Bring GIs Home Now!

— See Editorial Page 3

GI FACES COURT MARTIAL FOR HIS ANTI-WAR VIEWS

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 31 - No. 16 Monday, April 17, 1967 Price 10¢

Army Maps a Frame-Up Against Young Socialist

FACES ARMY FRAME-UP. Pfc. Howard Petrick, who faces threatened Army political frame-up and prison term for exercising his constitutional right to express his political beliefs. An antiwar and socialist activist when drafted, Petrick has continued to state his views as a member of the armed forces. During his nine months of service he has had an unblemished military record without a single infraction of rules ever charged against him. The threatened action against him is based exclusively on his expression of his political beliefs. Now 21, Petrick was raised in the Erie, Pa., area. His father is a machinist in the General Electric plant at Erie and a shop steward in the United Electrical Workers Union. His mother is a caféteria worker.

APRIL 12 — Pfc. Howard Petrick, a 21-year-old soldier stationed at Fort Hood, Texas, faces a threatened court-martial for the sole "crime" of expressing his socialist, antiwar views to his fellow GIs.

Petrick had been active in the Minneapolis antiwar and socialist movements prior to being drafted last July. Since his induction he has continued to exercise his rights as a citizen, expressing his views in opposition to the Vietnam war, and on the general political issues of the day.

There is no issue of infraction of army rules or refusing to obey any order involved in his case. Since induction, Petrick has had an excellent service record and there has never been a single disciplinary action of any kind against him. He is well liked by his fellow GIs and regarded as a good soldier by his immediate superiors.

However, on April 1 he was interrogated and assigned an Army lawyer who advised him that there was a definite prospect he would be court-martialed.

He told Petrick that the charges in such a court-martial would probably include "subversion," creating "disaffection" within the armed forces and making "disloyal statements." The lawyer said each count under these charges carries a maximum penalty of three years in prison.

The distinguished civil liberties lawyers, Leonard Boudin and Victor Rabinowitz, are acting as civilian counsel to Petrick. They were retained for him by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee which regards Petrick's case as involving vital constitutional issues. These revolve around whether or not a citizen surrenders his constitutional rights to freely express his political beliefs on entering the armed forces.

Petrick's socialist, antiwar beliefs were well known to Army authorities at the time of his induction. In the summer of 1965 he had become active in the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam. His opposition to the Vietnam war led him to socialist convictions and he became a member of the Minneapolis Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

At the time he was first called up for induction, Petrick refused to sign the standard "loyalty" oath which is supposed to establish that the prospective draftee is not a member of one of several hundred organizations arbitrarily branded "subversive" by the U.S. Attorney General. Petrick refused to sign on the constitutional ground that such an oath violated his First Amendment right of free political association.

He was later visited by two men from Army Intelligence who sought to interogate him about his political beliefs and associations. He declined to answer their questions on the same grounds.

On June 25, 1966, Petrick was arrested while participating in a street sale of the antiwar publication, the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter,* on a phony charge of not having a peddler's license.

Three weeks later, on July 13, he was inducted into the Army. He again refused to sign the so-called loyalty oath on constitutional grounds. Asked by an Army officer at the induction center why he was refusing to sign, Petrick explained that he did not intend to yield any of his constitutional rights while in the service and intended to continue to express his beliefs. The officer assured him that his constitutional right to do so would not be infringed upon in any way.

Basic Training

After his induction, the case against Petrick in Minneapolis for selling the *Newsletter* came up and the Army interceded and the charges against him were dropped.

Petrick went through basic training at Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., and was then assigned to the Second Armored Division at Fort Hood. He has served there as a cook.

Since his induction, Petrick has continued to subscribe to *The Militant,* the *Young Socialist,* and various antiwar publications. He has maintained a personal library of Marxist and other works to continue his own political education. At the same time he has openly circulated antiwar, black power and socialist literature.

Many showed serious interest in this material and in discussing the ideas in them. A number have expressed sympathy with Petrick's stand against the war and some also with his socialist viewpoint.

The most popular pieces of literature distributed by Petrick were the YSA pamphlet, *War and Revolution in Vietnam* by Doug Jenness; a Documented Fact Sheet on Vietnam, published by University of Michigan students; the YSA pamphlet, *GIs and the Fight Against War* by Mary-Alice Waters; and *The Fort Hood Three,* the story of the three GIs who refused to go to Vietnam. Various of Malcolm X's speeches were also read with interest by black GIs.

Last month Petrick heard from a buddy with whom he had gone through basic training that he had been questioned by Army Intelligence about Petrick's political beliefs. Similar word came to him from members of his own outfit.

On March 20 Petrick was given a pass for a ten-day leave and during this period attended the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance held in Detroit, March 24-26.

On his return to Fort Hood he found that his locker had been searched and literature removed. He also learned that fellow GIs had been questioned about him and that some of their lockers had been searched.

That evening he was called in and questioned. A series of 70 questions were directed to him regarding his political beliefs and associations, his possession of antiwar literature and statements he had made while in the army. Petrick declined to answer these questions at that time.

He was then assigned an Army attorney who advised him of the prospective court-martial. Since then he has been assigned to a new unit. His regular activities

(Continued on Page 5)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The truck companies are geared, with government help, to try something they could never accomplish on their own — the crippling of the powerful Teamsters Union.

On Saturday, April 8, the Truck Employers Inc. broke off negotiations with the IBT on an over-the-road and city cartage workers contract, and called a lock-out of its more than 200,000 employes. As of latest reports, the lock-out is 90 percent effective, with many non-members of TEI joining the attack on the union.

The lock-out action was taken on the pretext of a "defensive" measure against "selective" strikes which have broken out in many Southern and Midwestern cities as negotiations approached an impasse. The union contract expired on March 31.

The bosses' organization openly declared its intention with this maneuver, to "force" Johnson to seek a Taft-Hartley injunction to impose an 80-day strike ban on the union.

There is little doubt that President Johnson will respond to this desire of the bosses. It is reported that if he decides to invoke Taft-Hartley, an injunction application "will be flown" to him at Punta del Este where he is talking "peace" with Latin American dictators. Our bet is that he carried such an application with him on the plane, for immediate use.

Frank Fitzsimmons, general vice president of the union, castigated the employers' action as "an excuse to cause a crisis that would result in a Taft-Hartley injunction or new anti-labor legislation." Fitzsimmons said further that the employers had "broken faith with the teamsters negotiators, with the general public, and with their obligations under the Interstate Commerce Act to serve the general public."

Truck owners in New York state announced their compliance with the TEI lock-out even though they are not members, and predicted that the embargo would dry up freight shipments in the state 90 percent — and affect New York City where the union-employer contracts do not expire until Sept. 1.

In Minnesota the largest operator in the state, another non-member of TEI, Admiral Merchants Motor Freight, has also joined the lock-out. Its owner, Robert E. Short, predicted that the lock-out would affect 65 percent of all business in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

Issues at stake in the contract negotiations are wages and fringe benefits — most crucial of which is the escalator clause. There is an 11¢ per hour cost-of-living increase still due the workers under the just-expired contract. The employers want this money included in their offer of a 62¢ per hour package over a three-year contract. They also want wage increases under any new escalator clause to be limited to 6¢ per hour over the life of a new contract. This would be less than half the wage escalators in the previous three year contract.

The union's demands include a 90¢ per hour package over three years, an escalator clause based on actual cost-of-living increases. They insist on immediate payment of the 11¢ still due under the old contract. According to the Wall Street Journal, the two sides were within 10¢ per hour in the now-recessed negotiations, but still far apart on fringe benefits.

In this dangerous situation, the Teamsters stand involuntarily isolated from the AFL-CIO. The bosses, seeking to take advantage of the ten-year vendetta the government has carried on against the International Teamsters Union, have full government support in their present attack on the union.

There is a union song which became a slogan by which workers lived and fought during the bloody organizing drives and strikes in the coal fields of Kentucky and Tennessee — "Which Side Are You On?" The question is now posed squarely to the AFL-CIO national leadership and to the rank and file. Which side are you on?

* * *

The speed with which Congress can act to pass anti-labor legislation is demonstrated in the current railroad situation involving six craft unions of approximately 150,000 workers. The government has used up all its anti-strike devices under the Railway Labor Act. The administration has asked for a law to block any strike for an additional 20 days. The proposed law has already passed the House and will go with equal speed through the Senate. The present strike deadline is April 13, at 12:01 a.m.

* * *

Even though the AFTRA strike against the nation's three major TV networks was settled on April 10, the network's problems are not over. Contract negotiations with another union — the International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employes, will get under way as soon as "network negotiators are in physical condition to bargain" after the marathon settlement talks with AFTRA. The IATSE contract has already expired but has been extended for a short period.

The AFTRA settlement came only a few hours before the American Broadcasting Company's scheduled broadcast of the annual Oscar presentation ceremonies — an event sponsored by Eastman Kodak, and worth 1.5 million dollars to the network.

AFTRA strikers won increased weekly salaries, and a larger share of talent fees. They gave up their demands for standby announcers on FM taped music programming and elimination of NBC's arbitrary 65 year retirement rule.

AFTRA had the active picket-line support of all other unions involved in telecasting. The IATSE has every right to expect and get reciprocal support from AFTRA members.

—Marvel Scholl

WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

Kennedy's 'Peace' Plan

By Ed Smith

On March 2, Robert Kennedy delivered a major speech on the Senate floor calling for a temporary suspension of U.S. bombing in north Vietnam. This act, according to Kennedy, would greatly increase the pressure on the Kremlin and Hanoi to enter into negotiations on terms acceptable to Washington.

Kennedy's stand has been heralded by a number of people opposed to the war as a possible step toward peace in Vietnam. This is undoubtedly one of the things Kennedy hoped to achieve by making the speech. But Kennedy's aims, so far as the people of Vietnam are concerned, are not in the least bit different from those of the Johnson administration itself.

This is clear if we examine the context in which Kennedy made the speech. It was delivered the day after the U.S. Senate gave overwhelming approval to the Pentagon's supplemental appropriations bill for fiscal year 1967, ending June 30. Only two senators — Morse and Nelson — voted against the appropriations bill.

It is important to keep this in mind because this bill paved the way for a massive escalation of the war. Billions were appropriated for greatly increasing the strength of the bombing force against north Vietnam and the tonnage of bombs to be dropped. Almost 300,000 new troops were added to the armed forces for deployment against the National Liberation Front.

In cross questioning, Defense Secretary McNamara revealed that the anticipated level of plane losses over north Vietnam in calendar year 1967 was over 1,500 as opposed to 914 in 1966. Money was approved for continuing the construction of air bases in south Vietnam and Thailand, the latter on the biggest scale so far.

New Escalation

Events have already demonstrated that the congressionally-approved escalation of the war was in dead seriousness: On the north Vietnamese front, U.S. bombers are now hitting major industrial targets.

B-52s have been transferred from Guam to Thailand so that they can make two or three bombing raids a day instead of one; naval artillery is shelling the country from within the three mile international limit; and the daily level of bombing has been substantially increased.

In south Vietnam the combat operations of U.S. troops have reached a new level, to judge only by the increasing casualties. For the first two months of this year, American deaths averaged 128 per week according to the April 7 *New York Times*. This was already considerably higher than the level of less than 100 per week in 1966.

But in March, the weekly average was 217. At this rate, the war will add over 10,000 American deaths in 1967 alone, and from 60,000 to 100,000 casualties including the "non-combat" deaths, wounded and missing.

The Democratic and Republican politicians who endorsed these war plans were fully aware of the impact they would have in this country. They know full well how unpopular the war already is and they anticipate that it will be even more unpopular by next year — an election year.

There is no disagreement between any of the Democratic and Republican politicians and the Johnson administration about Washington's basic goal in Vietnam. This is to crush the National Liberation Front and stabilize a pro-Western regime in South Vietnam. That is the imperialist objective in Vietnam.

They have no disagreement about the rights of the south Vietnamese people. Every one of them agrees that Washington's rule by military force in south Vietnam is preferable to allowing the south Vietnamese people to exercise their fundamental right of self-determination. All are opposed to withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Robert Kennedy

And there is also no disagreement about what they want from north Vietnam. The cost of crushing the National Liberation Front has already proved to be far beyond the initial anticipations of the Pentagon planners. The force level of U.S. troops has been increased two-and-a-half times since the beginning of 1966.

The bombing level has more than doubled. But the basic military positions of the U.S. combat forces and the NLF guerrillas remains essentially the same.

Washington wants north Vietnam to cease aiding their fellow countrymen in south Vietnam. That is the meaning of Johnson's negotiations offer, and it could not have been made clearer than in Johnson's secret letter to Ho Chi Minh, which the north Vietnamese revealed March 21.

At the time this letter was secretly dispatched, the avowed U.S. position on negotiations was that Hanoi would have to give specific promises of what it was willing to concede before Washington would let up on the bombing. That was the position publicly expressed during the Wilson-Kosygin conference in London, during the second week of February.

But Johnson's letter stated: "I am prepared to order a cessation of bombing against your country, and the stopping of further augmentation of U.S. forces in south Vietnam, *as soon as I am assured that infiltration into south Vietnam by land and by sea has been stopped.*" (Emphasis added.)

Harsher Terms

In so many words, Johnson declared that he would stop the bombing and negotiate *only after* he was assured that Hanoi had cut off any and all aid to the NLF.

Does Robert Kennedy disagree with the basic strategy of forcing Hanoi to the negotiating table on U.S. terms? On the contrary, he agrees with it 100 percent. The disagreement comes down to a fine point of imperialist tactics: Kennedy believes that slightly more emphasis be placed on diplomatic pressure rather than bombing pressure to bring Hanoi to the negotiating table on U.S. terms.

On the basic question of the U.S. remaining in south Vietnam and the perspective of stabilizing a south Vietnamese regime to fit the American ruling-class mold, Kennedy did not differ one iota with Johnson. The fifth and sixth sentences of Kennedy's March 2 speech read as follows:

"Nearly all Americans share with us the determination and intention to remain in Vietnam until we have fulfilled our commitments. There is no danger of any division — in this Chamber or in the country — now or in the future — which will erode American will and compel American withdrawal."

But Kennedy apparently felt, and he had made a European tour not long before this speech where he conferred with a number of different sources — that more diplomatic pressure could be brought to bear on the Kremlin right now to pressure a north Vietnamese withdrawal from the war.

In order to do this, Kennedy believed, the U.S. would be in a better position if it temporarily suspended the bombing of north Vietnam:

"I propose," Kennedy stated, "that we test the sincerity of the statements by Premier Kosygin and others asserting that if the bombardment of the North is halted, negotiations would begin — by halting the bombardment and saying we are ready to negotiate within the week; making it clear that discussions cannot continue for a prolonged period without an agreement that neither side will substantially increase the size of the war in south Vietnam — by infiltration or reinforcement."

Referring to Kosygin's declaration that a bombing halt would lead to negotiations, Kennedy continued, "This declaration comes from a man of enormous authority in the Communist world, whose country helps sustain north Vietnam's effort. It does not demand that we withdraw our forces, slow down our military effort on the ground, or even halt the bombing of south Vietnam."

"Not Affect Attacks"

"Bombing of the north can be stopped," Kennedy further explained, "without effectively weakening our position in the south; especially when it is remembered that such a cessation would not affect our attacks on the infiltration trails in Laos or on enemy forces in the south."

Now that does not come under the category of advocating a just peace in Vietnam. It doesn't even come under the category of cessation of the bombing of north Vietnam, because it is emphatically only a question of a temporary suspension.

The truth about Kennedy's speech is that it reflects the growing anxiety about the ramifications of the Vietnam war among the capitalist politicians whose duty it is to carry out the war. They want a cover to better maintain the U.S. foothold in south Vietnam.

It is possible that Hanoi bombed as it is on a daily basis (the clearer the skies, the more the bombs); threatened with the destruction of the dikes and the the liquidation of millions of people; facing the loss of its hard-earned 10-year advances in industry, may ultimately be forced to negotiate on Johnson and Kennedy's terms.

Do we in the antiwar movement in the U.S. favor that? The Vietnamese people, north and south, have rejected Washington's blackmail. We here must say that Johnson has no right to negotiate the future of Vietnam.

Our stand is crystal clear. We should favor ending the war in Vietnam, north and south, once and for all time. And that means getting the U.S. troops out. There is no other solution. To the Republican-Democrat slogan of "negotiations" the antiwar movement should answer: Get out! Bring the troops home now!

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.

Vietnam Students in France Address Antiwar Movement

[The following are extracts from a message to American students, from the Union Of Vietnamese Students in France. In a covering letter, they say, "We have heard that large demonstrations against the war in Vietnam are being organized for the week of April 8-15, particularly in San Francisco and New York. We would like to send our warmest greetings to the organizers and participants in these protests which constitute in our view a great contribution to the cause of peace and to the establishment of friendship between our two peoples."]

Dear American Friends,

Permit us to address this appeal to you at a time when the American escalation is accelerating its pace, gravely threatening peace in Southeast Asia and the whole world. We are certain that we voice the sentiments of thousands of Vietnamese students, scientists and engineers living in France when we affirm our solidarity with all of our people who are struggling for the sacred cause of freedom and independence.

No one could be more attached to the cause of peace than the Vietnamese people, who for more than a quarter of a century have experienced the sufferings of war. But, just as for the American people during the Revolutionary War, for our people there can be no peace if they are denied their independence. Moreover, our rights to independence and national unity were solemnly recognized in the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam . . .

U.S. Invasion

Unfortunately, our country has been invaded by American troops who come to sow death and desolation. Unfortunately, you too can be required at any moment by the Johnson administration to journey to our homeland, on the pretext that you would be fighting for the cause of liberty and for humanity.

We know that some of you have refused to go to Vietnam and that many of you are fighting courageously to have your government put an end to its policy of aggression against our country. We are addressing you today so that we may help each other mutually to make the cause of truth triumph.

The Johnson administration repeats day in and day out that American troops are in Vietnam "to help the south Vietnamese people defend themselves against aggression from the north." In reality, they are there to support people — yesterday Ngo Dinh Diem, today Nguyen Cao Ky — who, to say the least, have no popular support whatever.

Diem Dictatorship

If our compatriots in the south were led to take up arms, it is because they were subjected, in the name of anticommunism, to the dictatorial puppet regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, who refused to hold the elections which were supposed to take place in 1956 in order to reunify the country, and who declared in May 1957 in Washington that "the frontier of the United States passes through the 17th parallel." . . .

One day you will certainly know the details of the indescribable sufferings endured by our compatriots in the south during all these terrible years; you will know that in the period before the direct and massive intervention of American troops in the south at the beginning of 1965, 170,000 Vietnamese were killed, nearly 800,000 wounded or disabled as a result of torture, and more than 5 million peasants forced into 8,000 concentration camps camouflaged under the name of "strategic hamlets." One day, you will learn of the courageous battle waged by all strata of the population, particularly the peasants, in opposing the ferocious repression. You will learn also of the no less courageous combat of professors and students in our southern cities.

Despite this terror and the open war waged with 500,000 men of the puppet army under the command of 30,000 American "advisors," at the beginning of 1965 the Saigon army and administration were heading toward collapse. It was to try and save them that a huge American expeditionary corps was brought into south Vietnam, and that, in total defiance of legality, the decision was taken by President Johnson to bomb the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

This policy springs from the illusion that it is possible through arms alone, to achieve a quick military victory and impose one's ideas upon a people. This explains the origin of the war and why it has continually been expanded. . . .

National Unity

And how can one believe today the myth of an "invasion" of the south by our northern compatriots, when the Vietnamese of the north and south are one people, engaged in a single struggle against the same aggressor? Do not the people of north Vietnam have the right to render assistance to the people of the south, when a foreign army has invaded south Vietnam? At the heart of this question of a northern "invasion" is the undeniable fact that the war arose out of the American-imposed dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem; the only invasion of Vietnam was by American troops who came to protect an American puppet against popular resistance . . .

The Vietnamese problem cannot and will not be settled through some sort of political deal which would leave our country divided forever and sacrifice the inalienable rights of our people. A settlement must be based on United States respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam. That is the essential content of the four-point position of the Democratic Republic or Vietnam and the declaration of five points of the National Liberation Front. The United States must definitively and unconditionally halt the bombings of north Vietnam; recognize the NLF, the sole genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people; and withdraw all its troops and those of its satellites from south Vietnam. . . .

Demands Surrender

Thus we find that the words of peace of the American leaders simply serve to camouflage and justify their intensification of the war. Contrary to what he has affirmed, President Johnson has blocked all the paths to negotiation; in fact, what he wants to obtain from our people is an "unconditional surrender."

Student friends, the United States has to give up its policy of force and of blackmail by force. The more of you there are who try to understand why the Vietnamese struggle so resolutely, and why you are asked to fight, the sooner this will come about. Our aim in writing to you is not to convince you of the desirability of the institutions our compatriots in the south will establish for themselves in the future. The point is to help you understand us, so that you will see why we refuse to live in slavery or to allow our fate to be dictated by a foreign government.

Union of Vietnamese Students in France

Women in N. Vietnam Defiant of U. S. Bombs

[The following letter is from the Vietnam Women's Union.]

Hanoi, March 17, 1967

Dear Friends

They [the U.S.] have used long-range guns based south of the demilitarized zone to fire hundreds of shells on the villages north of the zone; then warships of their Seventh Fleet have pounded at the coastal areas of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (in Thaibinh, Hà-tình, Nghé-an, Thanh-hóa, Quáng-bình and Nam Hà provinces); and their planes have dropped mines on many rivers in North Vietnam in order to sabotage our waterways.

Recently, they have savagely bombed many times several industrial centers of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam such as Viet Tri and Thai Nguyên; then they have attacked Hongay town and a certain number of industrial enterprises in Quang-ninh; and they have fired rockets on populous quarters of Haiphong city. At Hongay a creche was also struck.

Apart from the above attacks, for several days from Feb. 28, 1967 to March 8, 1967, the Yankee aggressors sent aircraft and naval craft to systematically shell the hydraulic works and dikes of Dien Chau, Nam Dan and Hung-nguyên districts, Nghê-an province. In particular, the Nam-dàn works have been attacked five times during three consecutive days.

These continual and daily increasing attacks once more lay bare the aggressive nature of the U.S. imperialists who want to use force to compel us to negotiate on their terms. But imbued with our tradition of struggle for national liberation, our entire people will never step back and will never yield to the threat and use of force. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom," these words of our President Ho Chi Minh are deeply engraved in the heart of each Vietnamese. Therefore, our people are determined to fight as long as necessary to win final victory.

Support Welcomed

We highly appreciate the militant support you extend to our just struggle against the American aggressors for national salvation. In face of the broadening and intensification of the aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists in our country, we earnestlly call on you to strengthen and step up your activities with a view to staying the bloody hands of Johnson and Company who speak of peace while brandishing weapons against the civilian people, against the women and the children.

On behalf of the Vietnamese women and children, we sincerely thank you for your fraternal support and we convey to you our most cordial greetings.

(signed)
Hà Giang
For the Standing Committee of the Vietnam Women's Union

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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

Vol. 31 - No. 16 345 Monday, April 17, 1967

Bring the Troops Home Now!

The need to build a united movement against the war in Vietnam is greater than ever. The success of the Spring Mobilization Committee and Student Mobilization Committee demonstrate that the prospects for doing so are better than ever.

With icy determination, the Johnson administration is continuing its step-by-step escalation of the war. The ruling circles of this country have made it plain they are determined to attempt to crush the south Vietnamese revolution and to deal merciless blows against the north Vietnamese. They continue to tighten the encirclement of revolutionary China. Their program is one of blackest reaction. Hitler sought to rule a "fortress Europe." These madmen are ready to risk nuclear catastrophe to make the entire world safe for American imperialism.

If humanity is to survive and society is to progress, they must be stopped. The heroic Vietnamese people are doing more than their share to help stop them. Their resistance to so huge and monstrous a war machine has gained the sympathy and support of freedom loving people the war over. We here in the United States — where ultimately the warmakers must be stopped — must seek to match at least in small measure the inspiring dedication of the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

The impressively broad coalition of forces participating in the Spring Mobilization Committee, including the key peace and civil rights movements, and the wonderful public response to the committee, make it clear that there is a great opportunity to build an effective, militant, united antiwar force in this country. Those who took a dim view of the prospects for the Spring Mobilization Committee and Student Mobilization Committee building a successful protest have been refuted by the growth of the movement which now embraces far more than the activists who initiated the mobilization. This underlines that the popular opposition to the war is steadily mounting and that significant new layers of the population can be mobilized against this war.

An ongoing, radical coalition of antiwar forces of far broader scope than ever before can be built on the basis of a clear and realistic conception of what such a coalition is and can be. What is required is clearly defined, realistic aims that the various parts of such a coalition can agree upon.

The experience of the Spring and Student Mobilization Committees shows there is a significant, substantial area of agreement upon which to build such a movement. Foremost is the ability of such a movement to stage massive mobilizations of a scope beyond the capacity of any of the individual participating groups.

Many other fruitful activities can be carried on by such a coalition, including educational work to bring the facts about the war to a large section of the population. The opportunities for municipal referendums on the war, such as the one in Dearborn, Mich., can be carried through more effectively by such united forces.

Most important, the activities of such a coalition will help to further advance — as it already has — the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. Since the development of the coalition, significant sections of the coalition have moved toward that position. Further efforts will deepen the process. This is imperative since the demand for the withdrawal of U.S. forces is the only just basis for ending the war and is, in fact, indispensable to achieving that goal.

Every opponent of the Vietnam war and every opponent of the capitalist system which is responsible for that war should feel obligated to help build a massive national coalition to oppose the war and to get the GIs out now.

By forging such a movement we will strike a meaningful, effective blow on behalf of the heroic Vietnamese Freedom fighters and in behalf of the very best interests of the great majority of the American people.

Socialist Directory

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

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

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

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

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

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

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Labor's Role in Social Change

By Farrell Dobbs

The labor upsurge of the 1930s remained confined within the industrial sphere for several reasons. It was a major leap just to bring the hitherto unorganized mass production workers together in the CIO and, in a series of fierce battles, to consolidate the union power on the job. In addition, a general belief prevailed that working-class problems could be solved by economic means and through union action alone.

Class consciousness lagged behind political reality, being limited pretty much to matters involving worker-employer relations in the plants. There was little knowledge among workers of the fundamental mechanics of the capitalist system. They neither understood the means available to the ruling class for undermining the union power, nor did they grasp the vital importance of class control over the government.

AUTO WORKER STRIKE, 1937. Militant strike struggles of the thirties set the pace for new and greater struggles in the period to come.

Illusions that definitive gains could be made by fighting for reforms under capitalism laid the workers open to political disorientation. The process was implemented by capitalist ability to make limited concessions through union contracts and in the form of social legislation. All this enabled the union leaders, social democrats and Communist Party officials to lead the workers astray politically. They were steered into the swamp of capitalist politics by way of misguided reliance on the Democratic Party.

Substitution of dependence on capitalist politicians for use of the workers' power, in turn, paved the way for bureaucratization of the CIO. Coming alongside the long-entrenched dictatorial rule over the AFL, this brought general strangulation of rank-and-file democracy within the unions. A witchhunt against radical unionists followed and, as a further means to impose conformity in the ranks, the bureaucrats ganged up with employers against dissident workers generally. There were two primary objectives involved: at all hazards to keep union members strait-jacketed in class collaborationism; and to prevent the rank and file from intervening to bring union policy more into line with working-class needs.

After years of success in that endeavor, helped along by conditions of relative economic prosperity, the union bureaucrats are now running into some tough sledding. Discontent is growing in the union ranks as official policy falls more and more out of gear with the workers' needs. In an effort to get out of the resulting bind, the top officials pushed through the AFL-CIO merger in 1955. The aim was to resuscitate outlived official policy, not to fuse the union ranks for struggle in defense of working-class interests.

Reuther-Meany Rift

Failure to solve the problem through organizational measures alone is shown by current development of the Reuther-Meany rift within the AFL-CIO. Like the merger 12 years ago, the present dispute at the top of the union hierarchy centers on tactical measures so far as the principles are concerned, rather than bearing evidence of any meaningful trend toward a change in policy.

At the outset Reuther appeared inclined to help keep the dispute confined within the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Since then he has altered his approach in the direction of an open confrontation with the Meany wing of the bureaucracy. It does not seem excluded that he might pull the UAW out of the AFL-CIO.

As matters presently stand, however, such a course by Reuther would lack the justification that existed when John L. Lewis split from the AFL in the 1930s. A major policy issue was then involved. Industrial unions, embracing all workers in a plant as a united body, were needed to organize basic industry. Hard-core craft unionists in the AFL opposed the change in organizational form, insisting that mass production workers have their ranks carved up into a series of separate craft units. Lewis first made his fight within the AFL on the clear-cut policy issue of industrial unionism. He organized a split only when it became apparent that the AFL majority could not be budged on the issue. What followed proved the correctness of the split over this vital matter of policy.

Declining Strength

Although basic changes in AFL-CIO policy are urgently needed today, Reuther hasn't qualified himself for leadership in that direction. He has tried to create a false appearance that he does so qualify by striking a demagogic pose in admitting the obvious: The AFL-CIO has been declining in strength and effectiveness; dissatisfaction with the leadership is growing in the ranks; and many outside the unions look upon the AFL-CIO as an upholder of the status quo.

Behind that façade of disarming frankness, Reuther merely dresses up in modified language the basic line he still clings to in common with the rest of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy: support to imperialist foreign policy; acquiescence in restrictions on the right to strike and government intervention into internal union affairs; opposition to the advocates of black power; and continued adherence to capitalist politics. In short, Reuther does not emulate the positive side of Lewis' course in clearly posing at least one major policy issue, as was done on the question of industrial vs. craft organization. He continues instead to perpetuate Lewis' political blunder in tying labor to the Democratic Party.

Note should also be taken of Reuther's complaint about Meany's dictatorial methods as head of the AFL-CIO. Put into context with his own conduct inside the UAW, it shows that Reuther wants to have it both ways. How else explain his recent gangup with General Motors for a strikebreaking attack against UAW Local 549 in Mansfield, Ohio? To paraphrase a notorious remark once made by a GM executive, it seems that what's good for Walter Reuther is good for the labor movement.

Meaningful steps toward necessary changes in union policy must begin with open recognition of the heavy price paid for labor's entrapment in capitalist politics. It has included the slaughters of World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars; perpetuation of second-class citizenship for minority peoples; grave erosion of civil liberties; poverty for many workers and growing threats to living standards and job security for all; tearing down of union conditions won through struggle; corporation arrogance and government attacks on workers' organizations.

These evils are producing a steady rise of political ferment throughout the country. One consequence has been the unprecedented growth of a militant anti-war movement in the U.S. during a shooting war. Another result is appearance of the black power tendency. A comparable trend is now starting to develop within the unions; and to understand its fundamental significance, one must grasp the dynamics of labor struggle and the social power residing in the working class.

Prior to the social explosion of the 1930s, the workers had been relatively passive for years. AFL officials of the day gave organized labor, to the extent that it existed, an image no less unpretty than that now imparted to the AFL-CIO by the ruling bureaucracy. Many an "expert" was pronouncing the whole working class socially impotent. Then, like a bolt from the blue, the seemingly docile wage slaves confounded their detractors by launching a sweeping revolt.

Can't See Ahead

Today's "experts" say it can't occur again because higher living standards won through the unions have tamed the workers to capitalist rule. Failing to perceive that attempts to overcome mounting capitalist difficulties at labor's expense are undermining the present social equilibrium, they miss the significance of the developing class antagonisms. They also mistake the conjunctural decline in union strength relative to the total labor force as evidence of fatal and incurable labor weakness. It happens, though, that such calamity howling has nothing to do with the real situation.

Despite weaknesses imposed upon them by bureaucratic misrule, the workers are no longer so atomized organizationally as they were at the beginning of the 1930s. The present union structure constitutes an adequate base from which to launch independent political action, parallel to intensified struggle within industry. Class morale is high. U.S. labor has never experienced a devastating defeat. Strikes have been lost and the workers have been disoriented and doublecrossed, but they have never been beaten down to the point of being cowed as a class. They retain full capacity to move massively — and swiftly — as coming events stir them into action.

The tempo of labor developments will be determined largely by the interplay of capitalist foreign and domestic policy. U.S. imperialism is running into ever-deeper trouble in its efforts to dominate the world and exploit it for the benefit of the capitalists who rule this country. Although domestic resources are being taxed increasingly to sustain the foreign policy, a comparable degree of capitalist crisis has not yet developed here at home. Social tensions are mounting, but the capitalists still have sufficient means to grant some token economic and social concessions designed to mollify mass unrest. As a result there will be various degrees of confusion in the developing social conflict, a process already reflected in the nuances of political change shown by the 1966 elections and its aftermath.

Coalition Weakening

A widening pattern of voter shifts back and forth between Democrats and Republicans has appeared, showing that the two-party system is losing internal stability. More concretely, it reflects a breakdown of the broad coalition around the Democratic Party. While this is a danger signal to the capitalists, their rule through the two-party monopoly is not yet in peril. Misleaders in the mass movement can still keep the ranks tied to capitalist politics, but the job is getting tougher for them.

Under pressures of their class crisis, all capitalist politicians are moving steadily to the right in their policies. Liberals are turning "moderate" and conservatives more openly reactionary. As a result people disturbed about the status quo have a narrowing choice in trying to influence policy by casting a lesser-evil vote. This is causing some to grope toward a new political course, but their growing distrust of capitalist politicians has not yet overcome illusions that existing social ills can be corrected by reforming capitalism.

A characteristic example is the "new left" brand of politics. It adds up to nothing more than a left-liberal revolt against the Democratic Party's policy shift to the right. Programmatically, the "new left" advocates middle-class type reforms that in no way represent a break with capitalist politics. Tactically, the line remains one of maneuvering to oust the present leadership of the Democratic Party on the naive assumption that the party could thus be transformed. With their present illusions about liberals — and their general dependence on middle class forces — any break "new lefters" might undertake from the Democrats would most likely lead in the direction of trying to form a third capitalist party.

Progressive Party

A preview of the self-defeating results of the latter course was given by a Communist Party adventure in 1948. At that time the Progressive Party — a third capitalist party — was formed to run a liberal politician, Henry Wallace, for President. Wallace criticized the cold-war policy then taking shape through Democratic-Republican bipartisanship, but in accepting nomination he stressed his defense of the capitalist system. When the Korean war began two years later Wallace quit the PP and backed the bipartisan war policy. Thereafter the PP withered on the vine.

In assessing this episode, theoreticians of the "new left" do not reject the notion of forming a capitalist third party, they simply criticize the CP for poor tactical timing. Not enough liberals were ready for it, they argue, and anyway the effort could not succeed without major support from labor. Their whole approach is one of counseling reliance on liberal politicians, which has been proven a false course whether it takes the form of a labor-Democratic coalition or a third capitalist party.

Liberalism is rooted in the middle ground between the two main classes standing at the opposite poles of capitalist property relations, i.e., labor and big business. Its line is one of social reforms, so long as any measures undertaken are subordinated to preservation of the capitalist system. Liberals fear stormy mass movements and seek to substitute themselves for the masses in dealing with social issues. To the extent that they succeed, a false impression of their strength is created, especially when liberals are backed by the power of labor. Since that support is used to subordinate the masses to big capital, political independence from the ruling class can exist only in opposition to the liberals.

A step in the right direction has been projected by those who advocate independent black political action. It is implicitly anti-capitalist in character because of the class composition of the Negro minority. As a people they are mainly workers, thus representing the most oppressed national minority and the most militant section of the working class. They are also the most oppressed, exploited and downtrodden members of the class, whose demands in a large sense give expression to needs of all workers, black and white. Any steps they take to organize an independent party for themselves will provide impetus toward building an independent party for the class as a whole.

First Stage

Independent labor political action will likely begin around a program of reforms under the existing system. A vital new factor will nevertheless have been added to the social struggle because of the working class composition of a union-based party opposed to the capitalist parties. At the present historic stage, prolonged conditions feeding reform illusions within a labor party are ruled out. New experiences will speed radicalization of the party ranks at a relatively fast pace. As an instrument capable of quickly mobilizing presently unorganized sectors of the working class, a labor party will be able to bring the whole weight of the class to bear against the capitalist overlords through new and higher forms of struggle in both the industrial and political spheres.

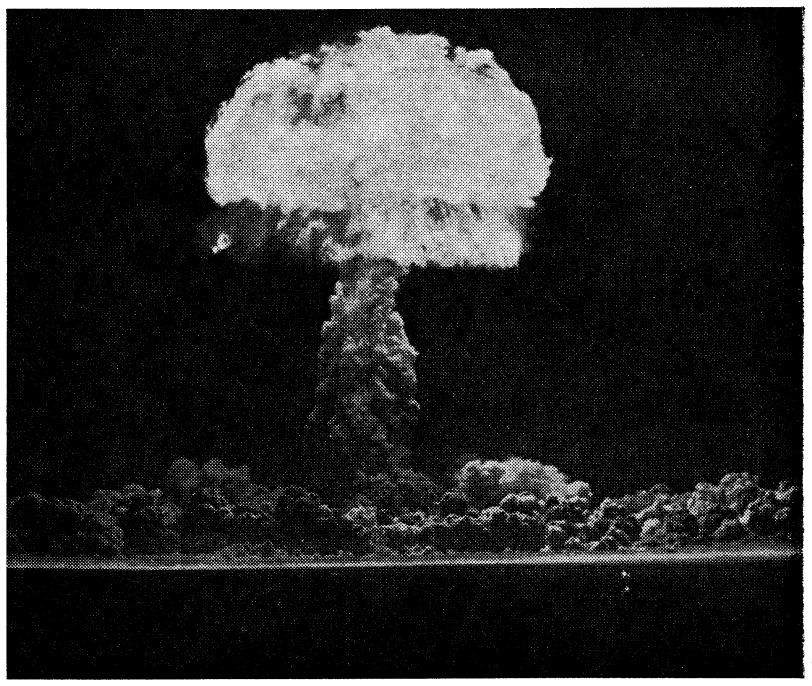
In the process labor will be able to assume general leadership of all who are oppressed and exploited under capitalism. Fraternal cooperation between a labor party and any independent black political formation could be quickly established. Working farmers would come to identify their interests with those of labor. Instead of having capitalist ideology pumped into the labor movement by way of middle class elements, working class criteria would penetrate into at least the lower strata of the middle class, drawing them toward support of anti-capitalist political action under labor's leadership. Misbegotten reliance on liberal politicians would be scrapped. The way would be open for the workers and their allies to orient toward a struggle for governmental power.

Realization of that perspective entails the problem of shaping a working class leadership capable of going all the way in a showdown fight with the capitalists.

(To be continued)

A GRAVE ISSUE FOR AMERICANS

Vietnam and Threat of Wider War



By Dick Roberts

The Vietnam war is the most crucial issue facing the world today. Its continued escalation by the Johnson administration in reality threatens the fate of the entire world. For many Americans, this will seem like a surprising statement. The politicians and the daily press harp on just the opposite theme.

Even when they sometimes admit that the war is "costly," "a mistake," "dirty," they insist that this is just a temporary deviation from the true course of progress in the "American Century." They pretend that the Vietnam war has no relation whatsoever to the long-run perspectives of the American rulers. And they take advantage of the fact that the battleground is 10,000 miles away where only a relative handful of Americans — the soldiers — have actually seen what is really happening.

We should not be taken in by this line. The war in Vietnam cannot be condoned on any terms. Already, in Bertrand Russell's words, the war has "degraded the United States and its citizens." It has "stolen the United States from its people and made the name of a great country stink in the nostrils of people the world over." This harsh truth irrevocably must affect the conscience of each and everyone of us.

Day after day for almost five years, Washington has rained jellied napalm on the villages and hamlets of the south Vietnamese countryside. Napalm has seared the bodies of Vietnamese peasants, men, women and children in the countless thousands. Nearly two million Vietnamese have fled from their homes to massive refugee concentration camps. And the homes left behind, if not bombed to ashes, have been bulldozed to the ground.

Since February of 1965, over two years ago, Washington's bombs have also been pouring down on the peoples of north Vietnam. Cities have been decimated; industries destroyed.

Chemical defoliants have been sprayed on thousands of acres of Vietnam forests. Poison gasses have been pumped into tunnels to flush out guerrillas, and only last week a new and more lethal weapon has been instrumented to improve this process. It consists of pipes which blast hot air into tunnels which can be raised to the heat of 1,000 degrees.

The major cities of south Vietnam have been turned into massive brothels for the occupying armies. Sisters have been made into prostitutes, brothers into pimps. Expensive night clubs for the officials of the Ky regime and the U.S. military brass stand side-by-side sprawling and beggarly slums.

This, indeed, is illegal, immoral and unjust. Americans must scrutinize their consciences well to determine whether there is in fact a difference between the atrocities Washington commits daily in Vietnam and the gas ovens and concentration camps of Hitler's Nazi Germany.

On top of what is known about the war in Vietnam, however, stands the even more ghastly specter of what is not known. It is not known when the governments of China and the Soviet Union will justifiably respond on a vastly escalated scale to Washington's aggression.

It is not known when the bombing of north Vietnam will be answered by the massive entry of Chinese troops, as was ultimately the case in Korea. Continental land war in southeast Asia can by no means be ruled out as the impending consequence of Johnson's escalation.

Nor is it known when Washington's air attacks will be met by Soviet planes; when Soviet bombers over south Vietnam respond to U.S. bombers over north Vietnam; and ultimately when U.S. escalation would precipitate the holocaust of nuclear war.

Can Johnson, McNamara and Rusk be trusted to refrain from using nuclear weapons when they are already introducing new instruments of death in Vietnam on an almost daily basis? Can these men, who have sent thousands of American GIs to their death and ordered the murder of tens of thousands of Vietnamese, be trusted to stop at the murder of millions or even the obliteration of mankind?

That is the danger that Johnson's escalation and Washington's arsenal of atomic weapons really poses. It is no accident that three of the most respected thinkers of our period have, in their old age, become entirely absorbed with this single question.

Albert Schweitzer, Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein each came to believe that this one threat of ultimate destruction was the overwhelming danger facing mankind. And they did not for one minute trust the atomaniacs in Washington to refrain from taking the disastrous steps.

The Vietnam war poses for the world the question of life and death. No aggression by Washington militarists can be allowed to escalate indefinitely without posing the threat of nuclear annihilation. This makes the ending of the Vietnam war the most crucial task of the day.

For Americans, however, Vietnam brings and will continue to bring other costs. It is not only that the cream of American youth must risk their lives on the battlefield; the whole population must pay for the war at home.

To buy the bombs for murdering Vietnamese children, the ruling class has jettisoned even its token attempt to "solve" the problems of discrimination and poverty in this country. It is well known that for the price of the slaughter in Vietnam, schools could be built across the country once and for all wiping out racist education, North and South.

Attack on Poor

Instead of a better education and a higher standard of living, the escalation in Vietnam has brought a retreat in education and a lower standard of living. Higher prices and higher taxes have already cut deep into the gains workers made in the last five years of prosperity; and they threaten to wipe out all wage gains as the war escalates.

The demands from ghettos and slums have been answered by a new entrenchment of police forces. Johnson's biggest promise for this country in 1967, the "Crime Control Act," means only one thing: more cops.

In Congress, civil rights and civil liberties legislation are dead letters. The war has provided a rationale for clamping down on freedom of speech in the schools, and for jailing civil-rights activists who have joined the ranks of the antiwar movement. The congressmen have turned to "riot control," "anticommunism," and strike breaking.

It is true that a few Democratic and Republican politicians have been forced to take cognizance of the heavy costs at home and abroad of the Vietnam war. Some, like Wayne Morse, even go so far as to warn of the danger of World War III and atomic confrontation that Vietnam poses.

But without exception, the Democratic and Republican "doves" pretend that the war is a "departure" from the "true goals" of the capitalist system. This, too, cannot be further from the truth.

Is it possible that the American rulers could have been perfecting and building the most potent weapons of counter-guerrilla warfare for twenty years only to end up using them "by mistake" in Vietnam? This is what these apologists must argue.

But, chemicals, gasses, cannister bombs and napalm that are today being used in Vietnam were developed long ago. The aircraft, bombs, and bases have been under construction for two decades. Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and now Johnson have all put their stamp of approval on the development and instrumentation of the war machine.

Vietnam is the latest step in the long-run plan of the American capitalist class to crush the socialist world and to snuff out every and all attempt of the colonial peoples to liberate themselves. And the so-called cold war is nothing else but the history of the carrying out of this plan.

Stopping the war in Vietnam is consequently a necessity in the struggle for human survival. It means dealing a serious blow to Washington's plans for World War III.

The antiwar movement constitutes the arena in which the most momentous question of our time is being attacked. It is lauching the battle against the basis of the cold war and its inevitable ramifications.

It is a matter of day-in and day-out work to convince the mass of American people of the importance of opposing this war. And ultimately, it is only in this country that this most consequential issue can be resolved.

Fighting Peasant Leader

Thousands of letters and telegrams have been pouring into the office of Peruvian president Belaúnde Terry asking him to spare the life of peasant leader Hugo Blanco, who faces a possible death sentence from Peru's military courts. They have come from all over the world — from trade unionists, intellectuals, lawyers, political leaders, revolutionaries and students.

Who is Hugo Blanco and why has the world-wide campaign to save him received such broad support?

Blanco's attorney at his trial last fall described him as "an idealist rebelling against injustice." He said, "He is 5 feet, 11 inches tall, is 31 years old, was born in Cuzco, in Paruro, studied in Argentina to be an engineer. He speaks Quechua perfectly." [Many Peruvian peasants are Indians who speak only Quechua.]

It was when he was a student of agronomy at the University in Argentina that Hugo Blanco's interest was first aroused in revolutionary socialism. When he returned to Peru he became a leader in a building trades union local in Lima, and also in the Peruvian Trotskyist movement. He was one of the organizers of the demonstrations that greeted Richard Nixon in his ill-fated 1958 South American tour.

Hid in Cuzco

The Lima police sought to arrest Hugo Blanco for his role in organizing a welcome of this kind for Nixon, and he went into hiding in his home town of Cuzco. At the time, the peasant movement was on the rise in the area. And Hugo Blanco became deeply involved in this movement.

He organized 140 union locals of peasants in a fight against the big ranch owners (*hacendados*). The peasant unions took over land owned by the *hacendados*, starting with much of the unused land, and worked to improve the general conditions of the Indians in the Valley of Convención.

The landlords had in their own hands almost total control of the

Hugo Blanco

lives of the poor peasants — including police powers. Before the unions were organized the peasants had no defense against the landlords' treatment which included brutalities of all kinds as well as the economic oppression deriving from unequal distribution of land, low wages and high rents.

The actual event around which the arrest of Hugo Blanco took place gives an indication of what the peasants faced. Doctora Caller, one of Hugo Blanco's attorneys, described it this way:

"Far from Chaupimayo, where Blanco was working, the peasant Tiburcio Bolaños Davalos, the general secretary of a Peasant Union, was assaulted by the *hacendado* Angel Paullo . . .

"Paullo raped Bolaños' wife and daughter. And when he couldn't get at the other daughter, he used a whip on the peasant. Paullo wanted to terrorize Bolaños and he accused him of theft and of threatening to kill him. He placed charges against him at the police post in La Pucyura."

Blanco called a meeting of the Chaupimayo union locals and they agreed to send a commission to investigate the situation. When the commission approached the police station they were attacked and in self-defense they shot and killed three policemen.

After this incident the Peruvian armed forces found it extremely difficult to capture Hugo Blanco due to his close ties with the peasants. It was only when he had to enter Cuzco in desperate need of medical help that they finally got their hands on him. He was captured on May 30, 1963. At that time he was 28 years old.

Hugo Blanco and the some thirty other defendants who were rounded up with him, spent three years in prison before they were brought to trial in August 1966. The timing of the trial was significant. It came in the wake of the crushing of the new guerrilla fronts that had been organized in Peru during the spring of 1965. As part of the campaign which ended in the murder of such guerrilla fighters as Luis de la Puente and Guillermo Lobatón, Peru's President Belaúnde Terry, opened up a nationwide witchhunt. In this atmosphere of terror the authorities evidently thought they could dispose of Hugo Blanco and other revolutionary leaders without touching off a reaction in the labor and peasant movements.

On Sept. 8, Blanco was sentenced to 25 years in the notorious El Frontón prison. A consulting judge at the trial recommended the death penalty, but the court did not follow his advice in view of the widespread support Hugo Blanco was receiving on an international scale.

But a month later, in connection with Blanco's appeal of the case, the prosecution decided to demand the death sentence. Now the danger for Hugo Blanco is graver than at the time of the original trial. The appeal is before the Supreme Council of Military Justice, from which there is no further appeal.

If you would like to join in the campaign to save Hugo Blanco, write the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, GPO Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001.

. . . Antiwar GI

(Continued from Page 1)

are not restricted but his files are being held in a special category. He has not drawn his pay, and cannot obtain a furlough,

Petrick has made clear he will not yield to this pressure. In a statement he said, "This is a clear infringement of my civil liberties. I have never disobeyed an order and have fulfilled all my duties as a soldier. A GI is still an American citizen and has the constitutional right to read, discuss and subscribe to any political ideas."

A Provisional Committee to Aid Howard Petrick has been established to publicize the case as widely as possible in an effort to forestall further action against Petrick. The committee is appealing to all partisans of civil liberties to support Petrick's fight. It is directing special emphasis to the antiwar movement which has a clear and direct interest in backing Petrick since the move to curb his free speech is obviously aimed at curbing the expression of antiwar views.

The committee has asked that protests be lodged with Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and copies be forwarded to the committee. Organizational statements of support for Petrick will also be welcomed. The committee has not yet obtained a mailing address. Material sent to it care of this paper will be forwarded.

Interview With Pfc. Howa

[The following interview with Pfc. Howard Petrick was released by the Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick on April 12. The interview was obtained by Caroline Lund, secretary of the committee.]

I was able to interview Pfc. Howard Petrick for several hours on April 6 in a recreation club on the Fort Hood army base. Howard seemed in excellent spirits, despite the possibility of court-martial proceedings against him.

I asked him how he first found out that an investigation of his views and activities was proceeding. He said that a friend of his, a GI stationed in another city, had written Petrick six weeks ago that he had been visited and questioned by what he thought was an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency.

This GI was asked whether Howard had any relatives living in Communist countries, what Howard thought about communism, what he thought about the civil rights movement, the United States government, and the war in Vietnam. Another friend of Howard's in another city was questioned in a similar fashion.

The army first approached Howard on April 1, when he returned to the base from a 10-day leave, during which Petrick attended the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Detroit. Howard described what happened as follows:

"Upon returning from my leave I was immediately told by an officer that I was wanted in the orderly room. I went to the orderly room, and was then taken to squadron headquarters. From there the squadron duty officer called Military Intelligence.

"Military Intelligence arrived and waited for higher ranking men to come. They looked through my bags I had brought on post with me, and said they found literature and buttons of a subversive nature. After that, they typed up a list, and gave me a receipt for everything they had taken from me out of my attaché case, and I was then taken to Military Intelligence.

"They read me Article 31, which is the same as the Fifth Amendment, and they explained it all to me. They called in a military lawyer, and we discussed the matter for about an hour, and then we went in and told them that I didn't want to make a statement of any kind. The reason they gave for running the investigation of me was that they think that I am disaffectionate towards the army, and the government in general, that I have been handing out literature, that they have reason to believe I am a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which is on the Attorney General's 'subversive list,' and that I am handing out to other GIs literature put out by the Socialist Workers Party.

"Then they wanted to ask me a series of about 70 questions, which would have undoubtedly led into more questions. I refused to answer them. And that is where it stands right now. They're still waiting for me to make a statement and answer the 70 questions so they can complete their investigation and if I don't, why then they will consider their investigation complete, I assume, and attempt to press charges against me.

"The military lawyer told me that the most likely thing they have a chance of court-martialing me on is Military Code of Justice Article 134, which concerns disloyal statements.

"The military lawyer said that maybe another charge could be subversion.

"The maximum penalty under Military Code of Justice Article 134 would be disohononrable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and rank, and three years of hard labor on each count."

Howard said he learned from GIs who were good friends of his that Military Intelligence had confiscated all the literature that was in his locker and also some personal belongings while he was on leave. Also he heard that there was a shakedown of his entire unit. "They went through everyone's lockers completely, Military Intelligence, company commander, and platoon leaders. And I'm not sure who else was in on this shakedown. All literature against the war I had given out was taken from other GIs, as well as any literature they had of their own against the war.

"About five GIs who had quite a bit of my literature were segregated from the rest of the unit, and were made to eat after everyone else did. They had guards watching them so they wouldn't talk with the other guys. These guys were all questioned later by Military Intelligence individually."

In addition to confiscating Howard's literature, questioning him and his friends, and threatening a court-martial against him, the army has harassed him by suddenly transferring him to another unit with no explanation. This action isolated him from the soldiers who knew him.

In describing the process of transferring from one unit to another, Howard told me an anecdote which showed clearly that the army could have no basis for charging that he was not performing his duties as a soldier.

"This morning I had to go over to the orderly room and pick up my clearing papers to go to this new outfit and a first sergeant there had to have a rating on me on efficiency and conduct. He called in one mess sergeant [Petrick is an army cook] and asked him how he would rate me and he told him 'excellent' on both conduct and efficiency. Apparently the sergeant figured he couldn't give me an 'excellent' because of what was going on. So he called in another mess sergeant, and the other mess sergeant told him the same thing. He went around and asked a few other NCO's and they told him that they had never had any trouble with me and as far as they knew I was a very good worker, didn't cause anybody any trouble, and I got along with everybody O.K., so he didn't have any choice but to put down 'excellent' for both conduct and efficiency.

"Excellent"

"Before he did this, though, he called up Military Intelligence and told them that he would have to put down 'excellent' for conduct and efficiency unless they could give him a reason not to."

I asked Howard if disciplinary action had ever been taken against him before in the army, and he said his military record was completely clean. "I have never had any Article XV's, which are nonjudicial punishment. I've never had a court-martial for any offense, and I've very seldom been put on extra duty of any sort."

The army had not taken any steps against Howard prior to this time, even though all his discussions with other soldiers and distribution of literature were done openly.

"I have had inspections of my locker by the troop commander and also by the squadron commander and this literature and books that I have are very visible by looking in my locker; you could hardly miss them. There's never been anything said to me about their being there — that it was wrong to have them, or that I shouldn't hand out literature. Everything was done very openly. I didn't try to hide what I was doing. I made my views very clear on what I thought about the war."

Howard then told me how he got into discussions with the other GIs. "In any discussions about the war, I always tried to enter them to present what I thought about the war, which is basically that the United States has no right to be in Vietnam.

"I found that there were other GIs who agreed with me, or didn't know much about the war and wanted to know more about it. I mentioned to them that I had literature on the war and if they wanted any, they could have it. Soon GIs would come to me asking for literature and we would get into discussions about the war, and it would lead into other topics, such as the labor movement and I would give them a pamphlet I had on labor unions.

"Or speaking with black GIs about the war, black power would come up, and how black power organizations have come out against the war. And this would lead into such things as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, independent political action by black people, the ideas of Malcolm X, and such questions as nonviolence or self-defense, and the racist character of the war, that type of thing.

Literature

"The literature that was accepted most among GIs was the Young Socialist Alliance pamphlet, *War and Revolution in Vietnam*, by Doug Jenness, because it gave a good brief background on Vietnam and the whole escalation and also it gave an alternative about ending the war.

"Other literature such as a documented fact sheet on Vietnam which exposed contradictory statements of the government, and literature on the Fort Hood Three case were also popular. Most GIs are very interested to learn that three other GIs from Fort Hood made a stand, saying they weren't going to fight in this war.

"I was never told to stop handing out this literature to other GIs. I'm sure it was very evident to my commanding officer that this was going on all this time. I was just exercising my constitutional rights and freedom of speech and assembly when we would get together four or five hours to discuss some subject such as the Negro struggle or the war in Vietnam or socialism, or some other topic."

It was rumored in Howard's unit that they would be sent to Vietnam in August, so GIs were very receptive to his literature. He stated, "Most of the guys don't want to go to Vietnam, don't understand the war, are not satisfied with the answers they are given by the military, and they want to know more about it. Mainly, they don't agree with the war enough to face being killed over there. The guys who come back have told of complete platoons being wiped out, in territory that is supposed to be 'secure.'

"*The Militant* has been received fairly well amongst the GIs who are convinced that the war is wrong, and especially among the black GIs because of *The Militant's* coverage of black power and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Just about every black GI I've run into, that I can remember, maybe with the exception of one, has been interested in Malcolm X. The black GIs like very much the reprinting in *The Militant* of speeches by Malcolm and the other articles on books coming out on Malcolm.

"Soldiers also like reading the letters *The Militant* has printed from GIs giving their feelings against the war. Dick Roberts' articles on the war are very informative, and give a good view of what most of them suspect is really going on over there. All the newspapers in Texas are very reactionary and support the war, so *The Militant* is the only paper they can read which really comes out strong against the war and the administration.

"I handed out 15 pamphlets in a week on the 'Bring Us Home' movement of American troops after World War II, when demonstrations and letter-writing campaigns were organized by the troops, who wanted to be demobilized, since the war was over, and not have to stay stationed in places like China. I have heard that these pamphlets were circulated fairly well through the barracks.

"This point about the 'Bring Us Home' movement was something I brought up in arguments against people that supported the war and wanted to get into a war with China. They say that MacArthur had the right idea of invading China, and I bring up the fact that the troops themselves did not want to fight in China, and wanted to go home. This usually stops them because they were never told

Pfc. Howard Petrick

What You Can Do To Help

Pfc. Howard Petrick faces possible court-martial for the sole "crime" of holding and discussing antiwar and socialist views. His constitutional rights have already been violated in the harassment he has been subjected to. The case of Pfc. Petrick raises the basic questions of the constitutional rights of all GIs, and the right of GIs to discuss the war and form opinions about it.

Pfc. Petrick needs your help in this fight! Send statements of support and contributions to help defray legal costs and to help publicize the case to The Militant and they will be forwarded to the Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick.

ward Petrick, Antiwar GI

about this movement, and don't know anything about it."

Howard reported that the response of the other GIs to his situation had been very encouraging. He found almost no hostility or red-baiting of him for his beliefs. He described several incidents where GIs showed their solidarity with him against this attempt to infringe upon his constitutional rights.

Some GIs told him that they knew of good lawyers in the nearby town that might be able to help him.

GI Rights

Howard then discussed the attitudes of GIs toward their rights in the army. "I believe most of the GIs entering the army are afraid of doing anything out of the norm of what they're told to do. But after a while most of them start thinking seriously about what ideas they really believe in, and whether the U.S. army is doing the right things. Several GIs who saw I had antiwar literature and heard I was making statements against the war, asked me wasn't I afraid to do this.

"I tried to explain to them that this is a constitutional right which also applies to GIs, and that they could exercise these rights. After a while a lot of these guys would speak out more against the war and also read the literature more openly. After I had explained to them that they had a right to this literature if they wanted it, many of them would keep it in view in their locker even during an inspection. They weren't so afraid to have it then.

"I told them that if they were harassed at any time because they had this literature from me they should let me know about it. This reassured them somewhat that they had some rights.

"But now I'm sure that what the army is doing to me is going to make a lot of the GIs worry about just how many rights they do have. If, through a strong defense effort, we can make the army back down from what they're attempting to do, I'm sure that this will renew their faith that they do have constitutional rights, even though they may have to fight for them."

Although the army might court-martial Howard for expressing socialist and antiwar views within the army, Army Intelligence knew he was a socialist when he was drafted. Howard described his first trip to the induction station as follows:

"After taking my physical I was called down for induction, and I refused to sign the loyalty oath or the statement saying you are not associated with any of the organizations on the Attorney General's 'subversive list.' I said I thought the oath and disclaimer were unconstitutional.

"I was set aside, and had to wait for one hour, and then the lieutenant in charge of the draft board came over and asked me to answer a lot of questions, which I refused to do. He then said I could leave, that there would be an investigation of me and I would hear from them in a few months.

"Several months later I was visited by two men from Army Intelligence who told me that I was found acceptable for the army. I received an induction notice for July 13.

"In the meantime, I had been arrested for selling the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter* in downtown Minneapolis, and I was supposed to appear at a court hearing set for some time after my induction date. When I appeared for induction on the 13th I told them that I had to go to a court hearing and they told me that they would take care of that for me. So I was inducted and sent to Fort Leonard Wood for basic training. The charges against me for selling the *Newsletter* were dropped after my commanding officer wrote to the court saying that I was serving in the army.

"At the time of my induction they asked me again to sign the loyalty oath and disclaimer, but I refused. The lieutenant in charge of the draft board called me into his office and asked me if I was refusing to go into the army. I said I wouldn't refuse to be drafted, but I just didn't want to give up my constitutional rights. He explained to me that I would have all my constitutional rights in the army, that I would be able to receive any literature that I wanted, that I could speak out and express my opinions.

"Then he explained to me that I did not have to take the oath of allegiance. All the draftees were taken into a room, their names called out, and if you would enter the army, you were supposed to take a step backward, which I did. Then the officer said that anybody who did not want to take the oath of allegiance could sit down, and I sat down — by myself."

It turned out later, in basic training, that Howard's refusal to take the oath of allegiance and to sign the loyalty oath led to the first discussions of his views with the other soldiers. He told me:

"Upon arriving at Ford Leonard Wood, I found out that quite a few of the GIs in my company were also inducted with me in Minneapolis, and so I was trying to think of ways to approach them and start discussion on the war because up to this point there hadn't been too much discussion about much of anything.

"Everybody was pretty well mixed up and didn't know what was going to happen next. Eventually a couple of guys came up to me who were inducted with me in Minneapolis and asked me why I was being led around the draft board by an officer and another man from Army Intelligence.

"I explained to them that I was against the war and that I didn't sign the disclaimer about the Attorney General's 'subversive list' and that I was a socialist. This led into other questions about why I was against the war and why I was a socialist, and through these two guys it got around pretty well that I was against the war. Soon I could get into discussions with these people, and they had other friends around that I could talk to about the war.

Talking About War

"I immediately started pulling out my *Newsletters* and *Militants*, and Fort Hood Three leaflets. From then on the guys who were interested in talking about the war in Vietnam or were against the war started hanging around with me. Pretty soon near the end of basic training it ended up that well over half of the guys that were in our platoon, probably closer to three quarters of them would come out and say that they were against the war.

"There were only two people in the company who said that they wanted to go to Vietnam.

"I eventually talked to one of them, and showed him some pictures of the war in Vietnam that were in *Life* or *Look* magazines showing napalming and other things. He didn't believe that the United States was using napalm, and he didn't know what it was in the first place, so I tried to explain it to him. This raised certain doubts in his mind about what the Vietnam war really was.

"Eventually the guys who were closest around me at the start of basic all ended up in the same squadron and the same room. So all through basic we were able to keep talking to other GIs. Since quite a few of us were from Minnesota, a lot of these guys knew other guys from other towns who were drafted and they would take literature to them.

"A few of the GIs had a few years of college. Most of them had been on campuses where there was some antiwar activity, even though they may not have participated in it. When I spoke about the antiwar movement they would bring up that there was an antiwar committee where they went to school. But once they read some things about the war, they would often say 'I wish I had learned a little more about it before.'

"The Fort Hood Three case was what I talked up the most. The case of the Fort Hood Three broke just at the beginning of basic training, and by the time basic was over they had already been court-martialed, so we had a chance to talk a lot about the case."

Howard figured out many different ways to explain the war to his fellow soldiers, depending on how much they knew about history and politics and what their interests were.

"Some people, especially those who have had some college or have done some reading on Vietnam or Cuba, I could talk to them on a much higher level," he said. "I could explain to them that it is basically capitalism that creates the conditions which lead to these revolutions. When people are being exploited they can only be suppressed so long before they realize what is happening and begin to resist. Many GIs seem to understand that if people are suppressed they are going to fight back.

An Example

"Sometimes I said, as an illustration, what if the people in the United States were all of a sudden taken over by a dictatorship and the people were forced to return to the way of life they had in the 1900s, with wages like that, and poor living conditions. They would probably resent this and try to organize some type of a movement to get rid of this dictator.

"If this dictator was getting help from the outside, well then that would be the role of the United States going in to help the south Vietnamese regime of Diem or whoever the dictator was. We Americans would be in the position of the peasants whom the U.S. is now fighting in Vietnam, and we would be fighting for a better way of life.

"A lot of soldiers can see that very well and ask why the Vietnamese people let the dictator get in power in the first place. Then I would go back and explain the Geneva Accords and how the United States had almost completely set up the dictatorship of Diem.

"To different people you can use different approaches. I have a good friend who is interested in South America and Cuba so I relate the Vietnamese revolution to the Cuban revolution and explain that if the Vietnamese people win, they would probably set up a system like Cuba has now. Also, I pointed out that the United States has troops in Guatemala, which he knew, and that eventually Guatemala could become another Vietnam.

"I had one friend who had never read anything about Vietnam and wasn't much interested in it. But every now and then he would ask me why I was a socialist and why I was against the war. So I tried to figure out the best way to explain the war to this guy who knew nothing about it. I used the example of his wall locker, saying the locker was Vietnam and he was the United States or the dictator backed by the United States.

"I said, say this wall locker had a mind of its own and didn't want him putting all his clothes in it, and would throw them out. So this guy said, well I would just put the clothes back in again.

Throw Them out Again

"So I said that was what was happening in Vietnam — that the Vietnamese didn't want the dictatorship supported by the United States, so they were trying to throw him out. So then he said what would happen next? I said that putting his clothes back in would not resolve it, but the wall locker would try to throw them out again.

"He said, well I'm going to take a bat or something and try to beat the locker. I said to him, you see, that's the U.S. sending troops in, more troops and more troops—you're escalating the war. Instead of just putting your clothes back in the locker, now you're going to beat the locker so it will take your clothes.

"He said well, how's the locker going to get out of that? I said, you see those little nuts that hold your wall locker together? Your locker's going to start spitting those out at you and shooting back. And this is the Vietnamese people starting to shoot back. And eventually, the way it ended up, the wall locker did win. I forget just how I got around to that."

We then began discussing the relation of the GIs to the antiwar movement. Howard said that a majority of GIs don't yet understand the antiwar movement.

"I think most of the GIs don't understand that the antiwar movement is actually for the GIs, wants them to come home," he said. "I think a lot of them think of the antiwar movement as a section of the population outside, sort of a third grouping—that is, there is American society and then there's antiwar protestors, and then there's the military people.

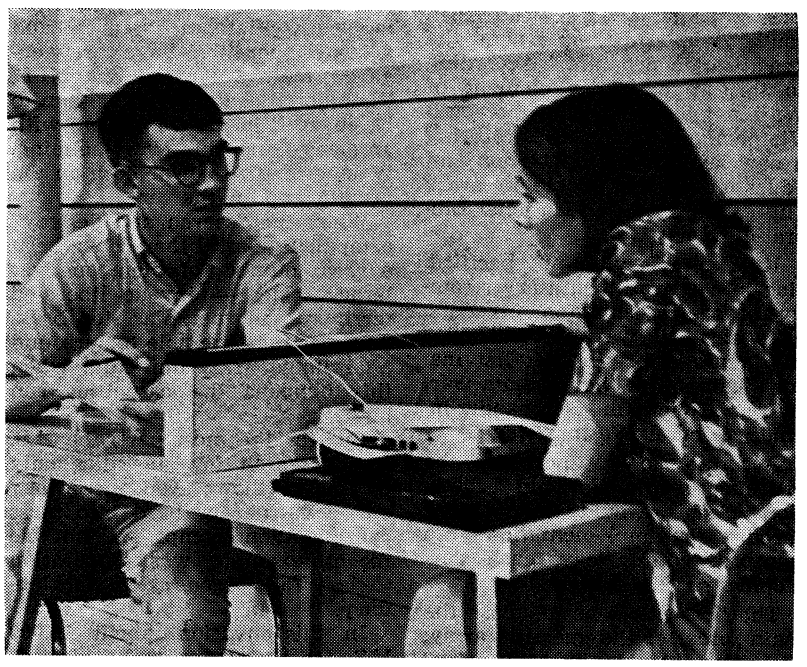
"Such cases as the Fort Hood Three case, I think may have won over or showed a lot of GIs that the antiwar movement is trying to help them.

"I've tried to explain to other GIs that I was in the antiwar movement before I was drafted and that the antiwar movement was really interested in what the GIs think and wants to help the GIs. It doesn't want to see them go to Vietnam.

Movement is for GIs

"I think that the biggest thing that would help the antiwar movement move closer to the GIs, is to help the GIs see that the antiwar movement is out to help them gain more rights, and allow them to say what they think about the war. A lot of them I've talked to are afraid to say anything at all, until they see that someone else is doing it. Then they seem to open up a little more.

"Such things as my case, with a broad defense from the antiwar movement, would bring the antiwar movement a lot closer to the GIs. It would show them there are people in this movement that really care about what is going to happen to them and don't want to see them go to Vietnam and get shot up or just go to Vietnam, period."



AT FT. HOOD. Pfc. Howard Petrick discussing his case with Caroline Lund, secretary of Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick.

Howard Petrick Asks Your Aid

[The following appeal for aid was made by Pfc. Howard Petrick on April 7.]

I appeal for support from all Americans who agree that GIs are citizens who are entitled to the right of free speech guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Although I have never disobeyed an order, and have fulfilled all my duties as a soldier, my constitutional rights are now being threatened. All my literature on the Vietnam war, socialism, and other topics (all publicly available in libraries or bookstores) has been confiscated by United States Army Intelligence, my friends and I have been questioned, and I have been assigned an army attorney who informs me of a possible court-martial on charges of disloyal statements or subversion.

Soldiers are also citizens, and should have the same constitutional rights as civilians to hold and express any opinions, including opposition to the Vietnam war. Your support to me at this time can help convince the army to halt any further infringements of my rights, and can help insure these constitutional rights to all GIs.

Please send protest letters to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and send copies of such letters and statements of support for my case to the Provisional Committee to Aid Howard Petrick.

Howard Petrick

SYNONYM FOR CONCENTRATION CAMP

The U.S. 'Pacification' Program

By Jim Wright

One of the central myths about U.S. strategies and perspectives in south Vietnam centers around the "pacification program." According to this myth, a key element of Washington's policies in the south Vietnamese countryside is to bring a new level of administration and education to the people in areas "liberated" from the National Liberation Front.

It is necessary to put pacification in the overall military strategy of the Washington invaders. This strategy was outlined over two years ago with the first major escalation of the Vietnam war, by U.S. Vietnam commander-in-chief, General Westmoreland.

According to Westmoreland, the crushing of the National Liberation Front would take place through the implementation of a four-pronged strategy, each developing simultaneously.

The first would be to smash the main forces of the guerrilla army; the second would be to "pacify" the countryside; the third would be to consolidate the Saigon government; and finally to cut the lines between north and south. Here we are concerned with the first two steps.

In military parlance, the first step — engaging and crushing the main units of the guerrilla army — comes under the name of "search and destroy." A closer examination of this tactic is necessary in order to grasp the real meaning of pacification.

In the reality of the ground war in south Vietnam, "search and destroy" operations have rarely engaged main forces of the NLF. The guerrillas know better than to be engaged in great numbers with an army possessing overwhelmingly superior fire power both on the ground and in the air.

When the "search and destroy" campaigns — and there have been a great number of them on ever larger scales — invade liberated territory, the guerrillas step back. At times they are able to surround an isolated army unit, and when this happens the casualties run high.

But for the most part, the U.S. troops search for guerrillas only to find civilians. And these they either murder or herd into mass concentration camps. A notable recent example was "Operation Cedar Falls" conducted in January.

In this invasion, about 16,000 U.S. troops supported by aircraft swept through a 60 square-mile area known as the Iron Triangle. They were preceded by a saturation bombing attack for an undisclosed period of time.

In the Iron Triangle, these troops entered four villages. They murdered most of the young men, arresting only a few of them. And they transported the women, children and older men into mass refugee concentration camps. The casualty figures released in the press gave shocking proof of the real nature of "search and destroy."

Thus, 5,967 women, children and old men were put into camps; 1,219 persons were killed; and 179 male prisoners were taken. Twenty percent of those Vietnamese who actually encountered the American forces were killed; the rest were imprisoned. Their villages were burned to the ground and bulldozed over. This was about 10 weeks ago.

A 24-year-old mother in the concentration camp told a *New York Times* reporter: "I wanted to stay. Last week the fish-shaped planes flew over our fields. My husband didn't know what they were.

"He stood up and they shot him down and killed him. I wish I had stayed and got killed too. But I was afraid I would only be wounded and that there would be no one to take care of me."

Meaning of Pacification

It hardly needs to be added that members of the guerrilla forces know what "fish shaped" bombers and strafers look like and they do not stand in an open field when these are overhead.

Grasping the real character of the "search and destroy" operation makes it easy to understand the real meaning of pacification. The object is to occupy the areas militarily which have been subjected to a "search and destroy" operation in order to prevent the guerrillas from coming back and re-asserting their control.

At the same time, pacification is supposed to cut the life blood from the guerrilla regiments. In this sense the real meaning of pacification adds further light to the real meaning of "search and destroy." If Washington has to pacify an area in order to cut the sustenance of the guerrillas, isn't it because it cannot combat the guerrillas in the field?

The reality is that "search and destroy" operations unleash a campaign of scorched-earth terrorism, and the pacification operation is supposed to follow up with military occupation.

But occupying an area after it is bombed to Smithereens, after the able-bodied young men and women have been murdered, after the trees and rice crops have been destroyed with napalm and chemical defoliants, is not a welcome task.

There is an irony about the myth of pacification, revealing among other things the implacable racism of the U.S. military brass. Washington and the press have given it out, haven't they, that pacification — being an essentially peaceful proposition according to them — is easier, and that is why the Saigon armies have been entrusted with it.

The U.S. troops, on the other hand, being superior in every way, are entrusted with the difficult task of front-line combat. But front-line combat in many cases is just scorched-earth terrorism. After the officers have sent GIs into the mine fields to clear the way for the tanks, what is it to blast down defenseless civilian villages?

Note the following testimony from the Feb. 2 hearings between the House Armed Services Committee and the Pentagon: Secretary McNamara is speaking. "I was referring to the operations of the pacification mission as opposed to the search and destroy operation," he stated, and then said something that was deleted from the public transcript.

Then McNamara said: *"Casualties suffered in pacification are greater by almost a third than the casualties suffered by the regular south Vietnamese military units in large-unit actions."* (Emphasis added.)

McNamara continued: "Similarly, the casualties suffered by the U.S. Marines engaged in pacification in the 1st Corps area are very substantial." The comparable percentage for American deaths in the pacification program was deleted from the transcript.

Military Occupation

At this point of the testimony, one of the congressmen, apparently misled by the garbage he had been reading in the *New York Times,* wanted to know why. So General Wheeler, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, took the microphone and explained:

"In the large search and destroy operations, we are able to provide to the Vietnam forces . . . mobility which permits them to move rapidly against the enemy and to apply a heavy volume of fire-power, destroying the enemy and automatically reducing their own losses.

"The pacification-type operation," General Wheeler continued, "if carried out properly, requires very aggressive patrolling both day and night. You don't operate with large units . . ." This is pacification, remember. Just to clear up any misconceptions, Wheeler added:

"When I discussed this with General Westmoreland early in January, he stated that there is a lack of understanding of the type of operation he visualizes in the pacification program. Apparently, members of the press have gotten the impression that pacification requires these fellows to hole up in a town somewhere and, in effect, stack arms.

"The contrary is true. He proposes to have these men in the field constantly patrolling actively day and night, setting up ambushes; in other words, insuring full combat capability from them, but in smaller type operations."

McNamara's testimony and Wheeler's additions leave no doubt whatsoever about the real meaning of pacification. It is nothing else than military occupation — of a population that fights back.

San Francisco Launches War Referendum

By Jim Kendrick

SAN FRANCISCO — A vigorous campaign to put the Vietnam war before the voters in the November city elections has been launched by a newly organized ad hoc antiwar group, Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam. In its Notice of Intention to Circulate Petition, published March 24, the committee set forth a proposition which would make it the policy of the city government 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."

The campaign to collect the 12,000 signatures necessary to place the proposition on the ballot will be kicked off at the Spring Mobilization march and rally on April 15. The committee will form its own contingent in the march under a banner declaring "Let the People Vote on War" and will have several booths at the Peace Fair in Kezar Stadium to collect signatures and recruit people to help put the measure on the ballot. Ed Farley, chairman of the committee, will speak at the rally to announce the opening of the drive and to ask San Franciscans to work on the project.

The citizens group is broad-based and nonexclusive, and it has the support of many organizations and individuals including Women for Peace, Pacific Democrats, Committee for Independent Political Action, Committee on the Problems of War and Peace, Mission Anti-War Committee, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam plans to open a headquarters soon after April 15. They will publish literature about the measure and about the war, emphasizing that the question of war should be decided by the people. Persons interested in working on the petition campaign should contact Mary Louise Lovett at HE 1-8630 or write Iitizens for a Vote on Vietnam, 128 Henry Street, San Francisco 94114.

Candidates in SSEU Focus on War Issue

By Susan Harris

NEW YORK — Representatives from the five slates running for office in the Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) presented their views on Vietnam here April 4 at a meeting sponsored by the Welfare Workers Committee for Peace in Vietnam. Significantly, all five speakers came out in opposition to the war. This is an indication of the marked growth in antiwar sentiment among welfare workers since last year when none of the slates running for office took a stand against the war.

Judy Mage, who is now president of the SSEU, spoke for her slate. She began her talk by opposing the position her slate took in last year's union election that the Vietnam war was not a union issue. This year the program published by the Mage slate proposes a referendum on the war question within the union. All the speakers, except one, supported the referendum proposal.

Spring Mobilization

Ray Agostini, who represented the "rank and file committee" slate, said that his slate supported the Spring Mobilization and that the "main job was to explain to the membership as a whole why it is necessary and right to take a position on the war." He pointed out that not only was the war "against the interests of the Vietnamese people" but that it provided an excuse for the government to move against the unions. He said, "the fact is whenever there is a war there is a need to keep stability in a country."

John Kailin, candidate for president on the "unity" slate, said he personally opposed the war, but that his slate was not taking a stand on it in their platform because they were running on "a trade union program, not a political program." Speakers from the floor, as well as other candidates, strongly opposed this position — some pointing out the direct effects of the war on the union. Others, including the spokesmen for the "militant" caucus slate and the slate headed by Dennis Cribben, pointed out the need for unions to become involved in politics in general.

A number of references were made at the meeting to the fact that more and more unions are taking antiwar positions, and the question of how to link up with other unions to take action against the war was raised.

The meeting ended with an appeal by the chairman for all union members to turn out on April 15 to support the mass mobilization against the war.

Fragmentation Bomb

"SAIGON, April 10 (AP)— A U.S. military spokesman today confirmed . . . that U.S. planes were dropping anti-personnel fragmentation bombs on north Vietnam.

"The bombs, called CBU for cluster bomb units, are canisters that contain 800 small bombs, each the size of a fist. Compressed air forces them from the canister, and their damage capability has been compared to that of 800 hand grenades."

Queens College Profs., Students Oppose War

NEW YORK — The ad hoc committee for the student mobilization at Queens College here is publishing a two-page ad in the campus paper on April 12. Over 1,000 signatures, including several hundred faculty, have been obtained for the ad, which calls for the removal of American troops from Vietnam and self determination for the Vietnamese people. The ad hoc committee, which includes individuals affiliated with SDS, YSA, the Queens College CEWV, the DuBois Club, and the Queens College Non-violence Group, is also planning a rally against the war on campus as well as two symposiums.

In addition, films on the war will be shown, and artists who are against the war will read, display, and perform their works. Thousands of leaflets publicizing the April 15 demonstration have been distributed on campus, and the response has been very favorable.

NEW YORK

Young Socialist Convention Steps Up Antiwar Activity

By Les Evans

DETROIT — Hundreds of young people from across the country gathered here March 24-26 to attend the sixth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. Organizers reported that the attendance of almost 300 marked the largest national meeting in the YSA's history. Policy questions in all areas of the organization's work were discusssed and decided by majority vote.

The central axis of the convention was the struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam. Almost all of the delegates and members present were active in the antiwar movement, and many play leading roles in the movement in their areas. For many of the delegates and visitors, this was their first YSA convention. A great number of them were activists in antiwar committees first, and then joined the YSA.

The national convention is the YSA's highest body, composed of delegates elected by local chapters in various cities, after a three month literary discussion in the YSA's internal bulletin. The convention decides national policy for the organization and elects its national leadership.

A number of visitors were present from antiwar and socialist organizations in Canada; and two visitors from Atlanta, Ga., announced they were joining the YSA at the convention. More than 40 YSAers were present from the West Coast.

Lew Jones, YSA's national chairman, reported on the antiwar movement. He outlined the contribution of the YSA in helping to bring together the broad coalition of antiwar forces represented by the Spring Mobilization Committee. "The organized antiwar movement," he said "has had an impact far greater than most of its participants realize. It has helped stir up doubts and questioning about the war among millions of people. As conscious antiwar sentiment deepens among Negroes,

Lew Jones

union members and the GIs themselves, we begin dealing with forces powerful enough to eventually end the war."

He discussed the policy of nonexclusion followed by the movement. "It is one of the great strengths of the antiwar movement," he said, "that it has not fallen into the trap that destroyed so many other organizations, of expelling its radical members to secure a false respectability. The only thing the movement demands is that you be opposed to the war."

In the long discussion that followed, reports came in from all over the country on the preparations for the April 15 mobilization.

Tactics within the antiwar movement were vigorously debated by the delegates. The YSA stands for the immediate withdrawal of American troops. It opposes calling upon Washington to negotiate the internal affairs of Vietnam, as a fundamental violation of the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. The debate took place around the question of how best to advance the demand for the withdrawal of troops, while preserving and extending the united front that now exists in the antiwar movement.

The general political report was given by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the *Young Socialist* magazine. Throughout the world, she said, both the Socialist and Communist parties and young people who followed them, had failed to forthrightly oppose U.S. aggression against Vietnam. This placed a heavy responsibility on the YSA and its co-thinkers in other countries, who were demonstrating their socialist beliefs in action in the fight to end the war in Vietnam.

Miss Waters pointed out that the YSA has been able to produce a thought-out and serious program for social change. It has been able to attract young people to its ranks on the basis of that perspective. In the past few years, she declared, the YSA has been able to chalk up an impressive growth: "It is today the strongest socialist youth group in the country."

She discussed the development of the Students for a Democratic Society: "The growth of SDS as an all-inclusive radical student organization is a sympton of the deepening radicalization of American youth." Many SDS members and chapters, she said, have been active participants in antiwar activity.

SDS Leadership

The national SDS leadership, however, has drawn back from taking initiative or giving leadership to the national massive antiwar protests, after encouraging moves in that direction in calling the March on Washington in 1965. Miss Waters also noted that SDS has not developed a viable program for social change in this country.

In closing, Miss Waters turned to the upcoming 1968 elections. She warned that liberals and many "socialists" would increase the pressure to blunt the antiwar movement by channelling it into support for so-called "peace" candidates, mainly in the Democratic Party. These capitalist politicians would divert the movement from mass mobilization against the war.

Derrick Morrison, YSA national committee member from Detroit, reported on the Negro struggle. He said that "The 1964 rebellions in Northern black ghettos exploded the myth of progress under capitalism." He charged that the "war on crime" is an "excuse for beefing up local police forces to use against the ghetto masses."

Morrison described the spread of the ideas of Malcolm X and their effect on the rise of the black power movement. He said that "The question of black power rests in the last analysis on a break with the Republican and Democratic parties." The best example of black power today is the Lowndes County Freedom Party in Alabama. The success of the "Black Panther" Party in winning over 40 percent of the vote running *against* the Democrats, pointed to the potential strength of the black power movement.

The session closed Saturday afternoon with a report on the Bloomington Case. This now famous case involved three YSA members, students at the Indiana University in Bloomington, who were indicted in 1963 for "subversion." Joyce DeGroot, national secretary of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, told the audience that although legal technicalities remain to be worked out, the witchhunt against the YSA had been defeated.

Ralph Levitt, one of the three defendants, received an ovation when he described how the YSA had mobilized its entire resources in defense of its members under attack, and defeated the witchhunt.

Panel discussions Saturday evening highlighted areas of work such as press and publications; civil liberties; and the winning of new members. The panel on membership drew over 150 people. Later that night a party was launched by YSA folk and topical singers, presenting their own material.

Doug Jenness, YSA national executive committee member, presented the organizational report. As the session opened, one delegate from Milwaukee who had failed to win any votes for a proposal that the YSA give unconditional support to Mao's "cultural revolution," walked out of the convention. His five followers, who had been visitors to the convention, left with him.

In his report, Jenness enumerated important gains for the YSA in all fields: recruitment of new members, circulation of its press and publications, increase in its finances, and the building of a strong national leadership team.

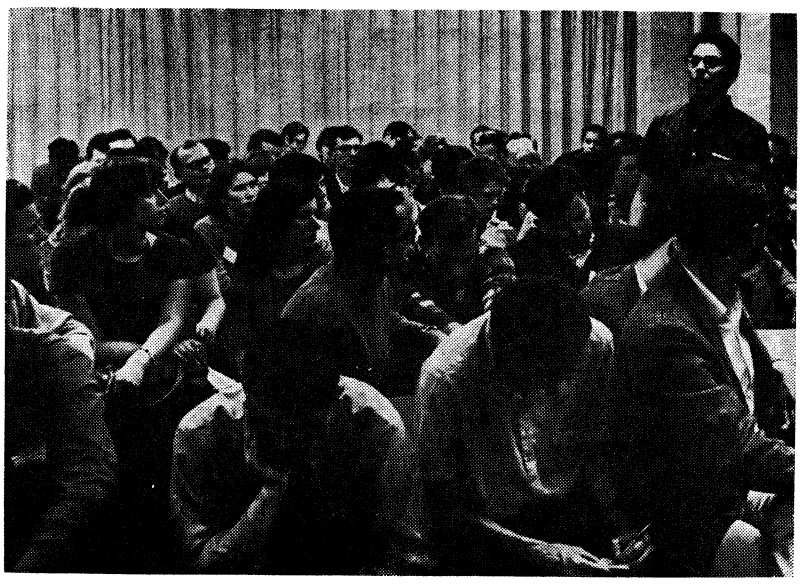
He pointed out that the income of the YSA had increased 10 times in the last five years, based solely on contributions from its own members. He said that the "YSA is the only socialist youth organization in the country that is financially self-sufficient," and probably the only one that is "in the black."

Jenness announced plans to expand the organization's bi-monthly magazine, the *Young Socialist*, to a monthly publication. He reported that the YSA's pamphlet, *War and Revolution in Vietnam*, had sold over 25,000 copies. More than 54,000 copies of three brochures printed by the YSA to build the April 15 Mobilization had already been distributed.

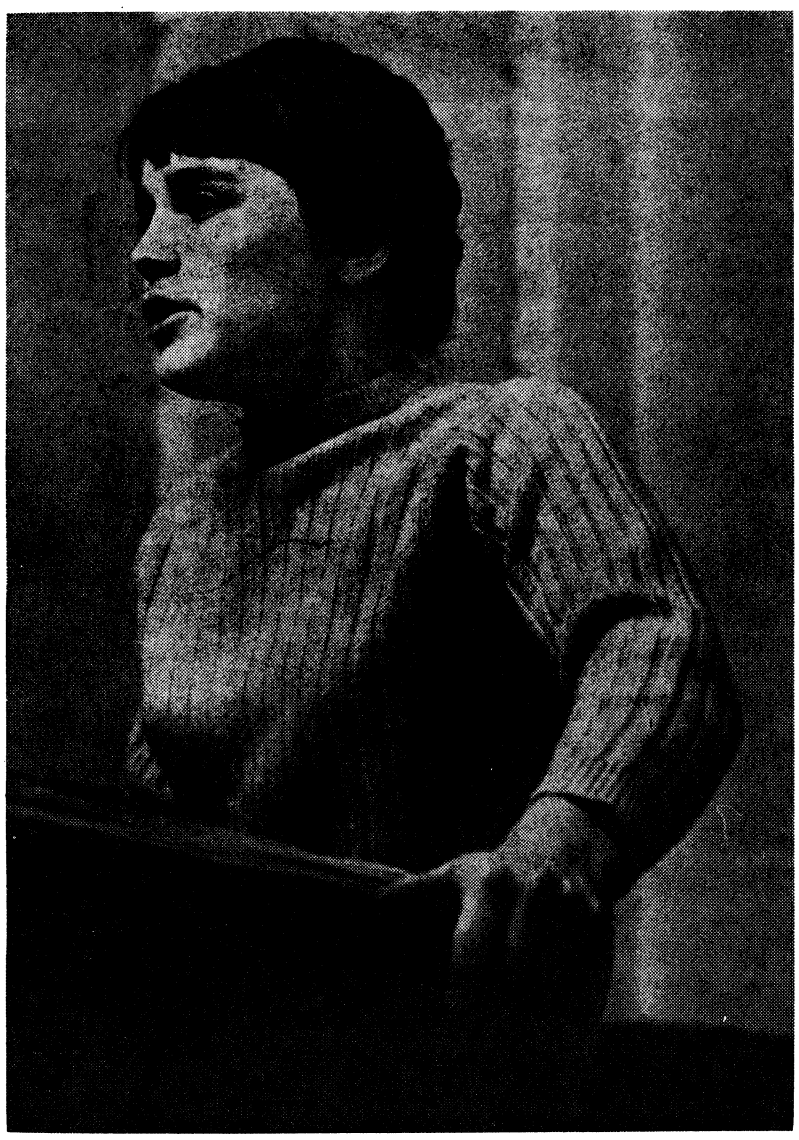
In the discussion, many delegates commented on the increased interest in the YSA among high school students around the country. A number of high school students pointed to the spread of YSA publications on their campuses and the attendance of YSA classes by other high school students.

After the organizational discussion, the new national committee was elected by the delegates. It then met briefly to elect the new national officers: Lew Jones, national chairman; Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary; and Doug Jenness, national organizational secretary.

The convention closed as the whole assembly stood for the singing of the traditional socialist anthem, "The Internationale."



CONVENTION PANEL. Many YSAers participated in discussion on winning new members.



Mary-Alice Waters

N. Y. High School Youth March Against Viet War

NEW YORK, April 8 — Students from more than 20 high schools opened Vietnam Week today with a march through central Manhattan. Nearly 500 students participated from as far away as Long Island and Newark, N.J., as well as the central New York area. A separate march of high schoolers took place simultaneously in Long Island.

Maxine Orris, a co-chairman of the High School Student Mobilization Committee, and a student at Elizabeth Erwin High School, said that this was the first major action by high school students against the war. There have been a number of high school antiwar committees organized in the last year, but this is the first demonstration planned, organized and carried out by high school students by themselves.

The marchers assembled at Times Square at 11:30 a.m., with hand painted signs opposing the war and calling for participation in the Spring Mobilization April 15. They walked to Washington Square, singing, chanting antiwar slogans and distributing leaflets to the crowds of afternoon shoppers along the sidewalks.

The march ended with a rally on Washington Pl., between Washington Square and Sixth Avenue. Opened by Sam Zuckerman of New Lincoln High, the rally heard José Morales, nephew of one of the Fort Hood Three; Norma Becker, of the Teachers Committee Against the War; Syd Stapleton of the Student Mobilization Committee; and José Ristorucci, of the W.E.B. DuBois Club. Zuckerman is the other co-chairman of the High School Student Mobilization Committee.

Miss Orris said the committee represented a coalition of 20 or more high schools with a steering committee composed of one representative of each school. She said the committee plans to continue after April 15 and is considering other antiwar actions including a summer project.

Castro Discusses Socialism, Solidarity and Brotherhood

The Cuban people are making vigorous efforts to shape their socialist destiny in a manner that will bring a maximum of individual freedom and genuine brotherhood as well as a significantly improved standard of living.

To accomplish this aim, an educational process is going on throughout Cuba on the need to shape a socialist man capable of living in a cooperative society. A deep-going struggle is being waged against the development of a privilege-seeking, politically conservative bureaucracy.

At the same time efforts to raise productivity are being geared around moral incentives rather than personal material gain. Fidel Castro and other leaders of the revolution are taking the position that people will contribute the most to developing Cuban society if they are convinced that society as a whole will benefit from their efforts and not simply that they will gain in an individual sense as in the form of more pay than other workers, bonuses, and so on.

One of a number of examples of how the Cuban people are being oriented in this direction was offered in a speech given by Fidel Castro at the opening of a special school project in the region of San Andrés, a valley in a mountainous area of Pinar del Rio province. This was a region where, prior to the revolution, the farmers lived in isolation from one another and without schools, medical care and other social services. An ultra-modern school complex has now been established providing free boarding school care for the children of the area, beginning with nursery care for infants.

The following are excerpts from the speech made by Fidel Castro at the opening of the San Andrés project last Jan. 28.

* * *

If man is to live in a society, it is necessary first of all to decide what kind of a society to prepare him to live in. And logically enough in a society where the rule of the strong, the law of the most astute and the shrewdest, prevails, in a society where individualism and selfishness are prevalent and where every man is left to his own fate, it would be impossible to teach anyone how to live in society.

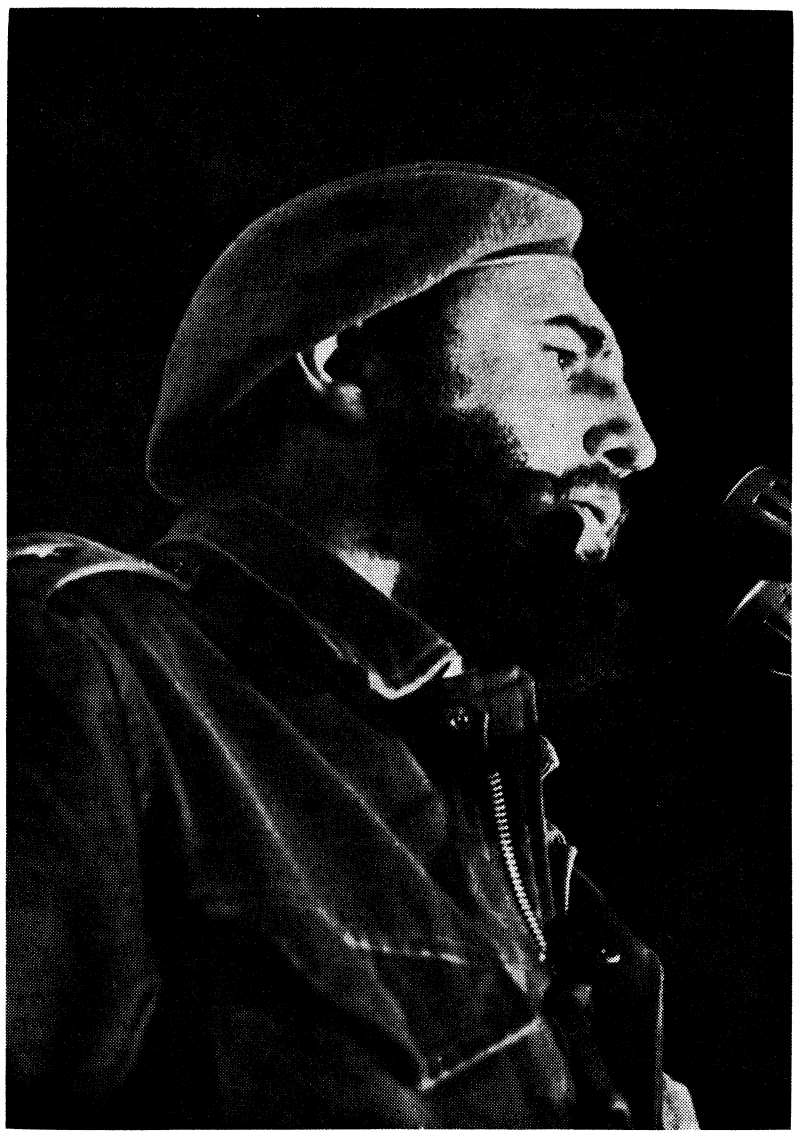
We may hope to establish education, for life in a society based on entirely different principles, very different ideas.

Necessity of Cooperation

It was impossible to advocate the concept of human brotherwhen the cardinal condition for survival was that of getting things away from others, harming others, ruining others. The spirit of the brotherhood of man, of human solidarity in its broadest sense, can be developed only in a society based on solidarity and fraternal cooperation among human beings, and one in which these concepts are set above all else. A society in which human beings aid each other, where men join forces to create wealth, where men band together to exploit the riches of nature, the earth and the sea . . .

Mankind can produce wonders, but it is important to ask how they are created as well. Beautiful things, such as this school, such as these day nurseries, this road, these grounds, this store . . . However, we must ask how this can be done . . . .

Our pledge for a new society must be to create the maximum which human strength and intelligence can create so that all may benefit. We must not think that we must drink coffee from the coffee shrub that we ourselves have planted, but rather think that someone will drink the coffee from our shrub and we shall probably drink coffee from a shrub planted by someone else.



Fidel Castro

And the same spirit should prevail when we eat bread produced by the efforts of others. We work for ourselves by working for all. . .

These children will receive a comprehensive education, training of great scope. They will be prepared for society and they will learn to love their studies and their work.

These schools will not resemble those institutions of days gone by where a minority of rich men's children went to study without gaining the least understanding of the meaning of work.

And what reason would they have to know the meaning of work? If in that society work was done by the poor, if in that society the rich knew nothing of work, nor had any reason to know, it was because others did their work for them. Our children today will learn the meaning of work from the earliest age.

Even if they are just six, and in the first grade, they will know how to grow lettuce, how to produce a head of lettuce. Moreover, they will perhaps learn how to water a plant or care for a flower bed to make their surroundings more pleasant. They will do whatever they can, but the important thing is that they, as soon as they can reason, they will begin to develop the idea of how material things are produced. And they should also learn that such material goods do not just fall from the sky but must be produced by work.

Thus, they will acquire a noble concept of work; not the idea of work as something to be scorned, nor of work as a sacrifice, but rather as a pleasure, as something agreeable, the most ennobling thing a man can do. And this concept should not even include the idea that work is a duty, but rather a moral necessity, a form of investing our time in a worthy and useful manner.

And, in addition man will with time — with the aid of machines and technological knowledge — liberate himself from work in the sense of hard physical labor . . .

How do we continue on the road toward socialism and communism, which is the road that offers society the greatest degree of happiness, the highest degree of satisfaction and the greatest degree of well-being? Some people believe that if we give all these services gratis to the farmers, these farmers will turn into idlers and loafers who refuse to work. Some believe that in order to work, man must first feel the lash of need and poverty, the lash of fear. Revolutionary ideas will truly be put to the test in this program . . .

Increased Production

With more manpower, more technique, more enthusiasm — because now everybody will have an added reason to work, will feel an added stimulus to work, will feel greater happiness in working — we do not believe there will be a decrease in production. On the contrary, we believe, we dare to affirm, that by such means as this new program . . . we will produce three, four and even five times as much as we ever produced before in San Andrés de Caiguanabo . . .

Reactionaries do not trust man, they mistrust human beings. They believe that a human being is still akin to a beast which will move only under a lash. They believe that man can do noble things only if driven by selfish motives.

The revolutionary has a much higher concept of man, looking upon him not as a beast but rather as a being capable of higher forms of development, higher forms of conduct, higher forms of stimulation. The revolutionary believes in man, in human beings. And whoever does not believe in human beings is not a revolutionary.

Quinidine Swindle — Pay or Die

More than a quarter of a million Americans depend on a drug called quinidine to keep death away. A derivative of quinine, it is used to cope with congenital heart ailments.

In recent years the price of quinidine has skyrocketed. For those who take it in pill form the cost has gone up from $2 a hundred to $10. For an elderly couple living, for example, on an old-age pension of $30 or $40 a week, the increase is not small change — particularly when the choice is pay the price or die.

Some have complained about this 500 percent price hike. They get a standard answer. "It's the war in Vietnam," they are told. "The drug comes from quinine and the boys need a lot to keep away malaria."

Like a lot of war stories, the answer is straight bull. This was proven in recent weeks by Senate probers responding to the flood of complaints about the quinidine price rises.

Here's what they found. Since World War II, the U.S. government has been acquiring a stockpile of quinine. In 1962 it sold nine million ounces of its 14-million-ounce stockpile. All but a million ounces went to a Dutch combine.

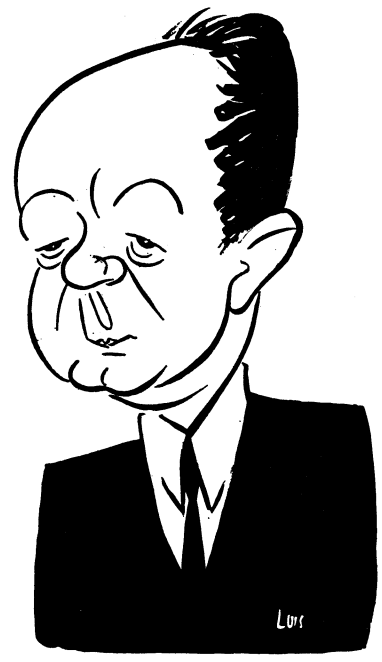
Government "Sale"

The sale was made by the government's General Services Administration. Spokesmen for the agency told Senate probers they had agreed to sell under pressure from the State Department. The State Department said it favored the sale because quinine was being made obsolete by synthetic substitutes and because the Dutch were ready to pay a good price, 21 cents an ounce.

A General Service Administration official disclosed, on the basis of memos he kept on the discussions, that the State Department had an additional, more compelling reason for favoring the sale to the Dutch. It seems that the Dutch royal family has investments in the quinine business. The State Department felt the sale would help keep the royal family happy about being in NATO.

A month after the Dutch laid hands on the quinine the price began climbing in every market in the world. In three years it went from 21 cents an ounce to $2. Quinidine went from less than a dollar an ounce to $5 an ounce, making the retail cost of the pills a dime a piece.

Proof that the Dutch had entered into a secret international cartel arrangement to spiral the price was finally offered by a British quinine company which is owned by the U.S. drug company, Rexall. The British company, Carnegies, had been put out of business by the Dutch combine which had lowered the boom on them by temporarily cutting the price in Britain.



SECRETARY OF STATE RUSK. State Department made deal in quinidine with queen of Holland.

Rexall retaliated by giving the Senate investigators secret documents showing how the Dutch had masterminded a swindle to get the U.S. stockpile for an international cartel operating in France, England and Germany as well as the Netherlands.

The State Department said it would make diplomatic efforts to bring the price down.

Meanwhile people who need the drug can pay or die. But they shouldn't complain. In a sense, it's something like what our boys are dying for in Vietnam — the sacred free enterprise system which makes such ingenius deals possible.

U. S. Reporter Describes Gains In New Cuba

Reporting on a visit to Havana, Lewis H. Diuguid of the *Washington Post* wrote March 27 that the city "is still a delight to all the senses, perhaps the hemisphere's most engaging capital. The lack of tourists has enabled Havana to recapture some of what must have been the appeal that originally attracted them.

"Gone," he reports, "are the gambling and prostitution. Cubans that hated those institutions blamed them on the U.S. tourists."

Cuban enmity was also directed, he explain, "at American domination of much of the economy, which was one cause of over-investment in Havana while the rest of the country lacked the most basic investments vital to economic growth.

"Whatever the implications of Castro's present policies for the future," he adds, "there seems to be little question that, for a Cuban, life in Havana is now saner and sounder then when the North Americans were here.

"The Castro government insists that the Americans deliberately distorted Cuban society," he writes, adding:

"It is doubtful that many of the tourists or businessmen had that intent, although they seemed to contribute to that result."

He reports that while many Negroes are still living in poor housing in Havana, "racial discrimination seems to have been done in. Negroes have roles at all levels in the new society."

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.]

Cuba News

Safety Harbor, Fla.

Here is some news and information as heard over Radio Station CMCA from Havana.

The Workers Federation of Uruguay (CGT) has protested the slated visit of the Mad Cowboy to Punta del Este, calling him an assassin in Vietnam "who keeps company with such Latin American assassins as Stroesner, Somoza and Trujillo."

On March 13 Fidel announced that from now on students will be admitted free to all sports events except such international contests as require paid admissions.

And on March 20 the station reported that during 1966 Havana wiped out 112 areas of substandard housing, erecting modern, suitable apartments for 26,964 people — rent-free!

Dr. Bernard Raymund

About MacBird

New York, N. Y.

I enjoyed reading Evelyn Reed's review of *MacBird,* the satirical play currently lampooning the political idols of the liberals at the Village Gate, which was printed in the April 3 *Militant.* Especially adept were her handling of the question of the assassination, the reaction of the critics, and the play's rollicking style. There is one point I would add — the role of the witches, the heroes of the play.

The witches, portrayed as a student demonstrator, a black nationalist and a worker "old leftist," represent the forces these powerful politicians fear, scorn, use for their purposes if and when they can, but have only contempt for. The witches are the voices of protest and rebellion against capitalist evil.

These roles are played by three very talented actors who, in a light and even hilarious style, skillfully enrich the satire of Barbara Garson's play and the music that John Duffy has so aptly set it to.

When I read *MacBird* before going to the theatre I didn't think that it could really be added to in being produced on the stage. In fact I thought the players would miss the point. I couldn't have been more wrong. The cast made the content of the play clearer and stronger. This was particularly true of the three witches. And their airy rendition of an old fashioned, soft-shoe minstrel scene, the play within a play that did MacBird in, was, for me, one of the highlights of the play.

P. R.

GIs in Vietnam

New York, N.Y.

In the paper's last issue you published a letter about a Marine who speaks of a certain element who become gungho robots getting kicks out of killing "Gooks." I would like to compare this with the following quotation from the Spring Mobilization Committee's *The Mobilizer*: "Speaking for the infantry we are the ones who go out and risk our lives. We don't sit back in a base camp nor are we stationed 15 or 20 miles off at sea. In short we are the slaves who hump hills with 40 lbs. of equipment on our backs and then eat C-rations, pull guard all night, get up the next morning and move out again. This of course is not that bad. Getting shot at does not appeal to me in the least either."

What I would like to know is how do you square this account with the one of the "Gook" killers? From the account which I quoted one can see that soldiering is hard work and the psychological or nervous strain that one would be under would be rather unpleasant. Yet you quote this Marine as reporting that some (he doesn't give any estimate) become euphoric killers, as if it were some kind of recreation of a perverted nature to be easily indulged in.

One account shows the life to be hard and dangerous, the other, just an outlet for repressed and abnormal mental states with no mention of the arduous nature of the work involved. Please comment.

W. R.

[While the great majority of GIs must regard the Vietnam war as a hard, dirty, dangerous job that they don't want, it is a fact that there are people who do become brainwashed by the poisonous propaganda of the reactionary, racist ruling circles of this country and some of them do become "Gook-killers." With either kind of GI, the solution is to get the U.S. troops out of Vietnam. EDITOR.]

High Politics

New York, N. Y.

When is the Socialist Workers Party going to get on the ball and demand the expropriation of the United Fruit Company and the nationalization of the entire banana industry?

J. B.

Two-Party Principles

Philadelphia, Pa.

We heard over the radio Sunday night that Gov. Romney's advisers can't decide whether he should be a hawk or a dove in his bid for the presidency.

This says a hell of a thing about the American capitalist political system; sort of like LBJ and Goldwater deciding that civil rights wouldn't be an issue in 1964.

Amy Lowenstein

Delano Strike

Fremont, Calif.

I'm sending a couple of clippings on the farm workers in Delano, Calif.; and the scab role of the Teamsters. No doubt you have from time to time received notices or literature from Delano. The farm workers have had it. The various church organizations throughout the state are trying to hold the lid from exploding. The strike is now in its eighteenth month.

The first few months the farm workers were constantly arrested and harassed day after day. Soon money, food, clothing began to pour into Delano. This brought a lot of pressure to bear on the city police and government. Finally the bosses began to show their dogs and guns to scare the picketers. This failed. Then they used chemical spray, then violent tactics were being used, such as mysterious fires appearing around their headquarters — some damage was done.

One worker was kidnapped and beaten sadistically. Workers were being run over by cars and trucks. Finally Piralli and Minatti signed a so-called union contract with the Teamsters, to sell-out and cheapen the conditions of the farm workers. Using a union label to sell-out not only the California farm workers, but the fear of organizing the field workers from coast to coast. But it must be done here. The take of the California Industrial Farm combine was $3.5 billion or 1½ times that of General Motors in 1965.

The farm worker just had it the past 18 months. It's the Western Teamster bosses that broke the camel's back. We must keep a watchful eye: Delano might explode before it's over. The majority of farm workers are Mexican-Americans and Filipinos with a sprinkling of Negroes and whites. They are determined to win.

B. K.

Thought for the Week

"Many attacks on LBJ are really aimed at a bigger, more permanent target, the nation's 'power structure'."—April issue, *Fortune.*

It Was Reported in the Press

Note to United Fruit — There's a rumor out that federal narcotics agents are planning to bust Chiquita Banana. She explained years ago that you should never put bananas in the refrigerator.

Tip to Out-of-Towners — Those coming in to New York for the April 15 Mobilization should be aware of the many bargains our town has to offer. For example, Rogers, a men's hair stylist, offers a $100 "day at the barbershop." This includes shave, hair cut, manicure, scalp treatment, face massage and, somewhat obscurely, "every other service" of the shop.

Favors Fund Appeals Only — Senator Thomas Dodd, the banquet king, has introduced a bill to bar from the mails "pandering" advertising which offers for sale material that is "erotically arousing or sexually provocative." We can see difficulties of definition, since some people are so aroused by the sight of a dollar bill.

Paytriots — The recent congressional decision paring HUAC's budget by $50,000 for a total of $350,000 suggested that the witch-hunting committee operates on a slim budget. But the $350,000 is in addition to salaries for the committee's staff which last year totalled $987,368.84. With nine members on the committee appointing 61 staff members, each congressman on the committee has a patronage fund of $109,707.65. There are only three congressional committees with more staff members than HUAC and the committee ranks number one in the amount spent on staff per committee member.

Bringing Our Way of Life — A U.S. court-martial in Saigon sentenced Robert Tyson, GI, to life in the unprovoked killing of four Vietnamese civilians. He and a second soldier, Chambers Gray, were charged with shooting down an elderly couple and two teen-agers. The second soldier has not been tried yet. Tyson admitted firing at the two teen-agers but said he had been so drunk he didn't know what he was doing. He said he had seen Gray shoot at the elderly couple.

Sales Goosers — In addition to being Spring Mobilization Day, April 15 is National Goose Day, so proclaimed by the Tobacco Tax Council in honor of tobacco, "the goose that laid the golden egg." So don't be a silly goose and worry about health hazards. It's the gold that counts.

Travel Note — It's reported in the *Wall Street Journal* that a significant number of wealthy men still prefer a luxurious private railroad car to plane travel. Cars are available for as little as $200,000 to $500,000 and don't cost more than $20,000-$30.000 a year to operate. Moreover, that doesn't include what you save in hotel bills.

New Precedent — The Berkeley Community for New Politics which ran a slate of candidates in the April 4 elections there won a court action against ADVAN, an outdoor advertising company that censored two billboards it had rented, removing the words "oppose the war." After the judge ruled this a breach of contract the company agreed to restore the original message. In response to a query from the judge, an ADVAN spokesman declared: "Certainly we accept political advertising, but this is the first time I've heard of politicians putting issues in their advertising."

Enterprising Free Enterprisers— Federal authorities in Denver impounded a huge van which they alleged was a mobile LSD manufacturing plant. Obviously the operators simply wanted to compete on a even footing with the hot dog and custard trucks that hit the campuses.

Folk Wisdom — According to Arthur Hoppe of the San Francisco *Chronicle,* that lovable old folk character Elbie Jay "believes a feller ought to be himself. Unless it ain't doing him any good." And Elbie's old grandaddy used to say: "It takes a big man to admit his mistakes. But it's better not to get caught."

Middletown, Bermuda — Mrs. George W. Renchard, wife of the U.S. consul general in Bermuda, took Craig Claiborn of the *New York Times* on a tour of the 14-acre estate provided them by the government. Claiborne writes: "The drive to the beach is a narrow lane shaded with towering, highly perfumed allspice trees . . . There are small orchards of grapefruit, orange and kumquat trees . . . The vegetable gardens of the consul general are wondrous too . . ." Says Mrs. Renchard, who is apparently something of a joker: "I am a typical government employe's wife."

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar of Events

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.

BOSTON

YOUTH AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. A panel discussion featuring: **Linda Sheppard,** a coordinator of the Spring Mobilization Comm.; **Robert Eubanks,** Afro-American Comm. to End the War; **Edward Teixeira,** Communist Party; and representatives from the Students for a Democratic Society and the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., **April 21,** 8:15 p.m. **295 Huntington Ave.,** Hall 307, (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

●

CLEVELAND

THE LESSONS OF INDONESIA. Speaker: **Ralph Levitt.** Sun., **April 23,** 7:30 p.m. **9801 Euclid.** Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Forum.

●

DETROIT

FILMS, REPORTS AND DISCUSSION OF THE APRIL 15 MOBILIZATION. Fri., **April 21,** 8 p.m.**3737 Woodward.** Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

●

LOS ANGELES

WHAT'S NEXT FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT? A symposium with: **Levi Kingston,** Students for a Democratic Society; **Mike McCabe,** Young Socialist Alliance; **Mike Yueff,** DuBois Club. Fri., **April 21,** 8:30 p.m. **1702 E. 4th St.** Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

●

NEW YORK

THE MOSCOW-PEKING SPLIT AND THE VIETNAM WAR. Speaker: **Les Evans,** staff writer, **The Militant.** Fri. **April 21,** 8:30 p.m. **873 Broadway** at 18th Contrib. $1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

* * *

MARXIST LECTURE SERIES. Political Prospects for the Next Period. Speaker: **Farrell Dobbs,** national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., **April 17,** 8 p.m. **How Should Radicals Organize?** Speaker: **Jack Barnes,** N.Y. organizer, SWP. Mon., **April 24,** 8 p.m. **873 Broadway** at 18th St. Fee: 50 cents per lecture. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

●

PHILADELPHIA

VIETNAM, BLACK POWER, INDEPENDENT POLITICS. Speaker: **Clifton DeBerry.** Sat., **April 29,** 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, **Broad and Vine Sts.** Contrib. $1. Students 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

●

TWIN CITIES

THE APRIL 15 MOBILIZATION. A report by **Larry Seigle,** Socialist Workers Party candidate for Minneapolis Board of Education. Fri., **April 21,** 8:30 p.m. **704 Hennepin Ave.** Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Nashville Outbreak Pretext For New Frame-Up of SNCC

By Elizabeth Barnes

The police attack on black students in Nashville, Tenn., is being used by the press and the politicians for another broadside attack against the advocates of black power.

This reached its height with a resolution by the Tennessee House of Representatives demanding that Stokely Carmichael be deported. The racist rage of the legislators came through intact in the wording of the official resolution which read, "The scars of the unscrupulous demagogue's visit here cannot be easily erased."

The press has not been far behind the Tennessee legislature in expressing unbridled hatred and fear of the black students and black power advocates. The word "riot" is used repeatedly to characterize the police attacks on black students. And it is always the Negroes who "riot" — never the cops.

The anger of the black students at Fisk and Tennessee A. & I. State universities was aroused when the Tennesee State Senate attempted to prevent Stokely Carmichael from speaking at the predominately white Vanderbilt University in Nashville. Carmichael finally did speak at Vanderbilt, but after he left town on Saturday, April 8, students fought back against police attacks.

The *New York Times* version of the events went as follows: "The rioting started around Fisk University at about 9 p.m. Saturday night after the police ejected students from the University Dinner Club, a Negro restaurant, at the request of the management.

"It continued until dawn, then resumed again at dusk yesterday, this time around the A. & I. campus.

"Rocks, bottles and bricks littered the two campuses and students milled around complaining of 'white interference' with Negro education."

"Interloper"

Just what these "milling students" were disturbed about can be seen in a message directed to them in one of Nashville's newspapers, the *Nashville Banner*. Calling Carmichael an "interloper," the *Banner* had urged Vanderbilt to withdraw its invitation for Carmichael to speak, reminding the university that it depended on white philanthropists for support!

Even from the *Times* report, it is clear that the rebellion was provoked by the cops. According to the April 11, *New York Times*, among the explanations given by the students for the rebellion was the fact that when student pickets assembled in front of the Negro restaurant on Saturday, 400 cops moved against them. Yet in the first accounts the impression is given that black students simply "started to riot." There is no mention of a picket line.

During the rebellion a student was shot in the neck while standing in a crowd of Negroes. Another black student received a serious shot wound in the neck and there were numbers of other injuries. As is usually the case when blacks are charged with "rioting," it is they who receive the serious injuries.

After the so-called "riot" in Atlanta last summer, SNCC sent out a series of press releases which documented what had taken place with numerous eyewitness reports. In this way SNCC was able to expose its accusers, and to lay the basis to fight the court actions initiated against them.

But SNCC's exposures did not cause the press to pause one minute before launching the same type of racist campaign all over again in response to the Nashville events. In an editorial on April 11, the *New York Times* let loose with a vicious attack on SNCC:

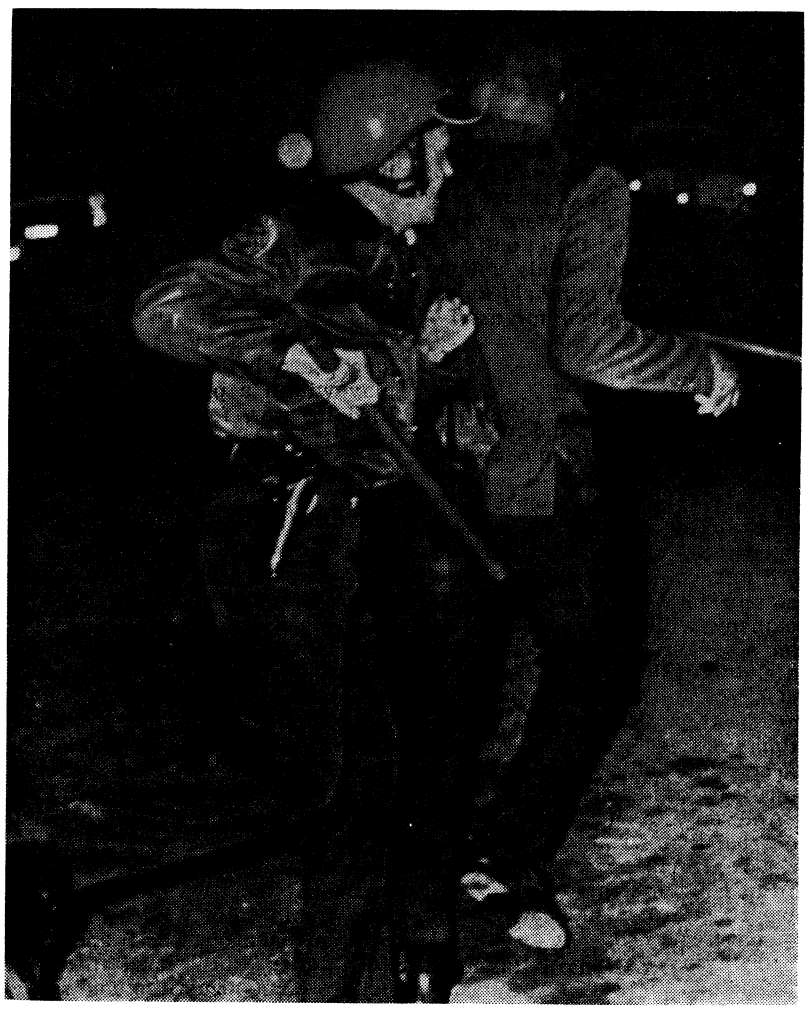
"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is an organization close to dissolving . . .

"The irony of this situation is that Mr. Carmichael and his associates have saved themselves from total impotence by projecting the demagogic and almost meaningless slogan, 'black power.' . . .

"Many persons in positions of responsibility who ought to know better have played into Mr. Carmichael's hands by vastly exaggerating his significance and his sinister intentions . . .

"Those who waged this unsuccessful campaign may now feel justified inasmuch as two nights of rioting followed his appearance. But it is not easy to determine if these disturbances were touched off by Mr. Carmichael's fiery words or by the preceding effort to silence him."

If black power is so meaningless why has the press gotten so excited about it? And why has it been necessary to repeatedly distort its meaning and to link it with "rioting"? It is because the ideas of black power do have meaning, and because they are being embraced by growing numbers of black people, that the white rulers attack them so viciously and consistently.



NASHVILLE COPS RIOT. Police attack black students in Nashville.

Police Raid Peace Party In Chicago

CHICAGO, April 9 — A party sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Chicago Peace Council was raided by police tonight. Arriving just before midnight, the police presented no search warrant and were not permitted to enter the home where the party was held. Several hundred antiwar activists were present. The police arrested a number of people in the entrance hall, and took others into custody as they left the party. Nineteen were arrested in all.

Charges were dropped against five teen-agers, but 14 others were booked, 12 of them for disorderly conduct. Dr. Arnold Abrams, owner of the home where the party was held, was charged with aggravated assault, resisting arrest, selling liquor to minors, keeping a disorderly house and contributing to the delinquency of minors. Mrs. Florence Levinsohn was charged with assaulting an officer. All the defendants have been released on bond. Their trial has been set for May 10.

51% in College Poll Favor U.S. Withdrawal

DETROIT — A majority of students voting in a Wayne State University referendum on the Vietnam war voted "yes" for the proposition: "Are you in favor of an immediate cease fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam?" Answering "yes" were 1,070, as against 1,001 who voted "no."

The referendum was sponsored by the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Student Mobilization Committee.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS MARCH. New York demonstration on April 8 was organized by High School Student Mobilization Committee. See story on page 9.

King's Antiwar Views Evoke 2-Party Fury

Martin Luther King has committed an unpardonable sin according to a wide variety of politicians and newspapers, of both the Democratic and Republican parties, ranging from the liberal *New York Post* to Barry Goldwater. It seems that King has dared to identify the civil rights struggle with the antiwar movement.

According to these pundits, it was bad enough when activists in SNCC and CORE began taking this position over a year ago. But for "one of the most respected leaders of the civil rights movement" to take the stand, states the April 7 *New York Times*, "is both wasteful and self-defeating."

Dr. King explained his position in an April 2 *New York Times* interview. "As long as the war in Vietnam goes on," King stated, "the more difficult it will be to implement the programs that will deal with the economic and social problems that Negro people confront in our country and poor people generally."

Annihilation

The escalation of the Vietnam war could lead to "full world war that could mean the annihilation of the human race," King pointed out. "I have preached nonviolence in the movement in our country, and I think it is very consistent for me to follow a nonviolent approach in international affairs."

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Dr. King heads, has come out in opposition to the war, calling it "immoral and unjust."

The white capitalist press rushed to explain that King could not be more wrong.

"This is a fusing of two public problems that are distinct and separate," the April 7 *New York Times* continued. "By drawing them together, Dr. King has done a disservice to both. The moral issues in Vietnam are less clear-cut than he suggests; the political strategy of uniting the peace movement and the civil rights movement could very well be disastrous for both causes."

The *New York Post* editorialized on King's stand April 8: "We . . . urge him to reject the suggestion that human rights and economic equality are the inevitable casualties of the conflict."

Goldwater and Javits

Others to raise objection to King's position included liberal Senator Jacob Javits and conservative Barry Goldwater. "This could border a bit on treason," Goldwater opined. "It by no means characterizes the view of the overwhelming majority of them," Javits added.

Why are politicians of both parties so quick to condemn King and warn black people to stay away from the protests against the war? It is precisely because the issue of black people winning their freedom and the issue of the war *are* related. The capitalist politicians fear that their plans for escalating the war will be set back by the influx of black people into the antiwar struggle.

For the facts are, the war itself is a racist war against a colored people. It is a war in which black soldiers are dying at a rate double their proportion in the population. Black youth are being drafted in higher proportion than white.

The war is being used as an excuse to cut back on even the token poverty programs, and to divert attention away from the plight of the Negro masses in America. The billions being spent on this war, this immoral and unjust war as SCLC put it, could be used to help wipe out racism in a program of public housing, adequate education, and by providing jobs for the ghetto unemployed.

And finally, the Vietnamese people and the black masses have the same enemy: the white capitalist rulers of this country who suppress them both. And those white capitalist rulers are terrified at the prospect of the black masses of this country following the lead of SNCC, CORE and SCLC and beginning to actively oppose the dirty war in Vietnam.