

Che Guevara Speaks!—The Complete Text

[The article below was sent by Comandante Ernesto "Che" Guevara from "somewhere in the world" to the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was made public by that body and carried by Prensa Latina in its bulletin of April 17.

[World Outlook made a translation of that text, publishing it in its issue of April 28.

[Subsequently an English translation was made available by OSPAAALA. This was published in the April 23 issue of the English-language edition of *Granma*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

[The translation below is the one made by *World Outlook*. It has been checked against the OSPAAALA translation, however, and minor modifications have accordingly been made in various passages.]

* * *

"It is the time of the furnaces, and it is only necessary to see the glow." (José Martí.)

Twenty-one years have gone by since the end of the last world conflagration; and publications in every language are celebrating the event symbolized by the defeat of Japan. There is an atmosphere of apparent optimism in many sectors of the different camps into which the world is divided.

Twenty-one years without a world war, in these days of maximum confrontations, of violent encounters and abrupt turns, appears to be a very high number. But, without analyzing the practical results of this peace (misery, degradation, constantly increasing exploitation of enormous sectors of the world), over

which all of us are prepared to struggle, it is appropriate to ask whether this peace is real.

It is not my intention in these notes to detail the various conflicts of a local character that have occurred since Japan surrendered. Neither do we intend to recount the numerous and growing civil struggles that have broken out in these years of so-called peace. It is sufficient to offer as examples, countering any undue optimism, the wars in Korea and Vietnam.

In the first of these, after years of ferocious struggle, the north part of the country was left with the most terrible devastation in the annals of modern war; riddled with bombs, without factories, schools or hospitals — without any kind of housing to shelter ten million inhabitants.

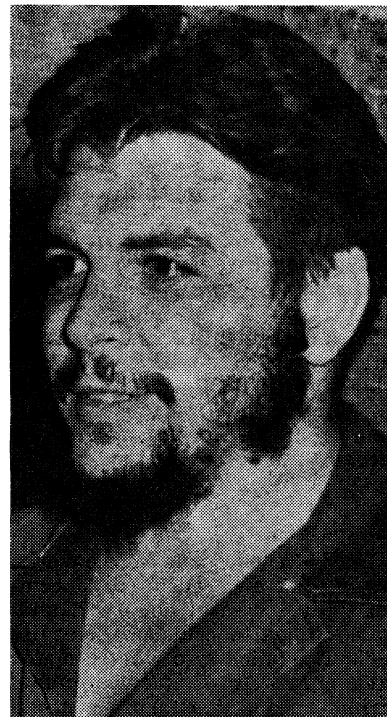
In this war, under the deceptive banner of the United Nations, dozens of countries intervened under the military leadership of the United States, with the massive participation of troops of that country and utilization of the conscripted south Korean population as cannon fodder.

On the other side, the army and people of Korea and the volunteers from the People's Republic of China were given supplies and technical aid by the Soviet military apparatus.

The North Americans tried out every kind of means of destruction, excluding thermonuclear weapons but including bacteriological and chemical arms on a limited scale.

In Vietnam fighting has been carried on almost uninterruptedly by the patriotic forces of that country against three imperialist powers: Japan, whose power collapsed with the bombing

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Ernesto "Che" Guevara

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Issue in Petrick Case: Free Speech for GIs

By Barry Sheppard

The threats by the army brass to court-martial antiwar GI Howard Petrick are aimed at the rights of all soldiers. Pfc. Petrick has been told that he faces possible charges of "subversion," creating "disaffection" within the army and making "disloyal" statements — all for the sole "crime" of expressing his views on the war and on other social problems to his fellow GIs.

Before he was drafted, Petrick was active in the Minneapolis antiwar movement, and had joined the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. Since his induction last July, he has continued to receive *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*, and has openly expressed his socialist and antiwar views. He found that many of

the soldiers are interested and receptive to his ideas.

When he returned from a leave on April 1, he found his literature confiscated as part of an investigation, and was told he faced possible court-martial. The case is now in the hands of the Pentagon.

Petrick is regarded as a good soldier by his immediate superiors and by his fellow soldiers. There is no issue of infraction of army rules involved in this case — only the right to hold and express views at variance with those of Washington.

The army brass threaten Petrick because they are terrified at the prospect of soldiers beginning to think for themselves about social questions. The ruling capitalist class in this country, whom the army brass serves, wants the army to be a docile instrument of its policies, no matter how reactionary and no matter how much against the interests of the soldiers themselves.

Military Code of Justice

One of the ways capitalist politicians have tried to keep the army an obedient instrument of their policies has been to pass special laws for the military. These special military laws are flagrantly unconstitutional, and Congress had no right to pass these violations of the Bill of Rights in the first place.

One example in the Military Code of Justice is the "law" the Pentagon is now considering using against Pfc. Petrick. The law is Article 134 of the Military Code, a catch-all provision giving the brass the "right" to court-martial GIs for "all disorders and neglects to the prejudice of good order and discipline" and "all conduct of a nature to bring discredit upon the armed forces." This gives the brass an opening to declare any action by a soldier "not specifically mentioned" in the Code a crime.

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Pfc. Howard Petrick

U of Penn Antiwar Forces Oust Germ Warfare Project

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA, May 4 — The antiwar movement has scored a major victory at the University of Pennsylvania here. The university Board of Trustees voted today to divest the university of Projects Spicerack and Summit, two biological and chemical warfare research contracts from the U.S. Army and Air Force. The decision by the trustees follows by only five days a 51-hour, 350-student sit-in at the office of President Gaylord P. Harnwell to demand an end to the germ warfare research.

Decided to Press Actions

Students Opposed to Germ Warfare Research, the group which carried out the sit-in, met on the eve of the trustees' meeting and decided the demonstrations would continue unless the trustees acceded to their demands by May 5.

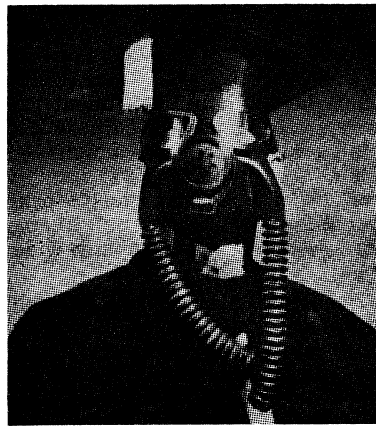
The students had been asking for a ban on such research both at Penn and also at the University City Science Center, a private corporation in which Penn controls 53 percent of the stock. The trustees' action also includes a recommendation that Projects Spicerack and Summit not be transferred to the Science Center.

Only one month ago, it was revealed that President Harnwell was still negotiating transfer of the projects to the Science Center and had secretly signed an agreement with the U.S. Air Force extending the contract for Spicerack. The trustees' action, calling for the removal of the germ warfare contracts "as soon as practicable," is thus a complete reversal of the university's recent position.

Harnwell Under Fire

Harnwell was asked by WCAU-TV (CBS) this evening if recent student demonstrations had been responsible for the trustees' decision. He replied that "continued disturbances such as have occurred during the past year" would not be conducive to the well-being of the university if they kept up. Therefore, it will be best for "the university's educational purposes" to eliminate the excuse for the "disturbances."

The announcement of the trustees' decision was made by Wilfred D. Gillen, chairman of the Board of Trustees and president of Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania. Included among the trustees are several members of



GAS MASKS were to be worn at U of P commencement in protest of biological and chemical warfare research.

the duPont family.

One hundred and eight corporations are represented on the board, according to Penn's directory, including Standard Oil of New Jersey, Ford Motor Company, General Electric, U.S. Rubber, Armstrong Cork, Reynolds Metals, Scott Paper, Sun Oil, Merck Drugs, Penn Mutual Life, Mellon Bank, Pennsylvania Railroad, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank, First Pennsylvania Banking and Trust Company,

Philadelphia Electric Company, Smith Kline and French Drugs, *The New York Times*, and scores of Wall Street investment firms and corporate law firms.

Many of these powerful men, as well as the university provost, the dean of women and the university chaplain, met with student leaders of the sit-in several times in the past five days in a frantic attempt to convince the students to plan no future demonstrations. At last night's meeting, the students agreed not to demonstrate at the trustees' meeting, but immediately laid plans for a protest against the germ warfare research by graduating seniors and others attending the commencement two weeks from now.

The students who participated in the movement to end the germ warfare research on campus are jubilant. Victory has finally come after a 20-month battle that began when antiwar activists first publicly exposed the research. In October of 1965, Penn's administration was first charged with complicity in the Vietnam war when it was revealed that Projects Summit and Spicerack involve studies of the spreading of epidemic diseases of rice, the aerial spraying of deadly arsenic and cyanide compounds, and the dispersal of

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St. Paul Rail Union Pickets Blast LBJ's Union-Busting

MINNEAPOLIS, May 8 — Members of the railroad shopcraft unions demonstrated this evening at the State Capitol building in St. Paul in protest of Johnson's move to get Congress to pass legislation outlawing railroad strikes and forcing the union to submit to compulsory arbitration. For many of the workers, it was their first picketline.

Johnson attempted to prettify this attack on labor's rights by calling his bill "mediation to finality." The signs carried by the railroad shopmen indicate they saw through this verbal trickery: "LBJ Unfair to Labor"; "Defend the Right to Strike"; "Opposed to Compulsory Arbitration."

Supporting the demonstration were students from the University of Minnesota, most of whom have been active in the antiwar move-

ment. They responded to a leaflet urging student support for the railroad shopmen's action issued by the campus Young Socialist Alliance.

"The right to strike is a basic democratic right," the YSA leaflet said. "Johnson has shown the American people that he has nothing but contempt for democracy in Vietnam, in Watts, and in Mississippi; now he is using the illegal and unjust war in Vietnam as an excuse to break strikes, and to launch an offensive against the trade union movement."

The students carried signs reading, "Students Support the Right to Strike," and "Students Support Shop Men."

At the demonstration, a Socialist Workers Party leaflet calling for a labor party was well received by the workers.



An arbitration award has been made in the long and bitter fight of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, led by Cesar Chavez, against the huge DiGiorgio family corporation at Delano, Calif.

The seven-month strike was tentatively settled on Aug. 30, 1966 when the UFWOC won an NLRB election over the Teamsters. It was then that DiGiorgio agreed to recognize the union and submit all issues to an arbitration panel. It took that panel another seven months to act.

Under the new contract the workers will receive \$1.65 (a 25 cent per hour increase) for 1967, and an additional 5 cents per hour in 1968. The union also won recognition, check-off of dues, a union hiring hall, unemployment compensation; health, welfare and pension plans; vacations with pay after certain minimum hours of work (more than the average 137 days of work per year), and the right to reopen wage negotiations after two years. However, any unsettled economic issues in such a reopening must be submitted to arbitration. The workers are forbidden to strike.

Last year when Congress, for the first time, included a few hundred thousand agricultural workers under the minimum wage law, it carefully excluded most of the 3 million from protection by providing that coverage went only to those farm hands who were employed full time on farms big enough to use seven workers. And then they granted a cut-rate \$1 per hour — 40¢ under the national minimum wage.

The DiGiorgio workers fit into the latter category. Most of them live in the Delano Valley, and work "full time" for DiGiorgio. Their partial victory is serving as an inspiration to their fellow workers all the way from Michigan to Texas.

For the past 11 months farm workers in the Rio Grande City, Texas, area have been on strike for \$1.25 per hour and union recognition. Wages in this vegetable and cantaloupe growing area now range from 80 cents to \$1 per hour.

Organized under the leadership of the UFWOC, the strikers have met with the same terror which their California brothers faced — and still face in the 30 strikes still going on in Delano Valley. There have been many beatings and arrests. Strikers have been driven

Defeated Black Nominees Set Court Test on Miss. Voting

An all-black slate backed by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was defeated in the elections held May 2 in Sunflower Town, Miss. This was despite the fact that more blacks voted than whites. MFDP mayoralty candidate Otis Brown received 121 votes — the highest number cast for a black candidate. The white Democratic Party candidate for mayor received 194. The five white candidates for alderman ran between 43 and 83 votes ahead of the black candidates.

MFDP attorneys are challenging the vote in a federal court suit this week. Although the government did send federal registrars to observe the election as promised, they reneged on an agreement to allow MFDP leader Joe Harris to assist black people in voting. Negroes who needed assistance were thus expected to tell local whites who they were voting for.

out of their company-owned shacks, their credit cut off.

An interesting phenomenon has developed in this strike which bids fair to give the Roman Catholic hierarchy pause to think. The strikers are mostly Mexican-Americans and Catholic. Two young priests were disciplined by their archbishop for getting themselves arrested on the picket line, and were sent into exile in New Mexico. After they were joined by two other assistant pastors, and all four suspended, the parishoners in two San Antonio churches threw up a picket line carrying signs reading "Let Our Priests Go!" and "Dialogue, Not Monologue!"

Meanwhile the strike goes on. In May and June the highly perishable cantaloupe crop will be ready for harvest.

No wonder the city fathers are bitter against the strikers! One hotelkeeper said "farm workers just don't fit into a union," and a young secretary called the strikers "crazy as hell."

"Crazy?" Have you ever smelled a field of overripe, unpicked cantaloupe?

The strike leaders say, "We are our only supporters, but we will win."

With eight separate contracts, settling as many strikes, Union Carbide has successfully fragmented the attempt of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department to force the billion-dollar corporation to negotiate with three unions — the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; the United Steel Workers; and the International Chemical Workers, on a company-wide basis.

The Reuther-led IUD made such a proposal last summer. The company refused, insisting on plant-by-plant, union-by-union contract negotiations. Hostilities began very soon after the company locked out its employees at Alloy, W. Va. This turned into a strike when 10 other local unions walked out at the other company plants.

The company got two Taft-Hartley injunctions, one at Kokomo, Ind., the other at Ashtabula, Ohio, forcing those workers back into the plants for 80 days.

The eight settlements mark a major victory for the company in its fight to keep its workers separated and fragmented. The new contracts all have varying life-spans, differing termination dates, and widely differing wage-benefit packages. —Marvel Scholl

According to civil rights attorney Morton Stavis many blacks spoiled their ballots because they did not want to ask white poll watchers for help. And many of the 27 black voters who did get assistance may not have voted a straight black ticket for fear of reprisal.

MFDP-backed candidates were also hurt by the fact that while whites voted solidly for white candidates, the black voters were split. It is estimated that the white candidate for mayor received at least 36 black votes. A non-MFDP Uncle Tom candidate for alderman was put up by the whites in order to split the black vote, and received approximately 34 black votes.

In the municipal elections in Moorhead, Mississippi, which were also held on May 2, an all-black slate of candidates was defeated. This was expected since the majority of voters in Moorhead are white.

Building Service Union Brass Hats Duck Flying Chairs

NEW YORK — The increasingly militant mood of the working class, both against the employers and pussy-footing union leaders, took a dramatic form on May 5 when the leadership of Local 32B, Building Service Workers Union, tried to sell its membership a bill of goods.

More than 6,000 union members inside Manhattan Center and about 3,000 on the street kept up a chant of "Strike! Strike! Strike!" interposed with boos and hisses and flying wooden chairs — all aimed at the podium. Union President Thomas Shortman, on that podium, tried to explain why the strike called for the evening before had been postponed, and why the union should honor a request by both Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay to postpone strike action and go back into negotiations. Mr. Shortman tried — for 45 minutes — and then retreated with his fellow executive board members into the wings, under the protection of more than a score of city policemen.

On May 5 the luxury apartment building corporations signed a contract granting a wage increase of \$18 a week over three years, added welfare and pension benefits and longer vacations.

Owners of thousands of rent-controlled buildings are still holding out, however. They all agree that the present \$85 a week is not a living wage for their elevator operators, handymen and janitors. But they are using the union demands to try to break the city rent control law and get steep rent increases.

So, as the *New York Times* puts it, a strike is still threatened. And if the mood of the workers, demonstrated at the Manhattan Center meeting is any criterion, that strike will not be settled by any milk-and-water compromise.

... Petrick Case

(Continued from Page 1) One of the "crimes" listed under Article 134, is that of "uttering disloyal statements undermining discipline and loyalty," which is the specific "offense" charged against Petrick. This is just as vague as Article 134 itself, and is unconstitutional on that ground alone. Under the Bill of Rights, laws cannot be so vague as to allow the authorities to decide after the fact whether a "crime" has been committed.

The outlawing of "disloyal statements" is also obviously in violation of the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech. Who defines "loyal" statements? When Petrick tells his fellow GIs that the war in Vietnam is illegal, immoral and unjust, is he "uttering disloyal statements"? The army brass apparently thinks so. But it has no right under the Constitution to dictate to soldiers what their political beliefs and expression shall be.

Petrick's fight for his constitutional rights is a fight for the rights of all GIs to discuss the issues which affect them first of all. The GIs have the right to discuss the war in Vietnam. They have the right to oppose that war and say so. After all, they are the ones who are asked to do the dying — not the politicians in Washington or the top army brass, who don't happen to like Petrick's views.

The case is important for all who believe in civil liberties, and for all who believe that the soldiers have the right to think about and discuss this war. Contributions are needed to help mount a powerful campaign to beat back this attack upon the constitutional rights of GIs. Send your contribution to: The Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick, P.O. Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

... Victory at U of Penn

(Continued from Page 1) the germs which cause influenza, anthrax and botulism.

During the next several months, Penn became the scene of repeated protests by faculty and students indignant that their university had become an instrument of American military policy. Meanwhile, stories about the use of chemicals and poisons in Vietnam began appearing more abundantly in the news media. It became impossible for members of the university community to avoid the connection between the research going on in the next building and the napping of Vietnamese women and children.

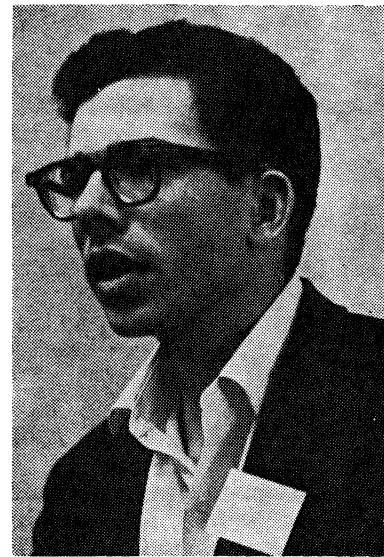
The Harnwell administration tried to have its cake and eat it too. On one hand, the university issued gallant proclamations against secret research, attempting to build up a liberal, enlightened image in the national news media. On the other hand, Dr. Knut Axel Krieger, director of Summit and Spicerack, quietly informed all who asked that his research violated no proclamations against secrecy; in fact, his research wasn't secret at all; he merely chose not to publish or divulge any of it.

On one hand, Harnwell announced that the Institute for Co-operative Research would be disbanded. On the other hand, he said more quietly that Spicerack, Summit and the other projects previously funded through the Institute would merely be funded through other departments of the university.

Harnwell stated that the university was taking steps to divest itself of Spicerack and Summit, following the recommendations of a faculty committee that he had appointed. But, Harnwell secretly signed an agreement with the Air Force extending the contract for Spicerack behind the back of that same faculty committee.

If the major purpose of these administrative maneuvers had been to muddle the issues and thereby prevent further faculty and student unrest, they were totally ineffective. The inconsistencies were much too transparent; the university community began to get the sneaking suspicion that Harnwell speaks with forked tongue.

Penn's reputation did not improve. Demonstrations became more frequent. Gas masks were beginning to appear at all the university's most sanctified ceremonies and traditions.



ROBIN MAISEL. While working in the university bookstore, Maisel, who is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and, at the time, of the U of Penn Committee to End the War in Vietnam, discovered secret biological and chemical research two years ago. Antiwar committee initiated struggle against such research, which culminated in recent victory.

On April 15, 500 Penn students joined one half million other Americans in New York to demand an end to the Vietnam war. For the majority of these Penn students, it was their first participation in a demonstration, and the awesome power of large numbers of people acting in unison was driven home to them. Eleven days later, that same power was driven home to Dr. Gaylord P. Harnwell when he was greeted by hundreds of students sitting on the floor of his office.

Apparently the prospect of massive demonstrations continuing was too much for Dr. Harnwell. The *Daily Pennsylvanian*, the campus newspaper, was demanding his resignation. Today he gave his report to the trustees. So the president of Bell Telephone and the representatives of the largest oil, automobile, drug, chemical, paper, aluminum, banking, rubber and railroad companies in the United States got together and decided that germ warfare research at Penn must now be written off as a bad investment.

In the May 12 World Outlook

- Full text of Bertrand Russell's opening statement at the International War Crimes Tribunal hearings in Stockholm.
- Full text of General de Gaulle's letter barring the War Crimes Tribunal from meeting in France.
- Full text of Jean-Paul Sartre's reply to General de Gaulle.
- Excerpts from Fidel Castro's speech in which he pays tribute to the April 15 antiwar demonstration in the U.S.
- A report on the Quebec Labour Federation's appeal to the president of Peru to release Hugo Blanco, the peasant leader facing possible execution.
- An analysis of the discussion now going on among Dominican revolutionists on perspectives of their movement.
- An inquiry into the real significance of Johnson's program for the "pacification" of Vietnam.
- A review of Isaac Deutscher's *Ironies of History*. Send 50 cents for a copy. Use the coupon below.

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Politics and the Antiwar Movement

Are Demonstrations Worthwhile?

By Harry Ring

"As Johnson intensifies the Vietnam war, the SWP-CP-Pacifist cabal have increased their domination over a *shrinking* [emphasis in original] peace movement. How could it be otherwise? The peace movement shrinks because it is impotent."

This considered judgment was offered in the Feb. 13 *Bulletin*, publication of the ultra-left group-let, the Workers League. This was some two months before half a million people marched against the war April 15 in the most massive protest action this country has ever seen.

It was not simply factional blindness that led to this totally false estimate of the state of the antiwar movement. The blindness was also induced by an inability to comprehend that there is mass opposition to the war in this country and to comprehend that a movement geared to drawing out that sentiment and making it manifest has the opportunity for swift growth.

Liberals

It is not only ultra-lefts who react against such demonstrations. They are also vigorously opposed by those liberals and social democrats who don't want to see the movement come into collision with the Democratic Party or to develop in a revolutionary direction.

These people are sufficiently experienced politically to understand that mass actions have a logic to them, that as people become involved in demonstrations to achieve perfectly reasonable aims and find the government turning a deaf ear, their whole political thinking becomes radical.

That's why, for example, Bayard Rustin, the witchhunting "socialist," recently urged SANE to expell Dr. Spock because he joined with "Trotskyites" and "Maoists" in building the Spring Mobilization.

Nor will the political layer represented by Rustin simply rest at denouncing and red-baiting those who do organize mass actions. If

they can, they will try to win the leadership of the mass forces brought into play by the antiwar movement and to steer the movement into "safe," Democratic Party channels. The formation of the "Negotiation Now!" committee which counterposes negotiations to withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and which counterposes petitions to demonstrations, was formed as a direct result of the April 15 Mobilization. It seeks to "contain" the forces April 15 generated.

However, it isn't only ultra-lefts and right-wingers who take a dim view of such demonstrations. There are serious questions raised by militant antiwar activists who see the war continuing to escalate and ask: Haven't the demonstrations proven ineffective in stopping the war? Isn't it necessary to develop different forms of opposition?

From the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism, demonstrations in and of themselves are not the answer. The basic answer to Vietnam and to the capitalist system responsible for Vietnam is the building of an anticapitalist political power capable of transforming America. It will take a socialist government in Washington to finally assure peace in the world.

Necessary Stage

But experience has demonstrated that periodic mass demonstrations do exert meaningful pressure for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. And — equally important — such demonstrations assume an objectively anti-imperialist character and are a necessary stage in the building of a large-scale anticapitalist political movement.

While both the ultra-lefts and the red-baiters find it convenient to attack the Spring Mobilization as dominated by the pacifists and the Socialist Workers and Communist parties, the fact is that the Mobilization was the first broad, national coalition of antiwar forces. While it certainly included the above mentioned groups, it also included leaders of SNCC,

CORE, SCLC, student groups, a modest but not insignificant representation of trade unionists, and many, many others.

From the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party, this itself was a major advance in the struggle against the war. We regard the U.S. aggression in Vietnam as an expression of its imperialist policy and we want to build a movement in this country that can become part of a worldwide anti-imperialist force.

Furthermore, we are convinced that it will take not only a mass movement to end the war, but a mass movement that finally assumes a class character. That is, one based upon the working people, black and white.

This is essential, in our view, not only because the workers are the most numerous section of the population, but also because of the social, political and economic power latent in the hands of the working class.

Not Immune

But, it will be argued, the labor movement has changed much for the worse. Its top leaders can only be characterized as a gang of finks and, literally CIA agents. Yet, despite their misleaders, working people are not immune to the now swiftly spreading antiwar sentiment nor, for that matter, to the growing radicalization.

A pipe dream? No. A significant section of the working class is already opposed to the war — the black workers. White antiwar activists are aware of the growth of radicalism in the black ghettos but sometimes don't take cognizance that the ghettos are largely composed of working people, many of whom are unionists.

In cities like Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Oakland, Chicago, Jersey City, Newark and others, black workers constitute a significant part of the union movement. In many areas they play an important role in inner union politics.

Yes, it may be argued, all that is so and it's all very fine. But still the war escalates. The demonstrations simply haven't stopped the war.

This is, admittedly, a fact. But no serious proponent of mass action ever argued that any single action or series of actions would end the war or bar further escalations. But that doesn't mean nothing has been accomplished.

Just Consider

One way to get a conception of the political impact of the antiwar movement is to simply consider what shape we'd be in if the situation were reversed. Imagine this: The April 15 Mobilization drew not a half a million people but 3,000. And the prowar "Loyalty Day" parade organized in response to April 15 drew not 3,700 people but a half a million. If that were the relationship of forces, what would the pace of Asian escalation be? What would the state of America be?

Demonstrations have played a key role in building the antiwar movement. They have provided a focal point for intensifying the activities of all the participating groups and gaining support for their projects. Without periodic, defined common goals there would be a disintegrating process. The united demonstrations influenced public opinion and involved numbers of people far greater than the sum total of the supporters of the individual participating groups. In addition, the activities in preparation aided the development of the various groups.

Furthermore, April 15 did have a positive, measurable effect. Within a week after that outpouring, Johnson took the unprecedented step of bringing his top general back from the battle field to plead and threaten for his cause at home. Then, the eight senators who

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Monday, May 15, 1967



BLACKS MARCH IN SAN FRANCISCO. There was greater participation from black ghettos in April 15 march than in previous actions.

stood up in Congress to denounce the latest escalation showed they could count marchers too. And so did the staff of the Senate Republican Policy Committee when it issued, shortly after April 15, a paper critical of the war.

The marchers were also apparently carefully counted by New York's Mayor Lindsay. Prior to April 15 he didn't have time to see a Spring Mobilization delegation. But after the march, when the Parks Commissioner asserted Central Park would no longer be permitted for such demonstrations the good mayor was quick to reverse him.

Now a Mass Movement

And keep in mind. April 15 was the first genuinely mass action against the war. The previous actions registered that a significant, minority segment of the population was against the war. But the Spring Mobilization told the world — and the rulers of America — that this is no longer a small movement. Millions now oppose the war.

Further, it was no mere "peace walk." Its real meaning was apparent to every serious observer here and abroad. It was a demonstration directed against the government and centering around a most basic demand — the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. The hundreds of thousands who were on their first march, it can be safely assumed, haven't studied Lenin's *Imperialism*. But when they go into the streets to demand that their government get its troops out of a foreign country where those troops are being used to stem a revolution — that is an anti-imperialist action.

Rulers Have Problems

This creates a fearful political problem for the administration. No government can long wage a difficult, costly war which is opposed by a significant section of the population. Apart from a variety of other considerations, the politicians and the generals understand very well that if popular opposition to a war develops on the home front, it is only a matter of time before that sentiment seeps into the armed forces.

Once the antiwar movement assumes a mass character, it involves people with sons, husbands, sweethearts in the armed forces. While the U.S. army is no paradise of democratic rights, there is still communication between soldiers and civilians. GIs listen to the same TV and radio shows, they

read the same papers. They discuss with each other. And just as the truth finally filters through the muck of lies to the civilian population, so it will finally reach the GIs. Their interest, after all, is not academic. It has a very real meaning when they see TV shots of masses of people marching under banners demanding: "Support Our Boys! Bring Them Home Now!"

Finally, there is another important value to such demonstrations. They show the world that America is not a united, reactionary mass. And this gives enormous encouragement to anti-imperialist fighters everywhere. As the revolutionary fighters around the globe come to see there is a meaningful opposition within the U.S. their resolve to struggle is stiffened, their revolutionary perspective is deepened.

Impact in Cuba

On this page we publish Fidel Castro's reaction to April 15. Just a year ago he had expressed the view that there was little prospect for opposition within the U.S. In an interview with Lee Lockwood, first published in *Playboy*, Castro spoke of centuries of capitalist rule in the U.S. The growth of the antiwar movement led him to take another look at this key question.

Or take it on a less theoretical level. What does it mean to a Vietnamese peasant who resists in the face of bombs and napalm to learn that a half a million Americans took to the streets to demand an end to the war?

The two processes are intertwined. In his declaration, Che describes the staggering difficulties confronting U.S. imperialism in trying to rule the globe. He adds: "All this has internal repercussions in the United States; it is going to arouse a factor which was attenuated in the full vigor of imperialism — the class struggle inside its own territory."

Castro's View of April 15

[The following is from a speech given by Fidel Castro on April 19, commemorating the victory of the Cuban people over the counterrevolutionary Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.]

The situation of the imperialist aggressors is worsening. The consequences in domestic politics, the moral and economic consequences, are increasingly difficult to ignore. One of these consequences is the resistance of the people of the United States itself, who just a few days ago staged one of the biggest demonstrations that has ever been seen there, precisely against the brutal and criminal war being waged by the imperialists in Vietnam.

And one more ally — a most estimable one at that — is arising right there among the people of the United States. It is really interesting from a historic standpoint, from the point of view of the course of events nowadays, that there — right in the heart of New York — hundreds of thousands of citizens joined together under that watchword. The representatives of the movement against racial discrimination were present in considerable numbers with posters saying that the war being waged by the imperialists against the Vietnamese people is inspired by the same feelings that lead to the oppression of black people in the United States.

That is, the victims of exploitation and discrimination in the United States have realized that their own cause has an ally in the Vietnamese who are fighting and dying for their homeland. It is really impressive to see hundreds of thousands of U.S. citizens marching through New York . . .

This is an indication to us, to revolutionaries, that sooner or later, among the exploited sectors of the United States, among those who suffer discrimination under that system, among the poor of the United States, among the students of the United States, and even among the progressive and intellectual sectors of the United States — and there are many of these who are fully aware of the brutality of imperialist policies — among the progressive sectors of the United States, and among the people themselves — whose awareness will awaken more and more — the world revolutionary movement, and in particular the Latin American revolutionary movement, will have — sooner or later — a mighty ally.

Malcolm X
The Man and
His Ideas

By
George Breitman

25 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS
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Che: "We Cannot Evade"

(Continued from Page 1)

of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; France, which recovered its Indo-Chinese colonies from this defeated power, disregarding the promises made in a time of duress; and the United States, in the latest phase of the conflict.

There have been limited confrontations in all continents, even when in the Americas, for a long time, there were only incipient freedom struggles and military coups d'état until the Cuban revolution sounded its trumpet call, signalling the importance of this region and drawing down the rage of the imperialists, compelling it to defend itself first on the beaches at Playa Girón and later during the October crisis.

The latter incident could have touched off a war of incalculable proportions by bringing on a clash over Cuba between the North Americans and the Soviets.

But obviously, at the present moment the contradictions are centered in the territory of the Indochinese peninsula and the neighboring countries.

Laos and Vietnam were shaken by civil wars until they passed beyond that after North American imperialism intervened with all its power and the whole zone became converted into a dangerous, sputtering fuse leading to a powder keg.

In Vietnam the confrontation has acquired extreme sharpness. It is not our intention to go into the history of this war either. We will merely indicate some of the significant milestones.

In 1954, after the crushing defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the Geneva accords were signed, dividing the country into two zones with the stipulation that elections were to be held in eighteen months to determine who would govern Vietnam and how the country would be reunified.

The North Americans did not sign that document, beginning maneuvers to displace Bao Dai, a French puppet, with a man who fit in better with their aims. This turned out to be Ngo Dinh Diem, whose tragic end — that of a lemon squeezed by imperialism — is known to everyone.

U.S. Government Sabotaged Elections

In the months following the signing of the accords, optimism reigned in the camp of the popular forces. They dismantled redoubts of anti-French struggle in the south part of the country and waited for the agreement to be carried out. But the patriots soon grasped that there were to be no elections unless the United States felt capable of imposing its will at the ballot box, something it could not do, even with all the methods of electoral fraud it knew.

Again they initiated struggles in the south part of the country and these have been gaining in intensity up to the present moment in which the North American army has reached almost a half million invaders, while the puppet forces are declining in number, and above all, have completely lost the will to fight.

It is about two years since the North Americans began systematically bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in another attempt to overcome the militancy in the south and to impose a conference from a position of strength.

At the beginning, the bombings were more or less episodic and were presented in the guise of reprisals for alleged provocations from the north.

Then they increased methodically in intensity until they became converted into a gigantic attack carried out by the air forces of the United States day after day, with the aim of destroying every vestige of civilization in the northern zone of the country. It is an episode in the somber and famous escalation.

The material aims of the Yankee circles have been achieved in good part despite the intrepid defense put up by the Vietnamese anti-aircraft batteries, the more than 1,700 planes brought down and military supplies provided by the socialist camp.

This is the painful reality: Vietnam, a nation representing the aspirations, the hopes for victory of the entire world of the disinherited, is tragically alone.

This nation must endure the pounding of North American technique, operating almost scotfree in the south, with some possibilities of defense in the north, but always alone.

The solidarity of the progressive world for the Vietnamese people has something of the bitter irony faced by the gladiators in the Roman Circus when they won the applause of the plebians.

To wish the victims success is not enough, the thing is to share their fate, to join them in death or victory.

When we analyze the isolation of the Vietnamese we feel anguished over the logic of its meaning for humanity.

North American imperialism is guilty of aggression. Its crimes are immense, extending over the whole world. We already know this, gentlemen!

Responsibility of Socialist Camp

But they are likewise guilty who at the decisive moment vacillated in making Vietnam an inviolable part of socialist territory — yes, at risk of a war of global scale, but also compelling the North American imperialists to make a decision.

And they are guilty who keep up a war of insults and tripping each other, begun some time ago by the representatives of the two biggest powers in the socialist camp.

We ask, seeking an honest answer:

Is Vietnam isolated or not, doing a dangerous balancing act between the two disputing powers?

And — what grandeur has been shown by this people! What stoicism and valor in this people! And what a lesson for the world their struggle holds!

It will be a long time before we know if President Johnson ever seriously thought of initiating some of the popular reforms

necessary to soften the sharpness of the class contradictions that are appearing with explosive force and more and more frequently.

What is certain is that the improvements announced under the pompous label of the Great Society have gone down the drain in Vietnam.

The greatest of the imperialist powers feels in its own heart the drain caused by a poor, backward country; and its fabulous economy feels the effect of the war.

Killing is ceasing to be the best business for the monopolies. Defensive arms, and not in sufficient number, is all these marvelous Vietnamese soldiers have, besides love for their country, their society, and a courage beyond compare.

But imperialism is sinking in Vietnam; it sees no way out and it is searching desperately for one that will permit it to emerge with dignity from the dangerous situation in which it finds itself.

But the "four points" of the North and the "Five" of the South have caught it in a pincers, making the confrontation still more decisive.

Everything appears to indicate that peace, this precarious peace which bears that name only because no global conflagration has occurred, is again in danger of being broken by some irreversible and unacceptable step taken by the North Americans.

And for us, the exploited of the world, what should our role be in this?

Lessons for Colonial Countries

The peoples of three continents are watching and learning a lesson for themselves in Vietnam.

Inasmuch as the imperialists are utilizing the threat of war to blackmail humanity, the wise reaction is not to fear war. The general tactic of the peoples must be to attack vigorously and uninterruptedly wherever a confrontation occurs.

But in those places where this miserable peace which we endure has not been broken, what should our task be?

To free ourselves at any price.

The world panorama is one of great complexity. The task of winning freedom still faces countries of old Europe, those sufficiently developed to experience all the contradictions of capitalism while remaining too weak to follow the course of imperialism or to initiate this road. In these countries, the contradictions will become explosive in the next years; but their problems and, hence, their solutions are different from those facing our dependent and economically backward peoples.

The fundamental field of imperialist exploitation covers the three backward continents — the Americas, Asia and Africa.

Each country has its own characteristics, but the continents, as a whole, also have theirs.

The Americas constitute a more or less homogeneous whole and almost everywhere North American monopoly capitalism holds absolute primacy.

The puppet, or in the best of cases, weak and timorous, governments are unable to resist the orders of the Yankee master.

The North Americans have reached virtually the pinnacle of their political and economic domination. They can now advance little; any change in the situation could be converted into a decline in their primacy. Their policy is to maintain their conquests. The line of action is reduced at the present time to the use of brute force to block freedom movements no matter what their nature.

The slogan, "We will not permit another Cuba," is designed to cover up treacherous aggressions they can get away with like the one perpetrated against Santo Domingo; or, before that, massacres like the one in Panama, and the clear warning that they are ready to send Yankee troops anywhere in the Americas where a change in the established order endangers their interests.

This policy enjoys almost absolute impunity. The OAS [Organization of American States] is a convenient mask, however discredited it is; the UN is of an inefficacy bordering on the ridiculous or the tragic; the armies of all the countries of the Americas are ready for use in mowing down their own people.

In practice what has been formed is an international of crime and betrayals.

Socialist Character of Revolution

In addition, the indigenous bourgeoisies have lost all capacity to oppose imperialism, if they ever had any — and constitute only their last trump.

No other alternatives exist; it's either a socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution.

Asia is a continent with different characteristics. The freedom struggles against a series of European colonial powers resulted in the establishment of more or less progressive governments whose subsequent evolution has in some cases deepened the primary objectives of national liberation and in others reverted toward toward proimperialist positions.

From the economic point of view, the United States has little to lose and much to gain in Asia. The changes have favored the U.S.; it is struggling to displace other neocolonial powers, to penetrate new spheres of action in the economic field, sometimes directly, sometimes utilizing Japan.

But special political conditions exist there, above all in the peninsula of Indochina, which give Asia characteristics of capital importance and which play an important role in the global military strategy of North American imperialism.

Its blockade of China extends at least from South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and South Vietnam to Thailand.

This dual situation — such a strategic interest as the military blockade of the People's Republic of China and the ambition of its capitalists to penetrate the big markets which they do not yet dominate — makes Asia possibly one of the most explosive re-



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gions in the world today, despite the of the Vietnam area.

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gions in the world today, despite the apparent stability outside of the Vietnam area.

Belonging geographically to this continent, but with its own contradictions, the Middle East is boiling, and no one can forecast what the cold war will lead to between the progressive countries of this zone and Israel, which is backed by the imperialists. It is one more rumbling volcano in the world today.

Africa appears almost like virgin territory for a neocolonial invasion.

Changes have occurred which, to a certain degree, have compelled the neocolonial powers to give up their former absolute prerogatives. But when the processes continue without interruption to their conclusion, colonialism gives way, without violence, to a neocolonialism, the consequences of which are the same so far as economic domination is concerned.

The United States formerly did not have colonies in this region and now it is struggling to penetrate the preserves of its partners.

It can be said that Africa constitutes, in the strategic plans of North American imperialism, a long-range reserve; its current investments are of importance only in the Union of South Africa and it is beginning to penetrate into the Congo, Nigeria and other countries, where sharp competition is flaring up (of a "peaceful" nature up to now) with other imperialist powers. It does not yet have big interests to defend except its pretended right to intervene any place on the globe where its monopolies are making good profits or where big reserves of raw materials are to be found.

All the above leads up to posing the possibilities for the peoples to win their freedom in the immediate or near future.

Struggle in Africa

Analyzing the African scene, we see that the Portuguese colonies of Guinea, Mozambique and Angola are struggling with some intensity, with particular success in Guinea and variable successes in the other two.

Also we still see a struggle between Lumumba's successors and the old accomplices of Tshombe in the Congo, a struggle that appears at the moment to be inclining in favor of the latter, those who have "pacified" a big part of the country to benefit themselves, although war remains latent.

In Rhodesia the problem is different — British imperialism utilized all the machinery at its disposal to hand over power to the white minority which now hold it illegally. The conflict, from England's point of view, is completely against these officials, except that this power, with its customary diplomatic skill — it is also called hypocrisy in plain language — maintains an appearance of distaste for the measures taken by the Ian Smith government and is supported in its crafty attitude by some of the Commonwealth countries which follow it and is attacked by a good part of the countries of black Africa, whether they are economic vassals of English imperialism or not.

In Rhodesia the situation could become highly explosive if the efforts of the black patriots to rise up in arms materializes and this movement is actually supported by the neighboring African nations. But today all these problems are aired in bodies as innocuous as the UN, the Commonwealth or the OAU [Organization of African Unity].

Nevertheless the political and social evolution of Africa causes us to forecast a continental revolutionary situation.

The freedom struggles against the Portuguese must end victoriously, but Portugal signifies nothing in the imperialist list.

The confrontations of revolutionary importance are those that hold at bay the whole imperialist apparatus, although we would not, because of that, cease struggling for the liberation of the three Portuguese colonies, for the deepening of their revolutions.

When the black masses of South Africa or Rhodesia initiate their genuinely revolutionary struggle, or when the impoverished masses of a country set out against the ruling oligarchies to redeem their right to a decent living, a new era will have opened in Africa.

Up to now barracks coups have occurred in which one group of officers replaces another or a regime that no longer serves their caste interests and those of the powers that surreptitiously control them; but there have been no popular convulsions.

In the Congo, these characteristics were given a temporary

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impulse by the memory of Lumumba, but they have been losing momentum in recent months.

In Asia, as we have seen, the situation is explosive, and Viet-
nam and Laos where the struggle is now going on are not the
only points of friction. The same holds true for Cambodia, where
at any moment North America can launch a direct invasion;
Thailand, Malaysia must be added, and, naturally, Indonesia,
where we cannot believe that the final word has been said despite
the annihilation of the Communist Party of that country after
the reactionaries took power. And, of course, the Middle East.

In Latin America, the struggle is going on arms in hand in
Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia and the first buds
are already appearing in Brazil.

There are other centers of resistance that have appeared
and been extinguished.

But almost all the countries of this continent are ripe for a
struggle of such nature that, to end in a triumph, it cannot be
accommodated to anything less than the establishment of a gov-
ernment of socialist nature.

In this continent practically only one language is spoken,
save for the exceptional case of Brazil, with whose people those
who know Spanish can speak, in view of the similarity between
the two languages.

The similarity of the classes is so great among these coun-
tries that they can be identified as an "international American"
type, much more so than in other continents. Language, customs,
religion, a common boss unites them.

The degree and forms of exploitation are similar in their ef-
fects for exploiters and exploited in a good number of countries
of our America.

And rebellion in them is ripening at an accelerated rate.

We can ask: This rebellion — how can it be fructified?
What kind of rebellion will it be?

Struggle Will Become Continent-Wide

We have maintained for some time that given its similar
characteristics, the struggle in the Americas will, in time, acquire
continental dimensions. It will be the scene of many big battles
in behalf of humanity, in behalf of its liberation.

Measured against the scope of this continental-wide strug-
gle, the present struggles keeping it going in an active way are
only episodes, but they have already provided their martyrs who
will figure in the history of the Americas for having given their
quota of necessary blood in this final stage of struggle for the
full freedom of mankind.

Written there are the names of Comandante Turcios Lima,
the priest Camilo Torres, Comandante Fabricio Ojeda, the coman-
dantes Lobatón and Luis de la Puente Uceda, the biggest figures
in the revolutionary movements of Guatemala, Colombia, Vene-
zuela and Peru.

But the active mobilization of the people creates new leaders
— César Montes and Yon Sosa raised the banner in Guatemala;
Fabio Vázquez and Marulanda did it in Colombia; Douglas Bravo
in the west of the country and Américo Martín in El Bachiller,
leading their respective fronts in Venezuela.

New uprisings will occur in these and other American coun-
tries, as has now occurred in Bolivia, and these will continue to
grow, with all the vicissitudes which this dangerous occupation
of the modern revolutionist involves.

Many will perish, victim of their own errors, others will fall
in the harsh combat that is looming; new battlers and new leaders
will arise in the heat of the revolutionary struggle.

The people will continue to form their fighters and their
leaders within the selective framework of the war itself, and the
Yankee agents of repression will increase in number.

Today there are advisers in all the countries where armed
struggle is going on and the Peruvian army, advised and trained
by the Yankees, managed, it seems, to inflict a defeat on the
revolutionists of that country.

But if the guerrilla centers conduct their activities with suf-
ficient political and military skill, they become practically un-
beatable and necessitate new reinforcements by the Yankees.

In Peru itself, with tenacity and firmness, new figures,
although not yet fully known, are reorganizing the guerrilla
struggle.

Little by little, the obsolete arms that sufficed to repress
the small armed bands, will be converted into modern arms and
the groups of advisers into North American combatants, until the
time arrives when they find themselves obliged to send growing
numbers of regular troops to assure the relative stability of a
power whose national puppet army disintegrates in face of the
battles undertaken by the guerrillas.

More Vietnams

This is the Vietnamese road; the road which the peoples must
follow, the road which the Americas will follow, with the special
feature that armed groups can establish something like coordinat-
ing committees to make the repressive efforts of Yankee im-
perialism more difficult and to help their own cause.

The Americas, a continent forgotten in the latest political
struggles for freedom, which is beginning to make itself felt
through the Tricontinental by means of the Cuban revolution
which is the voice of the vanguard of its peoples, will undertake
a much more outstanding task — the creation of a second or
third Vietnam, or the world's second or third Vietnam.

In short, it must be remembered that imperialism is a world-
wide system, the final stage of capitalism, and it must be beaten
in a worldwide confrontation.

The strategic objective of this struggle must be the destruc-
tion of imperialism.

Our part, the responsibility of the exploited and backward
areas of the world, is to eliminate the bases sustaining imperialism
— our oppressed peoples, from whom capital, raw materials, tech-
nicians and cheap labor are extracted; and to which new capital,
means of domination, arms and all kinds of goods are exported,
submerging us in absolute dependence.

The fundamental element of this strategic goal will be, then,
the real liberation of the peoples, a liberation that will be obtained
through armed struggle in the majority of cases, and which, in
the Americas, will have almost unfailingly the property of becom-
ing converted into a socialist revolution.

In focusing on the destruction of imperialism, it is necessary
to identify its head, which is none other than the United States
of North America.

Nature of Task

We must carry out generally a task, the tactical aim of which
is to draw the enemy from his surroundings, compelling him to
fight in places where his habits run counter to the prevailing
reality.

The adversary must not be underestimated; the North Ameri-
can soldier has technical ability and is backed by means of such
magnitude as to make him formidable. He lacks the essential
ideological motivation which his most hated rivals of today have
to the highest degree — the Vietnamese soldiers.

We can triumph over this army only to the extent that we
succeed in undermining its morale. And this is done by inflicting
repeated defeats and repeated punishment on it.

But this brief outline for victories entails immense sacrifices
by the peoples, sacrifices which must be demanded from now
on, in full frankness, and which perhaps will be less painful than
those which they will have to undergo if we were to continually
flee from the fight in order to try to get others to draw the chest-
nuts from the fire.

It is clear that the last country to free itself will probably
do so without an armed struggle; and the suffering of a war as
long and as cruel as those conducted by the imperialists will be
spared this people.

But perhaps it will be impossible to avoid this struggle and
its effects in a conflict of worldwide character and it will suffer
as much or more.

We cannot forecast the future, but we must never give way
to the miserable temptation to be the standard-bearers of a peo-
ple who yearn for freedom but reject the struggle that goes with
it and wait for victory like a beggar waiting for crumbs.

It is absolutely correct to avoid any useless sacrifice. Be-
cause of this it is extremely important to be clear on the actual
possibilities which dependent Latin America has, to free itself
in a peaceful way.

The answer to this question is clear to us — the present
moment may or may not be the one indicated to initiate a strug-
gle, but we cannot permit ourselves to harbor any illusions, we
have no right to believe that freedom can be won without a
struggle.

And the battles will not be mere street fights with stones
against tear gas, nor peaceful general strikes; nor will they be
ones in which an infuriated people destroys the repressive frame-
work of the ruling oligarchy in two or three days. It will be a
long, cruel struggle in which the front will be in guerrilla hide-
outs, in the cities, in the homes of the combatants; in which the
repression will seek easy victims among their families. In the
stricken peasant populace, in the towns and cities destroyed by
the enemy's bombs.

Beginning Will Be Difficult

They themselves press us into this struggle; there is no alter-
native but to prepare for it and decide to undertake it.

The beginning will not be easy; it will be extremely difficult.
Every repressive means, every bit of demagoguery and brutality
within the capacity of the obligarchies will be placed in the serv-
ice of their cause.

Our mission, in the first moments, is to survive, then to act,
the perennial example of the guerrilla carrying on armed prop-
aganda in the Vietnamese meaning of the term; that is, the prop-
aganda of bullets, of battles that are won or lost — but which
are waged — against our enemies.

The great lesson of the invincibility of guerilla warfare is
catching on among the masses of the dispossessed. The galvani-
zation of the national spirit; the preparation for more difficult
tasks, for resistance to more violent repression. Hate as a factor
in the struggle, intransigent hate for the enemy, which takes one
beyond the natural limitations of a human being and converts
one into an effective, violent, single-minded, cold killing machine.

Our soldiers must be like that; a people without hate can-
not triumph over a brutal enemy.

We must carry the war as far as the enemy carries it; into
his home, into his places of diversion, making it total.

He must be prevented from having a moment's peace, a
moment's quiet outside the barracks and even within them —
attack him wherever he is to be found; make him feel relentless
pursuit wherever he goes.

Then his morale will begin to decline. He will become still
more bestial; but signs of decay will begin to appear.

And let us develop genuine proletarian internationalism
with international proletarian armies; let the flag under which
we fight be the sacred cause of benefiting all humanity, so that
to die under the colors of Vietnam, Venezuela, Guatemala, Laos,
Guinea, Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil — to mention only the current
(Continued on Page 6)

New Projects Proposed

'Negotiation Now'—'Viet Summer'

By Alex Harte

Following the massive April 15 antiwar demonstrations in New York and San Francisco sponsored by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, two new projects have been launched with considerable publicity. They are "Vietnam Summer," and "Negotiation Now!"

Each of these projects was announced at a separate press conference shortly after the April 15 Mobilization. Present at both conferences to make supporting statements were Dr. Martin Luther King and Dr. Benjamin Spock, who were also featured speakers

at the April 15 Mobilization in New York. This timing of the press conferences and overlapping of speakers may have given rise to some confusion. Actually, "Vietnam Summer" and "Negotiation Now!" are separate projects, and neither was launched by or with any connection to the Spring Committee. The Spring Mobilization Committee is holding a conference May 20-21 in Washington to assess the April 15 action and discuss future actions. All who are opposed to the war are invited to this conference on a nonexclusion basis.

"Vietnam Summer" was launched by a group of persons in the Boston area, including several members of the faculty at Harvard University. The policy committee of "Vietnam Summer" is composed, as nearly as can be determined at this writing, entirely of persons from the Boston area. They include: Gar Alparovitz, a fellow at Harvard's Kennedy Institute; Harvard Prof. Martin Peretz; Chester Hartman, vice president of Massachusetts Political Action (Mass Pax); Harvard Chaplain Richard Mumma; Mike Waltzer, an editor of *Dissent* magazine; Paul Potter, former chairman of Students for a Democratic Society; John Mayer, an SDS activist; and Ami Roudine, head of the New England draft program of the American Friends Service Committee. Those militant sections of the antiwar movement which were key to building the massive April 15 demonstrations are not included.

Neither Dr. King nor Dr. Spock are members of the policy committee of Vietnam Summer, but they issued supporting statements

at the press conference. (For that matter, Dr. King is not a formal sponsor of "Negotiation Now!" nor of the Spring Mobilization Committee. Dr. Spock is one of the many hundreds of sponsors of the Spring Mobilization Committee and is listed as a member of the guiding committee of "Negotiation Now!")

The initiators of "Vietnam Summer" at first projected a budget of several hundred thousand dollars to subsidize thousands of field workers during the summer. The leaders of the project have so far declined to reveal the source of these anticipated funds or of the funds which paid for the several large newspaper ads which have been run announcing the project.

A letter sent out from the "Vietnam Summer" office at 129 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass., announces that the group seeks to stimulate local projects in four fields: draft resistance, campus complicity in the war, community organizing among the poor, and community electoral activity including referendums on the war and peace candidates. The last point bears some watching. There is still some confusion and mystery surrounding the "Vietnam Summer" project, its policy, structure and finances. Until these mysteries are cleared up, the possibility that this is an attempt to establish the basis for an army of doorbell pushers for a Democratic Party "peace" candidate, or the like, in 1968 must be considered.

Spokesmen for "Vietnam Summer" have said it will consider requests for funds from individuals who are developing local projects in the four fields listed, but that "Vietnam Summer" will not make



CHURCH BOMBED IN NORTH VIETNAM. Those in peace movement who oppose immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops blunt recognition of cold fact that it is U.S. government which is sole aggressor in Vietnam.

grants to existing antiwar organizations or coalition coordinating groups, like the Spring Mobilization Committee.

There is no mystery at all about "Negotiation Now!" It is clearly sponsored by the most conservative wing of the peace movement, the wing generally opposed to mass antiwar actions directed against the government. Its program consists of a petition for which it seeks signatures nationally. The petition states in part: "We support the call by U Thant for new initiatives to bring about negotiations among all parties to the conflict, leading to a political settlement of the Vietnam war. We call upon the United States, the most powerful nation in the world, to take the first step and end the bombing of north Vietnam now . . . We ask north Vietnam and the National Liberation

Front to respond affirmatively to any new United States initiatives and to join with the U.S. in a standstill cease fire."

The statement which accompanied this petition in advertisements by "Negotiations Now!" spells out even more clearly the character of the group. The statement says the "Negotiation Now!" stand rejects as "untenable" the idea of a U.S. withdrawal and "abandoning responsibility for establishing conditions for a stable peace."

The statement also says: "There are those in the leadership on both sides who prefer to continue the war. These actions by the U.S. could put the pressure of Vietnamese and world opinion on these leaders to join in the cease fire and begin negotiations. *If they do not, it becomes clear who wants to continue the war.*" (Emphasis added.)

Signers of the "Negotiations Now!" petition include: Norman Cousins, John Kenneth Galbraith, Dr. King, Joseph L. Raugh, Jr., Victor Reuther, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

The guiding committee of "Negotiation Now!" includes: Dr. John Bennet, president of the Union Theological Seminary; Congressman Don Edwards, vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action; Eugene Groves of the National Student Association; Norman Thomas; and Rabbi Abraham Heschel, co-chairman of Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam.

U.S. 'Advisors' Sent to Bolivia

Washington has committed U.S. troops to the armed support of the Bolivian dictatorship of General Barrientos, and is prepared to conduct counter-guerrilla warfare if necessary to stabilize the military regime. This was revealed in an unsigned dispatch from Buenos Aires in the May 7 *New York Times*.

According to the dispatch, "ranking military officials" believe that the Bolivian army is incompetent to crush a guerrilla force which is said to be operating in the southeastern part of the country.

"In the light of what the American military men call the 'terrible greenness' of the Bolivian troops, the United States is concentrating on providing teams of military advisers, all experts in counter-insurgency tactics, to help train several thousand Bolivian troops."

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.

Swank Community Rakes Dean Rusk On Vietnam War

An example of how opposition to the Vietnam war extends into virtually every segment of American society was provided when Secretary of State Dean Rusk returned to his former home, Scarsdale, N.Y., to receive a public service award.

Scarsdale is one of the wealthiest communities in the United States and certainly no haven of radicalism. Yet the Scarsdale High School brass band voted not to perform in the ceremony for Rusk because of their opposition to the war. And after Rusk spoke a delegation of his former neighbors presented him with a petition signed by 1,000 residents of the community urging efforts to end the war.

...Guevara's Declaration

(Continued from Page 5)

scenes of armed struggle — is equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African and even a European.

Every drop of blood spilled in a land under whose flag one was not born, is an experience that is treasured by anyone who survives and who can then apply the lessons learned in the struggle for freedom in his own place of origin. And every people that frees itself is a step won in the battle for freedom of one's own people.

It is time to moderate our disputes and to place everything at the service of the struggle.

That big controversies are agitating the world struggling for freedom, all of us know; no one can hide it. That they have acquired a character and a sharpness that makes a dialogue and reconciliation appear extremely difficult, if not impossible, we know that, too.

To seek ways to initiate a dialogue which the disputants reject is a fruitless task.

But the enemy is there, striking day after day and threatening new blows and these blows will unite us today, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.

Whoever understands this first and prepares this necessary union will win the gratitude of the peoples.

In view of the virulence and the intransigency with which each cause is defended, we, the dispossessed, cannot take part in any way by declaring a position on the differences, even when we at times agree with some of the arguments on one side or the other, or to a greater degree with those of one side rather than those of the other.

At this moment of the struggle, the form in which the present differences are made public constitutes a weakness, but in the situation confronting us, to hope to reach an agreement on them through words is an illusion. History will determine which positions will be wiped out and which will be borne out.

In our world of struggle, everything involved in a dispute around tactics, methods of action for the attainment of limited objectives, must be analyzed with the respect due other's appreciations. As for the great strategic objective, the total destruction of imperialism by means of struggle, on that we must be intransigent.

We would sum up as follows our aspirations for victory: destruction of imperialism by means of eliminating its strongest bulwark — the imperialist domain of the United States of North America.

To take as a tactical line the gradual freeing of the peoples, by ones or by groups, involving the enemy in a difficult struggle outside of his terrain; liquidating his bases of support, that is, his dependent territories.

This means a long war. And, we repeat it once again, a cruel war.

Let no one be mistaken on this when he sets out to initiate it and let no one vacillate in initiating it out of fear of the results which it can draw upon his own people. It is almost the only hope for victory. We cannot evade the need of the hour.

Vietnam teaches us this with its permanent lesson in heroism, its tragic daily lesson in struggle and death in order to gain the final victory.

Over there, the imperialist troops encounter the discomforts of those accustomed to the standard of living which the North American nation boasts. They have to confront a hostile land, the insecurity of those who cannot move without feeling that they are walking on enemy territory; death for those who go outside of fortified redoubts; the permanent hostility of the entire population.

All this continues to provoke repercussions inside the United States; it is going to arouse a factor that was attenuated in the days of the full vigor of imperialism — the class struggle inside its own territory.

How close and bright would the future appear if two, three, many Vietnams flowered on the face of the globe, with their quota of death and immense tragedies, with their daily heroism, with their repeated blows against imperialism, obliging it to disperse its forces under the lash of the growing hate of the peoples of the world!

And if we were capable of uniting so as to give our blows greater solidity and certainty, so that the effectiveness of aid of all kinds to the people locked in combat were increased — how great the future would be, and how near!

If we, on a small point on the map of the world, fulfill our duty and place at the disposition of the struggle whatever little we are able to give: our lives, our sacrifice, it can happen that one of these days we will draw our last breath on a bit of earth not our own, yet already ours, watered with our blood. Let it be known that we have measured the scope of our acts and that we consider ourselves no more than elements in the great army of the proletariat; but we feel proud at having learned from the Cuban revolution and its great main leader the great lesson to be drawn from Cuba's attitude in this part of the world: "What difference the dangers to a man or a people, or the sacrifices they make, when what is at stake is the destiny of humanity?"

Our every action is a call for war against imperialism and a cry for the unity of the peoples against the great enemy of the human species: the United States of North America.

Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms, and other men come forward to join in our funeral dirge with the chattering of machine guns and new calls for battle and for victory.

—Che

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.]

Friends of SNCC

Houston, Texas

We appreciate *The Militant* here in Houston, Texas. It serves as a vital information instrument to us who are in the Friends of SNCC. We have been demonstrating for better human conditions on Texas Southern University campus. The press media as well as the administration here have tried to distort or mislead the community about our movement. There is a revival occurring in Houston, Texas; there is a revival going on at Texas Southern University; there is a revival in the making all over the United States where people are concerned about their human rights, where people are concerned about changing this racist, capitalistic, paternalistic, and hell-breeding society that creates every kind of bloodsucker this civilization and the world has ever known.

We sincerely appreciate reading *The Militant* and because of your concern for a better world we will take it upon ourselves to try to get *The Militant* in the public library (Houston).

Recently there was \$400 worth of black literature put in the Houston Public Library because of our concern for ourselves and other John Browns who are working with us. Yes, we have some anglos working with us but they are the kind that love revolution or Abolition. They are the kind who are like the modern day Saul Alinsky or George Breitman, and again others are like Brother Malcolm's Prince of the School of Liberals, John Brown.

Our organization is going to make this city's Negro community a Harlemitone, and maybe with time and hard work, the white one — some of them — will be like other communities in Cuba or Algeria (Africa).

We realize this cannot be done by using some kind of liberal love; but we do understand that in order to acquire a humanistic position in this society we are going to have to use a University of Knowledge and a student body of soul, plus the ideas of every radical, revolutionist, Abolitionist — Saul Alinsky, Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick and other concerned people that have existed.

So with papers like yours and people like Brother Malcolm and ideas and facts that Brother Malcolm discussed with the public and is discussing with us who are oppressed in this society (I'm

speaking in the present tense because to us he will never die); then this world of bigots, fools and imbeciles will one day pass. Thanks Brother.

"By Any Means Necessary" C.M.

Parade Suggestion

Newark, N.J.

The April 15 antiwar march in New York was so large that most of the participants did not arrive at the United Nations and therefore did not hear the speeches. So I suggest that in any future demonstration loudspeakers be placed at every two-block interval along the line of march, if this is possible.

This would make it more interesting and inspire the marchers as well as expose the people in the vicinity to the anti-Vietnam-war point of view.

The people who plan to march I'm sure would be glad to donate the money to cover the expense.

A suggestion to all *Militant* readers: Never throw away a *Militant* when through with it. A good idea is to simply put it on people's door knobs. Let's get more people exposed to the truth.

D.A.

Impact of April 15

New York, N. Y.

The difference in scope between the April 15th demonstration and all previous International Days of Protest was brought home to me very graphically on my job.

I've been to each of the previous demonstrations, and on each following Monday I went to work anxiously awaiting the reaction among my co-workers. And each time, like clockwork, not a single word was said about the marches. By the time of the third march I would have been ecstatic if I had heard even extreme hostility, since I would then have been sure that people had at least heard of the march.

When I received a summons for jury duty beginning on April 17, I breathed a sigh of relief at not having to face the fact that this march too went unnoticed on the job.

On my first day of jury duty, I counted myself doubly lucky since I heard 10 different people mention in conversation with their neighbors that they had been on the march and that it was wonderful, etc. I thought "Now I'm in my element."

Today was my first day back at the office after the April 15 Mobilization and I'm still reeling! Two full weeks after the Mobilization, it was topic number one during the morning coffee break. That alone would have been enough to keep me euphoric for weeks. But in addition, two fellows stated that they were against the war; one of them saying "I always go with the winner, and the antiwar march had 300,000 people at it while Saturday's pro-war march had 3,000. I'm for getting out!" One fellow who said that a bomb should have been dropped in Sheep Meadow was promptly dubbed "George" (after George Metesky, New York's "mad bomber" of several years ago).

In the course of the conversation it became clear that in a seven-man department, three of us are for "getting out," two "don't know," one is for "bombing the hell out of them," and one is for bombing China with nuclear weapons and Sheep Meadow with conventional weapons.

When antiwar sentiment percolates down to the level of my department (these guys have to be seen to be believed) you know it's developing deep roots in America.

I think we've turned a corner! W. Reissman

LBJ: Radical Organizer

Detroit, Mich.

Have been reading *The Militant*

for about a year, like it very much. Delivery of the paper is quite erratic, for instance the April 10 issue and the April 17 issue arrived the same day April 19.

Up to recently I was just another complacent citizen accepting all the "power structure" threw at me. Then I started realizing what was going on and became interested in the leftist movement. Perhaps it was the realization that my three-and-a-half years of service during World War II were for nought and now my sons were of draft age and eligible for the new war to "preserve democracy," the "four freedoms" or some similar catchy slogan to start the patriotic juices flowing.

You can credit LBJ and his phony compatriots for bringing the light to many others besides myself. He is a better recruiter to the leftist movement than those who work at it.

Since reading *The Militant* I have also become aware of the ideologic differences in the SWP, the SLP and the CP and it distresses me that there should not be a united leftist front movement. Frankly, discussions of these differences are not easily understood by me and I imagine many others. I have never read Marx or any works by the eminent social-

Thought for the Week

"The pristine beauty of human female breasts has been immortalized by painters and sculptors and writers of poetry and prose . . . But in no poem, in no prose . . . have I seen either visually described or portrayed, a picture of a nude or topless cellist in the act of playing the instrument." — New York Criminal Court Judge Milton Shalleck on convicting Charlotte Moorman of a "lewd" performance for playing a cello bare-chested.

ists and doubt if I could understand their writings. Mainly I am interested in restoring democracy to the United States although it is also doubtful if such a state ever existed.

Would like to hear more news of "The Fort Hood Three." These unfortunate brave men have seemingly been deserted as naturally local papers will not write of them and it has been quite a while since you have mentioned them. Some day the U.S. war of aggression will be over but the flood of taxation never ceases. Would like to see some articles in the paper telling how the ruling class legally evades taxes or passes them on to the public, also some articles on our knight in shining armor George Romney (another spokesman for the power structure), erstwhile candidate for president and occasionally governor of tax-hungry state of Michigan.

B.A.

New Leftist

Wooster, Ohio

I understand that all those people who participated in the April 15 march and rally in New York are eligible for a special introductory subscription to *The Militant* and to *The Young Socialist*.

Though I can't accept your group's solution to the war, i.e. immediate pullout, as realistic, I was impressed by the journalistic format and comment (whether I agree with it or not — I am not convinced that socialism and/or Marxism is what this country needs, etc. and if it is needed, you'd never get it soon if at all).

I like to keep an open mind to all points of view on issues of politics and sociology — I have no hard and fast ideological "line" and probably never will. Is it needed? I certainly don't want anything to do with the "old left."

P.G.

It Was Reported in the Press

Our Fork-Tongued President—

The federal government turned down an appeal by a group of senators for emergency aid to feed people in Mississippi who, the senators reported, face a crisis "as grave as any natural disaster." In reporting the federal refusal, the *New York Times* explained: "For the administration to push a program that the political leaders of a state find undesirable would be unorthodox politically." Directly under this was a story headed: "Johnson Asks Drive to Aid Unemployed."

Comes the Revolution —

Mrs. Stephen R. Salant, Jr., who is opening a boutique at swank Southampton, Long Island, appreciates the problems of wealthy people. Therefore, the beach togs at her shop will be budget priced. "Everything," she emphasizes, "will be under \$200 and most things will be around \$100." Defending these ridiculously low prices, she explains: "There's a revolution going on; people don't want to spend a lot of money on things when they have to buy so much."

Contest —

The Town of Hell, Mich., which feels it has a special interest in the Vietnam conflict, "because war is Hell," has announced a contest to find a solution for the conflict. A \$100 bond will be awarded to the person who submits the best solution to the war in 100 words or less. Anyone anywhere may enter. Entries should be mailed before June 10 to "War Is Hell contest," Hell, Mich. 48160.

Moral Dilemma —

We are neither condemning nor condoning, but merely reporting that a recent survey found that smokers lose 77 million more work days a year than nonsmokers.

Star Gazers —

The society page of the *New York Times* reports: "Nowadays when the rich and their pet designers get together, the conversation is as likely to be about 'my astrologer' as it used to be about 'my psychiatrist.'" One Hollywood society lady said she never even throws a party without consulting her astrologer. The one that she didn't consult on, she

said, "turned out to be a disaster. The Swedish glogg caught fire and burned the dining hall."

Uninsurable Pleasures? —

The Insurance Company of North America withdrew as sponsor of the TV program, "The Pursuit of Pleasure." Among the program's guests were Jefferson Poland, founder of the League for Sexual Freedom; Rey Anthony, author of *The Housewife's Guide to Selective Promiscuity*; and Dr. Timothy Leary.

Free Advice —

Drew Pearson recently reported: "Walter Reuther, former civil rights supporter of Dr. King, has advised against demonstrations this summer on the ground that they have become counterproductive and now hurt more than help the civil rights cause."

Florida and Pornography —

A minister in Clearwater, Fla., announced a public antipornography rally for sometime this month. Meanwhile it was reported that a Florida state legislative committee report on homosexuality is doing a brisk business in the porno-

graphy market at \$2 a copy. Originally issued at 25 cents a copy, the purple-covered pamphlet includes pictures of men kissing. The Florida committee had hired men and women to trap homosexuals in compromising positions so committee investigators could photograph them.

Who'd-Have-Thunk-It Dept. —

After a special study, two Brooklyn College sociologists concluded that New York retail merchants discriminate against Negro employees.

Doing Nicely. Thank You —

Remember those touching stories when LBJ's little girl married that ordinary young Nugent fella down the block and how they were going to live on his income? Well, his income must have increased. They just bought a modest little \$70,000 house in Austin, Texas.

American Democracy —

To confirm that everyone has a chance in our country, we wish to report that in Miami a Siamese cat called Toots inherited a house and stock portfolio worth \$50,000.

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

LEO BERNARD MEMORIAL MEETING. Chairman: Prof. David Herrshoff. Speakers: Jan Garrett and Walter Graham; Atty. Ernest Goodman; Irving Kirsch. Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE GREEK GROUP. Speaker: Will Reissner, exec. comm., N.Y. Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 19, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

THE JFK ASSASSINATION — An analytic report with slides. Presented by a student from the Univ. of Minnesota. Fri., May 19, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

FOR NEW READERS

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Senate Republican Leaders Split on Vietnam War Issue

By Dick Roberts

The Republican Party's "white paper" on the Vietnam war marks a significant deepening of the disagreement in the ruling parties about how best to prosecute the war in relation to American politics. Issued May 1 by the Republicans' Senate Policy Committee, the document does not represent a statement of official party policy.

There are Republicans who are just as "hawkish" about escalating the war as Democratic Senators Russell and McGee. These include Senator Dirksen and Representative Gerald R. Ford, the respective Senate and House minority leaders.

But it is evident that the document was prepared with the agreement of the Republican Party top leaders and it is intended to pave the way for a possible "peace" candidacy in the 1968 elections. This was the interpretation, for instance, of the *Wall Street Journal*, which strongly backed the document May 4.

"If the big involvement in Vietnam was indeed a mistake," the financial newspaper stated editorially, "then responsible political opposition might possibly help the nation avoid repeating it."

'Free' Elections In South Korea

Seventeen years ago hundreds of thousands of American soldiers went to Korea to defend "democracy." Thousands of them died there. South Korea is still occupied by U.S. troops. The fruits of Washington's war, which cost so many American, Korean and Chinese lives, were demonstrated in the aftermath of last week's elections.

The *New York Times* reports on May 9 that "Police authorities have arrested three opposition leaders, including two unsuccessful candidates in last week's presidential election, as a consequence of remarks they made during the campaign."

May Day Celebration in N.Y. Tribute to Cuban Revolution

NEW YORK — "Salute to Cuba and its Solidarity with Vietnam" was the theme of a May Day Banquet sponsored by the New York chapters of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. 200 people turned out on May 6 to eat Cuban food, to watch Cuban films and to listen to a talk by Judy White, 1966 Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of New York.

Floridians Held April 15 March

Opponents of the Vietnam war marched through downtown St. Petersburg, Fla., April 15, day of the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam.

Two hundred people participated in the antiwar march, according to the *St. Petersburg Times*. The paper said a prowar counter-march included 50 people.

Participants in the antiwar march included students from Florida Presbyterian College.



FORMER "PEACE" CANDIDATE. Republicans may do it again in 1968.

The May 6 issue of *Business Week* points to the significance of the development of Thurston Morton, Kentucky Republican, as the leading Senate war critic in the Republican Party. "The balance of power . . . seems to have shifted away from Dirksen," *Business Week* states.

"Morton's moves are regarded as significant by Republican insiders. A conservative to middle-of-the-roader, a former Assistant Secretary of State under President Eisenhower, and a former chairman of the Republican National Committee, he is regarded as an eminently practical, articulate, and responsible Republican politician."

The "white paper" according to *Business Week* says, "that President Eisenhower consistently rejected any decision leading toward a military solution—while President Kennedy made the watershed decision for military intervention which he and Johnson then enlarged."

Thus, the Republicans could potentially argue, "Only a new president would be free to change the course of U.S. policy in the Far East."

All of this, of course, does not constitute agreement among the Republicans to launch another "I will go to Korea" campaign like the Eisenhower election in 1952.

The banquet hall was decorated with an impressive exhibit of photos taken in revolutionary Cuba, and Afro-Cuban music was played.

Judy White spoke on the example that the Cuban revolution is setting by its internationalist outlook, especially by its support of the Vietnamese revolution. She said that socialists who were working to build the antiwar movement in this country should be proud to share in this internationalism. She referred to Fidel Castro's April 19 speech where he paid tribute to the antiwar movement in the United States.

The films were interrupted frequently by applause and cheers from the enthusiastic audience. Following the films, a number of slides of the April 15 Spring Mobilization were shown.

The meeting ended with a spirited singing of the Internationale. Since many of those present had never sung it before, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance introduced it with a short description of its history and meaning.

That decision will be postponed at least to the Republican Convention in 1968, and much that happens between now and then will determine their final choice.

What is most significant however is the timing and nature of the preparatory criticism. The May 1 document was released just two weeks after the massive April 15 Mobilization against the war and only two days after the fiasco of a prowar demonstration in New York City.

Under this pressure, sections of the ruling politicians have found it necessary to admit that the war is unpopular and that opposition to it cannot be ignored. The "white paper" states:

"Here at home this confusion, this frustration, has raised challenges within Congress, within colleges and universities, within the press, within the military itself—and all to a degree not experienced in the United States since the Civil War."

The Republican paper goes on to say that the Vietnam war means over 8,000 men killed. It means over 50,000 wounded. It means greatly increased American conscription at a time when the rest of the Western world has done away with its draft.

"It means our longest war since the American Revolution—six years—a weary nightmare and yet the men who fight are fighting with extraordinary bravery and skill . . . It means our relative isolation as the world's policemen."

And admissions about the war have not been limited to newly inspired Republican doves. Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy made an important revelation about south Vietnamese civilian casualties reported in the *New York Times*, May 7.

According to Kennedy, an earlier administration estimate of 50,000 south Vietnamese civilian casualties was far too low. He stated that the rate was more than 100,000 a year and indicated that it could be as high as 150,000 or higher.

Thus the deepening division in the ruling class can be put to good use by serious opponents of the war. As new facts about the war and new admissions about the real depth of opposition to the war come to the surface, these can be turned against the Republican and Democratic party politicians who are themselves responsible for the war.

Detroiters to Hold Bernard Memorial

DETROIT — A Leo Bernard Memorial meeting, commemorating the tragic death of the young socialist who was murdered one year ago by an anticommunist fanatic, will be held on Friday, May 19, at Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Avenue here.

Professor David Herreshoff, co-chairman with Dr. Paul Lowinger of the Emergency Medical Fund for Bernard, Garrett and Graham, will chair the meeting. Civil Liberties attorney Ernest Goodman will review the legal and moral aspects of the tragedy. Walter Graham and Jan Garrett, young socialists who were seriously wounded by the gunman, will speak. Irving Kirsch, YSA national committee member, will also speak.

The meeting will begin at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the Friday Night Socialist Forum.

New York Bill Curbs Minority Party Rights

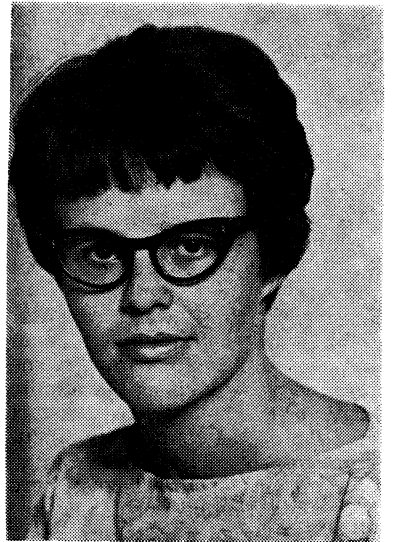
NEW YORK — A new attack on the ballot rights of minority political parties was signed into law on April 22 by Governor Rockefeller. Aimed explicitly at the Socialist Workers Party, the law was described by the *New York Times* as the "anti-Judy White bill." Specifically the law bars an "ineligible" person from being nominated for public office, or appearing on the ballot.

The rationale of the backers of the law was to keep New Yorkers from "wasting" their votes on a candidate who "could not take office even if elected." These pious do-gooders didn't seem particularly concerned about New Yorkers wasting their votes on the Republican and Democratic politicians now in office, or with their use of public office to restrict the right of minority parties to participate in a "free" election.

Judy White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of New York in 1966, was described by the *Times* as an "18-year-old brunette." The *Times*, usually claiming to be so scrupulous about their facts, apparently felt the need to stretch the facts a little to prove their point, as Miss White is 28.

The whole question of "ineligibility" is based on a series of special "qualifications" adopted in colonial times to help promote the election of "men of property." These include the exclusion of youth from public office and lengthy local residence requirements of dubious constitutionality.

The real intent of the law is plain: it is to throw another roadblock in the path of minority political parties. The SWP is especially singled out for its uncompromising fight against the war in Vietnam, which its candidates have carried to the people of this state. Judy White, who is an active fighter in the antiwar movement, was the only candidate for governor in last year's election who opposed the war and called



Judy White

for the immediate withdrawal of American troops.

It is an important, traditional American right to be able to cast a vote of protest, even for a candidate who is acknowledged to have no chance to win. Such votes, far from being wasted, have played a big role in American history. In 1918, for example, Eugene V. Debs polled more than a million votes for President while in prison for his antiwar and socialist views. Under this new law he would not have been allowed to run.

As a conscious protest against the brutal aggression the U.S. government is committing in Vietnam, the 12,000 New Yorkers who voted for Judy White were making the most effective use of their votes. It is significant that the bill was signed into law just a week after the April 15 Mobilization. The haste with which the state government has moved to try to bar an antiwar activist and socialist from the ballot is proof that the ruling class regards such a candidate as a potential threat.

War Crimes Tribunal

MAY 8 — On the fifth day of the International War Crimes Tribunal now meeting in Stockholm, Sweden, Ralph Schoenman charged Washington with attempting genocide in north Vietnam. Schoenman is secretary general of the Tribunal and personal secretary to Bertrand Russell, the famous philosopher who initiated the Tribunal.

Even from the meager dispatches on the Tribunal appearing in the American press, it is apparent that the Tribunal has presented conclusive evidence of the murder of civilians and that this is making a deep impression in European countries.

However, the American press continues to harp on the theme that Russell and others associated with the Tribunal are "fanatical anti-Americans" whose judgment on this question should not be taken seriously.

In order to do this, the bourgeois newspapers, which boast about "freedom of press," have found it necessary not to print any speeches or statements by the Tribunal members. Bertrand Russell, for instance, in his opening letter to the Tribunal answered the charge directly.

"Our Tribunal is not a group of disembodied formalists, quibbling over definitions or posturing an immoral lack of decision about these events. There is one reason for this International War Crimes Tribunal: Overwhelming evidence besieges us daily of

crimes without precedent."

Russell continued, "Each moment greater horror is perpetrated against the people of Vietnam. We investigate in order to expose. We document in order to indict. We arouse consciousness in order to create mass resistance. This is our purpose and the acid test of our integrity and honor."

The full text of this important statement has now been published in *World Outlook*, an international labor press service published in New York. The May 12 issue of *World Outlook* also includes the full texts of French President de Gaulle's letter to Jean-Paul Sartre refusing to allow the Tribunal on French soil, and an interview with Sartre where Sartre answers de Gaulle.

World Outlook is available for 50 cents per issue from P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Times on Greece

"Greece Takes a Good Turn" — Editorial in the *New York Times*, May 6, praising the military junta's promise of "free" elections.

"Hostile Slogan-Writers In Greece Face Death" — report in the same issue of the *Times* that "anyone found writing antigovernment slogans on walls would be shot on sight."