

THE MILITANT

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Fidel Memorial to Che

See Page 4

'68 Socialist Campaign Launched at N.Y. Rally

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK — A jam-packed rally at the ballroom of the Empire Hotel here on Oct. 28 officially launched the Socialist Workers Party 1968 presidential election campaign. It was probably the most spirited campaign rally in the party's history.

Earlier in the day, delegates to the national convention of the SWP had unanimously approved Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle as the party's candidates for President and Vice President. The antiwar leader and black power spokesman had been nominated Aug. 30 by the party's national committee.

The enthusiastic crowd repeatedly interrupted Halstead and Boutelle's nomination acceptance speeches with applause and cheers. (See pages 2 and 3.)

In addition to launching the SWP campaign, the rally celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Jim Aronson Salutes SWP

[James Aronson, co-founder and former editor of the *National Guardian*, sent the following message to the SWP campaign rally.]

It makes eminent good sense that you joined the two reasons for your meeting tonight. Whether one agrees entirely with the course of the Soviet Union since the Revolution, or whether one agrees entirely with the politics of the Socialist Workers Party is not material.

For my part, I may have some differences with each; but I am eternally grateful to the memory of Karl Marx that the Revolution took place and that the SWP exists to carry on the struggle for socialism in the United States.

The joining of the overriding issues of peace and racial equality — as embodied in the life and work of the two candidates — testifies to the clear understanding by the SWP of the nature of the domestic and world crises. These crises cannot be separated because the source of both is right here in our own country.

In this time of decision for radical Americans, there can be only one question: Which side are you on? And the only possible slogan follows from this question: Know your enemy and support your friends.

The speakers' podium was decorated with posters of Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Leon Trotsky, Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin. Reproductions of Russian revolutionary posters were displayed in the hall.

Over \$2,600 was contributed or pledged to the campaign by the members of the enthusiastic audience.

A number of messages were sent to the rally, from James Aronson, former editor of the *National Guardian*; Ruth Gage-Colby, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom board member; and Pfc. Howard Petrick. Abner Grunauer, administrative committee member of the National Mobilization and New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade committees, spoke at the rally. (See stories this page and page 6.)

Ruth Gage-Colby wrote: "Dear Fred and Paul: I will be speaking in Bonn the night of your party. I am sorry to miss the occasion. It looks to me as if a lot of people are going to vote for your ticket. Best greetings to you both and to all my friends in the SWP."

A telegram came to the meeting (Continued on Page 6)



Photo by Shannon

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Nearly 500 people were at rally to kick off Socialist Workers campaign. Here Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Vice President, accepts nomination.

Vietnam Key Issue on S.F. Ballot

By Mary Kraft

SAN FRANCISCO — On Nov. 7 San Francisco will become the first major city in the United States to hold a popular referendum on the war in Vietnam. Nearly 300,000 San Francisco voters will say yes or no to Proposition P, which states: "It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there shall be an immediate cease-fire

and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

All local candidates are being forced to take a position on the referendum. A three-hour TV show Oct. 30 interviewed candidates for office. The referendum was one of the main subjects and each candidate was asked to say whether he was for or against. The same thing is taking place at neighborhood meetings and candidate rallies.

The most uncompromising supporters of the antiwar vote are Socialist Workers Party candidates Robert Davis for Mayor and Clyde Cumming for Board of Supervisors.

Davis and Cumming have declared that "A large yes vote will have worldwide repercussions. It

will be a clear proof that the American people do not support the war in Vietnam; that they want the U.S. to get out, to bring the GIs back home and to stop the atrocious and brutal war of extermination being waged by this mighty nation against a tiny country whose heroic fight for self-determination has impressed and inspired all the peoples of the world."

At a recent meeting of 200 in the Fillmore ghetto Mrs. Cumming declared that "It is self-defeating to vote for capitalist candidates, even if a particular Democrat or Republican is opposed to the war. It is these parties which are prosecuting the war in the interests of the giant corporations." Davis received enthusiastic applause when he expressed this idea at a "candidates' night" meeting in the Western Addition ghetto.

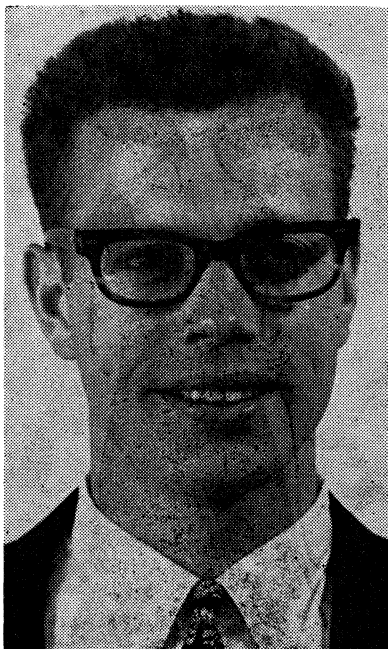
Davis told a rally of 500 students at San Francisco State College that "San Franciscans can shatter the myth of Johnson's consensus. A large yes vote for Proposition P will make it clear to millions of people throughout the country and throughout the world that Johnson does not speak for the American people."

The Citizens for a Yes Vote on Proposition P is waging a forceful campaign, with no holds barred: street rallies, precinct work, massive distribution of house signs, window posters and literature, ads

in newspapers, and mobilizations every Saturday where campaign workers go out in crews with leaflets and sound trucks.

In the final week of the campaign the Citizens Committee is putting out 200,000 pieces of literature. Twenty-five thousand phone calls are being made, seven sound trucks are touring the city.

A car parade of 300-400 cars is scheduled for Nov. 4. Headed by sound trucks, the caravan will tour the entire city, break up into 10-car units to go into the districts to do extensive leafleting and door-to-door work.



Robert Davis



Clyde Cumming

NEXT WEEK:

50 Years of the Russian Revolution

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Oct. 25 — Striking UAW members at Ford plants across the country voted today to accept a three-year contract that is expected to set the pattern for wages in the auto industry.

The new contract raises wages of production workers 20 cents per hour and that of skilled workers 50 cents, bringing the average for production workers to \$3.50 and for skilled workers to \$4.90. At expiration of the three-year contract production workers are expected to get \$3.72 an hour average. Skilled workers will fare better, gaining another 30 cents in the last two years of the contract.

Ford said the overall average base rate of workers will go up anywhere from 39.5 cents to 84.5 cents an hour over three years.

Reuther

UAW president Walter Reuther, outlining the wage gains, said the following:

"The average production worker will receive a 20-cents-an-hour wage increase upon his return to work plus a three percent annual wage increase in the second and third years of the contract. These wage increases, together with the impact of the 'roll up' factor, will amount to an average of 58 cents an hour over the three-year period of the contract.

"The average skilled trades worker will receive a 50-cents-an-hour wage increase upon his return to work plus a three percent annual wage increase in the second and third years of the contract. These wage increases, together with the impact of the 'roll up' factor, will amount to an average of \$1.02 an hour over the three-year period of the contract." ("Roll up" represents increases in wage-related fringe benefits such as holiday pay, vacation pay, shift premiums, etc.)

Escalator Emasculated

Under an emasculated form of the cost-of-living "escalator" clause, Ford workers will get additional at least 3 cents an hour in the second and third year of the contract, or a total of 6 cents. This will be paid in a lump sum quarterly. Depending upon how fast the consumer cost of living index rises, wages may go up 8 cents a year, or 16 cents total. There will be no new allowance in the first year of the contract, but an accrued lag of 5 cents under the old contract will be paid.

All this sounded good to Ford strikers who had been out for 48 days and they voted in large majorities to accept the new rates. In an hour-long television broadcast Reuther hailed the new contract as "the finest we have ever negotiated" and later threatened the strikers that if they "are so foolish as to reject the proposed contract, I think they will be walking the bricks for a long time."

Opposition has developed among the skilled workers and promises to grow despite ratification by the Ford strikers. Immediately following Reuther's appearance on the television screen yesterday, representatives of the \$1-an-hour-now movement appeared for 30 minutes to expose shortcomings of the contract. They were skilled workers from Ford, GM, Chrysler, and Burroughs Corporation.

Chris Manning, president of UAW Local 160 and chairman of the \$1-an-hour-now committee, explained that Ford workers were being asked to ratify the new contract without ever having an opportunity to know what is in it and what they are giving up.

Old Escalator Better

Don Johnson, from Ford UAW Local 600, said that under the cost-of-living provision of the old contract UAW workers would be better off. He compared the new UAW wage with those in the building trades. UAW electricians will get \$4.50 when they go back to work, the building trades pay \$5.20. Pipefitters and millwrights each get \$4.47 an hour under the new UAW contract, compared with \$6.85 and \$5.25 on outside construction work.

Art Fox, also of Local 600, explained why Ford (and the auto industry) had insisted on cutting up the escalator clause. He said that in the next year the consumer price index is expected to rise 3.5 points, the equivalent of 30 cents an hour. "Our cost of living protection," he said, "has been given away at a time when we need it most."

Reuther later admitted to reporters, who quoted him, that the cost-of-living issue was "the most difficult fight we had."

The rising cost of living is sure to force auto workers to see present wage gains in a different light before expiration of the three-year contract which Reuther now touts as the greatest.

Before Ford can get back to full production there are "local issues" to be settled which involve speed-up and production standards, and these have often in the past required strike action before they can be resolved.

GM and Chrysler

Negotiations on the basis of the Ford settlement are proceeding with General Motors and Chrysler and it remains a moot question whether a contract can be drafted with these corporations without a strike.

Whatever the outcome of the auto negotiations the auto barons will attempt to pass on wage increases to the consumers. As Ford's Mr. Denise said, "all of our costs are reflected" in prices. The auto industry operates on monopoly price fixing computed to guarantee an average rate of profit of 23 percent after taxes. That is why General Motors was able to report the best third quarter profit returns in its history.

PAUL BOUTELLE'S SPEECH

"We Will Defend Black Power"

[The following are excerpts from the nomination acceptance speech given by Paul Boutelle at the Oct. 28 socialist campaign rally in New York. Paul Boutelle is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President.]

This is a moment in my life that has no previous comparison. It is a privilege and an honor to represent an organization such as the Socialist Workers Party and also have the support of the most theoretically advanced, well-organized and fastest-growing youth group in America, the Young Socialist Alliance . . .

In this campaign we will be exposing the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties on a national and international basis. We will expose the racism that is an inherent part of the capitalist system. We will defend and publicize the growing nationalism that is being expressed by black people through the concept of black power. . . .

The Socialist Workers Party says that the liberation struggles being fought by the oppressed masses of Africa, Asia, and Latin America against Western capitalism, imperialism and racism should be supported by the American working class and the black masses in this country, because all of us are victimized, robbed and exploited in varying degrees by the same system and the same rulers.

The enemies of all oppressed peoples reside at varying places, ranging from No. 10 Downing Street in London to the capitals of France, Belgium, Holland, etc. And they are all backed up and led by the political and economic pimps in Wall Street and the White House. . . .

But the best-laid plans of those mice will be upset by the working men, women and nonwhite masses of the world who are now coming into their own, and who

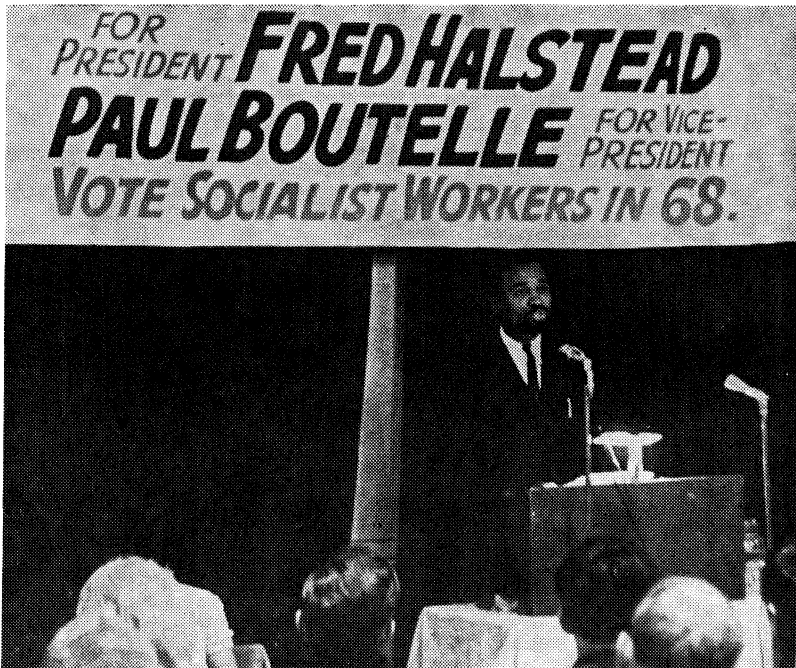


Photo by Shannon

PAUL BOUTELLE. Speaking at rally in New York, Oct. 28.

will make sure that this will be the century of the human race and get everyone out of the rat race. . . .

Now, in this coming election campaign, we are sure that the Democrats and the Republicans will put up a Lucifer and a Satan for us to choose between. And, as I told one or two people earlier, the one bad thing about a political joke is that sometimes it might get elected. And this is what happened in the last election. . . .

With this coming campaign, we will not only be exposing the Democrats and the Republicans, but we will be exposing also the people on the so-called left — our good friends in the Communist Party who can't seem to realize that if they call themselves a revolutionary organization, they have to follow the path of inde-

pendent class politics. W. E. B. DuBois is someone whom they seem to champion quite often, yet they apparently don't take him seriously. . . .

But this is something that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois wrote in 1922. It appears in an *A.B.C. of Color*, which is a collection of his writings. He said: "From emancipation in 1863 up until 1912, Negroes voted the Republican ticket as a matter of religion. The effort of Taft to get rid of his obligations to the Negro vote so disgusted black men that a concerted effort was made to get Negro support for the Democrats in 1912. A special section of the national Democratic campaign organization was devoted to this work and candidate Woodrow Wilson promised the Negro justice, and not mere grudging justice. He was elected, and did as near nothing to help the Negro as he possibly could. Some concessions came by sheer compulsion and war necessity. But the net result was that the Democratic Party said, 'We do not want Negro votes.'"

"In 1916, the Negro was between the devil of Wilson and the deep sea of Taft. In 1920, Cox refused even to receive a Negro delegation, and Harding got the Negro vote. Immediately he went to Texas and Florida and consorted with the white Southern politicians.

"The Democrats won't have us and the Republicans don't want us. Is there anything to do but impotently wring our empty hands? There is. This is our opportunity. This spells our political emancipation. We are invited not to support either of the old, discredited and bankrupt political parties. May God write us down as asses if ever again we are found putting our trust in either the Republican or Democratic parties. . . ."

So, in closing, I want to say thanks to the Socialist Workers Party for nominating me and having the confidence that I can adequately represent the only revolutionary socialist movement in America. Thanks also to our many friends and sympathizers who will be aiding us in many ways during the coming elections. We will not let you down and we will carry our message throughout America for you, for us, and for all the oppressed masses of the world.

SOCIALIST FUND

Peace Is Fashionable

By Evelyn Reed
Fund Director

When fashions become political and radical, that's news!

An ingenious San Francisco manufacturer recently designed a "peace dress" that has become a runaway best seller from coast to coast. It bears the familiar circular peace symbol in an all-over print.

So many women and girls rushed to buy the dress to wear at the big antiwar mobilization in Washington Oct. 21 that the stores couldn't supply the demand.

Not so long ago no commercial dress house catering to the mass market would dare to mix peace politics with piece-goods. But the antiwar sentiment is so deep and widespread in this country that it breaks through in unexpected ways and places. Out of 800 stores stocking the dress only half a dozen returned them to the manufacturer upon learning that the pattern stood for peace action.

That isn't all. The manufacturer is reportedly donating a portion of his profits on these "peace dresses" to finance the important referendum in San Francisco calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Now that fashions have become politicized, isn't it in order to make our radical politics fashionable? We think so and propose to act upon it.

The Socialist Workers Party has undertaken a fund drive of \$20,000 to help finance the party during the campaign of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates. One of the principal

planks in their platform is "Bring the GIs Home Now!"

We can't offer a whole "peace dress" with every contribution from a *Militant* reader. But we can offer one antiwar button.

For every donation of \$3.00 or more we will send you an attractive SUPPORT THE SWP CANDIDATES button!

To receive our thanks and your button, clip the coupon on this page and mail it to us with your contribution.



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

I Want to Help

Enclosed is my contribution of \$..... to help fulfill the \$20,000 Socialist Fund.

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FRED HALSTEAD'S SPEECH

A Campaign Against the War

[The following are excerpts from the nomination acceptance speech given by Fred Halstead at the Oct. 28 socialist campaign rally in New York. Halstead is the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for President.]

I see by the papers that the government is complaining that the Oct. 21 confrontation with the warmakers in Washington cost them over one million dollars in expenses and clean-up. Isn't that a blooming shame? I wonder how much it cost them to scrub that paint that said "Che lives" off the walls of the Pentagon? That was money wasted.

A million dollars. That's just about what it costs for the fuel alone for a big bombing raid over Vietnam. Not for the planes that are lost at \$3.5 million apiece, not for the pilots who are killed at who knows how much human grief and a quarter of a million dollars apiece to train. No, just for the jet fuel and gasoline for one big raid. That's the way they spend our money these days.

I say with some pride that the antiwar opposition within this country is going to get more and more expensive for them — in more ways than one — as long as this illegal, immoral war continues.

You know, after the April 15 demonstration they felt called upon to bring General Westmoreland back from directing that bloody adventure to speak in New York City and attack the antiwar movement. This time Johnson and Humphrey themselves had to do the job . . .

Hubert Humphrey, speaking on Oct. 23, declared: "The vital American interest in Vietnam lies in stability and security in Asia." We hear that phrase more and more now. "Vital American interest in Vietnam." What is it in that tiny country Vietnam, 10,000 miles away, that is so essential to the very guts of this rich and powerful United States of America?

Well, it all depends on what you consider to be vital, essential, within this country. You see, if you think the lives of our young men are most vital, if you think attention to replacing our slums with decent housing is vital, if you think solving the transportation problems which choke our cities with traffic jams and smog is vital, if you think cutting the cost of living, and eliminating poverty and getting decent education and higher wages and shorter hours are vital, then obviously the war is irrational and mad as can be.



Photo by Shannon

PRESS CONFERENCE. Fred Halstead being interviewed on Oct. 30 in New York on plans to fly to San Francisco to help work on antiwar referendum in Nov. 7 elections. Referendum group had issued appeal for those opposed to war to come and aid effort.

But if you think the most vital thing in this country is the ability of big business to invest its money profitably and that everything, every human value, must be subordinated to that, then you come up with a different answer . . .

The vital interest of which Johnson and Humphrey speak is the vital interest of profitable investment for big business, the guts of the capitalist system.

"Support our boys in Vietnam" means for them send our boys to die to protect existing investments and to secure areas for further investment of the swollen profits.

"Stop communism" means stop revolutions which cut off areas of investment. "Support the free world" means keep and extend the areas in which U.S. big business is free to make a profit. "Fight for freedom" means fight for the freedom of a tiny minority of the U.S. population to make profits off foreign investments . . .

That's the cause and the continuing reason for the war in Vietnam. That's why the ruling class, in spite of splits over strategy, pursues it, and that's why no politician who is subordinated to their interests — which all Democratic and Republican politicians are — can lead an effective opposition to this adventure in Southeast Asia . . .

To be effective, the antiwar movement in this country must continue to develop as it has been

developing, as an independent force, independent of the profiteers in whose vital interests the war is being pursued, and independent of their political machines and agents.

It would be a terrible folly, a terrible waste, a terrible crime, if this rapidly growing movement, sparked by thousands upon thousands of young people becoming radical, were to be channeled back into the trap and the cesspool of capitalist politics, back into subordination to and control by those to whom the war is a vital interest . . .

This socialist election campaign is not going to be a small or a routine, or a purely educational affair. It is going to be a widespread, massive, aggressive campaign against the war, for black control of the black communities and for necessary, fundamental social change.

On the war issue alone, we speak for more people in this country than either Johnson or the Republicans. That's according to their own polls. I'm utterly convinced we speak for a majority of the GIs themselves in Vietnam when we demand: "Bring the GIs home now!"

If they had fair elections in this country, that is, if I could get as much radio, TV time and news coverage as Johnson, and if I could debate him on national TV, we could come close to winning this election.

Of course, we know there will be no such fairness, no such democracy, but we are going to force this war issue into this campaign at every point. We're going to travel all over the country to hundreds of campuses, cities and meetings. I look forward to joining you in the many mass demonstrations which will protest the war whenever Johnson speaks in a major city on his campaign.

Those opposed to the war in this country will have a ticket to vote for in good conscience, and this is it. So let's get out and meet those people who were only just represented by that massive turnout in Washington a week ago.

Let's get to the antiwar fighters, to the students just waking up, to the black people rising in their communities, to the workers, the parents of young men being drafted, to the GIs themselves.

Yes, they have a right to vote. Surely they have a right to read election literature, the right to use their vote to oppose the war which oppresses them above all.

Let's get out and have a clean-cut head-on confrontation with the warmakers in politics as well as in the streets.

I accept the nomination.

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Monday, November 6, 1967

A Distortion of History

In paying tribute to the late Che Guevara, Claude Lightfoot of the Communist Party sought to further his factional viewpoint on the great issue dividing the world radical movement — whether to pursue a course of revolutionary anticapitalist struggle or to remain on the road of reformism and class collaboration. (See story page 8.)

In polemicizing against the revolutionary road, Lightfoot seeks to involve the lessons of history, as he perceives them. To give substance to his arguments, he telescopes historic events in order to skip over chapters that are devastating to his central thesis.

Arguing against Che's insistence on the need for action to extend the revolution, Lightfoot recalls that, in the days of Lenin, the Russian revolutionaries also looked for an extension of the revolution into Western Europe. But it just didn't happen that way. Instead of a revolution in Germany, he recalls, fascism triumphed.

All of this, Lightfoot suggests, was due to some supra-political process which defies analysis, no less being subject to control. "The Lord moves in mysterious ways," he observes philosophically.

What happened in Europe was actually quite concrete and quite explainable. The explanation confirms Che and rebuts Lightfoot.

In the days immediately after the victory of the Russian Revolution there was good reason to expect revolutions in Western Europe. In 1919 German workers and soldiers formed revolutionary councils. In Italy a little later, the workers occupied major factories in massive revolutionary sit-ins.

These, and other revolutionary struggles of the time, were defeated. And the reason was an important one. In each case, the workers had not succeeded in building a mass Marxist-Leninist party capable of leading them to power.

In Germany the workers again had their opportunity in the early 1930s. But Hitler came to power — and did so without a serious struggle. This incredible defeat came despite the fact of the existence of powerful, mass Communist and Socialist parties in Germany at the time. The defeat was the direct result of the false and treacherous policies of these two parties. The Socialist Party leadership was incapable of revolutionary struggle against fascism and the Communist Party leadership, under the tutelage of Stalin, blindly insisted that the Socialists were the "main enemy" and refused to forge a united antifascist front.

Later in the 30s the Communist parties of Europe veered sharply from this ultraleft insanity to reformism. Their reformist policies in Spain, France and elsewhere led to further defeats of the revolution.

Today those same reformist policies, which led to these costly defeats, are being pursued by Moscow-influenced Communist parties in Latin America, in the U.S. heartland of imperialism, and elsewhere. It was against these ruinous policies that Che was fighting when he gave his life in the struggle in Bolivia.

It is an irony for Lightfoot to cite the bitter fruits of previous reformist policies to bolster present ones.

Senate Witch-Hunt

James O. Eastland, the Senate's paunchy crusader for political reaction, white supremacy and anticommunism, is preparing to ride out to slay the new crop of "un-American" dragons that are terrorizing the peaceful folks in the White House and the Pentagon.

Carrying on in the tradition of his former colleague, the late big cheese from Wisconsin, McCarthy, Senator Eastland is armed with a mandate for "a full and complete investigation of the activities of the National Conference for New Politics and any organizations and individuals affiliated or associated therewith." Even the staid *New York Times* observes ominously that this "amounts to a license to hunt for subversion in practically every organization of dissent now in existence."

Aimed initially at the NCNP and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the *Times* assumes the witch-hunt investigation will be broadened to cover many other groups that attended the Labor Day New Politics convention in Chicago, including "various Trotskyite and socialist groups."

Eastland's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has begun its latest assault on civil liberties with a series of moves in keeping with the ethical standards that can be expected of such a body.

Sneak thieves stole files and papers from the rooms of the MFDP and other organizations at the Palmer House in Chicago during the NCNP gathering. These papers are now in Eastland's hands. Lawyers demanding the return of the stolen documents were shown the hitherto secret mandate quoted above, authorizing the "investigation" and making Eastland immune to prosecution for theft. The mandate, however, was dated five weeks after the papers had been stolen.

The antiwar, black and radical movements should unite in vigorous opposition to this new witch-hunt. Eastland — and the administration — will find the movement of dissent cannot be intimidated.



Photo by Dan Hodak

DETROIT ARSON. At 4 a.m. on Oct. 29 the headquarters of Detroit area antiwar activity was broken into and set afire. Fire Department arrived in time to prevent spread of fire, but damages to office equipment, files, etc., was extensive. Response of civil liberties and antiwar movement was immediate. Funds are being collected and broad united effort being organized in response to right-wing attack.

Castro's Tribute to E

[The following is the full text of the speech by Major Fidel Castro in memory of Major Ernesto Che Guevara, at the Plaza of the Revolution, Havana, on Oct. 18 before a mass memorial meeting of hundreds of thousands.]

Revolutionary Comrades:

I first met Che one day in July or August, 1955. And in one night — as he recalls in his writings — he became one of the future expeditionaries of the *Granma*, although at that time that expedition possessed neither ship, nor arms nor troops.

And that was how, together with Raúl, Che became one of the first two on the *Granma* list. And 12 years have passed since then — they have been 12 years filled with struggle and historical significance. During this time death has cut down many brave and invaluable men, but, at the same time, throughout those years of our revolution, extraordinary persons have arisen, forged from among men of the revolution, and between those men and the people, bonds of affection and of friendship have emerged which surpass all description.

Extraordinary Comrade

Tonight we are meeting to try to express, in some degree, our feelings toward him who was one of the closest, the most beloved and, without doubt, the most extraordinary of our revolutionary comrades — to express our feelings for him and for the heroes who have fought with him and fallen with him, his internationalist army that has been writing a glorious and never-to-be-effaced historical epic.

Che was one of those people who is liked immediately, for his simplicity, his character, his naturalness, his comradely attitude, his personality, his originality, even when one had not yet learned of his other characteristic and unique virtues.

In those first days he was our troop doctor. And so the bonds of friendship and warm feelings for him were ever increasing.

He was filled with a profound spirit of hatred and loathing for imperialism, not only because his political awareness was already considerably developed, but also because, shortly before, he had had the opportunity of witnessing the criminal imperialist intervention in Guatemala through the mercenaries who aborted the revolution in that country.

Partisan

A man like Che did not require elaborate arguments. It was sufficient for him to know that there were men determined to struggle against that situation, arms in hand — it was sufficient for him to know that those men were inspired by genuinely revolutionary and patriotic ideals. That was more than enough.

One day, at the end of November, 1956, he set out on the expedition toward Cuba with us. I recall that that trip was very hard for him, since, because of the circumstances under which it was necessary to organize the departure, he could not even provide himself with the medicine he needed; and, throughout the trip, he suffered from a severe attack of asthma, with nothing to alleviate it, but also without ever complaining.

We arrived, set out on our first march, suffered our first setback and, at the end of some weeks, as you all know, a group of those who had survived from the expedition of the *Granma* was able to reunite. Che continued to be the doctor of our group.

We came through the first battle, victorious, and Che was already a soldier of our troop and, at the same time, still our doctor. We came through the second victorious battle and Che was not

only a soldier, but the most outstanding soldier in that battle, carrying out for the first time one of those singular feats that characterized him in all military action. Our forces continued to develop and we faced another battle of extraordinary importance at that moment.

The situation was difficult. The information we had was erroneous in many respects. We were going to attack, in full daylight — at dawn — a strongly defended, well-armed position at the edge of the sea. Enemy troops were at our rear, not very distant, and in that confused situation it was neces-

walked some distance when we remembered some rifles of some farmer-soldiers who had been with us in the first actions and had then asked permission to visit their families at a time when there was still not much discipline in our embryonic army. And right then it was thought that possibly the rifles were lost.

I recall that the problem was not brought up again and, during the bombardment, Che volunteered, and having done so, quickly went out to recover those rifles.

This was one of his principal characteristics: his willingness to instantly volunteer for the most

the city of Santa Clara, entering, with a column of barely 300 men, a city defended by tanks, artillery and several thousand infantry soldiers.

Those two heroic deeds stamped him as an extraordinarily capable leader, as a master, as a virtuoso in the art of revolutionary war.

However, now after his heroic and glorious death, some attempt to deny the truth or value of his concepts, his guerrilla theories.

The master may die — especially when he is a virtuoso in an art as dangerous as revolutionary struggle — but what will surely never die is the art to which he dedicated his life, the art to which he dedicated his intelligence.

What is so strange about the fact that this master died in combat? What is stranger is that he did not die in combat on one of the innumerable occasions when he risked his life during our revolutionary struggle. And many times it was necessary to take steps to keep him from losing his life in actions of minor significance.

Achilles Heel

And so it was in a combat — in one of the many battles he fought — that he lost his life. We do not have sufficient evidence to enable us to make deductions about what circumstances preceded that combat, to imagine how far he may have acted in an excessively aggressive way, but — we repeat — if as a guerrilla he had an Achilles' heel that Achilles' heel was his excessive daring, his complete contempt for danger.

And this is where we can hardly agree with him, since we consider that his life, his experience, his capacity as a seasoned leader, his prestige and everything his life signified, were more valuable, incomparably more valuable than he himself, perhaps, believed.

His conduct may have been profoundly influenced by the idea that men have a relative value in history, the idea that causes are not defeated when men fall, that the powerful march of history cannot and will not be halted when leaders fall.

And that is true, there is no doubt about it. It shows his faith in men, his faith in ideas, his faith in examples. However — as I said a few days ago — with all our heart we would have liked to see him as a forger of victories, to see victories forged under his leadership, since men of his experience, men of his caliber, of his really unique capacity, are not common.

Example

We have a full understanding of the value of his example. We are absolutely convinced that many men will strive to live up to his example, that men like him will emerge from the heart of the peoples.

It is not easy to find a person with all the virtues that were combined in him. It is not easy for a person, spontaneously, to develop a personality like his. I would say that he is one of those men who are difficult to match and virtually impossible to surpass. But I would say that the example of men like him contributes to the appearance of men of the same caliber.

In Che, we not only admire the fighter, the man capable of performing great feats. And what he did, what he was doing, the very fact of his rising, with a handful of men, against the army of the ruling class, trained by Yankee advisers sent in by Yankee imperialism, backed by the oligarchies of all neighboring countries — in itself constitutes an extraordinary feat.

And if we search the pages of history, it is likely that we will find no other case in which a leader, with such a limited num-

ber of men, has set about a task of such import; a case in which a leader, with such a limited number of men, has set out to fight against such large forces. Such proof of confidence in himself, such proof of confidence in the peoples, such proof of faith in man's capacity to fight, can be looked for in the pages of history — but the like of it will never be found.

And he fell.

The enemy believes it has defeated his ideas, his guerrilla concepts, his point of view on revolutionary armed struggle. And what they accomplished, by a stroke of luck, was to eliminate him physically — what they accomplished was to gain an accidental advantage that an enemy may gain in war.

And we do not know to what degree that stroke of luck, that stroke of fortune, was helped along, in a battle like many others, by that characteristic of which we spoke before — his excessive aggressiveness, his absolute disdain for danger.

This also happened in our war of independence. In a battle at Dos Rios they killed the apostle of our independence. In a battle at Punta Brava, they killed Antonio Maceo, a veteran of hundreds of battles. Countless leaders, countless patriots of our war of independence were killed in similar battles. And, nevertheless, that did not spell defeat for the Cuban cause.

Grievous Loss

The death of Che — as we said a few days ago — is a hard blow for the revolutionary movement in that it deprives it, without a doubt, of its most experienced and able leader.

But those who are boasting of victory are mistaken. They are mistaken when they think that his death is the end of his ideas, the end of his tactics, the end of his thesis. For the man who fell, as a mortal man, as a man who faced bullets time and again, as a soldier, as a leader, was a thousand times more able than those who killed him by a stroke of luck.

However, how must revolutionaries face this serious setback? How must they face this loss? If Che had to express an opinion on this point, what would it be? He gave this opinion, he expressed that opinion quite clearly when he wrote in his message to the Latin American Conference of Solidarity that if death surprised him anywhere, it would be welcome as long as his battle cry had reached a receptive ear and another hand was stretched out to take up his rifle.

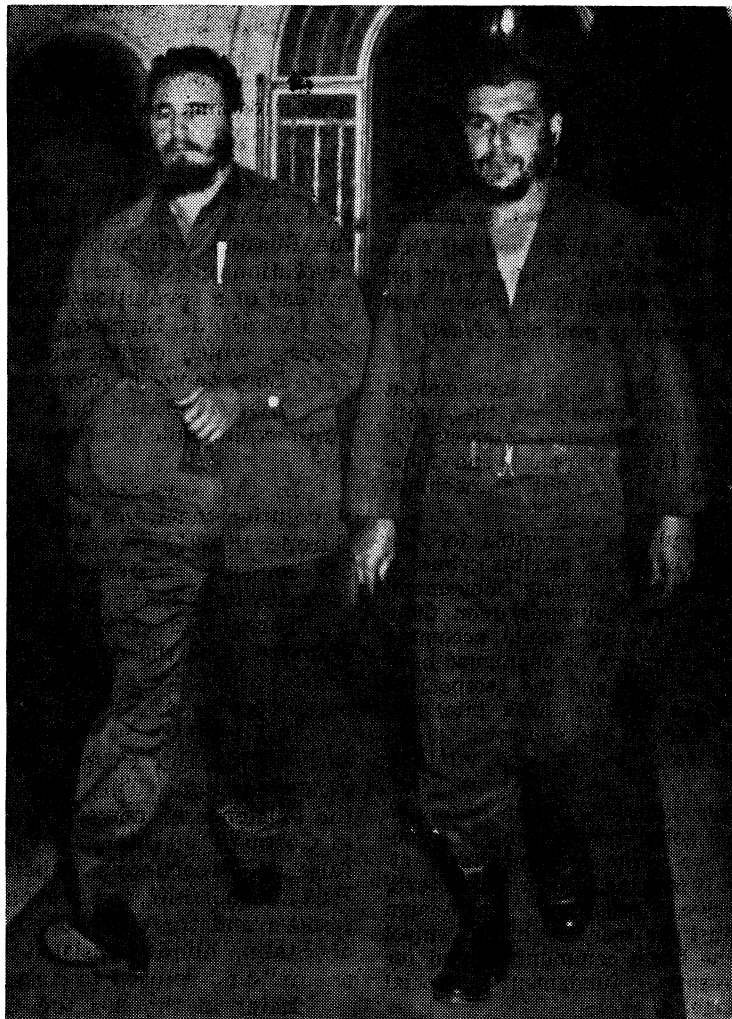
And his battle cry will reach not just one receptive ear, but millions of receptive ears. And not one hand but millions of hands will be stretched out to take up arms.

New Hands

New leaders will emerge. And the men — of the receptive ears and the outstretched hands — will need leaders who emerge from the ranks of the people, just as leaders have emerged in all revolutions.

Those hands will not have available a leader of Che's extraordinary experience and enormous ability. Those leaders will be formed in the process of struggle — those leaders will emerge from among the millions of receptive ears, from the millions of hands that will sooner or later be stretched out to take up arms.

It isn't that we feel that his death will necessarily have immediate repercussions in the practical sphere of revolutionary struggle, that his death will necessarily have immediate repercussions in the practical sphere of development of this struggle. The fact is that when Che took up arms again



sary to ask the men to make a supreme effort.

Comrade Juan Almeida had taken on one of the most difficult missions, but one of our flanks remained completely without forces — one of the flanks was left without an attacking force, placing the operation in danger. And at that moment, Che, who was still functioning as our doctor, asked for two or three men, among them one with a machine gun, and in a matter of seconds rapidly set off to assume the mission of attack from that direction.

On that occasion he was not only an outstanding combatant but also an outstanding doctor, attending the wounded comrades and, at the same time, attending the wounded enemy soldiers.

After all the weapons had been captured and it became necessary to abandon that position, undertaking a long return march under the harassment of diverse enemy forces, it was necessary for someone to stay behind with the wounded, and Che stayed with the wounded. Aided by a small group of our soldiers, he took care of them, saved their lives and later rejoined the column with them.

From that time forward, he stood out as a capable and valiant leader, of that type of men who, when a difficult mission is pending, do not wait to be asked to carry it out.

Thus it was at the battle of El Uvero, but he had acted in a similar way on a not previously mentioned occasion in the first days when, following a betrayal, our little troop was attacked by surprise by a number of airplanes and we were forced to retreat under the bombardment. We had already

dangerous mission. And naturally this aroused admiration, and twice the usual admiration, for a fellow combatant, fighting alongside us, who had not been born here, a man of profound ideas, a man in whose mind stirred the dream of struggle in other parts of the continent and who was, nonetheless, so altruistic, so disinterested, so willing to always do the most difficult things, to constantly risk his life.

And that was how he won the rank of major and leader of the second column, organized in the Sierra Maestra. Thus his prestige began to increase; he began to gain fame as a magnificent combatant who was to reach the highest posts in the course of the war.

Che was an incomparable soldier. Che was an incomparable leader. Che was, from a military point of view, an extraordinarily capable man, extraordinarily courageous, extraordinarily aggressive. If, as a guerrilla, he had his Achilles' heel it was this excessively aggressive quality, his absolute contempt for danger.

The enemy believes it can draw certain conclusions from his death. Che was a master of warfare. He was a virtuoso in the art of guerrilla struggle. And he showed that an infinite number of times. But he showed it especially in two extraordinary deeds. One of these was in the invasion, in which he led a column, a column pursued by thousands of enemy soldiers over flat and absolutely unknown terrain, carrying out — together with Camilo — an extraordinary military accomplishment. He also showed it in his lightning campaign in Las Villas Province, especially in the audacious attack on

Ernesto Che Guevara

he was not thinking of an immediate victory — he was not thinking of a speedy victory against the forces of the oligarchies and of imperialism. As an experienced fighter, he was prepared for a prolonged struggle of five, 10, 15, or 20 years, if necessary. He was ready to fight five, 10, 15, 20 years, or all his life if need be!

And within this time perspective, his death — or rather his example — will have tremendous repercussions. The force of that example will be invincible.

Those who cling to the idea of luck try in vain to deny his experience and his capacity as a leader. Che was an extraordinarily able military leader. But when we remember Che, when we think of Che, we do not think fundamentally of his military virtues. No! Warfare is a means and not an end — warfare is a tool of revolutionaries. The important thing is the revolution — the important thing is the revolutionary cause, revolutionary ideas, revolutionary objectives, revolutionary sentiments, revolutionary virtues!

And it is in that field, in the field of ideas, in the field of sentiments, in the field of revolutionary virtues, in the field of intelligence, that — apart from his military virtues — we feel the tremendous loss that his death means to the revolutionary movement.

Because Che's extraordinary personality was made up of virtues which are rarely found together. He stood out as an unsurpassed man of action, but Che was not only an unsurpassed man of action — he was a man of visionary intelligence and broad culture, a profound thinker. That is, in his person the man of ideas and the man of action were combined.

Integrity

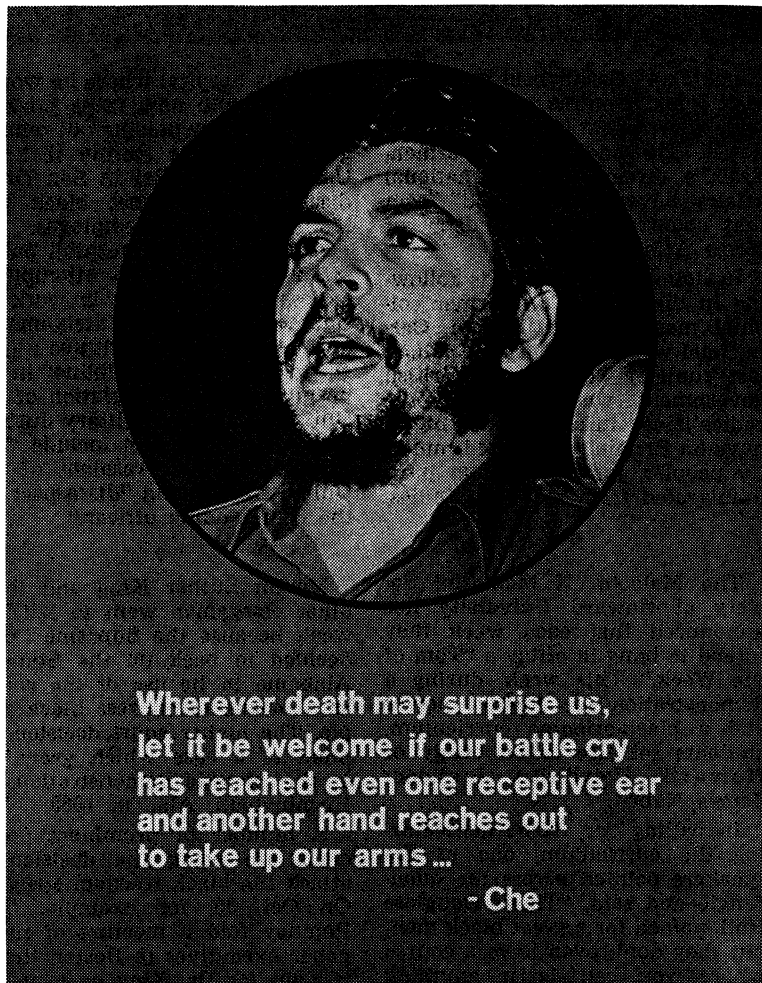
But it is not only that Che possessed the double characteristic of the man of ideas — of profound ideas — and the man of action, but that Che as a revolutionary united in himself the virtues which can be defined as the fullest expression of the virtues of a revolutionary: a man of total integrity, a man of supreme sense of honor, of absolute sincerity — a man of stoic and Spartan living habits, a man in whose conduct not one stain can be found. He constituted, through his virtues, what can be called a truly model revolutionary.

When men die it is usual to make speeches, to emphasize their virtues, but rarely as on this occasion can one say of a man, with greater justice, with greater accuracy, what we say of Che: that he was a pure example of revolutionary virtues.

But he possessed another quality, not a quality of the intellect nor of the will, not a quality derived from experience, from struggle, but a quality of the heart: He was an extraordinarily human man, extraordinarily sensitive.

That is why we say, when we think of his life, that he constituted the singular case of a most extraordinary man, able to unite in his personality not only the characteristics of the man of action, but also of the man of thought, of the man of immaculate revolutionary virtues and of extraordinary human sensibility, joined with an iron character, a will of steel, indomitable tenacity.

And because of this, he has left to the future generations not only his experience, his knowledge as an outstanding soldier, but also, at the same time, the fruits of his intelligence. He wrote with the virtuosity of a master of our language. His narratives of the war are incomparable. The depth of his thinking is impressive. He never wrote about anything with less than extraordinary seriousness,



CHE POSTERS. These posters, 17" by 22", with red background, are available from Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471, New York, N.Y. 10003. Cost 50¢.

with less than extraordinary profundity — and we have no doubt that some of his writings will pass on to posterity as classic documents of revolutionary thought.

And thus, as fruits of that vigorous and profound intelligence, he left us an infinity of memories, an infinity of narratives that, without his work, without his efforts, might have been lost forever.

An indefatigable worker, during the years that he served our country he did not know a single day of rest. Many were the responsibilities assigned to him: As president of the National Bank, as director of the National Planning Board, as Minister of Industries, as commander of military regions, as the head of political or economic or fraternal delegations.

His versatile intelligence was able to undertake with maximum assurance any task of any kind. And thus he brilliantly represented our country in numerous international conferences, just as he brilliantly led soldiers in combat, just as he was a model worker in charge of any of the institutions that he was assigned to. And for him there were no days of rest; for him there were no hours of rest!

And if we looked through the windows of his offices, he had the lights on until all hours of the night, studying, or rather, working or studying. For he was a student of all problems, he was a tireless reader. His thirst for learning was practically insatiable, and the hours he stole from sleep he devoted to study.

He devoted his scheduled days off to voluntary work. He was the inspiration and provided the greatest incentive for that work which is today carried out by hundreds of thousands of persons throughout the country, he stimulated that activity in which our people are making greater and greater efforts.

And as a revolutionary, as a communist revolutionary, a true communist, he had a boundless faith in moral values. He had a boundless faith in moral values, he had a boundless faith in the conscience of man. And we should say that he saw, with absolute clarity, the moral resources as the

fundamental lever in the construction of communism in human society.

He thought, worked out and wrote many things. And it is fitting to bring out, on a day like today, that Che's writings, Che's political and revolutionary thinking, will be of permanent value in the Cuban revolutionary process and in the Latin American revolutionary process. And we do not doubt that his ideas, as a man of action, as a man of thought, as a man of untarnished moral virtues, as a man of unexcelled human sensitivity, as a man of spotless conduct, have and will continue to have universal value.

The imperialists boast of their triumph at having killed this guerrilla fighter in action — the imperialists boast of a triumphant stroke of luck that led to the elimination of such a splendid man of action. But perhaps the imperialists do not know or pretend not to know that the man of action was only one of the many facets of the personality of that combatant. And if we speak of sorrow, we are saddened not only at having lost a man of action, we are saddened at having lost a morally superior man, we are saddened at having lost a man of exquisite human sensitivity, we are saddened at having lost such a mind. We are saddened to think that he was only 39 years old at the time of his death.

We are saddened at missing the additional fruits that we would have received from that intelligence and that ever richer experience.

We have an idea of the dimension of the loss for the revolutionary movement. But, nevertheless, here is the weak side of the imperialist enemy: They think that by eliminating a man physically they have eliminated his thinking — that by eliminating him physically they have eliminated his ideas, eliminated his virtues, eliminated his example.

And so shameless are they in this belief that they have no hesitation in publishing, as the most natural thing in the world, the by now almost universally accepted circumstances in which they murdered him after he had been seriously wounded in action. They do not even seem aware of the

repulsiveness of the procedure, they do not even seem aware of the shamelessness of the admission. They have published it as if thugs, oligarchs and mercenaries had the right to shoot a seriously wounded revolutionary combatant.

And even worse they explain why they did it. They assert that Che's trial would have been quite an earthshaker, that it would have been impossible to place this revolutionary in the dock.

And not only that, but neither have they hesitated to spirit away his remains. And be it true or false, they certainly announced they had cremated his body, thus beginning to show their fear, beginning to show that they are not so sure that by physically eliminating the combatant, they can liquidate his ideas, liquidate his example.

Che fell defending the interests, defending the cause of the exploited and the oppressed peoples of this continent — Che fell defending the cause of the poor and disfranchised of this earth. And the exemplary manner and the selflessness with which he defended that cause cannot be disputed by even his most bitter enemies.

And before history, men who act as he did, men who do and give all for the cause of the oppressed, grow in stature with each passing day, and find a deeper place in the heart of the peoples with each passing day. The imperialist enemies are beginning to see this, and it will not be long before it will be proved that his death will, in the long run, be like a seed which will give rise to many men determined to imitate him, many men determined to follow his example.

And we are absolutely convinced that the revolutionary cause on this continent will recover from the blow, that the revolutionary movement on this continent will not be crushed by this blow.

From the revolutionary point of view of our people, how must we view Che's example? Do we feel we have lost him? It is true that we will not see new writings of his, true that we will never again hear his voice. But Che has left a heritage to the world, a great heritage, and we who knew him so well can become in great degree his beneficiaries.

He left us his revolutionary thinking, his revolutionary virtues — he left us his character, his will, his tenacity, his spirit of work. In a word, he left us his example! And Che's example will be a model for our people — Che's example will be the ideal model for our people!

If we wish to express what we expect our revolutionary combatants, our militants, our men to be, we must say, without hesitation: "Let them be like Che!" If we wish to express what we want the men of future generations to be, we must say: "Let them be like Che!" If we wish to say how we want our children to be educated, we must say without hesitation: "We want them to be educated in Che's spirit!" If we want the model of a man, the model of

a man who does not belong to our time, the model of a man who belongs to the future, I say from the depths of my heart that such a model, without a single stain on his conduct, without a single stain on his action, is Che! If we wish to express what we want our children to be, we must say from our very hearts as ardent revolutionaries: "We want them to be like Che!"

Che has become a model of what men should be, not only for our people but also for people everywhere in Latin America. Che carried to its highest expression revolutionary stoicism, the revolutionary spirit of sacrifice, revolutionary combativeness, the revolutionary spirit of work.

Che brought the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to their freshest, purest, most revolutionary expression. No other man of our time has carried the spirit of internationalism to its highest possible level as Che did.

And in the future, when an example of a proletarian internationalist is sought, that example, high above any other, will be Che's example! National flags, prejudices, chauvinism and egoism had disappeared from his mind and heart. And he was ready to shed his generous blood spontaneously and immediately, in behalf of any people, for the cause of any people!

And thus, his blood fell on our soil when he was wounded in several battles — and his blood was shed in Bolivia, for the redemption of the exploited and the oppressed. That blood was shed for the sake of all the exploited and all the oppressed — that blood was shed for all the peoples of America and for the people of Vietnam, because while fighting there in Bolivia, fighting against the oligarchies and imperialism, he knew that he was offering Vietnam the highest possible expression of his solidarity!

It is for this reason, comrades of the revolution, that we must face the future with optimism. And in Che's example, we will always look for inspiration, inspiration in struggle, inspiration in tenacity, inspiration in intransigence toward the enemy, inspiration in internationalist sentiment!

Therefore, after tonight's impressive ceremony, after this incredible demonstration of multitudinous recognition — incredible for its magnitude, discipline and spirit of devotion — that demonstrates that our people are a sensitive, grateful people who know how to honor the memory of the brave who die in combat, that our people recognize those who serve them, that demonstrates the people's solidarity with the revolutionary struggle and how this people will raise aloft and maintain ever higher aloft the revolutionary banners and revolutionary principles — in these moments of remembrance, let us lift our spirits, with optimism in the future, with absolute optimism in the final victory of the peoples, and say to Che and to the heroes who fought and died with him: Ever onward to victory!

Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!

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Peruvian Military Tribunal Spares Hugo Blanco's Life

According to an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Lima, Oct. 12, the Supreme Military Court handed down a decision "confirming the 25-year sentence" imposed on Hugo Blanco, the well-known peasant leader.

The prosecution had countered Hugo Blanco's appeal of the savage sentence by demanding the death penalty.

Had the court conceded to this demand, Hugo Blanco could have been executed within 24 hours after the verdict.

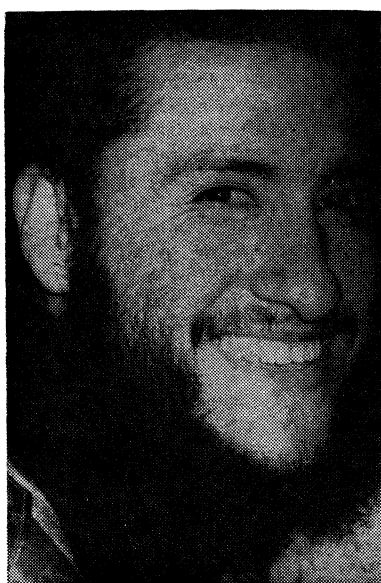
World-Wide Defense

An international campaign was mounted to save Hugo Blanco. Peruvian consulates and embassies were picketed in cities around the world. Hundreds of messages and appeals were made to President Belaúnde to spare Hugo Blanco's life and commute the sentence.

The appeals came from a wide range of sources, including prominent intellectuals in many countries and such world-famous figures as Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell.

Organizations representing thousands of members added their weight to the international protest.

Actions in behalf of Hugo Blanco continued right up to the very eve of the court hearing. On Oct. 10, for instance, some 500 people were reported by *Le Monde* to have assembled before the Peruvian embassy in Paris to demonstrate their solidarity with Hugo Blanco.



Hugo Blanco

The decision of the court, rejecting the demand of the prosecution to kill Hugo Blanco, represents a victory for the international campaign waged in his behalf. However, it is only a partial victory. Hugo Blanco still faces a quarter of a century in prison because of his revolutionary-socialist views.

The campaign to win his freedom will certainly be continued. The partial victory gained should serve to intensify the demands to President Belaúnde to grant amnesty to Hugo Blanco and his comrades who are in prison with him.

If Stokely Carmichael wanted to visit Jamaica on his present worldwide tour, he wouldn't be able to do it. He and James Forman, SNCC's director of international affairs, have been "banned" from that country by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

In doing this Jamaica is following in the path of its former colonial master, Great Britain. Carmichael was banned from England last summer because the British government was afraid of the radicalizing influence he might have on Britain's oppressed minority peoples, many of whom have immigrated from the West Indies.

The Malcolm X Memorial Society at Howard University has announced that each week they intend to hang in effigy a "Tom of the Week." This week, during a demonstration for student power and a black-oriented curriculum, students set fire to an effigy of Howard University President James Nabrit.

In calling for Afro-Americanizing the curriculum, one of the speakers pointed across the quadrangle and said, "That's Douglass Hall, named for a great black man, but they don't even have a course where you can learn anything about him."

A black Navy Reserve Corpsman is finding out the hard way that free speech is nonexistent in

the Navy hospital where he works. Edward Lynn now faces prosecution simply for passing out mimeographed leaflets stating that the U.S. Navy Hospital in San Diego discriminates against black and Mexican-American employees.

According to the hospital public affairs officer, Lynn's attempts to expose discrimination in work assignments, housing assignments, and promotions, constitutes a danger to "order and discipline" in the hospital and is in violation of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Charges against him include "disrespect for the President of the United States" and "disrespect for the commanding officer."



Charles P. Howard

payroll to arrest any blacks who start to gain prominence.

Charles P. Howard, the columnist whose writings are carried in many Afro-American papers, recently devoted a lengthy column to the memory of Che Guevara. Calling his death a "tremendous blow to the cause of freedom in Latin America," Howard writes that "the imperialist powers, the rich, and the privileged, concerned only with the tremendous profits garnered out of the exploitation of that area, are unrestrained in their glee."

Howard calls Che an "incomparable freedom fighter" who has "made a tremendous contribution to the liberation and independence of Cuba both as a guerrilla fighter and as an administrator in the early days of the Castro Government."

—Elizabeth Barnes

Grunauer Salutes SWP Contribution To Antiwar Fight

[Abner Grunauer, administrative committee member of the National Mobilization and New York Fifth Avenue Parade committees, paid the following personal tribute to Fred Halstead at the SWP campaign rally.]

As one who has never been a member of the Socialist Workers Party and who does not now necessarily subscribe to many of its tenets and programs, I wish nevertheless to pay a personal tribute to Fred Halstead, with whom I have worked for the past two and a half years in a somewhat close and always harmonious relationship in the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, the Spring Mobilization of April 15, and the recent national mobilization in Washington.

Dedication

I wish on this occasion to express particularly my ever-increasing admiration and respect for his high personal and political integrity, for his many and varied organizational abilities, and especially for his manifest and unshakable dedication to the cause of peace, justice and freedom for all peoples, his profound involvement in the struggle for a better society and a happier human condition everywhere.

Moreover, I cannot let this occasion slip by without paying tribute also to those other members of your party . . . and all the wonderful young people who have contributed so much, so unsparingly, so astutely and so efficiently to the great historical mass peace manifestations of the past two years.

Although this audience I'm sure will not construe this tribute of mine as a political endorsement of the ticket, which I cannot do at this point, I do extend to both Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle my sincerest wishes for success during the campaign in bringing home to the American electorate the basic evil of the Vietnam war and the immediate urgency for ending it. Good luck to both of you.

... Launch SWP Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)
from Pfc. Howard Petrick, the GI who has fought for his right to speak against the war in the army, in the face of threatened court-martial:

"Greetings on the 50th anniversary of the first successful socialist revolution. To remain true to the spirit of revolutionary socialism we must strive to bring the program of the Socialist Workers Party to the American masses by means of the Halstead and Boutelle campaign. Warmest regards."

The rally concluded with a speech by Tom Kerry, editor of the *International Socialist Review*. Kerry attacked the Soviet bureaucracy for deceiving and misleading the world revolution since

Dow Protested At Harvard U.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — In the aftermath of the Oct. 21 mobilization, a rally and sit-in protesting job interviewing on the Harvard campus by Dow Chemical Company, manufacturers of napalm, were organized by Students for a Democratic Society.

On Oct. 24, 500 to 600 students assembled in Harvard Yard to hear eyewitnesses describe the Oct. 21 action at the Pentagon, including a report by the editor of *The Crimson*, the campus newspaper, on the distortions and deliberate oversights of the daily press.

Speakers emphasized the possibilities for organizing against the war as a result of the mobilization, and urged that more work be done, especially on the Cambridge referendum on the war.

The following day 200 people sat in and effectively prevented personnel recruiting by two Dow Chemical agents on campus. Posters read, "Dow Shalt Not Kill."

A similar action at Boston College was conducted by 150 students.

Stalin triumphed over the Bolshevik leaders in the mid-1920s.

He drew particular attention to the "Theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" published earlier this year.

The document attacks Trotskyism for "using the screen of ultra-left revolutionary phraseology" in order "to impose an adventurous policy of artificially pushing the revolution in other countries and dooming the building of socialism in our country to failure."

Pointing out that the logical consequence of the Kremlin position was the fact that the USSR "has not rendered adequate material aid to the embattled Vietnamese freedom fighters," Kerry warned that an implicit target of the Kremlin polemic was the revolutionary Cuban government and its line of promoting revolution in Latin America, adopted by the recent Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference.

Kerry noted that the very day the pro-Moscow Chilean Communist Party announced the murder of Che Guevara, it took the occasion to attack Che and OLAS as "adventuristic."

On the contrary, Kerry asserted, "the murderous Bolivian puppets . . . feared, and with good reason, that the very ground in which Che was buried would become an international shrine and a symbol of man's eternal struggle against oppression."

Kerry recalled that although the Bolivian authorities had cremated Che's body, they had preserved the hand for identification with fingerprints in Argentine files. "They burned Che's body, that is true, but the specter of that hand shall haunt them until the day of their deaths, for that hand shall yet become the symbol, the banner, the flag around which legions shall rally to finish the job that Che began."

Martin Luther King and three other clergymen went to jail this week because the Supreme Court decided to back up the State of Alabama in its use of the courts as a means to oppress black people. The higher court decision applied to a case which grew out of the historic demonstrations in Birmingham, Ala., in 1963.

A number of prominent politicians are using the decision to attack the black freedom struggle. On Oct. 30, for example, Gov. Romney told a meeting of newspaper executives in Boston that it is right for Dr. King to go to jail "if he has broken the law."

According to the Oct. 26 *Wall Street Journal*, not one black person is in a position to draw a substantial share of profits made by the Mafia — despite the fact that much of the annual take from numbers and narcotics comes out of the ghetto.

In enforcing discrimination in the underworld, racketeers often use white cops on the syndicate

Why Pres. Johnson Favors Stokes for Cleveland Mayor

By Eric Reinthaler

CLEVELAND — Carl B. Stokes, Negro Democrat who won the nomination for mayor of Cleveland in the Oct. 3 primary, is clearly the preferred candidate of the ruling class. Stokes has the endorsement of the Cuyahoga County Democratic organization. Both Cleveland daily papers endorsed Stokes in the primary, and the *Plain Dealer* just endorsed him over Republican candidate Seth Taft.

In 1965 Stokes ran as an independent for mayor and narrowly missed election. A short time later, Vice President Humphrey came to Cleveland to hold a private meeting with Stokes. Last year Stokes was reelected as a Democrat to the State Legislature.

Vietnam

Stokes' campaign budget was said to be \$160,000. When questioned on the war in Vietnam, he stated, "I stand with my President." This was true in spite of the fact that a large number of the more than 10,000 signers of the petition for an antiwar referendum in Cleveland were from the black community.

Stokes supported Republican Governor Rhodes' Ohio Bond Commission proposal, which was a give-away program to large corporate interests. Stokes favored selling the Cleveland Municipal Light Plant, the publicly owned low-rate company, to the privately owned Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. Several key figures in the latter, like Ralph Besse and Cyrus Eaton, were avid backers and financiers of the Stokes campaign.

In the *Cleveland Press*, Oct. 7,

political editor Richard L. Maher wrote: "Months ago it was disclosed here that President Johnson wants desperately to elect a Negro mayor in Cleveland, and that Stokes was his choice."

"Political observers feel that Johnson has written off Ohio, which he carried by a million votes in 1964, that he wants to get Stokes elected to use this as a campaign argument in other northern areas to hold large blocs of Negroes in line in 1968."

In the election two years ago, Stokes was opposed by the Democratic incumbent, the Republican candidate and by a rabid white supremacist. That election was a massive expression of the possibility of mounting a successful campaign outside the Democratic and Republican parties. The extension of it would have provided a powerful impetus to black independent political action in other large cities.

The ruling class hopes to head off such a development. They believe that the expected Stokes victory in Cleveland will have a national impact, fostering illusions about the possibility of achieving a degree of "black power" within the framework of the Democratic Party.

The only problem is that the capitalist system, and the Democrats and Republicans who support it, cannot change the oppressive ghetto conditions which gave rise to the struggle for black power. Negro representation in the Democratic machine will not change this. It will only give the ruling parties a longer stranglehold on the ghettos.

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.]

Landslide?

Minneapolis, Minn.

A few statistics that you might be interested in on the recent Saigon elections, and how much support Thieu and Ky "really" have. Based on reports accepted by the government, of the total population of South Vietnam only one-third were allowed to vote, giving us 33.3 percent.

Of these, the dictators claimed 85 percent voted, which is 28.3 percent of the population. Thieu and Ky received 35 percent of the vote, which is 9.9 percent of the population.

To top it off, practically nobody believes that the dictators got even that large a vote without resorting to extensive fraud. In the Saigon National Assembly, handpicked by Thieu and Ky themselves, 48 of the 103 members voted to throw out the election as fraudulent.

S.W.

Mississippi Report

Sunflower, Miss.

We are trying now to get up the money to start a supermarket. People in the community know about the market we want to build, and they want it up also. Starting the market would make very real to the people our willingness to progress upward as expressed in our campaign promises.

Mrs. Brooks, who gave us the land for the center, has agreed to let us move her house over so we'll have land on which to build the market. We have found this is the only land available to us in Sunflower, what with all other land controlled if not owned by the white man.

The sewing cooperative took a week's vacation from sewing to pick a little cotton for some immediate cash. The women who are sewing and ourselves are confi-

dent the co-op will succeed if we can hold on through the shaky beginnings of business without any money. And we will hold on to build meaningful employment where there isn't any.

People are leaving Doddsville, Senator Eastland's home town, faster than almost any other town in the county. As in much of the Delta, there's no industry, and work on Eastland's plantation and others is being done by machines. After school let out last spring most of the young people old enough left for Florida, St. Louis, and other places looking for work.

We would be grateful for any contributions you can make at this time. We also appreciate very much material and clothes that are sent here.

Otis Brown
President, Sunflower
County Improvement Association,
Box 398, Sunflower, Miss. 38778

Rusk Racist?

New York, N.Y.

Of course it's absurd to charge Dean Rusk with invoking the racist image of the "yellow peril" when he warns of the threat of a billion Chinese armed with nuclear weapons.

In fact it's almost as absurd as the charge that Lyndon Johnson was talking like a racist when he told the House of Representatives back in 1948 that unless we had a big air force we'd be "a bound and throttled giant; impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocketknife."

Who could possibly argue with Johnson when he pointed out in a statement defending Rusk that "we have utterly repudiated the racist nonsense of an earlier era"?

In fact, to charge people like Johnson or Rusk with racism is almost as silly as asserting that Adolph Hitler was anti-Semitic.

H.C.

Martial Law?

San Francisco, Calif.

I would like to point out a facet of this country's descent into wartime madness that *The Militant* and most other antiwar publications apparently overlook or fail to emphasize. Every intelligent person, on reading about the savage brutality inflicted on peaceful demonstrators by the minions of the law, must realize that we are regressing into a sort of fascist state, but apparently very few people realize how near we are to martial law and a complete military takeover.

Wishful thinkers in the antiwar movement continue reiterating that President Johnson will probably end the war by '68 to improve his chances in the presidential election of that year. But I claim he knows he has all the armed forces behind him and, if it appears probable that he will lose out in the election, he can and will declare martial law and

perpetuate himself in power indefinitely.

What can the American people do about? Whoever said the pen is mightier than the sword has yet to prove it.

I prefer to give anyone the benefit of the doubt and I sometimes think Johnson is a captive rather than a leader of the military-industrial complex.

Many people now believe that President Kennedy's assassination was not the act of one deranged ex-Marine but a well-organized conspiracy carried out by a coalition of Texas oilmen, crackpot rightists and Cuban refugees.

President Johnson, better than anyone else, knows he himself is expendable and if he were suddenly to call a halt to the war he would probably suffer the fate of his predecessor.

Dale Rasmussen

Israel

New York, N.Y.

The six-day war between Israel and her Arab neighbors created a division among well-meaning revolutionary-minded people. It was hard to accept the accusation that Israel is imperialist in nature. It was hard to accept that Israel was fighting a war of conquest.

Those who so characterized the conflict were individuals who did not care much whether Israel remains a state in the family of nations. On the other hand, it soon became apparent that those who

would like to perpetuate the cultural life of the Jews evaluated the war differently.

I am of the opinion that Israel is placed in the role it is now in by the deliberate action of the Arabs. The fact that the Arabs up to now have not recognized Israel and are a constant threat to its existence pushes Israel into a defensive position and into the arms of the imperialists.

But, assuming that the Arab nations would recognize Israel as part and parcel of their environment, a state they can coexist with, this assurance to Israel's stability without fear of attack would turn Israel toward a devotion to peaceful endeavors.

Israel would in all likelihood become the catalytic agent for industrial development in the Middle East. And this would lead to a new awakening, a real possibility for socialism.

I have read the position paper of the Israeli group in *The Militant*. This group proposes that once again Israel should be dominated by others and become a minority in their own country. This prospect is unacceptable to Jews.

Even though the original idealism has vanished from the Kibbutz, yet the country is not monolithic. Under peaceful conditions the reactionary forces would not dominate, nationalism would not permeate the consciousness of the people, a climate would be created where ideas would flourish. Israel would become an exporter of new ideas and the biggest item would be socialism.

L.S.

African Guerrillas

Long Island, N.Y.

I have been reading *The Militant* now for about seven months. I enjoy reading *The Militant* but I would like to know why it does not say anything about the African guerrillas fighting in the southern part of Africa.

C.D.

Sounds Credible

Detroit, Mich.

Did you know that President Johnson uses "Sheer Magic" by Max Factor to give him a naturally glamorous look when he goes on TV?

J.W.

Thought for the Week

"He even does my hairbands. Why bother going to other people when one person can do everything?" — Mrs. Pierre Schlumberger, wife of a Texas oil baron, explaining why she does all her shopping with Paris clothes designer Hubert de Givenchy.

It Was Reported in the Press

Art of Positive Thinking — According to the report in Herb Caen's San Francisco *Chronicle* column, U.S. Attorney Cecil Poole was impressed by the way the Oakland cops clubbed antidraft demonstrators. "I think they used a minimum amount of unnecessary violence," he opined.

Glum Gusanos — Participants in a Miami Halloween dance sponsored by a Cuban exile group were routed from the hall by tear-gas bombs. Officers of the club charged that the job had been done by followers of Felipe Rivero, a counterrevolutionary currently incarcerated by the U.S. and facing deportation for conducting unauthorized terrorist acts against Cuba. Club officials asserted the Rivero gang tossed the tear gas because they feel exiles should not be enjoying themselves while their leader is in the pokey.

No Way to Treat Guest — Felipe Rivero's lawyer is going to appeal a government decision to exclude him from the U.S. on the grounds that the government had invited him here. "After he was sent by the United States to fight at the Bay of Pigs," the lawyer said, "he was brought back in a U.S. plane." Rivero was captured at the Bay of Pigs and later re-

leased after a \$100,000 indemnification payment to the Cuban government in a deal that had Washington's blessings.

Better Ask Them — In an editorial salute to the Oct. 21 Washington demonstration, the Oct. 24 *Worker* noted that some of the demonstrators at the Pentagon had sung, among other things, "America the Beautiful" and the national anthem. "These young people," said the *Worker*, "have a deep feeling of patriotism."

Beautification Project — Lynda Bird is having a big problem deciding which of several fashionable hairdressers should do her hair for the wedding. "Lynda's hair styles are tremendously important to her," the *New York Post* confides. "They contribute most to her personal beautification project."

It Figures — New York housing officials have finally conceded that meager fines and empty jail threats don't convince landlords to

obey the housing code. So now they're going to do something about it. With \$4 million of federal tax money in hand, they're going to open a major campaign to persuade landlords to comply with the law.

Suggestion?—The Ukiah, Calif., *Journal* recently did a feature story on the weird mansion built at the turn of the century by Sara Winchester, widow of the firearms manufacturer. A rambling 160-room house, it has secret passages, doors leading into blank walls, trapdoors and other safety features. Mrs. Winchester feared the spirits of all those who may have been killed by her husband's guns and the prospect that their vengeance would follow her. We were wondering if the story was prompted by current plans for adding to the White House and the LBJ ranch house.

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar

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CHICAGO

50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Film: Ten Days That Shook the World. Friday, Nov. 10, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

MEMORIAL FOR STEVE ROBERTS—Revolutionary Socialist. Speakers: Milton Alvin, longtime associate; Martin Hall, Executive Board member, Peace Action Council; and others. Severance Hall, 2936 W. 8th St., L.A. Friday, Nov. 10, 8:30 p.m.

BIWEEKLY RADIO COMMENTARY over KPFK (90.6 FM) by Theodore Edwards, So. California chairman, SWP; Monday, Nov. 13 and 27 at 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesday, Nov. 14 and 28 at 9:45 a.m.

NEW YORK

1967 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CONVENTION — A Report and Analysis. Speaker: Gus Horowitz, New York organizer of the SWP. Friday, Nov. 10, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

CELEBRATION OF 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Saturday, Nov. 11, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis. Party and refreshments. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Socialist Directory

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

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5544.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver, Colo. 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin

Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

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

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

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 848-3992. Open 2 to 7 p.m. Monday thru Friday; Saturday 12 to 5 p.m.

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

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

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

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

FOR

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Phila. Consumers' Party Given Support by SWP

PHILADELPHIA — The Consumers' Party, an organization in the black community here, has put up candidates for mayor and for five city council positions in the November election.

The Consumers' Party was organized out of the Consumers' Educational and Protective Association, a group formed in March, 1966, in order to fight against consumer frauds perpetrated by ghetto businessmen and also against illegal sales of homes and furniture by the sheriff, so prevalent in the black community.

After carrying on the struggle against the onslaughts of war-induced inflation and greedy ghetto businessmen for some time, members of the association formed the Consumers' Party because they found there was no way to solve their problems within the present political structure in Philadelphia. They are challenging both the Republican and Democratic party candidates for mayor with their candidate, the Rev. Leonard Smalls.

The Socialist Workers Party here is supporting the independent campaign of the Consumers' Party.

During the campaign, the Consumers' Party has conducted militant picket actions and their members have been frequently subjected to police brutality.

The struggles against the inflationary effects of the Vietnam war have led the Consumers' Party to take a strong antiwar position. They supported the April 15 and Oct. 21 demonstrations and

have issued statements denouncing the war as an "attack by a superpower on a small people," and calling for "prompt and orderly withdrawal."

Recently the Consumers' Party campaigned against the police crackdown in the black community. It was the only political party besides the SWP to denounce the emergency proclamation by which Philadelphia's present Democratic mayor attempted to choke off demonstrations, street meetings and other political activities in the black community.

They have also denounced the "poison plot" case in Philadelphia as a frame-up of black militants and have organized demonstrations against it at the police administration building.

The Consumers' Party consists largely of black trade-unionists. The party includes some whites, and two of the candidates for councilmen are white. They have the perspective of maintaining themselves as a party independent of the Republicans and Democrats beyond the Nov. 7 election.

Another indication of disaffection with the two capitalist parties in Philadelphia is the fact that, in addition to the Rev. Leonard Smalls, Cecil Moore, another independent black candidate, is running for mayor on the Freedom Rights Party ticket. Moore, the NAACP leader who was recently suspended from that organization, has been campaigning against police brutality and for better housing.

Lightfoot, at Che Memorial, Attacks Revolutionary Line

By Joel Aber

NEW YORK — Claude Lightfoot, secretary of the national committee of the Communist Party, expressed "profound disagreement" with Ernesto "Che" Guevara at a memorial meeting here Oct. 26 for the fallen revolutionary. The meeting was chaired by Michael Myerson of the Tricontinental Information Center (this organization has no connection with the Tricontinental organization headquartered in Havana). Other speakers hailed Che and characterized his death as a blow to the colonial revolution.

Speakers included Ossie Davis, the actor; Dave Dellinger of *Liberation* magazine; James Aronson, former editor of the *National Guardian*; Julius Lester of SNCC; Luis Gonzales of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; author Lee Lockwood; and Carmen Ristorucci of the DuBois Clubs.

Lightfoot began with the assertion that Guevara will go down in history "alongside Nikita Khrushchev, Ahmed Ben Bella, Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah and Fidel Castro."

"U.S. imperialism," Lightfoot continued, "did not realize the speed with which Cuba would go over from a bourgeois democratic revolution to a socialist revolution." In the future, he said, U.S. imperialism will be better prepared to prevent this transition.

Lightfoot said that Guevara's solution was to "confront U.S. imperialism with revolutions in several countries at the same time. With this I profoundly disagree. I want to go back to the Russian Revolution of 1917. At the time the Soviet Union faced a hostile capitalist world. Some said, well, the revolution will soon come in Germany. But instead fascism came in Germany. Some said the revolution would come in France,

or in Italy. But the revolution did not come in the West.

"History didn't come the way they perceived it, not even the way Lenin perceived it. So the Soviet Union had to struggle through difficult times to create socialism, the greatest achievement in human history . . . As the Good Book says, the Lord works in mysterious ways . . .

"I have expressed my disagreement with Che, but I am not here to discuss my disagreements now. I am here to say that Che gave his life in the hills of Bolivia in pursuit of the answers to the questions of how to spread the revolution.

"Ours is not to criticize Che. Ours is to find the answers to the questions for which he gave his life . . . In the ballot boxes of America we will put our power. I am confident that the American people will rise to the occasion. From LBJ to a government prepared to live in the world as a friend of man." (See editorial, page 3.)

Carmen Ristorucci, on the other hand, praised Che's internationalism. Che, she said, "helped set the stage for more Cubas in Africa, Asia and Latin America."

Dave Dellinger said that Che was murdered "either by North Americans or by Bolivians armed and trained by North Americans." Lee Lockwood quoted from Fidel Castro's speech on Guevara's death.

Julius Lester, field director of SNCC, gave an inspiring speech. "The duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution," he said, repeating the slogan of the Cuban leaders. He drew parallels between the life and death of Malcolm X and Guevara. Paraphrasing Che's call for "two, three, many Vietnams," Lester said, "We must create two, three, many Guevaras."



CONFRONTATION. Scenes at Pentagon on Oct. 21.

All Photos by Joseph R. Knock

Antiwar Actions Mount

The deepening intensity of antiwar sentiment is evidenced by the wave of militant student actions that have swept the country since the Oct. 21 Washington confrontation. Last week we reported on student clashes with police in Oakland, Madison and Brooklyn before Oct. 21. Further protests aimed at campus recruiting by the armed forces and Dow Chemical Company have now hit the hallowed halls of Harvard and a half dozen other widely separated universities.

At Harvard, angry students imprisoned a Dow representative in an office on the campus for more than seven hours on Oct. 25.

A Navy recruiter was held in his car for four hours at Oberlin College in Ohio on Oct. 26. Students surrounding the car were dispersed by police who used tear gas and fire hoses to break up the demonstration. The college can-

celed all classes Oct. 30 after 2,000 of the school's 2,500 students boycotted classes to attend a "think-in" against the war. Students demanded an end to on-campus recruiting by the military and a campus referendum on the war.

Four men, including the Rev. Philip Berrigan, were arrested in Baltimore Oct. 27 for pouring bottles of blood into the files of the local Selective Service headquarters. Sixteen drawers were stained with blood before the four were arrested by the FBI.

In Williamstown, Mass., students at Williams College prevented a CIA agent from setting up a recruiting office on the campus.

Marine recruiters were barred from Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, N.Y., Oct. 26 by a student sit-in.

At the University of Minnesota a sit-in against Dow Chemical recruiters that began Oct. 24 included an all-night sleep-in at the

school placement office to protest the napalm manufacturer's use of campus facilities.

Also symptomatic was the meeting in Detroit of the United States Conference on Church and Society Oct. 26, where a subcommittee brought in a resolution urging the National Council of Churches to declare a one-day general strike if the government were to carry out certain steps in the escalation of the war.

In Austin, Tex., 1,000 people attended a rally at the State Capitol after a march up Congress Ave. on Oct. 21, in solidarity with the Washington mobilization. A Texas delegation also went to Washington and took part in the action there.

Other demonstrations included picket lines against Dow recruiters at the University of Illinois at Champaign and at Boston College in Massachusetts.