

N. Y. Pro-War March A Resounding Fiasco

By Barry Sheppard

NEW YORK — A march down Fifth Avenue in support of the war in Vietnam on April 29, billed by its sponsors as the "answer" to the massive April 15 marches against the war, was a dismal flop. The fiasco clearly demonstrated the lack of popular support for this war.

The pro-war march, organized by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, took the form of the annual "Loyalty Day" parade. "Loyalty Day" itself was set up in 1947 as the "answer" to May Day, the international workers' holiday.

Predicted Mass Turnout

Before their march, the VFW leaders predicted that they would bring out over 150,000 to demonstrate support for Washington's criminal actions in Vietnam. This, they said, would top the figure of 125,000 the police gave for the massive antiwar march. (Actually, there were nearly one-half million in the April 15 march.)

President Johnson himself gave the pro-war march an assist by bringing General Westmoreland into New York from Vietnam on the eve of the demonstration. The commander of the aggression in Vietnam made a flag-waving speech in favor of the war and attacking the right of free speech of those opposed to the war.

Even Stalin's daughter dutifully did her bit to aid the march. She graciously cancelled a scheduled TV interview so as not to interfere with reportage of Westmoreland's diatribe — most probably after the word came down to her from Washington.

Politicians Attended

The *Daily News* campaigned for the pro-war parade. Mayor Lindsay, Senator Javits and Cardinal Spellman attended. And, in contrast to the overcast skies and chill breezes on April 15, the VFW had a balmy spring day.

So how did the "Loyalty" squads do? The first estimate of the sponsors was 60,000. This was

later scaled down to 10,000. The police said 6,840. One reporter for the *New York Times* counted 3,380, and another *Times* reporter, some blocks away, 3,717.

In a similar "Loyalty" march in Brooklyn, police put the figure at 4,500, just about the same figure the *Times* reporter there gave.

Even if one accepts the police estimates — which were designed to minimize the massive antiwar march and maximize the pitiful pro-war march, the antiwar fighters outdid the war fanatics by about 9 to 1! The real figures would put the ratio at around 40 to 50 to 1 against the war.

Even many VFW members and units didn't support the pro-war action. William A. Tietjen, chairman of the parade, said, "lots of units did not show up — I don't know why."

After looking over the fiasco, Mayor Lindsay, seeing few votes there, and mindful of the senti-

CHE GUEVARA SPEAKS. Our next issue will feature the complete text of Che Guevara's major declaration on Vietnam and the world struggle against imperialism.

ment expressed April 15, gave his opinion of the parade. "It's a parade," he said. "A parade is a parade is a parade."

But even the numbers don't begin to give the real picture. The Spring Mobilization was a mass outpouring. Throngs of citizens surged through the streets along the line of march to the huge mass rally.

The "Loyalty Day" parade was not exactly a surging throng. The thin group of John Birchers and other ultra-rightists who joined the parades, was filled out by VFW units, all kinds of marching bands, drum majorettes, fire engines, sanitation trucks, some trucks

from the department of highways, etc.

A handful of despondent-looking marchers walked behind the "Water Department" banner — no doubt city employees dependent for their jobs on patronage, dragooned out for the occasion. There were a few other such groups from other city government departments.

Besides VFW units, there were contingents from some military high schools, military reserve units, and sea cadets. One disgusting note was the cynical use of the poverty program to corral some youngsters from the ghetto to march in uniform.

Along the March

The march was stretched out as much as possible — so it wouldn't be over with in 20 minutes. The thin, stringy line of the parade was watched for a while by some people strolling or bicycling in Central Park, before they went on to better things. A few hundred right wing weirdos applauded from the sidelines and from the reviewing stand set up at 69th St. These were the types that cheered when a voice over the loudspeakers announced that the "purpose of today's demonstration is to destroy Communism!"

The mood of those marchers who took the whole thing seriously was expressed by one embittered rightist veteran. Marching past the empty sidewalks, he blurted out: "It's not the country that's wrong. It's the people. The Communists have too damned much to say."

War Sentiment Lacking

The utter failure of this march, especially when compared to the massive April 15 march, is a striking demonstration of the growing unpopularity of the war and of the fact that even among those who are nominally for the war, except for the ultra-right, there is not strong sentiment of the kind that gets people out into the streets to demonstrate. The antiwar movement, on the other hand, has that kind of strong support — support which is growing and deepening.

The pro-war forces are now trying to recoup some of their losses from the April 29 fiasco. There will be another pro-war march on May 13, and the *Daily News*, with its circulation of 3,000,000, is out campaigning stronger this time. But even if they get ten times the amount they got today, they won't come close to matching the spectacular turnout of April 15.

Racist Boxing Officials Join Gang-Up on Muhammad Ali

It did not take the boxing authorities long to strip Muhammad Ali of his world championship title after he refused induction into the army on April 28. No doubt they were happy to have an excuse to "put down" Ali who has refused to compromise his black nationalist beliefs.

Already people in other parts of the world are reacting to Muhammad Ali's stand against the Vietnam war and the stripping away of his championship title. A spokesman for the United Arab Republic made the statement that "Six hundred fifty million Moslems throughout the world stand behind him and recognize him as champion."

In British Guiana a demonstra-

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Peruvian Guards Beat Up Blanco

(World Outlook) — The Paris office of *World Outlook* learned April 23 that Hugo Blanco was set upon by armed guards at the El Frontón fortress prison at Lima, Peru, early in the month, and brutally beaten. He is in the hospital and it is not known how grave his condition may be.

The beating coincides with a UPI dispatch dated April 7, according to which the prison authorities claimed that the famous peasant leader had been taken to the hospital "gravely ill" from a "lung ailment."

What Happened

The true story is as follows. Blanco, called by the director of the prison, went to see him, crossing a bit of ground which had been declared "Military Territory."

A guard brought him to attention. He was on forbidden ground. Blanco said he did not know this since the area was not posted. As they talked, a captain of the guards appeared. He ordered the guard to beat up Blanco. This was done with such brutality that the victim fell to the ground where the guard continued to work him over. A fellow political prisoner, Eduardo Juan Creus González, sought to help Blanco to his feet.

Several more guards came up and the captain ordered them to beat Creus, too. The two prisoners sought to defend themselves but caught sight of several soldiers lined up with machine guns ready to fire.

Provocation

Blanco and Creus realized that a provocation was probably involved and tried to calm down the guards. They eventually succeeded in getting out of their clutches.

It was immediately after this that the authorities announced that Blanco is "gravely ill." But no one is allowed to see him and it is not known whether he is actually receiving medical attention.

In the opinion of the French Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru, it could well be that the military authorities would now like to get

rid of Hugo Blanco. In view of the worldwide publicity in the case, it can be highly embarrassing for them when the hearing opens before the Supreme Council of Military Justice. From their viewpoint it would be very convenient if Blanco were to die before the council sits.

This was what happened to Maximo Velando, who was reported by the authorities to have taken "poison" in his cell when in reality he was beaten to death.

Daniel Mayer, president of the League of Human Rights, at once went to the Peruvian embassy in Paris to protest the beating of Hugo Blanco.

Jean-Paul Sartre and Laurent Schwartz cabled immediately to the Military Council.

Friends of Hugo Blanco in Lima are urging immediate action everywhere as they are in great fear that the military authorities are planning to have the famous prisoner killed.

Protests should be sent to the Consejo Supremo de Justicia, and to President Belaúnde Terry, Lima, Peru.

Spring Mobilization Slates Nat'l Parley In Washington, D.C.

NEW YORK — The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam will send a delegation to see President Johnson May 17 and will hold a national conference in Washington the weekend of May 20-21.

The conference will hear reports on and make an assessment of the giant April 15 Mobilization against the war. It will also discuss future actions. Participation will be welcomed from antiwar organizations and activists. Registration will take place Sat., May 20, 8:30 — 10 a.m., at Hawthorne School, 501 I St., S.W., Washington, D.C. More detailed information may be obtained from the Spring Mobilization Committee at 857 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Future Actions

The conference is expected to hear a variety of proposals for future activity. These will include the proposal that the Mobilization Committee continue on its present course as a broad coalition of antiwar groupings, without an elaborated program or individual membership structure, and focused on organizing another massive national antiwar mobilization in the fall.

The delegation which will demand that Johnson stop the war will be representative of the forces that built the April 15 mobilizations including the officers of the Spring Mobilization and the speakers that addressed the New York and San Francisco rallies April 15. The Mobilization has asked that organizations send representatives to support the delegation by picketing at the White House May 17 and, if necessary, April 18 and 19.



INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY. On May Day, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and other groups demonstrated in New York against military takeover in Greece. See story, Page 5.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Confusion compounded seems a fairly accurate description of the status quo in both the voting and the terms of the proposed contract between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Truck Employers, Inc.

On the voting: On April 25 the *Wall Street Journal* had this headline in its roundup article — "Teamsters Appear to Have Rejected Pact by 2-to-1 Margin in National Balloting." The next day the same paper carried an opposite report that said "Teamsters Say Pact Has Been Accepted by Majority in Two-Thirds of Its Locals."

Meanwhile, in Chicago 10 IBT locals and one independent union continue negotiations with trucking companies in that area where freight operations are presently tied up. The *Wall Street Journal* for April 28 reported that the two parties were "close together" on wages and benefits — with the bosses raising their offer to meet the terms in the national contract, and the unions "sharply lowering their demands."

Charles Fenner, head of the Chicago Truck Drivers Union (Ind.) says that more than 800 individual contracts have already been signed with Chicago haulers — for wage gains of 90 cents to \$1.01 per hour over three years. While IBT's General Vice President Fitzsimmons claims he has a verbal agreement with Truck Employers, Inc. to adjust the national contract wage and benefit clauses to meet whatever the Chicago settlement finally is, Fenner now admits that all of these signed contracts contain an escape clause — for the bosses. The final terms will revert back to meet national terms!

In St. Louis 6,000 drivers went on strike on April 20 — against the Fitzsimmons proposal, in sympathy with the Chicago drivers and "for settlement of a list of grievances or 'unanswered questions' against the local leadership." That "local leadership" includes IBT Vice President Harold Gibbons, who is also president of the St. Louis Teamsters Joint Council.

The *San Francisco Examiner* reported on April 24 that Local 85 in that city had rejected the pact by 1,365 to 26. Local 94 in Seattle has turned it down by 394 to 7.

Fitzsimmons' own Detroit Local 229 has also rejected the proposed contract by a substantial majority.

Interpretations of the terms of the shot-gun settlement are even more confusing than the accounts of the membership vote. Reports from available sources give different facts and figures. Accounts of the money raises for the three years are essentially the same only in one respect — the 23 cents per hour for the first year includes the 11 cent cost-of-living increase due under the escalator

clause in the expired contract. But otherwise the reported cents-per-hour wage increases (for three years) range all the way from 48 cents to 60 cents.

And on the escalator clause in the proposed pact, the figures vary from maximum of 5 cents per hour per year to 5 cents for the entire three years! *Business Week* does a bit of double talk on the question of who will get whatever cost-of-living increase there is — the workers or their health-welfare and pension funds.

Meanwhile the IBT national leadership has given no clear public account of the exact terms of the proposed settlement, leaving the rest of the labor movement to puzzle out the situation from contradictory reports in the capital-ist press.

It has, we assume, given its own "clarification" to the local leaderships in order to help them sell the deal to IBT members. But it is quite clear that the selling job is not meeting with too much success, since Fitzsimmons is now talking about taking a new vote on the proposed contract by a ballot through the mails.

When big locals like San Francisco, Seattle, Detroit, St. Louis and Chicago won't buy the deal, it can only mean that the men who wheel those giant bottoms across the highways of the land are not happy about the thing.

Once again Congress has demonstrated the speed with which it can act against the labor movement. On May 1 both houses of Congress passed a resolution, requested by Johnson that day, to block the threatened railroad strike by six shop craft unions for another 47 days. The action now extends the strike ban to June 19.

However, the President came in for much criticism, on the grounds that his strike-breaking proposal was too limited. Senator Jacob Javits (N.Y. Rep.) who is preparing his own antilabor legislation (see May 1 "Picket Line") criticized the president for not proposing a broad anti-strike law.

No less sinister for the whole labor movement, was a statement issued for all the Republican representatives on the House of Commerce Committee by its ranking Republican member, Rep. W. L. Springer of Illinois. Springer's statement demanded immediate Presidential recommendations for a general anti-strike law.

Obviously, in the face of rising labor militancy, the government is opening a new strikebreaking offensive against labor. It is long past the time when the labor movement can entrust to its present misleaders the defense of union rights.

—Marvel Scholl

United Rubber Workers In Nationwide Walk-Out

By Eric Reinthaler

CLEVELAND, April 29 — Nearly 50,000 rubber workers went on strike this past week in authorized and unauthorized walkouts against all the major rubber firms in the Akron, Ohio area and in other plants across the country.

On strike are 17,000 workers organized in 11 United Rubber Workers locals in the Firestone chain; 21,000 workers in 19 locals covering the Uniroyal group; and 10,500 members in the nine B. F. Goodrich locals. In addition, in the Akron area, 1,900 members of URW Local 9 at General Tire and Rubber Company, and 900 members of URW Local 18 at the Seiberling Division of Firestone were off the job in "unauthorized walkouts." Only agreement to continue discussions on new contract proposals on a day-to-day basis prevented 12,000 Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company workers in the Akron area and another 21,250 across the nation from striking.

Peter Bommarito, International President of the Rubber Workers Union, said of the shutdown of Firestone, Goodrich and Uniroyal:

"It would seem that the companies should have spent more time concentrating on putting forth realistic and adequate contract proposals rather than banding together in a financial strike assistance pact that many of our members believe is a throwback to the labor baron days of the 1930s. Our members in all of our local unions have been made aware of this big rubber strike

insurance alliance and it has strengthened our determination to achieve fair and equitable settlements."

Bommarito's reference to "a financial strike assistance pact" concerned an announcement earlier in the month that the five major rubber companies had entered into a "strike pact." At that time Bommarito stated:

"The disclosure of a 'strike pact' by the five major rubber companies in the midst of negotiations with four of the companies creates doubt about their good faith. . . .

"Our demands are based upon reality and reason. The increase in the cost of living, the profits enjoyed by these companies since our last negotiations, the increased productivity of the members of the URW, and the tandem relationship with the auto industry, amply justify a substantial wage increase and an improvement in benefits."

Wage Offer

The Rubber Workers Union said that all companies had refused to make an adequate wage offer. This was in response to a B. F. Goodrich statement that they had offered 23.5 cents per hour in pay raises over the next two years.

The union pointed out that for the first time in 20 years the rubber companies were trying to forego the "tandem relationship" between the rubber and auto industries. URW members have fallen behind United Auto Workers in fringe benefits and wages, partly due to a cost of living escalator in UAW contracts. The union further charged that the companies were trying to divide the union by paying tire and non-tire workers differently. An extra five cents an hour for skilled tradesmen was regarded by Bommarito as "inadequate consideration" to the problems and wages of craftsmen.

Conditions

Mounting unsolved shop problems and unsettled grievances contributed toward the two "unauthorized" walkouts. At Local 9 at General Tire and Rubber Company, the taking away of a five minute rest period by a foreman touched off the stoppage. Several men in the mill room were suspended and the rest of the shop went out in support of them.

A union spokesman said that the walkout at Seiberling Local 18, now a week long, resulted from a difference in rates for passenger tire builders. 150 workers were initially involved and then the rest of the shop refused to work. Local 18 President Henry Giliam said:

"Since the Firestone 'muscle' (Seiberling is now a Firestone subsidiary) was thrown into this plant, it has been extremely difficult to live with the things the company has tried to do out here. I guess the members of the Local took just so much of it and then rebelled."

U.S. Goes on Trial At Russell Tribunal Hearing in Sweden

The Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal opened in Stockholm, Sweden, May 1 following French President De Gaulle's final refusal to allow the trial to take place in France. The point of departure for the Tribunal was described by Lord Russell in an interview with *New York Times* correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt.

Russell will be unable to attend the Stockholm meetings, however, because of his extreme age (almost 95!). "Every honest man knows the Americans have committed crimes in Vietnam," Russell told Schmidt. "That is the point of departure."

The Stockholm meeting was opened with a speech by Jean-Paul Sartre, the Tribunal's executive president. "The tribunal's legitimacy," according to Sartre, "derives simultaneously from its powerlessness and universality."

Sartre's comparison was with the Nuremberg Trials held at the end of the second world war, which could not be just, he argued, since they were being



Jean-Paul Sartre

conducted by a victorious power over a defeated enemy.

In the London interview, Russell complained about the lack of support the Tribunal was receiving from the "Communist world. He attributed this to 'the fact,' Schmidt relates, "that the Russians were now entirely 'under the thumb of the United States.'"

"They have been forced into this position, he maintained, by United States superiority in nuclear weapons. Smiling, he added, 'Of course, the Americans are the last to realize it.'"

In a related development, New York radio station WBAI reported that the Tribunal had asked that the meetings be held in the Finnish Communist Party's large meeting hall. The Finnish Communist Party, which participates in the Finland government, turned down the Tribunal request, according to WBAI.

Victory for Smith Brothers —

In a 21-page decision the California Court of Appeals upheld the right of teachers in that state to wear beards.

Algiers Youth In Anti-U.S. Street Rally

A demonstration involving around 2,000 students was staged in Algiers April 24 in front of the American Cultural Center.

Chanting slogans against U.S. imperialism, they burned an effigy of Johnson and a coffin draped with an American flag.

The demonstrators were on their way to a mass meeting in observance of World Youth Day Against Colonialism and Imperialism.

They stopped at the American center to shout, "Johnson murderer!" and "U.S. Go Home."

Someone aimed a rock with great accuracy at one of the display windows. Police then moved in with riot sticks and broke up the demonstration.

The Boumedienne regime, since it came to power in June 1965 in a coup d'état, has displayed great nervousness about any kind of demonstrations, even those clearly directed against the most hated power in the world.

Socialist Directory

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

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60608. 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 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117. 752-1790. Socialist books and pamphlets available.

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

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Cuban Bulletin Utilizes Articles from Militant

By Dick Roberts

The process of clarifying and deepening revolutionary understanding in Cuba today includes broadening the scope of literature on world developments studied by revolutionary cadres. A recent example of this was the reprinting of two articles from *The Militant* in a press service issued by the Revolutionary Orientation Committee of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

The Orientation Committee publishes a bulletin entitled "Editorials and Articles from the Foreign Press." These are not necessarily limited to articles that it agrees with, and they are from bourgeois papers as well as radical publications.

Recently the bulletin included two articles from the Jan. 23 *Militant*. "Black Power and the Democrats" by Barry Sheppard was published in the March 9 issue together with articles on Martin Luther King and the Kennedy assassination.

Article on China

And "The Upeaval in China — An Analysis of Contending Forces," by George Novack and Joseph Hansen, comprised the entire March 16 issue of the bulletin.

The *Militant* article on black power stresses the necessity of the Afro-American freedom struggle breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties. It explains how the "Black Panther Party" of Lowndes County, Alabama learned and practiced this significant concept.

The Novack and Hansen article on the China crisis, however, is a

particularly important article for which a special four-page supplement was added to the usual eight-page edition of *The Militant*. It deals with all the major issues facing revolutionary socialists that have been raised by the "Cultural Revolution" in China.

Novack and Hansen begin by rejecting the claim of *Monthly Review* editors Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy that the "Cultural Revolution" is basically an attempt on Mao's part to purge bureaucratic elements in the Chinese Communist party. (*Monthly Review*, Jan. 1967.)

On the contrary, they argue, the crisis in China adds further confirmation of the bureaucratic character of the Mao leadership and the bureaucratic methods of party functioning it follows. In order to put this concept into an historical light, Novack and Hansen review the fundamental disagreements between Leon Trotsky and Stalin on the tasks and perspectives of socialist revolutionaries.

It was Trotsky, in fact, who first put forward the methods of revolutionary struggle against bureaucracy, and it is to Trotsky one must turn for a Marxist analysis of bureaucratism in a workers state.

Analysis of Bureaucracy

"Trotsky devoted the latter years of his life to a serious and systematic analysis of the 'growth of a privileged stratum in command of society's political-economic apparatus' after it emerged in full-fledged form under Stalin's dictatorship," Novack and Hansen write.

"In his classical work *The Revolution Betrayed* he explained the peculiar nature and dual function of the bureaucratic caste in a workers state and the process by which it is enabled to usurp power from the toiling masses.

"The ripe conclusions of his thinking on these questions were incorporated in the Transitional Program of the Fourth International which has subsequently been enriched and extended by lessons drawn from the experiences of the de-Stalinization process and the Polish and Hungarian revolts of 1956.

"The essence of this program is the necessity for a political revolution, for the working masses by their own direct and conscious collective action to abolish bureaucratic rule in order to secure democratic control over the economy and the state."

Foreign Policy

The two *Militant* authors also treat the foreign policy of Stalinism — its propagation of "peaceful coexistence," which means in fact, the sacrifice of foreign revolutionary struggles for the benefit of the Moscow-Washington détente.

"Stalin's theory about 'building socialism in one country,' advanced in 1924, was a qualitative concession to this nationalist tendency, a view which was in complete contradiction to the international socialist outlook that stands at the heart of Marxism.

"Stalin's foreign policy was consistently based on narrow national considerations just as his domestic policies were based on strengthening the power and privileges of the bureaucracy which he epitomized."

This important article will soon be republished in pamphlet form in this country. The pamphlet, "Behind China's Great Cultural Revolution," will also include an interview with Peng Shu-tse and an article by Pierre Frank. It will be available from Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N.Y., 10003 for 75 cents.

Rev. King Rips Westmoreland On Gag Move

MAY 1 — In Atlanta yesterday, Martin Luther King delivered a strong rebuttal to General William C. Westmoreland's attack on the antiwar movement. Speaking from the pulpit of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, King described Washington as "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today."

King declared, "there is a very dangerous development in the nation now to equate dissent with disloyalty. This was clearly pointed out by the fact that General Westmoreland was brought back to this country to develop a sentiment and consensus for the further escalation of the war and to further silence dissent."

King reiterated his position that it was inconsistent for him to teach nonviolence in the civil-rights movement, and support the violence of the United States "against little brown Vietnamese women and children. There is something wrong in that."

In the same speech, he strongly endorsed Muhammad Ali's refusal to be drafted. Stokely Carmichael, also in Atlanta, spoke later in the day. Carmichael praised Ali and declared "It's about time we're going to tell him [the government], hell no, we won't go."

Ironically enough, the bespangled General Westmoreland left Washington the same day, declaring at the airport: "Based on what I heard and saw, 95 per cent of the people are behind the United States effort in Vietnam."

Nothing could be further from the truth. Johnson wouldn't have to have brought Westmoreland here to attack those opposed to the war if "95 percent" were for the war.

Long Liked It

It is true that there are plenty of Democratic and Republican politicians who stand one hundred percent behind Johnson. The April 30 *New York Times* offered the following description of the flag-waving orgy that followed Westmoreland's address to a joint congressional meeting:

"The handsome, graying general with four stars on each shoulder snapped to attention and saluted. In the chamber of the House of Representatives, the applause for his speech . . . had been dying; but as William C. Westmoreland's hand touched his forehead, the clapping of hands swelled abruptly into a roar punctuated by hoarse cheers, stamping feet and a few rebel yells."

And who were these congressmen, moved to such patriotic fervor by the perspective of murdering thousands more Vietnamese? "Some hawks — Senator Russell Long of Louisiana, for instance — were jumping up and down in their enthusiasm."

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Repercussions of April 15

The unexpectedly huge turnout for the April 15 Mobilization against the Vietnam war is having deep, encouraging political repercussions — perhaps deeper than many of the participants in the demonstration even realize.

Consider the following developments that have occurred since April 15. First, Johnson deemed it necessary to bring General Westmoreland back from Vietnam decked out in full military regalia to defend his war and to lash out crudely against the opponents of the war. This unprecedented move was testimony to how seriously the administration takes the growth of antiwar sentiment.

Then, for the first time, a new escalation of the war was met by significant criticism in the Senate. Whereas previous escalations had drawn protests from only a couple of relatively isolated senators, this one drew the fire of such powerful Senate figures at Fulbright, Kennedy, Church, McGovern and four others.

For their own pro-imperialist reasons these men are concerned about the great risks inherent in the persistent widening of the war. But if the April 15 Mobilization had not so clearly demonstrated that the opposition to the war is assuming a genuinely mass character it is quite certain that these politicians would not have felt free to speak out.

Further, we now see some Republicans moving rather quickly to disassociate themselves from the war. This was first evidenced when Senator Thruston Morton, the powerful Republican from Kentucky who has backed the war, spoke out against the Westmoreland move to curb dissent. Then, on May 1, the Senate Republican Policy Committee issued a rather sharp statement of disassociation from the administration's war policy.

Clearly, continuing militant mass demonstrations can have a powerful effect in fighting the warmakers. There should be no let up in this direction.

How You Can Help End the Vietnam War

● Join the antiwar movement in your city. The April 15 Spring Mobilization was the most important political event in years. Hundreds of thousands who never marched before marched on April 15. Millions were reached with the antiwar message. Antiwar committees need volunteers to spread the facts about the war.

● Join the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance. If you want to be in the forefront of the struggle to end the war and to build a new America of peace, prosperity and socialism, you belong in the revolutionary socialist movement.

I want more information on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Name

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Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003; or, Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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Politics and the Antiwar Movement

The SWP and Its Critics

By Harry Ring

The tendency represented by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance has been the only radical socialist tendency to give consistent, positive support to the building of such local and national antiwar action coalitions as the New York Parade Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee.

This SWP-YSA activity has evoked a chorus of vehement criticism from the various ultra-left groupings, including Progressive Labor Party, Spartacist League and Workers League, and Workers World Party.

While they do it for the most part in a very twisted way, the charges these groups level are based on legitimate political issues that are of concern to every militant antiwar activist.

These are some of the questions that are posed:

Why doesn't the SWP insist that the demand for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam be made the central focus of antiwar demonstrations?

Bloc with Other Forces

Why does the SWP bloc in the antiwar movement with people who are not socialists?

Doesn't the SWP subordinate itself politically to reformist forces in order to remain in a bloc with them?

Other questions which future issues of *The Militant* will discuss are:

Why doesn't the SWP take a position within the antiwar movement for the victory of the National Liberation Front?

Why does the SWP keep pressing for antiwar demonstrations when it should know that demonstrations alone can't end the war?

"Politics"

Why does the SWP resist the antiwar movement "getting into politics?"

By insisting on the need for a "single issue" antiwar movement isn't the SWP separating the struggle against war from the struggle against capitalism?

Why does the SWP oppose individual acts of resistance to the war like draft resistance and draft-card burning?

If the SWP is against individual resistance, why does it support the case of the Fort Hood Three who were court-martialed for refusing to go to Vietnam?

How does the case of the Fort Hood Three relate to the case of Pfc. Howard Petrick?

Unfortunately these various questions are not posed by the ultra-lefts in a way that facilitates a serious exchange of views. Generally they are buried in vituperation and, often, in what can only be described as deliberate falsification.

Spartacist, voice of the Spar-

tacist League, offered this assessment in its May-June issue: "The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, the largest organized, nominally revolutionary tendency in the antiwar movement, have played a singularly pernicious role, and bear unique responsibility for its present domination by right-wing forces. The recent history of the SWP-YSA has been one of unbridled opportunism, rotten compromises and organizational maneuvering, surpassed only by the reformist Communist Party with which they are presently in a bloc."

Challenge, voice of the Progressive Labor Party, ups the indictment in a manner worthy of its origins in the Communist Party of Moscow Trials frame-up days. Before quoting it is necessary to explain that the reference to a "TRPL alliance" is an apparently biting one which is explained by the author, Ed Clark, as meaning "trotskyite, revisionist, pacifist, liberal alliance."

"Imperialist Agents"

Clark blandly states: "... U.S. imperialism through its agents in the antiwar movement (The TRPL alliance) has had some initial success in turning the antiwar movement away from total opposition to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam toward a vague, peace-loving ideology which the imperialists are then able to use to cover up their own aggressions..."

An important aspect of the ultra-left polemics against the SWP is that they find it necessary to falsify the SWP's position within the antiwar movement on the key issue of withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Challenge advises that the "TRPL alliance" means, "accepting the leadership of the pacifists and liberals. It means putting forward slogans like 'Negotiate Now!', 'End the War!', 'Bring Peace in Vietnam!', and 'Stop the Bombing!', all of which the Johnson regime has agreed to at one time or another."

A bit more charitably, the April 15 *Workers World* asserts, "It would be wrong to say that the revisionist U.S. Communist Party or the reformist Socialist Workers Party have said in any party program or document that they are against unconditional or immediate withdrawal. But the objective sum of their activities on the Spring Mobilization Committee in New York adds up to just that."

Need to Falsify

"Objectively," it is necessary for the ultra-left critics of the SWP to insist on this false assertion. If they concede that the SWP has been in the forefront of the fight to make withdrawal of U.S. forces a central demand of the antiwar movement, their whole thesis about SWP "capitulation" to the right wing falls apart.

What are the actual policies and objectives of the SWP within the antiwar movement?

The public, stated position of the SWP, as enunciated in policy statements and by its candidates for public office, has been that of condemnation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and unqualified support for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

From the outset, *The Militant* has documented how the U.S. has trampled on the Vietnamese right of self-determination and why the struggle of the Vietnamese freedom fighters is a just and progressive one that deserves the support of revolutionists and genuine partisans of self-determination everywhere.

In light of this record, it would be, at best, difficult for the antiwar activists publicly associated with the SWP-YSA viewpoint to take a lesser or contradictory

stand within the antiwar movement.

Nor is this a matter of simple political consistency. The SWP's entire program is based on the central thesis that U.S. imperialism today stands as the overriding threat to social progress on a world scale; indeed, that until capitalism in the U.S. is abolished, all human progress remains in jeopardy.

The SWP sees the struggle of the north Vietnamese people and the south Vietnamese guerrillas as not only a remarkable affirmation of their determination to resist aggression and chart their destiny, but also as a vital contribution to the world struggle for the abolition of capitalism. Its political position is based on that conviction.

Mass Action

Consistent with this political position, SWP and YSA activists within the antiwar movement have worked uncompromisingly toward a single, central objective: To build a mass movement capable of fighting effectively for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and, by doing so, to deepen and accelerate the process of political radicalization which is an inevitable by-product of the development of such a mass movement.

As steps toward the realization of that aim, the SWP has worked to build a united front of all existing forces that are opposed to the Vietnam war and, for whatever their varying reasons, are willing to organize mass demonstrations in opposition to the U.S. government.

If such a coalition is to be a viable one capable of mobilizing significant numbers of people against the war, obviously it must include forces in addition to the relatively small number of revolutionists who oppose U.S. imperialism and favor the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Coalition

This means, realistically, that such a coalition must include people who do not oppose the Vietnam war because they understand it is imperialist, and who do not necessarily recognize that the Vietnamese freedom fighters are in the vanguard of the world struggle for human emancipation.

Such a coalition will necessarily include people who are still supporters of the capitalist parties, who may simply regard the war as "immoral," "mistaken," "harmful to real U.S. interests," or what have you. The essential point is whether or not they are willing to work on a non-exclusive basis with radicals to organize demonstrations that will facilitate building a mass movement united around action against the government and its war policy.

The question then comes down to what are the actual aims, in practice, of such a coalition and whether or not revolutionists sacrifice any of their principles for the sake of such a coalition.

Helped Build Movement

The record of the SWP in the antiwar movement has been consistent with these concepts. It has worked in a principled, but patiently flexible way to help build such coalitions. For example, it helped launch the New York Parade Committee and contributed to broadening the forces within it on the clear-cut basis of non-exclusion. The Parade Committee inspired the formation of similar coalitions in a number of cities throughout the country.

The demonstrations and other united actions carried on by these various formations helped establish that there was a significant sector of the American people opposed to the war. The demon-



SWP STAND. Socialist Workers Party branches carried these banners in April 15 march.

strations influenced the thinking of untold thousands, encouraged more people to speak out. They played a still not fully appreciated role in holding back those who would have liked to stifle opposition to the war.

These activities across the country were climaxed by the development on a national scale of the Spring Mobilization Committee and the tremendous mass demonstration of April 15.

But has the SWP sacrificed any of its principles in contributing to the building of this coalition? Not in any sense whatever. While the ultra-lefts have retired to their various corners to grind out fanciful polemics about the SWP betrayal of the struggle, the SWP has contributed decisively to the shaping of the struggle in a radical direction. SWPers and YSAers have become known throughout the antiwar movement as militant champions of the withdrawal demand.

Ultra-lefts Abstain

While virtually all of the ultra-lefts walked away from the Parade Committee, the SWP, along with other militant antiwar forces, fought successfully to make the demand for U.S. withdrawal a central one in the committee's demonstrations.

Similarly in the Spring Mobilization Committee, it is a matter of record that SWPers vigorously supported the initial proposal for the Spring Mobilization, and that they pressed successfully, along with others, for the withdrawal demand to be included in the call for the demonstrations. SWPers, again along with others, fought successfully within the East Coast Mobilization Committee against efforts to prevent a speakers program for April 15 that would give adequate representation to the withdrawal wing of the movement. Of the dozen speakers on the platform that afternoon, at least eight called for the U.S. to get out of Vietnam.

April 15 Slogans

Regarding the charge that the withdrawal demand was replaced by a variety of negotiations slogans and that this was the result of an SWP "sellout," the following should suffice.

These were the slogans officially adopted for the New York march and prepared on thousands of placards:

"Stop the Bombing," "End the Draft — Let Young Men Live," "No \$\$\$ for Bombing and Burning," "Wipe Out Poverty, Not People," "Support Our GIs — Bring Them Home Now," "Let's Get Out! Vietnam for the Vietnamese," "Children Are Not Born to Burn," "Cease Fire Now, Negotiate with the NLF," "Jobs, Homes, Schools — War No More," "Big Firms Get Rich — GIs Die," "Free the Fort Hood Three," "No Puerto Ricans to Vietnam," "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger," "Black Men Should Fight White Racism, Not Vietnamese Freedom Fighters," "They Are Our Brothers Whom We Kill," "Self Determination!," "USA 1776/ Vietnam — 1967," "Black People,

53% of the Dead, 2% of the Bread — Why?"

And in San Francisco there were three official slogans for the parade:

"Stop the Bombing," "End the War in Vietnam," "Bring the Troops Home Now."

True, the SWP did not insist that victory for the NLF be the program of the coalition. Obviously such a proposal could only have meant there would have been no coalition and no giant demonstration against U.S. efforts to crush the NLF.

Nor did the SWP insist that the entire coalition accept the withdrawal demand as the central axis of the demonstration or as a precondition for the action.

Central Feature

But by joining with others in the coalition who favored the demand the SWP succeeded in making it, in political fact, a central feature of the demonstrations on both coasts. And by the very act of doing so it made a significant contribution to the revolutionary struggle in Vietnam. The declarations of solidarity with the April 15 action by the government of north Vietnam and by the NLF are testimony to their recognition of that.

All of the above is not intended to suggest that there are no shortcomings or defects in the coalition represented by the Spring Mobilization. But consider what April 15 would have been, and what the state of the antiwar movement would be, if the SWP and other militants in the coalition had followed the self-defeating course of the ultra-leftists and simply walked away because the movement wasn't ready to adopt its full program. And apart from the effect on the movement, the result for the SWP would have been exactly the same as for the ultra-lefts — it would be stewing in its own very pure juice.

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NEW MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

The Coup D'Etat in Greece

(World Outlook) — The April 21 coup d'état in Athens has cast a pall over all of Europe. Barely three years after emerging from two decades of harsh military dictatorship, the most reactionary forces in the country, mobilized around the throne and backed by the financial and military might of the United States, have again seized power.

Ruling under decree law, with troops patrolling the streets and jet planes buzzing the cities, the generals are rapidly putting Greece back into the straitjacket.

During the night troops occupied strategic points in the city and circled the palace. Tanks took over the airport, the central post office, and all radio and communications buildings. Flights out of Athens were cancelled.

Change Constitution

A dawn, a decree, said to have been signed by King Constantine (although this has been disputed by some), was read over the radio suspending certain provisions of the constitution.

Four of these provisions bar arbitrary arrests. One of them guarantees the right of peaceful assembly.

Article 14, annulled by the conspirators, guarantees the right of every individual to express his thoughts orally, in writing or in the press. The same article guarantees freedom of the press and bans censorship or any other measure restricting free thought.

Article 18 prohibits torture, the total confiscation of one's possessions; and abolishes the death penalty.

Article 20 guarantees the inviolability of correspondence. Article 97 bars the military from trying civilians before war tribunals.

From this list, it is completely clear what the generals have in mind. They are prepared to submit Greece to a blood bath, if necessary, to consolidate their coup d'état.

Shoot on Sight

By noon, a curfew was announced, and the troops were given orders to shoot on sight anyone caught in the streets after sundown. Martial law was proclaimed in the border regions, particularly near the Turkish frontier.

On the evening of April 21, King Constantine swore in one of the chief plotters as the head of the new regime. This was Constantine Kolias, a former prosecuting attorney and one of the country's most notorious ultrarightists. The new prime minister said over the radio that the country had been at the "brink of catastrophe" due to the probable results of the elections which had been scheduled for May 28.

During the night machine-gun fire was heard in the streets and three persons were said to have been killed.

Reports began filtering abroad that at least 2,000 persons had been arrested, all the leaders of the bourgeois democratic and leftist parties being caught in the raids staged by the political police.

The Athens radio announced



ATHENS, 1965. Greeks demonstrate against monarchy and military.

new decrees permitting the arrest of anyone, without a warrant, and without any time limit on how long a person might be held without charges.

If political dissidence is involved, he cannot be released on bail and he can be detained indefinitely. Anyone, no matter what his position, can be tried by special military tribunals or commissions.

All meetings whatsoever are banned and if held are to be at once dispersed by force. Any kind of organization with trade union aims is absolutely banned. Strikes are illegal. Searches can be made at any time in homes night or day without any restriction. All radio and television communiques must be submitted for clearance in advance by the censorship.

Correspondence, no matter what its nature, comes under the censorship decree.

Military tribunals are to try all infractions of the above decrees.

The witchhunt gathered momentum within hours. The April 25 Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that the army itself was being purged.

A group of foreign correspondents, who pooled the information they had gathered, reported 8,000 arrests had been made within three days. In addition, the police were hunting for another 2,000 or 3,000 in hiding.

Thousands of Prisoners

"The internment camps," said *Le Monde*, "have been hastily fixed up to receive thousands of prisoners. Upon their arrival from Vienna, members of the Austrian national soccer team reported that they found the big Karaiskakis stadium covered with tents sheltering hundreds of internees. Agence France-Presse said that in Athens the Phalere hippodrome and soccer stadiums had been transformed into temporary prisons guarded by troops."

According to United Press, about 500 persons had been shipped from Piraeus April 23 to the island prison of Youra in the Aegean Sea.

This was the concentration camp that gained fearsome notoriety under the dictator Metaxas, again during the Nazi occupation, and in the decades following World War II when British and American troops smashed the Greek freedom fighters, paved the way for the destruction of the republic and the restoration of the hated monarchy, all as part of the Truman Doctrine of "containing communism."

Hundreds of victims of the new dictatorship have also been sent to the desert island of Gavros.

How was it possible for the generals to take over in the dead of night in this way, after the elec-

toral breakthrough Feb. 16, 1964?

The reason is simple. The leaders of the working class blocked the masses from taking the revolutionary road to socialism.

In the summer of 1965, the masses poured into the streets of Athens and other cities in giant demonstrations that could easily have swept away the hated monarchy and its entourage of verminous generals whose first concern is to please the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon.

But the working-class leaders, particularly those under the influence of the Communist Party, deliberately restrained the people, got them off the streets or diverted their energy into harmless channels.

They took the course of following George Papandreou, a wily bourgeois politician, whose role was to serve as the stabilizing democratic tail to the monarchical kite.

The great mass upsurge of 1965 was successfully derailed.

The reactionaries in Greece utilized the breathing spell to good advantage. Step by step, they prepared the ground for a crushing blow at the whole popular tendency toward democracy. With the eyes of the masses turned toward the May 28 elections, the time was propitious to bring down the up-lifted dagger.

United N.Y. Demonstration Assails Greek Dictatorship

NEW YORK, May 1 — An unprecedented united demonstration in the spirit of the international workers' holiday was held here today, May Day, at the Greek Embassy on 79th St. Sponsoring the protest of the military takeover in Greece were a number of organizations, including the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

A statement from the demonstration was refused by the Greek Embassy. The statement was signed by Paul Friedman of the Communist Party; Judy White of the Socialist Workers Party; Linda Dannenberg of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee; Key Martin, Youth Against War and Fascism; Matt Weinstein, DuBois Clubs; Wendy Reisner, Young Socialist Alliance; Pedro Juan Rua, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Angel P. Vicioso, Dominican Patriotic Youth; and John O'Brien of the Student Peace Union.

The statement said in part, "we protest the seizure of power by

Bolivian Secret Police Seize Trotskyist Leader

APRIL 29 (World Outlook) — We have just received word that Dr. Hugo González Moscoso, a well-known Trotskyist leader in Bolivia, was arrested by the Bolivian secret police on April 13. The Santa Cruz *Diaria del Oriente* reported in its April 15 issue that "In a joint operation lasting several days, the police and the DIC (Dirección Investigación Criminal — the secret police) arrested Hugo González Moscoso . . . in the home of Dr. Carlos Arancibia, whom he was visiting. According to the authorities, for several days they were following the trail of an unknown person who was closely linked to guerrillas and Communist elements in our city whom he was directing in their activity in order to create problems for the government."

This sensation-mongering about "plots" is plainly exposed for the witchhunt frame-up it is when they come around to reporting the "evidence" for the arrest: "At the headquarters of the DIC they showed journalists documents taken from the home of González. Most of it was Marxist literature coming from China, the USSR and Cuba. He had a file of unpublished articles . . . Dr. González upon being interrogated, said that he was in Santa Cruz on account of his health."

"Subversive" Literature

The "subversive documents" Dr. González possessed consisted of a number of sociological and political studies including "Cuba and Bolivia: Two Revolutions, Two Roads — a Single Victory." This particular article which was singled out as "proof" by the La Paz newspapers as well as the Santa Cruz press, is a chapter for a book commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution to be published this fall. The collective work will include contributions from Marxist scholars from a number of countries, including the United States.

The Bolivian press in La Paz reported that the DIC said that another proof of Hugo González Moscoso's relations with the guerrillas is the fact that he was found in the town of Santa Cruz. But the least medical examination could prove that he was unable to remain at high altitudes such as La Paz, and had moved to Santa Cruz for health reasons.

Dr. González is cosecretary, with Guillermo Lora, of the Partido

Obrero Revolucionario (POR — Revolutionary Workers Party), the Trotskyist party of Bolivia. He has been one of the staunchest opponents of the military dictatorship of General René Barrientos Ortuño.

Barrientos seized power in a "preventive coup" in November 1964, after mass protest, including armed clashes between the miners and the army, threatened to topple Bolivian capitalism. Barrientos aimed at using the army to repress the tin miners and drive down their standard of living. He made a few savage thrusts in this direction in the summer of 1965.

During that brutal suppression, César Lora, Guillermo Lora's brother, a leader of the miners and a militant Trotskyist, was arrested by the army and shot without trial on July 29, 1965.

Hugo González Moscoso was also arrested in September, 1965, but a wave of mass protests forced the government to release him.

The present full-scale witchhunt was opened up after Barrientos made himself president through a fraudulent election on July 3, 1966.

The American press has spent a great deal of time and space reporting the contradictory claims of the Bolivian government on the outbreak of guerrilla warfare there. A studious silence has been maintained when it comes to reporting the brutal witchhunt that the Barrientos dictatorship has been carrying out, which has intensified since last January — long before any claims of guerrilla operations.

Barrientos rounded up all the leaders of leftist parties he could find and deported them to remote villages where they face death from starvation and illness. On April 11, he outlawed the Communist and Revolutionary Workers parties.

War Critics Battle Police In Florence

Hundreds of demonstrating students fought off police in Florence on April 23. Many were injured in the clashes, including seven cops.

Thousands of persons from all over Italy had gathered in the San Giovanni Plaza near the Duomo to protest the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. When the students stopped cars entering the area, the 1,500 cops assigned to the rally opened the attack.

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Unions Need Class Conscious Leaders

By Farrell Dobbs

Although efforts to solve capitalism's problems at labor's expense are gradually sharpening worker-capitalist relations, the clash has not yet developed beyond limited conflict within industry. Failure to take the necessary working-class action is due mainly to incompetence and timidity in union leadership. If ably led, the workers have the capacity to make an all-out fight on the job and to carry their struggle onto the political arena as an independent, anticapitalist force.

They lack only a leadership able to establish unity of action in labor's ranks and to mobilize the full struggle potential of the class. To fill the gap it will not be enough simply to replace the union bureaucrats with people who mean well but have not shaped a policy that meets the worker's needs. Solution of the leadership crisis requires formation of a left wing in the union ranks, democratically organized in support of a clearly-defined program of labor demands.

Left Wing Program

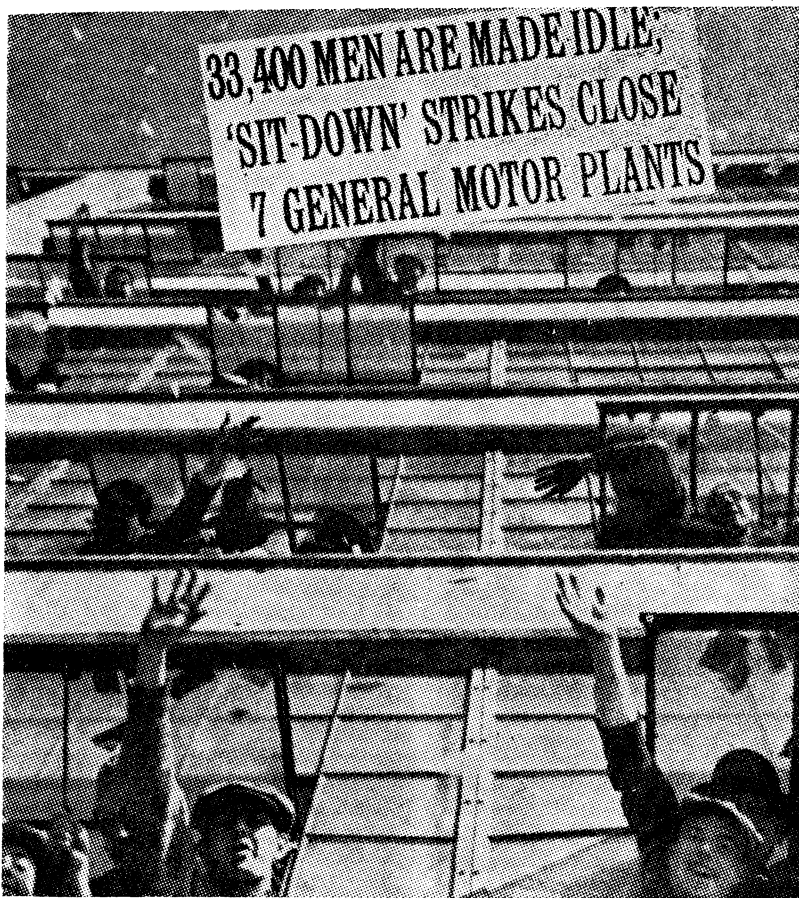
Backing will be gained for a program that stems from the workers' immediate needs and their developing class sentiments. It should include rank-and-file control over union affairs; escalator clauses in all contracts, formulated to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices; reduction of the work week with no cut in pay; full compensation for jobless workers, including youth unable to find a place in the labor force; opposition to the Vietnam war; defense of the unconditional right to strike; and complete union independence from government control.

Concerted efforts are needed to combat racist schemes to pit white workers against black at the expense of the class as a whole. Toward that end the left wing should demand equal rights for all workers inside the unions and on the job. Advocates of black power in the civil-rights movement should be given fraternal support and their example emulated within the unions by putting forward the concept of labor power. Recognition along these lines of the trail black workers are blazing for the benefit of all their class brothers and sisters will help to overcome blind race prejudice. It will help to knit the black-white unity so urgently needed to advance general working-class interests.

Class Struggle Concepts

In broad terms, a union left wing can have real meaning only to the extent that it strives consistently to help the workers shed class-collaborationist illusions and acquire class-struggle concepts. This leads toward full use of the union power in direct confrontations with the owners of industry over issues important to the workers. In the process they come up against interventions by the capitalist government on the side of the employers. Through these experiences an honest, knowing union leadership can teach rich lessons about the role of government in the class struggle and about the nature of the capitalist politicians presently running the government. The workers can be helped to grasp the need for organization of their own independent party based on their existing organizations, the unions.

When the unions are thus brought toward a complete break with capitalist politics, the road will begin to open for labor to take the general political lead against capital. Militants within all sectors of the broad mass movement can then be unified around a common struggle to promote anticapitalist political action. As the trend gathers momentum the way will be prepared for a



FAMOUS SIT-DOWN STRIKE IN AUTO. Militant struggles of the thirties foreshadow working class battles to come. New, class-conscious leadership is needed to lead struggle onto higher plane.

direct challenge of the present capitalist control over the government.

With the union movement as yet only in a preliminary state of change, breakup of the labor-Democratic coalition still lies somewhere ahead. The workers remain in a highly contradictory stage of political transition, leaving uncertainties as to the immediate pace and scope of new developments. In this complex situation care must be taken neither to put forward slogans too advanced to make real connection with dissident workers, nor to overadapt to specific conditions and thereby de-emphasize labor's necessary political goals. The class vanguard's duty is to help the workers educate themselves and prepare to act on an ever-higher plane as they become convinced of the need. Efforts to overleap that process and inspire action simply by audacious leadership proposals can only misfire.

Contradictory Development

The task of a union left wing is to develop step by step the unfolding of the historic course that is necessary and possible for the working class. As the desired results begin to take form in real life they will not appear as simple, clear cut and uncontradictory as may have been anticipated in terms of pure theory. Continued backwardness on some important questions may obscure the fact that workers are becoming more advanced in their thinking about others. Experimental attempts can be expected to graft advanced ideas onto retarded forms of struggle, something like putting a souped-up engine in an old jalopy. This will probably be the case as the workers move toward independent class political action.

In the 1930s the workers first tried to organize in basic industry through the AFL, hoping to remake its craft-union structure to serve their industrial union needs. It took the failure of that experiment to prepare them for a mass shift to the building of the CIO. Today a somewhat analogous situation exists in the sense that the workers have yet to exhaust their efforts to solve essentially political problems through union methods alone. They are not ready to move forthwith to supplementary organization of their own

independent party to add a higher form of struggle.

Within the unions, however, changes in the member's attitudes are taking place as they search for more effective means of struggle in defense of their class interests. Those who voice the workers' needs and show leadership ability in the search for a solution of their problems will get support. In this connection there is a positive side to the Reuther-Meany dispute. Although Reuther's leadership credentials are no better than Meany's, he has helped to open up a critical examination of union policy. Militants striving to forge a class-struggle left wing can take things from there, going beyond Reuther to initiate meaningful discussions in the union ranks.

Unity

While stressing the need for effective changes in union policy, emphasis should also be placed on maintaining working-class unity against the capitalists. Labor's interests require opposition both to bureaucratic attacks on dissident union members and to government frame-ups of union officials, as in the case of James Hoffa of the Teamsters. The latter type of frame-ups are really aimed at the labor movement and represent a form of government intrusion into union affairs that bodes evil for the membership. Bureaucratic misleaders must be removed from union office, but not by the capitalist government. All union affairs must be handled by the workers themselves through exercise of rank-and-file democracy.

Primary attention should always center on the class enemy, with key programmatic demands aimed straight at the capitalists. If emphasis is put on a program meeting the workers' needs, and it is made clear that the left wing will support efforts from any quarter to carry out the program, the union bureaucrats will be caught in a bind. They must either respond to the needs of the membership or stand exposed as incompetent and unreliable. Instead of their being in a favorable position to witch-hunt the left wing, impetus will be given to sentiments for a change in leadership that are already developing in the union ranks. The trend is reflected in the ousting of McDonald, Carey and

Burdon from top posts in the steel, electrical and rubber unions. It signifies a search for the kind of leadership that can be given only by a left wing based on a class-struggle program.

Palace revolts within the top bureaucracy, whether led by an Abel in the steel union or a Reuther in the AFL-CIO, will not halt disintegration of its monolithic control over the unions. Actions of the kind simply illustrate the basic contradiction in which the bureaucrats are caught. They want to collaborate with the capitalists but they have no use-value, even in that role, unless they control a union base. It is the latter need that they find increasingly hard to fulfill. Changing objective conditions are narrowing their chances of continuing to pose as labor leaders only to collaborate with the class enemy. As a result they are floundering around in an effort to stem the inevitable tide of rank-and-file revolt.

Cracks in Bureaucracy

Growing pressures from the union ranks can also produce fissures among lower-echelon bureaucrats who are in most direct contact with the workers. Instead of acting simply as policemen for the top-level dictators, some of them are beginning to feel a need for at least limited adaptation to struggle moods in the ranks. Worker militants can take tactical advantage of such developments, provided it is clearly understood that the leadership problem cannot be solved through self-reform within the class-collaborationist bureaucracy.

There can be no solution short of building a leadership based on class-struggle concepts, a leadership that emerges from a left wing dedicated to the basic perspective of rank-and-file control over all union affairs. Through such close ties between leadership and membership the full power of the working class can be mobilized. In action the workers will demonstrate their courage, resourcefulness, ingenuity — their capacity to change everything for the better.

In the coming struggles many tactical problems will arise that can be decided only on the basis of specific circumstances at the time. It does not follow, however, that tactical decisions can be made on the basis of mere improvisation. All tactics must point in the direction of labor's strategic needs. They must serve to promote a direct confrontation with the capitalists within industry and in government; and they must point toward a challenge of the lackeys of capitalism within the mass movement. Tactical decisions must in addition be linked up with persistent efforts to impel working-class sentiment in an anticapitalist political direction.

Labor Party

The first phase of anticapitalist political action will focus on efforts to form an independent labor party based on the unions. Even though such a political formation can be expected to have illusions at the outset about solving labor's problems through reform of the capitalist system, the class character of the party will make it inherently anticapitalist. This becomes the starting point from which to help workers perceive the need to struggle for governmental power and abolish the whole capitalist social structure. In the process union militants can be won over to acceptance of the socialist program. In this way formation of a broad class-struggle left wing will lead to growth of a conscious socialist wing; today through projection of anticapitalist political concepts in the unions; tomorrow through direct experiences in independent labor poli-

tical action.

Theorizers of the "new left" fail to grasp the importance of forging a revolutionary-socialist vanguard party and working to fuse it with the exploited masses. Making a fetish of numerical strength, they brush aside the conscious socialist movement because of its present small size. To them nothing has meaning unless it is already "big." With that criterion they turn away from serious study of the laws of class struggle and search for the lowest common political denominator that will promote "bigness." As in other important matters, a vital need that they do not even begin to understand is "blithely dismissed as "irrelevant."

History has proven time and again that sheer force of numbers does not assure a mass movement the attainment of its goals. On the contrary, if a movement lacks a class program and a class-conscious leadership, it will crumble in the test of battle, no matter how big it may be. In the last analysis the program decides everything, provided there is a leadership capable of carrying it out. That is why the building of a revolutionary-socialist vanguard party is so vital to the basic interests of the working class, and it is the reason for the existence of the Socialist Workers Party.

Workers' Power

Labor's future hinges on the construction of a party capable of shaping a program that meets objective class needs, a party able to carry through the struggle for realization of that program. Through its efforts, growing numbers can be helped to embrace the socialist alternative to outlived capitalism and they can go forward with self-confidence in the struggle for the socialist goal. Their strategic objective will be the taking over of governmental power by the working class and its allies.

Attainment of that goal will end governmental control by bankers and corporation magnates, whose philosophy was once summed up in a single candid sentence uttered by Henry Ford II. "The target of private business," he said, "is private profit." That means merciless exploitation of people in this country and abroad for the sole purpose of amassing capitalist wealth. At home the policy leads to social deprivations in housing, health care, education, economic security, human equality, civil liberties and other needs vital to the kind of life people could and should lead, if our society was reorganized in a rational way. Abroad it leads to brutal wars against innocent people for the sole purpose of subjecting them to imperialist exploitation.

Rational Society

All this will be ended once labor and its allies take over the government and set out to reorganize society on a socialist basis. The banks and basic industries will be nationalized, as will the food trusts and all natural resources, including nuclear power. Necessary human labor will be arranged in a manner that provides jobs for all who are able to work and assures full care for those who can't. The workers and technicians will democratically organize, plan, and control production to serve everybody's needs on a fair basis. Society will be freed from every trace of discrimination and segregation. All will have an equal opportunity to prosper and to freely develop their human potentialities for the common good. Our country will lend a helping hand to peoples in other lands, instead of mobilizing and arming to make war on them.

Humanity will then be able to live in lasting peace, with freedom, equality and security for all. Man, as an intelligent social animal, will finally have come of age.

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.]

From MPI

New York, N.Y.
To Our North American Friends:
There are in Puerto Rico today huge numbers of young men resisting the draft; there are also thousands of students militantly struggling against the dirty war which the United States is carrying out in Vietnam. To these, and to the growing forces for independence of the island, the United States imperialists have very obviously decided to answer with a plebiscite on Puerto Rico's status.

The Puerto Rico Pro Independence Movement (MPI), well knowing that the results of a plebiscite in our country today will not prove in the interest of our people, and with a clear understanding of the farce that such a plebiscite represents, has declared itself

against it and has chosen instead to boycott it. When we say that a plebiscite such as this one, which will take place next July 23, is a farce, we feel strongly that we can back our statement with the fact that United States imperialism controls the economy, the political, and the military machinery of the island. Thus a Puerto Rican plebiscite is nothing more nor less than a Washington plebiscite.

The MPI is currently leading a gigantic campaign boycotting it. Our main objective is to discredit this farce on a national and international level. In order to achieve this objective we need your help now. Please send your contribution to help advance the cause of the Puerto Rican patriotic forces. We are counting on the aid of the North American progressives, and will very much appreciate any assistance we can get. Your contribution may be sent to the MPI, P. O. Box 241, Peter Stuyvesant Station, N.Y. 10009.

Dixie Bayo
Chairman, New York MPI

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

DR. ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN speaks on The American Theater from "Waiting for Lefty" to "Waiting for Godot." Fri., May 12, 8 p.m., 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

ALIENATION IN MODERN SOCIETY. Speaker: George Novack, Marxist author and editor. Fri., May 12, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1, students, 35 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MARXIST COMMENTARY. A biweekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., May 15, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Thurs., May 25, 12:45 p.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

NEW YORK

HOW BLACK VETERANS VIEW THE VIETNAM WAR — A Symposium. Panelists: Leo Berry, Vietnam war veteran; Tom Berry, Vietnam war veteran; and Tyrone Austin (Omar Abdul-Whaheeb), army veteran. Fri., May 12, 8:30 p.m., 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

FREE HUGO BLANCO! — The Meaning of LBJ's Punta del Este Conference. Speaker: Charles Scheer, Mpls. Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 12, 8:30 p.m., 704 Hennepin Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Rosa Luxemburg Program for Revolution

A special issue containing Rosa Luxemburg's final speech, delivered to the founding congress of the German Communist Party (Spartacus League), 16 days before her brutal assassination.

In this speech, Luxemburg drew a sharp line between the so-called "minimum-maximum" program of the German social democracy and the full program of revolutionary socialism set forth by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto.

In addition, this issue features an article by Pierre Frank introducing the Transitional Program of the Fourth International to new revolutionists.

For a limited time, new subscribers to the ISR will receive a free copy of "Malcolm X On Afro-American History" with a year's sub. The speech was transcribed from a tape recording made at the Audubon Ballroom just a few weeks before Malcolm was assassinated.

- ☐ Please send me the new ISR for 50¢.
- ☐ Please send me a year's subscription to the ISR for \$2.50 (6 issues), and a free copy of *Malcolm X On Afro-American History*.

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

Name
Street
City State Zip

Draft Resistance

New York, N.Y.
Pfc. Howard Petrick is a very brave young man and he deserves the support of the entire antiwar movement. But readers of *The Militant* should know that he is not alone in his refusal to be intimidated by the U.S. government. At the Spring Mobilization, for instance, 175 young men burned their draft cards, an act of defiance punishable by up to five years in prison. One of them, Gary Rader, an army reservist in the green berets, has already been arrested.

The participants in this mass draft card burning are already at work organizing more of the same. Also, there are about 20 "We Won't Go" draft resistance unions at colleges across the nation. Their membership is almost 1,000. More than 60 young men are already in prison as draft refusers. Many more than this are under indictment. The point is that marching alone won't bring the necessary change needed in this country and the world. The best thing that Americans can do right now is to do what Pfc. Petrick is doing along with hundreds and maybe thousands of other young Americans, and that is to RESIST.

Martin Jeter
Co-Editor
WIN (Workshop in Non-violence) Magazine

[In a coming issue we will discuss our attitude on draft-card burning—EDITOR].

A Plan/ For Man/ To Scan

Brooklyn, N.Y.
Some years ago, a product called Burma-Shave used to advertise with road signs. Each successive sign gave a successive part of the

Thought for the Week

"If he [Muhammad Ali] wins, all the Muslims will refuse to take the oath, and where will we get our soldiers?" — Fred Drogula, a Justice Department trial lawyer.

message; each sign raised one's expectancy and eagerness to read the next; and this expectancy and eagerness reached its highest pitch for the last sign, bearing the punch-line.

The same idea is employable in a parade or street demonstration. The sign-bearers could suitably space themselves, successively, preferably on the sidewalk side of the marching column.

Often, an effective slogan cannot be gotten on single sign. If it is of any length, the lettering gets small and crowded; it passes too quickly and has to be hurriedly read. The Burma-Shave idea eliminates all this. Moreover, it has the attraction of novelty; its susceptibility to variation could ever renew the novelty; its eye-catching, eye-holding power would be irresistible; and it would be fool-proof for all but boneheads, ultra-rights, ultra-lefts, etc.

Imagine, for illustrative purposes only, this deliberately bone-headed example:

- 1st) If the Slogans Seem Pathetic
- (2nd) Lettering Wrong and Unaesthetic
- (3rd) And the Crowd is Apathetic
- (4th) Try the "Burma-Shave" Idea.

M.K.

Correction

San Francisco, Calif.
We would like to correct an error and a misleading statement

which crept into our *Militant* report on the Mobilization in San Francisco.

There were not 500 buses from Los Angeles. The correct figure was 35 buses. There were 5,000-6,000 people from Los Angeles at the Mobilization. However, most arranged their own transportation.

It was misleading to say that the Housing Office found space for 10,000 people. In checking with Mrs. Sylvia Weinstein, who was in charge of housing, we found that indeed space was found for eight to ten thousand. But the total number who availed themselves of the Housing Office service was 3,430, as most out-of-town groups arranged to arrive in the morning and depart immediately after the rally.

Most of those who needed housing were sent directly to the largest places — churches and so forth — which had space for many people. Quite a few of those who offered private housing called the Mobilization Housing Office in dismay, says Mrs. Weinstein, when they found that no one had been sent to them. Many had baked cookies and doughnuts and made pots and pots of coffee, and they were quite disappointed at being unable to offer their hospitality to antiwar activists from out of town! The spirit of those who worked on the Mobilization in this city is very well illustrated, we think, by this.

Merry Safier and Roger Filene

It Was Reported in the Press

For Uncle — When you go to work tomorrow think about this. According to Tax Foundation, a private research outfit, the average American will spend two hours and 25 minutes of each eight-hour working day earning the money to pay his 1967 taxes. The foundation said working time to cover direct and indirect tax costs is greater than any other single item in the household budget.

Philosophical Loser — Frederick Rose drew an 18-month term in Cambridge, Mass., on charges of attempted burglary. Rose, who installed burglar alarms for a living, was allegedly spotted by police trying to break into an engineering office. He was picked up, they said, hiding under the porch of the local district attorney. Rose told the judge: "You win some and you lose some." He didn't say what ones he won.

Bugged by Bugging? — Dr. Nathan Klein, a psychiatrist who treats patients at Rockland State Hospital in New York, told a Senate investigating committee that most people secretly want to be bugged. "In a world where the individual feels he is being submerged into a useless and meaningless cog," the mental expert opined, "there is something consoling in the thought that all one's words are being recorded." The good doctor, however, is opposed to bugging. "We must protect ourselves against ourselves," he said.

Problems, Problems — Concierge, Inc. will offer New Yorkers who can afford it a variety of personal services built around a telephone answering service featuring cordial, efficient operators. Interior decorator Ellen McCluskey, an initial subscriber, ex-

plained: "I have five servants in my house and not one of them speaks English. I almost never get a message straight."

Inspired Logic — Richard Spurney, a Catholic junior college philosophy teacher, is, in our view, a leading contender for the \$200,000 left by an Arizona miner for anyone who scientifically proves the existence of the human soul. Spurney submitted a foot-thick document of scientific evidence, including the following: "Death is decomposition . . . decomposition requires divisibility into parts . . . but divisibility . . . requires matter. Hence, what has no matter in it . . . cannot decompose and so is necessarily im-

mortal." Or, to put it in layman's terms, the fact that the soul does not exist is the very best proof that it does.

Seeking Discharge? — A UPI dispatch from Tokyo reported: "A U.S. Navy pilot, who has publicly urged the United States to declare war against north Vietnam and to press for clear-cut military victory, said Wednesday the Navy has convened a medical board to investigate his mental condition." Maybe he read *Catch-22* where the doctor explains to a recalcitrant pilot that only those who don't want to fly any more missions are sane enough to be sent.

—Harry Ring

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
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U of Penn Students Conduct Sit-In Against Germ Warfare

Detroit Court Penalizes Victim of Right-Wingers

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA, April 28 — The conflict over campus complicity in genocide reached a new climax here today as hundreds of University of Pennsylvania students completed a 51-hour sit-in.

For two days and two nights, the plush carpeted floor of President Harnwell's office and the surrounding corridors of College Hall were crammed with sleeping, studying and singing students demanding an end to Projects Summit and Spicerack, two germ warfare contracts at Penn from the U.S. Army and Air Force. Today the sit-in culminated in a rally of 350 students on the floor of College Hall's main corridor.

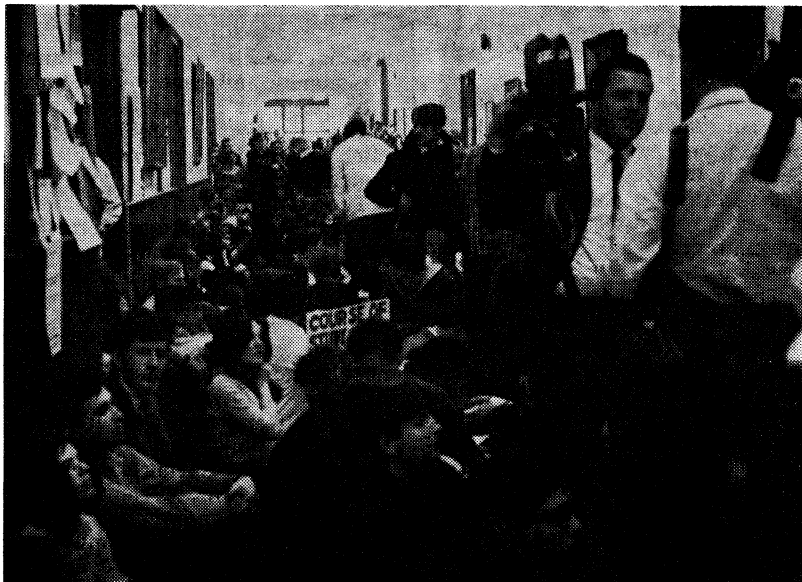
In today's *Daily Pennsylvanian*, the final issue of the term, the editorial demanded that the trustees fire Harnwell because of his duplicity and his unresponsiveness to the demands of faculty and students for the termination of the germ warfare research. "Dr. Gaylord P. Harnwell is an old man," began the editorial in the undergraduate newspaper.

The alumni secretary for the Class of 1963, Norman Glickman, announced yesterday that he has decided to resign his position in protest to the germ warfare research. In a related development, 50 seniors signed a statement that they would give no financial contributions to Penn until "such time as the University and all its subsidiary bodies divest themselves of all research contracts dealing with biological and chemical warfare."

The heightened phase of the protests which led to the sit-in began on one of the buses returning from the April 15 Mobilization in New York. Several students on the bus, most of whom had never participated in demonstrations before April 15, decided to stage a protest against the germ warfare research at Penn's Heyday Ceremonies the following week.

On Thursday, April 20, 55 students walked out of Harnwell's speech at the Heyday Ceremonies, 30 of them wearing gas masks. A meeting was called the next day to plan the sit-in.

At noon on April 26, 110 students began the sit-in. They walked into College Hall wearing gas masks and carrying signs such as "NO GERM WARFARE RESEARCH FOR VIETNAM"; "CLOSE HARNWELL'S SPICERACK"; and "COURSE OF STUDY AT PENN: ARSENIC, VIETNAMESE RICE DISEASE, CYANIDE, SOUTHEAST ASIAN



WON'T BUDGE. U of Penn students sit-in at university administration offices.

FLU."

At 3:30 Harnwell agreed to address the students. He spoke for 15 minutes and was questioned by the students for more than an hour. Most of the important questions he refused to answer. Harnwell claimed ignorance of the exact nature of the research and its relation to Vietnam; he avoided giving an answer to a question about whether the university is under economic pressure from the government to keep Projects Spicerack and Summit. Regarding the proposed transfer of the contracts to the University City Science Center, a corporation in which Penn owns 53 percent of the stock and of which Dr. Harnwell is also president, Harnwell stated, "The Science Center was set up to take on projects that the university cannot take on."

In another development related to the Science Center, some of the smaller stockholders in this corporation have indicated their displeasure at the coming acquisition of the germ warfare research contracts. Four-fifths of Haverford College's faculty have voted for Haverford's withdrawal from the Science Center as soon as it acquires Spicerack and Summit. It is highly likely, according to student and faculty leaders at

Swarthmore and Bryn Mawr, that their colleges will follow suit and also withdraw from the Science Center.

After Harnwell's appearance, the students' realization that he had been caught in several lies made them determined enough to decide to continue the sit-in for another 48 hours. Seventy-five students slept in Harnwell's office and College Hall Wednesday night. Sleeping bags, blankets, guitars, books, typewriters and a TV set arrived. Thursday night 180 slept in.

At today's rally, the crowd of 350 was enthusiastic. The number of television cameras rolling and flashbulbs flashing indicated that this protest has been the most successful to date in bringing public exposure to Penn's immoral and inhumane research. One of those who spoke was Jerry Rifkin, president of the Senior Class and vice-president of the interfraternity council. He said that, "Some people claim that this sit-in has brought unprecedented embarrassment to our university. It is not the sit-in, but the immoral research which brings the embarrassment." To collect money for publicity expenses, a gas mask was passed around and brought in over \$70.

DETROIT — James Griffin, a young antiwar activist here, has been given an unusually severe court sentence on charges resulting from an attack on an antiwar gathering by members of the right-wing "Breakthrough" organization. Griffin, who was attacked by the rightists, was charged with "disturbing the peace" at a rally last November, and was recently sentenced to two years probation and \$400 "court costs."

On Nov. 7, 1966, a teach-in was held on the campus of Wayne State University. The sponsors of the event, the Wayne State and Detroit Committees to End the War in Vietnam, had told the university administration about threats from Breakthrough against the whole November days of protest in Detroit, and expressed the desire to exclude Breakthrough from the teach-in.

The WCEWV said that they would organize a contingent of ushers to insure the orderly and uninterrupted progress of the teach-in, but were informed by university officials not to bother to do this because campus security police would take care of anyone attempting to disrupt the meeting in any way. But they explicitly refused to allow the WCEWV to exclude the trouble-making Breakthrough group.

When the teach-in was held, university officials forced the WCEWV to allow Breakthrough into the audience. Then, at about 8:20 p.m., Breakthrough members pushed a teach-in usher and almost knocked him over. They then

began to walk away from the scene with no security officials "taking care of the situation" as promised. Seeing this, James Griffin, began to usher one of the rowdies from the auditorium. The usher who had been pushed, George Bouse, himself removed another goon.

After handing the rightist over to an officer, Griffin himself was arrested at that point for "disturbing the peace" by the head of the campus security guards, who didn't arrest the fascist until minutes later when angry audience members demanded it.

A few moments later, while being held by the arms in the "protective" custody of security officers, Griffin was struck in the chest while not looking by another Breakthrough member. Outside, all during the evening, two more fascists stood threateningly at the door, one with a huge police dog on a leash and one with a weighty umbrella sharpened to a fine point.

Griffin, charged by the campus security police with disturbing the peace of a meeting that he had been asked by the sponsors to help usher, was subsequently tried and convicted partly because of vicious red-baiting by the prosecutor.

University Reaction

Wayne University officials now are attempting to distort and twist the incident and use the whole affair as an excuse to put the screws on antiwar activity at the school. They once again refused to allow antiwar activists to exclude the fascists from the events of Vietnam Week, April 8-15. Luckily, because of embarrassing publicity about the Griffin case and a strong unified position on the civil liberties issues involved taken by campus and city-wide antiwar forces, the events of April were guarded heavily by campus police and came off splendidly amidst the hollow threats of the right-wing. However, a large group of ushers once again had to be organized to be sure that campus brass and aspiring Nazis alike knew that the antiwar movement meant business and was serious about defending its democratic rights.

Griffin's case is now being appealed under the legal guidance of his attorney, O. Lee Molette. Efforts are underway to organize a broad defense committee to handle the expense and work of building up pressure against the power structure of police administrators, university officials, courts and judges to force the granting of a favorable ruling and to create an atmosphere unfavorable to fascist-type hooliganism against the antiwar and other movements and activities.

Double-Speaking Brass Hat

"I learned from General Westmoreland that the bulk of the Vietcong fighting in south Vietnam were born and reared in south Vietnam." — Senator Stephen Young, (D.-Ohio), Feb. 6, 1966.

"What we have is not a civil war, it is a massive campaign of external aggression from north Vietnam." — General Westmoreland, April 24, 1967.

Carmichael, Bevel Back Antiwar GI

James Bevel, Stokely Carmichael, Sidney Lens and Murray Kempton have joined many others in denouncing the army threat to court-martial Pfc. Howard Petrick for his socialist and antiwar views. Petrick has been told by army authorities that he faces possible charges of "subversion," creating "disaffection" within the army and making "disloyal statements" — for the sole "crime" of expressing his views against the war to his fellow GIs. Petrick is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

James Bevel, national director of the Spring Mobilization, said, "Nobody has more right to know the truth about the immoral and useless war in Vietnam than the GIs who are sent to kill and be killed there. Pfc. Howard Petrick therefore deserves to be commended for his stand against the program of mass murder in Vietnam." Bevel also said that the antiwar GI should not be victimized for "telling the truth about the war to his fellow soldiers."

Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of SNCC, said, "In behalf of the Student Nonviolent Co-

ordinating Committee I would like to express outrage over your frame-up by the U.S. army officials and pending court-martial for merely exercising your supposed constitutional rights of free speech and freedom of political belief. We are outraged, yes, but not sur-

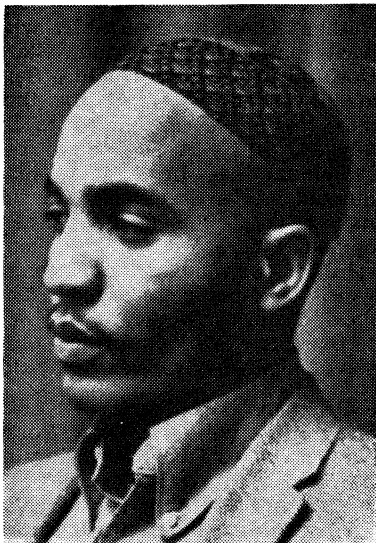
prised . . . Such action is typical of the treatment that is meted out to black people in the United States every day of their lives . . .

"We in SNCC support you in your struggle . . ."

Sindey Lens, author and member of the editorial board of *Liberation* magazine, said, "I applaud Howard Petrick's courage in speaking out against the war while in service. I hope millions more will follow his lead. It is outrageous that the government asks men to kill 10,000 miles away from home but gives them no adequate opportunity to discuss what the fighting is about."

Well-known columnist Murray Kempton, said, "Howard Petrick, while conceding that his body may belong to the army, claims only that his mind belongs to him. Such is the logic of this wicked war: soldiers already conscripted to act on order are now to be required to think on order."

Statements of support and funds are urgently needed by the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick. Write the committee at: P.O. Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Rev. James Bevel

Texas Catholics Picket Church

Roman Catholic parishioners demonstrated in front of two downtown churches in San Antonio, Texas, on April 30 in support of four priests who have been suspended for comments critical of the Archbishop of San Antonio.

The four priests had given an interview to the *San Antonio Express-News*. The interview dealt with the banishing by the Archbishop some three months ago of two other priests, Rev. Sherrill Smith and Rev. William Killian. Father Smith and Father Killian had gone to the Rio Grande Valley in January to aid striking farm workers, against the orders of the Archbishop.

Saigon Workers Stage Protest

A massive May Day rally against the Ky government and against U.S. intervention in Vietnam was held in Saigon according to a May 1 UPI dispatch. Even by police estimates, the UPI reports, there were 3,000 demonstrators. The rally was broken up by cops when it began marching towards the offices of Premier Ky.

The UPI reports that there were about a dozen arrests and that those arrested carried such banners as "Stop Careless Killing By Bombing," and "Foreigners — Respect Vietnam's Sovereignty."