

# THE MILITANT

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## Speeches and Messages On Murder of Leo Bernard

— See pages 3-6 —

# Memorial Meetings Across Country Salute Slain Detroit Young Socialist

## Speakers Urge United Front In Face of Common Threat

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Three hundred people jammed into the Militant Labor Forum Hall May 27 to attend a memorial meeting for Leo Bernard, the Detroit socialist who was shot down by a fanatical anti-communist. The meeting was sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The speakers' list, and the audience itself, represented the broadest act of left-wing unity that has been achieved in this country in more than three decades. This was also true of the messages that poured into the meeting.

All of the speakers were agreed that the Detroit shooting was not simply the act of a deranged individual, but a product of the anti-communist poison pumped into American society over the years. An outburst of applause greeted the declaration by one speaker that it is President Johnson who should go on trial for the Detroit shooting.

### Broad Unity

The unprecedented presence on the platform of the Communist and Socialist Workers parties, along with a wide range of other tendencies, was clearly a source of great inspiration to the audience, which was about evenly divided between veterans of the radical movement and young people.

Speaking for the New York State Communist Party, Timothy Wheeler was given an ovation when he declared that Leo Bernard was "committed to the very highest dream of all mankind, which is socialism. And it is because he was committed to that dream

that I count Leo Bernard as my comrade."

Elizabeth Barnes, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, told the meeting: "We in the Young Socialist Alliance have been greatly encouraged by the spontaneous response of support and solidarity which we have received at this time."

"Everyone," she said, "recognizes that this is a time when we must all stand together. We must unite . . . against this attack, against all the other attacks that have come against the anti-war movement, the Negro movement and against the socialist and radical organizations. We must unite on all questions where we find it possible to agree."

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, told the gathering: "On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I wish to address myself first to the guest speakers and to those of you in the audience who are not members of our organization.

"We deeply appreciate your presence here tonight. In simple human terms, your act of solidarity gives us comfort and lends us encouragement at a time of grief and a time of trial."

He added: "Thinking in terms of the movement as a whole, we feel that your presence here tonight is a matter of extreme importance . . .

"We feel in this situation," he continued, "and in the response of everyone in the movement in the face of this terrible event, a return to that which is rich and deep in the roots of the American labor and radical movement. And when you see that development today, at this critical hour, and think of the great battles that were won in the past with firm principled adherence to the concept of the united front within the movement despite differences, we can be more confident than ever of ultimate victory."

### Joint Action

He said the present situation "calls for the broadest possible political counter-action, a joining of forces by everyone who believes there is something fundamentally wrong in this country to set out to change it, to set things right, and cleanse our land and help cleanse the world of violence.

"In the meaningful solidarity demonstrated at this memorial meeting, in the comparable solidarity that is being demonstrated at memorial meetings throughout the country this week," he said, "in the messages that are pouring in to our party from all over the country and all over the world, there is every reason to take fresh hope and gain new confidence that more and more forces are coming to the support of those



Farrell Dobbs

of us who have long been fighting against these wrongs in our society, and that we're finding in the course of the struggle how to work more effectively, wherever we can, to promote the common aim that so many of us fundamentally share.

"And we of the Socialist Workers Party, in turn, pledge our full support to all others in the movement who fall under this or any other kind of peril under the violence generated in this land. In the interests of the common struggle, we pledge our support to the best of our ability, and in an absolutely principled way."

Other speakers at the meeting were: John Fuerst of Students for a Democratic Society; James Silver, national field secretary of the Student Peace Union; David Lynne of the Canadian League for Socialist Action; Harry Nier, Denver civil liberties and civil rights attorney; Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*; A. J. Muste, chairman of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; Harold Greenberg of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs; Pedro Juan Rua of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement; and James Aronson, editor of the *National Guardian*. Jack Barnes, New York SWP organizer, was chairman.

The spirit of solidarity that pervaded the gathering was expressed in the collection taken for the Emergency Medical Fund to help defray the funeral expenses for Leo Bernard and medical expenses for Jan Garrett and Walter Graham. In response to an appeal by George Novack, a total of \$568 was contributed.

### By Gordon Bailey

LOS ANGELES — More than a dozen organizations here joined in a united protest memorial meeting on May 28 for Leo Bernard, murdered by an ultra-right racist in Detroit. Over 160 people were present. Spokesmen for the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Du-

Bois Clubs, Progressive Labor Club and Young Socialist Alliance, as well as civil rights fighters and antiwar groups expressed their deep concern and indignation at the foul attack on the three young socialists.

The speakers were unanimous in placing the ultimate blame for the shootings on the war hysteria generated by the Johnson administration. "The assassin was probably mentally deranged," said Dorothy Healy, spokesman for the Communist Party, "but the society we live in was really responsible." All those who call for continuing and extending the war in Vietnam are establishing a social climate in which violence against dissenters is acceptable, she said.

Dr. Isidor Ziferstein, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, pointed out that labeling dissenters as communists makes them outlaws in our society. Like the liberation fighters in Vietnam, the dissenters at home become objects of all the violence that war is habituating us to. Our deadly peril, he warned, is that the American people will become drugged into accepting the ultimate violence of nuclear war to smash communism.

### Violence Futile

"Unless mankind itself is destroyed, violence will never halt the march to socialism," Derrel Myers, speaking for the Young Socialist Alliance, told the audience. Recounting his own experience in coming to the socialist movement, he pointed to the other youths who are taking the same road. "The perpetrators of violence cannot deter us," he said, "because they do not understand the depth of our commitment or the height of our aspirations."

Clara James of the Southside Citizens Defense Committee, which is centered in the Los Angeles ghetto, said she was looking to the unity of all forces fighting for peace and civil rights. She offered the aid of the Citizens Defense



Timothy Wheeler

Committee to any organization threatened by rightist attack.

The Detroit shooting was linked to the bombings of the DuBois Clubs and the Vietnam Day Committee headquarters by several speakers. Robert Himmel, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, said only luck prevented deaths and injury in those bombings. And assassins could just as easily invade the headquarters of the Socialist Party or Communist Party. All socialists, freedom fighters and opponents of the war are potential targets, he warned.

The murder of freedom fighters in the South was discussed by Marv Davidson, member of the Committee for Non-violent Action. There, too, he said, the atmosphere engendered by a racist society gave license to the slayers of Medgar Evers and others. The military mind that reports its daily "body count" and "kill ratio" in

(Continued on Page 4)



Leo Bernard

## Sanity Hearing Set for Detroit Killer

DETROIT — A sanity commission has been ordered for Edward Waniolek, arrested for the May 16 shooting of three young socialists in the local headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. Waniolek, described by his wife as "obsessed by communism," killed Leo Bernard, a member of the SWP, and seriously wounded two other young men.

Jan Garrett, Wayne County chairman of the SWP, is now recuperating at the home of his parents. He is in a body cast from his waist to his toes and will require a great deal of care for a prolonged period of time. The third victim, Young Socialist Alliance member Walter Graham, is still listed in serious condition at Receiving Hospital. He has already undergone several operations and it is not known when he will be released from the hospital.

A preliminary hearing on Waniolek was adjourned until June 8 when the sanity commission will issue its report on whether the defendant can legally be tried for murder.

An emergency fund has been set up with two Wayne State University faculty members serving as co-chairmen. Checks for the fund should be made out and sent to: Emergency Medical Fund for Bernard, Garrett and Graham, c/o English Dept., Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich., 48202.

# THE MILITANT

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Monday, June 6, 1966

## Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, Malcolm X Speaks, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

### Installment 27

#### ON GOING BACK TO AFRICA

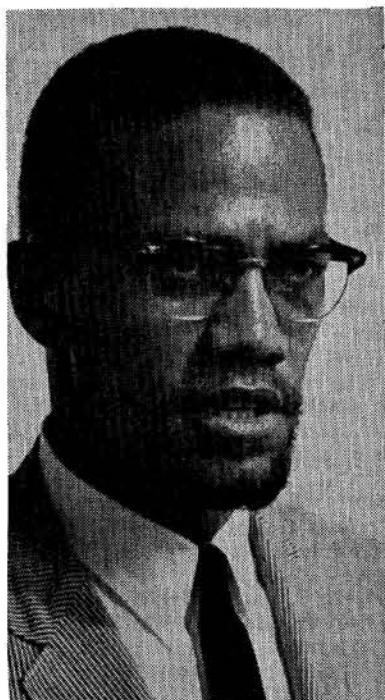
Malcolm was asked how he thought Afro-Americans would be received by the Africans if they should go back to Africa.

**Malcolm:** After lengthy discussions with many Africans at all levels, I would say some would be welcome and some wouldn't be welcome. Those that have a contribution to make would be welcome, but those that have no contribution to make would not be welcome; I don't think any of us, if we look at it objectively, could find fault with that.

And I believe this, that if we migrated back to Africa culturally, philosophically and psychologically, while remaining here physically, the spiritual bond that would develop between us and Africa through this cultural, philosophical and psychological migration, so-called migration, would enhance our position here, because we would have our contacts with them acting as roots or foundations behind us. You never will have a foundation in America. You're out of your mind if you think that this government is ever going to back you and me up in the same way that it backed others up. They'll never do it. It's not in them.

As an example, take the Chinese. You asked me about Red China. The Chinese used to be disrespected. They used to use that expression in this country: "You don't have a Chinaman's chance." You remember that? You don't hear it lately. Because a Chinaman's got more chance than they have now. Why? Because China is strong. Since China became strong and independent, she's respected, she's recognized. So that wherever a Chinese person goes, he is respected and he is recognized. He's not respected and recognized because of what he as an individual has done; he is respected and recognized because he has a country behind him, a continent behind him. He has some power behind him. They don't respect him, they respect what's behind him.

By the same token, when the African continent in its independence is able to create the unity that's necessary to increase its



Malcolm X

strength and its position on this earth, so that Africa too becomes respected as other huge continents are respected, then, wherever people of African origin, African heritage or African blood go, they will be respected — but only when and because they have something much larger that looks like them behind them.

With that behind you, you will get some respect. Without it behind you, you can do almost anything under the sun in this society — pass any kind of law that Washington can think of — and you and I will still be trying to get them to enforce that law. We'll be like that Chinaman about whom they used to say, "He doesn't have a Chinaman's chance." Now you don't have a Negro's chance. But with Africa getting its independence, you and I will have more of a chance. I believe in that 100 percent.

And this is what I mean by a migration or going back to Africa — going back in the sense that we reach out to them and they reach out to us. Our mutual understanding and our mutual effort toward a mutual objective will bring mutual benefit to the African as well as to the Afro-American. But you will never get it just relying on Uncle Sam alone. You are looking to the wrong direction. Because the wrong people are in Washington, D.C., and I mean from the White House right on down. I hope I don't step on anybody's toes by saying that. I didn't vote for him, so I can say it. (HARYOU-ACT forum for Domestic Peace Corps members, Harlem, Dec. 12, 1964.)

### Clemency Granted

Conceding to international protests, the Shah of Iran commuted the death sentence of one of the three Iranian students whose condemnations were reported in this column two weeks ago. Following the release, Jean-Paul Sartre issued a statement which was published in the Paris daily *Le Monde*:

"The young Iranian patriot, Mr. K. Bodjnourdi," Sartre stated, "has just been granted his life. This act, of immense gratification to us, must not cause us to forget that the situation of the political prisoners in Iran remains as tragic as ever.

"The lives of two other Iranians, Hekmatdjou and Khavari, accused of belonging to the Tudeh Party and of espionage, are in danger. The Committee to Defend the Iranian Political Prisoners asks all those in France who believe in democracy to appeal to the Iranian authorities in order to save these two human lives."

### Marathon

Reuters news service reported May 22 that 10,000 Greeks had marched the famous 27 miles from Marathon to Athens in protest against the Vietnamese war. They were joined by a crowd of over 30,000 at the Athens stadium where the demonstration ended.

Stanley Orme, a member of the British Parliament, read a message from 60 of his Labor Party colleagues, expressing the hope that in 1966 "we can see an end to the bloody war in Vietnam with a full implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreement."

### Universal Feeling

In Australia, the news of the first death of an Australian draftee in Vietnam was heralded by banner headlines around the country and sparked a new wave of antiwar protests. (Until recently, the bulk of the Australian forces in Vietnam were regular army men.) The victim's name

was Pvt. Errol Wayne Noack, 21.

Meanwhile, the *New York Times* reports from "highly reliable" sources May 26 that Sweden has refused to sell arms to the U.S. because of widespread opposition to American policy in Vietnam. The ruling Swedish Social Democratic Party opposes the war and calls for a solution including negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

### Business Trip

Three months after the right-wing military coup which ousted Ghana's anti-imperialist president Kwame Nkrumah, a four-man Ghanaian economic delegation visited this country with rather spectacular results. According to press releases from the Ghana Information Services, they arrived in this country May 14.

First off they made the "diplomatic rounds" in Washington, including the International Monetary Fund. Arriving in New York May 18, they spent the following morning at the United Nations. In the early afternoon they held sessions with the senior economic correspondent of the *New York Times*, and later with officials of the Union Carbide corporation.

On May 20, they met with W. H. Beatty, vice president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, William Miller, president of the Chase International Investment Corporation and with other banking organizations. The same day, E. N. Omaboe, head of the Ghanaian delegation, announced that the financial problems which had plagued the Nkrumah regime in its final months had been solved.

An emergency loan of \$36.4 million from the IMF would stave off immediate problems. Subsequent arrangements, Omaboe stated, had been made for refinancing \$800 million worth of commercial debt obligations.

### Friendly Advice

Meanwhile, the May 12 number of South Africa's *Business Report* informs us that Dr. Anton Rupert,

the South African industrial magnate, had addressed the Detroit Economic Club the same week. Rupert advised the American businessmen of the profitability of investment in his country.

Last year, Rupert pointed out, U.S. investment in South Africa had realized the fantastic average of 12.6 per cent, as against only 6.6 percent in Western Europe, and 5.5 percent in the world. One company, he stated, not mentioning names, returned a 26 percent yield.

How was it possible? Without going into details, Rupert said that one of the factors responsible for South Africa's prosperity was that she had a "philosophy of economic activity similar to that of the United States."

—Dick Roberts

## Bread and Puppet Theater Is Star of N.Y. Antiwar March

By Ron Wolin

NEW YORK — A unique demonstration against the war in Vietnam, in the form of a funeral procession through the streets of midtown New York, was held on Memorial Day by Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam and the Bread and Puppet Theatre. About 60 members and supporters of both groups participated.

The procession was led by a single file of 20 women wearing stark white death masks, white sheets and sandals. The women hummed a single-note mournful tone, which along with the intermittent clanging of a large cymbal created the effect of a death knell.

Following the women were a dozen veterans and reservists in dark suits and black ties carrying a large black mock casket with a sign reading: "American dead: 4,000 — Vietnamese dead: 1,300,000 plus."

Other veterans distributed 3,000 leaflets which summed up the purpose of the demonstration in these words: "In dedication to the memory of the more than four thousand American dead in Vietnam and the more than one million Vietnamese men, women and children who have been killed since their struggle for independence began two decades ago . . . let each of us this Memorial Day commit himself to reverence for life and working in every way possible to bring this horrible war to an end."

The demonstration caught most of the holiday strollers and tourists by surprise. The general crowd reaction was one of curiosity, awe and silence, rather than counter-demonstration and jeering. Some spectators joined the procession along the route.

## Harlem CORE Hits Viet War

NEW YORK — The Harlem chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality has issued a resolution denouncing U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam and calling for the immediate withdrawal of all American troops. Roy Innis, chairman of the chapter, announced that the resolution was passed unanimously.

The eight-point resolution charges that the draft had been rigged so that Negroes were drafted out of proportion to their numbers and that Negro casualties were out of proportion to their numbers in the army and in the general population.

"Negro tax moneys that should be used to help the black people are being diverted to Vietnam," the resolution charges. It condemns the "racist nature of the war and the inhuman uses of hideous weapons — such as gas."

### Socialist Education Fund

## Two Weeks to Go

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Director

There are just two weeks to go before the end of the Socialist Education Fund drive. We ask all our friends to keep the date — June 15 — firmly in mind and send in their contributions so that when the final scoreboard is published, it will show at least 100 percent.

Boston has already gone over the top, and Minneapolis-St. Paul have paid in full, with a promise of at least \$200 more. Milwaukee has also indicated that it intends to go over its quota.

It has been impossible, because of space problems, to thank each and every individual contributor

in this column. But each of them will receive a personal letter.

The need to collect the entire \$21,000 is more vital today than it has ever been. The tragic experience we have had in Detroit, the murder of one comrade and the serious injury to two others, makes it imperative that we step up our efforts to provide an antidote to the poison of the capitalist news media and the Johnson administration. There is only one such antidote — and that is the truth.

Send your contribution to the Socialist Education Fund, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

### Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$1,200	1,212	101
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	1,000	100
San Francisco	900	849	94
St. Louis	150	131	87
Chicago	1,800	1,540	86
San Diego	200	171	86
Detroit	1,400	1,089	78
Cleveland	1,000	755	76
Newark	150	104	70
Philadelphia	300	209	70
Allentown	175	119	68
New York	5,800	3,666	63
Milwaukee	400	204	50
Seattle	500	250	50
Los Angeles	4,400	1,778	40
Oakland-Berkeley	900	296	33
Denver	125	26	21
General	600	443	72
Total through June 1	\$21,000	\$13,842	66

### Weekly Calendar

#### CHICAGO

TWO VIEWS: THE NEW COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM — AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM? Debaters: James Kennedy, for; Howard Follette, against. Fri., June 10, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

#### NEW YORK

PETER SCHUMANN'S BREAD & PUPPET THEATER presents "FIRE." Fri., June 10, 8:30 p.m. & 10:00 p.m. Doors close when performance begins. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### Socialism on Trial

By James P. Cannon

Transcript of testimony in first Smith Act trial

\$1

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# "I Count Leo Bernard As My Comrade"

## Speeches Made At N.Y. Meeting

### John Fuerst

[The following is the speech to the New York memorial meeting by John Fuerst].

When Leo Bernard was killed we all lost a comrade. Leo Bernard was not killed because of the faction he belonged to. He was not killed because of his own brand of socialism. Rather, Leo Bernard was killed because he stood for and fought for the very same things all of us stand for and fight for.

He was killed because of his opposition to the bloody and counter-revolutionary war in Vietnam. He was killed because of his opposition to American racism, which economically and politically exploits its minorities.

More importantly, he was killed because he stood for an America free from exploitation, and an America in which all people will be free to make the decisions which control their lives.

Leo Bernard's death could have been any of our deaths. No one man should be blamed for his death. His killer was insane and not responsible for his actions. Yet his killer's insanity was not something alien to the American system. It was not something that placed him beyond the pale of his neighbors and friends.

If anything, the assassin of Leo Bernard represented the American ideology carried to its logical conclusion. And if anyone is to be blamed for Leo Bernard's death, the blame must fall on that American ideology and those who propagate it and profit by it. One of the greatest tragedies of the events in Detroit, and one of the greatest ironies, is that Leo Bernard and his two fellow socialists were trying to build a society where men like the cabbie who shot at them could live in freedom from exploitation and oppression.

And one of the most terrifying things about the America we live in is that men like the cabbie who killed Leo Bernard could act the way they do. America has been able to teach its population to fight a war which is not their own war. And America has somehow taught the population to believe the war is their war. America has taught its population to accept as legitimate and democratic leaders people who exploit the population and profit by their labor.

And this is the system we have to change, a system that sends people to Vietnam to fight a war which is not their war. A system that houses millions of its people in slums and is somehow able to propagate the myth that the slums don't really exist, or if they exist, it's the fault of the slum dwellers. A system which sends

millions of its children to bad schools, and then somehow propagates the myth, and propagates it successfully, that the children are somehow naturally stupid and don't deserve anything better.

If Leo's death is to mean anything to us, we must begin to fight the system that killed him. We must begin to talk to people about who really profits from wars in Vietnam, about why they live in slums, about why they aren't able to receive decent educations. We must talk to people about a new society — a socialist society, a society they will be able to control for their own interests.

SDS extends its deepest sympathies to the family of Leo Bernard, and to his comrades in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. May it never happen to us again.

### James Silver

[The following are excerpts from the speech of James Silver, national field secretary of the Student Peace Union].

I don't think I have to say that I'm deeply grieved by Mr. Bernard's death, but I'm not going to talk about that tonight. I'm going to try to tell you what happened to Addison Wilkins [the former national office manager of the SPU who was shot to death in Richmond, Virginia].

Again, I'm sorry about Mr. Bernard, I'm sorry about Addison Wilkins. I believe if we begin to act now we can put a stop to political assassinations. Because otherwise this country is going to be going as rightist as during the McCarthy era, and I'm sure none of us want this.

### David Lynne

[The following is the speech of David Lynne, representing the League for Socialist Action of Canada.]

Often, Canadian radicals tend to view the United States as one mass of reaction. The anti-communist hysteria generated by the American State Department seems at first glance, to find no opposition among the American public.

Thus, it has been a tremendous source of inspiration for us to see the growth of the movement against the war in Vietnam in the United States itself — to know that there are thousands and thousands of American youth with the courage and conviction to say no to Johnson's consensus. This has enabled us to redouble our efforts to build a saner world. We have followed your example and taken your lead in fighting this genocidal war.

We are inspired by your example because we know that when the forces of sanity triumph in the United States, when the people of the U.S. throw off the most powerful ruling class in the world, then no force on earth will be able to stop the winds of change from sweeping this planet, bringing peace and plenty for the first time in history.

We know that in this new American radical movement is the embryo of the force that will change the world. Leo Bernard was murdered because he was helping to build this force, because he was fighting against war and oppression, poverty and ignorance, hatred and fear.

He was shot down because he was a socialist, not poisoned and corrupted by American capitalism. His murder will not go unchallenged. We will answer this vicious act by increasing our efforts to end the system which brought about his death. Leo Bernard fought for socialism, and it is the final victory of socialism in the U.S., in Canada and around the world that will provide the greatest possible tribute to his memory.

### Harold Greenberg

[The following is the speech of Harold Greenberg, representative of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America.]

The W.E.B. DuBois Clubs deplore the murder of Leo Bernard and the shooting of Jan Garrett and Walter Graham. Leo Bernard was killed by a fanatical anti-communist. He was killed by an individual who reflected the fanatical anti-communist foreign policy of the Johnson administration — a policy which has killed thousands of freedom fighters in Vietnam, in Santo Domingo, in the Congo, in South Africa, in short, throughout the entire world. It is a foreign policy that threatens the very existence of us all.

This foreign policy has met with increasing opposition from the American people. The atrocities and aggression in Vietnam have been militantly opposed by the American people. And Leo Bernard was very active in this opposition.

As you all know, incidents like these have occurred in San Francisco with the bombing and complete destruction of the national headquarters of the DuBois Club; in Manhattan, with the explosion in the Worker building; in Brooklyn, with the vicious attack on the DuBois Clubs members; and in Richmond, with the brutal murder of Addison Wilkins, peace worker for the Student Peace Union.

At times like these, we must not be intimidated by the insane accusations of the ultra-right which spur these maniacs to act. We must go ahead and convince the public that the government's dirty war in Vietnam is related to its complete lack of action on the home front, to combat these attacks and, in many cases, to instigate these very attacks.

We of the DuBois Clubs feel now is the time to act. We cannot sit back and mourn the deaths of our fellow workers. They would not want us to do this. These bombings, these attacks, these murders, show us the great sickness which exists in this country. The only way we can cure this disease is to fight it with more protests, more rallies, more marches on Washington, more workers in the South.

And when the American public sees the great injustices in this country and finally acts according to its conscience, then we can say that Leo Bernard and people like him have not died in vain.

### Harry Nier

[The following are excerpts from the speech of Harry Nier, Denver civil liberties and civil rights attorney].

I didn't have the opportunity to know Leo Bernard, Jan Garrett or Walter Graham. However I do



Harold Greenberg

## Speech by Representative Of Communist Party

[The following is the text of the speech delivered at the New York memorial meeting for Leo Bernard by Timothy Wheeler, representing the New York State Communist Party.]

I want to add my voice, and the voice of my party, to those voices that have already been raised tonight so eloquently in outrage against the brutal slaying of Leo Bernard.

I feel compelled to speak to you tonight as a representative of the new generation of youth, because the murder of Leo Bernard is, in large part, an attack on our generation. And it is not without accident that the fascists have seen fit to attack our generation.

It is because our generation has supplied the shock troops of the civil rights movement. And we have poured into the peace movement and supplied forces in unparalleled numbers, so that now we have the strongest and most united peace movement that this country has ever seen.

It is because Leo Bernard was young that his hopes and his aspirations were not bound by other people's sense of what was possible. And for that reason he was able to become committed to the very highest dream of all mankind, which is socialism. And it is because he was committed to that dream that I count Leo Bernard as my comrade.

And therefore I address myself to those among us — and I notice there are large numbers among us — who are young and who are of our generation. And I say to you that the best tribute that we can pay to the memory of Leo Bernard is to consolidate ourselves within our generation. To pour into the student movements, to build our base on every campus, to get among trade union youth, and swell this youth movement into a force that no mere mad gunman can stop.

know that wherever the struggle for peace, the struggle for freedom in Denver takes place, their comrades are either playing a supporting role or are in the lead. And, being an attorney, I've had the opportunity to become acquainted with them.

And I know that these boys were very militant, were at the head of this struggle. And I also know that this setback — as has always happened in history — will merely intensify the struggles of all those that are associated with them. And I want to classify myself as being in this struggle with all of you in this audience.

In human history, we all know that when setbacks do take place — and I believe this was the first assassination of anybody in the peace movement — the struggle does intensify. I anticipate that will happen . . .

This killing will cause the struggle all over the country to intensify. Where there's a human element, where the morale is high within the movement, it will intensify. And that, I think, is the lesson to be learned all throughout history — that man makes his own history as a result of the human element and as a result of going ahead regardless of intimidation.

### Dave Dellinger

[The following are excerpts from the memorial speech by Dave Dellinger, editor of Liberation.]

One of the things I couldn't help notice in the death of Leo Bernard and the shooting of his two comrades was the way this tragedy was handled by the press. It reminded me of the way the Southern papers handle the killing of Negroes who are thought to be, basically, obscure, if not inferior. . . .

Leaving aside for the moment that in my view no human being is obscure or inferior, Leo Bernard was a member of a great movement. He was an open and dedicated communist. Not just in the sense that anyone these days who stands for social justice and freedom and human dignity is accused of being a communist. But also in the sense that he was dedicated to an over-all vision and active in an organization working to put that vision into practice.

Now, it is said that the man

who killed Leo Bernard had a disordered mind. Other speakers have pointed out the sense in which the common, dominant psychology of our country is disordered. And could anyone think of a person who, from the point of view of basic human values and responsibilities, has a more disordered mind than Lyndon B. Johnson?

And in a sense, the murderer in this case is more logical than those who would wash their hands of the crime. Because it simply doesn't make sense to draw artificial international boundaries and to say, it is alright to kill communists over there and even to napalm little children who might in some way or other be related to communists, and say, but we can't kill them over here . . .

I just want to say one other thing which may not be so easy to see in this tragedy. But I could not speak from my heart tonight, as I am motivated to do by this death, without pointing out that violence as a method must be expunged from our ways. Because, just as Leo Bernard was a conscientious and dedicated communist, so the country has many dedicated anti-communists. And would we now in retaliation go out and shoot one of them to get even? Obviously not.

And as we have been pointing out, the sporadic violence which is coming into play in the case of Addison Wilkins, Leo Bernard, the bombings and so forth — this is connected with the organized violence of our country. I think that all of us who want to be real revolutionaries must face the fact that there is a time when organized violence must be repudiated by the revolutionary movement, just as sporadic and retaliatory violence is.

Now, the problem is that politics tend to become very abstract and remote to us if we lose sight of the victims. And it is terrible, in a sense, to draw any good thing out of an evil act and a tragic death. And yet we must, and through the death of our Comrade Leo Bernard, find that the victims become more real to us — the victims in Vietnam, the victims in the Dominican Republic, the victims in the ghettos, the victims everywhere. And we must be more concrete and more dedicated and more unified in our activities.

If all the unity which is dis- (Continued on Page 4)



John Fuerst

# 'The Death of Leo Bernard Has Been

(Continued from Page 3)  
played here tonight in the messages and the speakers — a unity in death — can be transferred to a unity in life, a unity to go on and transcend our very real differences, to fight within our own frameworks and also to fight in unity with all others, then Leo Bernard certainly will not have died in vain.

## James Aronson

[The following is the text of the speech of James Aronson, editor of the National Guardian.]

I would like to speak as a newspaperman and as a radical. First as a newspaperman and, I guess, a journalist of a certain stripe, I cannot have access to all daily newspapers and those in New York, as you know, have been severely restricted in the last weeks. But I am not aware of any editorial expression of outrage or alarm in any daily newspaper over the murder of Leo Bernard and the shooting of Jan Garrett and Walter Graham. As a matter of fact the story, except perhaps in Detroit, was what we used to call in the trade a one-day wonder. And I am not at all surprised.

I do not intend to be here to make a moral preaching of the press. For an audience of this kind, gathered at this memorial, it would add little to your already bountiful knowledge of the traits of the newspapers that you are forced to read. The true wonder is that there is enough feeling and enough scepticism in the people of this country to break out of the boiler-plated structures of the press. If the shock such a murder as Bernard's can produce is not openly expressed, I am persuaded still that it is there, in a numbed way, just as there must be a latent shock over the mass murder which our government is committing in Vietnam.

Now, how do we turn this into an open cry, as must one day happen? I can advise only a relentless concentration on exposing the main source and inspiration of this awfulness — whether it occurs on an individual or a mass basis. And I refer, of course, to the policies and practices of the government of the United States.

Now, speaking as a radical, I would like in this connection, to say a few words about a fellow journalist for whose reportorial curiosity and zeal I have the highest regard, if not always for his conclusions. I speak of I. F. Stone. And I wish to emphasize that I speak to the point of view and not to the man.

Now, Stone thinks the United States should get out of Vietnam and so do I. But Stone, as he expressed it at a meeting in Manhattan Center last Monday night when he spoke with A. J. Muste and Isaac Deutscher, whose message

you heard tonight, also believes, as he put it, that the Vietnamese are just as aggressive and ill-behaved as Americans, and more racist. Those are his words.

I disagree emphatically. Any nation, Stone said, is capable of great cruelties and wars. And the USA not more than others, except that it has more sophisticated means of destruction. The war in Vietnam, said Stone, is a problem for all mankind and not just for the USA. Now I submit to you that this is much too facile and too diverting.

Of course all wars are a problem for all mankind. But the war in Vietnam is a U.S. war imposed on a whole people that detests war. If the people of Vietnam, in their struggle for liberation and their defense against the bestiality of the invader, are forced to respond with arms and to kill, it is the strangest kind of illogic and sophistry to balance each side on the scales of aggression and violence.

If seeking to expel a white invader makes a brown man a racist, then heaven help the Muse of history.

Now, as much as I deplore war

and as much as I shy from violence, I cannot accept the thesis that a war fought for people's liberation brutalizes that people. I have, for example, seen Cuba for myself. And I think that David Dellinger, who was my companion on that trip, will verify that statement.

Harden them, yes. Steel them, yes. But having seen the letters from ordinary people in Vietnam about Alice Hertz or Norman Morrison or Roger LaPorte, do we know what they have said about Leo Bernard, or will say? I think I know. It will be a message of love and sadness and yet hope. Not brutality.

The Stone approach is the kind of sweeping evangelism that stifles militancy. And it is no wonder that he advised the radical peace movement last summer to be silenced and to stop making it harder for those who, in his opinion, were in a position — an acceptable one, I imagine — to counter the policy of the administration.

Now, as I said, I do not mean to single out the person here as much as a philosophy at this most critical juncture of our history. But the clinical case history is

much too symptomatic to be ignored.

If the war in Vietnam is a problem for all mankind, it is, first of all, a problem for Americans. And no American who has any insight into the problem can dodge the responsibility of raising his voice. And no one has the right to exclude him from the ranks of dissenters. If the splitters and the exclusionists prevails, the aggressors will succeed. And if they do, Leo Bernard will have lived his short life in a vain hope. Let us not bury that hope with Leo Bernard.

## A. J. Muste

[The following are excerpts from the speech of A. J. Muste, chairman of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.]

There are two reasons I want to speak tonight . . . One of them is to say that an honor I regard it to be asked to be here on this occasion and to stand here and to bow my head in gratitude and deep reverence for Leo Bernard as a person and for the genera-

tion of our antiwar youth of which he is a symbol . . .

It has been remarked that the assassin's deed was that of an irrational man. It has also been suggested that it would be miraculous if irrational deeds of that kind did not take place in the environment in which we are living today, when the policy of the national administration could very well be described as looking for some communists to shoot — hunting them and hunting anyone who speaks the word "peace" in south Vietnam as supposed enemies of democracy.

As a matter of fact, the administration has descended to an even lower level of irrationality than that because it is backing up a military junta and Ky, while Ky excuses himself from the job of hunting alleged communists on behalf of democracy in order to shoot his own people and soldiers of his own army. How a regime could get more irrational or more bereft of ordinary common sense as to continue to support such a dictator is a difficult thing to understand . . .

Now, lastly, this meeting is a remarkable one and is a symbol

# . . . Memorial Meetings Across Cou

(Continued from Page 1)

Vietnam, encourages the killer instinct in deranged racists like the Detroit assassin, he pointed out.

Many messages of condolence, protest and solidarity from various organizations and people were received and read at the meeting. Among them were messages from Frank Wilkinson of the Emergency Civil Rights Committee; Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC; Al Wiron, Los Angeles ACLU attorney; Prof. Tim Harding and two other professors at Los Angeles State College; Lou Ciccone, President of South Gate local of the UAW; Don Freeman of CORE; and Fred Patton of the National Farm Workers Association.

A collection was taken for the benefit of the Detroit victims.

## By Phyllis Sawyer

BOSTON — The SWP and YSA held a memorial meeting here for Leo Bernard on May 26, with 80 people in attendance.

Martha Kocel of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was the first speaker. She is from Detroit and knew the three victims. "It is America," she said, "which is responsible for the deaths of those fighting for justice . . . The Great Society survives on death and hypocrisy rather than life and truth . . ."

"We will change this society so that deaths that happen in Detroit, in the South, in the ghetto and worse, in Vietnam, will no longer be allowed to happen."

James Howard of the American Friends Service Committee spoke of the long history in our country of dissent against unjust wars. "I will never fear dissent. I will never fear the antiwar movement, in fact, I welcome it."

Dave O'Brien of the Committee for Non-Violent Action read from Mark Twain's description of war fever a million years in the future and noted that it had taken only 66 years for America to fit that description. "We live in a violent and sick society. Anyone with a conscience has to act against this culture, not to participate in mass murder, in the killings . . ."

Sympathy for the family and comrades of Leo Bernard was expressed by Russ Rothman of the Progressive Labor Party. "Reaction, by its nature, fells those in the front rank of the fight for humanity and their class," he

noted. "Men are deprived and exploited and killed every day by this system. All we can do is struggle until this murderous system is abolished."

Lawrence Trainor of the SWP said of the victims, "As John Brown said 'Duty made me,' duty made them . . ."

"In the name of our martyred comrade, we are inspired to build and create a just world so that his life and actions will not have been spent in vain."

Reverend Dana Klotzle, director of the Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee, said: "We are meeting to commemorate not death, but life. How much better to have lived a life, however brief, given to the struggle for peace and justice than to have lived three score years and ten meaninglessly."

"The young militant in Detroit died because he believed in life and he believed in life for all men everywhere."

John Maher of SDS added: "Because Leo Bernard struggled and because the Vietnamese fought back, many people now understand that the sickness that killed Leo Bernard is killing hundreds in Vietnam every day . . ."

"Not all of us will live to see a world without violence or injustice, but I think that we will win."

Elliot Kenin of the DuBois Clubs said: "The last time I spoke here about the attacks on the DuBois Clubs, we all knew who might be next, but we didn't know it would be barbarism of this kind . . ."

"The YSA and the DuBois Clubs know, and the antiwar movement must learn — we must learn from the Palmer raids, the Smith Act persecutions, the murder of the Rosenbergs — the government and the system are serious."

Gus Horowitz spoke for the YSA. "It is an acceptable thing, a gentlemanly thing, an all-American thing to kill revolutionaries. . . It was this atmosphere the three victims rebelled against, and for this they were shot down . . . The best way to honor the memory of Leo Bernard is to join in the struggle he was waging."

Robert Sanders of the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam spoke last. "This system, which lives like a leech from the blood of the poor and needy, undid Leo Bernard as it has many freedom fighters of the past. Any per-

son fighting for freedom, justice and self-determination is termed a 'communist.' There is only one thing we can do — unite to build a society without hatred, against injustice, without need — a socialist society."

A collection was taken and the audience responded generously.

## By Suzanne Weiss

CHICAGO — On the platform here at the memorial meeting for Leo Bernard were Jack Spiegel, chairman of the March 26 Arrangements Committee which organized the Chicago International Days of Protest; Nahaz Rogers from ACT; Jack Kling of the Communist Party; Marilyn Levin, YSA; Bob Woods, DuBois Clubs; Clark Kissinger, SDS; and David Weber of the Socialist Workers Party. About 50 people, mostly young, attended the meeting.

"It seems to me," said Jack Kling, "that Leo Bernard is the victim of political hysteria in this country. The hysteria is not only directed against socialist-minded people or communists or revolutionists of other types, but directed against anyone who is ready to challenge or question the wrong in this system . . . It is true that sitting in this hall are people with ideological differences. We don't see eye to eye on lots of questions (and maybe it will take a long time before we get close on many questions), but I think life itself is pointing the way to all of us that on some questions we better get together."

Jack Spiegel said: "We should hold together against any attack against a Socialist, Communist, Socialist Worker, IWW member or anybody else who challenges the system. If we can keep that kind of tolerance without giving up principles, and keep united and fight together against our enemies, there will be a great future, and the death of Leo and the crippling and wounding of the others will not be in vain."

Nahaz Rogers explained: "The war in Vietnam is going on and it is killing an awful lot of innocent people, and it's killing them not only in Vietnam, as you can plainly see. It has killed a young man in Detroit named Leo Bernard whom I had the pleasure of meeting when I was in Detroit last year . . ."

The DuBois Clubs representa-

ive, Bob Woods, said: "Although my views on how to deal with current American realities probably differ somewhat from my brother Leo Bernard, I still say he is my brother and I think that is the important development. I think left unity is long overdue . . . If there is any way we can help, if there is any way we can mobilize our support, limited as it is here, we are at your disposal."

Clark Kissinger, former national secretary of SDS, said, "You build that monument [to Leo Bernard] by going out and organizing a free student union; you build that monument by organizing a tenants council in an inner city; you build that monument by organizing an antiwar group; you build that monument by organizing a political party in Lowndes County. I don't think anybody expressed it any better than Joe Hill did before he was killed, when he said, 'Don't mourn for me — organize.'"

Speaking for the SWP, David Weber pledged renewed efforts in the struggle for a socialist America and socialist world, "where every man and woman across this planet can live in enduring peace with complete freedom, with lasting security and equality for all. That was Leo's credo, and we rededicate ourselves to it tonight in this farewell to our comrade."

A collection taken for the Emergency Medical Fund resulted in \$67 for the victims. The meeting closed with the singing of the International.

## By Hal Verb

BERKELEY—About 150 people attended the memorial meeting for Leo Bernard here on May 24. The solidarity meeting was held in Stiles Hall, near the Berkeley campus, and was sponsored by the Bay Area SWP and YSA, with a broad spectrum of organizations represented.

Robert Scheer, candidate for U.S. Congress and foreign editor of *Ramparts* magazine, said: "I think the lesson of this is that if we cannot hold fast . . . this society will degenerate in a very violent and fast way . . . We're really here to demonstrate our common solidarity. We stand for much more together than that which divides us."

A representative of the striking



James Aronson

# "a Lesson in Solidarity for All of Us"

of the great hope which we have today in that so many of you of different persuasions are here in the audience, so many of different persuasions have already spoken or sent messages.

To an extent which has not been true in this country before, the antiwar movement of today is a movement of unity. It is certainly a cheering thing that this should be true here in New York, perhaps in a greater degree than anywhere else in the country.

Now, if we do not have an antiwar movement which adheres to the policy of non-exclusion insofar as politics and religion, ideology and other such considerations are concerned, if we do not have a soundly based antiwar movement, then that will be the sign that McCarthyism still exists in this country and that there is great danger that it will be revived.

It is in the degree that we have a united antiwar movement and continue to struggle for it, work in it and give whatever sacrifices that may be needed for it, to that degree we shall be destroying McCarthyism in this country.

I hope that this unity may be achieved increasingly, not only

here in the United States, but in the antiwar movement East and West. Because that, I think, will be the signal that we create not only a warless but, basically, in the old terminology, a classless world in which human beings shall be human beings and live in fraternity and in justice and in true freedom with each other.

## Pedro Juan Rua

[The following are excerpts from the speech of Pedro Juan Rua, representative of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement].

A week ago Leo Bernard, a revolutionary socialist, was brutally murdered and two of his comrades critically wounded. Tonight we meet to mourn his death.

The Vito Marcantonio Mission of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence has given me the responsibility to convey to you our understanding of the significance of this heinous action.

We are told that one Edward Waniolek who shot the bullets that killed Leo Bernard and wounded Jan Garrett and Walter Graham

is to be prosecuted. That trial will be just another whitewash as the acts of police brutality against Puerto Ricans in New York have been whitewashed. Because in all truth, it is more the Johnson's, the McNamaras, the Rusks, the Bundys, the Taylors and the rest of the rulers of this country who should stand trial for the murder of Leo Bernard and receive the highest penalty for it.

When Mr. Johnson and the U.S. monopoly capitalists say the U.S. must defend south Vietnam from communist aggression, they generate a social atmosphere that gives assistance and support to those who openly commit criminal actions for the very purpose of killing communists.

The U.S. ruling class, to be sure, has murdered hundreds of black Americans in Watts, Harlem and many other places. But it has not dared in recent years to commit open violent repression for the openly declared purpose of killing communists. That purpose is only openly voiced in south Vietnam, Santo Domingo, socialist Cuba, and the Congo — translating it into genocide and mass murder.

And the weapons itself, through its puppets throughout the world, serve to assassinate hundreds and thousands in Indonesia, Ghana, Columbia, Guatemala, Venezuela and many other countries.

But as U.S. imperialism receives more and more defeats in those countries — as it will — and as the mounting opposition to its policies develop in this country, the wave of international violence and repression it has unleashed will find its expression right here at the national level, right here in the entrails of the monster as Cuban revolutionary José Martí said in 1892.

But this understanding that at some moment violence and open repression will be manifest in this country should not serve the arguments of those liberal sectors in this country who would like to conciliate the ruling class so that it would supposedly take a milder stand toward them. When imperialist violence is openly unleashed in this country it will touch not only the socialists and the revolutionaries, but will also reach liberals and social democrats of all sorts, as in fascist Germany where first the commu-



Pedro Juan Rua

nists, then the socialists and finally the social democrats were wiped out.

Also, those who let themselves be intimidated and try to conciliate on behalf of selfish interests and in neglect of the interests of our fighting brothers throughout the world do not deserve to fight side by side with us.

The understanding that at some moment imperialist violence will be openly unleashed in this country should, instead, promote and stimulate stronger solidarity within the left wing at this level and promote a policy of mutual self-defense.

The struggling masses of the world do have differences at some levels on their policies. But this was no obstacle to their meeting in revolutionary Cuba at a tri-continental conference and for their establishing a joint policy of solidarity against imperialist violence. That lesson of Asia, Africa and Latin America must reach the American people.

As for us, the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, the only demand that we make to participate with all earnestness, effort and militancy in such a policy of mutual self-defense is that North American organizations should support sincerely our struggle for independence and national liberation.

The death of Leo Bernard, whose memory we honor tonight, has been a lesson in solidarity for all of us and the memory of his sacrifice shall assist us to strengthen our revolutionary conviction and our determination to destroy once and forever the structure of American monopoly capitalism, the number one enemy of the whole of mankind.

## Clark Foreman

[The following is the text of the speech by Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.]

Out of the tragedy of Detroit what can those of us who have not yet been assassinated, as William Worthy said we might be, learn at this time to do. I think, with those who have spoken ahead of me, that it is most heartening to see the unity of the forces of the left which have come together here tonight to pay tribute, but also to announce to the world that they are going to work in harmony, at least in self-defense, as the gentleman from Puerto Rico has said.

This is the minimum basis of mutual aid which we can give each other, and it is absolutely necessary for it to be said over and over again: We will stand together and no matter how many other such raids are happening, the only way to face the future is in unity with determination to win the fight for the people.

# Country Salute Memory of Leo Bernard

Delano grape pickers, Robert Rita, said that since the formation of the Farm Workers Association, people called them "reds" and "communists." He said: "Since the strike began, people in Delano have gotten interested in politics. We didn't get any help from the Democratic Party. We got help from the left — people like the Socialist Workers Party and we know they are behind us."

Lt. Henry Howe, U.S. officer court-martialed for his participation in an antiwar demonstration, stated: "As we have created a war machine in Saigon against the Vietnamese people, we have developed a propaganda machine in America against the people . . . The result of this is that no one is any longer permitted the luxury of non-involvement and unconcern about what is going on."

"They say it was a madman," said David Wellman of SDS, "that killed Leo Bernard. I say it was a mad society and the bullets were not only aimed at communists, but they were also aimed at dissent in our society."

Robert Himmel, a member of the national committee of the SWP, described his close association with the slain Bernard. The affair, he said, had been "a very deep personal thing" to him.

"In this period," Himmel said, "when American imperialism has reached the apex of its strength and power, the rare individuals who are ready to dedicate their lives to the struggle for a better world are not easily found. Their places will be taken. But it will be hard . . ."

"But while terror can sometimes slow down the progress of humanity toward a socialist society of freedom and brotherhood, it cannot stop it . . . We will find the forces. Today, one by one, tomorrow by the tens of thousands, forces will be found who will organize to topple this monstrous system and put an end to terror and oppression for all time."

Other speakers at the meeting were Stewart Albert of the Progressive Labor Party; Syd Stapleton, YSA; Paul Ivory, University of California assistant professor of economics; Carl Shapiro of the Marin County ACLU; Joel Geier, Independent Socialist Club; Margaret Lima, DuBois Club and Randy Rappaport of the Vietnam Day Committee.

## By Derrick Morrison

DETROIT — On May 25 a combined memorial meeting for Leo Bernard and sympathy meeting for Walter Graham and Jan Garrett was held on the Wayne State University campus. The previous Friday, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance had held a memorial meeting at Debs Hall.

The Wayne meeting, attended by 50 students and faculty members, was addressed by James Lyons of the WSU Office of Religious Affairs; Professor Henry Herrman, faculty sponsor of the campus YSA; Professor David Herreshoff of the English department; Marilyn Levin, Detroit chairman of the YSA and co-chairman of the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam; and Father Walsh, chaplain for Catholic students.

Alan Lopez, treasurer of WCEWV, served as chairman and opened the meeting by reading messages from both Graham and Garrett.

Professor Herrman, the first speaker, said that students are taking the lead in the struggle for a better world for mankind. He said that the faculty is apathetic and hides behind an academic curtain which prevents them from understanding what education really is.

Marilyn Levin related how the Negro struggle for equality and the U.S. intervention in Vietnam had figured so significantly in the development of Bernard into a revolutionary socialist. In working to put an end to the war in Vietnam, he had run as congressional candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in 1964 on an antiwar platform; had helped build the Students for a Democratic Society March on Washington in April of 1965; and had served as treasurer of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

She pointed out that the murder of Leo Bernard was not an isolated act of terrorism, but was linked with the bombings on the West Coast and the killings in the South. And she raised a very revealing question: Why was the killer allowed to go free when the city administration knew in advance that he was out to "kill communists"? Surely he would not have enjoyed such freedom

had it been known in advance that he was out to murder city officials.

Professor Herreshoff read a poem from Yeats about the Irish rebels killed in the Easter Rebellion of 1916, indicating that the killing of the rebels did not stop their ideas from spreading. He also read his own poem memorializing Leo. He then called on the audience to contribute to the Emergency Medical Fund for Bernard, Garrett and Graham. Professor Herreshoff and Dr. Paul Lowinger of the English department are co-chairmen of the fund.

Father Walsh said that, while at Wayne, he had learned from his association with students and faculty that revolutionaries are human beings. He learned that in order to change the status quo, radicals have to endure isolation and hatred by their fellow men. He said that he will try to continue in the footsteps of those who were shot down, and hoped to remember their example in the days ahead.

The last speaker, James Lyons, commented on what the other speakers had said and closed the meeting with a moment of silence.

The memorial was sponsored by the Wayne Christian Fellowship, Young Democrats, Friends of SNCC, Foreign Affairs Club, W. E. B. DuBois Club, SDS, WCEWV and YSA.

## By Barbara Gregorich

CLEVELAND — A memorial meeting for Leo Bernard was held here at Eugene V. Debs Hall on May 26. It was attended by more than 60 people, representing Cleveland's academic community, civil rights groups, and antiwar and radical movements.

Paul Lodico, representing the Young Socialist Alliance, spoke first and described Leo's life. He told of Leo's interest in biology and of his development as a socialist.

Max Schoenfield of the Socialist Party said his party wanted to protest not only the shooting of an individual, but all forms of harassment against people who hold unpopular ideas. He said that the purpose of the "Subversive Squad" in Cleveland was to in-

timidate people — to keep them from presenting ideas that run counter to those of the administration. Schoenfield declared that all groups must come to the aid of the victims and protest the slaying, for although the Socialist Workers Party was the group attacked this time, the Socialist Party or other groups might be attacked next.

Dr. Sidney Peck from the Sociology Department of Western Reserve University said: "Leo Bernard in his life was a stranger to me and remains a stranger to me in death. And yet I feel I have seen him, heard him, met him. That is because I know, appreciate and love the dedicated young people in Cleveland who speak out unafraid on the issues of the day."

Phil Bart, who represented the Communist Party, said that the murder was a symbol of the reactionary period we were living in. The greatest terror, however, he declared, remains in the South and is carried on by kinfolk of the Northern terrorists. The murders in the South are allowed to go free. This murderer must not, he said. It is necessary to fight both the murderers and those who produce them, he concluded.

Arthur Evans, chairman of the United Freedom Movement, said that the murder of Leo Bernard is symbolic of the inhuman society in which we live — a society which denies human rights to people with black skins. Black people are aware that they are not free, he said, but white students are not free either, and are just beginning to become aware of it.

Danny Rosenshine, chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam, spoke as a personal friend of Leo Bernard. He explained that one best honors Leo by building a movement that will end the war and save millions of Asians and Americans from meeting the same fate as Leo.

The final speaker was Herman Kirsch, state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. He pointed out that Leo's assassination was a political one. He raised the question: If Waniolek, the murderer, had made a statement that he wanted to kill bankers and policemen, instead of communists, would he have been allowed to roam free?

# Messages About Detroit Killing

## Message from Bertrand Russell

[Bertrand Russell, famed British philosopher and antiwar fighter, sent the following message to the New York memorial meeting for Leo Bernard.]

The murder of Leo Bernard is but a reflection of the brutalized values engendered in the United States by the pursuit of policies of exploitation, domination and atrocity in the world at large. This cruelty cannot be separated from the violence and murder inflicted upon courageous Americans who have dedicated their lives to opposing that system of exploitation which now rules in the United States.

Leo Bernard was one of those who struggled for decency and justice in America. It was precisely because of this that he was murdered. His murder is a blight on the United States, and his life must inspire us to carry on his struggle until those ruling the United States and the system they represent are finally removed from American life.

## From Betty Shabazz

[Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, had intended to speak at the New York memorial meeting for Leo Bernard, but was unable to be there. She sent the following message on behalf of herself and her six daughters.]

Death creates and leaves such a deep silence. Only time can coat the hurt that is harbored in the hearts of Leo Bernard's family. All individuals are endowed with certain responsibilities, rights and obligations to their fellow beings, regardless of their ethnic group, religious or political affiliations. One can see that there is much work to be done. Deepest sympathy.

## From Murray Kempton

[Columnist Murray Kempton, who was unable to speak as scheduled at the New York memorial meeting for Leo Bernard, sent the following statement.]

I am more sorry than I can say that I cannot come to tonight's memorial meeting for Leo Bernard. It seems to me to have been a duty made impossible by circumstance, not because what one individual says makes a difference but because, in the ancient phrase, it is a duty for all of us to stand in solidarity with the victims of political madness.

Leo Bernard's assassin, if he was his assassin, seems probably to have been deranged. But madness does not operate in isolation; its victims pick their victims from the suggestion in the air about them; their acts very often are the logical consequence of what good society wants them to believe and is then shocked and distressed when they act on that belief.

Good society does not enjoy

seeing its madmen, because it does not enjoy the spectacle of what it itself produces. Even South Africa would not accept Edward Waniolek as a citizen, because his hatred of the Negro seemed unbalanced even though it differed from that government's official hatred only in the crudity of its expression and the absolute logic of its commitment.

Poor Waniolek, if the police are telling the truth about him, caught every germ of violence, commercial or political, that was in the air about him. It is an American air; he is as much our victim as he would have been if he had been tubercular and had coughed to death in our industrial smog.

He told his wife: "I'm going to kill some communists." Is that not the instruction of the young men who stand beside parades protesting the war in Vietnam and whose banners proclaim: "Kill A Commie for Christ"? His own instruction to Bernard was "Line up against the wall." That is an echo of the gangster hero. All the people who live by talk about violence can rightly protest that they did not mean it this way; it is only entertainment.

But what is vicarious to so many Americans was real to Edward Waniolek as it was to the murderers of Malcolm X and of Mickey Schwerner. We live in a society which indulges the entertainment of being mad in public rhetoric and violent in official conduct; and it expects to enjoy peace and comfort under the illusion that every citizen can be trusted to remain sane.

Leo Bernard was in great measure the victim of an infected climate. Its share of the guilt cannot be denied until it is possible to tell the difference between the crime of Edward Waniolek and the noble deeds of the heroes of a

comic strip called "The Green Berets."

And our duty to the memory of Leo Bernard is to unite as comrades for an America from which that infection has been purged.

## From Elizabeth Sutherland

[Elizabeth Sutherland, chairman of New York SNCC, was a scheduled speaker at the New York memorial meeting for Leo Bernard. Unable to attend because of SNCC business, she sent the following statement.]

In the South, Negroes and white civil rights workers have been murdered because the racist attitude of not only the South, but the whole nation, has permitted and even encouraged such acts of violence. Leo Bernard was a victim in the same way. He was killed not by some madman, but by the whole society.

It is vitally important not to think of these murders as freaks or as far-out exceptions to the national attitude. The murderers are the administration, the mass communications system when it perpetrates administration policy and the American people who find it comfortable to think — or not to think — as that administration tells them.

President Johnson must bear a large measure of responsibility for Leo Bernard's death by attacking the "Nervous Nellies" and creating an image of dissent as being unpatriotic. But even if he were to defend the right of dissent, little would be changed.

For those words would have no more meaning than Johnson's recent expression of repugnance about racial oppression in Rhodesia and other parts of Africa. The fact is that President Johnson can make such a statement, but he will do nothing about the heavy American investments supporting the economy of South Africa. The fact is that we are up against an enemy which can talk out of both sides of its mouth. We must recognize exactly what the nature of that enemy is and muster our united strength against it.

The murderer of Leo Bernard is the same creature which encourages murder in Mississippi, which keeps the poor from controlling the anti-poverty programs, which sustains discontent in Watts, which sends troops to the Dominican Republic and Vietnam.

That creature is the octopus of international racist capitalism with the U.S. at its head. The tentacles of that octopus must be broken one by one.

## From Mexico

[From the Marxist Workers League, Mexican section of the Fourth International.]

The political assassination of Comrade Leo Bernard and the grave wounds inflicted on Comrades Jan Garrett and Walter Graham on May 16 in Detroit, reflect the level that has been reached in the pseudo-patriotic, pro-war hysteria of the dominant class in the United States against all those who, in ever-growing numbers, oppose the criminal war against the people of Vietnam.

Among the first North Americans to oppose the dirty war unleashed on Vietnam by Yankee imperialism were the comrades of the SWP and the YSA, and they have remained in the vanguard of this fight, which inexorably advances in the very center of imperialism itself.

Comrade Leo Bernard fought for a free and socialist America, for a socialist world. We profoundly feel the tragedy of his death at a mere 27 years of age. He will be a martyr not only to the North American working people, but to all the exploited of the world.

The example of Comrades Ber-

## Message from Herbert Aptheker

[The following statement was sent to the New York memorial meeting for Leo Bernard by Herbert Aptheker, director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies and a prominent spokesman for the Communist Party.]

The assassination of Leo Bernard, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, was the product of the psychotic anti-Communist line that has dominated United States foreign policy since the end of World War II. Such a Hitlerian policy eventuated in that war and the slaughter of scores of millions of people; its reincarnation here produces such atrocities as the Vietnam war and the murder of young Bernard.

Differences are minute in the face of the overwhelming agreements that should bind together all opponents of the ultra-right and imperialist aggression. May the martyrdom of Bernard help those who live to put aside their squabbles and antagonism, and struggle the more selflessly, the more effectively and the more vigorously in behalf of those purposes dear to Leo Bernard: an end to racism, colonialism and war; the coming of fraternity, equality, peace and socialism.

nard, Garrett and Graham will make us struggle even more firmly in our own fight for a free and socialist Mexico.

To you, and the friends of Comrade Bernard, we reiterate our heartfelt condolences. And to Comrades Garrett and Graham, we wish a rapid recovery.

## From David Horowitz

[David Horowitz is author of the book, *The Free-World Colossus*, and is active in the British anti-war movement.]

We have all been deeply shocked by the brutal murder of Leo Bernard and the wounding of his comrades Jan Garrett and Walter Graham. We are conscious here in Europe how much we owe these young fighters for socialism and peace; how much of our future, of the world's future, depends on them, on their courage and their strength. Leo Bernard was struck down in the front line. You are all in the front line. You all stand face to face with the most destructive and in many ways the most sick society on earth. The savage and demented violence which killed Leo Bernard is the same savage and demented violence which is killing Vietnam; the same savage and demented violence which threatens us all.

On you and your struggle, on the struggle which Leo Bernard left unfinished, depends not only the healing of a diseased America, but the health of a torn and bleeding world. May your sorrow steel you to return to the struggle, not to be intimidated, but to strive even as Leo Bernard strove to redeem the promise of a better future for mankind.

## From Irving Howe

[Irving Howe is a professor at Hunter College, a literary critic and editor of *Dissent* magazine.]

I was deeply shocked and saddened by the murder of Leo Bernard. If we create an atmosphere in this country in which violence becomes the norm, and the bombing of helpless people with napalm an accepted part of political life, then the kind of insane killing of which your young comrade was the victim is certain to be encouraged. I wish to express my fraternal sympathy with Leo Bernard's family and friends, and my intense anger that such things can happen in this country.

## From Hal Levin

[A faculty member at Brooklyn College, Hal Levin is an independent nominee for Congress on a program of opposition to the Vietnam war.]

Leo Bernard was murdered by the ruling establishment. A government whose official ideology is "anti," and whose foreign policy is genocide, cannot help but encourage hate and violence at home.

The threats against the peace movement began with heckling, then paint-smearing, then beatings and bombings and now the taking of human life. One of us has fallen; we must all work even harder to make up for the void. Let us also mourn for Edward Waniolek whose poor demented mind was further poisoned by Johnson's rotten society.

## From Carl and Anne Braden

[Carl and Anne Braden are co-directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a South-wide civil rights group.]

The House Un-American Activities Committee and similar agencies are largely responsible for the anti-communist fanaticism that resulted in the tragic death of Leo Bernard. Let us intensify our efforts to clear the air of this foulness, lest we have a repetition of Germany under Hitler.

## From Willard Uphaus

[Willard Uphaus is executive director of World Fellowship, Inc., and is a veteran of the fight for peace and civil liberties.]

I wish to raise my voice with all those who attend and speak at the memorial meeting for Leo Bernard in New York this Friday. The tragic death of this gallant young fighter for peace dramatizes the dangerous drift toward violence heaped on those who dissent from the inhuman and illegal intervention of our country in Vietnam.

Our country's madness cannot help but increase the number of disordered minds that turn to violence. We shall keep the final sacrifice of Leo Bernard before all those who come to our peace center this summer. We will try to deepen the determination of all to rid this country of the spirit of the witchhunt and to strengthen their efforts for peace and freedom.

## Message from Isaac Deutscher

[The following message was sent to the New York memorial meeting for Leo Bernard by Isaac Deutscher, the distinguished historian and biographer of Stalin and Trotsky.]

The man who on May 16 appeared at the Detroit headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and with the cry, "You are all Communists," fired at Leo Bernard, Walter Graham and Jan Garrett — that man may have been an unbalanced individual, but he epitomizes a prevalent political lunacy. His mind has been unbalanced by the intense and long-lasting, official and unofficial, anti-communist indoctrination.

He is a kind of a poor cousin, or a poor nephew, of the late James Forrestal, except that he murdered instead of committing suicide. He was fighting his own little war against the "Vietcong" of Detroit. That is how he must have seen his deed.

The frightening part of it is that the assassin is a poor man, a taxicab driver. In this respect, too, he epitomizes something larger than himself, namely the disorientation of poor people, of workers who cannot tell foe from friend, who act in such an absent-minded and murderous way against their own class interests in various fields.

There is only one way to properly commemorate your fallen comrade, Leo Bernard. You must do all you can in order to open the eyes of America's poor people and workers to their real interests, their class interests, to destroy the social conditions and the political atmosphere that breed the murderous anti-communist maniac.

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AND  
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# Letters From Our Readers

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

## Urgent Need for Solidarity

Waltham, Mass.  
As you can see, I have enclosed a subscription blank for *The Militant*, but I am writing this letter in addition because I have to say something about the tragic murder of Leo Bernard. Incidents like this and like the bombings on the West Coast must — if we want to

salvage even the smallest drop of good from the personal fear and collective sorrow they immerse us in — serve to unite the Movement more firmly in its fight to freedom and justice.

Intimidation will not stop us. I have only to examine my own conscience and the faces of my fellow activists to know that, but I fervently wish that our feelings of solidarity could outlast the duration of our sadness and shock. There is all too much internal feuding in "normal" times — an atrocity like the present one makes me realize that. Our philosophical differences are important, but not new. Now we must close ranks immediately and in earnest.

As a human being and a socialist, I extend my sympathy to the family of Leo Bernard and to Jan Garrett and Walter Graham. I do not agree with you ideologically on many points; I will probably never be a member of your organization. But our basic values are identical. I applaud your courage and your sincerity, and I pledge my comradeship to our common struggle.

In solidarity and hope,

S.S.

## Shocked and Angered

Chicago, Ill.  
I want to express my shock and sense of anger at the recent murder committed at the SWP branch in Detroit. The U.S. ruling class is just as responsible for this foul crime as for what its saner henchmen are doing around the world from Bolivia to Vietnam.

It is the fanatic campaign of anti-communism carried on intensively by the press and all other media which motivated the killer. A deranged person failed to distinguish what is sanctioned and rewarded abroad from what the ruling class wishes done at present on the domestic front.

The real criminals will escape for the moment, but this is one more act which will neither be forgotten nor forgiven by the workers of America.

Robert Potter

## Black Panther Report

Hayneville, Ala.  
This is a report on the mass meeting May 3, 1966, Lowndes County, Hayneville, Alabama. This mass meeting of the Lowndes County, Hayneville, Alabama. This held at the First Baptist Church, 3 to 5 o'clock. The purpose of this meeting was to nominate our own candidates for county offices. There was prayer by Rev. Oscar Scott, then we went in to cast ballots.

We used cardboard boxes for ballot boxes, and homemade wood tables to write on—each candidate had his own box with the name of the office he or she was running for on them. Each candidate

had poll watchers and ballot counters. There was a group to check Voting Certificates, a group to assist the aged and handicapped; these were seated inside the Church.

All people who went to the Democratic or Republican primaries could not take part in our nomination. There were between 800 and 900 people there. Everything went on orderly.

Mrs. Alice L. Moore  
Secretary  
Lowndes County Freedom Organization

## Coverage of Castro Speech

Safety Harbor, Fla.  
I think your page in your issue of April 16 covering important phases of Fidel's May Day speech cannot be praised too highly. I admire your temperate treatment of the Prime Minister's misuse of the original slogan, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," and the skillful manner in which you have cited the authorities to prove the point that the original declaration was twisted by Stalin into something quite foreign to the thought of the founders of socialism.

I hope you have sent a copy of this issue to Havana so that Fidel can see that his own charming disclaimer of expertise is matched by your own fairness, and that the Fourth International truly does not wear horns and a tail.

## Thought for the Week

"Fear of Cuba and Communism corrupts American thinking on Latin America. It is expressed with a virulence and a wildness almost unknown in time of peace. A respected senator can talk on television about the danger of Cuba invading and conquering Florida. The politicians of both parties call Cuba 'a dagger pointing at the heart of the United States.' The metaphor is neither apposite nor original. It was Goebbels who said that 'Czechoslovakia is a dagger pointed at the heart of Germany.'" — Richard West in the May 29 *New York Times Magazine*.

But this is a digression. What I meant to praise was the educative value of this two-page spread which I doubt your readers could find anywhere unless they had the patience to search the literature. By making the theory fit the current events, you lend both a vividness that makes learning a delight — as it should be. Please send me a half dozen more copies to distribute among my friends.

Dr. Bernard Raymond

## Other Side

Springville, Calif.  
Please extend our subscription with the enclosed money.

We have been living in a very small mountain town (village) where our contact with news is limited to Hearst papers. It is a breath of fresh air to read *The Militant* here and learn another side of the story.

I feel an article on the grape strike near here in Delano would certainly help the strikers as well as those who are misinformed

about it. It is a very important strike — both the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee and National Farm Workers Association will, hopefully, start other agricultural workers elsewhere.

J. and S.A.

## Recommended Reading

Los Angeles, Calif.  
I urge every reader, young and old, to get himself a copy of this most important book — *The Invisible Government*. It comes in a paperback published by Bantam and sells for 95 cents.

You can't really understand the world you are living in today until you have read this book.

F.B.

## We're Mortified

New York, N. Y.  
In your issue of May 23 you include what you say is a photo of Paul Booth of SDS. The picture is actually of Paul Potter.

H.C.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

HOW CP MEMBERS REACT TO END OF STALIN CULT — About two and a half months ago the U.S. Communist Party began reports and discussions on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The pattern of the meetings throughout the country, according to *Militant* correspondents present, have been invariably the same . . .

The overwhelming number of questions and speeches — where these were allowed from the floor — concerned themselves with the Stalin question.

"Why did the Soviet leaders wait three years before disclosing Stalin's dictatorial rule?"

"What were Khrushchev, Bulganin and the others doing while Stalin was building his dictatorship? Weren't they hand in glove with him and aren't they now just passing the buck? Why don't they explain their own role?" — June 4, 1956.

## 20 Years Ago

3,000 COs STILL HELD IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS — Ten months after the end of hostilities in the second imperialist world war, 3,000 conscientious objectors are still held in prisons and concentration camps throughout the United States. They are subjected to the vilest treatment, forced to perform hard labor for long hours, fed terrible and insufficient food.

So unbearable are their conditions that conscientious objectors are on strike at "work camps" in Glendora, California, and Big Flats, New York, while at Sandstone federal prison in Minnesota, five men have resorted to the extreme protest of hunger strikes . . .

One of the leaders of the Sandstone strikers, 22-year-old Richard Alan Zumwinkle, is serving a three-year term after refusing to report to a conscientious objectors work camp.

These work camps are in reality concentration camps with a refinement that only "dollar democracy" could concoct: men who elect to go to such camps rather than to prison, must pay out of their own pockets \$35 monthly for "board!" They are compelled to work 51 hours a week without compensation, may be forced to do additional work in their "spare time" and are permitted to leave the camps only with the permission of camp commanders.

The atrocities committed against conscientious objectors, which are driving men to suicide, are part of a calculated program of American imperialism. Wall Street is determined to terrorize and subjugate all who for any reason whatever oppose its plans for war and world domination. — June 8, 1946.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Precise Thinker** — Mrs. Merriweather Post, heiress to the Post Toasties millions, is very precise and thinks of everything, reports the *New York Times*. "When she gives a party, guests eat from plates once belonging to the Russian Imperial family at a dining table set with utmost perfection. Butlers spend all day centering the table, using a ceiling spotlight and yardsticks to make sure the tablecloth hangs exactly the same on all sides, and that each dinner plate is exactly 16 inches from the next."

**What Price Private Medicine?** — Dr. James Goddard, head of the federal Food and Drug Administration, charged that a third of the nation's major prescription drug manufacturers had violated federal regulations governing false and misleading advertising last year. He said this was an improvement over 1964.

**Volunteers for Brit-Cong?** — A letter to the Nottingham, England, *Evening Post and News* suggests: "In the event of Great Britain becoming the fifty-first member of the United States of America . . . I should like to invite all those

interested in forming an English branch of the Viet Cong somewhere deep in the Sherwood Forest to get in touch with me."

**Famous House** — SNCC spokesman Julian Bond, who was twice elected to the Georgia House of Representatives and denied his place because of his criticism of the Vietnam war, has written a book. The title is *The Georgia House Is Not a Home*.

**A Home Away from Home** — A Defense Department survey established that housing standards for enlisted men were barely above those set by the government for convicts.

**A Steal** — Maria Ford, Italian-born wife of Henry Ford II, doesn't believe in spending a lot of money on clothes and loves American bargains. She says: "When I am in St. Moritz this winter, everybody asks me where I get what I wear and I always say Hudson's, Detroit. I get 20 percent discount there . . . I put

this nice thing on. It costs \$200. Everybody says, where did you get it?"

**Hilton No Hit** — Parisians are taking a dim view of the new Hilton Hotel in their midst. The magazine *Arts et Loisirs* described the flashy hostelry as "eleven stories of banality." The magazine was also unimpressed by the opulence. Noting that beef and lobsters would be flown in from the U.S., it commented that with this, "the poor American millionaire lost in Paris will be reassured, and his profound anguish of missing momma will be appeased."

**Hip Style** — Pierre Cardin, a high-powered French fashion designer, is planning to move in on the American market with shaped men's suits. "I do not like what English tailors do to trousers," he declared. "They are very *haut* and too much material down in back. My fashion is elegant and sexy for men."

—Harry Ring

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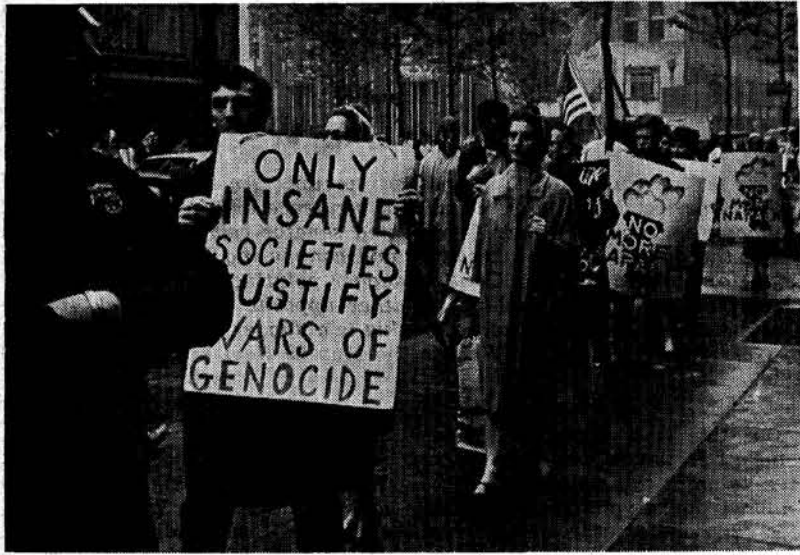
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**NEW YORK DEMONSTRATION** against napalm. "Napalm sticks to anything — just like Saran Wrap," said Mrs. Denzil Longton, from Citizens Against Napalm at their May 28 picket line at the Dow Chemical Corp. in Rockefeller Center. Dow is the nation's supplier of Saran Wrap — and is also a manufacturer of napalm, the jellied gasoline being used against the people of Vietnam. At one point during the militant demonstration, a woman was attacked by a right-winger often seen around antiwar actions. He wore a large button reading "Support Rhodesian Independence." When the demonstrators asked the police, who were right there, to arrest the man, they were told "to stop causing a disturbance and get back in line." The newly-formed protest committee has been getting a good response, Mrs. Longton said, from housewives across the nation. She hopes that other similar groups will be formed in other cities. The group plans to publish a pamphlet on the use of napalm.

## Berkeley VDC Holds Anniversary Meeting

By Hal Verb

BERKELEY, May 21 — Over 1,000 students and faculty members turned out here today at a rally commemorating the first anniversary of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee. The rally was addressed by fifteen speakers, including two former U.S. officers who oppose the war in Vietnam.

John Hewlett, the chairman of the newly formed Black Panther party of Lowndes County, Alabama, was among the speakers, and Isaac Deutscher, the biographer of Stalin and Trotsky, gave the final speech.

The two officers were Lt. Henry Howe, a young army officer who was court martialed for joining an antiwar demonstration, and Don Duncan, the former master sergeant of the "Green Berets" who quit after serving in Vietnam. Duncan asked the Berkeley audience, "Who loses more, the tortured or the torturer? The military of this country is torturing another country and another people."

And Duncan added, "We have to get out of Vietnam and we have to get out fast!"

John Hewlett began his talk by congratulating the VDC for the stand it is taking against the war in Vietnam. Then he discussed the history of the Black Panther party and why it was formed. The most important lesson the Lowndes County people began with when they set out on a political course to change their situation, Hewlett

emphasized, was breaking with the Democratic Party.

Peter Camejo, a member of the VDC steering committee, read the VDC's Declaration of Berkeley: "We solemnly pledge to the Vietnamese people," the Declaration begins, "who at this very moment face mutilation and death by the edict of President Lyndon Baines Johnson, that we shall continue our efforts to halt this war."

The Declaration then charges that the U.S. government is guilty of violating its own Constitution, the UN Charter, the Geneva accords and "the very concept of international law."

"No nation or group of nations," the Declaration states, "has any right whatsoever to deny or abridge the right to self-determination of the people of Vietnam." And the Declaration concludes, "Be it finally resolved, that there can be no just and honorable solution to the war in Vietnam other than the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all American troops."

### Moral Strength

Isaac Deutscher's analysis of the Vietnam war and its impact on the rest of the world was closely followed by the VDC audience. His theme was to question how it was possible that the greatest capitalist nation in the world could not destroy the guerrillas of a small, pre-industrialist nation.

"What is demonstrated," Deutscher stated, "is the inherent, almost inexhaustible moral strength of a tiny nation . . . in revolution."

Other speakers at the rally included Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review*; Franz Schurmann, director of the Center for Asia Studies at Berkeley; Vincent Hallinan, the attorney; Ken Mills, a Stanford University instructor; Sidney Rogers, a radio commentator; Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*; Robert Scheer, an editor of *Ramparts*; Hal Draper, the writer; Norman Potter of the Students for a Democratic Society; Bruce Rappaport of the VDC; and Frank Bardacke, a Berkeley graduate student.

## DuBois Member Is Convicted in Brooklyn Court

NEW YORK — The government continues to press its harassment of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs. On May 25, Eric Eisenberg, a leader of the youth group here, was convicted of "interfering with the arrest" of another DuBois member. He faces a maximum sentence of one year in jail and \$500 fine. Sentencing will be on July 7.

Eisenberg's "crime" took place on March 5, when a group of hoodlums, aided by the police, attacked a DuBois Club press conference at their Brooklyn headquarters.

The press conference had been called to protest the action of Attorney General Katzenbach a day earlier in announcing he was petitioning the Subversive Activities Control Board to have the DuBois Clubs registered as a "Communist front."

Taking Katzenbach's witchhunt as a go-ahead signal, a gang of hoodlums attacked the DuBois Club members with eggs, cans and other objects as they left their headquarters.

Several policemen arrived, but instead of aiding the DuBois members under attack, they grabbed four who had made it to their car and threw them into police squad cars.

Larry Jarvis, whom the police arrested, related at a subsequent press conference how "the cops stood around and laughed while we were beaten." He said one cop yelled at him, "Dirty rotten Commie bastard, come out."

Eric Eisenberg said the "police held my arms while people hit me," and a cop "cursed me and hit me with a billy." The police then arrested — not the hoodlum attackers, but six members of the DuBois Clubs, including Eisenberg.

The next day, also as a direct result of Katzenbach's witchhunt, the DuBois Club headquarters in San Francisco was bombed.

Paul Chevigny, of the New York Civil Liberties Union, served as Eisenberg's attorney in the trial. He said that an appeal is being considered.

## Socialist Parley In Canada Hits Detroit Killing

TORONTO, Canada — The first session of a delegated conference of the Québec Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Socialist Workers League) and the League for Socialist Action was opened here over the holiday weekend with a tribute to the first martyr of the U.S. antiwar movement — Leo Bernard.

Ross Dowson, editor of the *Workers Vanguard*, opened the conference with a strong declaration of solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party — the party which Bernard had represented in the 1964 Congressional elections, and in whose Detroit headquarters he died at the hands of an ultra-reactionary.

It was no accident that this assassination took place, Dowson stated. For the rulers of America are justifying, even glorifying, the most bestial acts against an entire people in their murderous war in Vietnam. And it is no accident that the first victim was an active participant in the work of the SWP, which is in the forefront of the struggle to force Washington to withdraw its troops.

The speaker expressed the conviction of the delegates that the SWP and the entire U.S. antiwar movement will not falter in their efforts, but will pay tribute to Bernard to extending their struggle to bring the troops home now.

## Why SNCC Pulled Out Of D.C. Rights Parley

[The following statement was issued May 23 by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee on the White House conference, ostensibly set up to help Negroes secure their rights. The conference is scheduled for June 1 and 2. The major civil rights groups, including SNCC, had participated in planning sessions for the conference.]

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee believes the White House conference entitled To Secure These Rights is absolutely unnecessary and rejects its invitation to participate in this useless endeavor for the following reasons:

1. The foundation and consequences of racism are not rooted in the behavior of black Americans, yesterday or today. They are rooted in an attempt by Europeans and white Americans to exploit and dehumanize the descendants of Africa for monetary gain. This process of universal exploitation of Africa and her descendants continues today by the power elite of this country. In the process of exploiting black Americans, white America has tried to shift the responsibility for the degrading position in which blacks now find themselves away from the oppressors to the oppressed. The White House conference, especially with its original focus on the Negro family as the main problem with which America must deal, accentuates this process of shifting the burden of the problem.

2. Regardless of the proposals which stem from this conference, we know that the executive department and the President are not serious about insuring Constitutional rights to black Americans. For example, murderers of civil rights workers and black citizens roam free in this country with the desire to kill more freedom fighters; and the national government claims it is impotent in many situations to bring about justice. For example, police chiefs, sheriffs and state officials who have victimized black people, beaten and jailed them and further suppressed our dignity are fully aware they were in effect given a blank check by the executive department of the government to inflict these lawless acts upon Negroes, since it is common knowledge throughout the South that killing a "nigger" is like killing a coon.

3. We believe that the President has called this conference within the U.S. at a time when U.S. prestige internationally is at a low ebb due to our involvement in the Vietnam civil war, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa and other parts of the Third World.

We cannot be a party to attempts by the White House to use black Americans to recoup prestige lost internationally.

4. Our organization is opposed to the war in Vietnam and we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy maker of the Vietnam war to discuss human rights in this country when he flagrantly violates the human rights of colored people in Vietnam.

5. We reaffirm our belief that people who suffer must make the decisions about how to change and direct their lives. We therefore call upon all black Americans to begin building independent political, economic, and cultural institutions that they will control and use as instruments of social change in this country.

## Martin Luther King Attacks SNCC for It's Militant Stand

By Herman Porter

Rev. Martin Luther King and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, have long been at odds with the more militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. But in the past, the differences have not generally been made public. Now that SNCC has made a turn toward independent political action and toward other militant policies aimed at building black power independent of the rulers of this country, King and other spokesmen for the SCLC have joined the campaign of public attacks on SNCC.

In an interview in the *New York Times* of May 28, King responded to a question about SNCC's refusal to participate in the White House Conference on Civil Rights (see above). King also took umbrage with a statement by SNCC's new chairman, Stokely Carmichael, who said: "We see integration as an insidious subterfuge for white supremacy in this country. The goal of integration is irrelevant. Political and economic power is what black people have to have."

King said that he "can't agree with the move toward a kind of black nationalism which seems to be developing in SNCC." He implied that SNCC's approach was "isolationist," and said that Ne-

groes could not talk "realistically about going it alone."

It is a very encouraging sign that SNCC has not bent to this pressure. Black people will win freedom, justice and equality by fighting the rulers of this society who maintain racism, not by attending phoney conferences organized by the racist rulers.



Rev. M. L. King

### U.S. Casualties Hit New Peak

U.S. casualties for the week ending May 21 were the highest in the course of the war, showing that heavy fighting is going on even though there has been practically no coverage of it in the news. There were 146 dead and 820 wounded. That brought the total GI combat deaths to 3,466 since January, 1961.