# Top American Reporters in Vietnam Agree 'Pacification' Is Major Failure

## THE

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 31 - No. 45

Monday, December 12, 1966

104

## Berkeley Students End Their Strike

BERKELEY, Dec. 7 — Striking students at the University of California here voted last night to suspend their strike, and to continue negotiations with the administration over their demands. The decision was made in order to allow students to take final examinations next week. It came after the faculty voted against the strike on Monday.

While favoring amnesty for those arrested during the strike, the faculty turned on the students in a 795 to 28 vote, with 143 abstaining.

After the faculty decision, the official student government, a more conservative body, broke ranks and came out against the strike. On Tuesday, the campus newspaper, the Daily Californian, did the same.

The general mood among the students is that the situation is now at a stalemate.

### By Brian Shannon

BERKELEY, Dec. 5 — The student strike at the University of California campus here was provoked by the university administration's action in calling in the police to arrest six antiwar demonstrators. The six were non-students, singled out of 200 students protesting the appearance of a Navy recruiting table on campus. Five of the six have been active

in the antiwar movement in Berkeley during the past year and a half: Jerry Rubin, Bill Miller, Stewart Alpert, Mike Hamilton and Mike Smith. The sixth was Mario Savio, leader of the 1964 Free Speech Movement fight at the university, and recently denied re-admission after "illegally" handing out a leaflet on the campus

The warrants sworn out by uni-(Continued on Page 6)

### NYU Students Fight Tuition Hike

NEW YORK - With only a few hours notice, 1,000 New York University students turned out to a rally to protest a tuition rise. After the rally, the students demonstrated at Vanderbilt Hall, office of the president of NYU. At a meeting that night, the Ad Hoc Committee to Fight the Tuition Rise Increase voted to demand that NYU call a moratorium on the increase until students, faculty and the administration can discuss it and go over the financial books.

Despite U.S. propaganda claims about military gains in Vietnam, news reports reveal that the U.S. and its Saigon puppet regime are suffering stunning defeats in their efforts to "pacify" the country. The reports confirm they are unable to crush the guerrillas who continue to attack the occupying forces and who enjoy the support of the local population in doing so.

Writing in the Dec. 1 New York Times, R. W. Apple, Jr., describes a trip from Saigon to the nearby Mekong Delta. The drive, he comments, is a history of the effort to pacify south Vietnam. "At every stream or river crossing, there is a reminder that all past efforts have failed. Each waterway is spanned by a Bailey bridge or some other expedient, the original bridge having long since fallen to Vietcong explosives."

A U.S. major serving as adviser to Saigon forces in the area tells Apple: "Things are no good. I've got fewer than 600 men to work with and they've got to cover 80 square miles. They [the guerrilas] hit you with a battalion one night, but next morning you can't find a squad."

Apple continues: "On Oct. 9, two outposts within sight of Saigon's outskirts were attacked . . Vietcong have blown up bridges, staged ambushes, sometimes within 400 yards of the compound . . ."

The U.S. major explains: "They know pretty well everything that goes on. They mortared our compound two nights after I came here. They always try to welcome the new arrivals."

Apple asked just how secure the area is. The major shied away from answering but, Apple observes, "when he went to the highway for a quick trip to a nearby headquarters, he wore an armored vest, carried a rifle and took a second jeep along for protection."

Describing the extreme difficulty confronting U.S. forces in the Delta region, Apple writes that while in the first two months of the drive "bulky GIs sloshed for hours through rice paddies, wet below the waist from mud and paddy water, wet above the waste from perspiration — only 14 guerrillas were killed."

Four teams of "rural-development" workers, who are supposed



MILITARY TARGET? Rescuers dig out two children after U.S. bombs brought down their school at Thai-binh in North Vietnam on Oct. 21. Forty persons were reported killed, including 30 students from 13 to 16 years old, a woman teacher and two pregnant women. Six others, including four pupils, were wounded.

to win over the local peasants, are assigned to the district, "but none are yet old enough to sleep in the hamlets they are supposed to bring under Saigon's control."

The lieutenant colonel in charge of the area told Apple that even if he could accomplish his entire mission in a year — which he considers improbable — he would have dealt with only one of six districts in the Delta's 16 provinces.

"In a province like this," he said, "a whole battalion — 600 men — can be gobbled up by the rice paddies. You just lose them."

Apple's findings confirmed an earlier Saigon report to the Nov. 25 Times by Max Frankel. These are some of the things Frankel found:

"In Saigon, they worry about the chiefs of villages who understandably but still unfortunately refuse to risk sleeping in their hamlets at night.

"In south Vietnam, they hope in two years to have beaten off the main Communist military units and to be concentrating fully on the 'real' enemy, the Vietcong

"Almost every soldier, from private to colonel, counts the days until his year of duty here expires . . Yet all believe there is now no easy way out of the morass. They expect a long guerrilla war even after the bigger Communist units are hunted down and humbled. They expect that a longer time still will pass before Americans can safely leave the nation to the policing of the south

"'Perhaps,' says a general, 'the real hope is the education of the children — if we can get more than 20 percent into school and wait for them to mature'...

"So far there is only a doctrine for pacification, no program worth the name, and the experimental teams already in the field still fear to spend the night in their assigned hamlet . ."

A lieutenant colonel told Fran-

kel: "Make them understand that this is just like the Indian wars, except that the helicopter has replaced the horse. And you know how long those wars lasted."

The theme is echoed by Marvin L. Stone in a particular revealing article in the Dec. 5 U.S. News & World Report. He began covering Vietnam in 1954.

"After all these years," reports Stone, "the wherewithal of victory does not seem to exist. The political fabric of the country is still shredding. Social progress is held in tight rein. After all these years, the war against the guerrillas in the countryside has not yet really begun

"The influence of the Saigon government seems not to grow at all in the vast countryside. Some Americans insist there is less effective presence in the villages now than there was three years

"The pacification program, despite a booming send-off last February at the Honolulu 'summit' meeting, all but fell on its face in 1966 . . .

"A third of the countryside is under the permanent day-and-night control of the Vietcong. Much of the rest, while claimed by the government, is actually no more than secure in daylight hours only...

"In the past year, no substantial number of new roads have been opened; no substantial numbers of people have been brought under government control . . . In the Mekong Delta, the Reds have mobile taxation points on the roads, canals and rivers."

". . the Vietcong continues to

levy taxes of one form or another in every province in south Vietnam, including Saigon itself."

SPECIAL FEATURE. For an analysis of Bayard Rustin's attack on black-power views of his one-time supporters, see page 4.



Photo by Brian Shannon

SEA OF UMBRELLAS. Scene in front of famed Sproul Hall at University of California campus at Berkeley as 8,000 students gathered in rain Dec. 1 to vote overwhelmingly in favor of strike.

... THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

### **Sporadic Strikes Continue**

Officials of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have failed to press the union's demand for a single contract fully covering all its 14,000 members at Westinghouse. The Nov. 19 AFL-CIO News reports: "The national pact, if approved, has terms applying to all locals. Other provisions involving such issues as seniority, job classifications, geographic differentials and job pooling, are negotiated locally . . . The full objective was not achieved but the IBEW did win a common expiration date covering all 46 plant locations."

While several local disputes continue at Westinghouse, a strike has been settled at its Baltimore aerospace plant which employs about 2,400 IBEW members. The new local contract there provides minimum wage increases of 111/2 cents an hour, largely for women doing assembly work. Employes in higher classifications will get an additional 1 to 10 cents an hour over the minimum raise.

Continuing stoppages elsewhere include a walkout of 670 IBEW members at the Cheswick, Pa., atomic fuel facility over job classifications and working conditions. Another 365 are striking for improved wage rates at the Athens, Ga., transformer plant. A total of 2,700 are off the job at Westinghouse lamp plants in Richmond, Ky., Paris, Texas, Little Rock, Ark., and Reform, Ga. IBEW spokesmen describe wages at the latter four plants as the "worst in the nation."

For seven weeks, General Electric tried unsuccessfully to break a strike of 2,000 UE members at the Ashland, Mass., assembly plant. A settlement was then reached under which, for the first time, the plant will be covered by the national UE contract with GE. In addition, the strikers won adjustments in area rate inequities which had held them from 6 to 22 cents an hour below average GE rates. Other union gains include some easement of speedup pressures under the piecework system and improved working conditions.

Last October, Johnson slapped a Taft-Hartley injunction on 5,900 workers who struck GE's jet engine plant at Evendale, Ohio. They are members of the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists. A tentative agreement has since been negotiated which, according to "informed sources," adjusts wage inequities and clears the way for settlement of accumulated griev-

Since Oct. 17, some 11,500 IUE members have been on strike at GE's main plant in Schenectady, N.Y. They are fighting to get rid of a measured daywork speedup scheme which results in pernicious wage-cutting. Through this scheme, which was imposed in the 1964 local contract, GE changes production standards at will, without regard to past practices and without consulting the union. To enforce its arbitrary production

standards for day workers, the company has used every form of harassment and discipline, up to and including firing. Also involved in the strike are about 800 draftsmen belonging to the American Federation of Technical En-

In Detroit, Mich., about 1,100 UAW members are out in a strike that began Oct. 2 at GE's Carboloy plant. A union ad in the Detroit News says the dispute centers on job security and GE's demand "for the discharge of two men, with 12 and 15 years seniority, who, the company says, were engaged in a picket line argument." UAW officials have pleaded for arbitration of the dispute, and GE has rejected the plea.

On a third try, officials of the Communications Workers of America got membership approval of a new contract for 22,000 telephone equipment installers employed by the Western Electric Co. An initial company offer to increase wages 8 to 14 cents an hour was rejected by the installers who voted 7 to 1 to authorize a strike. Western Electric next proposed raises of 13 to 20 cents an hour. CWA officials urged acceptance of the new offer, but the workers rejected it 8,231 to 7,240.

The company then amended its proposal to provide that money items in a new three-year contract could be re-opened after 18 months. The immediate wage increases were made retroactive to last July. In a referendum, with a proviso that a 'no' vote would empower a strike, the installers accepted the amended offer 10,697

In the first strike in the history of the Raytheon Co., some 10,000 IBEW members have walked out at 26 plants across Massachusetts. Raytheon — whose profits jumped over 30 percent last year, partly due to war production - says the union is making "excessive" money demands of 11 percent annually. Other key issues in the dispute are work assignments and job security.

Public employes seeking higher pay are beginning to rebel against the dictum that "you can't strike against the government."

In Rhode Island, where a state law bans strikes by public workers, some 1,500 state employes stayed home "to rest." They sought to force a special session of the Democrat-dominated General Assembly to vote them a costof-living increase. After being promised legislative action at the regular January session, the state employes complied with an injunction ordering them back to

Public school teachers in Hubbard, Ohio, managed to resist a strikebreaking injunction long enough to win a partial victory in an eight-day walkout. The settlement provides an annual increase of \$470 in wages and \$60 in retirement benefits for Hubbard's 140 teachers.

In nearby Youngstown, around 1,200 teachers were involved in a week-long strike over bargaining recognition and wages. School officials got a court order requiring them to go back to work. They did so after agreement was reached on a collective bargaining election. The strikes, conducted by the American Federation of Teachers, were supported by school bus drivers and Teamsters Union members who make deliveries to the schools.

Last October, the AFT was certified as bargaining agent for 475 teachers in Chicago's city junior college system, but in negotiations that followed the school board imposed 17 "preconditions" for collective bargaining. As a result the teachers struck on Nov. 30. School officials quickly got a restraining order to force an end to the walkout. The striking teachers then held a meeting and decided to continue picketing despite the court order.

Spokesmen for the Oil Workers Union have raised the possibility of a nationwide strike of oil refineries on Jan. 1. Key issues are wages and job security. Automation and technology are taking a heavy toll of oil jobs, the union says. Older workers have been retired at an accelerated rate, while few new ones are being employed, with the result that "oil has become an industry of middle-aged

. . .

### **Nurses in Minnesota Press Wage Demands**

By Carrie Jason

MINNEAPOLIS - Almost half of the more than 3,000 members of the Minnesota Nurses Association (MNA) have submitted onemonth resignation notices to pressure Twin City hospitals to grant immediate salary increases.

The resignations are part of an MNA drive to force the Twin Cities Hospital Association (TCHA) to grant wage boosts more than seven months before the nurses' contracts expire. The TCHA is the bargaining organization for 21 hospitals in the area. The resignations become effective Dec. 26 if no settlement has been reached.

The MNA has asked the immediate raises because, it says, low nurse salaries are causing nursing shortages - ultimately harming patient care. Inflation and the effect of large salary increases for nurses in other areas have added impetus to the MNA's demands.

The hospitals argue that to grant the MNA's request now, before the contract expires, would encourage other employe groups to ask for pay raises.

Offers made by the TCHA and accepted by MNA members on the negotiating committee include \$1 an hour for "on-call" time (when nurses are not working but are forced to remain at a designated spot in case of emergencies), and time-and-a-half for overtime work done when "oncall." The nurses' spokesmen rejected the Hospital Association's

offer of slightly raised salaries.

Twin Cities nurses are seeking \$541, \$591, and \$641 monthly salaries for general duty, assistant head nurses, and head nurses, respectively. This would be an increase of \$66 for the general duty nurses, \$86 for the assistant head nurses, and \$96 for the head nurses.

Reasons given at a Nov. 21 meeting of the nurses, in favor of mass resignation rather than a calling in sick proposal, were that a sick call was "no real commitment" and that disunity might result if some nurses began to return to work after one or two days of calling in.

The nurses voted to hold another meeting to hear reports on the number of resignations and progress in negotiations.

### Three Pacifists Given Six-Month Sentences In Draft-Card Burning

NEW YORK - Three pacifists who publicly burned their draft cards as a protest against the Vietnam war were sentenced to six months in prison by a federal judge here Nov. 30. Under the law recently jammed through Congress making it a felony to burn a draft card, they might have received maximum sentences of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. They were released on their own recognizance, pending appeal.

The three are Marc-Paul Edelman and Thomas Cornell of New York and Paul Lisker of Philadelphia. They burned their draft cards at a Union Square demonstration Nov. 6, 1965, organized by the War Resisters League, CNVA and other pacifist groups. Edelman, a member of the staff of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, is associated with the WRL and CNVA. Cornell is president of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, Lisker is active in the Philadelphia pacifist move-

The three were defended by attorneys for the ACLU. The ACLU will appeal the convictions on the ground that the law is unconstitutional, violating the First Amendment.

Commenting on the minimum sentences, Edelman said he considered them a product of the growing popular antiwar sentiment. He pointed out that the sentences were similar to those given civil rights and peace activists for lesser offenses.

### SOCIALIST FUND

### Aid for the General

By Marvel Scholl

As of this scoreboard, we have just one month left in the campaign. I wish to urge all those branches which are below 72 percent to speed up their payments. This fund is being raised, not for some future project, but for build-ing the Socialist Workers Party

A note from Bill K. of San Diego assures us that "we got a late start but we will get there on time." That is very good news.

Three friends swelled The General this week. We thank F.J.M. of New York, W.H.B. of Washington, D.C. The third contribution came from a member-at-large in Madison, Wisc.

A recent letter from the fund director in Oakland-Berkeley, Tony C., via the branch financial director, Sue S., is most interesting. That branch operates on a six-month budget which includes the special fund, but this time they took more of a quota than had been figured on. So to raise the additional money, they are planning the showing of some new Cuba films, a raffle of Malcolm X's two books, and a flea market. As Sue says, "We've got so many irons in the fire, it is hard to keep track of them.

They are already working on a Marxist calendar to sell next fall. This will include birthdates of important Marxists, important dates, etc., with revolutionary pictures at the top.

All of which goes to prove that if you put your mind to it, there are many ways of raising money, and doing important political work at the same time.

Readers of The Militant can also help by making contributions to the Socialist Fund. Most of the readers are acutely aware of the vital necessity of building a political party with a socialist program. It is not enough just to agree with us. Such agreement imposes an obligation as well. Make your contribution now. Use the coupon to send in your down payment on a better world.

### **Weekly Calendar**

CHICAGO

The Friday Night Socialist Forum will for Dec. 16. allow the largest possible attendance at Dave Dellinger's report on his recent trip to Vietnam, 8 p.m. Mandel Hall, 57 St. and University.

NEW YORK THE CRISIS IN CHINA. Speaker: Robert Chester, national committee Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 16, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO WHO KILLED JOHN F. KENNEDY-Startling new facts on the assassination and an analysis of the Warren Commission Report. Speakers: Edward M. Keating, publisher of Ramparts; Harold Weisberg, author of Whitewash. Fri., Dec. 16, 8:00 p.m. Hall of Flowers — Golden Gate Park, 9th and Lincoln. Ausp. Militant Lebor Forum.

TWIN CITIES THE MYTH OF PEOPLE'S CAPITAL-ISM — The real social and economic situation today. Speakers: Bill Onasch, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 16, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240 Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### Want to Help

I want to help fulfill the quota in the \$18,000 Socialist Fund. Enclosed is my contribution of......

NAME ... STREET .....

Send check or money order to:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 873 Broadway New York, N. Y. 10003

### **Fund Scoreboard**

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Minneapolis-St. Paul	\$ 1,000	\$ 840	84
Oakland-Berkeley	. 1,000	800	80
Boston	1,000	741	74
St. Louis	150	110	73
Detroit	1,200	861	72
New York	4,800	3,456	72
Chicago	1,500	1,040	72
Denver	100	53	53
Philadelphia	450	210	47
San Francisco	1,000	457	46
Milwaukee	400	172	43
Allentown	135	50	37
Los Angeles	4,000	1,268	32
Cleveland	900	282	31
Newark	100	30	30
Seattle	250	50	20
San Diego	125	35	20
General	_	123	_
Totals through 12-5-66	\$18,110	\$10,578	59

### Antiwar Unity Bugs Right U.S. Impounds Vietnam Mail

By Harry Ring

A major, unprecedented gain registered by the antiwar movement during the past year has been the remarkable degree of unity in action achieved by organizations opposed to the Vietnam war.

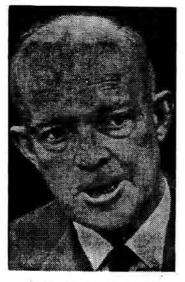
At the outset, there were many groups and individuals who believed that the administration had floundered into this war through a series of errors. They believed that the administration's ruinous policy could be reversed if enough of the real facts were placed before it and if it were made fully aware of the extent of the opposition among influential people, as well as in the population generally.

Johnson's steady, ruthless es-calation of the war made many such people realize their hopes unfounded. It convinced were them that only a significant, militant mass movement could stop the warmakers. To achieve that necessary goal, they turned toward united action with the more militant wing of the antiwar movement.

This very salutory development has caused visible dismay among supporters of Johnson's dirty war. Their apprehension has been expressed in a large advertisement that has already appeared twice in the New York Times.

Sponsored by Freedom House, the well-financed institute of the cold-war liberals, the ad hopes to turn conservative elements in the antiwar movement against the militant wing of the movement. It calls on "responsible" critics of the war to "disassociate themselves from wild charges being made against the nation and its leaders.'

The essence of the statement is pure political reaction veneered with transparently fake liberalism. Its principal concern, the sponsors



General Eisenhower Advises Peace Movement

piously declare, is that "extremists could delay Vietnam negotiations."

Among the signers are such Johnson-line union bureaucrats as Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union and Joseph Beirne of the Communication Workers. Also included are "I-used-to-be-aradical-myself" cold warriors like Sidney Hook and John Dos Passos.

But most fittingly, the lead names on the ad are those wellknown peaceniks, Dwight D. Eisenhower and Dean Acheson, As Truman's secretary of state, Acheson was a principal architect of the "containment-of-communism" policy. And Eisenhower is so deeply concerned about peace in Vietnam that he recently indicated he is ready to drop a few atom bombs to achieve it.

The statement argues that the "irresponsible" elements in the antiwar movement are a barrier to a negotiated settlement because their activity may encourage "our antagonists" to hold out for vic-

tory. What they really mean is that if the antiwar movement builds up sufficient strength, Johnson will not be able to achieve his goal of exterminating the south Vietnamese guerrilla movement and dealing mortal blows to the north Vietnamese regime.

Even those in the antiwar movement (with the disgraceful exception of the Socialist Party) who had previously argued in favor of a negotiated settlement, now pretty much recognize that the only negotiations Johnson is interested in are for the unconditional surrender of the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

About the only truthful statement in the Freedom House ad is the boast that in addition to other "beneficial" results, the U.S. intervention in Vietnam "provided a shield for the sharp reversal of Indonesia's drift toward communism." The hundreds of thousands of Indonesians slaughtered in that fearful "reversal" stand as mute testimony to this.

The ad declares that "responsible" dissenters must denounce such "fantasies" of the "irresponsible extremists" as these:

- · "That this is 'Lyndon Johnson's War' or 'McNamara's War' or any other individual's war."
- "That the American individuals are committing 'war crimes' or indulging in 'genocides.'
- · "That military service in this country's armed forces is an option exercisable solely at the discretion of the individual."
- · "That this is a 'race' war of whites vs. colored people."

• "That this nation's leaders are obsessed with some compul-sion to play 'world policeman' or to conduct some 'holy war' against the legitimate aspirations of underdeveloped people."

All of this, of course, is a rather accurate compendium of U.S. policy.

In one sense, of course, it isn't Johnson's or McNamara's war. It is a war waged in behalf of the ruling capitalist class in this country as evidenced by the bi-partisan support given the war in Congress and all other branches of government. But it is Johnson's and McNamara's war in that they are the chief executives of American capitalism and have demonstrated a determination to continue the war against the wishes and needs of the American and Vietnamese people.

The charges of war crimes and genocide are confirmed by every news report and every TV film of the use of napalm and chemical and biological warfare, the bombing and strafing of civilian centers and the burning of entire

The "discretion of the individual" to refuse to fight in an illegal and unjust war was, of course, upheld as a duty by the Nuremberg tribunal after WW II, on which the U.S. sat.

The utter callousness with which the U.S. has used every horrifying weapon at its com-mand against the Vietnamese people, and previously against the Korean and Japanese people, certainly bolsters the conviction of the colored peoples of the world that this is indeed a racist war.

Finally, the giant network of U.S. bases and forces around the globe, the intervention in Cuba, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, the Congo and Vietnam more than suffices to demonstrate that the U.S. is acting like the policeman of the world in an effort to thwart the legitimate aspirations of the colonial people - aspirations that run contrary to the interests of American imperialism.

Arguments to the contrary have as much relationship to reality as "Freedom House" has to freedom. The established facts about the U.S. role in Vietnam have served to bring the antiwar forces together. Freedom House fantasies are not likely to divide them.

### To an Antiwar Organization

NEW YORK - The United States Customs Service is being challenged on its seizure of 5,000 paperback books from north Vietnam, by Walter D. Teague III, who heads the United States Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The New York Civil Liberties Union is providing Henry Winestein to represent Teague in court.

Teague was notified on Nov. 14 that the shipment was being detained by the Customs Service and that the books would not be turned over to him unless he obtained a license under the "Trading with the Enemy" Act. The Customs Service said the books would be destroyed unless Teague presented a "foreign assets control" license within 45 days.

Before the Customs Service intercepted this mailing, Teague had received several shipments from Hanoi without difficulty. The 5,000 volumes of the intercepted shipment were mailed to Teague via Prague, Czechoslovakia.

"It's my feeling that they stopped this shipment of Vietnamese literature because they were worried that we might have some effect in getting this literature into the hands of interested people around the country," Teague told The Militant, "Right before they clamped down, we had sent a large mailing to college newspapers, asking them to inform students that they could obtain these books from us. It goes without saying that the seizure of this literature is a blatant violation of freedom of speech and thought."

Henry Winestein said that he would demand in court that the books be turned over to Teague without a license. "Under the free speech guarantees of the First Amendment, the government cannot compel an importer of political literature to apply for a license. The NYCLU's position is that the license requirement constitutes a forbidden prior restraint on freedom of speech and of the press,"

### Phila. Forum Discusses **Vietnam War Crimes**

PHILADELPHIA - On Nov. 30, the University of Pennsylvania Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a successful forum on U.S. war crimes in Vietnam. The meeting began with the film, "Time of the Locust," which was made from U.S., Japanese and National Liberation Front newsreels.

Russell Stetler, U.S. co-chairman of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, talked about what he saw in north Vietnam during a recent trip there made in connection with the War Crimes Tribunal.

He described the effects of "lazy dogs," or fragmentation bombs which spew out sharp metal fragments designed only to kill and maim humans, which the U.S. is dropping on north Vietnamese civilians.

A message from Bertrand Russell was read after Stetler's talk.

### The American **Way of Life**

### Goodies from Neiman-Marcus

Our Neiman-Marcus Xmas catalogue finally arrived and it's really loaded with goodies this year.

First of all, in our previous report on those His and Hers bathtubs (\$4,000, plus freight) we didn't mention that the porcelain is acid-resistant.

We don't know if it's also acidresistant, but the catalogue includes a porcelain-lined cigar humidor \$400.

Another nice his and hers gift might be a man's muffler of shatoosh wool (\$100) and a woman's stole of the same material (\$1,500). Shatoosh, in case you don't know, is the soft throat hairs of the Ibex goat which, if memory serves us, is found only on the highest peaks of the Himalayas.

For the home, there's a lovely Venetian table cloth for \$2,750 with 12 tea napkins and 12 dinner napkins thrown in for free.

If the family is getting a bit creaky for lack of exercise and you find it too much to get out of the city, you may be interested in a backyard, year-round ski slope. It's 121 feet long, 25 feet wide and 25 feet high. The surface is plastic which skis like snow and, best of all, never needs shovelling. Complete with lights for night skiing. Order from the Toy Shop. \$100,000.00.

A wonderful idea for the bathroom, besides the His and Hers tubs, is Neiman-Marcus color portraits. You can get a pair of 8" x 10" photos for only \$125. These can be set on the tub boards along with the mirrors, perfumes, etc. And for the wall, a striking 30" x 40" shot of the two of you. \$800.

Step out of the tubs onto a French tapestry fur rug, 8' x 10'.

Incidentally, don't get the idea that everything at Neiman-Marcus is higher-priced. There's all

kinds of cheap trinkets for office parties, etc. There are nice coffee spoons at a dollar a piece and matching grapefruit spoons for \$2. There's a lovely little porcelain owl for \$20 and brass bridge pencils, at \$7.50 for a set of four.

Neiman-Marcus also has a real yummy food shop and there are a number of items that sound wonderful for the snack table while everyone's busy decorating the tree. For example, a large 14ounce jar of French truffles. \$50. A 14-ounce tin of Romanoff caviar, \$62.50. And for a nice sandwich meat, better than any local liverwurst, a hunk of paté de fois gras (with truffles), \$36 a pound, unsliced.

When you're ready for this snack, you don't want to be standing there screaming at the top of your lungs. N-M has just the thing for that: A Maid Call, which is a pocket-sized remote control switch (with a silver-p which buzzes a sound box in the kitchen. Both units, \$200.

Finally, if the lady of the house is beat out from the holiday, how about a week at the Neiman-Marcus Greenhouse? It's a beauty and health center in Arlington. Texas. Includes breakfast in bed, water and toning exercises, beauty consulations, lunch, make-up assistance, hand and foot care, rest, wine lecture, art of gift wrapping, dinner, movies and what have you. A week's stay is only \$650, and there's no tipping. Instead they add on another \$98 and N-M takes care of the help

And what will the man of the house do while the lady's soaking it up at the Greenhouse? Simple. He'll have both tubs to himself.

Joveux Noel!

-Herman Chauka

### HOLIDAY BOOK LIST.



### BOOKS ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE

Malcolm X Speaks, A collection of speeches, statements, letters, interviews. Edited by G. Breitman. \$5.95 cloth. \$.95 paper.

The Autobiography of Malcolm X. \$7.50 cloth. \$.95 paper.

The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the U.S. 1638-1870, W.E.B. DuBois.

\$3.00 cloth.
Capitalism and Slavery, Eric Williams. \$1.65 paper.
Origins of the New South, C. Vann Woodward. \$3.25 paper.
The Torture of Mothers, Truman Nelson. \$1.00 paper.

### CUBA, VIETNAM AND THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION

Guerrilla Warfare, Che Guevara. \$3.50 cloth.
Inside the Cuban Revolution, Adolfo Gilly. \$1.00 paper.
The Wretched of the Earth, Franz Fanon. \$1.95 paper.
The Great Fear in Latin America, John Gerassi. \$1.50 paper.
The Vietnam Reader, edited by B. Fall and M. Raskin. \$2.45 paper.
Vietnam Primer (from Ramparts). \$1.00 paper.
We Accuse (Vietnam Day Committee). \$1.00 paper.
South Africa: Peasants' Revelt, Govan Mbeki. .95 paper.

### LEON TROTSKY

The History of the Russian Revolution. \$13.50 cloth \$1.45 paper (abridged)
The Essential Trotsky. \$1.50 paper
My Life. \$2.45 paper
The Trotsky Papers, Vol. 1. \$28.50 cloth
The Basic Writings of Trotsky, edited by I, Howe. \$1.95 paper.
The Trotsky Anthology: The Age of Permanent Revolution, by Isaac Deutscher.
\$.95. paper.

\$.95. paper.
Prophet Armed, The Prophet Unarmed, The Prophet Outcast. Is.
Deutscher's trilogy on the life of Leon Trotsky. \$2.45 per volume, paper.

### JAMES P. CANNON

The First Ten Years of American Communism. \$4.00 cloth. Secialism on Trial. \$1.00 paper. The Struggle for a Proletarian Party. \$2.75 cloth. The History of American Trotskyism. \$3.00 cloth \$2.00 paper.

### OTHERS

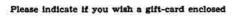
Labor's Giant Step, Twenty Years of the CIO, Art Preis. \$7.50 cloth.
The Origins of Materialism, George Novack. \$8.95 cloth \$2.95 paper.
Their Morals and Ours: Marxist Versus Liberal Views on Merality. Four essays
by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey and George Novack. \$.75 paper.
An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism, George Novack. \$1.00 paper.
The New Economics, E. Preobrazhensky \$8.30 cloth.
On Trial, Max Hayward. Transcript of the trial of Daniel and Sinyavsky. \$1.95

paper.
The Paris Commune of 1871, Frank Jellinek. \$2.45 paper.
MaoBird, Barbara Garson. \$.95 paper.
The ABC of Communism, Nikolai Bukharin. \$2.95 paper.
The Bolshevik Bevolution, E. H. Carr. Three volumes. \$6.95 paper.
Existentialism versus Marxism, George Novack. \$2.95 paper.
The IWW, Paul F. Brissenden. \$5.50 cloth.
Eugene V. Debs, Ray Ginger. \$1.50 paper.
The Free World Colossus, David Horowitz. \$2.45 paper.

Send your order, check and the address to which the package is to be sent to:



MERIT PUBLISHERS 5 EAST THIRD STREET NEW YORK, N. Y., 10003





### THE MILITANT

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 31 - No. 45

Monday, December 12, 1966

### "Great Society" in 1967

Although President Johnson will not present a full program of domestic policies for 1967 until the opening of the 90th Congress in January, the character of this program is indicated by a series of preliminary White House announcements. These show that the Democratic administration is mounting a campaign for inflationary war financing coupled with whatever anti-labor legislation it can get away with.

The massive extent of the present and planned war spending was revealed by "government experts" to New York Times reporter Edwin Dale Jr., Nov. 30. According to Dale, the White House now intends to lay out between \$127 and \$130 billion in the current fiscal year. This compares to estimated government revenues of about \$117 billion, meaning that there will be a federal deficit of at least \$10 billion.

The current expenditures are additionally \$10 billion over the budget Johnson proposed in his 1966 estimates, and according to Dale, the addition is solely attributable to spending on the war. That brings the total war budget in fiscal year 1967, ending June 30, to \$67 billion — of which over \$20 billion went to the war itself.

In the following fiscal year, 1968, the government sources revealed that Johnson will ask for close to \$140 billion, another \$13 billion higher than the 1967 budget. It is evident that the additional \$13 billion will go 100 percent into the escalated war. This would follow from Johnson's statement Dec. 1 that over \$5 billion had been cut from domestic spending in 1967, with the implication that further cuts were being anticipated at the expense of greatly needed social measures.

The current cuts in the "Great Society" budget came out of housing and urban development programs: health, education and welfare expenditures; and agricultural development budgets, among others. These cuts are made on the pretext that a tax increase may be avoided. But, even with deficit spending, the planned escalation of the war makes a tax hike inevitable.

In both ways - through higher taxes and greater deficit spending - it will be the workers who are directly hit. This is one of the reasons why the Johnson administration is preparing stiffer anti-labor laws for the coming year. The capitalists are fully aware that inflated prices and higher taxes will be met by increased labor pressure for higher wages.

On Nov. 29, the White House revealed that Johnson had established a "special study group to search for new ways to cope with strikes that are judged to threaten the national interest." This panel was "quietly" set up before the November elections.

Although the details of its recommendations have not been made public, the New York Times, one of the most conscious spokesmen of the capitalist class, gave a good idea of what we can expect in its editorial columns Dec. 1. Under the heading of "Stopping Emergency Strikes," the Times editors affirmed that "No single remedy is going to be ideal for coping with all the complex causes and characteristics of strikes.'

Consequently, according to the New York Times, the President "should be free to chose, on the basis of each specific emergency, whether to move for fact-finding, compulsory arbitration or temporary seizure of all or part of an industry."

What constitutes a "strike against the national interest?" If you follow the editorial pages of the New York Times, every single major strike or strike threat of 1966, to begin with, falls under that heading: the New York transit workers strike in January; the airline mechanics strike in the late summer; and the electrical workers struggle this fall.

But these very struggles show that many American workers are in a mood to fight for fair wages - laws, executive intervention and congressional oratory, not withstanding

### **Socialist Directory**

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

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

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 9-4963 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202. 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. 19191. ST. LOUIS. Phone EVergreen 9-2895, Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO, San Diego Labor Forum. 1853 Irving St., San Diego, Calif. 92113. SAN FRANCISCO, Militant Labor Forum. 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117. SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party. LA 2-4325.

### Bayard Rustin's 'P

#### By Barry Sheppard

When Bayard Rustin was a young man in the 1940s, he worked with A. Philip Randolph in the struggle to desegregate the armed forces. Rustin was director of the Committee to End Discrimination in the Armed Forces headed by Randolph.

The two leaders had somewhat of a falling out in 1948, however, when Truman issued an executive order banning discrimination in the services. Randolph wanted to dissolve the committee, while Rustin wanted to continue it until freedom was won for those supporters of the committee still in jail as a result of the fight. When Randolph announced the dissolution of the committee, Rustin denounced him as a sell-out.

This story is told in an article by Stephanie Harrington in the Oct. 13 Village Voice. The article is based on an interview with Rustin, and this story is supposed to show the natural, impetuous radicalism of youth versus the wisdom of maturity. Now, Miss Harrington, says, the tables have turned to the extent that Rustin, as director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, is the wise old man who is being denounced by his young protégés.

#### Frustration Politics

"Remembering his old battles with Randolph," Miss Harrington says, "Rustins explains, 'It's that experience that gives me great affection for young people who think I'm a sell-out. I was playing frustration politics then, just as I think these boys are now.' The 'boys' Rustin is refering to include CORE director Floyd Mc-Kissick, SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael, SNCC legend Bob Moses, and Black Panther organizer Courtland Cox. All Bayard's children, politically speaking."

The question Miss Harrington asks is, will Bayard's children, his "prodigal sons," come home? i.e., abandon the concepts of black power and return to Rustin's brand of coalition politics?

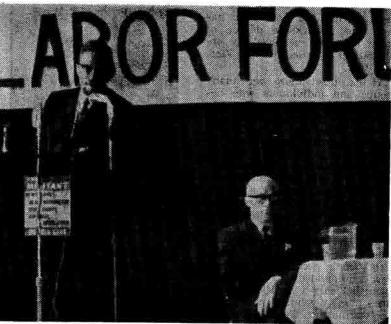
### Dismisses Black Power

Rustin consciously adopts the stance of the wise old father in relation to the young, militant section of the Negro movement in order to confuse the issues and denigrate the black power movement without actually coming to grips with its ideas. Rustin attempts to dismiss the black power movement as an infantile emotional reaction to white supremacy. He "understands" this reaction: Carmichael and McKissick "emotionally honest," but have no political program and their positions are the result of failing to think things through logically. He, Rustin, has thought things through logically, and perhaps these emotional youngsters will one day grow old enough to realize it.

On the question of self-defense nonviolence, IOL Miss Harrington says, "The aban-

### IN DEFENSE OF BLACK POWER

An answer to Bayard Rustin and other critics of black power is the subject of George Breitman's "In Defense of Black Power," the feature article in the new International Socialist Review. Breitman is well-known to readers of The Militant for his articles on black nationalism and the civil rights struggle. He is the editor of Malcolm X Speaks. Copies of the International Socialist Review may be obtained by sending 50¢ to 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.



AT MILITANT LABOR FORUM. Malcolm X at last appearance at Militant Labor Forum in New York, Jan. 7, 1965. Seated is Clifton DeBerry of Socialist Workers Party.

donment of nonviolence as a tactic is another position Rustin feels has been adopted without giving sufficient thought to its implications." She also says that Rustin and King feel that "the rejection of nonviolence has cost the movement white support in general and the 1966 civil rights bill in particular."

Rustin recalls a debate he had several years ago with Robert Williams, "Williams," Rustin says, "was advocating self-defense. And I said to Williams on that platform that there were only three courses open to Negroes who are incapable of advocating nonviolence. They would end up in jail. They would end up in exile. They would end up shot, and probably by Negroes. Today, they're trying to put Epton in jail; Williams is in exile; and Malcolm was shot - by Negroes. And it's my feeling that if Stokely and his sympathizers do not abandon the concept of black power and do not stop indirectly promising young Negroes a hope which their absence of a program cannot fulfill, this is the fate their frustration will lead them to."

This piece of rotten reasoning turns everything on its head. Negroes advocating self - defense cause the corrupt capitalist politicians in Washington to scuttle an ineffectual civil rights bill. William's advocacy of self-defense is to blame for the FBI and state government of North Carolina framing-up Williams, president of the local NAACP, and forcing him into exile. William Epton is to blame because the liberal city government in New York framed him up on the ridiculous charge of being responsible for the Harlem ghetto outbreak in 1964. And Malcolm X's death is the fault of - Malcolm!

Right after Malcolm X was murdered, the New York Times came out with a vicious editorial on the theme that Malcolm's advocacy of "violence" was the cause of his death, One expects such venom from the pen prostitutes of the capitalist class, who feared and hated Malcolm, but Rustin is supposed to be a leader of his people.

The same argument could be used to "prove" that King's nonviolent tactics in Chicago "caused" racist whites to attack open-housing marchers; that nonviolent tactics have "resulted" in thousands of people being sent to jail; that Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner "caused" their own deaths at the hands of white racists, etc., etc.

It is, of course, true that militant leaders are singled out for special attack and have been

throughout history. Malcolm X might well be alive today if he had given up the struggle and made his peace with the powers that be. He knew that ahead of time. But he wasn't willing to give up the fight, no matter what the cost to him. Rustin's argument boils down to the thesis that if you don't fight you won't have any martyrs. Which may be so. But you will have continuing and deepening oppression.

Furthermore, violence against Negroes and against Negro organizations is caused by the racial oppression which is part and parcel of the American capitalist system. One of the tactics used by racists against Negro leaders and organizations is violence. The question is, what is the best way to meet racist violence? Those who/advocate self-defense believe that in certain situations nonviolent tactics may be the best, but that in general, racist violence must be countered with self-defensive measures, which will reduce violence to Negroes and are necessary to assure that Negro organizations will not simply be chopped up or terrorized into sub-

### Black Panther Party

On the subject of politics, Rustin discussed Stokely Carmichael and Courtland Cox of SNCC, both of whom were active in helping to build the Lowndes County Freedom Party (Black Panther Party). The "master strategist impatient with his errant pupil," as Miss Harrington describes Rustin, says, "My fight with Courtland was always that he did not follow the logic of his position. This is the reason I think Courtland has become, in many ways,



Floyd McKissick

### 'odigal Sons' Get a Free Lecture

the symbol of Black Panther isola-

This is Rustin's favorite argument against independent black political action. Rustin is against "isolation." He is for a "coalition of all progressive forces — white and black." Those who are for black power are presumably for "isolation" and against all coalitions.

But building independent black organizations is not an obstacle to coalitions which can aid the Negro people. Such independent organizations are perfectly capable of entering into coalitions with others to work for a common aim, just as CORE and SNCC have begun to enter the coalition of groups which make up the antiwar movement. An independent black political party could do the same, when and if there were reliable forces ready to fight alongside the Negro party for common aims. For example, at the present time, a revolutionary socialist party and an independent black political party would be able to work together on many issues.

The real question here is not whether independent black organization prevents coalitions with others including whites. It doesn't—in fact, it helps facilitate such coalitions when it is mutually advantageous, and helps guarantee that Negroes will be equal partners in any such coalition. The real question bothering Rustin is

the question of coalitionism with the Democratic Party.

The black power movement is still ambiguous on the question of the Democratic Party. Some sections of it want to break with the Democrats. Others are for remaining part of the Democratic Party. Some are not sure yet. But the logic and thrust of the black power movement is to break with the Democrats and form a political party responsible to and representing the Negro masses. While this remains an incipient tendency in the black power movement, Rustin hopes to intervene and cut off this possible road of development, and keep the movement within the confines of the Democratic Party.

#### Freedom Democrats

"Rustin's tactical disagreements with the SNCC generation erupted into public bitterness at the 1964 Democratic convention in Atlantic City," Miss Harrington says. "Sixty-eight members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had gone to Atlantic City to challenge the all-white delegation from their state. SNCC demanded that the convention unseat the entire regular Democratic Party delegation from Mississippi and replace them with all 68 MFDP representatives. The old Hubert Humphrey was working for a compromise which would have seated two of the MFDP members as delegates-at-large. Rustin backed the Humphrey plan."

"I told them [SNCC]," Rustin said, "that you cannot bring the dynamics of protest and sit-ins into politics, that absolutism is absolutely necessary in sit-ins, but that intelligent compromise is absolutely essential in politics. You buy and sell in politics. You've got to."

Here we have Rustin's concept of what the Negro movement should do. It should remain in the Democratic Party, "compromising" and "buying and selling" like "you've got to" in that party. Through ward-heeler politics, with the aid of wise old men like Hubert Humphrey, the Negro people will win their freedom!

The experience of the MFDP at the Democratic Party national convention, where the Democratic Party practically spit in the face of the Mississippi Negroes, even though the MFDP supported Johnson through the whole campaign, was a demonstration in itself of the racist character of that party. Perhaps it was one of the experiences that helped shape the Lowndes County Freedom Party as an independent party, not tied to the Democratic Party on a national level.

Rustin's position offers nothing new. He wants the Negro people to continue to support the Democratic Party and he is mortally afraid of the development of an independent black political party. He wants to continue the policy of coalitionism with the Dem-

**Bayard Rustin** 

ocrats practiced by the Negro people for the last 30 years.

One of the most eloquent testimonies to the failure of this policy is the condition of the black masses today. Some gains have been won — but only as a result of independent struggle and not through coalitionism with the Democrats. But the black masses still suffer from all the consequences of racism. In many ways they are worse off relative to the white population than 30 years

The failure of coalitionism with the Democrats is a fact. To achieve any real gains, the Negro people are going to have to break with the Democrats and build their own political organizations to fight for their just share of power.

The logic of black power is increasing opposition to the racist capitalist system and to the capitalist parties. The development of mass independent black political action would produce a profound alteration in the political life of the country, break up the Democratic Party, provide a powerful example to white workers, and open possibilities for a revolutionary development.

#### Rustin Frightened

This is what scares Rustin about black power. Rustin doesn't believe that a new society is possible. He doesn't really believe that racism and exploitation can be ended. He is bitterly opposed to any efforts to do so. His perspective is to gather a few crumbs from the table of American capitalism, as a reward for loyal service to the Democratic Party. He is frightened that any movement toward a fundamental change might upset his apple cart.

And this is why Rustin is going to be bypassed. The black masses are going to have to seek fundamental answers to their problems, because no other answers

are satisfactory.

### How Cubans View Black Power Movement

[The following article by Felix Pita Astudillo appeared in the Sept. 18 issue of the English language edition of Granma Weekly Review, official organ of the new, united Communist Party of Cuba. We are reprinting it to give our readers a Cuban view of the black power movement.]

There can be no doubt about the greatness of Malcolm X. As a result of experience, he began to realize that the Negro problem in the U.S. was more than a simple local conflict, an isolated phenomenon. Because his thinking carried him beyond the narrow confines of this conception, he decided to visit Africa, met with the principal leaders of the national liberation movements there, and came to understand that the position of Negroes in his own country was the counterpart of that which the colonially-exploited peoples of the Afro-Asiatic world were suffering. When Malcolm became thoroughly convinced of this, he began a tireless campaign to propagate his new ideas.

However, there were forces which were far from wishing to permit this Negro leader to give public vent to ideas which were at odds with the established social order of white supremacy.

### Assassination

Not long afterward, in the U.S. Negro ghetto of Harlem, Malcolm X was shot down, victim of assassins. He had previously expressed his certainty that reaction would resort to desperate measures in his case.

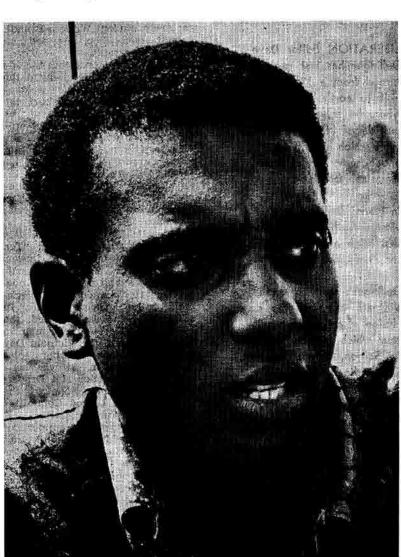
"The machine designed for my assassination is already in action. They have already tried to kill me several times by dynamiting my car and hurling bombs at my house."

Obviously, the reason for Malcolm X's assassination was that the U.S. ruling classes felt he constituted a threat to their interests. The Negro leader would have been perfectly safe if he had been a classic "Uncle Tom," and had played the game according to the rules of the establishment.

Reaction characteristically uses a double-edged weapon in dealing with potentially dangerous revolutionary figures in the sphere of economics, politics, literature, or any other activity. The two basic treatments are: buy them off whenever possible, no matter what their price, but if they refuse to sell out and keep up their revolutionary activity, liquidate them politically, and even phy-

sically

It happens that within the present U.S. Negro movement, the leadership has lined up into definite political camps. There are those who want to make reforms within the existing institutions, and those who declare that only through the destruction of such institutions may true reform be achieved. The violence versus nonviolence polemic has served to



Stokely Carmichael

polarize forces and opinions and has brought the radical wing into clear relief. This wing has increasingly adopted positions similar to those of the late Malcolm X.

The most striking leader of this wing is Stokely Carmichael, president [chairman] of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

He first gained public notice as a result of the march from Memphis to Jackson. Carmichael is the ideologist behind the slogan "black power" and his positions have been developing both in scope and in profundity.

Despite having lived in the most miserable neighborhoods of Harlem and the Bronx, Carmichael has not spent all of his 24 years in the U.S. This brilliant and hardworking student, graduate of Howard University in Washington, was not born in the U.S. but in Trinidad, and perhaps this has something to do with his interest in the problems of the underdeveloped countries of the Third World. Carmichael has confessed to the bitterness which the funerals of 17 comrades killed by n raci ts has left in

### White Liberals

The slogan "black power" has let him in for the worst kind of name-calling from white liberals. The reasons for white hostility against the youthful leader may be sought in the words of the document which sets forth the movement's philosophy, drawn up by Carmichael himself. Extracts from it have been published in The New York Times.

"If Negroes in this country are not given the rights and respect they deserve, the resulting antagonisms and contradictions will become more and more evident and intense and will finally produce a national explosion."

Shortly afterward, in a televised interview, Carmichael and five other Negro leaders representing diverse tendencies, gave opinions on several questions, one of which was the Vietnamese war. Car-

michael's opinion, word for word, was worth his weight in gold:

"This is an unjust and immoral war. Negroes should not take part in it, but rather should join hands with their brothers of the Third World who are oppressed by the U.S. Negroes who fight in Vietnam are mere mercenaries." Now, cables report the arrest of Carmichael, accused by Atlanta, Ga., authorities of "inciting rebellion." Official mass media have joined in the campaign against the young leader; and this was only to be expected, since Carmichael has shown no vacillation in his struggle against the monstrous status quo.

This bodes no good. The enemies of the people, while they are generous with hand-outs to those who oppose the imperialist offensive with nothing sharper than rose petals, have shown themselves to be implacable with leaders like the Stokely Carmichael of today and the Malcolm X of yesterday — those who insist that only cold steel will serve in the mortal struggle against a proved and savage foe.

### Special to Readers Of The Militant

### Three Pamphlets On Malcolm X

Only 60c

- Two Speeches by Malcolm
- Malcolm X Talks to Young People
- Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas by George Breit-

order from

MERIT PUBLISHERS 5 East Third St. New York, N.Y. 10003

### Administration Kept Attacking

### The Berkeley Background

#### By Hal Verb

The current student strike at the University of California Berkeley campus is the culmination of a developing antagonism between the students and the administration, which has been whittling away at the political rights secured by the students in the Free Speech Movement fight of December, 1964. The following list of incidents in the past months bears witness to this, and provides a background to the issues involved in the current strike.

On Aug. 10, the campus community learned that a policeman was appointed to watch over the Sproul Plaza area for violations of campus rules. The steps of Sproul Hall and the plaza have been the scene of many student political rallies.

Two weeks later, the Vietnam Day Committee was kicked off campus for alleged rules violations and debts. (In October, the VDC was re-admitted.) Karen Lieberman, a VDC leader, was fired from her campus job for picketing UN- Ambassador Goldberg when he appeared at Berkeley. A campus cop reported her activities to the administration. Chancellor Heyns said that her firing "had no connection with the incident."

On Sept. 28, Heyns re-defined a "student" to mean one currently enrolled at the university. Prior to this a student was identified as one enrolled in the previous semester.

#### New Rules

Two days later, Heyns issued new rules. These included: 1) Names of members of student organizations would be made available to the public; 2) student organizations may invite non-students to the campus only with permission of the dean or "other units of the university having authority to make rules for the facility being used"; 3) no leaflets or handbills could be handed out by non-students; and 4) no announcements of any kind could be affixed to buildings, trees, walls, etc.

On Oct. 3, demonstrators Steve

**NEW YORK** 

Hamilton and Mike Sharon were arrested. The Berkeley City Council also prohibited the use of the 2400 block of Telegraph Avenue for dances, rallies, etc. The Better Berkeley Committee and the VDC were both refused permits to use the block.

On Oct. 4, Vice Chancellor Boyd denied permission to Students for a Democratic Society to hold a conference on black power. In the meantime, a trial was set for Charles Aronson, former lecturer at the university extension, who was arrested last March for sitting at a table of the Peace/Rights Organizing Committee.

#### Black Power Meeting

The next day, SDS made a formal request for permission to hold the black power meeting. Boyd again refused on Oct. 11. He said the conference was not student controlled, and maintained that "outside influences," which he did not identify, were at work.

Then the administration retreated somewhat. On Oct. 14, it laid down guidelines for the black power conference. It said that no other groups were to be represented, that there should be only one table and only one banner. The SDS considered the proposal unacceptable. On Oct. 17, SDS was not allowed to use a sound truck to publicize the conference.

The next day, the Associated Students of the University of California banned non-students from campus activities such as movies. Two days later, Vietnam Day Committee signs were removed from a bridge on campus and other locations by university employees.

Both the Republican candidate for governor, Ronald Reagan, and the Democratic incumbent Brown, attacked the black power conference and Stokely Carmichael, the featured speaker.

Nearby Oakland reverberated when a ghetto school boycott was denied the use of UC classrooms to hold freedom schools. On Oct. 24, teachers allowed the boycotting students in anyway, and later faced the administration charge

**NEW YORK** 

that they had violated campus rules. The charges were subsequently dropped.

University Regent John Canady wanted the regents to prohibit Mario Savio and the Mime Troupe from campus.

As pressures mounted, the administration finally approved the black power conference on Oct. 25, but under strict rules. The same day, one of the ugly fruits of the administration attacks upon left-wing student groups was evidenced in a bomb threat against the VDC.

On Oct. 26, Heyns banned any future conferences which "receive prior publicity and show evidence of non-student control."

As a new month got underway, the university made public the membership lists of campus organizations and proposed to move rallies from the Sproul Hall steps. An Oakland housewife, Patricia Atthrowe, made headlines when she said she was concerned about campus organizations and spent several hours copying membership lists. The names she copied included people who had been promised anonymity by the administration.

#### Banned Movie

On Nov. 4, a VDC movie was prohibited. That same day, vendors for the Barkeley Barb, a newspaper, were forced off-campus by the campus police.

On Nov. 9, Mario Savio was denied re-admission to the uni-



ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATION. Scene at Berkeley campus last spring when UN Ambassador Goldberg was greeted by opponents of Vietnam war.

versity on the grounds that he didn't intend to obey the campus rules.

Heyns said he wouldn't "be coerced" on the question of rallies on the Sproul Hall steps, and stated he would allow them only on a trial basis. He left no doubt that he considered the rallies "instruments of coercion."

On Nov. 10, some 3,000 students signed a petition to Heyns calling on him not to move the location of the rallies.

The following day, David Friedman, a student, faced possible disciplinary action for writing a "strongly worded" letter to the

campus newspaper criticizing the administration.

Christ Kinder, a non-student member of the Spartacist League, was arrested on campus for passing out leaflets on Nov. 15.

On Nov. 21, a decision on the Sproul Hall steps was delayed for the remainder of the quarter.

A Navy recruiting table was set up on Dec. 1. A demonstration resulted, in which several non-students were arrested. This became the incident which triggered the growing resentment among students against the consistent and steady erosion of student political rights by the administration.

### ... Student Strike Is Ended

### (Continued from Page 1)

versity officials charged trespassing and creating a public nuisance.

On Wednesday morning, Nov. 30, Mrs. Corrine Goldsmith, 38, applied to the office of the Dean of Students to set up a table of the Berkeley Draft Information Committee next to a Navy recruiting table in the student union. When denied permission, she proceeded to set up the table at noon as a symbolic protest against the

**NEW YORK** 

war and the non-student Navy table.

Within five minutes, she was ordered to take the table down. A crowd of 200 students gathered, and began a picketline in protest of the special privilege accorded the non-student Navy table. Campus police shut the doors leading into this area of the student union, and attempted to hold students from coming down the stairwell. They made an exception, however, for six football players.

According to a faculty member present, one of the football players struck student William Brandt. Brandt was then arrested on charges of assault.

There was evidence that the administration saw the sit-in at the Navy recruiting table as a long-awaited opportunity to hurt the student antiwar movement by singling out a few of the protestors as non-students. John Searle, assistant to the chancellor, told an impromptu meeting of 400 faculty that for the last 18 months the administration had been subject to "blackmail" by non-students. Wednesday apparently was

a chance to "get them." An article in the Dec. 4 San Francisco Examiner begins: "Ten non-students are the chief targets of University of California administrators who say they are now reacting to '18 months of blackmail' on the Berkeley campus." In addition to the six arrested, the 10 include Karen Lieberman, a former leader of the Vietnam Day Committee; Jack Weinberg, also recently active in antiwar activity; socialist writer Hal Draper; and Peter Camejo, one of the leaders of the United Committee Against the War.

In a statement in support of the strike read to a mass meeting of students, Rick Feinberg of the VDC said:

"The Vietnam Day Committee regards the present conflict over student rights as a struggle for its own existence. As in 1964, when the Free Speech Movement was initiated in reaction to the power structure's attempt to destroy the civil rights movement, the present conflict stems from a continuing attempt to crush the

antiwar movement.

"The right of dissent is a fundamental principle of democracy and essential for the furtherance of our aim to halt American suppression of self-determination in Vietnam. We must and will defend our right to dissent whenever it is attacked."

The arrests took place at 6 p.m. In addition to Brandt and the six non-students, three students were arrested for interfering with an arrest. By then over 1,000 students had gathered in the student union. Discussion continued all day and evening. From the discussion, the students formulated five demands and shortly after midnight, a call for a student strike was overwhelmingly passed by 3,000 students meeting in Pauley ballroom of the student union.

The demands include that no police be called in to settle political disputes between students and the administration, that some non-students not be privileged over other non-students, and that university drop charges against those arrested and not discipline any students involved in the sit-in. A key demand, which has been urged ever since the free speech fight of 1964, is that disciplinary hearings be independent of the rule making agency and the chancellor's office, that they be open and bound by due process of law, that the burden of proof be on the administration, and that the administration officials be subject to call as witnesses by the defendant.

The following day, 8,000 students at a mass rally approved the demands and the strike call. The strike grew from about 25 percent effective on Thursday, to about 50 percent effective today, Dec. 5. The teaching assistants local of the American Federation of Teachers has been a strong supporter of the strike. Workers in the cafeteria struck with the students. Virtually all student organizations, including the student senate, gave initial support to the strike. A poll taken by the strike committee indicated that 75 percent of the students approved of the strike demands.

### DAVE DELLINGER

Reports on his trip to

### NORTH VIETNAM

CONTRIBUTION: \$1.00

THURSDAY, DEC. 15

**COMMUNITY CHURCH** 

40 E. 35th STREET

Dellinger has just returned from a 19-day visit to north Vietnam where he traveled widely outside of Hanoi in provinces which have been under heavy attack from

American bombing.

LIBERATION Editor Dave

In Hanoi Dellinger interviewed both President Ho Chi Minh and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong.

Dellinger's visit to north Vietnam came at the conclusion of a four month tour which included visits to Saigon, Japan, Bangkok, Cambodia, Delhi, Cairo and Moscow.

7:30 PM

Sponsored by LIBERATION

### 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.]

#### Still Campaigning

New York, N.Y.

I thought your readers would be interested to know that although Nov. 8 has come and gone, the Socialist Workers campaign office is still busy. One of the most exciting features of the campaign was the wonderful response and help we got from young people on college campuses and at high schools. Now we are systematically meeting with these young people to get them more familiar with our ideas so they will join us in the fight for socialism

There are around 50 of these young people that we are in the process 6f getting together with. The discussions are proving very fruitful. For example, one ninth-grader came down to the office with her mother. They became SWP fans during the campaign because they are deeply concerned about Vietnam and appreciated our stand on it.

After a couple of hours of discussion, the mother made a contribution to the current SWP fund-raising drive and the daughter signed up for a class on socialism which will include some of her school friends and others in her area.

Since the election, a few young people a week simply walk into the office to ask if they can help with whatever work the SWP is doing. They heard about us during the campaign and want to know more about us and become part of what we are doing.

One NYU student we met related a story which seems typical of the kind of experience that is radicalizing young people. He told me he was tutoring a Negro youth who wants desperately to become a scientist. The NYU student says he knows the youth simply isn't going to become a scientist, "because he isn't real brilliant and he isn't a basketball player." If he was white, he added, he probably would make it. This experience got the NYU student thinking about the system we live under and when he heard about the SWP he wrote in to find out about socialism.

The first concrete result of the campaign is a class on socialism organized in Queens by the Young Socialist Alliance. Six high school and college students that we met during the fall attended the first session and showed a great en-

thusiasm for learning about socialism and getting their friends to do the same. housewives all over the country, have begun a boycott of the campus cafeteria. They are demand-

Judy White

#### Message from Japan

We have learned, through The Militant, of the Sept. 29 fire-bombing of the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

Japanese journalism neglected this important news and we had not known of the affair until we received *The Militant*. This indicates how they are afraid of the expansion of antiwar sentiment and of the left-wing movement in the U.S. and Japan.

We express our solidarity with you against such right-wing attacks, part of the growing pattern of violence bred by the Washington warmakers.

In Japan, workers of Sohyo (General Council of Japanese Labor Unions) walked out or held protest meetings on Sept. 21 against the Vietnam war. On the same day, students of the non-CP left-wing, including our league, held demonstrations and a bloody collision took place between them and the police.

We heartily support your fight against the Vietnam war and we continue to fight also in Japan.

We are convinced of the ultimate victory of Troskyism through our solidarity and our fight for world revolution.

T. Hasse Chief of Int'l. Bureau, Revolutionary Communist League of Japan

#### From Ghana

Accra, Ghana
Not having been able to obtain
the usual price of a subscription
to your constructive and important journal, it has been coming
to me, through your habitual indulgence, as a favor from you.

The African people are beginning to have confidence in the American people concerning the great problems of the hour.

I was told about your newspaper by an Progressive American friend who has been here for a long visit. Since then I have become a faithful reader of The Militant.

I hope that you receive this letter soon and that you will accept this expression of my devoted feelings warmly.

### S.F. Student Food Boycott

San Francisco, Calif.
The inflation caused by Johnson's war in Asia is reaching deeper into the pockets of the American consumer.

Students at San Francisco State College, following the example of

have begun a boycott of the campus cafeteria. They are demanding a 20 percent reduction in food prices.

The boycott has the solid sup-

port of almost the whole student body. In one week before the boycott, Students for a Democratic Society collected 2,000 signatures on a petition demanding the price reductions. The first day of the boycott was 90 percent effective and the students plan to continue it.

Campus student groups are distributing their own food outside the cafeteria — and the prices are much lower than those inside. P. M.

### Nashville Project

Nashville, Tenn.
As far as we know, the South
Nashville Community Project
which we are building is the only
in-the-community project in an
urban poor white area in the
South

We like your paper a lot. Can you afford to send it to our project at no cost to us? Our bank account is too low to subscribe to anything.

We figure that if enough projects like ours can lead enough poor whites to an understanding of this country, people won't have to just talk about big changes.

B. H

### Thought for the Week

"No, I don't think much about napalm. If I did, I couldn't do my job. Besides, I've heard it kills almost instantly." — A U.S. Army lieutenant quoted by Laura Bersquist in her Vietnam report in the Dec. 13 issue of Look

#### Thank You Note

Weldon, N.C.
Thank you very much for publishing our fund appeal. The interest exhibited by you and your readers is greatly appreciated.

The contributions received have enabled us to rent office space, buy supplies, including a type-writer, install a telephone and start saving for a mimeograph machine. All of which are necessary for our movement here.

Thank you once again.

Jan and Julianne Tyler North Carolina SNCC

#### Rockin' the Boat

New York, N. Y.

Militant readers who don't tune into their local rock-and-roll station are missing some good songs which express a definite attitude toward this country and its policies, both domestic and foreign. One such song is titled "Silent Night: Seven O'Clock News" and consists of the Christmas song performed to the background of a typical 7 p.m. news broadcast.

The news covers such things as the HUAC hearing where the students were tossed out, civil rights actions and how American GIs are killing and being killed in Vietnam.

Another song is simply called: "I Was Robert McNamared Into Submission."

M. S.

#### Thinks We're Provincial

San Francisco, Calif.

I. Mangin & Co., a local shop, is offering an early bird, pre-Xmas special of mink coats for only \$3,000.

I report this because so many of The Militant's terrific shopping tips are available only to New Yorkers.

A. M.

[Not so. For example, Tiffany's, which has an Xmas special on men's gold cigarette cases and matching butane lighters (\$850 for the case, \$685 for the lighter) has a shop right on Post St. in San Francisco. Which indicates you simply have to be an alert shopper. Editor.]

### It Was Reported in the Press

Anti-Sane — A manifesto was issued by the Spartacist League, an ultra-left grouplet, calling on people to picket the SANE Madison Square Garden rally to End the War in Vietnam Now because of defects in SANE's program. Maybe the name bugs them too.

Be It Ever So 'Umble - The Honolulu home of tycoon Henry Kaiser was described in the New York Times as a series of rooms and courtyards divided by sliding glass doors. "The most spacious of the areas," the Times reported, "is a formal room that could accommodate a couple of tennis courts . . . It opens onto a swimming pool large enough to have a high and low diving board. On another side is an air-conditioned inner drawing room. And on the third side is a sunken bar on a long terrace." Mrs. Henry Kaiser says: "With only two of us, we don't need much space."

Really? — James Reston, the New York Times pundit, offered this disclosure Dec. 2: "The remarkably successful American penetration of foreign markets is becoming a major issue in world politics."

Objective Criteria — Herb Caen of the San Francisco Chronicle recently reported: "Tomorrow the Bank of California in Berkeley opens a big-big Picasso show on its mezzanine — honoring the 85th birthday of the most successful Communist painter in history. But if there is one kind of a person a banker respects, it's a millionaire."

Hear, Hear! — The following letter from a housewife appeared in the St. Petersburg, Fla., Times: "I see in the Times that one sugar grower was paid \$2-million for letting his land stay idle. This man probably got the most, but others got a million or more. This is the kind of thing housewives should go after . . . Every housewife in the country should flood her representative with mail to get rid of those controls whereby we pay enormous taxes to make prices higher for ourselves."

O — The first hundred thousand copies of the October issue of Glamour magazine included an ad that was yanked from the balance of the one-million run. It showed a young woman in a scanty leather dress kneeling with her hands bound. The name of the dress is "The Story of O." The ad was yanked when it was spotted by an editor who had read the recently published novel, The Story of O, an "adults only" work featuring a variety of masochistic and sadistic sexual practices. The ad was reported scheduled for a rerun in the November issue without the identifying line.

Florida Politics (I) — E. Wilson (Bud) Purdy has been appointed sheriff of Dade County, Fla. (Miami area). His predecessor, T.A. Buchannan, was suspended after being charged with conspiracy to commit bribery. Purdy, a former FBI man, was forced to resign earlier this year as head of the Pennsylvania State Police Force when a probe revealed that state police were tapping phones in violation of state law.

Florida Politics (II) — Sheriff Richard Stickley of Charlottee

County was suspended after being indicted for malfeasance. He was the eighth state official to be suspended in the past 12 months. The indictment said he refused to jail a woman charged by a state patrolman; had encouraged operation of an illegal lottery; had failed to fingerprint a prisoner charged with a felony; had released without bond a prisoner charged with manslaughter; had appointed deputies without listing them. Maybe he'll be replaced by the suspended Dade County Them That Has Gets - In a re-

port to the San Francisco Examiner on the New York social scene, Suzy Knickerbocker writes: "Anne McDonell Ford, looking divine in black velvet, went to Beverly Weicker's dinner with the Earl of Hardwick, one of her heavy beaux . . . Another heavy beau, Gen. John Coulter, came to the dinner as an extra man. Some girls don't even have one boyfriend, and there was Anne up to her diamonds in them."

—Harry Ring

### Announcing The Objective Criteria — Herb Caen

Jan.-Feb. 1967

### International Socialist Review

In the new pocket-sized format: Featuring "In Defense of Black Power" by George Breitman, an answer to recent critics of the militant wing of the civil rights movement. Other articles cover: current political and economic trends in Yugoslavia; the program of the Polish opposition; and the nature of the American inflation.

- □ Please send me the new ISR for 50¢.
- Please send me a year's subscription to the ISR for \$2.50. [6 issues]

International Socialist Review 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Name	
Street	
City	State Zip

### FOR

### NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

### THE MILITANT

873 Broadway New York, N. Y. 10003

Street \_\_\_\_\_ Zip\_\_\_\_

### THE MILITANT

# Mounting World Forces Act Ask City to Pay Costs To Save Peru Revolutionary In Detroit Shooting By Frank Lovell By Frank Lovell

ting over the new attempt by the Peruvian government to put peasant leader Hugo Blanco to death. Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyist, had organized peasant unions in a struggle for agrarian reform before he was arrested by the military government in 1963. He was held prisoner for three years, until the end of August of this year, before being brought to trial on charges stemming from the fact that three policemen were killed during efforts of the Peruvian military to repress the peasant movement.

On Sept. 8, in a courtroom packed with sympathetic peasants, Blanco and his co-defendants were found guilty. He was sentenced to 25 years in the fortress prison of El Frontón. On Nov. 4, at his appeal before Peru's highest military court, whose decision is final, the prosecution pressed for the death penalty.

The Paris daily Le Monde reports that seven of Blanco's codefendants signed a letter on Nov. 5 demanding the honor of having their fate linked with Blanco's. If he is to be shot, they asked, let them be permitted to stand at his side and be shot at the same

#### Hunger Strikes

Le Monde also reported that political prisoners of all kinds in Peru have gone on a hunger strike in solidarity with Blanco. This was indicated also in the Nov. 17 issue of Granma, official organ of the new, united Communist Party of Cuba. Granma reports that two outstanding guerrilla leaders, Hector Bejor and Ricardo Gadea, who are being held in prison in Peru, went on a hunger strike in solidarity with the peasant leader.

Alfonso Arata and some other guerrilla fighters also went on a hunger strike. The Cuban newspaper reported that in two prisons, a number of inmates holding similar views had been on a hunger strike for eight days.

In Chile, a petition appealing to Peruvian President Belaúnde Terry to grant amnesty to Hugo Blanco and hundreds of other revolutionists and fighters for social emancipation, was presented to the Peruvian embassy in Santiago, Chile, on Nov. 25. It was signed by Clotario Blest, chairman of the Central Union of Workers, and many other socialists, union leaders, attorneys and writers.

The following telegram was sent from Paris to President Belaunde "INFORMED APPEAL CONTAINS NEW THREAT OF DEATH AGAINST HUGO BLAN-ASK YOU MR. PRESI-DENT TO GRANT GENERAL

### New York City Socialist Vote

NEW YORK - The New York City Board of Elections has reported the gubernatorial vote for the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party. Returns for the entire state still have not been reported.

According to the board, Judy White, the SWP candidate for governor, polled 8,952 votes in the city. Milton Herder, SLP candidate, polled 4,238 in the city.

In last year's mayoralty contest, the SWP polled 3,977 votes in New York



Hugo Blanco

AMNESTY FOR HIM AND ALL THOSE IMPRISONED."

The telegram was sent by the Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru and was signed by Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and other French intellectuals. Daniel Mayer sent a cable to Belaunde in the name of the International Federation for the Rights of Man.

tional Union of Higher Education, the National Union of Students of France, and sections of the General Union of National Education protested in a joint cable to Belaunde.

Forty-three members of the Belgian House of Representatives, belonging to all the different political parties, responded to the initiative taken by Pierre Legrève, deputy of the Union of the Socialist Left, and sent an appeal to Belaunde, asking him to prevent the death penalty from being carried out against the peasant lead-

In Britain, a petition in behalf of Hugo Blanco was signed by a number of figures in the labor movement, including members of parliament. The petition was presented to the Peruvian embassy by Peter Taafe, editor of The Militant, and others. A demonstration at the Peruvian Consulate in Glasgow was held, organized by the Revolutionary Socialist League.

Last week we reported that the Italian Confederation of Workers sent an appeal to Belaunde. Earlier, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners held a demonstration at the Peruvian Mission to the UN in New York.

DETROIT, Dec. 2-The Detroit Common Council has before it a petition by attorney Ernest Goodman, representing the victims of a politically motivated murder in this city last May 16, requesting that the city pay burial costs and medical, hospital, transportation and rehabilitation expenses. Hearings in the matter have been set for Dec. 20.

Three former students at Wayne State University were the victims of the shooting at the offices of the Socialist Workers Party on Woodward Ave. Leo Bernard, 27, member of the Socialist Workers Party and outspoken opponent of the war in Vietnam, was murdered by a gunman whose avowed purpose was to "kill communists." Jan Garrett, 22, Wayne County Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, and Walter Graham, 19, member of the Young Socialist Alliance, were seriously wounded. Both were members of the student-organized Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

When the petition for aid was submitted to Common Council last Sept. 7, attorney Ernest Goodman stated that "if this crime had occurred in the state of New York, the victims would collect up to \$15,000 in state compensation for bodily injuries. Unfortunately we have no such law here in Michigan."

#### **Humanitarian Grounds**

Goodman's appeal to Common Council is based on purely hu-manitarian grounds. He argues that the three young men who were gunned down by a deranged killer were "university students concerned with the nature of society, its growth and development and the overriding importance of the avoidance of war which could result in the destruction of mankind."

Their assailant, Edward Waniolek, was known to the police as a potentially dangerous, mentally deranged person. He had been under investigation by both the U.S. Secret Service and the Detroit Police. Police Detective Rojowski, as early as last March, two months before the fatal shooting, urged Waniolek's wife to start proceedings to have him institutionalized. When she refused, nothing further was done until he was arraigned for murder and committed to Ionia State Hospi-



Leo Bernard

Attorney Goodman argues that the crime should have been prevented because "Michigan law specifically gives the police authority to take the initiative in instituting commitment proceedings against a socially dangerous person where the immediate family is unwilling or unable to do

"The police should not have placed the burden solely on the wife. For her to have proceeded may well have made her part of the 'Communist conspiracy' to Waniolek's distorted brain and resulted in her death.

"In any event, Waniolek's threats were directed to others in the community, to whom the police owe responsibility for protection."

When the extent of injuries to the two surviving students became known, Attorney Goodman petitioned Common Council to give aid. He says, "It would be ironic if the ultimate workings of our system of justice, in dealing with this tragedy, were to result in the payment by the public for the hospitalization, treatment and ultimate cure of Waniolek, but to leave the bodies of the innocent victims of his bullets to be ministered by families who are unable to afford the cost of their care and rehabilitation."

### Student Petition

While this appeal was pending, students at Wayne University in the Committee to End the War in Vietnam undertook to circulate petitions among interested citizens asking that Detroit Common Council act favorably upon the pleadings of Attorney Goodman. Joseph Sanders, chairman of the committee 4,267 signatures were obtained.

The Michigan Socialist Workers Party said that "the murderous assault was a product of the witchhunt that has been stirred up and intensified by the 'dirty' war in Vietnam. From the White House on down to the John Birchers and the Ku Klux Klan, the country is being incessantly incited against the 'communist me-Today's glorified 'hero' is the killer in the green beret in Southeast Asia.

"Taking the official propaganda as a cue and a license, the murderer armed himself and set out to kill 'communists.' Like others of this type, Waniolek was also a rabid white supremacist. In March he applied for admission to the race-state of South Africa, saying he was armed and prepared to fight against the communists and that South Africa was the only free country in the

### Seek to Win Clemency For Fort Hood Three

NEW YORK - A campaign to win executive clemency for the Fort Hood Three has been launched. The three GIs are serving prison terms in the Army prison at Fort Leavenworth for refusing to participate in "an illegal, unjust and immoral war" in Viet-

The campaign on behalf of Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. Dennis Mora and Pvt. David Samas will open with a full-page advertisement in the New York Times shortly be-fore Christmas. The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, which is sponsoring the clemency drive, is seeking the names of prominent figures here and abroad to sign

Among those who have already agreed to do so are folk singer Joan Baez, novelist Kay Boyle, author Lewis Mumford, folk singer Pete Seeger, Father Philip Berrigan, Rabbi Everett Gendler, Prof. Sidney Peck and Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley.

Pfc. Johnson and Pvt. Samas re now serving five-year terms. Pvt. Mora was sentenced to three years.

Treatment of the three servicemen has been improved since their recent transfer to Fort Leavenworth. While their sentence was under initial appeal, they were held at Fort Meade, Md., and subjected to barbaric treatment, including isolation and being forced to stand from morning until night.

At Fort Leavenworth, they each have an individual cell and are permitted library privileges and recreational exercises. They are enrolled in study courses and are awaiting work assignments. Mora and Samas are taking a biology course. Johnson is taking one in psychology.

The defense committee also reports that Rev. John Swomley of Kansas City has agreed to organize clergymen in the area to visit the men and to hold protest vigils at Fort Leavenworth against their imprisonment. It was also announced that the Iowa University SDS is planning a protest action at the prison.

Meanwhile, servicemen here and abroad are being apprised of the facts of the case. Leaflets are distributed to servicemen here at bus and railway terminals. In England, peace groups are distributing leaflets about the three GIs to American servicemen.

The heroism of the three young men in making their challenge to the legality of the Vietnam war was recognized with an award by the Weintraub Memorial Fund of New York. The Fund conferred its annual award for an outstanding act of bravery to the Fort Hood Three. Each was presented with a check for \$300.



Photo by Maury Englander

UNITED. Young relatives of Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. Dennis Mora, of Fort Hood Three case, at New York antiwar demonstration last Aug. 6. In background are other members of families. Pvt. David Samas' family lives in California. Relatives of three GIs have stood solidly with them and worked hard to win support for case.