said he was for extending the war in Vietnam. There was a massive rejection of Goldwater at the polls — but did this bring peace or anything like it?

Most of the big businessmen in the U.S. supported Johnson, realizing that his more tactful way of doing things is better designed to wage war. Johnson, having captured the votes of the majority who were apprehensive about Vietnam, then felt safe to begin to escalate the war. Once again, coalitionism led directly to war, and weakened and postponed the organization of those opposed to war.

After the election, the antiwar movement began to grow — independent of the Democratic Party, and increasingly opposed to it. The success of the antiwar movement to date in organizing opposition to the war is precisely due to its independent character and opposition to the government.

One of the most progressive features of the antiwar movement is that it is leading people into conflict with the Democratic Party from the left. If this development continues, it can open completely new perspectives on the American political scene. As the movement becomes larger and more militant, this aspect of it becomes more and more important. Socialists should be concerned about using this opportunity to open people's eyes to the nature of the Democratic Party and to raise the idea of a labor and socialist alternative to it. Already in the movement, many activists are looking for some way to oppose the coalition around the Democrats, to break up the power of the rulers and organize a counter-power that can stop the war.

Counter-Power

That counter-power lies in those social layers which do not have a stake in waging a war of domination against the people of Vietnam, but which are asked to sacrifice their sons to do just that. The working class, black and white, and large sections of the middle class fall into this category.

The most important potential force for eventually stopping the war is the working class and the troops themselves. The working class and its allies, including the troops, have enormous political power if they are organized independently to struggle for their own interests.

There is no gimmick or slick trick the antiwar movement can use to reach the workers and troops. However, all the polls show a growing disaffection in the population as a whole, which includes the workers and families of the troops, and indicate that it is possible to reach this section. The task before the antiwar movement is to continue to organize against the war, independent of the ruling class and its parties, raising those demands which will strike sympathy with the troops and ordinary Americans, especially the demand of "Bring the troops home now."

While being careful not to injure the growth of the movement on the campuses, which is the base of the organized movement, we should look to the mass of ordinary Americans, especially the workers and troops, as the force which can eventually end the war.

The idea of supporting peace candidates, however, looks in the opposite direction — toward the rulers' parties and politicians.

The antiwar movement has tended to become more militant and is attracting broader and broader support. It has tended to

deepen its opposition to the government, and is drawing people into a struggle with the government and the capitalist parties. Those who support peace candidates would reverse this healthy trend, and cut short the development of the movement by bringing it back into the fold of Democratic Party politics.

An example of such a diversion is the campaign of Robert Scheer in Berkeley, Calif. Scheer is running for congressman in the seventh district of that state, in the Democratic Party primary. Much of what Scheer says about the war is good. He has written a useful pamphlet and articles on the war. But his campaign within the Democratic Party is damaging to the antiwar movement because it creates the false idea that supporting the Democratic Party is a way to oppose the war. In reality it only helps to strengthen the party of the warmakers.

Scheer tries to get around this by claiming his campaign is really against the Democrats. An article sympathetic to his campaign in the *National Guardian*: "The Vietcong (sic) use American carbines, and they don't feel corrupted by them. So why shouldn't we use the Democratic Party against itself?"

The problem with this analogy is that political parties aren't like carbines. A carbine can be taken from U.S. forces and used by the Vietnamese liberation forces. But the Democratic Party is owned lock, stock and barrel by the capitalist class. The ruling rich are able to keep their hold over the party through the power of their money to buy and corrupt, and through their hold over the central apparatus of the party.

The Democratic Party is a very undemocratic organization, controlled behind the scenes by the rich, who finance the party. They control the central bodies of the party from the national level on down. All important decisions of policy are made at the top and invariably reflect the interests of the ruling class.

The primary elections do not determine the character of the Democratic Party. They are frauds, designed to give the party the appearance of control from below. Trying to "capture" that party from the rulers is like capturing a bear trap by stepping into it — you are the one who gets captured.

Much larger forces than Scheer is able to muster have attempted to use the Democratic Party "against itself" — for example, the labor movement. The result has been dismal failure, even on the level of tiny and superficial concessions, like labor's request for the removal of 14(b).

Wrong Path

The labor movement has been captured and rendered politically impotent through its support of the Democratic Party. Scheer, the Communist Party, SANE, etc., would have the antiwar movement follow in the footsteps of the coalitionism practiced by the labor bureaucrats — a path which would lead to disaster for the antiwar movement.

Faction politics in the Democratic Party sometimes take place outside the party. Some who call themselves peace candidates may run independent of the Democratic Party in a formal sense, and still be oriented toward that party. For example, Ronnie Dugger was scheduled to run as a peace candidate in the elections for senator from Texas. He was supported by the Committee for Independent Political Action.

As the campaign developed, Dugger withdrew in favor of the Democrat, Waggoner Carr, in order to defeat the "greater evil" Republican candidate. Dugger's candidacy from the beginning was

merely a pressure move on the Democrats to take a liberal stand on the war, and was not oriented in an independent direction.

Should, then, the antiwar movement try to form a third party,

It would be no advance to form a third capitalist party — even a "peace" party. Any capitalist party, in defending capitalism, would defend the capitalists in war when the chips were down.

In this regard it is useful to look at a recent party of just such a type — the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace which ran in 1948. Although the Progressive Party was supported by the Communist Party, it subordinated itself to the capitalist politician, Wallace, and those capitalists who were opposed to the growing rift with the Soviet Union after World War II. It had a pro-capitalist program, and ran on a platform of peace.

Korean War

But when the cold war really began in earnest and flared into the hot war of Korea, the capitalist support of the Progressive Party evaporated. The capitalist class closed ranks behind the war. This was expressed in the about-face Wallace made when he came out in favor of the war. Since the party was not based on the trade unions or Negro people, this loss of its capitalist support made it a capitalist party without a base, and it shriveled and collapsed.

Unfortunately, the practice of coalition politics in this country has resulted in the situation where there is no mass party representing non-capitalist social forces. There is no mass workers party. If there were, the antiwar struggle would take place, in part, through that party or parties. This would be one way of mobilizing the working people and troops for an independent struggle against the war. That this is possible is shown by the fact that the mass struggle against the war in Australia has pressured the Labor Party into taking a stand against Australia's involvement in the Vietnam war.

The great task facing the American left is to help explain the need for a break with capitalist politics and for a party based upon the working people. Antiwar activists who are looking beyond the issue of Vietnam to the larger issues it raises, should join in the struggle to bring about such a party.

In the meantime, socialists believe that the only effective antiwar electoral action, given the fact of the absence of such a party, is independent anti-capitalist electoral campaigns. Where possible, socialists will run such campaigns for their educational value and the support they can give to the antiwar movement as a whole.

If peace candidates within the Democratic Party, or oriented toward it or toward the formation of a third capitalist party, are all traps which the antiwar movement should avoid if it intends to be effective, what type of electoral activity should the antiwar movement engage in? This is an important subject, and one which is being discussed in many of the antiwar committees. We will return to it in a subsequent article.

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OPEN LETTER TO GOMULKA

Deutscher Hits Jailings in Poland

[On April 24 Isaac Deutscher, the well-known writer on Soviet affairs and author of a biographical trilogy on Leon Trotsky, sent an "Open Letter to Wladyslaw Gomulka and the Central Committee of the Polish Workers Party" protesting the imprisonment of Communists critical of the regime. The letter was released to the press April 28 and received some publicity in London where Deutscher lives.

[The following is the complete text of Isaac Deutscher's open letter.]

I am addressing this letter to you in order to protest against the recent secret trials and convictions of Ludwik Hass, Karol Modzelewski, Kazimierz Badowski, Romuald Smiech, Kuron and other members of your party.

According to all available reports, these men have been deprived of liberty solely because they have voiced views critical of your policy or certain aspects of it, and because they have expressed disappointment with the bureaucratic arbitrariness and corruption which they see rampant in their country. The charge against them is that they have circulated leaflets and a pamphlet containing "false information detrimental to the state and its supreme authorities" — the public prosecutor, it seems, did not accuse them of any crime or offense graver than that.

If this is the accusation, then the prosecution of these men is disgraceful and scandalous. Several questions must be asked: Why, in the first instance, have the courts held their hearings *in camera*? Surely, no matter of state security was or could have been involved. All the defendants have been academic teachers and students, and what they have tried



Gomulka

to do was to communicate their views to fellow students. Why have they not been given a fair and open trial? Why have your own newspapers not even summarized the indictments and the pleas of defence?

Is it because the proceedings have been so absurd and shameful that you yourselves feel that you cannot justify or excuse them; and so you prefer to cover them with silence and oblivion? As far as I know, the prosecutor and judges have not impugned the defendants' motives or cast any serious doubt on their integrity. The accused men have proclaimed themselves to be, and have behaved like, devoted non-conformist Communists, profoundly convinced of the truth and validity of revolutionary Marxism.

I know that one of them, Ludwik Hass was, even before the second World War, a member of

the Communist, so-called Trotskyist, organization, of which I was one of the founders and mouthpiece. He then spent 17 years in Stalin's prisons, concentration camps and places of deportation. Released in 1957, he returned to Poland so free from all bitterness and so strongly animated by his faith in a better socialist future that he at once decided to join your party; and he was accepted as member.

No one asked him to renounce his past, and he did not deny his old "Trotskyist" views even for a moment — on the contrary, he upheld them frankly and untiringly. This circumstance alone testifies to his courage and integrity. Do you, Wladyslaw Gomulka, really believe that you have, in your "apparatus" and administration, many people of comparable disinterestedness and idealism? Look around you, look at the crowds of time-servers that surround you, at all those opportunists without principle and honor who fawn on you as they fawned on Bierut, and as some of them fawned even on Rydz-Smigly and Pilsudski. On how many of these bureaucrats can your government, and can socialism, count in an hour of danger, as it can count on the people you have put in prison?

Recently still, your government claimed with a certain pride that there were no political prisoners in Poland since 1956. This claim, if true, was indeed something to be proud of in a country the jails of which had always, under all regimes, been full of political prisoners, especially of Communist prisoners. You have not, as far as I know, jailed and put in chains any of your all too numerous and virulent anti-Communist opponents; and you deserve credit for



POLISH OCTOBER. Polish students excitedly look over newspapers during October 1956 events when Poland defied Kremlin political domination. The defiance was sparked by a working-class upsurge for an end to bureaucratic abuses. At that time Gomulka granted considerable concessions to workers and students. Process is now being reversed.

the moderation with which you treat them.

But why do you deny such treatment to your critics on the Left? Hass, Modzelewski and their friends have been brought to the courtrooms hand-cuffed and under heavy guards. Eye-witness accounts say that they raised their chained fists in the old Communist salute and sang the *Internationale*. This detail speaks eloquently about their political characters and loyalties. How many of your dignitaries, Wladyslaw Gomulka, would nowadays intone the *Internationale* of their own free will and choice?

I have been informed that before the trial, during the interrogation, the official who conducted it alleged that Hass and other defendants had worked in contact with me. I do not know whether the prosecutor took up this charge in the courtroom. In any case, the allegation is a complete falsehood. Let me say that if the defendants had tried to get in touch with me, I would have readily responded. But the fact is that I have had no contact whatsoever with any of them. I have not even seen a single one of their leaflets or pamphlets. I judge their behaviour solely from reports reaching me by word of mouth or through Western European newspapers.

Unaffiliated

I ought perhaps to explain that since the second World War I have not participated in Polish political life in any way; and that, not being a member of any political organization, Trotskyist or otherwise, I am speaking only for myself. I should add, however, that on a few very rare occasions I have broken my self-imposed political abstinence. I protested when you, Wladyslaw Gomulka, were imprisoned and slandered in the last years of the Stalin era. Knowing full well that I could not share all your views, I expressed solidarity with you. Similarly, I do not know whether I can fully approve the views and behavior of Hass, Modzelewski and their comrades. But in their case as in yours I think I can recognize reactionary police terror for what it is and tell slander from truth.

Another occasion on which I allowed myself to have a say on Polish political matters was in 1957, when I explained in a special essay "The Tragedy of Polish Communism between the World Wars." You may remember that your censors, Stalinists of the so-called Natolin group, confiscated the essay when *Polityka* tried to publish it; and that then you, Wladyslaw Gomulka, ordered the essay to be widely distributed among party members.

In those far-off days, just after the "Polish spring in October," you held that Polish Communists ought to know my account of the havoc that Stalin made of their

party, delivering nearly all its leaders to the firing squad. You knew that I had been one of those very few Communists who, in 1938, protested against that crime and against the disbandment and denigration of what had once been our common party.

Moscow "rehabilitated" the Polish party and its leaders only after 17 or 18 years; and then you, Wladyslaw Gomulka, apologized for having kept silent in 1938, although you had not believed the Stalinist slanders. I do not believe that you are now right in persecuting and imprisoning members of your own party and your critics on the Left; and I cannot keep silent.

May I remind you of your own words spoken at the famous eighth session of the Central Committee in October 1956? "The cult of the personality was not a matter just of Stalin's person," you stated then. "This was a system which had been transplanted from the USSR to nearly all Communist parties . . . We have finished, or rather we are finishing with that system once and for all." (Your italics.)

But are you not to some extent re-establishing that system? Do you wish these trials to mark the tenth anniversary of your own rehabilitation and of that "spring in October," during which you raised so many hopes for the future?

In the name of those hopes and in the name of your own record, the record of a fighter and of a political prisoner under Pilsudski and Stalin, I appeal to you and to your colleagues of the Central Committee: Do not allow this miscarriage of justice to last! Dispel the secrecy that surrounds the cases of Hass, Modzelewski and comrades. If you think that they are guilty of grave offenses, then publish the full report of the court proceedings and let it speak for itself. In any case, I appeal to you to order an immediate and public revision of the trial.

If you refuse these demands, you will stand condemned as epigones of Stalinism, guilty of stifling your own party and compromising the future of Socialism.

World Events

Iranian Death Penalties

Some forty Iranian students in Hamburg, West Germany, have been on a hunger strike since April 22 to protest the death sentences of three young Iranians — Bodjourni, Khavari, and Hekmatjoo — the Iranian Students Association in the United States reported April 29. The U.S. Iranian students demonstrated the same day in front of the United Nations in protest of the murders. The three young men were defendants, along with 60 others, in two military courts that handed down long prison terms besides the three death penalties. In a statement issued in this country, the Iranian Students Association declared:

"Since neither the indictment, nor the defense, nor the text of the courts' decisions have been published, the exact nature of the charges remains unknown. The government of Iran has claimed, however, that the prisoners had plotted against the security of the state.

"No evidence," the statement continued, "has so far been offered to the public to prove the charges. Rumors of torture of the prisoners as well as the fact that the trials were — in direct violation of the Iranian constitution — held secretly and in the absence of a jury, have cast considerable doubt on the justice of the sentences."

Rumanian Charges

The ghost of Stalin hasn't been completely eliminated from the careers of the East European Communist parties. This was at least one significance of Rumanian first party secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's May 7 address celebrating the 45th anniversary of

the founding of the Rumanian Communist Party.

Made on the eve of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's "secret" visit to Bucharest, Ceausescu's speech has been widely interpreted in the Western press as paving the way for a split in the Warsaw Pact — the Soviet bloc counterpart to NATO. According to the May 14 *New York Times* translation of excerpts from the speech, Ceausescu stated:

"Military blocs and the existence of military bases on the territory of other states is one of the barriers in the path of collaboration among peoples."

By far the larger section of the *Times*' text of the speech, however, was taken up with Ceausescu's denunciation of the Kremlin domination of foreign Communist parties, particularly in relation to the 1939 Stalin-Hitler pact. "May Day, 1939, manifestations in Bucharest," Ceausescu is quoted as saying, "had been a strong proof that the Rumanian people were rallied around the anti-Fascist movement and that their wish was for real fighting against the German aggressor.

"Under the conditions of that revolutionary upsurge of the masses," Ceausescu continued, "when the Germans were attacking [a number of countries], the 1940 directives of the Comintern addressed to the Rumanian Communist Party . . . criticized the Rumanian Communists for activity directed against the German aggression and for their position of defending the national independence of the fatherland.

"Contrary to the obvious realities, the Comintern directive stated, and I quote: 'Germany and Italy do not at present want the Balkan countries to be involved in

the war; they want them to provide the products they need; namely, wheat, oil and various raw materials . . .'

"By arbitrarily putting Fascist Germany on the side of the Soviet Union," the Rumanian leader continued, "the Comintern directive points out that 'the Rumanian people and the workers class are faced with the task of not allowing Rumania to be transformed into a bridge-head of England and France in a war against Germany and against the USSR.'"

After describing the "deep confusion" and "disorientation" which Stalin's orders caused in the ranks of the Rumanian party, Ceausescu continued, "As is known, the Dictate of Vienna was imposed on Rumania in August, 1940; under this, the north part of Transylvania was stolen and delivered to Fascist Hungary.

"At this grim moment in the fate of their country, the Rumanian people found themselves alone, without any outside support, abandoned by all the powers of Europe. Rumania was forced to accept the unjust conditions of the Dictate of Vienna and by this it was left at the mercy of Germany. In fact, it was thrown into the arms of the Hitlerite forces."

One thing Ceausescu left out of this history, if the *Times* translation can be accepted as complete on this point, is just why the Rumanian Communist Party accepted the Kremlin's orders at the time. And that raises another question. Why did Ceausescu wait 26 years before criticizing a policy that "provoked a deep confusion and disorientation in the party" and delivered the country into "the arms of the Hitlerite forces"?

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Irish Heroes

Bayonne, N.J.
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E.P.M.

[An extensive article on the Easter Rebellion and James Connally appeared in our April 11 issue. EDITOR.]

Gunsight Lens?

New York, N. Y.
I thought your cartoon in the May 2 *Militant* of Barry Goldwater wearing glasses with lenses so small that they are blinders was very apt. But I want to suggest an improvement that makes the cartoon complete. The lenses of any glasses Goldwater wears should be equipped with cross-hairs. More than any other political figure I can think of, except perhaps President Johnson, he seems to look at the world down the barrel of a gun and through an inverse relation between the size of such people's lenses, and the size of the weapons which are the subject of their fantasies.

E.C.

Gromyko and Pope

Los Angeles, Calif.
According to the *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, the historic meeting of the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko with Pope Paul VI led to an exchange of "cordial but blunt" views on such world problems as Vietnam. After the meeting Gromyko is quoted as stating that they agreed "men must unite to work for one goal of peace regardless of their political or ideological differences."

This meeting was a disgraceful spectacle, and obviously was an extension of the Soviet leaders' policy of collaborating with U.S. imperialism which is the source of wars of aggression now raging throughout the world.

No wonder Gromyko delighted the Pontiff with the song of peaceful coexistence (he sang), composed by Khrushchev, rearranged by Brezhnev-Kosygin, with lyrics supplied by Gromyko and the Pope.

There is really no point in criticizing the Soviet leaders for being revisionists; they act as if Marx and Lenin never existed.

In fact, they could hardly act any worse if their country were still living under capitalism.

Albert Stein

Report from Mississippi

Sunflower, Miss.
In our last letter we told you about the new election that will be held in Sunflower, but since

then there are five other places in the county that can also have a new election.

They are Drew, Ruleville, Doddsville, Moorhead, and Inverness, Miss. The way these elections will come about is the same as Sunflower did. Someone will have to file a complaint just like Mrs. Annie Mae King did with the lawyers for Sunflower.

Moorhead, Doddsville, and Ruleville are places which we have a strong feeling that we can win along with Sunflower. Moorhead has already signed a complaint.

The lawyers will go to see Judge Clayton Friday or Saturday, and see when the election will come off for Sunflower; also at this time the lawyers will present Moorhead's complaint and we hope we will have the other four cities as stated before.

Sunflower is growing stronger every week and more people are becoming more concerned in asking what they can do to help; also we had our first meeting in Doddsville last week and the people responded better than ever anywhere before.

As I told you before, we already have the permit to build the center here in Sunflower, and have barely begun to work on it. We will not have a concrete floor, because we could not get anyone to sell us dirt or concrete for the purpose, so we will have a wood-

Thought for the Week

"I haven't had to take a position on certain public issues up to now. When you take a position, you sometimes lose people who would otherwise vote for you." — John D. Rockefeller IV, commenting on his election to the Virginia legislature.

en floor and a tin top. What caused the changes in the top was that we didn't have enough money to do the job with anything else.

We will also have to fix the inside little by little for the same reason.

We kindly thank those of you who have donated what you could for this cause.

Otis Brown Jr.
Sunflower County Chairman
Lela M. Brooks
Vice-Chairman
Eddie J. Townsend
Secretary

Indiana 'Democracy'

Bloomington, Ind.
On Monday, May 2, the Left was shown what American democracy and freedom are all about upon the occasion of Gen. Hershey's visit to Indiana University.

The celebrated campus politicians of Indiana University, the "ladies and gentlemen" of the sororities and fraternities at Indiana University, plus many of our more responsible citizens turned out in mass "to show these radicals demonstrating against the

Vietnam war that they were not going to get away with their attempt to subvert the youth of our state."

Yes, the apathetic masses were finally shaken. But they were not moved to responsible comment; no, they expressed their emotional energies in a loud bellowing.

These responsible citizens did not demonstrate for or against a policy or position. They only commented on their purity ("I.U. students are 99 44/100% pure"), and tried to prevent the people who did have something to say from saying it by yelling: "Kill! Kill! Kill!"

The University — the bastion of free speech.

The United States of America — cradle of freedom and democracy.

Monday afternoon, our responsible citizens gave us quite a demonstration as to the substance of these platitudes with heckling, shoving, rocks, abusive language and raw eggs.

Yes, this is America — Land of the Free and Home of the Brave.
D.C.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

SOVIET WORKERS WIN END TO "WORK-OR-JAIL" LAW — A Soviet decree of April 28 — made public on May 8 — grants important concessions to the Soviet working class. The decree revokes stringent labor regimentation laws which made it a criminal offense for factory and office workers to quit jobs without leave or for prolonged absenteeism without excuse. The government has also decided to release from jail persons convicted of quitting their jobs without permission and to quash pending indictments.

Actually, the new laws ratify an overwhelming fact of Soviet life. So pronounced is the turnover of the Soviet labor force as workers seek better wages, working conditions and housing conditions, that for several years now prosecution for unauthorized change of job has been a dead letter.

"In view of the new decree it was considered possible now that various enterprises might compete with each other for the services of workers by stressing specially good conditions," says Jack Raymond reporting the new decree in the May 12 *New York Times*. Actually, this too has been going on for some time . . .

The Soviet bureaucracy is being forced to give such demands recognition, backed as they are by a working class that has enormously grown in numbers, skill and self-confidence since the end of World War II. — May 21, 1956.

20 Years Ago

RAIL, MINE WORKERS FACE FIERCE ANTI-UNION ATTACK — The second great strike wave in the post-war upsurge of American labor reached a climactic point last week as the bitter assault of Big Business and its government against the coal miners and railroad workers mounted in ferocity.

This colossal battle in two of the most strategic industries in the American economy has produced a social crisis in the country and a political crisis at Washington similar to that witnessed at the beginning of this year when the CIO auto, steel, electrical and packing house unions were out on the picket-lines simultaneously.

In reply to that first powerful strike wave, spearheaded by the General Motors workers, the entire capitalist ruling class and its government agencies rallied around the corporations in their vicious drive to whittle down the demands of the workers and cripple the resistance of the striking workers. So today Big Business and its government agencies are backing up the coal operations and railroad magnates who are determined to deny the just demands of the workers. — May 25, 1946.

It Was Reported in the Press

All OK in Vietnam — Recently we reported the disturbing finding of an evangelist just back from Vietnam that the U.S. was sending over too many sexpots to entertain the boys and that they consequently had their minds more on sex than on the enemy. But we are reassured. Mrs. Oswald Lord, 61, just got back from a three-month State Department tour of Asia. She denies that the GIs have turned Saigon into a brothel and reports that on their day off they're "doing good, helping orphanages, rehabilitation centers and young Vietnamese."

Belated Report — The above item reminds us of a news event of several months ago we didn't get around to reporting. A U.S. officer was invited to cut the ribbon on a new recreation center in Saigon and then found it was a Vietnamese government-operated brothel.

On the Home Front — On Saturday, May 14, A&P stores in New York were selling onions for 20 cents a pound.

An Informed, Confident America — Asked if they felt they knew what the administration's goals were in Vietnam, 41 percent of the people polled in Illinois' 18th Congressional District replied yes, while 56 percent said no and three percent didn't answer. Meanwhile in Michigan's Fourth Congressional District, people were asked: "Do you feel the federal government gives the people reliable informa-

tion on what it is doing?" Only 23.5 percent said yes, while 67.8 percent said no and 8.7 percent declined to answer.

Who's "We"? — Housing authority Edward J. Logue urged a major drive against slums. He said: "Until now it has been our position as a nation that we could not afford to end poverty and had housing in the huge slums of New York. We never had a debate about it. We just assumed it."

They've Got a Secret — An Iowa firm does a brisk business shredding paper for companies. Discarded business records are shredded beyond recognition and then baled. To make sure no one latches on to their business secrets, some companies padlock the steel containers used to transport the records. Some send a security man along.

This, too? — On top of everything else that's wrong with this country, a team of researchers have concluded that the American bathroom is unsanitary, uncomfortable and often dangerous.

Arizona Pedagogy — The assistant dean of women at the University of Arizona says the faculty has been authorized to lower the grades or even flunk coeds who wear shorts or slacks to class — and can do so without warning. She said the professors complained that the girls have been dressing too casually.

Promises, Promises! — Dean Rusk warned the Vietnamese Buddhists that if they didn't get behind the war effort, the U.S. might just pick up and pull out.

Fish Story — Opponents of Florida Governor Haydon Burns in his bid for re-election revealed that he used \$6,000 of state fish and game commission funds to fuel two private planes put at his disposal by prominent businessmen. Previously it was disclosed that the state road commission had shelled out \$62,000 for gas, oil and pilots' salaries for the planes. Meanwhile, it was reported that 28.5 percent of Florida's families have incomes of less than \$3,000 a year. —Harry Ring

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Interview With New SNCC Chairman

By John Benson

[The following interview with Stokely Carmichael was given before his recent election as chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. See story below on this page.]

Stokely Carmichael is a SNCC field secretary, who has been working in Lowndes county since February, 1965. He has played a crucial role in the formation of the independent Black Panther party there, its development both organizationally and politically, and making sure that all the legal requirements for securing a place on the ballot were met. As one of the people of Lowndes told me, they knew what was wrong and wanted to do something about it, but they didn't know how. Stokely helped to explain "how."

As the party has developed, more and more of the leadership functions have been taken over by people from Lowndes, and Carmichael thinks he may be able to leave after the November elections.

This interview was given to me on Tuesday, May 3, after the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the official name of the Black Panther, had held a mass meeting to nominate its candidates for the November elections. My questions are in heavy type.

* * *

You held a meeting to nominate candidates today. How did the movement begin here and move toward forming a new party?

"We began with a protest movement. We worked on voter registration; we held a school boycott; we protested police brutality. Using the energy built up, we then built a movement to take power, to get control.

If we control the school board, we won't have to have school boycotts anymore. Instead of protesting police brutality, we decided to take over the office of sheriff. If the Negro can get power, we won't have to protest anymore.

I've always been taught majority rules. In Lowndes we're 80 percent. We're the majority. We're going to take power in Lowndes county and rule. We don't even want to integrate. We want power, pure unadulterated political power.

We've built a political organization to put our candidates in office. We're neither Republican nor Democrat. But it's not a party yet, and won't be recognized as a party until we get 20 percent of the vote. Our name is the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. After November it will be the Lowndes County Freedom-Party. The Black Panther is our symbol.

Today we held our mass meeting to nominate our candidates. Their names will be on the bal-

lot Nov. 8 along with our symbol, the Black Panther. All the people have to do is pull the lever under the Panther. Nov. 8 we vote. Nov. 9 we take over the courthouse.

You say Negroes are 80 percent of the population in Lowndes. Are enough Negroes registered to win the elections?

Yes. And we've got until 45 days before the November elections to continue registering.

What will the Freedom Organization do if it wins?

We're going to tax people the way they should be. If people don't pay the tax, we can auction their land to pay the taxes for them. The biggest company in the county is Dan River Mills, and it's here on a tax-free basis. Even if they leave because they get taxed, what have we lost? They're not paying tax now. It's almost a completely automated plant so we don't get jobs. Then we're going to take all that tax money and build our schools. After we win we're not going to have to drive to the white folks' part of town to get paved roads.

You said you are neither Republican nor Democrat. Why is that?

There's no room for Negroes in the same party as Wallace. No matter who wins, Wallace will still be in the Democratic Party and he will tell the party what to do. We're going to face Wallace with power. It's not our job to get Wallace out of the party. It's Kennedy's and Morse's job. How can they all say what they say about civil rights and then sit down at the same table? Then they ask me to go in and reform the Democratic Party. Did they ask the Jews to reform the Nazi party?

What about the Democratic Party in the North and on a national level?

The Democratic Party in this country is the most treacherous enemy of the Negro, period. We've got to split it so Johnson and all the king's horses and all the king's men can't put it together again. The only way the Negro in Alabama will get justice is to smash the Democratic Party.

And the national party is opposed to the interests of Negroes. The Daley machine in Chicago is the same thing as the Wallace machine in Alabama. The Negroes in Watts are all loyal Democrats, and they're not going to get anything until they get out of the Democratic Party. And we've got to start tearing up the Democratic Party in Harlem.

One of your leaflets points out that the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party tried to work within the framework of the national Democratic Party and Alabama doesn't have to make this mistake. What did you mean by

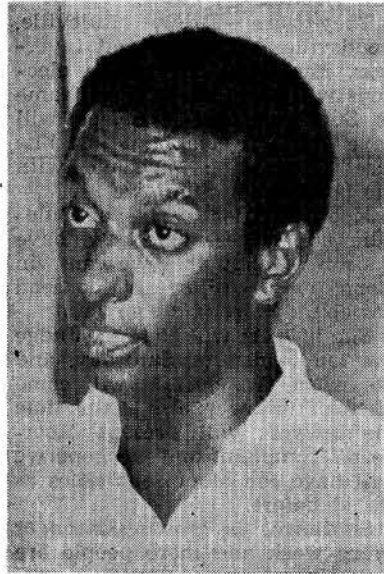


Photo by Doug Harris

Stokely Carmichael

this? Was the MFDP a failure?

First, I don't call the MFDP a failure. It was successful because we learned from it. We learned a lot from it. In order to get the MFDP we went to the North and appealed to the liberals. We had that big summer project with Northern white students and all kinds of money from Northern whites. That limited our choices. We had to have everything approved before we could do it. We learned that we had to have Negro control, no white control. That was the first lesson.

In Lowndes we have raised almost all our money within the county. People from Lowndes who moved to Detroit formed a sympathy movement and send us \$100 a month. And most of the organizers are from the county. So now we can go to people and say "This is what we are doing. Will you help us? Will you give us money for this?" Recently some people in Boston, who knew Jonathan Daniels, the only white who was working in the county, are raising money for us to buy land to build homes for the people that have been evicted for registering. [Jonathan Daniels was murdered by racists last year.]

The second thing we learned from the MFDP was about the Democratic Party. The MFDP tried to integrate into the national party. It went to Atlantic City and said "We've been suppressed by the Eastlands and the Barnetts. They don't support your candidates. We are the party that supports your candidates. Seat us." They were turned down. Their appeal was denied because of coalitions. And that taught us something about the Democratic Party. Its interests aren't our interests. Negroes have to control their party and they can't have control and be a part of the Democratic Party.

So far you have mentioned only the Democratic Party.

I talk about only the Democratic Party because it lied. And a lot of people don't know that yet. Negroes vote as a bloc in the Democratic Party, but it lied. It said it was good, it said it was nice, it said it was liberal, it said it was for peace, it said it was for Negroes. And it lied. I know it lied. At least the Republican Party never lied. I don't care a bit for the Republican Party, but Negroes just don't vote in it like they do in the Democratic Party.

Do you expect any opposition from the government to what you are doing in Lowndes?

We're trying to get power. The power structure doesn't want black people to have power. I'm not talking about George Wallace, I'm talking about Bobby Kennedy. They don't want black people to

have power. It's in the interests of Robert Kennedy and Washington to squash the Lowndes County Freedom Organization because it will spread. And that's what we're working for. A national alternative, when Negroes will be organized independently, neither Republican nor Democrat. So it's in their interests to stop us, but I don't know what they'll do.

Do you think the local racists will use violence against the Freedom Organization? What plans do you have if you face violence?

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization is not nonviolent. Nonviolence is irrelevant. What King has working for him is a moral force, but we're building a force to take power. We're not a protest movement. We're out to take power legally, but if we're stopped by the government from doing it legally, we're going to take it the way everyone else took it, including the way the Americans took it in the American Revolution. And we've seen the way the federal government protects us, or rather doesn't protect us. If one of our candidates gets touched, we're going to take care of the murderers ourselves.

I've heard people attack the Freedom Organization because it is all black and that whites and Negroes are fighting the same enemy so they should fight together. Would you comment on this?

We've got to fight separately now because we've never done anything on our own. That's most important now. We have to have control over our own fight right now. In this county anything all black could never be worse than it has been all white. Things have been all white too long. We're going to change that. Some people say we should save a place in our party's slate for a white, but whites didn't ever leave any places open for us in their primaries, and we don't need to leave any places open for them.

Sometimes you hear Negroes talking about all black is no good. Well they're just talking about themselves. If I say something all black is no good, I'm talking about myself. I'm all black and I know I'm good. So they're just talking about themselves.

Do you have any plans for the future beyond Lowndes County?

Right now we're concentrating on the county level. I feel strongly about organizing on the local level. At the state and federal level things get confused and you have to make too many compromises. But we're going to spread. People from Lowndes speak in other counties now. On March 20, 60 people spoke in six different counties about the Freedom Organization. Today, Free-

dom Organizations nominated candidates in three counties in addition to Lowndes. After that I want to work toward 1972. By then the Negroes should be organized as an independent force. We have the power to smash the Democratic Party. If we do that, they'll never be able to put it together again.

Earlier you said you didn't even want to integrate. Could you explain that?

We've been caught in what I call the pitfall of integration. The answer to all the Negro's problems in this country has been integration. We have operation uplift. We've got to "headstart" the Negro. But the reason the Negro is in the position he's in today is not because he's not integrated, but because he doesn't have power. Integration is an insidious subterfuge for white supremacy.

I'll take an example from Lowndes County. Last year, five Negroes entered the white school. All the papers hailed this as a great triumph. Finally Lowndes County had been cracked. But all the other Negro children had to go to the same old schools. And no whites went to the black schools, because they were in fact inferior.

Integration has always been Negroes going to white schools because the white schools are good, and black schools are bad. A Negro would go from his school to a better school, a white school. Negroes have been made to believe that everything better is always white. If integration means moving to something white is moving to something better, then integration is a subterfuge for white supremacy.

Well, what do you think of the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision?

The problem with that decision was that it emphasized integration. What it should have emphasized was equal per capita money for white and black schools. The problem is that less money is spent on black schools than on white schools. We're not so concerned about going to a white school — we want a good school.

Two more questions. First, how do people in Lowndes feel about the war in Vietnam?

Most people in Lowndes are against the war. But you can't go talking to them about teach-ins or Geneva. The only thing that makes sense is saying "end the war" or "get out" or something like that. My way of ending the war is to tell all the Negroes to stop fighting. Then the war will be over.

How do you feel after today's meeting?

Great. It was great. Now we work for Nov. 8.

New Top Officers Elected by SNCC

Stokely Carmichael was elected chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at a SNCC staff meeting on May 15. Carmichael replaces John Lewis as head of the militant Southern civil rights organization.

Mrs. Ruby Smith Robinson was elected executive secretary succeeding James Forman.

Both Lewis and Forman were elected to the 10-man central committee that will shape policy for the organization.

Cleveland Sellers remained in office as program director and will serve with Carmichael and

Mrs. Robinson in the organization's three-member secretariat. Jack Minnis was the only white elected to the central committee.

The SNCC gathering agreed to de-emphasize the role of whites in civil rights activity in the South, according to the *Times*.

Mrs. Robinson is a 23-year-old Atlantan and a graduate of Spelman College. Like Carmichael, she became active in SNCC soon after it was founded in 1960. Mrs. Robinson is said to share Carmichael's view on the importance of independent political action in opposition to both the Democratic and Republican parties.



SYMBOL. Black panther is symbol of Lowndes County Freedom Organization, popularly known as Black Panther party.