

U.S. Collision Course With China and USSR Arouses World Fear

By Joseph Hansen

The crisis in the Middle East has served in the most ominous way to remind humanity once again of the powder kegs planted at the end of World War II, any one of which can, if it explodes, set off a chain reaction ending in the catastrophe of a nuclear conflagration.

The main source of danger in the dispute between the Arab nations and Israel is the United States. Its chief concern is to safeguard the holdings of the American oil companies, to block the development of the Arab revolution and to back the reactionary policies of the government of Israel. (See page 5.)

The alarm that swept the world

when the latest crisis around Israel flared up came primarily from the context in which it occurred: Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam into a bloody conflict that has already placed the world at the brink of the nuclear abyss.

In the United States, concern over the course of the Johnson administration has risen rather sharply in recent weeks. The most significant feature of this turn is its occurrence in bourgeois circles in position to be informed about Johnson's intentions. It coincides with the revelation made by Johnson himself about May 11 that he had told his daughter, Luci, last June, "Your daddy may go down in history as having started World War III." He said he also told his

daughter, "You may not wake up tomorrow."

John K. Fairbank, director of the East Asian Research Center at Harvard University, wrote in the *New York Times* of May 20: "Our military effort is running into its inevitable limitations. Escalated bombing of a Communist buffer-state on the border of Communist China is a good deal more than mere 'containment' of China. Rather than force Hanoi to negotiate on terms we like, continued escalation is more likely to trigger a Chinese feeling that 'vital interests' are involved and so bring China into the war, increasing our military problem forty times over."

The editors of the *New York Times* have spoken even more openly. May 20, for instance, they argued that the policy of bombing north Vietnam had only stiffened the determination of the Vietnamese to resist. They observed:

"The United States is already fighting a vicarious war on a small scale with the Soviet Union, since north Vietnam's planes and war matériel come from Russia. Communist China's intervention at some point cannot be ruled out. It is at least possible that the troubles in the Middle East and Hong Kong have their links to the vortex in Vietnam."

U Thant went still further May 11, telling a gathering of United Nations correspondents that he felt World War III may have already begun.

Then, senators Albert Gore of Tennessee and Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania said that the Chinese government had warned the United States months ago that it would intervene in Vietnam under any of three conditions: (1) if Hanoi capitulated; (2) if either north Vietnam or China were invaded by land; (3) if China were bombed.

A Republican senator departed from the official policy of his party, which is to back Johnson's application of Goldwaterism, to warn of the grave drift toward catastrophe.

Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky (Continued on Page 3)

Have U.S. 'Special Forces' Taken Over in Debray Case?

In an editorial note May 23, the Paris daily *Le Monde* called attention to an ominous report in La Paz that Régis Debray, George Andrew Roth and Carlos Alberto Fructuoso, the three journalists seized by the Bolivian secret police in the southeast part of the country, have been turned over to special U.S. services and flown elsewhere for "interrogation."

The report was at once denied by both the American embassy in La Paz and the Bolivian authorities.

Nevertheless the Barrientos dictatorship has refused up to now to let either French embassy officials, Bolivian attorneys, or Debray's mother see any of the prisoners.

The military "gorillas" who run Bolivia, and who have been conducting a savage witchhunt against every oppositional tendency in the country, have made vicious public attacks against Debray. Barrientos himself has taken the lead in this infamous work.

"Régis Debray is only a com-

mon criminal, and he will be tried for the crimes he has committed," Barrientos told the press May 18. "He has broken Bolivian laws and is a Castroite agent."

It was announced the same day that the prisoner's mother, Mme. Janine Alexandre-Debray had retained a defense attorney, Walter Flores, vice-dean of the faculty of law at La Paz University.

Walter Flores filed a writ of habeas corpus May 19. He demanded that his client be either released at once or that he be charged in accordance with the laws of Bolivia. This posed the central issue very sharply — with what is Régis Debray charged? No one in the government has yet stated this or made any other move to conform with the provisions of Bolivian law for a trial.

On May 20 General Barrientos injected a new note in his press conference. Up to then he had stressed, in reference to the Debray case, that Bolivia has abolished the death penalty. (Pri-

(Continued on Page 6)

Israeli Socialists' Appeal

[The following are excerpts from a statement of position issued by the Central Committee of the Israeli Socialist Organization, which was read by Nathan Weinstock at a meeting in Paris May 18 sponsored by the General Union of Palestinian Students and the Association des Etudiants Musulmans Nord-Africains. Nathan Weinstock is a member of the Confederal Committee of the Socialist Workers Confederation in Belgium and addressed the meeting in a personal capacity.]

[As an organization that includes in its ranks both Arabs and Jews, the views of the Israeli Socialist Organization are of special interest in the current acute crisis racking the Middle East.]

The 19th anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel will occur this month. During these 19 years the Israeli-Arab dispute has not come nearer a solution . . .

Especially grave is the state of the Palestinian Arabs — the direct victims of the 1948 war and

of the collusion between "the friendly enemies," Ben Gurion and Abdullah. The majority of Palestine's Arabs were dispossessed of their homes and fields during and after the 1948 war, and have since been living as refugees, in suffering and distress, outside Israel. The leaders of Israel emphatically refuse to recognize their elementary right to be repatriated. The Arabs who were left in Israel are victims of severe economic, civil and national oppression.

During those 19 years, Israel has been an isolated island in the Middle East, a state which is independent only in the formal sense, being economically and politically dependent on the imperialist powers, especially on the USA. It has continually served as a tool of these powers against the Arab nation, against the progressive forces in the Arab world. The clearest manifestation (but not the only one) of this role of official Israeli policy was in 1956, when Israel's government joined Anglo-French imperialism in an aggressive collusion against Egypt,

and even furnished those powers with a pretext for military intervention . . .

The present economic crisis in Israel, which has caused grave unemployment of the workers and great hardship to the popular masses, also serves to underline the fact that Israel cannot long continue to exist in its present form, as a Zionist state, cut off from the region in which it is located.

Thus, the present state of affairs is against the interest of the Arab masses: Israel, in its present form, constitutes a grave obstacle for the struggle of those masses against imperialism and for a socialist Arab unity. The continuation of the present state of affairs is also against the interests of the Israeli masses.

The Israeli Socialist Organization, in whose ranks there are both Arabs and Jews, holds that the Palestine problem and the Israeli-Arab dispute can and should be solved in a socialist and internationalist way, taking into consi-

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Photo by Les Evans

MEMORIAL DAY. Vietnam Veterans lead march of veterans in Washington to memorialize American and Vietnamese victims of Johnson's aggression. See story page 8.

Minnesota Rail Workers Slam LBJ Union-Busting

By Bill Onasch

ST. PAUL, Minn. May 24 — Over 500 members and supporters of six railroad shop-craft unions demonstrated at the state capitol building today against President Johnson's proposed congressional legislation which would force the rail unions to accept compulsory arbitration.

The railroad bosses have hung tough in their negotiations since the old contract expired Jan. 1, offering only modest wage increases barely enough to keep up with inflation and taxes during the last contract period. To reinforce their position, the railroads had Congress pass legislation postponing a strike to June 19.

Johnson's new bill would deny the rail workers the right to strike for two more years, and provides for compulsory arbitration.

Once Highly Paid

Most shops have not been on strike since the 1920s when railroad workers were among the highest paid workers in the country. Today, the wages of railroad shop craftsmen lag far behind those in the same crafts in other industries.

Recognizing that a strike will be necessary to win meaningful wage increases, most of the demonstrators' fire was directed to the government and union officials who are reluctant to fight for the right to strike. Several large banners carried the names of shop-craft union heads and AFL-CIO chief George Meany along with the inscription: "Union Brass — We Went to You — Now You Come to Us." Among other slogans were: "Why Elect an Anti-Union Government?"; "Union Brass — We

Put Them in Office — They Arbitrate Us Out of Jobs"; and "Compulsory Arbitration — Good for Railroad Companies — Bad for Shop Craftsmen."

Many of the shopmen brought their families with them. There was also a contingent of students from the University of Minnesota.

One electrician from the Milwaukee shop told the rally: "When I went to work for the Milwaukee 40 years ago my friends all envied me because I had a job with the railroad. Today, when city garbage collectors make more than us so-called skilled men, they think I'm a fool staying with them."

Supreme Court Secures Right Of Citizenship

MAY 29 — The Supreme Court ruled today that Congress may not pass laws that strip American citizens of their nationality without their consent. Although pertaining to a different case, this ruling may have a bearing on the Joseph Johnson case.

The attempts by the U.S. government to declare Joseph Johnson a "man without a country," and to deport him to an unnamed country, fly in the face of this new Supreme Court decision.

Joseph Johnson, a native U.S. citizen, is a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis. The government charges that he participated in an election in Canada, and should therefore be deprived of his U.S. citizenship, against his will. This would make him stateless and without rights anywhere.

In the new ruling, the Supreme Court said that the 14th Amendment guarantees citizenship unless the citizen voluntarily gives it up.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

25,000 Unionists Rip 'Rat' Law

NEW YORK — On May 23, the Transport Workers Union; the United Federation of Teachers; and District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees brought an overflow crowd of 25,000 to Madison Square Garden to rally trade union opposition to the Rockefeller Travia (RAT) law.

This new "labor relations" law is even more vicious than the old Condon-Wadlin law. Although the Condon-Wadlin law also prohibited public workers from striking, the RAT law contains additional penalties against their unions. It fines striking unions \$10,000 a day, or one week's dues checkoff, whichever is less. It destroys grievance procedures. Under its wording, a work slowdown, or even talk of a strike, can be interpreted as a strike.

The new law is part of the governmental offensive against public employe unions. Unions such as the American Federation of Teachers, and the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees have been among the most active and fastest growing unions in the country in recent years, and the government is afraid of the spread of militancy among these unions.

Other State Actions

Michigan, Ohio and Illinois are now trying to pass RAT laws of their own. During the Woodbridge, New Jersey, teachers' strike in March, several leaders were jailed and fined. The city of Chicago is currently trying to destroy the local welfare workers' union, now on its fourth week of strike, and Chicago recently sentenced a leader of the teachers' union to 30 days in jail, while placing a \$5,000 fine on the union.

Among the high points of the rally were the speeches of the international presidents of the three unions. Charles Cogan, president of the American Federation of Teachers, pointed out that when the bosses try to destroy unions, they will pick them off one by one, trying to hit the most vulnerable ones first. He pledged the full support of the American Federation of Teachers against any such attempt by the government.

Matthew Guinan, president of the Transport Workers Union, said that it was particularly appropriate for the TWU to be represented at such a rally, because of the bitter strike which they conducted in 1966. He referred to the times when the subways were run by private industry, and pointed out that the present rally disproved the claim that union militancy was dead.

Jerry Wurf, international president of the 350,000 member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees emphasized the right to strike which the RAT law denies. He pledged the full resources of AFSCME "until this goddam law is wiped off the books."

The theme was constantly



AT CITY HALL. New York transit workers demonstrated during their 1966 strike.

stressed that the RAT law had the support of both the Republican and Democratic parties, and there was vociferous booing whenever the names of Lindsay, Rockefeller and Democratic Speaker Travia were mentioned.

One speaker referred to the general strike in France a week before, and indicated that while he was not recommending such a course for the American labor movement at this time, "in the face of such legislation, and if such laws continue to be put on the books, such a situation can and will happen in this country." A tremendous ovation followed this remark.

An ovation also greeted Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, AFSCME, and executive board member of the New York Central Labor Council, when he announced that 25,000 trade unionists had come to the Garden that evening.

But perhaps the climax occurred when Ray Corbett, president of the New York State AFL-CIO, quoting the late Mike Quill of the TWU that "we have just begun to fight," took a copy of the RAT bill from his pocket, and amidst wild cheering, tore it into shreds and flung the pieces of paper onto the floor.

A telegram was read from George Meany, pledging support to the rally and the fight against the bill.

Paul Hall of the Seafarers Union, and Bayard Rustin also spoke.

Other city unions, including the Social Service Employees Union, and several Teamsters municipal locals also oppose the bill, although

they were not invited to participate in the rally.

Al Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers in New York, proposed that the body adopt a resolution that no law can take away the right of trade unionists to strike, and that the three unions combine their full resources together until the bill is defeated. He asked all in the audience who supported this resolution to stand and say "aye." A chorus of 25,000 ayes filled the room.

Unfortunately, the three unions also advocated the Gompers philosophy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies." There was some applause for this, but there was much more when specific capitalist politicians of both parties were condemned. If the unions seriously try to follow the Gompers philosophy, their own frustrations will teach them that only a labor party, based on the trade union movement itself will be able to assure labor the type of legislation and social progress which is necessary for its growth and well-being.

— Howard Reed

Cuba Gives Out Che's Statement In Soviet Union

(World Outlook) — The top leaders in both Moscow and Peking appear to have reached agreement on at least one point — to officially ignore the message from Ernesto "Che" Guevara which was published in Havana.

In China there is no indication whatsoever that this important declaration calling for armed struggle against oppression, for socialist revolutions, and for a united front in defense of the Vietnamese people against the aggression of U.S. imperialism has been made available to the public.

In Moscow the Cubans are distributing it as a pamphlet and it is reported that when the text reached that city a group of Latin-American students gathered outside the Cuban embassy to read excerpts from it.

The coolness of both Mao Tse-tung and Kosygin-Brezhnev to Guevara's message is undoubtedly due to the sharp criticism it contains of their joint failure to close ranks in face of the assault on Vietnam.

REVIEWS
and
REPORTS

Revolutionary Program

May-June, International Socialist Review.

One of the basic cleavages within the socialist movement has been around the question of what kind of political program will best serve the interests of the working class in its fight for political power and socialism. The orientation of the social democracy and the Stalinist parties has been for a dual program of minimum and maximum demands. (In this country the social democracy is represented by the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas; the major party educated in the school of Stalinism is the pro-Moscow Communist Party.) The minimum program centers around the immediate struggles of the working class while the maximum program — for socialism — is viewed as something in the distant future. The maximum program, in other words, is treated as though it is irrelevant to current struggles by these tendencies in the labor movement.

The revolutionary current in the world working-class movement, however, has held that what is needed to insure the victory of the proletariat is a transitional program — one which connects immediate demands and struggles with the struggle for socialism, through a series of transitional demands. These are demands which are designed to raise the level of consciousness and organization of the working class, toward the winning of political power and beyond in the construction of the new socialist society.

The demand for a labor party is a good example of this type of demand, in the U.S. at the present time. At the very least, it raises the possibility of achieving certain minimal social reforms through winning some labor political representation.

On another level this demand goes further than minimal reforms. It raises the question of workers' control over government and in this sense acts as a bridge or transition between the current domination by big business of the political scene and a society in which the working class would control the political machinery of the country — a workers state.

Once a labor party is formed, socialists would fight within it for socialist program, thereby raising the struggle to a higher level.

The two articles in the May-June issue of the *International Socialist Review* — "Program for Revolution" by Rosa Luxemburg and "The Transitional Program" by Pierre Frank — deal with this important question of program.

Both in terms of its historic importance as the programmatic statement at the founding conference of the German Communist Party in 1918, and in terms of its relevance to arguments in the world radical movement today, the speech by Rosa Luxemburg is a document that should be studied by all revolutionaries.

In it, Rosa Luxemburg condemns the treacherous minimal program of the social democracy in Germany which led to the capitulation of the social democracy to imperialism when World War I broke out.

A basic notion of the program of the German social democracy during the period following the death of Marx was the idea of the parliamentary road to socialism. This concept was used as the rationale for involvement by the working class movement only in the struggle for immediate demands. It marked a rejection of



Rosa Luxemburg

Marx's concept of the need for independent action by the working class outside of and opposed to the structures and programs of the capitalist ruling class. And ultimately, this political approach paved the way for the collapse of the Second International in 1914 when the leaderships of the social democracies capitulated before "their own" imperialist governments.

Pierre Frank's article is an introduction to the forthcoming French edition of the *Transitional Program* of the Fourth International. In it he reviews the history of the transitional program from the *Communist Manifesto* to the present day. He deals briefly with attempts to falsify the concept of transitional demands, and points out that the arguments used by the German social democracy in 1918 are still being used today by various Stalinist parties to justify their retreat from a class struggle program.

Serious revolutionaries must study these documents to learn the lessons of past defeats and victories of the working class, so that they can better prepare for the class battles to come.

—Judy White

Another GI Faces Court-Martial for His Antiwar Views

MAY 31 — Another army private opposed to the war in Vietnam is scheduled to go before a court-martial tomorrow. Pvt. Andrew D. Stapp, 23, of Ft. Sill, Okla., is charged with refusing to obey an order.

Pvt. Stapp's case is similar to that of Pfc. Howard Petrick. Like Petrick, Stapp is a socialist, although he is not a member of any party. He has talked about the war to his fellow GIs, and maintained a library of socialist and antiwar literature in his locker.

On May 9, Stapp's battery commander ordered him to open his locker. Earlier, the army brass had confiscated some of Stapp's literature, and this time Stapp refused to open the locker. The commander ordered the locker to be chopped open with a pickaxe, and a large number of books and pamphlets belonging to the soldier were confiscated. The charge of refusing to obey an order resulted from this incident.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has provided the services of Victor Rabinowitz, well-known constitutional lawyer, to defend Pvt. Stapp.

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 9-5644.

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.

...Israeli Socialist Appeal

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deration the unique features of this complex problem.

This is not an ordinary conflict between two nations. Therefore it is not enough to call for "Coexistence based on mutual recognition of the just national rights of the two peoples."

The State of Israel is the outcome of the colonization of Palestine by the Zionist movement, at the expense of the Arab people and under the auspices of imperialism. In its present, Zionist form, Israel is also a tool for the continuation of "the Zionist Endeavor."

The Arab world cannot acquiesce in the existence in its midst of a Zionist state, whose declared purpose is not to serve as a political expression of its own population, but as a bridgehead, a political instrument and a destination for immigration of the Jews all over the world. Israel's Zionist character is also opposed to the true interests of the Israeli masses, because it means constant dependence of the country upon external forces.

We therefore hold that a solution of the problem necessitates the de-Zionization of Israel. The State of Israel must undergo a deep revolutionary change which will transform it from a Zionist state (i.e., a state of the Jews all over the world) into a socialist state which represents the interests of the masses that live in it. In particular, the "law of return" (which grants every Jew in the world an absolute and automatic right to immigrate into Israel and become a citizen of it) must be abolished. Each request to immigrate into Israel will then be decided separately on its own merits, without any discrimination of a racial or religious nature.

Refugee Problem

The Palestine Arab refugee problem is the most painful part of the Israeli-Arab dispute.

We therefore hold that every refugee who wants to return to Israel must be enabled to do so; he should then obtain full economic and social rehabilitation. Those refugees who will freely choose not to be repatriated should be fully compensated for loss of property and for the personal suffering which has been caused to them.

In addition, all the laws and regulations aimed at discriminating and oppressing the Arab population of Israel and at expropriation of its lands must be abolished. All expropriations and damages (to land, property and person) caused under these laws and regulations must be compensated.

The de-Zionization of Israel implies also putting an end to the Zionist foreign policy, which serves imperialism. Israel must take an active part in the struggle of the Arabs against imperialism and for the establishment of a socialist Arab unity.

The Zionist colonization of Palestine differs in one basic respect from the colonization of other countries: Whereas in other countries the settlers established their economy upon the exploitation of the labor of the indigenous inhabitants, the colonization of Palestine was carried out through the replacement and expulsion of the indigenous population.

This fact has caused a unique complication of the Palestine problem. As a result of Zionist colonization, a Hebrew nation with its own national characteristics (common language, separate economy, etc.) has been formed in Palestine. Moreover, this nation has a capitalist class structure — it is divided into exploiters and exploited, a bourgeoisie and a proletariat.

The argument that this nation has been formed artificially and at the expense of the indigenous Arab population does not change the fact that the Hebrew nation now exists. It would be a disas-



DRIVEN OUT OF COUNTY. Arab refugees forced out of Palestine during 1948 war remain exiles to this date.

trous error to ignore this fact.

The solution of the Palestine problem must not only redress the wrong done to the Palestinian Arabs, but also ensure the national future of the Hebrew masses. These masses were brought to Palestine by Zionism — but they are not responsible for the deeds of Zionism. The attempt to penalize the Israeli workers and popular masses for the sins of Zionism cannot solve the Palestinian problem but only bring about new misfortunes.

Those nationalist Arab leaders

who call for a *jihād* [holy war] for the liberation of Palestine ignore the fact that even if Israel would be defeated militarily and cease to exist as a state, the Hebrew nation will still exist. If the problem of the existence of this nation is not solved correctly, a situation of dangerous and prolonged national conflict will be re-created, which will cause endless bloodshed and suffering and will serve as a new pretext for imperialist intervention.

In addition it should be understood that the Israeli masses will

...U.S. Collision Course with China, USSR

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said in the Senate May 23: "Make no mistake about it. Total military victory in Vietnam means total war with China, and I for one believe that means total world holocaust."

In his column of May 22, Walter Lippmann, the well-known commentator on U.S. government policies, accused Johnson of putting the United States on a "collision course" with China and the Soviet Union.

A further possible tip-off is the prolonged absence of Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin from his post in Washington.

Dobrynin went to Moscow in the latter part of April. Instead of returning on schedule, he remained, it has been reported, for a "series of high-level meetings" concerned with the Soviet attitude toward the Vietnamese conflict.

In an article datelined from Stockholm which appeared in the *London Express* and the *New York Post*, May 24, David English reported that Dobrynin will return with a message for Johnson stating that the Soviet Union is stiffening its posture in relation to escalation of the war in Vietnam.

"From talks I had with senior officials in Russia over the past 10 days," says English, "it is clear that any major increase by America in Vietnam will set the U.S. on a collision course with Russia, symbolized by the 'brushing' of Soviet and American warships in last week's Sea of Japan incident.

"That was clearly a warning shot across the bows.

"One Soviet official spelled it out for me: 'The days of Khrushchev are gone,' he said. 'We don't bang shoes any more. We don't rattle rockets.

"We used to bark louder than

we bit. Now we don't bark, at least in public, but we are prepared to bite, and the United States is to be told, and firmly, exactly how we will bite stage by stage up the ladder of escalation.'

"The phrase being used in Russia — and, when translated, it has an almost Pentagonese flavor — is 'commensurate retaliation along the escalatory scale.'

"In theory, this could mean anything. But it has been explained as 'a blow of equal — not superior — force, delivered not necessarily by the same weapons or tactics as the opponents.'

"In other words, Soviet troops, volunteers or not, are hardly likely to appear in Vietnam to match the American buildup.

"But several Soviet contacts with whom I discussed the situation indicated that the bombing of the north could not be even fractionally extended by the Americans without resulting in an effective counterpunch to the south."

As the author describes it, the "counterpunch" would consist largely of utilizing more firepower, such as ground-to-ground missiles. In his opinion, this "could produce a very violent reaction from the Americans."

The State Department, in fact, indicated May 23 that consideration has already been given to the response that will be made if "the other side" should engage in counterescalation.

An unidentified official of the department, who may well have been Rusk himself to judge from the prominence given the declaration in the daily press, said that if China were to intervene with massive forces in Vietnam, the U.S. would "have to take action against mainland China with everything it has."

THE MILITANT

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not be liberated from the influence of Zionism and will not struggle against it unless the progressive forces in the Arab world present them with a prospect of coexistence without national oppression.

The Israeli Socialist Organization therefore holds that a true solution of the Palestine problem necessitates the recognition of the right of the Hebrew nation to self-determination.

Self-determination does not necessarily mean separation. On the contrary, we hold that a small country which is poor in natural resources, such as Israel, cannot exist as a separate entity. It is faced with two alternatives only — to continue to depend on foreign powers or to integrate itself in a regional union.

It follows that the only solution consistent with the interests of both Arab and Israeli masses is the integration of Israel as a unit in an economic and political union of the Middle East, on the basis of socialism.

We therefore hold that the Palestine problem — like other central problems of the Middle East — can only be solved in the framework of a Middle Eastern union.

Theoretical analysis and practical experience alike show that Arab unity can be formed and exist in a stable way only if it has a socialist character.

One can therefore sum up the solution which we propose by the formula: de-Zionization of Israel and its integration in a socialist

Middle Eastern union.

We hold that the problem of the political future of the Palestinian Arabs should also be solved within the framework described above.

There are people who think that justice necessitates the establishment of a special Palestinian Arab political entity. Our view is that this question must be decided by the Palestinian Arabs, without outside interference.

However, we think that it would be a grave error to pose the problem of the political future of the Palestinian Arabs separately from and independently of the question of socialist Arab union. At present the Palestinian Arabs are in the first ranks of the struggle for unity. If they would be presented with a separate and independent aim, the cause of Arab unity may suffer grave damage. Also, the establishment of a small separate Arab state is not consistent with the interests of the Arab nation, including the Palestinian Arab people.

We therefore hold that if the Palestinian Arabs decide in favor of establishing a political entity of their own, the necessary political and territorial arrangements should be made within the framework of establishing a socialist union of the Middle East. The countries that now hold parts of the territory of Palestine — Israel, Jordan and Egypt — should particularly contribute to such a settlement.

Asked if this meant using nuclear weapons, the official replied rather ambiguously, saying that he intended to refer only to the use of "conventional American weapons."

The question that emerges from these developments is whether or not Johnson has introduced a modification in the policy he has followed up to now in Vietnam. From the actual course of the escalation it could be deduced that each step in the aggression was decided on only after a probing operation to determine if the point of a "counterthrust" by "the other side" has been reached.

When the probe indicated that "the other side" was still not prepared to reply in kind, another step forward was taken. The failure of China and the USSR to act thus served to encourage Johnson.

In the process of moving forward, however, he become more and more committed both abroad and at home to the goal of a "military victory"; and this made it more and more difficult for him to retreat or withdraw. The street became "one way"; or, as some of his bourgeois critics put it, he permitted the "initiative" to pass to "the other side." Has Johnson decided that the point of no return has been passed and that no matter what happens he will not retreat? This is what appears to be weighing on the minds of those in the American ruling class who fear that Johnson has engaged in a tactical course that can lead to disaster.

The truth is that Johnson's war in Vietnam has set forces in motion that are probably already beyond his capacity to control.

The Vietnamese people have steeled themselves to endure any-

thing and everything from the professional butchers in the Pentagon and the monster in the White House.

The Soviet and Chinese governments appear to be coming, however reluctantly, to the conclusion that the fate of their own regimes is at stake and that they have no choice but to begin acting in self-defense.

The American people have begun to stir in an unmistakable way as the implications of Johnson's war in Vietnam become clearer and clearer. The giant demonstrations in New York and San Francisco on April 15 were harbingers of what is to come.

Similar conclusions are being drawn by wide layers of the population in many other countries.

In the colonial sector the vanguard appear to have come to the conclusion that they must step up their revolutionary efforts. This is particularly marked in the attitude of the Cubans and related currents in Latin America.

All these forces are beginning to have a marked reciprocal effect on each other so that a rise in the massiveness or effectiveness of the opposition to the war in one sector influences the others with increasing impact.

It is thus far from foreordained that Johnson will succeed in dragging humanity over the brink. Despite what he told his daughter Luci, he may not go down in history as the man who started World War III, thereby eliminating history as well as much else.

Thanks to forces in this world far more powerful than Johnson, his hand will most likely be stayed and his daughter can go to bed with fair confidence that she will wake up tomorrow.

Draft Resistance: A Marxist View

By Harry Ring

The recent Washington and Chicago antiwar conferences showed there is great interest among peace activists in individual draft resistance. For some, in fact, this is the central point of antiwar efforts.

Among those who center on draft resistance there are a variety of viewpoints. Some see such resistance as a matter of individual conscience. For them noncooperation with the draft is something that must be carried through without concern for whether or not it is an effective means of building mass opposition to the draft and war. This is, of course, a private matter of conscience and the right to act on such a belief should be defended by every socially conscious person.

Others, however, argue that individual acts of resistance are the means for sparking mass resistance to the draft. This seems to be the position, for example, of Youth Against War and Fascism and its parent group, the Workers World Party. Thus the April 15 issue of *Workers World*, polemicized rather vehemently against the Socialist Workers Party for not supporting the proposed draft card burning at Central Park during the April 15 Mobilization.

The paper asserted: "It is true that the action of 20,000 workers, perhaps tying up an important war industry, might be more important than 500 young men burning their draft cards in actually stopping the war machine. But the dramatic appeal of such an act to the youth of the whole country would be well-nigh irreversible."

Newark Ghetto Blasts City on Policy Bias

By Joe Carroll

NEWARK — This city, with over half of its 400,000 population non-white, got its first taste of the long hot summer when hundreds of black people and civil rights supporters turned out to protest two discriminatory actions by the city administration.

First was the nomination by the mayor of James Callaghan, a white with little education, to the post of secretary of the board of education. The nominee of the civil rights groups was Wilbur Parker, a black public accountant, who has a degree in business and public administration.

On May 23, a crowd of 300 forced a board of education meeting to adjourn without appointing the mayor's man. Speaker after speaker spoke in favor of Parker, while no one defended Callaghan. After eliciting a confession from the board that requirements for the \$20,000 a year post were only the ability to read and write, one speaker pointed out that for years black people have been told to get an education in order to advance, but now that they have it, they find it isn't necessary for the job.

Dr. Nathan Wright, one of the sponsors of a national black power conference to be held in Newark July 20-23, summed up the mood of these present when he said, "call the man [the mayor] who makes the decisions on the telephone and tell him the niggers of Newark ain't happy no more."

The night before, a strong protest was made at a meeting of the Newark Housing Authority, which wants to take over 150 acres in the black ghetto, presently housing thousands of families, for the construction of a medical college. With most of the speakers demanding the construction of housing instead, the hearing was adjourned over shouts of protest.

This prognosis proved to be a bit on the rosy side. The draft card burning did take place and there has been, unfortunately, no evidence of an "irreversible" impact on the youth of the nation. *Workers World* could perhaps argue that, according to the organizers of the action, only 180 actually burned their cards. But, logically, they should find it difficult to explain the qualitative difference between 180 and 500. Neither figure represents a mass action as the concept is defined by any reasonably political person.

For Marxists, this is a key question. Since its inception, authentic Marxism has considered and rejected many times over the recurrent notion that individual acts, no matter how fearless or "revolutionary," can either substitute for or effectively spark large scale mass action. Marx and Engels polemicized against this belief as did Lenin, Trotsky and the other major Marxist thinkers.

While the Socialist Workers Party supports the rights of individual draft resisters who refuse to become part of an army that is waging an illegal, immoral and unjust war in Vietnam, it is firmly convinced that individual resistance is in practice a hindrance to the development of mass resistance to the draft and to the war.

Some of those who favor individual draft resistance, in our opinion, do so out of a feeling of frustration and pessimism. They don't really believe that it is possible to build a mass resistance to the war and the draft but their sense of personal commitment moves them toward some action, even if it be an act that is essentially one of despair.

Two Questions

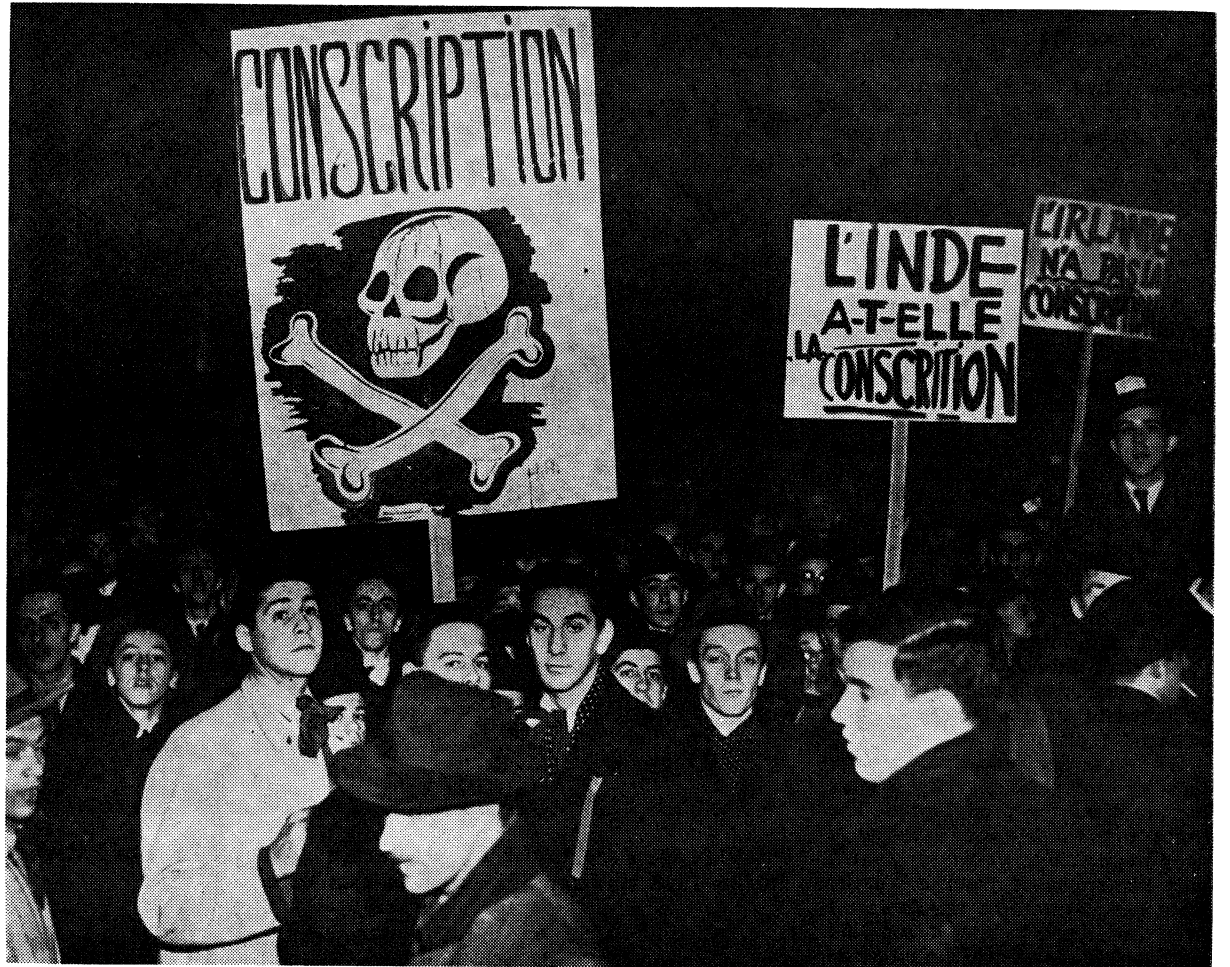
While we believe that such a pessimistic view is not warranted and would argue strenuously against it, this is a separate question from that advanced by those who assert that individual resistance is a practical, effective means of developing mass resistance.

Those who are really confident that mass opposition to the draft and the war will occur are ready to concentrate their energies on seeking to involve ever broader layers of the population in demonstrations and other activities. They seek to reach the mass through all available means with their ideas about the war. They recognize that there is no short cut in this process and do not feel impelled to seek one. But those like YAWF and the Workers World Party, who seize on such things as individual draft resistance, betray thereby a lack of confidence in their ability to persuade the mass of the correctness of their ideas. They yield to the unfounded hope that somehow individual acts by isolated groups such as the draft card burners, will in some mystical way inspire the masses to action.

There is a two-fold deficiency to this concept. Carried through persistently, such acts lead to the victimization and isolation through imprisonment of active antiwar leaders. True, even extreme penalties are not to be rejected if the sacrifice is productive of a significant result in terms of building the movement. But experience demonstrates this is simply not the case.

The sole hope of individual resisters is that their act will be emulated by a number of other individuals sufficient to make a dent in the war machine. But mass opposition doesn't develop that way. Mass resistance inevitably takes the form that the very word implies — people acting as a mass, in concert.

For example, when French resistance to the Algerian war assumed a mass character it didn't take the form of thousands of young men each individually resolving one morning that they



MASS ANTIDRAFT ACTION. Thousands of workers participated in this demonstration against conscription in Montreal, Canada, in 1944. Mass resistance achieved substantial results in French Canada, and helped block continuation of Canadian conscription law after World War II.

wouldn't report for induction even if it meant jail.

But thousands of draftees, sharing a common opposition to the war and imbued with a confidence inspired by their very numbers, did begin yanking the emergency cord on trains carrying them to the war.

Such forms of *collective* resistance are much more readily understandable to young people of working-class backgrounds. Their whole experience in dealing with employers teaches them that individual acts of resistance can be a costly, risky business. But they know there is power in numbers.

But, it will be argued, the choice confronting the individual opponent of the war is to either go to prison or accept induction into an army that is carrying on a murderous, reactionary war against a people who seek only their freedom. Isn't it a violation of all your beliefs to go into such an army?

'Purity' or Effectiveness?

Again, the choice must be made on the basis of whether the individual is simply concerned with the purity of his own conscience or with taking effective action to help end the war.

An opponent of the war who spends five years in the isolation of a prison cell or escaping to Canada can contribute little to organizing a movement against the war. And there is a practical alternative to this.

Some people assume that entering the army means that you must give up your constitutional right of free speech and can no longer express your political beliefs. This is not the case.

Admittedly, army life is not conducive to the free expression of ideas even though there is no law against such expression and there are, in fact, constitutional provisions protecting the rights of a citizen in the armed forces.

A demonstration that it is perfectly possible to exercise the right of free speech while in the armed forces is now being provided by Pfc. Howard Petrick. True enough, Petrick faces threatened official reprisals for exercising his rights. But if there is sufficient support for him he may well not be victimized. And certainly he is accomplishing more on behalf of his ideas than if he

had simply refused induction and shut himself off in a jail cell.

The degree to which Petrick has been able to express his views and the encouraging response he has had from fellow GIs should help to clear up a misconception prevalent among some antiwar activists. That is the notion that the army is a monolithic structure whose members are either Nazi-minded killers or virtual inmates of a concentration camp.

There is no need to paint up the army to recognize that this is an oversimplification. Mass armies are related to, and are generally reflective of, the state of the general civilian population. While the armed forces includes some very ugly types they also include ordinary young Americans from a variety of walks of life.

Nor are they totally isolated from what is happening in the general population. They correspond with friends and relatives. They go home on leave. They read newspapers, listen to radios, watch television. Certainly they are subject to as much, and perhaps more brainwashing, as the average American. But despite the brainwashing efforts, growing numbers of average Americans are becoming opposed to the war. There is no good reason to assume that members of the armed forces are somehow immune to this growing sentiment.

Slanted Propaganda

For example, despite the slanted pro-war propaganda of most TV broadcasts, an opposite effect is being achieved. This was conceded by Robert Northshield, producer of the Huntley-Brinkley show.

"The horror of war becomes better known through TV," he told the *New York Times* May 29. "Those who vocally oppose the war have TV as their principal source of information. TV is directly responsible for 125,000 people showing up at the UN Plaza to demonstrate against the war. This is not our intent, but we have no alternative."

GIs who face possible duty in the Vietnamese jungles are certainly no less immune to the impact of the televised battles.

Further, young men already drafted into the service are likely to be favorably impressed by TV scenes of huge demonstrations that

urge: "Support Our Boys, Bring Them Home!" But they're not likely to be particularly enthused by scenes of white, middle class college students burning their draft cards.

Similarly with the young fellow from a working-class neighborhood who faces the draft. He may be bitterly opposed to the war and wants no part of the army. But the alternative of five years in jail and the lifelong difficulties that follow a prison record are not very appealing to someone of limited material resources. But, as in France, when such young men feel they are part of a big, meaningful force they can and will take effective antiwar action.

Clearly such mass involvement is not achieved overnight. But the fact is the antiwar movement has progressed further along the road of creating mass opposition to the war, as demonstrated by the huge turnout April 15, than it has in developing individual draft resistance.

And as such mass participation in demonstrations, marches and other antiwar actions develop, the tendency is for them to grow more militant and more deeply political. When masses of people become involved in a cause they seek to utilize established means of achieving their aim. As these prove insufficient, they turn toward more militant means. The growth of the mass movement against the war will result in action on all fronts, including mass opposition to the draft.

The difficulties of building mass movements for social change have always created pressures to seek short cuts. In the past in other countries some revolutionaries were driven to advocate acts of individual terror in the hope that somehow such acts would electrify the mass. This was the case among some Russians prior to the revolution of 1917.

I recall reading of Lenin's reaction when he was told one day of the attempt on the life of a Czarist official by a revolutionary. Lenin summed up his political approach by responding: "For the price of that bullet he could have distributed a hundred leaflets."

BACKGROUND ANALYSIS

The Egypt-Israeli Crisis

By Dick Roberts

"Arab divisions have so long been an obstacle to a 'strong' oil policy that it must be tempting for the oil company to rely on the obstacle lasting for ever." This revealing statement was made in the British financial weekly, *The Economist*, Dec. 17, 1966. The subject was not Egypt and Israel.

It concerned the blocking of oil pipelines by Syria, in retaliation for the Iraq Petroleum Company's refusal to pay higher rates on oil piped to the ports of Banias and Tripoli from the vast oil fields of Iraq. However, it is oil which in the last analysis lies at the root of the present Middle Eastern crisis; and it is the imperialist policy of exploiting national and race differences — the age-old policy of divide and rule — which fundamentally explains the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Oil Profits

For over four decades, British, French and American oil cartels have been deriving immense profits from the Middle Eastern oil fields. According to the 1966 *Statistical Abstracts* published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. investment in the Middle East in 1964 — over 90 percent of which is in oil — totaled \$1.3 billion.

This investment was made over a long period of time. Between 1959 and 1964, for instance, the net new U.S. investment amounted to only a little over \$100 million. In the same six-year period, the net revenue to U.S. corporations on these oil holdings amounted to \$4.896 billion — over 40 times investment! These fantastic oil profits are the cornerstone of imperialist foreign policy in the Middle East.

By jockeying one Arab regime off against the next, by feeding each a plentiful supply of weapons to use against each other and against the exploited masses of their own nations, Britain, France and the U.S. have managed to maintain their oil investments behind the tensions of the Balkanized Middle East.

On top of this, the imperialists have exploited in every way possible the conflicting chauvinisms of Zionism and Arab anti-Semitism.

The Palestine War, 1948-49

The Arab-Israeli conflict has its roots in the establishment of

Mexico Troops Crush Student Demonstration

(*World Outlook*) — Unrest in Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora, finally reached an explosive point after two months of building up when Faustino Félix Serna was designated candidate of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional for the post of governor of the Mexican state.

Elections are scheduled for next July, but a candidate of the PRI is assured election under the virtual one-party system in effect in Mexico.

Violence broke out May 14 when students, demonstrating against the decision, were attacked by the police.

The disorders continued for three days. President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz declared martial law and ordered out the troops.

On May 18 some 500 infantrymen and 2,500 parachutists arrived from Mexico City. In face of the repressive measures and police raids in search of "agitators" many political figures, students and even newsmen in Sonora went into hiding.

the independent Zionist state of Israel in 1948 and the bloody year-long Palestine war which followed it. Israel has been an important pawn in the imperialist game of maintaining Middle-Eastern tension and war. And the Israeli leaders have been zealous in upholding their responsibility of keeping this tension alive.

In the wave of colonial uprisings which followed World War II, Britain was faced with the threat of revolution throughout the Middle East. In the British colony of Palestine, the Arabic and Jewish population led a combined struggle against British rule beginning with massive strikes in 1946. Had Palestine been liberated as a national democratic state ruled by Arabs and Jews alike, it would have been a severe blow to imperialist rule in the Middle East.

But this progressive struggle was distorted and divided by British and U.S. interests into a racial and reactionary antagonism.

It can hardly be argued that the war and postwar Democratic administrations in Washington had any sympathy for the masses of European Jews who were uprooted in World War II. During and after the war, Roosevelt and Truman steadfastly refused to allow Jewish immigrants into this country.

European Refugees

In 1948, there were still 850,000 Jewish refugees in European displaced-persons camps, living in abject poverty. The U.S. Congress argued for months over whether to allow a handful of 10,000 to enter the "Land of Opportunity."

On the contrary, Washington realized the advantage of founding an all-Jewish state in Palestine, precisely as a means of gaining a foothold in the oil-rich Middle East. And Washington found staunch allies in the bureaucratic Zionist organizations. It must be added, the Zionist leaders entertained illusions of power in carrying out Washington's assignment.

There was nothing inherently progressive about establishing a tiny all-Jewish state on the Palestinian island of the Arab world. Such a state could not be self-sufficient. It could not guarantee the exploited Jewish workers and peasants a chance of new freedom. It could only bind them once again, in a different land, to the chains of servitude to capitalism.

Such a state could not end the conflict of Arab and Jew; it could only serve to intensify it. Revolutionary socialists at the time urged Arab and Jewish workers not to be caught in the snare. They supported the unified struggle for democratic independence from British imperialism; but they opposed the establishment of a Zionist Israel.

UN Partition

In November, 1947, the United Nations acting in concert with Washington's interests, recommended the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish sectors, with Jerusalem an international city. The recommendation was vigorously opposed by the Arabic population of Palestine which constituted the majority of citizens.

Importantly, the recommendation was also covertly opposed by Britain, which saw the move as an act to enhance U.S. power in the Middle East to the detriment of Britain's. Thus Britain channelled arms to its Arab League chieftains and inflamed an anti-Semitic crusade. Washington poured arms and money into the Zionist movement piously proclaiming "Israel for the Israelites."

This inauspicious beginning of the state of Israel resulted in months of war and bloodshed with genocidal pogroms occurring on both sides. Israel's victory primarily represented the shift of cold war power from London to Washington. In March 1948, London

agreed to stop arming the Arabs. Israel was declared a nation in May of the same year, although a full year of bloodshed was to follow.

Egypt, and the 1956 Suez Crisis

Israel's value to imperialism in the Middle East developed significantly with the emergence of Nasser's regime in Egypt.

Nasser came to power after a new revolutionary upsurge in the Arab world in 1952, particularly in Egypt. Workers strikes, peasant revolts and upheavals, and an intensification of guerrilla war against British occupation forces in the Suez Canal Zone, had paralyzed the Farouk monarchy.

From the beginning of Nasser's rule Israeli provocations have been used to weaken his regime. Nasser had originally attempted to reach a modus vivendi with Britain and the U.S. But Washington's refusal to supply Nasser arms to meet the Israeli threat, forced him to turn to the Soviet Union for military aid.

Aswan High Dam

Supposedly in retaliation for the shift towards Moscow in Cairo's foreign policy, Washington and London withdrew their promises to help Egypt build the Aswan high dam, essential to Egypt's economic development. Nasser immediately responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal Zone, July 26, 1956.

This shattering blow to imperialism was made all the more dangerous to Washington and London by the great encouragement it gave to Arab nationalism throughout the Middle East. In one nation after the other, millions of Arabs demonstrated their hatred of British, French and U.S. imperialism in solidarity with Egypt.

In the next months, Britain and France worked carefully towards preparing the groundwork for counterattack. The holy crusade climate of an Egypt-Israeli war was cooked up in the press, while Israeli divisions moved to the Sinai-Peninsula Egyptian frontier.

On Oct. 29, Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula and in a few days occupied the port of Aqaba and the city and territory of Gaza, with its 200,000 Palestinian Arabs who had fled during the war in 1948.

Phony Ultimatum

On Oct. 30, Britain and France delivered an ultimatum purportedly to prevent an Egypt-Israeli war. Both sides were commanded to withdraw their forces 10 miles from the Suez Canal — although the Suez was deep in Egyptian territory and about 150 miles from the Israeli border!

When Egypt refused to bow, British and French forces launched an invasion of the Canal Zone from Cyprus. It was preceded by air bombardments of the Egyptian airfields, and it was not until these fields had been destroyed, that the invasion was launched.

The British-French attack had all the elements of typical imperialist brutality: "Port Said," wrote *New York Times* columnist Hanson Baldwin, "suffered heavily, and many civilians — the exact number may never be known — were killed or wounded . . . The old part of town suffered especially heavily. Whole blocks were burned out or reduced to rubble or tottering walls."

As is well-known, the British invasion stopped short of winning back the Canal Zone, much less overthrowing Nasser. Eventually British and Israeli forces were withdrawn from the conquered area to be replaced by a UN command.

What is left out of the story is that Britain encountered much stiffer resistance from Egypt than London had anticipated. In addition, Moscow issued a vigorous



AFTER SUEZ NATIONALIZATION. Young Egyptians in Port Said celebrate unconditional withdrawal of British and French troops from Canal Zone. During fighting, British commander complained that 12-year-old Egyptians were armed and firing on the imperialist troops in Port Said.

warning against the imperialist attack; and a severe blow was dealt to the scheme by the British population itself. Workers in England, supported by significant sections of the middle class and youth, demonstrated in no uncertain terms their opposition to the whole reactionary business.

Recent Israeli Provocations

It is beyond the scope of this article to recount all the incidents in the last 10 years which have built up to the latest potential conflict. However, it must be pointed out that Arab-Israeli relations have become even more hardened as a result of the deepened opposition to imperialism throughout the Afro-Asian world.

Israel, for example, aided the reactionary French terrorist Secret Army Organization (OAS) during the Algerian revolution. And Israel's provocations in the Middle East are not limited to sallies against Egypt. At the same time, class contradictions have deepened in the Arab countries bringing them closer and closer to an outright anti-imperialist bloc on the oil question.

Arab Oil Bloc

This is the impending "strong" oil policy which *The Economist* article, cited earlier, alluded to. The Syrian move against the Iraq Petroleum Company could, according to *The Economist*, spark a nationalization of oil in Iraq.

In bordering Jordan, the military rule of King Hussein has recently been threatened by mass demonstrations. Although Egypt sides with Jordan on the Israeli question, Nasser has been sympathetic to liberation forces in Jordan, and these may have been gaining significant strength in recent months.

Against this background, it cannot be any means be ruled out that the imperialists have once again decided on an invasion in the Middle East, and are laying the groundwork for attack. This suspicion was by no means relieved by Israel's bloody raid on the defenseless Jordanian village of Es Samu, last Nov. 13.

Under the excuse of retaliating for "acts of sabotage" committed by the Palestinian guerrilla force, *al Fatah*, which in turn is allegedly trained by Syria, Israel invaded Jordan, claiming that Hussein was not doing enough to pre-

vent *al Fatah* from working out of Jordan.

That flimsy pretense resulted in a tank invasion of Es Samu, supported by aircraft, blasting to the ground a number of homes in the village and two Bedouin encampments nearby. The act was so monstrous that the imperialist powers in the UN felt compelled to make a pious denunciation of Israel.

Nasser explained the background of the present crisis in a speech delivered May 22, the text of which was printed in the May 26 *New York Times*. "On May 13 we received accurate information that Israel was concentrating on the Syrian border huge armed forces of about 11 to 13 brigades."

Defense Pact

Nasser entered into a mutual defense agreement with Syria: "We told them that we had decided that if Syria was attacked, Egypt would enter the battle from the first minute. This was the situation May 14. The forces began to move in the direction of Sinai to take up normal positions."

On May 17, Nasser requested U Thant to withdraw the UN command from positions guarding the Gulf of Aqaba — which they had occupied since the 1956 Israeli invasion. Nasser had every reason to believe, and two decades of history to prove, that if hostilities flared up, the UN command would enter on the side of imperialism.

Following the withdrawal of the UN forces, Nasser occupied the towns of Sharm el Sheik and Ras Naspani, controlling the straits leading into the Gulf of Aqaba, and closed it to Israeli shipping.

It did not take much time for Nasser's premonitions about the role of the UN to be justified. May 27, U Thant declared that the UN had a right to police the Middle East if there were any violations of the 1949 "armistice" which ended the Palestine war.

Behind the myth of foreordained holy war between Arab and Jew lies the hard reality of imperialist investment in Middle Eastern oil. Washington and London have provoked such wars before and they will do it again in order to divide and weaken these nations. And high on their agenda is the crushing of the Egyptian revolution.

Warns of 'Peace-Keeping'

Cuba Assails UN Puppet Role

By Dick Roberts

UNITED NATIONS, May 22 — Alarcon de Quesada, Cuban ambassador to the UN, today delivered a strong warning against UN "peace-keeping" operations.

Ambassador de Quesada went directly to the essence of the question: "Some representatives have asked what must be done to safeguard peace, what machinery must be created to avoid conflicts among nations and make a reality of the hopes which led to the creation of the UN.

Vietnamese Example

"We would reply, ask the Vietnamese people who are witnesses to the honor and dignity of mankind. They have tenaciously resisted the ruthlessness of an active aggression which is unparalleled in history.

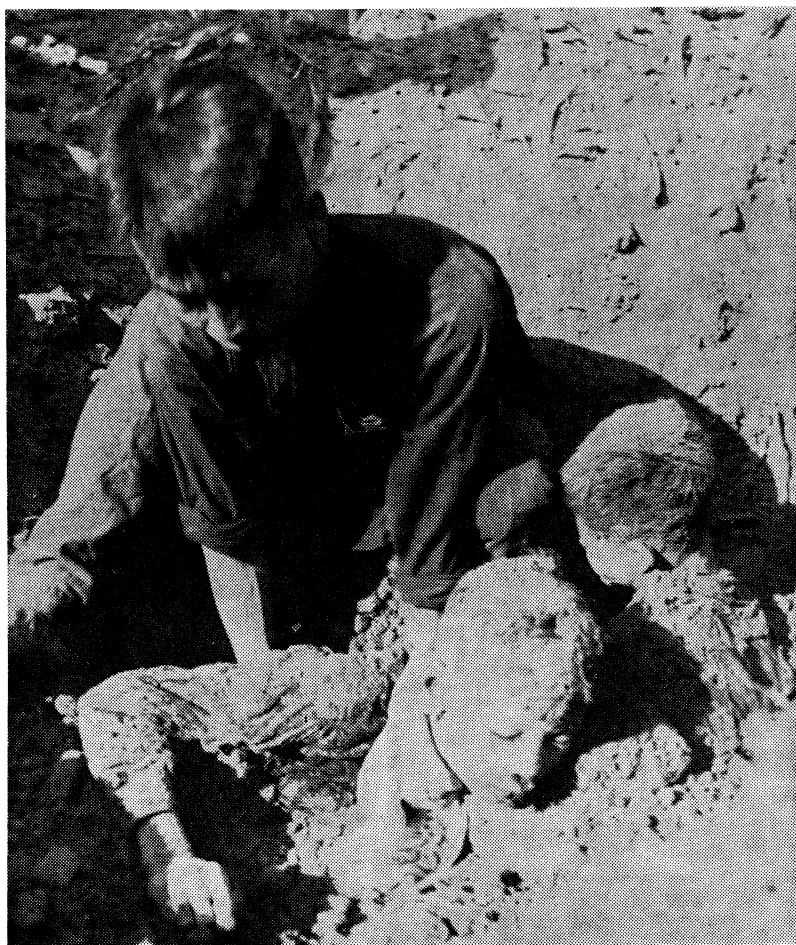
"We would say, ask the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who are fighting in the mountains and cities to conquer their independence. We would say, ask the people who have been fighting tooth and nail to put an end to the final strongholds of colonialism. . .

"They have responded not with words, but with blood, not with speeches but with gunfire. They say, help us to destroy the aggressors and to put an end to imperialism and the exploitation and oppression of peoples. To preserve peace means that we must destroy imperialism."

U.S. Imperialism

Basing the remainder of his remarks on this unequivocal assertion of revolutionary socialism, Ambassador de Quesada explained how as long as U.S. imperialist interests dominated the UN, it could not serve as an instrument for peace. He attacked Washington's hypocrisy in demanding a UN peace-keeping force in the Middle East:

"It would try the patience of the forebearing among us to hear in the calm atmosphere of this hall



U.S. BOMBS DID THIS. North Vietnamese student is dug out of rubble after U.S. bombed school. Fight for peace must be directed against those responsible for such aggression.

the representatives of the imperialist government of the United States who speak so pompously of peace while at the same time Yankee planes bomb the factories and cities of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, who speak while half a million Yankee aggressors are endeavoring to enslave the south Vietnamese people, who speak at a time when men and women, old and young, in Vietnam are being massacred on the orders of the imperialist government of the United States . . .

"Here there is a spirit of conciliation and promises to negotiate, but there we see hospitals destroyed, schools in ruins and temples reduced to ashes. Here there is a kind of fictitious coexistence

and a hypocritical peace, there there is genocide, destruction and crime . . .

"It is possible to reach agreement with North American imperialists if, and only if, they are allowed to bomb the population of sovereign states and provided they are allowed to invade the territory of any country to set up cliques of traitors who will be at their beck and call."

Ambassador de Quesada included in his speech an important statement of the Cuban Communist Party's Central Committee, answering the Venezuelan charge that Cuba had committed acts of aggression against Venezuela. The full text of this statement will be published in next week's Militant.

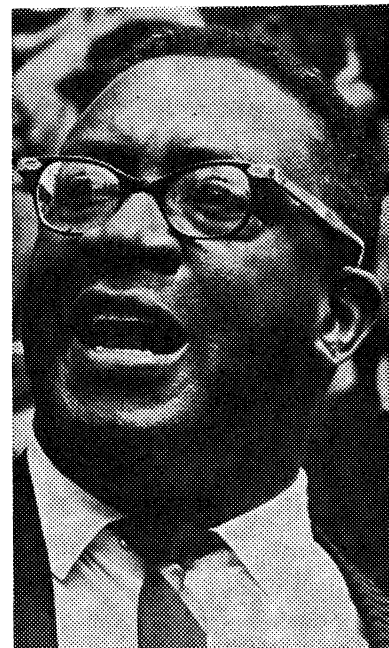
The Black Struggle

Celler Admits Racism In Unseating of Powell

According to the May 20 Baltimore Afro-American, Rep. Emanuel Celler has charged that "racism" will defeat any attempt to seat Adam Clayton Powell. "Racism is pretty deep," he said, "Congressmen from the South have the strongest kinds of convictions on this matter."

Celler headed the House committee which paved the way for Powell's ouster and he was one of those who screamed most loudly and piously against the charge that racism was involved in the legal lynching of Powell last January.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court has denied Adam Clayton Powell's request that it rule quickly on his claim that he was unconstitutionally excluded from his congressional seat. The high court is waiting for a ruling by the U.S. Circuit Court before deciding whether to rule on the Powell case, assuming Powell is not seated before then by Congress itself.



Cleveland Robinson

Twelve hundred attended the "Black Conference on Survival" held in Watts this past weekend. Stokely Carmichael gave the opening address at the massive three-day conference. (For the full story see next week's Militant.)

A conference held in Washington this weekend by the Negro American Labor Council projected the organization of independent black unions. The opening address of the conference was given by Cleveland Robinson, president of the NALC and vice president of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. He said that "the main effort will be to recruit workers who are not members of unions," but that "members of unions that discriminate against black workers will also be organized."

Robinson explained that the black unions will be independent in the sense that they will be led and controlled by black people. But, he said, after they have been established, it is possible that some will affiliate with the AFL-CIO, but "only if Negroes remain in control." He said that the drive would be concentrated in service industries where masses of blacks are employed with "abominably low wages."

Less than two weeks after Birmingham residents ended protest marches against police killings, the cops have shot and killed another black man. The victim, 20-year-old Robert Thomas, was the fourth black man to be killed by Birmingham police this year. According to the police he was spotted inside the W & W Beverage Store with two others at 2 a.m. on May 22.

Fifteen hundred people attended the funeral of Benjamin Brown in Jackson, Miss., May 18. Brown was killed when police shot into a crowd of students near Jackson State College May 11.

Before the funeral, the Committee to Protest the Murder of

Ben Brown put out a list of demands to be made on the city, county and state governments. These included a demand for the suspension of the "suspected killers," an investigation into Brown's death, and the firing of "Big Red," a policeman known for brutality.

At a meeting held after the funeral, Rap Brown, the newly elected chairman of SNCC, related the death of Ben Brown to the war in Vietnam. He said that "Johnson has become a two-gun cracker. He's killing you over there in Vietnam, and he's killing you in Jackson . . . Next to Vietnam, Mississippi and Alabama have the highest casualty rate for black people."

Students at Tougaloo College, Miss., barred the gates leading to the campus May 23. They were protesting penalties against the student body president and a student bus driver following the confrontation between students and cops at nearby Jackson State College.

The two students had used a campus bus to transport Tougaloo students to a march on City Hall. For this the bus driver was placed on probation for a semester and the student body president will not be allowed to participate in commencement activities.

The Bay Area regional office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was raided in the early hours last Monday morning. The office at 448 14th Street houses the SNCC office and the national office of The Movement, the West Coast monthly newspaper affiliated with SNCC.

The raiders entered by an outside window and broke the lock on a door in order to enter the office. They stole the subscription list of the newspaper and escaped with confidential files containing SNCC reports and correspondence.

—Elizabeth Barnes

... Did Special Forces Seize Debray?

(Continued from Page 1)

soners are simply shot by the army without trial as occurred in the case of César Lora, a well-known Trotskyist leader, on July 29, 1965.) Barrientos now told the press, "I am going to ask Congress to re-establish the death penalty."

Barrientos said that Régis Debray "has not been executed." But he refused to state where Debray was being held. He also said that neither journalists, photographers, nor his mother could see the prisoner. He admitted having received a message from General de

Gaulle inquiring about the fate of Debray.

The editorial in the May 23 Le Monde commented:

"Once again it is not possible to refrain from noting General Barrientos' vehemence and the contradictions in what he says. Last week he formally promised to see Mme. Alexandre-Debray, and now he has postponed this interview indefinitely. It is difficult to understand the reasons causing the Bolivian president to fail to respect the rules of a constitution adopted last February and which expressly provides for due process of law within 24 hours for anyone who is arrested.

"In stating that his 'forces only captured some guerrillas,' General Barrientos thereby contradicts all the reports given the past month and a half by the Bolivian press itself, according to which the three foreign journalists, the French Régis Debray, the Argentine Fructuoso and the English Roth, were arrested at Muyupampa, April 20, by the DIC (Department of Criminal Investigation). The photos published in the La Paz press confirm the capital fact that the three men were in civilian clothes and unarmed and with their identity papers in order.

"Under these conditions it is permissible to wonder about the real fate of Régis Debray and his two companions, held in strict sec-

recy despite the remarks made by Bolivian jurists and the demands for clarification coming from abroad. The obstinate refusal of the Bolivian president to furnish the least proof of the accusations levelled against the three foreigners captured in the province of Santa Cruz naturally increases the uneasiness aroused by this affair.

"Thus, certain observers, particularly in La Paz, are now asking if Régis Debray and his companions have not been turned over by the Bolivian authorities to the American special services for 'interrogation,' either in Bolivia itself, or at the headquarters of the 'special forces' of the United States, in the Panama Canal Zone."

In Mexico, the magazine Sucesos Para Todos published a long editorial May 18 on the case:

"Régis Debray went to Bolivia as the correspondent of Sucesos Para Todos, with all the precautions and discretion required to succeed in a genuinely difficult and risky journalistic mission. His press card for this journal, made out in 1966, leaves no doubt as to his professional occupation . . . Any attempt to present Debray as conducting activities other than those of a press correspondent constitutes a fraud aimed at justifying the repression of the legitimate efforts of the press to reach sources of news."



Régis Debray

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Letters From Our Readers

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

For Unity

San Francisco, Calif.

Am enclosing \$2. One is for a 4-month introductory subscription and one is a contribution. I know that is not much but I am also contributing to a number of other antiwar (or maybe I should be more positive and say "peace") movements.

It is sad that the Left is not only divided into many segments, but some of those segments are actively working against each other.

The *Weekly People* is in many ways an excellent paper but it expends much of its energy running down the governments of Russia and China, also almost all forms of socialism except the one it advocates. It is like a soldier in a parade who is out of step but believes that every other soldier in the parade is out of step.

Weekly Calendar

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

CLEVELAND

MOVIE: TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. Sun., June 4, 7:30 p.m. 9801 Euclid Ave., second floor. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Cleveland Militant Forum.

LOS ANGELES

MARXIST COMMENTARY. A biweekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., June 12, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Thurs., June 15, 9:45 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

NEW YORK

A PROTEST MEETING TO FREE HUGO BLANCO. Speakers include: Irving Beinen, coordinating committee, National Guardian; Edward Boorstein, spokesman, U.S. Latin-American Justice Committee; Richard Garza, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; Michael Myerson, editor, Tri-Continental Information Center Bulletin; Pedro Juan Rua, N.Y. organizer, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Ron Clark, nat'l staff, CORE; Wendy Ryan, N.Y. organizer YSA; a SNCC representative and others. Fri., June 9, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Rosa Luxemburg Program for Revolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name

Street

City State Zip

The two great socialist nations, Russia and China, compound the schism by living in a state of mutual hostility. China herself is divided into two (or maybe three or four) factions.

If the peace movement and the Left in general is ever going to be an effective force for peace and a power in the world it must unite among itself and build up a constructive program that is more positive than the crackpot Right is negative.

D. R.

A Critic

Chicago, Ill.

Thank you for your recent sample copy of *The Militant*. Your article concerning Robert Kennedy's recent statements was of considerable interest. You quote Mr. Kennedy as calling for a halt in the bombing of North Vietnam, a bombing which I am sure you are aware kills people and destroys property on a scale easily equivalent to the civilian destruction witnessed during World War II. It would seem only logical to conclude that if the bombing were stopped, the people would live, whatever the motivation for the cessation, and whatever followed as a result. How then can you construct an argument against Kennedy's position? No one denies Mr. Kennedy's loyalty to the cause of American intervention, no one argues that Mr. Kennedy is a potential subscriber to your magazine, and no one in touch with reality would even contemplate Mr. Kennedy as a sincere opponent to the incumbent administration's policy. No one that is, except President Johnson, Sec. of Defense McNamara, and Sec. of State Dean Rusk, and, shades of Dallas, the CIA.

But alas your position is pure, and Mr. Kennedy, who wants to stop the bombing has been exposed. And, it would seem, one more segment of the American population has withdrawn its support from his position, much to the glee of Johnson and the dismay of North Vietnam and the thousands of people who suffer death and injury as a result of the air attacks.

It is people who place ideology above reality whom I really fear, probably as much as those who, in their economic interests, would drive us to war with Asia, the people who, while North Vietnam calls for a cessation and struggles to survive, maintain that a cessation of the bombing is only a fraud, a plot to further the goals of imperialism.

The title of your article was "What it Means." In closing I would like to say, in turn, what

your article means. It means you have allied yourself with the U.S. State Dept., and have by default been assigned the task of removing support from those who would end the bombing of Vietnam. It means you do not support an end to the bombing unless it is accompanied by your entire platform. And most sadly of all, it means that despite the humanitarian principles which have motivated you in your present work, and despite the frustration which must accompany any attempt to act in the interests of mankind, you have for long been adapting to isolation, ideological infighting and the threat of historical betrayal, that a protective coating of theoretical wax has formed around you and even the nightmare screams of burning children cannot stir your soul to compromise.

Howard D. Jones

Aw Shucks!

Madison, Wis.

We have been having very much success here selling *The Militant* and our other literature — people seem to be more interested in reading what we have to say.

Certainly this is due to many and varied causes, but one reason is that our publications are all interesting, well-written and timely, because of the hard work and skill of all of you in the publications offices.

K. K.

Thought for the Week

"Granted the insanity of war, violence has been the chosen means of predator nations to gain their objectives." — Gen. Earle Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Greek Coup

Minneapolis, Minn.

It has become evident that the United States had complete knowledge of the Greek overthrow of the government. The elections that were to be held by 1968 were approaching and it was apparent that something had to be done to protect the interests of American investment.

If the elections that were to be held were carried through, the moderate Center Union government of old George Papandreou would become victors. This we did not want. The Center Union leadership have before proposed to take Greece out of NATO, plus retiring the dictatorial-minded senior officers of the Royal Army which the U.S. finances. It is apparent that closer ties with Bulgaria would have been established. There are thousands of Greeks in exile in Bulgaria from past events.

Any future events are questionable. It appears that U.S. is again in its famous role. Supporting a dictatorship.

F. Adrian Luoma

From Nigeria

Lagos, Nigeria

Reading *The Militant* I was very much inspired — so much that I introduced it to some of my comrades in Lagos here.

Your newspaper is one of the papers fighting clear ideological struggles against imperialism, the enemy of humanity and their collaborators the "revisionists." This is why I am so optimistic and curious to write you. Possibly you might be sending a copy to me every time.

Please kindly accept my warmest support for your militant stand for a genuine Marxist revolutionary struggle against imperialism and revisionism. Once more I wish to express my deepest feelings for the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against American imperialism.

Also, I would like to learn about the revolutionary struggle of the Latin American peoples for liberation.

Kindly convey my fraternal greetings to the members of the editorial board and the youths of your organization.

R. J.

It Was Reported in the Press

Presidential Image — In Hungary a police guard had to be assigned to a portrait of LBJ at the U.S. pavillion at the Budapest Fair. There had been several attempts to deface it.

Does That Include LBJ? — The House of Representatives voted to stop the paychecks of government employes who incite riots or promote civil disturbances.

Thoughtful — A Pennsylvania unit of the National Guard will use make-believe armored vehicles while on maneuvers in North Carolina this summer in order to avoid injury to roads and tobacco crops. Wouldn't it be nice if some of this concern was extended to the roads and crops of the Vietnamese?

Groovy Disc — An LP, "The Sound of Babies," offers hiccups, burps and booms to acclimate prospective parents to what's ahead. Maybe it could also be peddled to childless couples so they should know what they're missing.

Pucci Power — A fashion writer for the *New York Times* estimates that Pucci dresses are just about worth their weight in gold ("five ounces of Pucci, \$155 to \$180; five ounces of gold, \$175"). We were going to treat our spouse to a couple but doubt that she could fit into five ounces. However, we're informed that Pucci is at work on a specially designed bath towel. Sounds like just the thing for an afternoon on the sands of Coney Island.

Tinkling Machine — A machine is being offered for a mere \$20 which assertedly soothes the senses by emitting a pleasant sound to filter out jarring noises. Maybe it's a tape of a steadily functioning cash register.

Corn Merchants Special — Wyse Advertising, a Cleveland ad agency, just opened a New York office. With a straight face, Marc Wyse, head of the outfit, told newsmen: "We think we have a philosophy and an honest way of

speaking to people . . . We want to go back to the old values . . . there are some just plain folks out there who like those values and we don't want to be out-slickered." Pass the martini pitcher!

\$90,000 Governor — Claude Kirk, recently elected governor of Florida, told newsmen "I have no way of knowing" when asked about reports that he had received \$90,000 from business interests after the elections and the money had gone into his private bank account. Meanwhile, in an unrelated transaction, it was disclosed that the Florida Development Commission had paid a New York ad agency \$90,000 to promote Kirk as Republican nominee for vice president. The use of taxpayers' money was explained on the grounds that the Kirk campaign would improve the state's image.

Yes Sir! — George Wackenhut,

the private gumshoe who heads up Gov. Kirk's "anti-crime" drive in Florida, said he is "shocked at the extent of official corruption" in the state.

Looked Ahead — "The major part of the U.S. military task (in Vietnam) can be completed by the end of 1965." Report by Gen. Maxwell Taylor and Defense Secretary McNamara in October, 1963.

Non-Statistical Survey — A spokesman for the American Medical Association said a survey by the organization showed that prescribing drugs by generic rather than brand names did not necessarily assure lower costs. Queried on the figures, the spokesman said the sampling was too small for statistical validity. The drug industry spends \$10 million a year for advertising in the *AMA Journal*.

—Harry Ring

FOR NEW READERS

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THE MILITANT

873 Broadway
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Army Admits to Levy Charge On Medicine as 'Weapon'

By Barry Sheppard

MAY 30 — The army doctor who set up the medical training program for the Green Berets admitted yesterday one of the central contentions of the defense in the court-martial of Capt. Howard Levy.

Levy, a dermatologist, has refused to teach his medical specialty to Green Beret aidmen on the grounds that the Green Berets are primarily combat soldiers and use any medical training as a cover. Levy contends this violates the doctor's Hippocratic Oath and the Geneva Conventions on wartime medicine. Levy faces charges of refusing to obey an order, and for making statements against the Vietnam war.

"We sought to use medicine as the means of approaching the enemy and imposing our will upon him," Lt. Col. Richard Coppedge admitted during the court-martial. "Medicine used in this way is always peculiarly an American approach," the doctor said. Coppedge had been called to the stand by the defense as a hostile witness.

War Crime Evidence

On May 25, the military court's senior trial judge, Col. Earl V. Brown, ruled in an out-of-court hearing that evidence pertaining to war crimes committed by the Green Berets would not be admitted in the court-martial. A week earlier, Brown had said that the defense might introduce such evidence, but would first have to present a prima facie case of such crimes to him in the out-of-court hearing. The defense then had six days to prepare for the hearing. In the meantime, Col. Brown evidently decided to beat a retreat on the question, and ruled against admission of war crimes evidence at the hearing.

According to Barry Cunningham, who is covering the court-martial for the *New York Post*, "Chief defense counsel Charles Morgan Jr., announced [during the out-of-court hearing] that if a prima facie case of war crimes as a defense is allowed, he will ask to go to Vietnam to seek further depositions."

Violated Conventions

In the hearing, "Morgan seized on the army's own definition of a war crime," Cunningham said. "Reading from an army manual on land warfare, incorporating provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907 and the Geneva Convention of 1949, Morgan cited passages that forbid political assassination, putting a price on an enemy's head, wanton destruction of property, and the forceable transfer of prisoners to another army for torturing, and weapons that inflict 'unnecessary suffering.' "Uncannily, violations of all these prohibitions had just been testified to by an ex-Special Forces sergeant; an army psychiatrist who studied counter-insurgency operations along the Cambodian border; and the writer who gave the elite jungle fighters their jaunty nickname, 'The Green Berets.'

"Robin Moore, 41, a citizen-soldier who researched his best-selling novel by spending eight months on patrols in Vietnam, unabashedly related how Special Forces teach their south Vietnamese counterparts to assassinate political 'targets.'

"He said Special Forces men advise Vietnamese 'assassination teams' because the natives 'do a pretty botchy job of it if left to their own devices.'



Photo by Harry Ring

FOR LEVY. Medical Committee for Peace in Vietnam held demonstration backing antiwar army doctor in New York's Times Square on May 27.

"Moore said that under an operating arm of the CIA, Green Berets had paid bounty to native Montagnard soldiers who brought back the right ear of a slain Vietcong as proof of a 'body count.'

"Morgan elicited from the witness that prisoners taken by Special Forces are turned over to the south Vietnamese army, 'the way prisoners would be turned over to civilian police forces here.'

"Moore went on to say, 'I've seen torturing of prisoners. If an American were present, the only way he could express his dissent was to walk out on it...'

"Moore's testimony coincided with that of ex-Master Sergeant Donald Duncan, a former Green Beret whose anti-Vietnam-war article, 'I Quit,' published in *Ramparts* magazine, partially influenced Levy's antiwar stance, according to the defense.

"Duncan told Col. Brown that as an instructor at the Special Forces training center at Ft. Bragg, he had taught recruits that 'assassination and terror are an integral part of guerrilla warfare.'

"The darkly tanned soldier-turned-writer said Special Forces policy was to 'avoid taking prisoners as often as possible.' He added that the insinuation was 'either to shoot them or stick a knife in them.'

"Both Moore and Duncan testified to the bursting effect of an M-16 rifle shell, which the defense contends inflicts 'unnecessary suffering,' along with white phosphorous grenades.

"Capt. Peter G. Bourne, an army psychiatrist... testified that as 'a matter of practice and policy, villages are burned down to prevent the Vietcong from using them for base camps.' The British-born medical officer, referring to his three-month study of a Special Forces outpost in Vietnam, told the judge that the 'accepted practice and standard policy has been to turn prisoners over to ARVN

(the Army of the Republic of south Vietnam).'"

On May 26, after the full court-martial had resumed, Capt. Ernest Porter, an eye specialist, indicated he would plead the Fifth Amendment if he were asked if he would be willing to instruct the Green Berets in anything beyond basic first aid treatment.

Capt. Porter told the court-martial that he had been intimidated by the reaction of the army brass to the earlier testimony of another army doctor, Capt. Ivan Mauer. Mauer, who took over Levy's job, had testified that he would also, like Levy, refuse to teach medicine to men trained to kill. Capt. Porter said he overheard remarks that Mauer would soon be shipped off to Vietnam because of his testimony. "This is the kind of news that makes one hesitant," he said.

Levy also objected to training Green Berets because they were allowed to stand around and watch while he treated female patients for venereal diseases. Earlier in the court-martial, Attorney Morgan questioned Col. Henry F. Fancy, Capt. Levy's chief accuser, on this point.

"Would you want your daughter to disrobe for treatment in a room filled with Special Forces men?" Morgan asked.

"If my daughter were a victim of such a condition and it had training value and she gave her agreement, I would approve," was the answer. Col. Fancy claimed that the Green Berets were allowed to gawk only when the "patient agreed."

But on May 26, Sergeant Mitchell R. Helton testified that his wife had been fully exposed against her will in front of eight to ten Green Berets.

When Sgt. Helton protested to Col. Fancy, he was told that the Green Berets were receiving "on the job training."

Militant Harlem Rally Blasts Vietnam War

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK — An outdoor Memorial Day rally against the Vietnam war was held on 114th St. and Lenox Ave. The rally and the march through Harlem which preceded it were sponsored by the Black United Action Front.

The meeting started with a speech by 11-year-old Darrell Boutelle. He began by saying, "I am 11 years old, and when I reach the age of 18, I hope that you adults would take care of business properly so that the white slavemasters would not be in a position to draft me to fight their dirty wars."

Darrell's father, Paul Boutelle of the United Action Front, spoke next. He told the crowd, "Our children are our future, and we should start teaching them young." He said, "Don't let the schools tell you your children are idiots." He received applause when he said that he taught his son the names of the countries of Africa by the time he was four.

Bill Epton of the Progressive Labor Party chaired the meeting and spoke briefly. He attacked the United Block Association, a cadet corps of Harlem children organized by Haryou-Act, and urged parents to take their children out of the corps. The children marched in the pro-war parade held several weeks ago.

Robert Browne, a professor at Farleigh-Dickinson College who spent several years in Vietnam, told the crowd, "the people in countries around the world have a problem — the same as our problem — to get the white man off their backs."

Browne reviewed the history of the war in Vietnam, pointing out that historians say the U.S. filled the "vacuum" left by the French when they withdrew from Vietnam. He said this meant that they needed white people running things there.

Browne spoke of "our great hero, Muhammad Ali, who has refused to go into the army, in



James Haughton

part because of his religion, and partly because he realizes he has no business in Vietnam."

Maurice Bey, a speaker from Cleveland, said that the only time the government is interested in getting jobs for black people is before the summer — "to keep us off the streets." He said that "otherwise, they don't care."

Clifton DeBerry of the Socialist Workers Party ended the rally by saying, "We can organize against the draft, but we should not write off the black GIs" He said, "We need to educate him while he's in the army so he can come back and help us fight." Then he pointed out that the demonstrating and going to rallies was a beginning, but that you can't get any place by continuing to "talk about how bad things are, and then go out and vote for the people who are responsible for these things."

Other speakers at the rally were Darwin Johnson, brother of one of the "Ft. Hood Three"; Gregoria Perez; James Haughton of the Harlem Unemployment Center and Mrs. Levy, a Harlem mother.

Vets at D.C. Rally: 'They Died in Vain'

By Les Evans

WASHINGTON, May 30 — Contingents of antiwar veterans from seven states met in the nation's capital today for a Memorial Day ceremony. Veterans of two world wars, Korea and Vietnam demanded that American servicemen be brought home from Vietnam and mourned the deaths of American and Vietnamese victims of Johnson's aggression in Vietnam.

The crowd of over 1,000, composed mainly of veterans and their families, marched in a slow procession from Dupont Circle to Lafayette Square, directly across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House. At the head of the column marched a contingent of Vietnam veterans. They acted as color guard and led the procession to the dull cadence of a muffled drum.

Behind them filed the survivors of other wars carrying banners reading "Bring Our Boys Home Alive," "End the Slaughter of the Vietnamese," and "Our Boys Are Dying in Vain." Many wore blue "Vets for Peace in Vietnam" caps; some wore their old uniforms; and here and there were medals and ribbons from various campaigns, including an occasional purple heart.

The memorial ceremony, held in plain view of Johnson's front porch, heard speakers characterize the war in Vietnam as imperialist and call for the withdrawal of American troops.

Particularly moving were speeches by two veterans of Vietnam, Jan Crumb and Jeff Charlotte. Crumb, who spent 10 months in the air force in Vietnam said "Let us mourn, not honor, the death of 10,000 American servicemen in Vietnam."

Charlotte who was in Vietnam in 1963-64 asked "Did my buddies die so that Johnson could maintain a grim little police state in Vietnam? . . . In our government's language of double-think, anticommunism comes out as freedom. Sometimes we were told that we were fighting aggression, but we were the only aggressors."

The ceremony closed with the playing of taps.

The organizers announced that a further action is planned for the Fourth of July at Independence Hall in Philadelphia. Information can be obtained from: Ad Hoc Vets' Committee, 5 Beekman St., Rm. 1033, New York, N.Y. 10038; or Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, 7127 South Chicago Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60619.