

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 31 - No. 13

Monday, March 27, 1967

Price 10¢

## A GI Writes Home: 'Let's Get Out!'

[The following are excerpts from a letter sent to Senator Fulbright by a Second Lieutenant in Vietnam. Fulbright read the letter into the Congressional Record.]

The Vietnamese do not really care who wins the "war," so how could they appreciate 8,000 American dead? They can see only one reason why the Americans should win, and that is because if they lose they will take their money home. The easy life will be gone. With that as the only reason for victory, it is easy to see why these people put so little effort into the war. Besides, why should they fight when the American's "war machine" will spend lives and money to do it for them?

A friend of mine, another Lieutenant, knows Vietnamese well, or so he claims. He does know a Vietnamese family, originally from north Vietnam. They often express thanks to him for what the United States is doing. They tell him how terrible it is to live under communism and how they hate the Viet Cong for what the VC are doing to Vietnam. What is the family doing for their country? What are they doing to fight the VC? Well, says my friend, they are sending their children to college in France.

Are you kidding? For a country in the throes of a civil war, they are doing nothing. They are educating their children for their own selfish reasons, not for their country. No one, not one member of that family has ever lifted a weapon to halt the Viet Cong.

Look at the city of Saigon. I bet you that if you took all of the able bodied men in the city between the ages of 17 and 35, you could field 40 divisions of troops. That would be enough to seal off this country's borders, and then some!

Did you know that it is estimated that there are over 60,000 draft dodgers in Saigon alone? I estimate that the Vietnamese statisticians are off by at least a hundred thousand men — most probably purposely.

What I am trying to say is that if they do not care, why should we?

Yes, I said that this was a civil war. Although I thought differently when I arrived here, I have again been disillusioned. It seems like just about half the people in south Vietnam are from the north, and that all of the important, educated, and powerful are from north

Vietnam. More than that, the Viet Cong are from the south. South, north, north, south — it is all the same here.

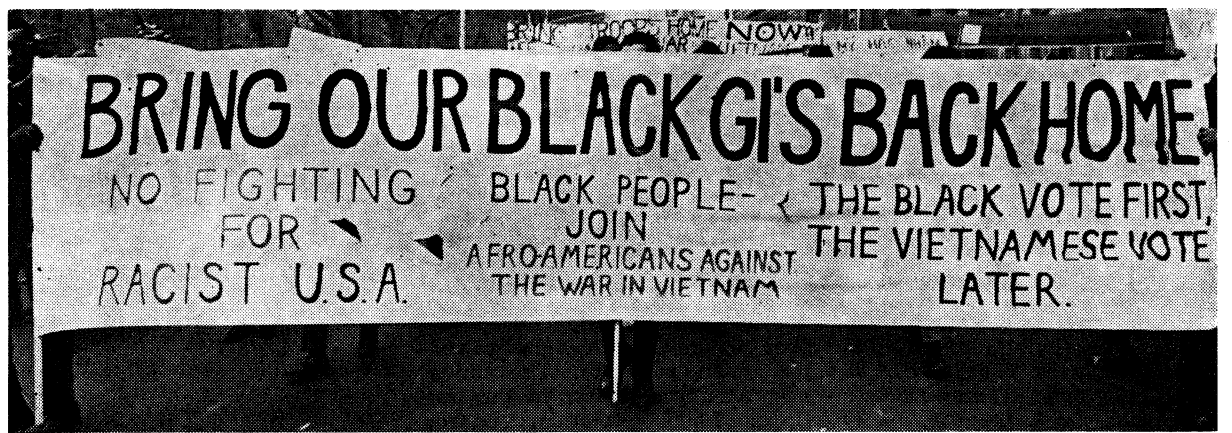
I think we are meddling in someone else's affair. . . .

I am also told that if we do not make our stand at the Saigon River, we will have to make it at the Mississippi River. I cannot buy that idea either. The domino theory is not a valid one in this case. The pat little phrase, "history repeats itself," combined with the history of Europe during the time of Hitler creates a totally invalid analogy. North Vietnam is not fascist Germany, and south Vietnam is not western Europe. It is not 1939, or even 1949 . . . or even '59. It is 1967. The Vietnamese do not claim to be a master race and do not want to exterminate anyone.

This is the other side of the world, and an entirely different people. This is a people who want no more than to be left alone. They want peace. They want it under any government that can give it to them, but they want in under a Vietnamese government.

Who is more imperialistically greedy? Is it Ho or Ky? It is Ky. Who is more Vietnamese, Ho or

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MAKING THE POINT. Sign carried in the March 26, 1966 massive antiwar march down Fifth Avenue in New York.

## Black Youth Victims Of Rigged Draft Setup

By Dick Roberts

More black youth are drafted relative to population than whites; more black soldiers fight in Vietnam relative to population than whites; and more black soldiers get killed in Vietnam relative to population than whites. These facts about the racist war machine in this country have now been substantiated by a government body which has recently investigated the U.S. military system.

This body was the presidentially-appointed National Advisory Commission on Selective Service which released its long-prepared study on March 6. The same commission recommended drafting by lottery. While the daily press discussed the lottery proposal, it ignored the significant results of the Advisory Commission study on black casualties.

According to Representative Robert Kastenmeier (D.-Wis.), the

presidential commission found that "approximately 20 percent of all personnel assigned to combat occupations throughout the Army are Negro. The racial composition of combat units is even more striking in Vietnam." Kastenmeier continued:

"The Commission reported that in late 1965, 22.8 percent of enlisted personnel in combat units were Negroes, yet Negroes made up only 11 percent of the total enlisted personnel serving in Vietnam. The Negro percentage in the Army units there totaled 14.5 percent.

"The casualty figures reflect this," the Commission said. "During the first 11 months of 1966, Negro soldiers comprised 22.4 percent of all Army troops killed in action." (Congressional Record, March 6.)

This is the highest figure of Afro-American casualties relative

to white casualties yet to be released in the course of the Vietnam war. It was released by the most authoritative government body yet to investigate the question. And yet the results have been literally sealed out of the pages of the daily press.

The Commission also revealed facts about the composition of the draft boards on a national basis. It found that only 1.3 percent of the 16,632 members of local boards across the nation are blacks. There are 23 states in which no Negroes serve on the board. In New York City, where there are more Negro and Puerto Rican children in the school system than whites, the draft boards had 3.3 percent Negro members and 1.3 percent Puerto Rican.

The Commission findings substantiate other figures which Representative Kastenmeier has entered into the Congressional Record in recent weeks. Most notable about Kastenmeier's earlier findings is the fact that they show more blacks are drafted relative to population than whites, and they show that the new draft laws enacted last year increased the percentage of blacks relative to whites.

On Feb. 20, Kastenmeier told Congress: "According to the 1966 Bureau of Census estimates, the nonwhite population percentage in the United States is 12 percent. Yet in fiscal year 1963, of those drafted, 18.4 percent were nonwhite. In fiscal year 1964, the nonwhite percentage was 14.1 percent. In fiscal year 1965, of the 98,855 men that were conscripted . . . 16,085 or 16.2 percent were nonwhite."

These figures totally refute the myth that the larger proportion of black soldiers is simply due to the fact that more blacks volunteer for the services. It is true that faced with a racist job system — where a young Negro, if he can get a job at all, can only get the dirtiest and lowest paid jobs —

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## Spring

## Mobilization

## News

The April 15 Spring Mobilization in New York and San Francisco and the Student Mobilization Committee's Vietnam Week broke into the mass media with a prominent story in the March 19 New York *Sunday News*. The article is quite lively, and where facts tend to get in the way of the style there is no sacrifice of style.

Partisans of the Spring Mobilization and Vietnam Week should be cheered to know that the *News* sees the April 15 Mobilization as an action that "could be the biggest and brassiest demonstration against our Vietnam policy ever staged in this country."

The student wing of the movement gets a pat on the back with the report that: "Convinced that the American political and social structure is rotting from within, the leftists have flooded college campuses for weeks with reams of mimeographed appeals for participation, and have dug deep for the cash to send activist speakers into dozens of college towns."

According to the *News*, the entire operation is the baby of the W.E.B. DuBois Club, abetted by "such leftist splinter groups as Students for a Democratic Society; the pro-Red Chinese Progressive Labor Party; the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance; Youth Against War and Fascism and the civil-rights-oriented [I]

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee."

Other revelations in the article include the news that the W.E.B. DuBois Club is socialist-oriented, that some of its members are known to have relatives associated with the Communist Party and that J. Edgar Hoover takes a dim view of the organization.

One item of news that might be added is that both the Spring Mobilization Committee and Student Mobilization Committee are openly and proudly committed to the policy of non-exclusion and welcome all opponents of the war into their ranks without regard to their other political beliefs.

The other bit of news the *News* editors might be unaware of is that gutter-press red-baiting just doesn't take like it used to.

Official slogans have been adopted by the Spring Mobilization Committee to be prepared in quantity for the April 15 march. The slogans, the Spring Mobilization Committee states, "represent a range of views and not all the sponsors necessarily agree with all of them." The following are the official slogans so far:

"Stop the Bombing," "No \$\$\$ for Bombing and Burning," "Support Our GIs — Bring Them Home Now," "Children Are Not Born to Burn," "Jobs, Home, Schools — War No More," "Free the Fort

Hood 3," "Thou Shalt Not Kill," "End the Draft — Let Young Men Live," "Wipe Out Poverty, Not People," "Let's Get Out — Vietnam for the Vietnamese," "Cease Fire Now — Negotiate with the NLF," "Self Determination — 1776, USA/ 1967, Vietnam," "Big Firms Get Rich, GIs Die."

On Saturday, April 8, in New York there will be a High School March to End the War in Vietnam. It is being organized by the High School Mobilization Committee. The march will assemble at 11:30 a.m. at Times Square and proceed to Union Square. At 2 p.m. they will march from Union Square to Washington Square. Further information may be obtained from the co-chairmen of the committee, Maxine Orris and Sam Zuckerman, at the committee's offices at 29 Park Row.

Detroit high school students are planning a demonstration at the Board of Education for Vietnam Week. It will be held on April 12. The demonstrators will demand abolition of ROTC and political freedom in the high schools.

Activity is well under way in the Northwest. At Reed College in Portland, Ore., 20 students picketed the Dow Chemical plant there. Kipp Dawson, West Coast execu-

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## Real Wages Down

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that real wages of American workers declined for the second month in a row: "The February purchasing power of a production worker with three dependents averaged 112.5 percent of the 1957-59 average, down sharply from January's 114 percent and the 114.8 percent of a year earlier." The drop mainly reflects declining length of the factory work week.

## Unemployment in The Ghetto

A study of 10 black ghetto areas by the Department of Labor has found that the rate of unemployment in these areas is 10 percent, approximately three times the national average. But even this is not the whole story. About "one third of the ghetto residents have an employment problem," the study found. Many have given up looking for work; many listed as employed make very low wages or are working only part time. Forty-seven percent of ghetto families must rely to some extent on unemployment insurance or other welfare payments.



Airlines in the U.S. are intensifying discrimination against women employees. Today, 14 of 33 lines are grounding stewardesses when they reach the ages of 32 up to 35.

The Transport Workers Union charges the airlines with "selling sex in the sky and attempting to set up bunny clubs of the air." In their fight against discrimination because of age and sex, organized stewardesses are resisting imposition of yellow-dog contracts upon new girls, who are required to sign waivers before starting the job, agreeing to stop flying when they reach the company's arbitrary age limit.

It is pointed out that foreign airlines generally have a limit of 40-50 years of age for stewardesses. One Norwegian line has a maximum age of 67.

Speedup and long hours in the current production boom, stimulated by the Vietnam war, have brought the 1966 rate of industrial accidents to the highest point since the early 1950s, during the Korean war. The National Safety Council estimates that last year's factory mishaps took 14,600 lives. More production time was lost from accidents than from all other work stoppages, including strikes.

A prime cause is inexperience, that is, putting workers on dangerous jobs without sufficient training and then pushing them to produce at top speed. Dangers are also increased, for new and seasoned hands alike, by company neglect of necessary safety precautions.

Many accidents are due to workers being tired from toiling overtime or from moonlighting on other jobs to make ends meet. In one symbolic case, a factory employe who had worked 20 years without an accident broke his foot because he was worn out from working 56 hours a week for two months.

Twenty-four states have started suit to prevent federal enforcement of a \$1 an hour minimum wage for state and local government employes in hospitals, schools and other institutions. They have joined in an action instituted in a federal court at Baltimore, Md. The court has issued a temporary restraining order against enforcement of such provisions in the federal minimum wage law. The order grants extension of the restraint to all states joining in the Maryland action. It is expected that the case will be heard by a three-judge panel and that the outcome will be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

J. P. Stevens, a New York-based textile firm, is trying to smash an organizing drive by the Textile Workers Union at its runaway plants in North and South Caroli-

na. Labor spies are being used and over 100 employes have been fired for union activities. The union has taken the matter to the National Labor Relations Board, whose examiner assigned to the case has expressed doubt that "standard NLRB procedures could remedy the situation." The company — now headed by Robert T. Stevens, former Secretary of the Army — says it will appeal any adverse NLRB decision all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

March 11 marked the beginning of the fifth year of a strike against the Kingsport Press at Kingsport, Tenn., the nation's biggest printer of hard-cover textbooks and encyclopedias. The walkout by 1,600 workers involves a fight for wages and conditions more in line with those elsewhere in the industry. Unions of book-binders, printing pressmen, stereotypers and electrotypers, typographers and machinists are involved.

Union members continue to man picket stations outside the plant 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Books are being produced by scabs protected by Pinkerton guards. The AFL-CIO has called for a boycott of the scab products which appear under two main labels — "Field Enterprises" and "World Book."

District 12 of the United Mine Workers has been hauled into court for hiring a lawyer to handle workmen's compensation claims for its 8,500 working members. The Illinois Supreme Court barred the union from operating such a program, holding that it had engaged in unauthorized practice of the law.

Most states have laws making such arrangements a criminal offense. They stem from arguments by the American Bar Association that it is unethical, and violates the personal lawyer-client relationship, for a lawyer to accept employment from a group to represent its individual members.

Under the UMW arrangement workers would get virtually the full amount of compensation awards. They may employ private lawyers if they wish, but such attorneys would retain as their fees 20 percent of all compensation collected.

The UMW has appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

"More than 200,000 union members working under IAM contracts will receive automatic wage adjustments this year (through) cost-of-living escalator clauses, now written into 689 IAM contracts... most IAM escalators provide for one-cent-an-hour increase for each four-tenths of a point rise in the consumer price index. Most adjustments are made every three months." — The Machinist, Feb. 2.

"There can be no perfect democracy curtailed by color, race or poverty." — W. E. B. DuBois.

Six Probes in Process

New York's Hospital Scandal

By Marvel Scholl

NEW YORK — The horrifying scandal which broke last fall over this city's 21 municipal hospitals is still boiling beneath the surface. Six separate investigations are in process, involving all phases of hospital administration, personnel, finances, buildings and the affiliation program under which 16 of the hospitals are operated by private, voluntary institutions.

In October 1966, Governor Rockefeller ordered the Joint Legislative Committee on Public Health to make a thorough investigation of charges brought to public attention by State Senator Seymour Thaler (D-Queens). Senator Thaler is the ranking minority member of that committee. (The tentative findings of the committee were reported in the Oct. 31, 1966, issue of The Militant.)

Subsequently, the whole committee made its findings known in a report to the State Board of Health, and then quietly dropped the whole question. Not so, however, with Thaler who is known to his colleagues as "Instant Indignation." Thaler put his entire staff to work documenting his findings. With an entourage of newspaper and TV men, he continued his sudden visits to all the 21 city institutions. He was greeted with open arms by nurses, interns, residents and even some doctors but needless to say, his visits were not welcomed by department heads or administrators. They joined most of the city administration and a few medical associations in labeling his methods as "smear tactics."

In addition to finding hospitals woefully lacking in life-saving equipment, in nurses, aides, technicians, and doctors, Thaler's most sensational charges revolved around the use of patients, without their knowledge or consent, in experimental work in new drugs and surgical procedures.

Corruption

The senator also charged that the city had lost over \$100 million in the affiliation program, where 16 of the 21 municipal institutions are administered by voluntary hospitals, through payroll padding, transfer of equipment, waste and neglect. One hospital surgery head told him that he had "about 20 doctors" on his staff. When the payroll was examined there were 50 doctors on it — most of whom the surgery head did not know! Further investigation proved that many city-employed doctors spent all their time at the affiliated voluntary hospitals and that many of them transferred patients when

the voluntary had empty beds and needed city money.

In addition, it was revealed that most of the department heads and administrators were not only getting pay by both the city and the voluntary hospital, but they were also collecting Blue Shield, Medicare and Medicaid payments.

Mayor Lindsay then ordered that the dual salary practice be stopped, as well as the insurance and social security benefits. The affected personnel retaliated by threatening to resign. Lindsay capitulated by offering increased city wages.

On the question of experimentation on indigent patients, hospital officials who appeared before the Joint Legislative Committee denied that the practice existed. Later, these same officials admitted that 3,000 psychiatric patients at Kings County Hospital had been used to test new drugs and that double biopsy operations had been performed at Bellevue on alcoholics.

Evokes Fear

The charges of using patients as guinea pigs and the admission by hospital officials that this was true, sent a wave of fear and distrust throughout the city's indigent sick. Many refused to go into hospitals, others refused to submit to even the simplest, time-tested diagnostic procedures. This sharp response from people who needed care and treatment was given as the reason for Thaler's sudden decision to "invoke vows of silence" upon himself and to submit his documented findings to the Joint Legislative Investigations Commission.

He has already submitted legislation that would set up local boards of directors for each municipal hospital with the proviso that two-thirds of the members be laymen. Another pending bill would required "informed written consent" by adult patients used in experimental work and a court order before minors can be used for such work if the procedure, drug or treatment is not connected with their illness.

A few other direct results of all the investigations are: work on 10 of the most dilapidated wards at Bellevue is now under way; a total-care pediatrics clinic has been set up; and a national and inter-

national nurses recruitment drive is on. City Building Commissioner Moerdler has announced completion of a building inspection in all 87 of the voluntary, private and municipal hospitals in Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx with 79 of the 87 complexes revealing 1,259 violations. Included among the hazards are leaky roofs, inadequate and obstructed exits, broken fire ladders, impaired sprinkler systems, missing fire doors, accumulation of debris, defective masonry and brickwork, combustible wooden ramps, and peeling paint.

Perhaps this recitation of the acute illness of New York City's 21 municipal hospitals sounds like a purely local problem. But a study of the national situation in the care of the needy sick has revealed that this pus-pocket is only one of many throughout the nation. So long as medical care remains the privilege of those who can afford it, not the right of every individual, these conditions will remain. It is going to take the total reconstruction of medicine, under a socialist society, to even begin the cure.

SCEF Banquet In N.Y. Salutes Julian Bond

NEW YORK — Five hundred people gathered at a banquet here March 20 in support of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The guest of honor was Julian Bond, black member of the Georgia State Legislature.

Don West, noted Southern poet and long-time integration fighter, acted as toastmaster. In addition to Bond, speakers included Carl Braden, executive director of SCEF, Mrs. Victoria Gray of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and Ella Baker, veteran rights fighter now active in the South.

A Southwide anti-segregation organization with a long record of participation in the Southern freedom movement, SCEF is now concentrating its energies on organizing poor whites on a basis that will make it possible to bring them into an alliance with Southern blacks.

SCEF's major project in this area is in the Appalachian region. To carry on its work it is seeking to raise \$165,000 for the year, its largest budget yet. Guests at the banquet here made generous contributions toward reaching that goal.

Julian Bond, in his speech, noted the advances made by the Southern movement since the days of the first sit-ins when the right to an integrated cup of coffee was considered the ultimate goal. Today, he said, the movement recognizes the need to seek fundamental political solutions to the problems of our society.

Southern blacks are coming to recognize, he said, that there is little purpose to political activity that merely gives them the right to choose between an Eastland or a Stennis, or a Mr. or Mrs. Wallace. He called for the development of "new politics" capable of advancing the interests of the oppressed. He pointed to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Lowndes County, Ala., Freedom Organization as examples of this.

Bond also movingly quoted from a series of antiwar statements by blacks over the past hundred years, letting the audience see the very obvious pertinence of those remarks to the Vietnam war.

The antiwar declaration of one 19th century black spokesman declared: "Shall we kiss the foot that crushes us?"

...Black GIs

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many Afro-Americans volunteer for the services.

In addition to this, however, the racist boards draft more blacks. Kastenmeier's figures on this are irrefutable. And Kastenmeier has also shown that the laws enacted last year to lower the "mental standards" of draft qualification resulted in the drafting of even higher percentages of black youth.

"Mental standards" goes into the category of undiluted racism of course. What the draft boards actually did was lower the standards of high-school education required for conscription, and in so doing paved the way for the drafting of thousands of black youth who have been subjected to poor, segregated education.

The new standards went into effect in April 1966. Kastenmeier revealed that between July 1965 and March 1966, the percentage of nonwhite inductees was 12 percent. Following the change, in April and May 1966, the percentage jumped to 15.2 percent on a nationwide basis. (Congressional Record, Feb. 28.)

In Los Angeles, Calif., the percentage jumped from 8.2 to 11.2 percent, a jump of over 25 percent; and in Chicago, Illinois, the percentage jumped from 8.9 percent to 13.2 percent, a jump of over 30 percent. (Congressional Record, March 1.)

N.Y. Welfare Clerks Stage Demonstration

NEW YORK, March 20 — Only one month after a last-minute settlement averted a city-wide work stoppage by caseworkers in the Department of Welfare, more than 1,000 clerks in the Department demonstrated outside the offices of the Welfare Department today.

The clerks, members of Welfare Local 371, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, were demonstrating in order to enforce their new contract, signed last December. The contract provided for higher salaries for all clerks in the Department, retroactive to July 1966, but as of this time, all clerical personnel are still being given their old salaries.

In an important step, the Social Service Employees Union, which represents caseworkers in the department, issued a leaflet pledging full support to the clerks. It urged all SSEU members to demonstrate with the clerks, and also, if they did go to work, not to do any clerical work.

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# ...Spring Mobilization News

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tive director of the Mobilization, who was on a tour of the Northwest, joined the picket line and then had a good meeting with the students on the Mobilization. Six of them took on the job of coordinating Portland-area participation.

At Portland State College, where there is a thriving antiwar movement, Kipp Dawson addressed the Campus Open Forum on the Mobilization. Seven buses have already been chartered from the area to come down to San Francisco.

In Seattle, Wash., virtually all of the peace, liberal and radical groupings are cooperating to build the Mobilization. The Spring Mobilization office is at 4205 15th N.E., Seattle Wash.

The Westchester County, N.Y., Spring Mobilization Committee is raising funds for full-page ads announcing the April 15 Mobilization in a chain of eight Westchester County papers.

In New Haven, Conn., the Spring Mobilization is being built by the American Independence Movement, with offices at 241 Orange St. Nina Adams, in charge of the AIM office, reported to the Spring Mobilization Committee: "Everyone in this area is very excited about the Mobilization, and we have very high hopes about getting people to New York."

Washington, D.C. is really cooking on building the Spring Mobilization. Women Strike for Peace has taken the initiative in reserving a train to be filled by the various groups supporting the action. D.C. SNCC is distributing 25,000 leaflets against the war and 5,000 specifically advertising the April 15 Mobilization in New York.

Angry Arts is expected to send a contingent to Washington for a week or ten days of activity publicizing the Mobilization. Also the Easter Peace Walk will be utilized to publicize the Mobilization.

Charles Bolduc, a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, has been on a tour of the eastern part of the country to help build Vietnam Week and the April 15 Mobilization. In St. Louis he found things going extremely well, with the local SDS group working effectively with the older peace groups like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Forty people have already signed up to go to New York April 15 and 100 are expected on the big day.

Students at Cornell University have advised the Spring Mobilization Committee that they have launched a drive to find 500 collegians willing to destroy their draft cards at the April 15 march in New York. The action was initiated by Bruce Dancis and other



Photo by Harry Ring

**SOLID HIT.** Part of the talented young folk-rock group, **The Chaos**, who were the stars of a swinging New York Student Mobilization Committee party held at the Militant Labor Forum Hall March 18. Several hundred, mostly teen-agers, had a great time.

Cornell students. Pledges are being sought at colleges across the country, with the understanding that the pledge will not be binding if less than 500 signatures are obtained.

Harassment of the students circulating the pledge at Cornell has led to a sit-down at the administration building there. The students involved have continued to set up tables on campus to solicit signatures despite official objection. When campus cops appeared to remove those obtaining the signatures, some 300 students were on hand to prevent this. When their names were demanded, the student solicitors have simply replied: "There's a war going on I want to talk to you about." As of this writing there has been no incident.

In addition to Los Angeles and San Francisco campuses, the West Coast Student Mobilization Committee is in contact with 60 campuses in ten western states on plans for Vietnam Week and the April 15 march. Catholic students in the area are planning to march under a Catholic Students Against War banner.

An Aerospace air show staged by the Strategic Air Command in Tucson, Ariz., was picketed by the Tucson Committee to End the War in Vietnam as part of its efforts to publicize the Spring Mobilization. Forty people picketed at the gate to the air base as 245,000 visitors streamed in. They branded the show "A Festival of Death" and their signs also demanded: "Stop the Mass Murder in Vietnam." The address of the Committee to End the War in Vietnam is P.O. Box 4177, Tucson, Ariz., 85717.

The New York Student Mobilization Committee is continuing to have gratifying success with its series of high school meetings in

preparation for Vietnam Week and the April 15 march. At a meeting at Madison High School in Brooklyn, 400 turned out to hear James Bevel. There was entertainment by the Pageant Players, and by folk singer Dave Van Ronk. The meeting was filmed by the Canadian Broadcasting Company for television reproduction. The meeting was organized by the Brooklyn Students and Parents Against the War and the Brooklyn High School Students Against War which is working with the Student Mobilization Committee.

Wooster High School in Wooster, Ohio, is planning to show a series of antiwar film strips during Vietnam Week.

At Roosevelt University in Chicago, 200 students have signed up for an ad hoc committee to build Vietnam Week. The campus SDS chapter is giving the effort a good boost.

They're planning a two-day teach-in on the draft and an investigation of campus complicity with the war. Also being planned is a panel session for Roosevelt University veterans of the Vietnam war.

At Northwestern University, weekly vigils are being held as well as a twice-a-month forum on the war. A teach-in April 13 will feature Robert Scheer.

Chicago students are also building Vietnam Week by fanning out to visit campuses in the area including DeKalb, Urbana, Carbondale, Madison, St. Louis, Valparaiso, Lake Forest and Elmhurst.

At the University of Illinois Circles Campus, hundreds of students have signed a petition calling on the State Department to

## THE MILITANT

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

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Monday, March 27, 1967

send a representative to defend its position at a Vietnam Week meeting.

Several hundred people are expected to come to New York April 15 from Providence Rhode Island.

Thirty-one college campuses in Southern California are involved in the organization plans for Vietnam Week and the April 15 march in San Francisco. At Santa Monica City College a teach-in has been organized for April 12. At Occidental College, one-third of the faculty joined in writing a letter to Johnson urging an end to the war and one-third the student body gave up a day's lunch money to help bring Vietnamese children who are victims of napalm to the U.S. At the University of Southern California plans are under way for Credibility Week (II). And at Citrus College an antiwar Discussion Club has been organized.

In West Virginia, plans are under way to get people to New York for the April 15 march from West Virginia State College, Marshall University, Morris Harvey College and, perhaps, West Virginia University.

In Atlanta, Ga., the Southern Student Organizing Committee is sparking a series of Vietnam Week activities. At Emory College there will be a major distribution of antiwar literature and an Angry Arts display. SSOC will provide draft counselors at all Atlanta campuses during Vietnam Week. SSOC is also planning a Southwide antiwar conference to be held in May.

Statewide student antiwar conferences were held in Maine and Florida last week.

A Wilmington, Delaware, peace activist is contacting local groups there about the Spring Mobilization and hopes to have at least a busfull in New York April 15.

At Cornell University in Ithaca, teams of students and faculty members have been visiting men's dorms, and each dorm expects to send a bus to New York April 15. Eight faculty members have been speaking once a week at fraternities and sororities and three fraternities may send buses to New York. The Mobilization Committee has already reserved six buses, and will sell tickets for them to the

general public. Some of the tickets will be given to those who can't afford the fare.

At an organizing meeting at Colby College, students from all over New Hampshire met to discuss initiating statewide antiwar activity and to begin mobilizing people to come to New York April 15.

The Cleveland Mobilization Committee has set a goal of \$10,000 to finance the Mobilization, in addition to \$2,000 already sent to the national Spring Mobilization Committee.

## SSOC Protest Greets LBJ in Tennessee

NASHVILLE — On March 15, three staff members of the Southern Student Organizing Committee were arrested for their participation in an antiwar demonstration. The SSOC said that on the morning of the 15th, "LBJ came to Nashville to dictate the future course of the war to the people of the U.S. He spoke before the Tennessee Bundestag at the state capitol. About 800-900 high school students and 50 older people were there to greet him.

"Nashville SNCC and staff members of SSOC co-sponsored a demonstration against the war in which about 40 people participated.

"Some of the signs we carried said, We Will Not Bow Down to Genocide, Black Power, Johnson is a Murderer and We Need Black Men Here to Fight White Racists.

"The state police constantly harassed us and drove us from the hill on which the capitol building is located. Most of the crowd was against our stand but took no action against us until the police pushed us around and urged them on.

"When the President's armored limousine drove up, Brian Heggen, SSOC staffer, ran in front of the car and sat down. The car swerved to the side, stopped and tried to drive on. At that moment, Shirley Newton, SSOC office manager, dashed out and sat in front of the vehicle. The police and Secret Service men quickly dragged the two people to the side of the road. Brian was immediately surrounded by about 15 policemen while Shirley and Janet Dewart, SSOC campus traveler, who had come up beside her, were studiously ignored. They were finally pointed out and arrested with Brian. They were taken to the court house and booked on disorderly conduct charges. They were then taken to jail where Janet was manhandled and Brian was slapped around for about 10 minutes by a trustee. They were later released on bond.

"The next day, the D.A. made a deal with their lawyer out-of-court in order 'not to make martyrs out of you.'"

## Canadian Students Form Nationwide Antiwar Body

TORONTO — After a two-day discussion here March 12-13, representatives of 13 Canadian student Committees to End the War in Vietnam launched the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam as a nationwide organization.

The base of the organization includes committees on every major university campus from Vancouver to Montreal, and high school committees in Ottawa, Toronto and London.

The conference took up the structure and principles of the association and projected future activities. These will include a Canada-wide mobilization against the war on July 1.

The statement of principles that was adopted declares in part: "We

stand in complete opposition to the criminal complicity of Ottawa in this war . . . Ottawa's diplomatic role has been to shore up and cover up United States intervention in Vietnam. Canadian-made armaments . . . play a significant role in the American war effort . . . The United States has no right whatsoever to be in Vietnam, and the presence of U.S. troops in Vietnam is calculated to violently prevent national self-determination for the people of the country. Therefore we demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. armies and their allies in order to allow the people of Vietnam to settle their affairs in a manner acceptable to them and in keeping with their national aspirations."

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# New Stage in China Crisis

(World Outlook)—A new phase has opened in the "cultural revolution" in China. After utilizing the army to take over authority in certain areas or to play the role of arbiter among the contending factions, including diverse tendencies within the Maoist group itself, the Mao-Lin Piao group is now trying to mitigate the most damaging consequences.

The "rectification campaign," now in full swing, aims at curbing, restraining and subduing the forces set in motion by Mao's appeals to the masses. These forces, were they to be permitted free play, would end in a powerful mass upsurge that would shatter all sectors of the bureaucracy and initiate a political revolution that would put the establishment of workers democracy on the agenda.

In the current crisis, a long, detailed editorial in the Jan. 1 *Liberation Army Daily*, outlining the "general principle" for Chinese army work in 1967, signaled the latest turn although it was little noted abroad at the time.

In the list of specific points for army work, the "great proletarian cultural revolution," is placed first. "This is the foundation for the whole year's work."

## Army Agrees

On Jan. 17, Hsinhua reported that meetings and discussions were being held in many different units throughout China and the response was most encouraging. The army men were taking pledges "to stand squarely behind the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to crush economism, capture the bastions in which counterrevolutionary revisionism has entrenched itself and establish new revolutionary order."

This campaign swelled in volume, reaching a high pitch in a Jan. 25 *Liberation Army Daily* editorial. A handful of "bourgeois representatives," it was claimed, had "wormed their way into the party," had "usurped the power of leadership in some places and departments, practiced the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and tried in every way to pull socialist China to capitalism."

The editorial proclaimed: "It is entirely justified for the proletarian revolutionary rebels to rise and seize power from them . . ." In this struggle, the army "must firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao . . ."

"We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and enthusiastically, unequivocally and wholeheartedly support the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power from them . . ."

## Marxist Writer Barred by U. S.

Andre Gunder Frank, a well-known Marxist scholar, is being prevented from entering the U.S. by the State Department. Born in West Germany, Prof. Frank was educated in the U.S. and lived in this country from 1941 to 1959. At present, he lives in Montreal, where he teaches at Sir George Williams University. He is an economist, specializing in Latin-American affairs.

Prof. Frank contends that he is, in effect, being barred from this country because of his political beliefs. The State Department has refused for more than two months to act on his application for a visa.

The *New York Times* of March 17 reports that Phillip B. Heymann, acting administrator of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, said the delay was "not due solely" to political considerations. Heymann charges that Prof. Frank abandoned his original immigrant status here to "avoid the draft" in the Korean War and had later "violated immigration regulations."

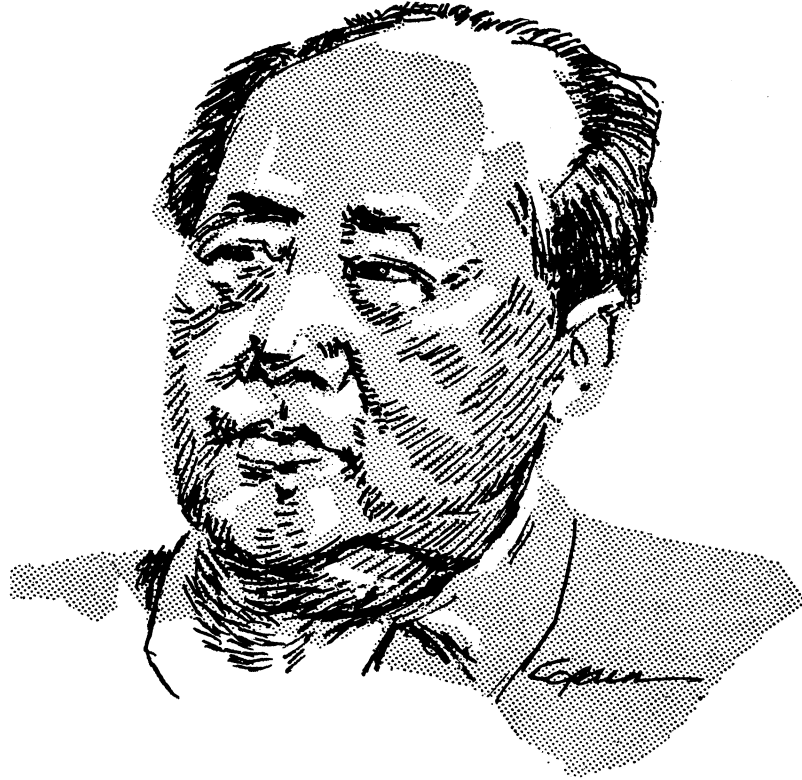
lutionary rebels in rising to seize power. *Even though they may be just a minority temporarily, we must support them without the slightest hesitation.*" (Emphasis added.)

"...it is not possible for the People's Liberation Army to refrain from intervening," the editorial continued. Citing Mao's rather famous aphorism, it spelled things still more plainly:

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The political

tarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao had been in the dominant position and the majority of cadres and members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Youth League have been carrying out this line."

It follows quite logically, of course, that "The view of overthrowing cadres indiscriminately negates the basic facts of the past 17 years and fails to acknowledge the great achievements made in



Mao Tse-tung

power of the proletariat seized by the People's Army with the gun has to be defended by the People's Army with the gun too. Active reactionaries and counterrevolutionary organizations sabotaging the great proletarian cultural revolution must be resolutely suppressed and the dictatorship of the proletariat practiced over them."

The signal for the "rectification campaign" came in a lengthy editorial in *Red Flag*, Feb. 23, entitled "Cadres Must be Treated Correctly." It is the most important single document, the one that most clearly lays down the line for the new stage.

## Misconception

According to this "a misconception has emerged" among those who responded to the call to seize power. The misconception is "that all those in authority are not good and unreliable and should therefore be overthrown en masse."

Surprising as it may seem in view of all that was said about the virtue of making a revolution within a revolution, sweeping out the four olds and sweeping in the four news, "This viewpoint is completely wrong. It is contrary to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is not justified by the facts."

A clear distinction must be made between "the handful" who took the capitalist road and those who did not. It is necessary to "relentlessly overthrow" the former but to "firmly support the people in authority belonging to the proletariat."

In other words, cadres who are critical of Mao, or designated as critical, are to be relentlessly overthrown, but those who pass inspection are to be firmly supported. Mao's appeals to the masses to intervene have suddenly become hedged with a considerable restriction!

The masses had been told that the "monsters and demons" wanting to take the capitalist road had wormed their way into positions of authority years ago, even as far back as the thirties. Now it is suddenly recalled that "the prole-

those years." This was forgotten when Mao was issuing his appeals, it seems.

Thus it was completely wrong to rely on the initiatives of the masses. As the editors of *Red Flag* argue, "On the contrary, if the revolutionary leading cadres are excluded, no powerful core of leadership can be formed, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations cannot be joined together into well organized and disciplined revolutionary battalions, with centralized leadership and unified command."

The editorial finally gets around to the "revolutionary rebels" who had been led by the proclamations issued in Mao's name to believe that the masses should take the initiative and seize power away from the bureaucrats:

"In some localities, a few persons proposed that 'all persons who can be classified as 'leading' cadres should step aside.' This view is devoid of class analysis. It counterposes the masses to all cadres."

"It does not direct its spearhead against the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road [bureaucrats opposed or held to be opposed to the Mao faction] but against the great number of cadres [the bureaucracy as a whole]."

A clear warning is issued: "Those comrades who committed such mistakes without thinking should immediately correct them. It would be very dangerous for them to persist obstinately in their own way."

## Quick Switch

This editorial was, of course, at once hailed. Throughout the vast country, the switch was made instantly by key groups. Thus on Feb. 24, the day following publication of the piece, Hsinhua reported "widespread acclaim" from Shanghai, Tsingtao, Heilungkiang, Shansi and Kweichow where the Maoists had "successfully seized power."

A few general observations appear in order. If we leave aside Mao's campaign propaganda with

its promises about an "extensive" democracy modeled on the "Paris Commune," the aim of the "cultural revolution" from the beginning boiled down to placing "politics in command." Sufficient citations can be adduced to show quite conclusively that what was meant by this was the Mao faction in command.

In the factional struggle that waged over this question and the more obscure associated issues at stake, it was evident that Mao was in a minority in the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League. Without bothering about the procedures of democratic centralism to which he pays lip service, Mao appealed directly to the masses, but not as a whole and not on a clear programmatic basis.

First the school youth were mobilized and organized into Red Guards. The real power behind the Red Guards was the army which opened the way for them and checked actual or potential countermoves by Mao's factional opponents.

As the factional struggle came to a head, appeals went out to the workers. Simultaneously the army intervened openly in the struggle to one degree or another wherever it was felt necessary; and its intervention appears to have been decisive, although in face of the paucity of hard information, a very tight censorship and news deliberately distorted by many interested parties, not least of all the Maoists, this conclusion can only be advanced tentatively. In addition, the internal strains in the army, as well as those in the peasantry, remain unknown; and these are extremely important in reaching an accurate assessment.

## Masses Set in Motion

In the process of bringing the factional struggle to a head, broad forces were set in motion. These, particularly the working-class sectors, tended to move against the bureaucratic structure as a whole much in the pattern of the Hungarian workers although only in an incipient way up to now. Were this movement to continue, it would tend to develop into a political revolution that would retain and reinforce the big gains of the revolution, above all the new property forms, while instituting some form of proletarian democracy in the example set by the soviets that appeared in the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917.

In face of this threat to their "self-interest," the bureaucratic factions had much to gain by closing ranks, if necessary even settling for an arbiter, whether a sector of the bureaucracy or an individual, around which a modus vivendi could be reached. Both the advance of the army in the factional dispute and the subsequent "rectification campaign" reflect this.

A big question remains. Can the forces unleashed by the appeals to the revolutionary-minded youth and vanguard sectors of the workers be bottled up again? The question is fateful for the Chinese Revolution, the defense of the Chinese workers state and the possibility of a truly giant stride forward; for it will determine whether a mere shift has occurred in the relative positions of the various sectors of the bureaucracy or whether a rift was opened of such proportions as to permit the masses to surge forward in the political arena with innovations of their own aimed at bringing the bureaucracy as a whole under democratic control. As yet it is impossible to say how soon an answer will be forthcoming.

"The reactionaries are in possession of force, in not only the army and police, but in the press and the schools." —John Dewey.

## Blacks Protest Killer Cops in Birmingham

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — A major campaign to stop the murder of Negroes by police is under way here and is beginning to spread over the state of Alabama.

Civil rights leaders here point out that 10 Negroes, but no whites, have been killed by police in the past 14 months in Birmingham.

Since the protest started, there have been street demonstrations almost daily. A campaign of economic withdrawal is organizing people to quit buying in downtown stores and shopping centers until definite action on policy changes comes from police.

The campaign has already resulted in a major policy statement from the Birmingham police. This lays down methods of procedure and states, among other things, that "excessive force on the part of officers will not be tolerated."

However, civil rights groups are demanding that this statement be backed up by adoption of a procedure requiring an automatic grand jury investigation each time police kill anyone. Police and city officials thus far have refused to grant this demand.

## Statewide Meeting

This week, at the call of Birmingham groups, 75 people representing 20 civil rights and civic organizations from throughout the state met in Birmingham. Plans were made to carry the campaign for "decent and equal law enforcement policies" throughout Alabama.

In a statement opening this meeting, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR) and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) said:

"In the past, police policy appears to have been . . . 'apprehend and arrest the whites and shoot the Negroes' . . . For Negroes, this is a simple matter of life or death. . . Let the nonviolent movement now regroup and reorganize and let us creatively begin now to insist and demand equality in the total legal system throughout Alabama . . ."

Shuttlesworth said the campaign might lead to a mass march on the state capitol.

The statewide meeting was called by the ACMHR, the Birmingham branch of NAACP, and the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee.

## Support

Other organizations supporting the campaign in Birmingham include the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, Birmingham Council on Human Relations, Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference, and Birmingham Housewives League.

The *Birmingham News* stated editorially that these groups "placed a challenge before the community" and urged action to meet the challenge.

Observers here note the great change from a few years ago in the response to Negro demands on the part of officials and the white community. Before the mass civil rights movements of recent years, protests by Negroes were ignored. This time they have produced major official policy statements and have been given extensive coverage in local newspapers. The *Birmingham News* has written about the "spirit of the new Birmingham."

The protesting organizations, however, pointed out in a joint statement that refusal of officials to back up their words with action for grand jury investigations "reflects the spirit of the old Birmingham."

## Reaffirms Revolutionary Line

## Castro on Venezuela

(World Outlook) — A speech made by Fidel Castro March 13, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the attack on Batista's presidential palace by revolutionary students, has been given rather sensationalistic treatment by the capitalist press in the United States. The *New York Times*, for instance, reported it under the headline, "Castro Assails Soviet-Bloc Nations for Latin Ties." To believe the *Times*, Castro's main aim was to condemn the government of the Soviet Union and other workers states for seeking to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the governments of the ruling oligarchies in Latin America. The *Times* also played up an attack leveled by Fidel Castro against right-wing leaders of the Venezuelan Communist Party.

The main axis of the speech, however, was a powerful defense of Cuba against the charge of intervening in the internal affairs of Venezuela, a charge made in the most slanderous way by the Leoni dictatorship, particularly in relation to the recent assassination of Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges, a brother of the Venezuelan foreign minister.

In taking up the various questions that had become involved, Castro went into the history of the guerrilla struggle in Venezuela and the attitude of the right-wing leaders of the Venezuelan Communist Party toward it. He stated his frank opinion while making it clear that these problems were only of fraternal interest and had to be decided by the Venezuelan revolutionists themselves.

## Affirms Independence

Castro's critical remarks about Soviet diplomatic and commercial policies in Latin America were expressed in the context of a strong reaffirmation of Cuba's right to determine her policies independently and in accordance with revolutionary-socialist principles. His chief point was the need to carry on the struggle for the socialist revolution in the most determined way and against all those who would sidetrack it out of faint-heartedness, discouragement or short-sightedness.

Referring to the Venezuelan Communist Party, he said:

"In the name of what revolutionary principles, reason or fundamentals were we obliged to say that the defeatists were right, to say that the rightist, capitulationist current was right? In the name of Marxism-Leninism? No. We would never have been able to say they were right in the name of Marxism-Leninism. In the name of the international Communist movement? Were we perhaps obligated by the fact that it was a question of the leadership of a Communist party? Is this the conception we are supposed to have of the international Communist movement? To us the international Communist movement is in the first place just that, a movement of Communists, of revolutionary fighters. And those who are not revolutionary fighters cannot be called Communists.

"We conceive of Marxism as revolutionary thinking and action. Those who do not possess a truly revolutionary spirit cannot be called Communists.

"Anyone can have 'Eagle' for a last name without having a single feather on his back. In the same way, there are people who call themselves Communists without having a Communist hair on their head. The international Communist movement, to our way of thinking, is not a church, it is not a religious sect or Masonic Lodge that obliges us to hallow any weakness, any deviation, that obliges us to follow the policy of a mutual admiration society with all kinds of reformists and pseudo-revolutionaries.



REVOLUTIONARIES. Cuban guerrillas in the hills of the Sierra Maestra during struggle against Batista.

"Our stand regarding Communist parties will be based on strictly revolutionary principles. The parties that have a line without hesitations and capitulationism, the parties that in our opinion have a consistent revolutionary line will receive our support in all circumstances.

"But the parties that entrench themselves behind the name of Communists or Marxists and believe themselves to have a monopoly on revolutionary sentiment — what they really monopolize is reformism — will not be treated by us as revolutionary parties. And if in any country those who call themselves Communists do not know how to fulfill their duty, we will support those who, without calling themselves Communists, conduct themselves like real Communists in action and in struggle.

"For every true revolutionary, who bears within him the revolutionary spirit, revolutionary vocation, will always come to Marxism . . . and every revolutionary on the continent who is deserving of the name will arrive at the Marxist conception of society. What is important are the revolutionaries, those who are capable of making revolutions and developing themselves in revolutionary theory.

"Many times practice comes first and then theory. Our people too are an example of that. Many, the immense majority of those who today proudly call themselves Marxist-Leninists, arrived at Marxism-Leninism by way of the revolutionary struggle. To exclude, to deny, to reject a priori all those who from the beginning did not call themselves Communists is an act of dogmatism and unqualified sectarianism. Whoever denies that it is the road of revolution which leads people to Marxism is no Marxist although he may call himself a Communist.

## "Our Conduct"

"This will be our line of conduct. It is the line that has guided our conduct in relations with the revolutionary movements.

"At the Tricontinental Conference in Havana representatives of revolutionary organizations of the three continents met. Some called themselves Communists and others did not. What defines a Communist is his attitude toward the oligarchies, his attitude toward exploitation, his attitude toward imperialism — and on this continent his attitude toward the armed revolutionary movement.

"What will define the Communists of this continent is their attitude toward the guerrilla movement in Guatemala, in Colombia, and in Venezuela. No one who claims to call himself Communist will support the rightist official

leadership [of the Venezuelan CP] opposing Douglas C. Bravo. Communist parties must differentiate between the guerrillas who are fighting in Venezuela and the defeatists who wish to renounce the struggle, who in practice wish to give up the guerrilla movement. And this will be a dividing line, for we are arriving at the time of definitions, not by anyone's whims but by the force of the process, of historical events themselves."

Castro wryly noted that "at the very moment a delegation of high Soviet officials were present for the signing of a commercial, cultural and financial agreement with the Lleras Restrepo government," the Colombian police arrested the leadership of the Communist Party and attacked the Tass news agency office. He also noted that the Venezuelan government which has "slaughtered more Communists than any other on this continent" is also bidding for relations with the Soviet Union.

## Principles

"As for us, we are Marxist-Leninists. Let others do as they please we will never reestablish relations with such a government."

Cuba, he recalled, had recognized the German Democratic Republic although it had meant reprisals from West Germany. "All is not rose-colored in the revolutionary world. Complaints and more complaints are repeated because of contradictory attitudes. While one country is being condemned for reopening relations with Federal Germany, there is a rush to seal relations with oligarchies of the sort of Leoni and company. A principled position in everything, a principled position in Asia, but a principled position in Latin America, too.

"What would the Vietnamese revolutionaries think if we were to send delegations to south Vietnam to deal with the Saigon puppet government?" Castro asked. "What would those who are fighting in the mountains of America think were we to seek close relations with the puppets of imperialism on this side of the continent, with the puppets of the future Yankee aggressions and interventions in this continent?"

Castro's speech was a long one, covering a number of points of extreme interest, besides those indicated above. It is bound to become the subject of considerable discussion not only in Latin America but elsewhere. We will return to it in coming issues.

"Proletarian internationalism is a duty, but it is also a revolutionary necessity." —Che Guevara.

## ...Letter from Vietnam GI

(Continued from Page 1)

Ky? I think Ho. Who worries about his country instead of his clothes? I think Ho. Ho Chi Minh has the support of all of north Vietnam and half of south Vietnam. Premier Ky has to send his generals out of the country when he goes anywhere. He has the support of, at most, one sixth of the Vietnamese people — and most of them are in it for dishonest personal gain. Making such "Anti-American" statements, I certainly hope I am right, but, then, I would not say it if I did not think it is — and think it has to be said.

It has been said that if south Vietnam falls, Cambodia will fall. Thailand will fall. The Philippines will fall. Australia will fall. Korea will fall. Formosa will fall. Hawaii will fall. Okinawa will fall. The U.S. may even fall! See countries fall. Fall, countries, fall. Fall. Fall. Fall. . . .

Ho Chi Minh is a communist. However, this does not mean he is Chinese. It does not mean that he wants the Mississippi Valley in order to grow more rice. I think that despite his political beliefs, he is above all, a patriot. Definitely more so than the ruling south Vietnamese strong men, who build castles in Saigon and bars at Tan Son Nhut. . . .

Oh, Lord, tell me if the job is really worth the Price. Better still, tell my boss.

One enlisted man was on duty at Deputy Ambassador Porter's residence one evening, and when the Deputy Ambassador came out into the yard to put some things into his car they struck up a small conversation. About this time the children of the villa's cook ran up, and in the manner of most Vietnamese children, began saying, "Nam Dong," and holding out their hands. The conversation went something like this:

Porter: "Aren't they cute? Whose children are they, I wonder?"

MP: "They are the cook's, sir." PAUSE

Porter: "Isn't that cute; they want to shake hands?"

The MP did not have the heart to tell him they were asking for money.

I do not call this knowing the people. This man is the Deputy Ambassador. How out of touch can any person be? . . .

The big American buildup of Vietnam occurred over a year ago, and there are, and will be many more veterans of this war returning home. Some will agree with me, some will not. Those that do not will for the most part be expressing an attitude that is very easy to adopt over here. I find myself adopting it. I must feel this war to a certain extent as a matter of survival, and to do my job. It is what I call the "hate my enemy" attitude.

## Mental Strain

When a man first arrives "in country" and gets off the plane, he begins looking at every Vietnamese he sees, wondering if that is the one with the grenade. If the man is smart, he will never stop looking — I have scraped up many who did. With that sort of mental strain in the air, and with the mission given, it is not in the least surprising that a GI will go home at the end of a year and say: "Those dirty Commie Rats! We have got to win. We cannot back down." Then add, rather without thinking, "We must help those people be free" — the same people that are trying to kill him. How can you beat them and give them freedom, both?

I am learning what a huge word "Futility" really is.

To men who have seen their friends be killed or injured, it is easy to say that the dirty commies must be beaten at all costs; however, when I was in college, one of my economics professors brought out an idea that never before occurred to me. He said that when a corporation makes a mistake, sinking millions into a bad

project, they have two choices. They can either put more money into it to try to rectify the mistake, or they can junk the project and write off the entire initial investment as a loss by bad judgment. The deciding factor is how much they expect to get as a Return On their Investment. If the correction will cost more than the project could make back as an ROI, it is best to forget about it and write off that initial expenditure because you will be losing — whether or not you win.

The same can be said of lives. We have invested over 8,000 American lives in this ungrateful, bottomless grave, and we made a mistake. Our leaders seem to be willing to invest at least as many more lives to try and salvage their mistake — without a thought about what kind of return they can expect to get. At best, it can be no better than a Laos. You are darned right I advocate that we make a unilateral withdrawal! That is essentially what we did in Laos.

Will it be honorable?

Is what we are doing honorable? Is waste, waste of lives, honorable? Is it honorable to admit a mistake and write it off as a lesson learned? Perhaps it is more honorable to keep bluffing, keep wasting, and compound the mistake.

## High Court Refuses To Review Mitchell 'Nuremberg' Case

The Supreme Court has ducked the legal questions raised by the Vietnam war by declining to hear the appeal of David Mitchell, who has refused to report for induction on the grounds that the war is illegal. Mitchell has been sentenced to a five year prison term. He bases his defense on the precedent set at the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals, which held that individual soldiers are responsible if they commit war crimes, even if they do so under orders. Mitchell charges that the Vietnam war is a war of aggression, and for him to participate in it would make him a war criminal.

In a dissenting opinion, Justice William O. Douglas declared that "there is a considerable body of opinion that our actions in Vietnam constitute the waging of an aggressive war."

According to the *New York Times*, Douglas agreed with Mitchell's contention that he should have been allowed in his trial for draft evasion to offer proof that the United States was violating the Nuremberg Charter.

Douglas said that since treaties are a part of U.S. law, an accused "draft evader" should be permitted to raise in his defense questions of the war's legality, whether it violates the Nuremberg Charter, whether the Nuremberg Charter is part of U.S. law, whether the war is aggressive, etc.

At Mitchell's trial, Judge T. Emmet Clarie barred from evidence any testimony as to the legality of the war or testimony on U.S. atrocities in Vietnam.

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# February Revolution: Myth & Reality

By Les Evans

This month marks the 50th anniversary of the overthrow of czarism by the Russian people. The February 1917 revolution against the Romanov monarchy (the old Russian calendar ran 13 days behind the present international calendar) began a process that was to catapult Russia from a semi-medieval absolutism to the first workers state in history. This momentous event, more than any other, has set its stamp on the twentieth century.

Many liberals have found it necessary to invent a whole mythology in order to adapt the February revolution to their own purposes. They profess to see the revolution as a "spontaneous" triumph of liberal capitalism that was later "subverted" by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

The *New York Times*, for example, carries a whole series of articles of this genre in its March 13 issue. Even Alexander Kerensky, head of the Provisional Government overthrown by the workers in October, is solicited for his reminiscences of the few months in which he strutted about playing the role of a "revolutionary." Articles proclaim that: "Half a Century Ago: Liberals in Parliament Pressed for Moderation of Czar's Rule," and "Czarist Regime Marked by Progress in Some Areas in Last Decades."

The essential thesis of the *Times* is contained in an article by Peter Grose. He contends that "... there is ample reason to consider Russia in those months on the verge of Western-style democracy... The Provisional Government formed on the ruins of Czarism won wide foreign recognition, and the leader who gradually emerged at its head, Alexander Kerensky, was acclaimed as a revolutionary hero.

"But neither Kerensky's flamboyant oratory nor the enthusiasm of the liberals was able to halt the decline into anarchy that followed."

## What Happened

The real story is different. Russia entered the twentieth century with a thousand year inheritance of backwardness and poverty, presided over by a Byzantine autocracy that had subdued every other layer of society to its rule. Capitalism had been introduced into the country, but coexisted with feudal absolutism. There was never a capitalist revolution against feudalism like the French revolution of 1789.

In England, France and the United States it was the new class of industrial capitalists that led the great democratic revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries. The democratic revolution was postponed in Russia until the 20th century — and when it came it was carried out not by the capitalist liberals, but by the working



**FIRING AT CZAR'S POLICE.** Workers in Petrograd began revolution which toppled Romanov monarchy.

class and the peasantry. As we shall see, the question of which class led the democratic revolution determined the actual course of the revolution.

In Russia the capitalist class was from the outset dominated politically by the semi-feudal monarchy, and financially by foreign capital. Foreigners owned about 40 percent of all the stock capital of Russia, and most of the Russian banks were controlled from abroad. The capitalists were a small and weak class. In addition, by the time Russian capitalists began to think at all of opposing the Czar, they were confronted by a radicalizing mass of workers and peasants. Their reaction was to cling frantically to the monarchical power for protection.

The liberals played at revolution for the last time in 1905. Hoping for a "little" revolution in order to exact some concessions from the Czar, the capitalists were confronted by forces which they could not control. The workers had set up broadly representative democratic councils called "soviets" which began to raise demands for the eight-hour day and a republic. A general strike threatened to become a workers' insurrection. The liberals recoiled in horror, and the Czar, with their approval, used the army to brutally smash the soviets.

Russia entered World War I in 1914. But the first flush of patriotism melted away as the Russian front collapsed before the German advance in the spring of 1915.

By the end of 1916 prices were skyrocketing and food and other goods were running short at home as well as at the front. A new strike wave was beginning in the industrial centers. In the countryside 10 million men were drafted off the land into the army and many of the smaller peasant holdings were starting to go under.

In the Russian peasants, who constituted the vast majority of the population, lay the key to the coming revolution. Normally they were scattered, isolated from each other in thousands of little villages. Now for the first time the peasants were organized — into the army — and on that massive force the outcome of the revolution would depend. Their explosive demands were for land and peace. They would support that section of society which fought for their demands and it was only the workers who would fight for them.

The revolution itself began on Feb. 23, 1917 (old style calendar), International Women's Day. In Petrograd, the czarist capital, women textile workers on their

own initiative went out on strike. They went from plant to plant calling out other workers, and by nightfall 90,000 men and women were striking. There were demands for bread; red flags were raised with slogans against the autocracy and the war.

Lenin and the most authoritative leaders of the Bolshevik Party were in exile. The top local leadership moved late, but prompted by party members in the factories, the Bolshevik and other left parties began to join in the demonstrations.

The next day half of the industrial workers of Petrograd were on strike. Sharp clashes took place between the crowds and the police. The Cossacks were called out, but the workers appealed to them not to attack the people and they remained neutral.

On the 25th, 240,000 workers participated in the strike. Students joined the demonstrations. Street meetings were held, which were attacked by the police. A speaker at the Alexander III monument was wounded by the police. Armed workers in the crowd fired back, killing one of the cops and wounding the chief of police. Here and there soldiers joined with the crowds in fighting the cops.

By the next day scattered fighting was going on throughout Petrograd. Elite units of the army fired into masses of demonstrators. Workers went to the barracks and told the soldiers that the army was firing on the people. A few units mutinied and joined the workers. There was no turning back now.

## The Monarchy Collapses

The 27th dawned on a general mutiny of the troops, and the opening of the prisons. By nightfall the czarist army in the capital no longer existed. In the Tauride Palace the leaders of the left parties called the first meetings of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers deputies, while in the worker-Bolsheviks and the thousands of nameless factory and soldiers' leaders secured the revolution. The same pattern was repeated throughout the rest of Russia.

The Czar was at the army headquarters at Moghilev. On the 28th he tried to return to Petrograd in his private train, but the workers would not let it pass. Telegrams were returned to his wife, the Czarina, in Petrograd stamped "Whereabouts of addressee unknown." On March 3 the Czar abdicated. The whole imperial edifice of czarism had come tumbling down.

The February revolution was not led by any party, but neither

was it "spontaneous." Most parties, especially the liberal capitalist party, the Kadets, opposed the revolution, shrank from it and awaited the outcome in their homes. Only the Bolsheviks and a section of the left Mensheviks joined the revolution in the factories and in the streets and provided leadership on a local level. The revolution was led by thousands of men and women who took initiative and leadership to fight for goals that were commonly desired among the workers. As Trotsky put it, the February revolution was led by "conscious and tempered workers educated for the most part by the party of Lenin."

## Question of Power

The only power to emerge from the revolution was the Soviet. The liberal Duma (Parliament), ordered to disband by the already powerless Czar on the morning of the 27th, meekly agreed to do so.

At the first elections to the Soviet, the workers and soldiers voted overwhelmingly for the socialist candidates, expressing their opposition not only to the monarchy, but also to liberalism and the capitalist parties. At this point, however, the workers did not distinguish between different socialist parties. As the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary parties were much larger than the Bolsheviks, they achieved a decisive majority in the first Soviet election.

These two "socialist" parties feared more than anything else the responsibility of leading a socialist revolution. One of the first acts of the Executive Committee was to meet with the frightened leaders of the Duma and demand that they take the power and form a government. Incredible as it may seem, the capitalist Provisional Government later headed by Kerensky and the object of such lavish praise by today's *New York Times*, was set up by the leaders of the Petrograd Soviet who had just been elected on the basis of their supposed socialism.

Thus, from the outset the liberal government existed only at the sufferance of the workers' organizations, it had no power apart from them, and if it had not been for the cowardice of the "socialist" heads of the Soviet, would never have been set up in the first place. This of course did not prevent the liberals from conspiring to make their power real by waiting for the revolution to exhaust itself and striking a blow that would destroy the soviets.

One thing at any rate was clear: the new capitalist government had no intention of ending the war or

redistributing the land. Workers and peasants began to ask themselves what the revolution had been about if this was all the result. One of the officers in the ministry of justice declared as though in answer, "The policies of a revolutionary government ought never to offend anybody unnecessarily."

What emerged from the February Revolution was a situation of "dual power." Parallel institutions of the Executive Committee of the Soviets and of the old czarist state apparatus now headed by the Provisional Government contended for shares of the divided sovereignty. The situation was the opposite of the "triumph of liberalism" dear to the *New York Times*; it was inherently unstable and a prelude to civil war. Dual power is a symptom of every deep-going social revolution.

Trotsky in his monumental *History of the Russian Revolution* wrote of this situation:

"If you look deeper, the twofold rule of the Provisional Government and the Executive Committee had the character of a mere reflection. Only the proletariat could advance a claim to the new power . . .

"The twofold government of the liberals and the democrats only reflected the still concealed double sovereignty of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. When the Bolsheviks displace the Compromisers at the head of the Soviet — and this will happen within a few months — then that concealed double sovereignty will come to the surface, and this will be the eve of the October revolution."

## FBI in L.A. Give Student a Lesson In Civil Liberties

LOS ANGELES — Ed Brooks, Los Angeles City College freshman, not only takes a course in American history, he is a victim of it, too.

While seated in his history class in Jefferson Hall on March 9 listening to the instructor recount "Witchhunts in American History," the course was interrupted by a message purporting to come from the student personnel office.

"You're wanted in the office at once, Mr. Brooks," the teacher advised. Whereupon Brooks, seated in the front row of a class of 40, picked up his books and left.

He opened the door only to be apprehended by two FBI agents who put on the cuffs, placed him under arrest, and hauled him to the federal courthouse where he was charged with draft evasion. A bond of \$500 was set which was supplied by the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights.

Following his release, pending a hearing, Brooks spoke of his determined opposition to the war in Vietnam. He said:

"I am opposed to the war in Vietnam because it is an attempt by our government to deny to others what we claim for ourselves, namely the right of self-determination.

"Additionally, the brutal conduct of the war with its civilian bombings and napalm raids violates the Nuremberg decision."

Brooks is 21, and married.

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

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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.]

## A Criticism

New York, N.Y.

Harry Ring's article on Senator Kennedy's "peace" speech was excellent for what it said about the Kennedy stance helping to legitimize dissenting views and opening up the path for more discussion. (Perhaps it should have come at the end instead of the beginning of the article.)

While he does expose Kennedy's past horrific record (except on civil rights where "pretty boy Bobby's" record is terrible) and the danger of his demagoguery, I have the feeling that the emphasis wasn't strong enough on the latter aspect which is a terrible danger we are and will be faced with — of a phony "credible" peace leader and movement filling the obvious credibility gap that the Johnson Administration presents.

In the same speech Kennedy himself tried to close that gap by saying, "For years President Johnson has dedicated his energies in an effort to achieve an honorable peace." How phony can he get?!!

Let's face it — the war mongers and the reformist Liberals are looking for just such a Judas goat (sheep?) to lead us to the slaughter, and they have a large audience in the multitudes who want an end to the war, are looking for a saviour and are now saying, "Thank God Kennedy is on our side."

This is the sad fact, and that's why I feel that more emphasis must be put on attacking the Kennedy line and those who will use it as an excuse to do nothing, or as a substitute for real and effective opposition to the war.

E.F.

P.S. I seldom disagree with your paper very strongly, but I believe this is crucial. A series on just such precedents — Wilson (WW1), Roosevelt (WW2), and the best example of Henry Wallace (Korea) would be of great educational value to young and old.

## Fan-Mail Dep't

Tougaloo, Miss.

I have read *The Militant* and I like the paper very much. I think that more papers should be print-

ed like this one, because it gives a factual picture of what is going on in the South, in America and the world. Maybe I like the paper because I'm one of the militants, or a part of the New Left as whites call it.

Reader

## A Needed Peace Offensive

New York, N.Y.

It is high time to initiate a peace offensive directed at the do-nothing (but, oh so "busy") liberals who are sitting on the fence waiting for the 1968 elections and the tired radicals who fatalistically reject everything and everybody.

The best weapons in this offensive are the Nuremberg theses and the guilt of silence in which Americans do not have the threat of the concentration camp as an excuse for inaction.

The peace movement must cross the Rubicon and use the moral correctness of its position. We must demand — (not ask, plead or request) full and unequivocal support from each according to his ability — physical, financial and moral support.

There may have been little to do before, but a qualitative change has occurred which makes it possible to involve everyone who wishes to participate. This change revolves around the April 15 Spring Mobilization which has reinvigorated the peace movement tenfold and, as I see it, is just a beginning until the end of this criminal war.

End the Vietnam War Committees can be set up in every section of every area, just as the Committees of Correspondence were in the Colonies in the First American Revolution.

There is no time to lose.

Immediate target date: April 15.

Target: End The War In Vietnam.

W.L.

## Holds USSR Is Capitalist

London, England

Unfortunately with the price of air mail as it stands today I have had to limit my comments and remarks on your recent center page article "Is the USSR Capitalist?" to a few of the more essential points which come to mind

Firstly, I think we can agree that the form of society which exists in Russia at the present is not communist, the disagreements obviously arise as to its designation as socialist. To my knowledge neither Marx, Engels nor any of the earlier socialists made any

particular distinction between socialism and communism.

Marx on many occasions freely interchanges the use of these two words when speaking of that society which is to replace capitalism. The only reason for two different words being used to describe the same form of society, seems to lie in the differing terminology which has developed in the English and French languages.

This distinction was in my opinion more or less originated by the Bolsheviks, for the purpose of excusing the measures they took on seizing power after the revolution.

Secondly, it appears that you have made the fatal mistake of assuming from your knowledge and experience of America and American history, that capitalism can take only this one superficial form. The revolution which led to the Bolsheviks obtaining power was a consequence of the failure of the weak Russian bourgeoisie to establish private enterprise capitalism. The revolution then assumed the instrument of capitalist introduction. The social and economic forces at work were bound to assert themselves despite any amount of sincerity on behalf of Russian leaders. Neither the material nor political and social

## Thought for the Week

"There is a considerable body of opinion that our action in Vietnam constitutes the waging of an aggressive war." — Supreme Court Justice William Douglas dissenting in the David Mitchell case.

maturity were present in Russia to afford such a change.

It should be realized that the benefits of exploitation can just as easily be distributed to a ruling class by means of rewards, bonuses, expense accounts, etc., as by direct returns in the form of interest payments. These methods in a comparatively minor form are already used by Western businessmen to avoid paying taxes.

It has been my observation that Russia is becoming increasingly involved in the world market, and in the search for areas of raw materials and trade routes, etc.

Socialism or if you prefer it, communism, will only be established by the conscious action of the majority in at least all the leading industrial countries of the world; never in one single country.

M.Z.

## "Disgusted"

Keyport, N.J.

I read the editorial entitled "Defend the Teamster's Union" in your

latest edition, and I wore out three crying towels weeping over the fate of that poor dear Mr. Hoffa.

I don't think Mr. Hoffa would weep over me (or you) but no matter.

I remember Mr. Hoffa chiefly because of his forthright and vigorous opposition to the Vietnam war. I recall his stirring speeches at union conventions and elsewhere that the Teamsters should not haul any war materiel. (Then I woke up.)

Anyway, jerks, to be serious for a moment; any labor leader has the right to crack down on the public through collusion with employers; has the right to use "strong-arm" methods; etc. etc. But does that make him eligible for support by you patsies? Evidently it does.

Why don't you wake up? This isn't 1930 when unions were O.K.; this is 1967 when unions are for bigger and better Vietnam wars.

A Disgusted Reader

## It Was Reported in the Press

**A True American** — Richard Bast, a Washington businessman, is bringing a touch of home to our boys in Saigon by opening a topless go-go discotheque there. Mothers can be assured that it will be in the very best of American taste, with only "nice wholesome American girls" of "high caliber" displaying their wares.

**No Vocational Training** — Prisoners in Maidstone, England staged a sitdown when a guard switched off a movie about the planning of a perfect bank raid.

**Real Considerate** — Three officers of a leading photostat company were convicted of evading income and corporate taxes of \$296,118. They were fined a total of \$25,000. Two of them were given six month jail terms and the third, three months. The judge agreed to stagger their commitment to prison so as not to interfere with their business.

**Gang-Buster Busted** — Burton Fields, a state assistant attorney general in New York, was convicted of conspiracy to extort and attempted extortion. He was accused of being involved in a shake-down attempt on a Brooklyn undertaker during a probe of abuses in that field.

**A Winning Combination** — The Schenley liquor and Lorillard coffin nail companies are reported planning a merger. We can see the advertising campaign now: "Puff and sip — the alcohol kills the cancer germs!"

**You've Got to Be Alert** — Our sales resistance dropped to zero when we spotted a *Wall Street Journal* headline announcing that the U.S. price of Aston Martin cars had been reduced \$2,500. But when we read the article we found that the four-seater coupe, for example, is only reduced \$2,005 — from \$15,000 to \$12,995.

**Diversionsary Move?** — A member of the Pennsylvania state legislature introduced a bill to require the labeling of liquor bottles as "hazardous to health." If it weren't for the pending merger of Lorillard and Schenley, we'd think the tobacco lobby got to him.

**Thrifty** — Apparently operating on the theory that it's cheaper to own than rent, multi-millionaire

Howard Hughes plunked down a reported \$13 million for the swank Desert Inn in Las Vegas. Hughes has been living there for the past three months. His party had rented an entire floor of the hotel.

**Good Neighbor Policy** — A friend of ours was once surprised and pleased when, during a stay out of town, his mother-in-law sent him a gift of a carton of cigarettes. A few days later a letter from his wife mentioned her mother had been agitating her to stop smoking because of the cancer danger. We were reminded of this when the U.S. Department of Agriculture extended for another year its subsidies to the overseas advertising of American cigarettes. The government spends \$210,000 a year to advertise cigarettes abroad.

**34th St. Special** — Ohrbach's in New York, whose slogan is "A Business in Millions — A Profit in Pennies," is featuring a flower-covered bikini to get married in. Only \$300.

**Sour Grapefruit** — Recently we reported that an aide to Gov. Kirk of Florida suggested a drive to put over grapefruit as a sub-

stitute for cigarettes as a means of stimulating the Florida citrus industry. Other efforts are also being made. Texas officials complained their state is being flooded with unripened Florida grapefruit. They said Texas housewives buy the unripe fruit, agree it isn't fit to eat, and then don't come back to buy mature Texas grapefruit. Maybe they could ship it into Florida.

**Potent Stuff** — A federal court awarded \$10,500 damages to a Cleveland woman whose fingernails dropped out when she used a commercial nail strengthener.

**Reform Governor** — Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida, who appointed the right-wing Wackenhut Corp. to act as a secret "anti-crime" agency for the state, has informed all insurance firms which sell group premiums to state employees that they must pay a commission to Jack Behringer, an insurance agent. Behringer was Kirk's campaign treasurer. Queried by newsmen, Kirk snapped: "Just standard procedure." The state insurance commissioner says it's illegal.

—Harry Ring

## Weekly Calendar of Events

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

### BOSTON

**THE ROLE OF LITERATURE IN SOCIAL CHANGE.** Speaker: Louis Kampf, MIT assoc. prof. of literature and political science. Fri., March 31, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Hall 307, (one block from Mass. Ave.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

### DETROIT

**CUBA TODAY.** An eye-witness report by Regula Modlich, Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. A usp Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

**INSIDE THE POLITICS OF THE NSACIA AFFAIR.** Speaker: Jim Berland, 1965-66 western regional chairman, Natl. Students Assoc. Fri., March 31, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. Students 35 cents. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

**MARXIST COMMENTARY.** A biweekly socialist analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. Chairman

of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., April 3, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Thurs., April 6, 12:45 p.m.) KPFC-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

### NEW YORK

**JOHNSON'S ESCALATION & KENNEDY'S PEACE HOAX** — The new stage of the Vietnam war. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer, *The Militant*. Fri., March 31, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

**MARXIST LECTURE SERIES.** *Guerrilla Warfare* — Its potential and limitations. Speaker: Richard Garza. Mon., April 3, 8 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Fee 50 cents. A usp. Socialist Workers Party.

### TWIN CITIES

**IS THE SOVIET UNION CAPITALIST?** — A reply to Peking. Speaker: Bob Halfhill, Mpls. Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 31, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### CHICAGO

**ON TO NEW YORK!** A symposium on the current stage of the antiwar movement. Speakers: Dan Styrone, Dan Freidlander, and Maxwell Primack. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75 cents. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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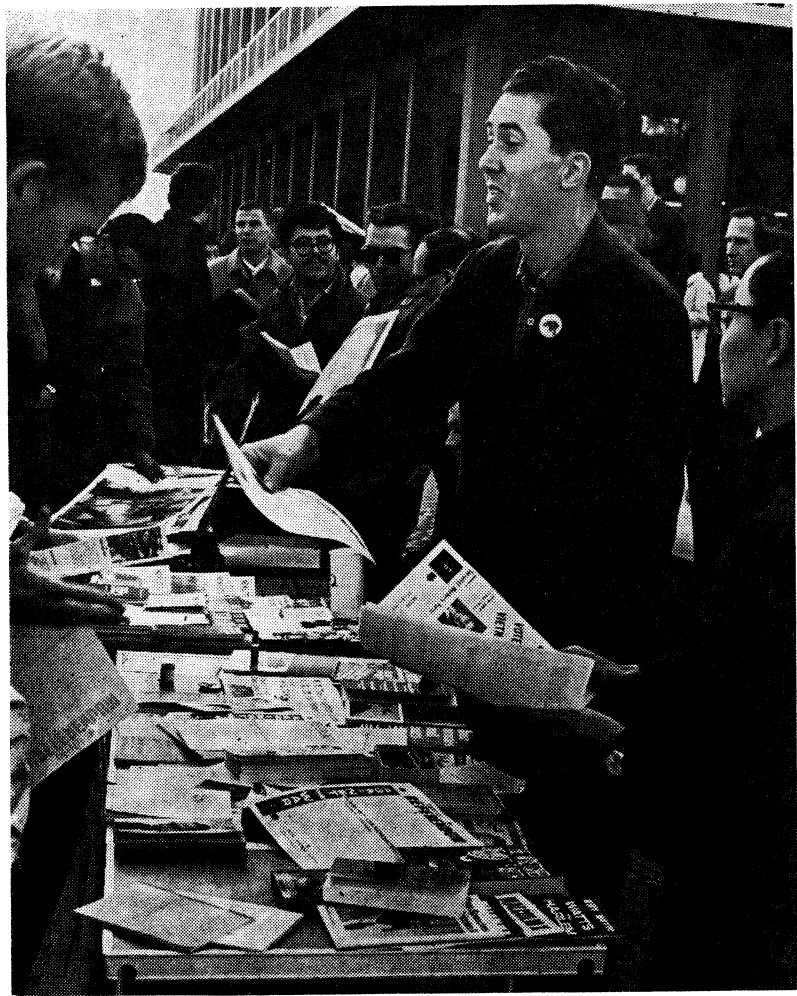
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**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNING.** Socialist candidate for Berkeley City Council, Brian Shannon, behind campaign literature table at Berkeley campus.

## Oakland SWP Backers In City Hall Protest

By Roger Filene

BERKELEY, March 15 — Supporters of Paul Montauk, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Oakland, picketed Oakland City Hall yesterday. They were protesting the refusal by Oakland City Attorney Edward Goggin to print Montauk's position against the Vietnam war in the brochure the city puts out giving the views of all candidates.

Each candidate is supposed to write a short statement, which is supposed to appear without editing in the brochure. There is no clause in the city charter giving the city attorney the right to censor a candidate's views so that the voters can't read what he stands for.

Montauk issued a statement which said that he would be forced to "pursue legal action" against the city if it did not reverse the decision of the city attorney.

Meanwhile, in Berkeley, a meeting of the League of Women Voters and PTA was held this evening where the candidates for Mayor of Berkeley and for Berkeley City Council spoke to the crowd of 200.

Peter Camejo, candidate for Mayor endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, said, "The Vietnam war is the biggest issue of the campaign because it is the biggest issue facing American society today. It is costing \$24 billion a year or more while the state government is asking for tuition at the state university because it can't find enough money.

"Money is being drained off to fight a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people," Camejo said. He pointed out that he had initiated a proposal before the City Council that it conduct a referendum on the war among the Berkeley citizens during the April 4 elections. But the City Council "refused. One reason is that Mayor Johnson, who chairs the City Council, is making money off the war. The *Berkeley Barb* revealed

last week that Johnson's factory is booming on war contracts."

Camejo also pointed out that Berkeley's population is 25 percent black, but there are very few black firemen and policemen. This is not surprising, he said, since in Mayor Johnson's own factory which is located in the black ghetto, only four of the 66 employees are Negro.

Mayor Johnson, running for re-election, got up and said he was going to "tell it like it is, as the young folks put it." He then commenced to tell it like he always tells it, avoiding every major issue.

Jaimey Allen, socialist candidate for city council, discussed the high rate of unemployment among the black youth in Berkeley. She urged support for the idea of black power and independent black political action.

### Other Candidates

Ove Aspoy and Brian Shannon, also socialist candidates for city council, spoke. Aspoy explained the kind of society socialists favor. Shannon discussed Mayor Johnson's appeal for a large vote to repudiate the "far left." He said it would hurt Berkeley to re-elect a government that is racist, and that won't let the people vote on the Vietnam war.

During the question period, someone asked what the differences were between the Socialist Workers Party and the Community for New Politics. Camejo explained that the SWP believes that fundamental change can only come about by the action of the labor movement and Negro people. The SWP, therefore, stands for independent political action by the working class and Negro people, against the capitalist parties, while the CNP believes in supporting and working within capitalist parties, especially the Democratic Party.

The whole meeting was tape recorded and will be broadcast over radio station KPFA-FM on April 1.

# Regime in Bolivia Launches Attack on Left-Wing Forces

(World Outlook) — The Barrientos regime in Bolivia has initiated a nation-wide witchhunt aimed at tendencies standing in the political opposition to the left. The tendencies hit the hardest include the Trotskyists, the pro-Peking Communists, the followers of former Vice President Juan Lechin and even very small groups like the one that pays allegiance to J. Posadas.

The list of leaders who have been rounded up reads like a "who's who" of the entire left. At the beginning of March they included the following:

Zanón Barrientos Manani Sinforese Cabrera, Luis Canipa, Orlando Capriles, Alejandro Carvajal, Nuflo Chavez Ortiz, Carlos Daza L., Jorge Echazú Alvarado, Filimon Escobar, Gabriel Guzmán I., Alberto Jara Daza, Guillermo Lora;

Miguel Lora, Carrasco Marín, Edwin Moller, José Palacios, Víctor Reynaga, Eulogio Sanchez T., Oscar Sangines, Víctor Sosa, Amadeo Vargas, Felipe Villanueva, Oscar Zamora.

The prisoners were exiled in remote regions — Pokin, a village in the Beni area notorious for leprosy; Ixianas and Puerto Rico, extremely unhealthy places in the jungle; and Ulla Ulla, high in the mountains near the Peruvian border.

### "Plot" Concocted

As in previous instances, the government used the excuse that it had discovered a "plot." To create the proper sensational headlines, the secret political police said the "plot" was aimed at assassinating "high government figures."

No trials were held, naturally, and no evidence was brought forward beyond the assertions of men appointed to office by Barrientos. Without further formalities all those seized by the secret political police were hustled out of

La Paz and confined to the camps indicated above.

The nature of the witchhunt can be judged from the account of a press conference that appeared in the March 2 issue of *Presencia*, published in La Paz. The following is a translation of extracts:

\* \* \*

The cabinet minister charged that armed bands, organized by extremists, were to carry out the mission of physically eliminating high government figures. Minister Arguedas indicated in his charge that the PORists [Trotskyists] had bought a piece of land near Santa Cruz in order to train its militants, who were also taught guerrilla tactics. He also said that upon discovering these terrorist plans, the emergency measure had been taken of exiling extremist leaders to Puerto Rico.

### Witchhunt Charges

The cabinet minister made some statements on the latest arrests that have occurred in the country. Upon beginning his exposition, he said that Miguel Lora and Filimon Escobar declared a hunger strike in the cells of the DIC [Dirección Investigación Criminal — the secret police] as a protest against the security measures adopted by the government.

In response to the first question, Minister Arguedas said that intense work in subversive agitation was going on; this was synchronized with the preparation of armed bands organized by the Peking Communist Party, the POR and the PRIN [Nationalist Left Revolutionary Party]. Arguedas then added: "In reality, the one that ought to declare a hunger strike is the entire people of Bolivia, the victim of the divisive, anarchistic work of these tiny factions interested in blocking, by all the means within their reach, the institutionalizing of the country and its development."

He then added: "Our intelli-

gence service succeeded in discovering that with funds coming from abroad, the POR acquired a piece of land in the outskirts of the department of Santa Cruz. This was done with the objective of preparing armed bands, the aim of which was to carry out terrorist acts against indicated figures in the government and acts of sabotage. In legitimately defending the constituted order and safeguarding the Bolivian people from the grave danger they ran in the event these groups succeeded in carrying out their plans, I was obliged to fix the residence of twelve extremists in the locality of Puerto Rico."

In reply to another question, he said that the security measures adopted by his office had no relation whatsoever with the arbitration dispute that is to be decided by the Ministry of Labor. "On the contrary," he said, "the members of the so-called Left Front which includes the Peking and Moscow Communist parties, the FLIN [Front of National Liberation], the POR, the PRIN and the MNR [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement], have mobilized and sent more than 200 activists into the miners' districts."

### "General Strike"

He said that the objective was to incite the workers to launch a general strike of an insurrectional nature in case the Ministry of Labor did not approve the demands of the miners one hundred percent.

He then indicated that when Miguel Lora, Víctor Sosa and Oscar Sangines were arrested, the government discovered that the POR and its allies were not only carrying on a campaign of distorting what was happening in the country but they were also passing out arms among their members.

He added: "Víctor Sosa in his capacity of principal of a school, did not limit himself to teaching Trotskyism, but also corrected and added to the teachings written by Che Guevara on guerrillas, imparting concrete instructions on carrying out acts of terrorism."

Minister Arguedas said that in the mining districts, those named above had carried on recruiting in Huanuni and Catavi, and had enlisted young elements as supposed forces of national liberation charged with "executing the feverish plans of the extremist leaders."

## Black Youth Gets Life In Va. "Rape" Case

Thomas C. Wansley, a 22-year-old Negro, was sentenced to two life terms for "rape" in Lynchburg, Va., on March 18. Held in prison without bail for more than four years, this was Wansley's fourth trial for the same offense. Accused of raping a white woman, now 63, and robbing her of \$137, Wansley has been twice acquitted on appeal to the Virginia Supreme Court on the rape charge, and the robbery charge resulted in a hung jury in 1965.

Wansley's attorney, William Kunstler of New York, has been frequently red-baited in the local press as "linked on numerous occasions with Communist-front organizations and efforts."

The 63-year-old plaintiff, when asked how she could identify Wansley now, when in two previous trials she had been unsure, replied: "Well naturally . . . I have seen him in court."

The verdict will be appealed.

## Successful Boycott At Harlem School

By Al Solomon

NEW YORK — The third school boycott this year in New York City entered its second week on March 20. About 1,100 to 1,450 out of the 1,800 enrolled children at P.S. 36-125 are participating in the boycott. The school is in West Harlem.

The parents group organizing the boycott, the School Community Committee, wants a voice in the running of the school, including the selection of a new principal.

The first boycott this year was in I.S. 201. This boycott was very militant but only moderately successful because of the action of the teachers union in opposing the boycott and the parents. The second boycott, at P.S. 122 in Brooklyn, was better organized and also had the assistance of the newly-formed Peoples Board of Education.

The present boycott shows that the leaders have learned from these experiences and the result is a high degree of organization and effectiveness. In addition to the backing of the Negro, Puerto Rican and white parents, it is a community effort and has gained the support of merchants, religious leaders and educators in the area.

One of the factors contributing to the success of the boycott has

been the organization of "freedom schools" for the children. These have been a boon to harassed mothers who might otherwise worry about their children's whereabouts or loss of education due to the boycott.

The Board of Education has refused to meet with the boycott leaders unless they call off the boycott, but the parents are refusing to do so until they get a written agreement with the board. They have learned from bitter experiences not to trust the verbal promises of the board.

The reason for the action taken by the parents is the fact that their children are not getting even the basic education of the three R's from a biased system that assumes Negro and Puerto Rican children cannot learn because of their home environments. When the parents show a desire to do something to improve the education of their children, however, the liberal educators raise a hue and cry about "outside interference."

The parents have proclaimed that ". . . we have decided that we can and must do something to help ourselves. The cycle of undereducated, underdeveloped and underemployed must be broken."