

# Thousands in N.Y. Join 'Stop the Draft Week'

## THE MILITANT

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## Antiwar Slate In at Berkeley

By Roger Filene

BERKELEY, Calif., Dec. 5 — Student radicals have swept the student government elections held at the University of California here last week in a massive repudiation of disciplinary action taken against antiwar activists by the University administration.

Voice, the radical student political party on campus, countered the disciplinary action against the antiwar students by running them in the election. The Voice slate of 11 consisted of two students who had been suspended, and nine who had been placed on disciplinary probation. Peter Camejo and Reese Erlich headed the slate as the suspended students. The others were: Frank Bardacke, Charlie Capper, Marion Cohen, Morgan Spector, Dave Kennitzer, Hal Jacobs, Jeff Lustig, Patti Iiyama and Paul Glusman.

There were 10 openings on the student senate, and campus observers agree that the Voice slate would have won all 10 places on the basis of winning a simple majority. However, the votes are counted in such a way as to guarantee a seat to any minority party that polls over 10 percent. As a result, the Voice slate captured six of the 10 places, while the other four seats went to other parties and independents.

The voting was by weighted ballots, and it was urged that Camejo and Erlich be the first and second choices, since they had the harshest disciplinary action taken against them. Camejo, a prominent spokesman of the Socialist Workers Party, came in first, with what members of the election committee unofficially reported to be the highest vote total in the history of student elections here.

The other five Voice candidates elected were: Reese Erlich, a leader of Stop the Draft Week; Charles

Capper, of the Independent Socialist Club; Marion Cohen of Progressive Labor; Frank Bardacke; and Jeff Lustig, active in the Free University here.

The disciplinary action grew out of the October antidraft demonstration at the Oakland induction center. The University administration had denied permission to students to plan antidraft activities on campus, after the Alameda County Superior Court issued a restraining order preventing the University from so being used. The students refused to accept the restraining order, since to do so would have destroyed the planned demonstrations.

The students held rallies, which the administration termed "illegal," to plan the antidraft action. As a result, 71 students were "cited" for participating in the rallies. On Nov. 10, the Dean's office recommended suspension of the 11 students, plus disciplinary probation against seven others.

A broad group, the Movement (Continued on Page 2)

## Lindsay Curbs Antiwar Protest



Photo by Shannon

AT WHITEHALL. Looking out from New York induction center at one group of antidraft demonstrators Dec. 6. Police in front and at right kept demonstration away from center.

By Harry Ring and Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Dec. 6 — The first two days of Stop the Draft Week saw thousands of New Yorkers demand an end to conscription for Vietnam, in militant and spirited demonstrations. Mayor Lindsay mobilized his cops in unprecedented numbers to fragment the demonstrations and in this way curb mass antiwar protest.

This morning, in the face of an icy wind, some 5,000 young people gathered at 5:30 a.m. near the New York induction center at Whitehall Street. They were mobilized by the Stop the Draft Week Committee, a coalition of student,

antiwar and political groups.

Yesterday another 5,000 turned out at the same hour in support of a group conducting civil disobedience at the center under the auspices of the War Resisters League. The actions were organized as part of the national antidraft effort.

The demonstrations were called for the early hour because draftees report for induction at 7 a.m.

Yesterday, thousands of tightly organized police herded the demonstrators behind mazes of wooden barriers spread over a wide area, preventing a massive gathering at the induction center. Several hundred, including Dr. Ben-

jamin Spock and other notables, were jailed for sitting down near the center.

Mounted police drove some sit-downers from the streets onto the sidewalk. At least one was brutally clubbed, and hospitalized with a brain concussion.

Immediately afterward, the Stop the Draft Week Committee held a well-covered press conference where the brutal and anti-civil-liberties activities of Lindsay's cops were vigorously protested. As a result, while the cops again used their massive force today to bar a single large demonstration in front of the center, they refrained, (Continued on Page 5)

## The Young Socialist Trailblazers

By Doug Jenness

DEC. 5—At about noon last Thursday two young women stood behind a literature table in front of the post office at Yale University. It was very cold, getting ready to snow. They were energetically distributing leaflets and brochures for the 1968 candidates of the Socialist Workers Party—Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President.

Despite the brisk weather, they passed out over 1,500 pieces of literature and sold a number of campaign posters, pamphlets, and buttons. Students interested in helping the campaign signed a mailing list.

The young women, Peggy Brundy and Suzanne Weiss, are currently on a three-week tour of Connecticut and New York campuses, organized by Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.

Already they have visited the University of Bridgeport, Fairfield University, Connecticut College, Yale University, and the State University of New York in Albany.

From Hartford, Conn., they write, "Everyone we have met says they will vote for us, even if

they disagree with some of our planks."

The two young socialists have met members of Students for a Democratic Society and the Resistance who are sympathetic to the SWP campaign. At Connecticut College they talked to members of the newly formed Afro-American Club. The leaders of the Student League for Human Rights (an organization actively involved in the anti-Vietnam-war movement) at the University of Bridgeport "were just waiting to become endorsers. They were very interested in our ideas and in sponsoring a meeting for a candidate or spokesman in January."

The two young socialists arrived at Connecticut College during preparations for a protest against CIA recruiters. They attended a planning meeting, where they gave a short talk and passed out campaign literature.

Antiwar sentiment is very strong on every campus they visited. They report that "Almost everyone we have met went to the October 21 Mobilization in Washington, D.C. The literature of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam was (Continued on Page 3)

## Dispensation From LBJ?

The editors may argue that it was a typographical error, but an article on Lynda Bird's wedding plans in the Dec. 3 *New York Times* stated: "The Episcopal minister who will officiate, the Rev. Canon Gerald McAllister of San Antonio, sent word that women guests would not be required to wear hats, since it would not be a church affair."



Photo by John Gray

LOS ANGELES. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, addresses kick-off election rally here Nov. 27. On his left, seated, is Paul Boutelle, SWP vice-presidential candidate, who also spoke. A collection of \$326 was donated by the audience of 80.



We have written much on the "forgotten" copper strike. Now suddenly this five-month strike has been discovered by *Business Week*, the *New York Times* and the *National Broadcasting Co.* The *Wall Street Journal*, which has followed the strike rather closely, has also taken a new tack. All of the above-mentioned publications and news media are crying crocodile tears over the fate of the strikers and their families. Everything they say is true, but one must question their motives.

This strike has gone on long enough to dissipate much of the tremendous stockpiles the industry itself encouraged its customers to acquire, in anticipation of a long strike. Some of these customers are now using substitutes for copper. The price of the commodity has risen on the world market.

When the strike is finally settled, government orders will have precedence over private industry — and the war orders must be filled at the old copper price of 38 cents a pound — while imported copper is now selling at 61 cents. All of which makes Kennecott, Anaconda, American Mine and Smelting, and their brothers most unhappy.

This also explains a *New York Times* item about "reports from Washington that the Administration would move for an injunction to halt the strike under the Taft-Hartley Act."

Meanwhile a gloomy Christmas faces 50,000 strikers and their families. Most of those who live in the seven Western states live in copper towns, with no outside industry where they can get temporary employment to supplement their union benefits.

A recently published Labor Department survey puts total union membership at 17.9 million. (This figure may be assumed to include 14.3 million members currently reported by the AFL-CIO, plus another 3.6 million in independent unions.)

According to the Labor Department report, there has been an overall growth in union membership since 1956 of only 400,000. In this same period the nonfarm work force grew by 11.5 million. The proportion of union members in the work force dropped from 33.4 to 28 percent.

The United Steelworkers Union executive board appears to have rejected I.W. Abel's proposition for "voluntary" (compulsory) arbitration in the forthcoming negotiations to replace the current steel contract expiring on Aug. 1, 1968.

In the Executive Committee meeting where Abel, the union president, presented his plan, it met with stiff opposition. According to the press "the major objection of those who opposed the concept . . . was that the steel workers would gain more if they retained their right to strike."

This will be a busy year for the steel union's negotiating teams. The contracts with the major can companies expire on Feb. 1, and those with the aluminum industry on June 1, 1968.

The executive board also voted to call a special convention, no later than March 31, 1968. The long copper strike has apparently "put a serious drain on the international's finances."

Petitions containing the names of thousands of coal miners and their wives have been submitted to President Johnson, asking full suspension of the prison sentences of four men framed up in 1963 during a coal strike in Hazard and Perry Counties, Ky.

The District Court at Lexington, Ky., had already reduced the sentences to one, two and three years (from four, five and six years). The four men are now serving time at Terre Haute, Ind. The men, fathers of 28 children, are Charles Engle, Herbert Stacy, Clayton Turner and Bige Hensley.

White supremacist Governor Lesley G. Maddox of Georgia is said to have "a very red face." And undoubtedly he or someone in authority will read all the letters "written" by him and signed by secretaries.

Recently the Textile Workers of America were amazed to receive a letter, over the governor's signature, praising their pamphlet, *The Hollow Promise*, and promising to send the brochure on to the state Department of Labor for its commissioner's "attention and further consideration."

Apparently the governor has a secretary with both a flare for words and sympathy for the state's more than 100,000 textile workers. The letter read in part:

"I appreciate receiving this booklet which I have examined and found most interesting and perhaps one of the best sources of information on the tragic plight of a half million textile workers who are being denied the benefits of collective bargaining."

The governor's office now claims that the letter was written and signed (as is the custom) by some "obscure secretary," but the textile industry is most unhappy anyway. They have reminded Maddox that they represent "the backbone" of Georgia's economy.

But one state official thinks the letter was okay. "After all, there are a hell of a lot more textile workers than bosses."

Marvel Scholl

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

## I Want to Help

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

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

# ... Berkeley Antiwar Slate

(Continued from Page 1)  
Against Political Suspensions (MAPS), was formed to fight against the suspensions. Business meetings of MAPS ranged from 500 to 1,000 students, and it held daily rallies, distributed leaflets, etc., on the case. It organized a teach-in to oppose the suspensions on Nov. 17. MAPS decided if Chancellor Roger Heyns supported the suspensions, the students would engage in a "mill-in" in the University administration building to disrupt it.

MAPS received messages of support from antiwar groups across the country. One from the Student Mobilization Committee at Wayne State University in Detroit urged the creation of "two, three, many Berkeleys."

On Nov. 28, Camejo and Erlich received suspension notices from Heyns. The Chancellor upheld the suspension of five others, "but decided to withhold the penalty." These students, along with the remaining four, were placed on disciplinary probation.

### Raided Homes

At 3 a.m. the next day, Berkeley police raided the homes of Camejo and another antiwar activist, Mike Smith. Camejo and Smith had been out on bail for misdemeanor charges resulting from the antidraft action — Camejo on \$500 and Smith on \$200. Both were dragged to court and told their bail had been raised to \$5,000 apiece. This was to keep the two leaders from taking part in plans for the mill-in. At 2 p.m. that afternoon, the judge reduced the bail to the original amount, after the mill-in had begun.

Earlier that day, a crowd of several thousand students decided to begin the mill-in. At 12:50 p.m. 3,000 students marched into Sproul Hall and occupied all four floors, including the Dean of Students office. Employees in the building either left for the day or stayed around to chat with the students. The mill-in lasted until 4:45 p.m. After the students left Sproul Hall, they decided to march to other buildings, and succeeded in closing some of them down, too. The mill-



Photo by Tom Kukyendall

**MILL-IN.** Thousands of students swarmed into administration building at U of California campus Nov. 29 to protest suspensions of antiwar activists. The right of free speech has traditionally evoked strong support on the campus.

in was continued the next day.

On Dec. 1, a token mill-in of 200 occupied the Dean of Students' office, and at noon a rally was held on Sproul Hall steps, attended by several thousand. In addition to student speakers, Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, expressed support for the students.

Before the recent elections, the student government came out against the suspensions, and as a result, the University is threatening to cut off its budget. Also,

other students were "cited" for taking part in a demonstration against CIA recruiting.

It is expected that the administration will attempt to prevent the elected Voice student senators from taking office, on the grounds that they are under disciplinary action.

In another development in the election, antiwar activist Jeff Sokol ran for head yell leader (cheerleader) on the program of turning football game cheers into antiwar slogans. He won.

## SOCIALIST FUND

### 'Tis More Blessed to Give

By Evelyn Reed  
Fund Director

Here it is a few weeks before the holidays, when the country should be filled with the spirit of jolly good cheer towards all men and the anticipated happiness that goes with gift-giving. Instead, according to prominent press and TV commentators, people are in the dumps. They say a terrible "malaise" is "gripping" the nation. And what is most embarrassing for this well-advertised "affluent society," this pessimism also pervades the better off — not simply the poor.

"People are unhappy, unpleasant, unfriendly. They're eating well, but something is eating them," is the way one woman manager of a drugstore put it, according to Harriet Van Horne of the *New York Post*. She says they dislike the war in Vietnam, the draft, and have other stored-up reasons for their "smoldering wrath" and their "wild sense of disappointment."

Walter Lippmann, the venerable social critic, agrees. "I've never been so alarmed about the state of the nation," the 70-year-old columnist recently said on TV.

James Reston of the *New York Times* adds his testimony on the deep "derangement" that is corroding life on the home front today. First, even middle-class families are insecure because they are "mortgaged" up to their necks. Second, a typical worker's family

of four (to live "moderately" today) requires "more than \$9,000 a year." How can the "poverty problem" and "housing problem" be solved, he asks sourly, when we have a "war costing between \$25 billion and \$30 billion a year?"

Reston admits the "need to get at causes" behind these dismal facts. But he dodges the undertaking by saying it "is obviously the subject for a book and not a column." Let's say it for him — and in a couple of sentences!

The creators of this "malaise" are the enormously wealthy masters of this nation, who are served by the Democratic and Republican politicians. The program of the Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President provide a socialist antidote for the poisonous sickness of capitalist misrule.

If you want to help the American people recover their health and happy spirit, send your contribution today to our \$20,000 Socialist Fund. It will be the best Christmas present you can give this year.

### BULLETIN

**BOSTON** is not only the first region in the country to fulfill its quota before the Dec. 31 deadline — it has oversubscribed its pledge of \$1,200 by \$50 and now heads the list at 104%! Watch for the next scoreboard Dec. 18.

## Times' Report On Che Murder

Proof that Ernesto Che Guevara was cold-bloodedly murdered by the Bolivian army after being captured alive was provided by *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis writing from Bolivia Dec. 2.

De Onis writes that after Guevara was captured, he "was taken to La Higuera with wounds in one leg and a flesh wound in the back. He was held overnight in the schoolhouse, questioned by Bolivian officers, and executed the morning of Oct. 9 on orders received by radio from armed forces headquarters . . ."

"Capt. Gary Prado, the infantry officer who led the troops that captured Mr. Guevara, has submitted a battle report dissociating himself from the execution. He said he turned over his prisoner . . . to Lieut. Col. Andres Selich on the afternoon of Oct. 8.

"Colonel Joaquin Zenteno, commander of the Eighth Division, arrived by helicopter in La Higuera on the morning of Oct. 9. About 11 a.m. bursts of gunfire in the schoolhouse were heard. A noncommissioned officer with a machine gun was in the schoolroom at the time.

"Shortly after the shots were heard, the body of Mr. Guevara was brought out with bullet wounds in the chest and neck. The wounds had not been there when Captain Prado turned over Mr. Guevara, who had been able to walk with assistance at that time."



## John Reed's Classic Reprinted

## 10 Days That Shook the World

By Dick Roberts

In September 1917 a young American reporter named John Reed went to Russia to cover the revolution that was unfolding in the midst of World War I.

The Bolshevik Revolution occurred soon after Reed's arrival in Russia, and it revolutionized him. His account of it, *Ten Days that Shook the World*, written in 1918-19, is one of the best works of revolutionary journalism in American literature. It has been republished this year, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, by International Publishers. And, except for the few pages of "Editor's Notes to the 1967 Edition" appended to the end of the volume, this edition is a welcome reinforcement to revolutionary-socialist literature in this country.

Krupskaya (Lenin's wife) translated *Ten Days that Shook the World* in 1919, and on Jan. 20, 1920, Lenin sketched a brief introduction:

## Truthful and Vivid

"With the greatest interest and never slackening attention I read John Reed's book, 'Ten Days that Shook the World.' Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world. Here is a book which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all languages. It gives the truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"These problems are widely discussed but before one can accept or reject these ideas, he must understand the significance of the decision. John Reed's book will undoubtedly help to clear this question, which is the fundamental problem of the universal workers' movement."

What Lenin emphasizes in this introduction is the main theme of *Ten Days that Shook the World*: Reed's presentation of the meaning and necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has two aspects.

On one side, only the Russian workers could carry out a revolution truly representing the needs of the vast masses of Russian people: withdrawal from the imperialist war, and freedom from the rule of the possessing classes exercised through their agents in Kerensky's Provisional Government.

## Bolshevik Program

On the other side, only the program of the Bolshevik Party corresponded to the needs of national progress. Only under the leadership of the Bolsheviks was the revolution successfully completed.

Consequently *Ten Days that Shook the World* depicts both the masses and the leaders, mass action and revolutionary leadership. Reed shows us the workers and peasants in the armies from the battlefield, from the city militias, from the unions, the Soviets, describing what they said, how they reacted to each event.

But Reed also depicts the momentous significance of the roles of a few individuals, not only Lenin and Trotsky but also those other Bolshevik leaders who played secondary but crucial roles: Nikolai Krylenko, who commanded the Red Armies against Kerensky; Pavel Dubenko, the sailor, and Antonov Osveyenko, the young intellectual, who together planned the attack on the Winter Palace; and others. For page after page Reed quotes these leaders, their arguments in closed meetings of the Central Committee, their speeches in open committee meetings, their resolutions, and their proclamations and leaflets for the masses.

And always Reed emphasizes



TROTSKY. Commissar of War addressing Red Army soldiers in 1920.

the contrast: workers, peasants and soldiers with the Bolsheviks; intelligentsia, petty-bourgeoisie, the military brass with Kerensky.

"There [at the Congress of Soviets] great masses of shabby soldiers, grimy workmen, peasants — poor men, bent and scarred in the brute struggle for existence; here [at the Duma meetings of the counterrevolutionaries] the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary leaders . . . the former Socialist Ministers . . . rubbed shoulders with Cadets . . . with journalists, students, intellectuals of almost all camps. This Duma crowd was well fed, well dressed; I did not see more than three proletarians among them all . . ."

## Two Classes

A conversation between a student and pro-Bolshevik soldier:

"You are a fool! Why, my friend, I spent two years in Schlüsselburg for revolutionary activity, when you were still shooting down revolutionists and singing 'God Save the Tsar!' My name is Vasili Georgevitch Panyin. Didn't you ever hear of me?"

"I'm sorry to say I never did," answered the soldier with humility. "But then, I am not an educated man. You are probably a great hero."

"I am," said the student with conviction. "And I am opposed to the Bolsheviks, who are destroying our Russia, our free Revolution. Now how do you account for that?"

"The soldier scratched his head. 'I can't account for it at all . . . To me it seems perfectly simple — but then, I'm not well educated. It seems there are only two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie —'"

## Previous Editions

Under Stalin successive editions of this classic were tendentiously edited and censored, until the book was finally suppressed. While now reproducing the original text, International Publishers has provided notes and bibliographical material mainly designed to discredit Trotsky. (The editorial material is not signed in this edition, but Virginia Gardner, writing in the Fall 1967 *Science and Society*, ascribes it to James S. Allen, a long-time writer for *The Worker*, organ of the American Communist Party.)

This is a thankless task. Reed's book provides over 30 pages describing and documenting Trotsky's role as president of the Petrograd Soviet and leader of the Military Revolutionary Committee — the organizations which carried out the Revolution — but the editorial notes tell us:

"The decision for the armed up-

rising was adopted at a closed meeting of the Central Committee on October 23, 1917 [new calendar] Oct. 10, old calendar . . . Zinoviev and Kamenev voted against the resolution proposed by Lenin. Trotsky abstained, holding that the insurrection should be postponed until the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets." (p. 374)

## "Mysterious"?

And, in a short bibliographical note which ends, "From abroad [Trotsky] continued to fight Bolshevism, until his assassination under mysterious circumstances in Mexico," we read, "As a member of the Central Committee, after at first urging postponement, he supported Lenin on the armed uprising." (p. 385)

This isn't true. It is Stalinized history. The meeting of the Central Committee which called for the insurrection, on which Lenin and Trotsky were in agreement, was not concerned with announcing a specific date. That would have played directly into the hands of the ruling authorities, giving them a pretext for arresting the Bolshevik leadership. In fact, the Bolsheviks used defensive formulations right down to the final insurrection — always warning the masses of the danger of an attempt at a right-wing coup by the military and Menshevik alliance.

## Tentative Date

But Lenin and Trotsky also intended to move before the convening of the Congress of Soviets so that that meeting could take state power. Consequently a tentative date of Oct. 15 was secretly set, midway between the Central Committee meeting and the date of Oct. 20 for the Congress of Soviets. As things turned out, the Oct. 20 date was subsequently postponed to Oct. 25 — and the armed uprising took place on the same day, handing power over to the Soviets, precisely as Trotsky, the principal leader of the insurrection, planned.

Later, Stalin (who is mentioned exactly twice in Reed's book and played no role of importance at that crucial juncture) rewrote this chapter of history. Stalin invented the idea that Lenin set the correct date of armed insurrection and Trotsky urged its postponement.

The notes in this new edition of Reed's book are in one tradition; the book itself in another. John Reed wrote *Ten Days that Shook the World* to tell the truth about the Russian Revolution to American socialists in 1919, and that's the best reason for reading it today.

## THE MILITANT

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Monday, December 11, 1967

M.D. Assails Brutality  
Toward Huey P. Newton

Support is mounting for Huey P. Newton, Oakland, Calif., Black Panther Party minister of defense, who was shot and wounded by Oakland cops Oct. 28. A policeman was killed and another wounded in the struggle.

One message of support came from a medical doctor who was stunned when she saw a newspaper picture of Huey Newton manacled to a hospital examining table. In a letter to Newton, Dr. Mary Jane Aguilar said, "I can remember nothing in my training which suggested that, in the case of an acute abdominal injury, severe pain and hemorrhage are best treated by manacling the patient to the examining table in such a way that the back is arched and belly tensed. Yet this is precisely the picture of current emergency room procedure which appeared on the front page of a local newspaper last weekend . . ."

"Unusual as it was, this picture probably did not disrupt very much the pleasant weekend enjoyed by my neighbors nor disturb more than momentarily the consciences of my medical col-

leagues. To me upon whose mind's eye it is permanently engraved, this photograph is a portentous document of modern history."

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee sent Huey Newton a telegram saying that the "brothers and sisters in SNCC support you all the way . . . SNCC stands united with you and ready to help in any way possible."

Four Bay Area student organizations, including the Afro-American Student Union at the University of California, the Soul Students at Merritt College, the Black Student Union at San Francisco State College, and the steering committee for Stop the Draft Week signed a statement in support for Huey Newton.

Another statement of solidarity came from the students recently expelled from the University of California as a result of antidraft protests there.

Contributions are needed urgently for the defense. Send contributions to: Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif. 94608.

## ... Trailblazers

(Continued from Page 1)

everywhere, especially the green posters."

While these two campaigners traveled north from New York City, another team of young socialists were bringing the Halstead-Boutelle campaign to New Jersey and Delaware campuses. Before their car broke down and they were forced to return to New York for repairs, the second team visited Princeton University, Mercer County Community College, Rutgers University, Douglas College, Delaware State College, and the University of Delaware.

At Princeton they found some SDSers eager to endorse the Halstead-Boutelle ticket and to organize meetings for the candidates. The two young socialists attended a class on Cuba, held by SDS. Some members expressed an interest in hearing a spokesman from the Socialist Workers Party speak on Cuba.

The *Princetonian* interviewed the two young men while they were there, as did the *Press Club Weekly* at Rutgers.

At Mercer County Community College in Trenton, N.J., the student Peace Alliance was interested in sponsoring a meeting for the candidates.

At Delaware State College, where there already were a number of campaign supporters, most of them Afro-American, the traveling young socialists were able to speak before a speech class and sell a small amount of literature.

When they arrived at the University of Delaware in Wilmington, the campus was in turmoil because some SDS activists had walked off an ROTC drill field ceremony. (ROTC is still compulsory at the University of Delaware.) When the protesting students were suspended, 50 others signed "confessions," in an act of solidarity. They too were suspended. The local paper called

for the abolition of SDS because of its role in the "International Communist Conspiracy."

Several of the SDSers are socialists, and the two campaigners for Halstead and Boutelle report, "We met many students who said they would support our campaign."

These two teams, moving from campus to campus on the Eastern seaboard, are being joined by other teams throughout the country. For example, this week two teams will travel from Chicago to Indiana, where they will visit Indiana and Notre Dame Universities. From Boston one team visited Great Barrington, Mass., last weekend, and three teams are planned for this weekend — one to Rhode Island, one to New Hampshire, and one to Maine.

## Prepublication Offer

CHE GUEVARA'S  
Reminiscences  
of the Cuban  
Revolutionary War

This 280-page book will appear in a cloth-bound edition only. It will sell for \$6.95 after its official publication date, Feb. 5. It is being offered now to Militant readers, for shipment after Xmas, at the special low price of \$5.00. Payment should accompany orders.

MERIT PUBLISHERS  
873 Broadway  
New York, N.Y. 10003

# Carmichael: Socialism the Basis for Unity

[The following interview with Stokely Carmichael was given to Douglas Rogers, editor of "Africa and the World," in Conakry, Guinea. It was printed in the November issue of the magazine.]

**Rogers:** A lot of people are confused by the expression "Black Power." Could you explain what it means?

**Carmichael:** In its simplest form Black Power is the coming together of black people throughout the world to fight for our liberation by any means necessary. That is to say that of all the exploited people in the world today, the black man is the most exploited, because that has been true for the last 400 years.

The most colonized people in the world have been the blacks. Not only have we been colonized in our very own continent, but we have been colonized on the continents of the imperialists, and that colonization was able to endure because the black man had been stripped of his power by force.

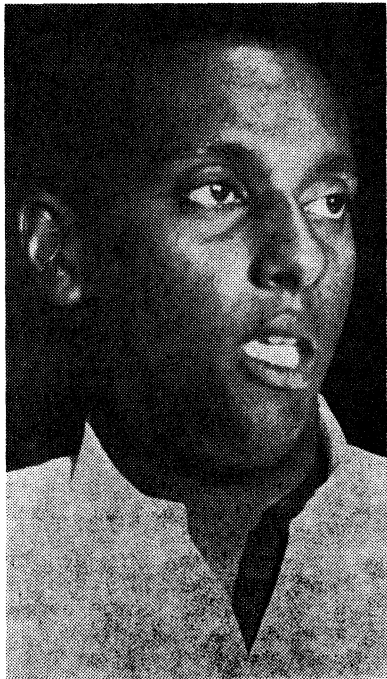
In order to regain our humanity we must have power. For me the African world stretches from South Africa throughout the African continent, to the northern part of South America (that is, through Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia), through the Caribbean Islands, the Antilles, through Latin America and Mexico to the United States and on into Nova Scotia. What I am saying is that the African world stretches wherever the African has been scattered.

**Rogers:** You speak of black people or Africans "coming together." In what organizational form would this be expressed?

**Carmichael:** Before we answer that question, we must first examine the condition of the black man in the world today. It must be crystal clear to us that the black man makes up the proletariat of the world because of his color. That is to say that while other people have been found in the proletarian classes in other countries throughout the world, color was not for them the *raison d'être* for their situation, whereas for the black people color has been the *raison d'être*.

So our fight is a two-pronged fight against exploitation and racism. In many cases racism takes priority over exploitation because even though you may find black people who are rich — and who exploit black people — they still suffer from racism within their economic class. In other words the question of racism cuts across the economic class frontiers.

In order for this racism to become supreme, the black man had to be degraded to a subhuman level both in the mind of the white man and (let me emphasize this) in the black man's own mind. His inferiority had to be established in order that he might be exploited and nothing could be better established than to have the black man accept his own inferiority. Obviously,



Stokely Carmichael

ously, white people cannot wipe out the inferiority complex the black man has. The black man has to do this himself.

**Rogers:** Do you mean that only by first finding his own identity and organizing himself as a black man can he retrieve within himself his humanity and assert his equality?

**Carmichael:** Yes. It means there must come about a political organization that represents the needs of the black man wherever he is and that organization must have an ideology that combats both exploitation and racism. The black man must begin to see Africa as his motherland and be willing to fight for the motherland.

It seems also that the motherland has a responsibility to safeguard the humanity of the Africans in countries where they live outside of Africa. They also need cultural organizations that will begin to revive and place the culture of the African back on the pedestal where it belongs.

**Rogers:** What sort of organization do you envisage?

**Carmichael:** I am not so much concerned about the form of organization as I am about the spirit of unity and a feeling of love among Africans for Africans wherever we are. Once you have defined that atmosphere then the specifics take care of themselves. I would only add that the question of blackness is a necessity for us, but it is not enough. We need an ideology that will also aim at fighting imperialism.

**Rogers:** What assistance can African countries give to the African struggle in countries outside of Africa?

**Carmichael:** There are many ways in which assistance can be given. For example, we have a large African population in the United Kingdom which has come from the West Indies. These people are suffering many acute forms of racial discrimination. African countries should not sit idly by while their own people are treated in this way.

Until such discrimination ceases, African countries should demon-

strate their disapproval in practical ways by severing relations with the British government and by using any means necessary to compel the British to relate to the Africans on a more humanistic level.

**Rogers:** There seems a direct relationship here between the situation of Africans in the imperialist countries and that of Africans in those parts of Africa still under colonialist or racialistic domination. Is this what is in your mind?

**Carmichael:** Certainly. The African states should regard the struggle of the Africans in such countries as the United Kingdom and the United States in exactly the same manner as they regard the struggle in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and the other colonized African territories.

In effect, the black man in the imperialist countries suffers from a form of colonization. The only difference is that in the United States, for example, the Africans form a minority of the population, whereas in Africa they form the majority. But the nature of the exploitation as well as its racialistic basis is the same.

Another point I wish to make is that many of the Africans who live outside Africa have technical skills which they could bring back to Africa. Provision should be made for them to do this outside of organizations such as the Peace Corps, which is at best the *nouveau* missionaries and at worst the junior CIA.

**Rogers:** Can more direct assistance be given to the African struggle which is taking place outside of Africa? Financial, for example?

**Carmichael:** Certainly. Once the African states accept, as they should, that this struggle is an integral part of the general Pan-African struggle, they should assist these liberation movements, in the United States for example, in exactly the same way as they already assist the liberation movements in southern Africa and other colonized parts of the continent. There is absolutely no difference of principle involved. It is all one struggle for African liberation.

Africans from the continent should also show a different attitude when they visit countries such as the United States. They should demonstrate their kinship with their fellow Africans there and identify themselves with the common struggle. They should visit their fellow Africans and go and live among them. They should establish relationships with the liberation organizations.

This is particularly the responsibility of diplomats such as representatives to the United Nations. Instead of trying to ingratiate themselves with the oppressors of their own people, they should demonstrate their unity with the oppressed.

**Rogers:** I would like to come to a point that I know is troubling a great many people and causing confusion in understanding the purpose of Black Power. In Africa the purpose of the liberation movement is obvious. These movements represent people who are an overwhelming majority of the population. In order to regain democracy, they have to seize the organs of government. This is not the situation in the United States where the oppressed African-Americans are only a minority of the population oppressed and exploited by a state apparatus and social system which represents the majority of the population. Black Power manifestly cannot seize the government of the United States. What, then, are its immediate political objectives?

**Carmichael:** In the United States the Afro-American (or African-American) lives in a state

of apartheid. We are in effect colonies inside the United States. We are restricted to communities which we must inhabit and these communities are, of course, the most poverty-stricken communities.

We do not own the houses, the land or the stores in our own communities. We do not control the political institutions under which we live. Our first fight, therefore, is for the control of these political institutions and for the land in those areas which we inhabit.

Secondly, the structure of the United States is capitalistic. United States capitalism has now reached the stage of imperialism. That imperialistic structure enslaves Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Our fight is to destroy this capitalist and imperialist structure. This means that Black Power is the vanguard of the real revolutionary movement inside the United States. It means that we fight to change the structure of the United States, to abolish the capitalist system inside the United States.

It also means that it is in the interest of Africa and the entire "third world" to support that movement because a change in the structure of the United States will benefit all humanity.

**Rogers:** This involves an important question. As the tensions inside the United States economy increase, will not a general class struggle clarify and harden and will not Black Power inevitably become part of this class struggle irrespective of the question of racism?

**Carmichael:** In the long run, of course, the class struggle will intensify. But it must be remembered that at present the white working class enjoy privileges which are denied the blacks. In the western capitalist countries — in Europe and the United States — capitalism has been able to fob off the white workers by exploitation of the black workers. Under imperialism the demands of the workers — for increased wages and a general improved standard of living — are met out of the exploitation of the masses in Africa and elsewhere. In other words, the standard of living enjoyed by white workers is paid for by the labor and sufferings of the blacks.

There is, therefore, this economic aspect of racialism which is to the advantage of the white workers as well as to the capitalists.

In the United States the standard of living of the white workers is met not only by the exploitation of blacks overseas but by the exploitation of the blacks at home.

The development of a revolutionary class struggle involving the white workers will not occur until the Pan-African movement — which I see as existing not only in Africa itself but outside — makes sufficient gains so as to intensify the economic tensions inside the imperialist countries.

The Pan-African struggle — for unity on the African continent and resistance to neo-colonialism and imperialism as well as against racialistic exploitation in the imperialist countries — is a revolutionary struggle that is essential to the abolition of capitalism in the western world. The white workers will only join this fight when their own interests are threatened.

To answer your question. Yes, the time will come when black and white workers will be involved in a common struggle against economic exploitation. This time has not yet arrived in an active sense. That is why I said earlier that Black Power is the vanguard of the struggle against capitalism in the United States. When conditions compel the white workers to join the fight actively against capitalism — that is the time to discuss joint action.

There is not yet a positive community of interests. In the present situation we have to continue our struggle according to our own ideology, according to our own interests as an exploited, oppressed, black class, and by all and every means necessary. This is an historical necessity.

**Rogers:** Your antagonists say that you are a "black racist." What is your answer?

**Carmichael:** It is not racialism to oppose racialism. On the contrary, to submit to racialism is to perpetuate it. We are the victims of racialism and we fight to destroy it. As I have said we also fight to abolish capitalism and to bring about a socialist society. It is only under world socialism that humanity can exist in unity. When the white people accept this, we shall be at peace with them.

## Dread Bubonic Plague Mounts in S. Vietnam

A medical anthropologist declared in Washington Dec. 2 that the U.S. war in Vietnam has created the conditions for a massive plague in South Vietnam. Alexander Alland Jr., an assistant professor at Columbia University, said in an interview with the *New York Times*, "I would submit that the kind of conventional war that has been raging for the past three years is, intentionally or not, a kind of covert biological warfare."

Alland said that conditions in South Vietnam are "strikingly similar" to those existing in Europe in the Middle Ages just before the outbreak of the great plagues.

The *Times* said Dec. 3 that these similarities include "the dislocation of medically unsophisticated people outside of the small areas they have genetically adapted to, and the widespread destruction of woodland and foliage, which tends to bring wild rats into contact with domestic rats, to begin the plague cycle."

Concretely Alland pointed out that plague cases have already increased more than a hundred

times, from 40 per year between 1954 and 1962 to 4,453 cases last year. The danger is becoming acute, he said, with growing population density in the cities and relocation camps.

## Martha Raye Escapes Vietnam Tax-Free

The strength of the South Vietnamese guerrillas was indicated in the reports of the helicopter rescue of comedienne Martha Raye from a mountaintop outpost where she was entertaining GIs. A UPI dispatch explained:

"The mountaintop is a major communications relay point for radio messages from the Mekong Delta to Saigon. It is accessible only by helicopter because the Vietcong control its sides.

"Every day, South Vietnamese porters hired by the Americans work their way down the jagged slope to a water hole. The porters pay the Vietcong protection money supplied by the Americans for the right to carry the gallon cans of water back up the mountain."

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HOW ANTIWAR FORCES GAINED

# The San Francisco Referendum

By Asher Harer

SAN FRANCISCO — The recent referendums on the Vietnam war here and in Cambridge point up the extent of popular opposition to the war. With 37 percent of the San Francisco voters, and 40 percent in Cambridge, favoring withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, it can no longer be denied that antiwar sentiment now has a mass character.

The fact of the referendums, as well as their results, also indicate the unprecedented political situation in this country. In the very midst of a war — a war waged by a brutally arrogant administration not inclined to encourage free debate — the voters of two major cities have been able to consider antiwar arguments, and a significant percentage registered their stand against the war.

It was certainly an unusual sight, in the weeks prior to the election here, to see posters in people's windows on almost every block urging a Yes vote on Proposition P, the peace proposition. It is a political axiom that to wage an effective war, the rulers of the country must have a united population behind them, or at least have the voices of dissent isolated and/or muzzled. The extent to which San Franciscans felt free to display these antiwar posters in their windows indicates the extent to which the war "consensus" has been shattered.

At the outset of the election campaign here, the major party politicians and the "news" media vehemently insisted that Vietnam simply wasn't a "local" issue and was therefore irrelevant to the election debate. The city administration rejected the petitions to put the proposition on the ballot. It was only after a vigorous legal fight by the initiators that the state supreme court ruled it on the ballot.

While city officials lost the court fight, they did succeed by their action in limiting the campaign for Proposition P to only seven weeks. In that period, however, supporters of the proposition mounted a very impressive campaign. Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam, organizers of the project, managed to raise a \$33,000 campaign fund during that seven-week period. Some \$30,000 additional was spent by such supporting organizations as "Independent Sponsors for Proposition P," and a



Photo by Harry Ring

**V FOR VIETNAM.** Scene at Colton St. headquarters of San Francisco Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam as vote returns came in election night. In front is Marylouise Lovett, executive secretary of the committee. At right is Marjorie Colvin, member of the group's executive committee.

number of professional, community, labor, and church groups.

The combined efforts of these sections of the community, and the very heartening response of a good part of the electorate, established that the politicians were dead wrong in their initial insistence that the issue was irrelevant to the elections. It became, in fact, one of the central issues of the campaign. The debate could not be suppressed. Candidates who tried to duck the issue were compelled to take a stand. The proposition became a subject of discussion on radio and television and in the press. Two rival radio talk-show hosts hired a hall and drew 3,000 people to a debate on the issue.

A large number of people were drawn into the campaign for a Yes vote on P. More than 2,000 activists — from pensioners to high school students — joined in distributing 450,000 leaflets — at union meetings, community meetings, churches, theaters, the opera, schools and supermarkets.

Twelve thousand house signs and 15,000 bumper stickers were distributed and there was scarcely a block where you didn't see them.

## Reached Church-Goers

In the last three weeks of the campaign, 43,000 leaflets were passed out at Catholic churches, largely by Catholic students, teachers and unionists, and even several nuns and priests. The project was organized in collaboration with the Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam.

There was a functioning speakers bureau. Some 175 campaigners made 15,000 phone calls to registered voters, concentrating on districts where the polls indicated a weak response. During the last week seven sound trucks toured the city.

Eighteen major advertisements in three languages urged a vote for withdrawal. Spot ads were placed on radio and TV.

(One large ad was taken out by a hundred employees of the San Francisco Chronicle to rebut the paper's editorial stand for a No vote.)

A contingent of high school students put out a special leaflet: "Students — Ask your parents to vote 'yes' on Proposition P. You are the ones who face the draft. Your parents owe you this vote."

A key contribution to the effectiveness of the campaign was the fact the Citizens Committee functioned throughout on the principle of political non-exclusion. The initiators of the project were members of the Pacific Democrats, a dissident Democratic Party group, including Ed Farley, who served throughout as chairman of the Citizens Committee, and Marylouise Lovett, the committee's ex-

ecutive secretary. They welcomed support from anyone in favor of the idea of putting such a referendum on the ballot and attracted the participation of antiwar activists.

(The local Hearst paper, the *Examiner*, reported with a note of consternation, "She [Mrs. Lovett] says decisions are reached entirely at weekly meetings to which all antiwar persons are invited. She says Communists and Republicans, if any, are equally welcome.")

At the outset the committee took the position that the vote would be meaningful only if the electorate were offered a clear-cut choice. On that basis it rejected arguments for a more "broadly" worded proposition and put a straight withdrawal statement on the ballot.

It is precisely this unambiguity of the proposition that gives the 37 percent vote its significance. It has been argued that a watered-down negotiations-type statement would have won more votes. Even if this were so (and it probably isn't, since there would have been a lot fewer people campaigning for such a proposition), the results would have been far less meaningful politically.

The result is particularly impressive when measured in the context of the opposition to the campaign. Both major candidates for mayor opposed the proposition and their machines undoubtedly were a major factor in bringing out the No vote. In addition, both major dailies called for a No vote.

## Morrison's Role

Morrison, the liberal candidate, came out for a Yes vote on P but tried to use the P campaign setup to hustle votes for himself. (He wound up with fewer votes than P.)

The vote itself would assuredly be significantly higher if 18-year-olds, who are old enough to fight and die, were considered by the powers-that-be as old enough to vote. This was made clear in the unofficial voting sponsored by the Citizens Committee, aided by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The committee set up 15 polling places where unregistered people over 18 could cast their vote. The result was overwhelming. Of the 6,149 who voted, 4,840 — 78 percent — voted against the war!

Supporters of the war have tried to assert that the vote represents some kind of a victory for them. The answer to this was most aptly provided by Marylouise Lovett. She pointed out that Mayor-elect Alioto was credited with 40 percent of the vote and this was hailed as a "landslide." "We won 37 percent of the vote," she said, "and those who call Alioto's vote a landslide call our achievement a defeat!"

# ...Antidraft Protest

(Continued from Page 1) with several vicious exceptions, from the use of the undue force they had displayed yesterday—and several weeks ago against the demonstrators protesting the presence of Dean Rusk in the city.

The area of the induction center and the adjoining Wall Street district had the appearance of an armed siege. There were an estimated 5,000 cops posted, with another 24,000 on standby.

They had military control of every single street in the area. They used their force in blatant violation of agreements they and the mayor made with the demonstrators. Protesters gathered at Battery Park, near the induction center. As they marched toward the area where the police had agreed they could demonstrate, they found the area sealed off by cops. Two groups were able to approach the center, but only token groups were allowed in the area in front of it, contrary to previous police agreements. Another group was prevented from approaching the center altogether.

## Blocked Approaches

Literally thousands were thus unable to get from the staging area to the site of the demonstration. They began rapidly marching through the financial district trying to find an opening in the wall of police and barricades, toward the induction center. Their antiwar and antidraft shouts echoed throughout the narrow canyons of the financial district.

Later, a thousand demonstrators swiftly marched from the financial district to City Hall to protest the arrogant abrogation of civil liberties by the "liberal," "dovish" Lindsay administration.

Hundreds then went uptown to the plush Waldorf Hotel where Dean Rusk was slated, appropri-

ately, to address the National Association of Manufacturers.

Once more, throngs of cops were massed and after several hours succeeded in dispersing the demonstration. Several hundred then proceeded to the United Nations. They were attacked again and one demonstrator was rushed to the hospital after being clubbed senseless. At least 40 people have been arrested so far today.

The abrogation of rights was particularly flagrant in that Mayor Lindsay, in meetings with the chief marshals, had promised specifically that the demonstrators would not be split up. He had agreed that they had the clear right to mass at the induction center to address themselves to the draftees. He said that mounted police would not be used to herd the protesters into a spread-out series of barricaded "pens."

Police attacks on the demonstrators, however, were held to a minimum by a large, effectively organized team of marshals for the protest action. Those who were hurt by club-happy cops or mounted police had the service of a medical station set up at Battery Park by the Medical Committee Against the War in Vietnam and the Medical Committee for Human Rights. Also on the scene was a team of legal observers from the ACLU.

Despite the army of police between them, the demonstrators did make themselves heard by the inductees. At least one threw down his induction notice and joined the demonstrators.

Another inductee responded to the demonstrators with the growingly popular "V for Vietnam" sign.

## Inductee Swept Up

One inductee got swept up with a crowd being run out of the area. He tried, unsuccessfully, to get various cops to sign his induction notice so he could establish he had reported as required.

Another inductee, interviewed by newsmen, said his brother was already in Vietnam and that he was "scared to death" of going.

Asked for his view on the demonstrators, he replied: "God bless them."

Some of the participants in yesterday's and today's action had started out with the belief that they would actually shut down the induction center. The relationship of forces between them and the giant New York police force, of course, made such a perspective unrealizable. But the demonstration also showed that large numbers of young antiwar activists have come to realize the worth of united, organized and disciplined action. They didn't shut down the induction center. But they did force a major mobilization of the police department in what proved to be a highly visible demonstration that can only add to the momentum of the antiwar struggle.

The largest segment of the protesters was provided by the city's college and high school campuses. Chief marshals for the action were Lenny Brody of The Resistance, Steve Kagan of the DuBois Clubs, Linda Morse of the Student Mobilization Committee, Syd Stapleton of the SMC and Eric Weinberger of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

# Dow Recruiter Takes Off at New York U

By Melissa Singler

NEW YORK — Students at New York University recently scored a victory over Dow Chemical Company recruiters, who have been trying to get students to work for the napalm-making outfit. The NYU student government had passed a resolution stating that all recruiters on campus would have to be willing to debate students.

Dow agreed to send a person to debate and a meeting was set up for Nov. 28. At the meeting the Dow public relations man refused to answer the most important questions posed by the students. When students asked him to justify the use of napalm against the population of Vietnam, the chairman of the meeting, Dean Griffith, said, "Now you know he can't answer that question — he has no answer to that question." Robert Kirkman, chairman of the NYU Committee to End the War in Vietnam, also participated in the debate.

## Jam-In

The next day, about 200 students and faculty gathered in the Placement Center of NYU to further question the Dow recruiter. They jammed the hallways and held a free-speech debate with those both for and against the war speaking out. The recruiter refused to take part. At noon, the Dow man left. That evening, TV coverage called the NYU action the first "peaceful victory over Dow Chemical" in the country. They also announced that the Dow recruiter involved had vowed never to return to another campus.

The NYU administration has threatened to discipline those involved for interfering with the work of the placement center.

# Antiwar Protesters At Atom Birthday

CHICAGO, Dec. 2—Over 250 students staged an antiwar demonstration today at the University of Chicago Stagg Field during the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the first controlled nuclear reaction. The picket line and rally were called on short notice last Thursday night, when it was rumored that Lyndon Johnson would speak at the ceremony.

The demonstration, called by the University of Chicago Students for a Democratic Society and supported by the Chicago Student Mobilization Committee, was very well attended considering the short time available for organizing it. Students had hung large antiwar banners from several buildings overlooking the field. One of these banners, and several picket signs, read: "U of C — Pull Out of IDA." ("IDA" is the Institute for Defense Analysis — a chemical and biological warfare research project.)

After the demonstration, there was a short rally at which a representative of the U of C SDS spoke against campus complicity with the U.S. war machine, from development of the atomic bomb to germ warfare research for the war in Vietnam.

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# Forum Hears Views On Black Separatism

NEW YORK — The question of black separatism was discussed at the Dec. 1 Militant Labor Forum here. About 100 people attended the meeting, which heard Robert S. Browne, professor at Fairleigh-Dickinson College whose article on separatism appears in the current issue of *Ramparts* magazine, and Robert Vernon, author of *The Black Ghetto* and writer for *The Militant*.

Both speakers stressed the fact that separatism is an important and relevant question for black people to discuss. Robert Vernon said that "It is primarily a question for black people to discuss with black people . . . Black people will have to get together and decide who we are. It is a fundamental right for any people to decide their own destiny."

Brown began his talk by asking why it was that the resolution calling for a discussion of black separatism was so popular at the Newark black power conference. He pointed to disillusionment over the lack of progress in this country as one reason. Another, he said, is the question of black identity. "Can America be a home?" . . . he asked. "Integration is something black people were never consulted on," he said. "It is urgent that we discuss this."

Robert Vernon pointed to hostile press reaction to the Newark resolution on separatism as an example of the opposition that any movement for a separate state would get from the ruling class. "They won't let China or Vietnam separate," he said. "They won't let the Cubans separate and they are still hanging on to lots of other places where the sun never sets on the American empire." Taking the position that an inde-

pendent black state could not be set up without a revolution in this country, he said, "it would only be over Uncle Sam's dead body."

Browne and Vernon agreed that it would ultimately be up to the masses of black people to decide whether there should be a separate black state. Vernon said that as a revolutionary he was most interested in "what will best organize the potential power of black people . . . what will forge unity, and what will represent a leap forward in audacity on the part of black people."

## South African Wins Stay of Deportation

Wycliffe Tsotsi, vice president of the Unity Movement of South Africa, was granted permission to remain in Zambia until he could find refuge elsewhere. This stay of deportation resulted from an international campaign launched by the Alexander Defense Committee in November.

Tsotsi has lived in Zambia since his escape from Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) in January 1967. He is a prominent fighter against South African apartheid and a leading organizer of peasants and nonwhite teachers.

Among those who intervened in the Tsotsi case are John Conyers, Michigan congressman; Ossie Davis; Floyd McKissick, CORE national director; Carl Oglesby, former president of Students for a Democratic Society; and G. Mennen Williams, former assistant secretary of state for African affairs.

# Black Liberation Notes

Afro-American students at liberal Berea College in Berea, Ky., have joined the pro-black movement sweeping campuses across the country. The students are demanding that the school administration hire black instructors, engage black speakers, and institute a course in Afro-American history.

The protesters declared: "Black students do not intend to be showpieces of integration so that Berea may successfully mold poor whites into middle-class exploiters of the black American."

Richard Williams, a Western Shoshone Indian, has refused to fight in Vietnam on the grounds that he is not an American citizen, but a citizen of the sovereign Shoshone nation.

In 1863, in the Treaty of Ruby Valley, the United States affirmed the sovereignty of the Western Shoshones, referring to them as a "nation." But as with most Indian treaties, the United States government unilaterally canceled the treaty. Without consulting the Western Shoshone people, the government declared them citizens. At the same time, all Indians have been subjected to hundreds of special laws enacted to keep them in the status of second-class or third-class citizenship.

When he was ordered to board a plane for Vietnam, Williams refused to go, and made the following statement: "Why should I go over to some foreign country to fight a war when they are trying to do the same thing there that the government has already done to the American Indian here? . . . I am not going to Vietnam. My people have been treated rotten. I want the whole world to know."

Williams is now serving five years at hard labor in the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kan. The court-martial verdict is being appealed. Many other young Indians who intend to stand on their treaty rights and refuse to be drafted are watching the outcome of this appeal.

All legal costs for Richard Williams are being paid by the Traditional Indian Land and Life Committee. Money is needed. Send donations to: Traditional Indian Fund, 2259 1/2 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018.

The chief doctor in the Detroit Police Department has admitted that there has been a marked increase in "nervousness" and "emotional instability" among policemen since the Detroit rebellion in July.

According to the Nov. 9 *New York Post*, the doctor has requested a board of psychiatrists to examine police who complain of "emotional" problems. The cops

feel "unappreciated" and "unloved" by the public, he says.

In the entire United States the number of Afro-American automobile dealers can be counted on one hand. The extent to which black people are cut out of this lucrative business was revealed in a *Los Angeles Times* article announcing that two new Afro-American dealers have been added to the three in the nation already in business. In order to sell new cars, a dealer must get a franchise from auto manufacturers.

In Haywood, Tenn., racists have set fire to the homes of 11 black families since Aug. 4. These are in addition to four house burnings in the spring, the burning of a church in July, and the bombing of 13 homes in 1966! The latest wave of fires followed a U.S. District Court order to place 10 Afro-American teachers in five previously white schools and 10 white teachers in four schools attended by black children.

"Freedom gifts" filled with the history, poetry, and art of the black movement are being made available by SNCC in time for Christmas. Gifts include: an engagement calendar filled with photos and quotations (\$1.95); a wall calendar (\$1.25); large SNCC posters (\$2.00); postcards with photos by SNCC photographers (\$.20) and a book of Afro-American folktales (\$2.00).

Gifts may be ordered from SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Brochures are available giving more complete information about items for sale.

—Elizabeth Barnes



CALENDAR. Posters, photos, etc. are available from SNCC.

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# What Ford Workers Got

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Dec. 3 — The United Auto Workers National General Motors Council met here Dec. 1. They proposed Dec. 14 as the target date for settlement with General Motors Corporation and, failing that, to fix Jan. 5 as the strike deadline.

Although the leadership declared their willingness to fight GM, it should be noted that GM must have given tacit approval to Ford's recent wage pattern settlement with the union, and GM can be expected to agree to a similar settlement. Reuther gave the impression he expected GM to come to terms before Christmas.

Delegates at the council meeting voted unanimously to concur in the recommendations of the UAW International Executive Board.

### Growing Concern

There is growing concern within the ranks of the UAW about what all this fighting spirit really means. The big issue with General Motors is working conditions and "erosion" of union jurisdiction and power at the point of production. All this is glossed over by the UAW leadership.

They are still busy selling the Ford wage pattern; boasting about how, in a quick follow-up, they forced Chrysler to knuckle under and got wage parity for Canadian auto workers in the bargain — and managed simultaneously to win the Caterpillar strike.

There is lots of fast talk going on here and the auto workers are beginning to examine more carefully what was won in the negotiations to date.

The Ford wage formula was reported by the UAW leadership in the December issue of the union monthly, *Solidarity*. An average production worker, now making \$3.30 per hour (including cost of

living [COL], will get 20 cents in the first year of the contract. By the end of the contract in three years he will be making \$3.775—including the three-cent minimum COL allowance guaranteed for the second and third years.

An average skilled tradesman will go from the present rate of \$4 per hour to \$4.50 the first year and an expected top of \$4.835 after three years.

Ford Motor Company, in its third quarter report to stockholders, indicated slightly lower figures on the average. More important was the company's evident pleasure at the settlement of the escalator clause:

"We are gratified that significant changes were accomplished in the provisions governing the cost-of-living allowance. For the first time, changes in the allowance will be confined within specified limits. The allowance will range from a minimum of 6 cents an hour more during the life of the new agreement to a maximum of 16 cents an hour more. Moreover, adjustments in the allowance, based on changes in the Government's Consumer Price Index, will be made annually instead of quarterly as in the past."

### Text Delayed

The full text of the new agreement is not yet available to the auto workers, and won't be for several months even though they have been asked to ratify it in the Ford and Chrysler plants.

All analysts, both those on the side of the company and the research department at Solidarity House, agree that "the package" is an increased of between 6 and 7 percent. Thus, in the final analysis it is clear that the 1967 wage formula for the auto industry was held within the "guidelines" laid down by President Johnson's economic advisers.

What this means to the auto workers is widely discussed in the ranks of the UAW. A rank-and-file publication, *The Headlighter*, published in the San Francisco area, UAW Local 1364, carries a short analysis of the Ford settlement by a prominent member of the local, Tom Cagle. He points out that there is no real gain in the first year of the contract:

### Tricky Figures

"So that instead of a 20 cent increase it amounts to no wage increase at all. How is this trickery accomplished? Subtract 7 cents improvement, 3 cents COL that was due us Sept. 4, and an expected 10 cents COL for 1968 that we will not get. At a time that inflationary price increases are threatening our real wages, our cost of living clause was crippled and badly emasculated."

The 372,000 UAW members at GM are half the union membership in the auto industry. They have not yet had an opportunity to voice an opinion or cast a vote on the main outlines of a contract formula under which they will be working for the next three years.

## Fidel Castro's Tribute to Che Guevara

Text of address to Havana memorial meeting

20 cents

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# Letters From Our Readers

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

## The Real Kennedy

Brooklyn, N.Y.  
In the Nov. 24 issue of *Life* magazine, Governor Connolly of Texas purports to give the true story of why John F. Kennedy went to Texas or as *Life* puts it, "sets the record straight on the fateful visit."

Governor Connolly does indeed reveal the real significance of Kennedy's visit, but it is not the one popularly held. The story hitherto told indicated a twofold motivation: 1) to raise funds to cover a deficit in the Democratic Party finances; 2) to patch up a feud between Senator Yarborough and Vice President Johnson.

The second part of this motivation is discounted entirely by Governor Connolly. As to the first part it emerges as an important but incidental factor.

The factor of paramount importance motivating the President's visit to Texas is indicated early in Connolly's article. "...And he had alarmed business..." Businessmen were suspicious of him and though it irritated him and he thought it unwarranted, it was still true.

Later on in the article Connolly spells it out clearly for all to see. "Mr. President," I said, "what really do you want to do on the trip?"

"In addition to the fund raising, he said, he wanted to see and talk to some of the Texas people who opposed him so sharply. I think

it galled him that conservative business people would suspect that he, a wealthy product of our capitalistic system, would do anything to damage that system. He added with some heat, 'They don't have any reason to fear my administration.'"

In this one paragraph is revealed the true nature of Kennedy, his administration, and the motivation for his Texas visit.

Liberals, so-called Communists, and those who would hark back to the New Deal or New Frontier, take note!

B. S.

## San Francisco Vote

Berkeley, Calif.  
Open Letter to LBJ:

Your Vietnam war policy, Mr. President, was defeated in the recent San Francisco election. Why? Because if it takes a two-thirds majority vote to build an airport in San Francisco, it ought to require a two-thirds majority vote to build an "airport" in Vietnam. In fact, it ought to take a very large majority vote indeed to make war on the Vietnamese people.

Nearly 40 percent of the San Francisco electorate voted for Proposition P which stated, "It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

Of those who voted Yes on Proposition P, the wording might have been too radical for some; for others not radical enough. There is little doubt, however, that a more moderate wording such as "cease-fire on all sides," "prompt return of our boys," "negotiations" or "no more escalation," would have been supported by a majority of the voters.

So you see Mr. President, your Vietnam policy is doubly unpopular. It failed to get a two-thirds majority vote and with a moderate wording of the proposition your policy would have been voted down by at least a simple majority.

R. C.

## Texas Southern U.

Houston, Tex.  
Whenever there is a crisis, a committee is immediately appointed to investigate the conditions surrounding the occurrence. The incident at Texas Southern University was no exception.

Local investigation has come up with facts to please only the white power structure and has not told the truth about the situation.

Any intelligent person knows that regardless of whether a person is black or white, he will not destroy his own property voluntarily; especially when the students in the dormitories were being fired on.

It was humanly impossible to smuggle anything out of the dorm at a time when thousands of rounds of ammunition were blasting the sides of the buildings.

If the truth had been accepted that the police officers themselves actually vandalized the dorms and used physical force to restrain

young men who weren't resisting arrest; that the bullet which killed the young officer was actually one which ricocheted from another officer's gun and that the Houston Police Department instigated the "riot" by antagonizing the students with their daily and nightly appearances on the campus, Houston would not be such a sorry city.

L. B.

## Economic Success

Newark, N.J.  
I guarantee the immediate success of a pamphlet — a pictorial pamphlet to be written by Ed Smith and Dick Roberts of *The Militant*. Title: The American Economy in Crisis? Subject matter: articles recently published by both writers.

Please write it in a simple style, using as many drawings as you can think of. Millions of people should be interested in this one: Marxists, stockholders, politicians, people in other countries, etc.

I tried digesting those articles, but simply can't arrange all those ideas in a fashion which my brain can digest and retain.

D.R.

## The Real "Great Society"

Brooklyn, N.Y.  
I find the weekly article "It Was Reported in the Press" an interesting twist in current news. Your presentation of African-American news is a refreshing change. The recent interview on the 17 accused, the Stokes-Hatcher victory, and the massive black

high school march assaulted by police in Philly — these articles represent realistic conditions prevalent in this so-called Great Society. Keep up the good work — tell it like it is.

O. F.

## "Purgatories in America"

San Francisco, Calif.  
Recently I was observing a group of hippies selling their various publications on a downtown street when a neatly dressed young man with a crew cut approached them and bluntly asked, "Why don't you hippies go to hell?"

One of them gave an answer which was classic in its simplicity, "We are already living in hell." People who are well fed, have comfortable beds to sleep in, no sons in Vietnam and are satisfied with a simplistic philosophy, such as all capitalists are good and all communists are wicked and if we kill off all communists this will be a nearly perfect world, will, of course, not accept that answer; but if we analyze it unemotionally we can see how terribly near the truth it is.

In a prose poem by Allen Cohen in the *Oracle*, an official hippie

publication, there is this phrase, "Gangs of white and blacks in all large steel purgatories in America..."

Industrial capitalism is making America into a hell on earth. Its centers are in the large cities but it is spreading throughout the country as the air we breathe and our waterways are being befouled and polluted.

Downtown San Francisco — and I am sure this also is true in all large American cities — is all day and far into the night, a shrieking, stinking hell of traffic congestion. Wherever the heavy hand of our industrial empire falls — like in Vietnam — there is a hell created.

Industrial capitalism and war are Siamese twins.

American industry can produce all kinds of machines faster than a peacetime public can absorb them, but war machines, also arms and ammunition, are made to destroy and be destroyed. They provide an unlimited source of profit so it is necessary for the industrialists to plunge this country sporadically into war.

Dale Rasmussen

## Thought for the Week

"It is hard to pin down just why, to so many undergraduates, profit seems an unappealing idea. Perhaps it is because some professors of economics are still expounding the old robber-baron theory of enterprise, forgetting that the chairs they occupy may be endowed by one among that growing number of industries allotting a portion of profits to social tasks." — The Wall Street Journal.

# It Was Reported in the Press

**Swinging Sisters**—A peace demonstration was held by more than a hundred students and faculty members at Mary Hardin Baylor College, a 123-year-old Texas Baptist school for women. One demonstrator's placard declared: "Superzap them with Christ." Said another: "Flower Power — He's the Lily of the Field."

**How Free Can You Get?**—WASHINGTON (AP) — The Maritime Administration added five Free World vessels to its blacklist of ships which have called on Cuban ports.

**'Tis the Season to Be Jolly** — Orville Garrison of Ventura, Calif., devotes the week before Xmas to playing Yule music from 5 to 9 p.m. daily over a loudspeaker on his house. He uses four records: "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer," "Jingle Bells," "Santa Is Coming to Town," and "Little Drummer Boy." Last year a neighbor, Dr. Joseph Flynn, 83, pulled a citizen's arrest. He told the judge the music was driving his wife up the wall. The case was dismissed and, in a subsequent false arrest suit, the joy-spreader was awarded \$920. Now maybe he'll go for stereo.

**Peace Pots Next?**—The warlike traits of some nations may be linked to the rigid toilet training prevalent in their cultures, according to Dr. Irwin Rothman, a Philadelphia headshrinker.

**Balanced View** — Asked by a reporter what it's like to grow up rich, Charlotte Ford of the flivver empire replied philosophically: "There are drawbacks... but the advantages are obvious."

**Lively British Industry** — England may be having other difficulties, but its pet-burial industry is thriving. One outfit has filled up its 2,800 plots and is now successfully promoting cremations. Dogs are the largest animals accepted. "We do not accept horses," an official stated. Too many pounds?

**Sex Cure?** — Swedish newspaper ads show a pleasantly relaxed nude couple reaching for a "Saratoga," new product of Philip Morris. The ad is said to be based on a psychologist's finding that cigarettes are particularly tasty after sex. Or could it be the work of a cancer-conscious, anti-sex maniac?

**Lay-Away Plan**—Pierce Bros., a Los Angeles interment chain, is currently offering a 10 percent discount on any of its funeral services.

**Salty**—The British Royal Navy is pondering what to do about one of its tattooed sailors. Every time he pumps up a salute his forearm is exposed. It bears the inscription: "I hate the Navy."

**The Primitives**—Furrier Georges Kaplan is now promoting fur coats for men. There's a wide selection available, ranging from Russian marmot (\$595) to natural ranch mink (\$1,695). Mr. Kaplan says fur coats make a man feel more manly and also arouse his "primitive instincts." Sounds like they'd also be nice in drafty apartments where the landlord doesn't send up enough heat.

—Harry Ring

## Weekly Calendar

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

### LOS ANGELES

**THE MANUAL ARTS HIGH SCHOOL CASE** — Police Attack on the Black Anti-Draft Union. Speakers: Clotilde Blake, BA-DU, organizer of Black Youth Conference, and Cornell Henderson, organizer of Watts CORE, BA-DU. Friday, Dec. 15 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

**THE CUBAN ECONOMY TODAY.** Speaker: Edward Boorstein, economist who worked in Cuba under Che Guevara, author of forthcoming book *Economic Transformation of Cuba — A Firsthand Account*. Friday, Dec. 15, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**RALPH SCHOENMAN**, member of the Bertrand Russell Commission of Enquiry recently returned from Bolivia, will speak on **REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY IN BOLIVIA** — The Case of Régis Debray.

Monday, Dec. 11, 8 p.m. Earl Hall, Columbia University, 117th St. and Broadway. Donation 50 cents.

Sponsored by Columbia U. Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, North American Congress on Latin America, and U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

**MEET THE CANDIDATES AT ALICE'S RESTAURANT.** Fred Halstead, socialist candidate for President and Paul Boutelle, candidate for Vice President, Saturday, Dec. 16, 8:30 p.m. Party to follow at 9:30, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Ausp. Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.

### TWIN CITIES

**DEVALUATION AND THE DOLLAR.** Speaker: Mike Garza. Saturday, Dec. 16, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240, Mpls. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

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# 3 GIs Speak Out in Support Of Howard Petrick's Rights

Three GIs from Fort Jackson, N.C., recently sent letters to the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick, supporting the case of the antiwar soldier.

Petrick, who is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, was inducted into the army during the summer of 1966. While in the army, he has openly discussed his views on the war in Vietnam and other political questions with his fellow GIs. Last April the army brass placed him under investigation, and threatened him with court-martial under witch-hunt charges of making disloyal statements, subversion, and "creating disaffection" in the army.

Because of the support the threatened GI immediately received from civil libertarians and people in the antiwar and black liberation movements, the army brass backed away from the threat of court-martial, and said they were going to discharge the antiwar soldier. They intimated they would seek a less than honorable discharge. Petrick informed the army that he would fight for an honorable discharge. That was two months ago, and the army has done nothing further.

Following are the letters from the Fort Jackson GIs.

\* \* \*

Dear Mr. Howard Petrick,

I have read your article on "Defend the GIs' Right to Free Speech" and was very impressed.

I'm in the service and know that our freedom of speech is very limited. Having read the article and finding out that you are for the ending of the war in Vietnam I cannot but help and give you my fullest support.

On the outside I found that I could say what I wanted about the situations and troubles in the world and express my point of view on how we could help in these crises. We no longer can say what we want and even act in the defense of peace.

I think Robert McNamara should wake up and start thinking about the GI. We are people too; we also fall under the constitutional

## Death of a GI On Viet Hill 875

Pfc. John D'Agostino of Brooklyn, N.Y., enlisted in the army last February, and was sent to Vietnam a few months ago. In a letter to his cousin, he explained how he felt after he killed a guerrilla fighter: "I got sick to my stomach. I hope to God I don't have to kill anyone again."

As a member of the 173rd Airborne Division, Pfc. D'Agostino was in the recent battle on "Hill 875" near Dakto, where he was killed.

"So they took the hill — so what?" his father, Emilio, angrily told *New York Post* reporter Leonard Katz. "Is that hill worth losing American boys over? Not as far as I'm concerned."

"Those kids don't even know what they're fighting for over there," the father said. "If you ask me we ought to pull out and let the Vietnamese fight their own battle." The U.S. recently abandoned Hill 875.

Emilio D'Agostino is a metal worker. He has two children left, Debra, 12, and Frank, 20. "John enlisted," the bereaved father said, and emphasized that he would do anything to prevent his other son, Frank, from doing "the same thing."



Pfc. Howard Petrick

rights; we are still in the United States.

But when we come into the Armed Forces it seems to me, and many other people that I've talked to, that we lose those rights.

I give you my fullest support on the rights and also on the Vietnam issue. We have been bombing there, killing children and women. Why do the U.S. citizens not wake up and see that we were not put down here to destroy one another. We are spending millions of dollars to destroy people when we could be spending that money feeding and helping the people right here at home.

We are no longer thinking of peace but thinking of overcoming. We are thinking of killing the Vietnamese and winning the country.

So, Mr. McNamara, open this discussion on the rights of the Vietnam issue and the rights of a GI and Mr. Petrick.

\* \* \*

[The second letter was addressed to the defense committee.]

I am in the army against my will, which amounts to forced labor. My being in the army is supposed to help keep my country free, which many of us are readily aware that our country is not free. We were just conditioned to believe that the United States is a free country ever since we were children.

Freedom of speech can only be exercised in the privacy of one's own mind in the army; for to raise one's hidden thoughts to vocal power would mean going against the establishment. And yet the army's sole existence (supposedly, so we again are conditioned to believe) is to protect our controlled freedom we so blindly die for. In the army servicemen are threatened by different means to keep their mouths shut about talking against the war in Vietnam to fellow servicemen.

If the war in Vietnam is justifiable, why does the military and government find it necessary to censor arguments opposing the war in Vietnam?

One measure of democracy's strength is the freedom of its people to speak out.

But perhaps we no longer live in a democratic country!

I speak for the defense of Pfc.

Howard Petrick. For he and others are fighting to keep our country free. It is beyond me to understand how the army and government can willingly sentence a young man for exercising the constitutional right to freedom of speech. If Howard Petrick is to be sentenced for having opinions opposing the war in Vietnam, then too the army and the mass media must be sentenced for having made pro-war statements supporting the war, because disaffection is happening on both sides. How is the establishment any more justified in influencing people's minds?

This country is no longer free to face with "Brave New World," it is one and the same.

\* \* \*

[The following is a copy of a letter the third GI sent to Robert Strange McNamara before he "resigned" as Secretary of Defense.]

I, being a soldier and sympathizing with Pfc. Howard Petrick, would like to protest the unconstitutional treatment being given him by the U.S. Army. The Bill of Rights guarantees free speech to all Americans. The highest military court has ruled that soldiers are also guaranteed. Why then is Petrick denied these rights and persecuted for practicing them?

I, personally, agree with the idea that we should get out of Vietnam. The nation's young men and money would be much better off at home. Why don't you and your associates help people instead of killing them and having them killed? With 40 million poor people in the U.S. and 25 billion dollars being spent each year in South Vietnam, I'm sure you can see some way that this money could be used. Just imagine, the government can give each poor person in the U.S. \$625 each year!

I think we should get out of the war in Vietnam. Incidentally, I am not a "dirty commie" or "pinko," as Dr. Levy was called. I am an American who would rather live in this country than any other nation of earth. I am a citizen, due all his rights, of the finest nation yet developed. But no nation, or person, is immune to improvement. Please drop the case against Howard Petrick. Let him live, grow, and think in peace. I think he has the same right as you to say what he wants.

# War Crimes Tribunal Finds U.S. "Guilty"

(World Outlook) — The International War Crimes Tribunal ended its second session of hearings Dec. 1. It found the U.S. government guilty of a series of war crimes, including genocide.

Meeting at Roskilde, near Copenhagen, the tribunal heard a long series of witnesses, including experts who brought in extensive reports of their findings on the scene and the results of laboratory studies.

In addition to genocide, the charges listed the use of weapons that have been banned by international agreement, maltreatment, killing, and forced movement of prisoners. The U.S. was found guilty on all charges.

The U.S. government was also found guilty of aggression against Laos and Cambodia.

In the first session of hearings held in Stockholm last May, the tribunal found the U.S. government guilty of aggression in Vietnam.

On the basis of the evidence placed before the tribunal, verdicts of guilty were also brought in against Japan, Thailand, and the Philippines as accessories to the American aggression. Last May, Australia, New Zealand, and South Korea were found guilty of similar complicity.

In response to invitations from the tribunal, the National Liberation Front and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam cooperated with the investigation, making it possible for experts to move freely in the areas



JEAN PAUL SARTRE. He was on Tribunal.

under attack by the U.S. and Saigon.

The U.S. government was also invited to cooperate with the investigation or to send representatives to defend the U.S. against the charges. The Johnson administration refused.

The tribunal cannot impose sentences on the guilty officials of the U.S., since it has no legal standing. Its moral standing, however, is unquestioned. The verdict it has brought in will be recognized by the overwhelming majority of mankind as a historic condemnation of the world's greatest criminal association — Lyndon B. Johnson and the imperialist war machine which he heads.

# McNamara Ouster Stirs Fear of New Escalation

By Ed Smith

DEC. 5—"A lot of people are looking for the fire escape and an easy way out," Lyndon Johnson told a group of businessmen in Washington yesterday. "They were doing that in Mussolini's time. They were doing that in Hitler's time."

It didn't take the usual battery of news analysis to figure that remark out. The headline in the *New York Post* declared: "LBJ Compares Foes of War to Appeasers."

Johnson's latest attack on Vietnam war critics was prompted by the near-universal response to the Nov. 27 replacement of Robert McNamara as Secretary of Defense. From one side of the country to the other, and internationally as well, the single question was: Does this mean a new escalation?

It has long been thought that among the supreme hawks McNamara was the most dovish. He was believed to oppose the bombing of the final few targets in the Joint Chiefs' list; he was even said to favor a bombing pause at some point to increase pressure on Hanoi for negotiations.

Ominously, McNamara's replacement was followed the next day by a nationwide telecast in which the only living five-star generals in the U.S. armed forces—Dwight Eisenhower and Omar Bradley—calmly discussed invading North Vietnam. "This respecting of boundary lines on a map," the former President said, "I think you can overdo it."

Between these two developments and LBJ's speech to the businessmen, every serious commentator (and not only critic) on the war asked "What does it

mean?" And many implored Johnson not to do what they all feared he would do.

The *New York Times* (Dec. 3) declared: "The ominous theories about an impending invasion of North Vietnam or a generals' revolt or even a change in present Vietnam policy, were heatedly denied. But while most of all this was purely speculative, there were a host of these to make the most unexpected seem suddenly eminently logical."

Well, now you have Johnson's answer. Every critic of the war is an appeaser. And that includes people who ask questions about people who ask questions . . .



McNAMARA. Here Robert Strange peers out from Pentagon window at antiwar demonstrators Oct. 21. Is LBJ planning new escalation beyond even what this man sanctions?