

# Thousands in U.S. Protest Viet War; New York Is Scene of Huge Parade

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### Antiwar Movement A Rising Force

An Editorial

Opponents of U. S. aggression in Vietnam have every reason to be encouraged by the outcome of the March 25-26 International Days of Protest. The demonstrations across the country were bigger and more numerous than the similar ones last October.

The increased size and number of parades, picket lines and rallies, involving a greater cross-section of the population, reflects the growth in the opposition to the war that has taken place in the few short months since last October.

Equally encouraging is the fact that the organization of the demonstrations reflected fairly adequately the determination of the ranks of the antiwar movement that no one shall be excluded from participating because of their views.

The growing unity in action was expressed in the wide range of slogans in the demonstrations. The reports all indicate that everyone felt free to voice their particular view.

In cases like Chicago, where conservative elements refused to go along with the principle of non-exclusion, they seemed to have no noticeable effect on the outcome of the demonstrations. The Chicago action was the most successful in that city yet.

Another heartening thing was the growing militancy that was evident. Those who would blunt the effect of such demonstrations by insisting on watered-down demands like negotiations as counterposed to withdrawal of U. S. forces, were not nearly as prominent in this protest as in the previous one. In almost every area the demand to bring the GIs home was a major one and, in some places, the dominant one.

This reflects the fact that among those now being drawn into the antiwar movement there is no big preoccupation about possible embarrassment of the Democratic Party and pre-war liberals.



**BOSTON DEMONSTRATOR.** This picket was one of growing number of Afro-Americans participating in antiwar actions.

Those who participate in the antiwar movement as a means of building the liberal wing of the Democratic Party may be concerned that the demand to bring the GIs home puts the Democrats on the spot. But they don't speak for those now joining in the movement against the war.

Thus far there have only been scanty reports of the demonstrations abroad but the indications are these actions too were bigger and more numerous than last Fall.

Those who put their shoulders to the wheel in building the present action have every right to feel it was a job well done. And they also have every right to believe there are excellent prospects for building the movement further and doing so on the clear-cut, effective basis of demanding immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces.

Also gratifying was that the protest action coincided with the anti-government demonstrations in Hue and Saigon. It's a good omen.



**DOWN FIFTH AVENUE.** Opponents of U.S. war in Vietnam marched down New York's Fifth Avenue for nearly three hours March 26. It was the biggest such wartime demonstration in the city's history.

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — The movement against the war in Vietnam is growing bigger, younger and more militant. These are the principal conclusions to be drawn from the enormously effective Fifth Avenue parade staged here March 26. Reports from across the country indicate the success of the New York antiwar action was part of a national pattern.

Some 50,000 people either marched down Fifth Avenue or participated in the Central Park rally that followed, according to official estimates of the committee in charge. The UPI reported the same number. Other newspaper and TV estimates ranged as high as 100,000.

#### Bigger Than Last One

The turnout for the parade was significantly bigger than it was for the similar action last October. Young people dominated this one more clearly and there was generally a more militant tone to this action. A great many more signs called for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam and most of the slogans chanted by the marchers echoed this theme. Members of the Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now passed out 1,000 "Bring the Troop Home Now" signs alone, and other groups also supported the withdrawal demand.

The increased scope of the demonstration was even apparent to the unsympathetic New York Herald Tribune which reported March 27 that this parade was larger than the one last fall and added: "The protest had a different complexion from the one last Oct. 16 . . . Although most of the sponsors were the same, the marchers this time seemed to represent much more of a cross section of Americans."

The parade got off to an impressive start with a contingent of several hundred veterans leading the line of march. They evoked a great deal of applause from spectators and howls of rage from the

pockets of right-wing hoodlums who hurled epithets at the marchers. Each outburst from the right-wingers was met with the chant from the vets, "End the war in Vietnam! Bring our boys home!"

A number of adult groups followed the veterans and for a while it looked like it was going to settle down to a somewhat traditional peace walk. But then there was a visible change in the atmosphere as the students came marching down the avenue. They were the largest single contingent in the parade and the most militant of the big groups. For the most part, the students carried signs declaring, "Bring the Troops Home Now" and "Support Our Boys, Bring Them Home Now." An additional demand was, "Draft Beer."

Chanting slogans in call and response form, some would shout: "What do you want?" and the rest would respond: "Bring the troops home." "When?" "Now!"

Smaller but militant and effective contingents were organized by the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam and by Latin American groups, among them the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement and the Dominican Patriotic Youth. The latter carried a large banner which declared in Spanish: "Yankees—Out of Vietnam and Dominican Republic!"

Two contingents of New York

high school and college students marched earlier from City College and Columbia University to the parade organizing point. The Columbia section, which was organized by the Independent Committee on Vietnam, began with 950 participants including students from a number of New York public high schools. The CCNY section, all from City College, had 250 participants.

En route, the students were joined by the Afro-American committee, and they then marched down to the main parade.

There was a diversity of groups and organizations in the parade. Next to the students, perhaps the biggest single grouping was the teachers contingent. They were mainly young and very spirited and carried effective blackboard-style signs.

Trade Unionists for Peace included groups from District 65 AFL-CIO; Local 1199, Hospital Workers and members of a variety of other unions.

The largest of the religious groups participating was the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Its supporters marched with a large banner emblazoned: "For God's Sake, Stop it!"

There was a good-sized turnout of social and welfare workers and an impressive medical contingent clad in laboratory and hospital

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### Antiwar Army Officer Paroled

Lt. Henry Howe Jr., was released from the Army prison in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on parole March 24. Howe had been convicted by a court martial and sentenced to a year in prison, plus dishonorable discharge, for participating in a demonstration against the Vietnam war while off duty and in civilian clothes in El Paso, Texas last Nov. 6.

The Army apparently decided to get Howe at least partly off its hands when it became apparent that he intended to make a serious fight and had significant support. Relatives and friends in the Denver, Colo., area formed a quickly growing Freedom Now for Lt. Howe Committee. The American Civil Liberties Union has taken on his legal defense and is prepared to take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary. Howe was released after serving three months.



## Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, Malcolm X Speaks, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

### Installment 22

#### INTERMARRIAGE AND A BLACK STATE

**Pierre Berton:** Now before you left Elijah Muhammad and went to Mecca and saw the original world of Islam, you believed in complete segregation of the whites and the Negroes. You were opposed both to integration and to intermarriage. Have you changed your views there?

**Malcolm:** I believe in recognizing every human being as a human being — neither white, black, brown or red; and when you are dealing with humanity as a family there is no question of integration or intermarriage. It's just one human being marrying another human being, or one human being living around and with another human being.

I may say, though, that I don't think it should ever be put upon a black man, I don't think the burden to defend any position should ever be put upon the black man, because it is the white man collectively who has shown that he is hostile toward integration and toward intermarriage and toward these other strides toward oneness.

So as a black man and especially as a black American, any stand that I formerly took, I don't think that I would have to defend it, because it's still a reaction to the society, and it's a reaction that was produced by the society; and I think that it is the society that produced this that should be attacked, not the reaction that develops among the people who are the victims of that negative society.

**Berton:** But you no longer believe in a black state?

**Malcolm:** No.

**Berton:** In North America?

**Malcolm:** No, I believe in a society in which people can live like human beings on the basis of equality. (From the Pierre Berton Show, taped at Station CFTO-TV in Toronto, Jan. 19, 1965.)

#### How to Organize the People

**Malcolm:** The only person who can organize the man in the street is the one who is unacceptable to the white community. They don't

trust the other kind. They don't know who controls his actions....

**Marlene Nadle** asked if he planned to use hate to organize the people.

**Malcolm:** I won't permit you to call it hate. Let's say I'm going to create an awareness of what has been done to them. This awareness will produce an abundance of energy, both negative and positive, that can then be channeled constructively....

The greatest mistake of the movement has been trying to organize a sleeping people around specific goals. You have to wake the people up first, then you'll get action.

**Miss Nadle:** Wake them up to their exploitation?

**Malcolm:** No, to their humanity, to their own worth, and to their heritage. The biggest difference between the parallel oppression of the Jew and the Negro is that the Jew never lost his pride in being a Jew. He never ceased to be a man. He knew he had made a significant contribution to the world, and his sense of his own value gave him the courage to fight back. It enabled him to act and think independently, unlike our people and our leaders. (From Marlene Nadle's article, *Village Voice*, Feb. 25, 1965.)

#### Dollarism and Capitalism

**Malcolm:** It is true that most of your South American countries are satellites of the United States. But they don't have to feel bad. This country made a satellite out of Khrushchev, made him lose his job. Everybody becomes a satellite nowadays.

They did — go and study the relations between the United States and Russia during the past four or five years and you'll find this country maneuvered Russia into almost becoming a satellite. They had to get rid of Khrushchev in order to get some of their independence back.

I say that as objectively as I can. I'm not trying to jump into anybody's camp, I don't have any axes to grind. This is just my own opinion from observations that I've made traveling around the world and listening with big ears.

It's easy to become a satellite today without even being aware of it. This country can seduce God. Yes, it has that seductive power — the power of dollarism. You can cuss out colonialism, imperialism and all other kinds of isms, but it's hard for you to cuss that dollarism. When they drop those dollars on you, your soul goes. (*Militant Labor Forum*, Jan. 7, 1965.)

## Antiwar Forces Register Big Gain

# 5,000 March in Chicago

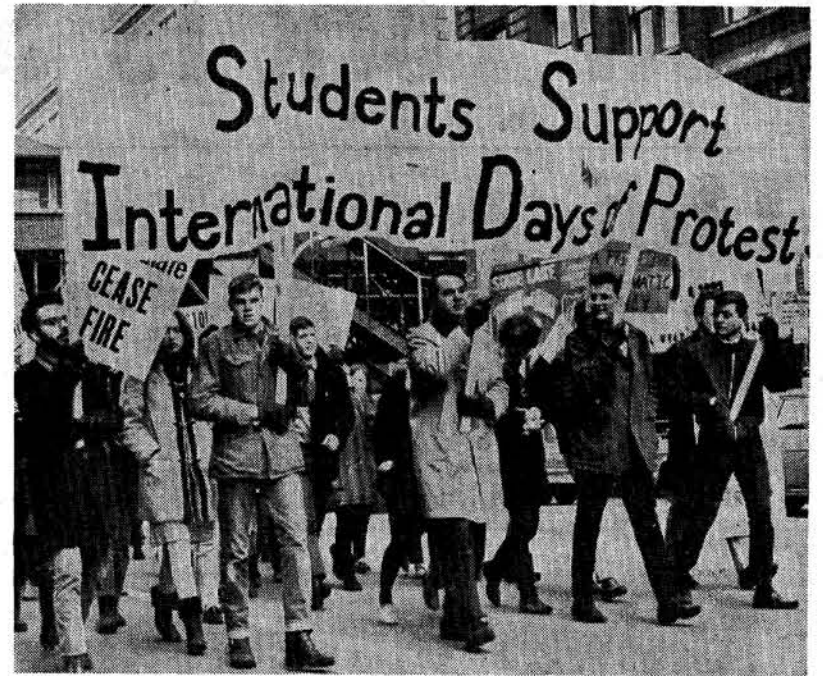
By Bruce Hendrix

CHICAGO—Five thousand people, mostly youth, marched through the heart of downtown Chicago March 26, and even more participated in an anti-war rally at the Coliseum to end the war in Vietnam. The protest was a huge success in spite of the cold weather and the withdrawal of conservative organizations and individuals from co-sponsorship of the march, such as SANE, the American Friends Service Committee and Rev. G.G. Grant. By contrast, the Oct. 16 demonstration here drew 300 to 700 people.

The antiwar demonstrators, singing and chanting, carried signs, some of which read, "End the War in Vietnam Now"; "Vietnam and Puerto Rico — The Fight is for Freedom"; "Bring the Troops Home Now"; "Immediate Cease Fire"; "The Viet Cong Never Called Me a Nigger"; and "Self-Determination for the Vietnamese People."

The day's events were sponsored by The March 26 Arrangements Committee, a non-exclusionary temporary group, which included such organizations as Women Strike for Peace, Black Chicagoans Against the War in Vietnam, The Young Socialist Alliance, W.E.B. DuBois Club, SNCC, and several trade unions, religious organizations and antiwar committees.

The parade led by the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, and a color guard, covered a two-mile route to the Coliseum. Across the front of the 6,000-seat hall which was filled to capacity, were banners reading, "End the War in



VIGOROUS SUPPORTERS. Chicago students staged impressive demonstration in support of International Days of Protest.

Vietnam Now" and "Bring the Troops Home Now." At the entrance were literature tables set up by various sponsoring groups.

SNCC spokesman Julian Bond read SNCC's statement against the war in Vietnam and called for the United States to pack up and get out of Vietnam now. Bond said that the majority of his constituency in Georgia are opposed to the war in Vietnam and cannot identify with the actions of the U.S. Government.

Other speakers were Al Raby, convener of the Co-ordinating

Council of Community Organizations, Nancy Gitlin, Students for a Democratic Society, Rev. James Jones, urban vicar of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago, and Abe Fineglass, International Vice President of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Union.

Sidney Lens, labor writer and moderator for the rally, introduced Abe Fineglass, contrasting him to George Meany. He declared that Meany and his statements supporting the war did not really represent the sentiments of most workers. Mr. Fineglass said that all the power and wealth of the United States could not force the Vietnamese to accept a social system which is "not their own."

## ...New York Antiwar Parade

(Continued from Page 1)

gowns. The Arts and Professions were also well represented.

Political groupings included the Socialist Workers Party, under the banner, "Bring the GI's Home Now," the DuBois Clubs which called for "War on Poverty Not on People" and "Negotiate with the NLF." Other groups were Youth Against War and Fascism and Spartacist/International Bulletin.

Among the many participating antiwar organizations were the Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now, The Village View Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Washington Heights Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Washington Heights/Inwood Committee of Conscience, the Greenwich Village Women Strike for Peace, the Queens Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Long Island Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

At the rally, which filled the big Central Park Mall, there was entertainment by folk singers including Tom Paxton and Barbara Dane. The entertainers were presented by James Higgins, assistant editor of the York, Pa., *Gazette & Daily*.

The speaking program was chaired by A. J. Muste, dean of American pacifism and chairman of the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee. Speakers included ex-Green Beret Donald Duncan; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, AFL-CIO; Juan Mari Bras, leader of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement; Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, founder of the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights; Rev. Howard Moody of Judson Memorial Church; David Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*; and Jerry Rubin of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee.

The action was organized on a democratic basis with no one excluded for their views. The Fifth Avenue Parade Committee, representing more than 70 organizations

opposed to the war in Vietnam, showed that it was capable of rallying the effective antiwar forces in the city.

The Parade Committee Coordinators are Dave Dellinger, and Norma Becker of the Teachers Committee for Peace in Vietnam. The chief marshalls of the parade were: Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, Joe Popper of the DuBois Clubs, Pauline Rosen of Women Strike for Peace, and Eric Weinberger of the Committee for Non-Violent Action.

It was a fine afternoon for the antiwar movement.

## Antiwar Vets Burn Discharge Papers

NEW YORK — A new form of protest against the war in Vietnam was initiated here on March 25 at a rally in Union Square attended by several hundred people. Seventeen veterans and reservists burned their discharge papers or separation papers.

The protest demonstration was sponsored by the Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam and chaired by Ron Wolin, a leader of the committee.

A. J. Muste, dean of the pacifist movement, spoke briefly. In answering charges that what the veterans were doing was illegal, he pointed out that it was sometimes necessary to break the law when fighting for democratic rights.

A series of veterans then read statements on why they were going to burn their papers, and then burned them together in one fire.

Mitchell Goodman, author and member of the veterans committee, and Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, both spoke. The rally ended after some remarks by Prof. Robert S. Browne, a Negro who spent several years in Vietnam as a U.S. aid official.

## George Whitmore Is Convicted Again In N.Y. Frame-Up

NEW YORK — After more than two years in prison on charge of murdering three women and the attempted rape of another, George Whitmore Jr. has been convicted unjustly once more. The evidence indicates that Whitmore's only "crime" was being black.

The conviction of Whitmore for the attempted rape and second-degree assault of Mrs. Elba Borrero on April 23, 1964 was based on a confession beaten out of Whitmore by police. The confession of the attempted rape was gotten from Whitmore during the same day-long interrogation and by the same detectives who obtained his "confession" of the three murders.

Whitmore was later exonerated of the double murder of Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert, which clearly demonstrates that his confession was coerced. Whitmore's attorney, Stanley Reiben, sought to enter Whitmore's confession to the Wylie-Hoffert murder into evidence in the trial for the rape of Mrs. Borrero, but Supreme Court Justice Aaron F. Goldstein barred reference to the discredited confession from the trial, making the fantastic ruling that it had nothing to do with the Borrero case!

At that point Reiben refused to continue the defense case, calling no further witnesses and waiving his right to summation. He sought instead to appeal to a higher court to stay the proceedings in Justice Goldstein's court. The higher courts refused to intervene and Whitmore was convicted.

An earlier conviction of Whitmore in the Borrero case was reversed because of anti-Negro prejudice in the jury.

## Weekly Calendar of Events

**BOSTON**  
THE ROLE OF THE INTELLECTUAL IN SOCIAL CHANGE. Speaker: Prof. Noam Chomsky, MIT. Fri., April 8, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**CHICAGO**  
WHY A NEGRO CANDIDATE WAS NEARLY ELECTED MAYOR OF CLEVELAND. Speaker: Eric Reinthaler. Fri., April 8, 8 p.m. Debs Hall. 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**CLEVELAND**  
THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE IRISH EASTER REBELLION. Speaker: John McCann. Sunday, April 10, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall. 5927 Euclid Ave. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

**DETROIT**  
LEROI JONES: ARTIST AND REVOLUTIONARY. A talk and presentation of scenes from Jones' plays by Concept East Theatre. Fri., April 8, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**LOS ANGELES**  
BOOK BAZAAR. Books of all description: Marxist, labor, history, radical,

pamphlets, periodicals. Bargain prices. Sat., April 9, doors open at 12 noon. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Al Lynn Memorial Library.

**NOTE TIME CHANGE. SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE NEWS.** A bi-weekly commentary by SWP spokesman T. Edwards. Mon., April 11, 6 p.m. Rebroadcast Thurs., April 14, 1 p.m. KPFK-FM (90.7 on dial).

**NEW YORK**  
CAN THE U.S. WIN IN VIETNAM? Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer, *The Militant*. Fri., April 8, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.) Contrib. \$1 students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
HEAR MALCOLM X in a recording of a speech given in April 1964. Tues., April 12, 12:15 p.m. San Francisco State College, Hall 341. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

**TWIN CITIES**  
VIETNAM: 1965. Slides presented by a veteran of the Vietnam war. Fri., April 8, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.



# Nation-Wide Protest

## Detroit, Mich.

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — About 1,500 persons marched down Woodward Ave. on March 26 in the largest antiwar demonstration ever held here. Leading the parade was the Afro-Americans to End the War in Vietnam. Behind the Afro-Americans came contingents of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Citizens for Peace in Vietnam, Trade Unionists for Peace, Teachers for Peace in Vietnam, Women Strike for Peace and busloads of students from Ann Arbor's University of Michigan and East Lansing's Michigan State University.

The Afro-Americans' signs at the head of the march stated: "No Black Blood For White Fascist Wars" and "Imperialist Racists Get Out of Vietnam." Other signs along the line of march said: "Bring the Troops Home Now!"; "Yankees Come Home"; "Get Out of Vietnam"; "Peace in the World or the World in Pieces"; "I Won't Fight the People of Vietnam"; "U.S. GPs Dying for a Bad Cause" and "To Hell with LBJ."

As the demonstrators marched down Woodward Ave. parade marshalls, equipped with walkie-talkies, patrolled both sides of the line to prevent clashes with a rabid local right-wing group, Breakthrough. One of the Breakthrough group ran alongside shouting provocative remarks and as the leading contingents of the demonstration marched into Campus Martius, where a rally and a bread-and-puppet presentation was to be held, they were confronted with a group of about 50 Breakthrough people holding banners reading: "This is a Pro-Communist Parade"; "Beware Reds"; "Hear the Big Lie on Vietnam"; and "Win in Vietnam — Crush USSR."

The Afro-Americans swept forward to confront the counter-demonstration. Some scuffles broke out and at this point the police moved in, separated the groups and forced Breakthrough to station themselves across the street. While the antiwar demonstrators were watching the puppet presentation, an argument developed among the Breakthrough people on what tactics should be used against the marchers. A fist fight broke out and police arrested three Breakthrough members including the head of the organization, Don Lobsinger.

Antiwar participants in the rally at Campus Martius were asked to march down to Cobo Hall and picket the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner of the Democratic Party. Almost all of the marchers continued down to Cobo Hall for the picketing. About 600 of these stayed for a meeting held in Cobo Hall and sponsored by Citizens for Peace in Vietnam, where Tom Hayden spoke on his recent trip to north Vietnam.

## Philadelphia, Pa.

PHILADELPHIA — About 1,400 crowded into the YMHA auditorium here for the opening rally for the International Days of Protest. More than 15 antiwar and political action organizations sponsored the events of the weekend through a committee organized for the occasion.

The antiwar assemblage heard Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace, Joseph Crown of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Toward Vietnam, Prathia Hall of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, David Delling, editor of *Liberation* magazine, and Sergeant Donald Duncan, formerly of the U.S. Special Forces who served 18 months in Vietnam.

The next day, a parade of a thousand people, young and old, marched through the center of the business district to Independence

Hall, birthplace of the Declaration of Independence.

The march was led by a contingent of Veterans and Reservists against the war. The overwhelming majority of the signs and banners carried called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and for self-determination for the Vietnamese.

At Independence Hall the crowd gathered to hear brief speeches by representatives of some of the sponsoring organizations which included YSA, SDS, the DuBois Clubs, CNVA, and SANE, and the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

## Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Demonstrations against the war in Vietnam on March 25 and 26, the International Days of Protest, were extremely successful here. They included a rally of about 1,000 people on Friday night, March 25 and a march by about 700 people to the south Vietnamese Embassy the following day. The right to march was won only after a legal fight against the enforcement of a statute prohibiting demonstrations within 500 feet of any embassy.

The events were organized by the Committee for the International Days of Protest, a temporary formation of many organizations and individuals that was initiated by the Washington Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The Friday evening rally was held at the Lincoln Memorial Temple. Speakers included: Julian Bond, Father Daniel Berrigan, Julius Hobson, Clint Hobson, and a number of local ministers and priests.

Demonstrators picketed the White House the following morning. Then they marched through Washington's business district to a public square for a rally. Speakers here included: Ralph Levitt of the Young Socialist Alliance and one of the Bloomington defendants; Mat Hallinan of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs; and Margaret Russell of Women Strike for Peace.

The demonstrators then marched toward the south Vietnamese Embassy and were met by a barrier of more than 100 police at a point 500 feet from the embassy. They were prevented from going any closer, but their court fight had won them the right to hold their march which took them within 500 feet of other embassies along the route.

## Cleveland, Ohio

By Barbara Gregorich

CLEVELAND — The International Days of Protest began here on Friday with a rally at the Cory Methodist Church, followed by workshops. The rally was addressed by Danny Rosenshine, chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Tom Hayden, the leader of the Students for a Democratic Society who recently visited north Vietnam, and Robert Jones of the Jomo "Freedom" Kenyatta House.

Jones, speaking on the role of the Negro in the war, pointed out that although one out of every nine people in this country is a Negro, two out of every nine people killed in the American forces in Vietnam are Negroes.

He attributed this not only to the fact that more Negroes are drafted in proportion to whites, but also to the fact that they are probably not cared-for when wounded. "A wounded Negro on a Vietnam battlefield is the same as a wounded Negro in Mississippi," he stated.

On Saturday, a demonstration was held at the Public Square in Cleveland. Most of the 350 participants carried signs demanding "Withdraw Now"; "Support the GI's, Bring Them Home" and "Bring the Troops Home Now."

## Ann Arbor, Mich.

By Linda Belisle

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — Demonstrations and activities protesting the war in Vietnam were held here around the slogan of Withdraw the Troops from Vietnam Now, which was overwhelmingly adopted at the planning sessions. At noon on March 25, 200 students gathered in the center of the University of Michigan campus to hear Professors Julien Gendell and Tom Mayer speak on the history and mythology of the war. Ray Lauzanna, one of the students reclassified 1-A in response to a sit-in at the local draft board during the October Days of Protest, spoke of the civil liberties aspect of the war: the Lieutenant Howe case, Julian Bond, Smith and McClure, and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

At the end of the rally, eight people started on a 40-mile protest march to Detroit, and 100 marched to a picket around the draft board offices, where they presented individual petitions against the use of the Selective Service Act to suppress political dissent.

As one businessman stood baiting the marchers, a middle-aged woman spoke up out of the crowd, saying, "My son was killed in Vietnam — he died for nothing. These kids aren't doing enough — they should be getting Johnson, who's sending more to be killed over there."

In the evening a Vietnam Open House was held, attended by over a hundred people at different times.

On Saturday, a contingent of antiwar activists took chartered buses to Detroit to join in the regional march there.

## Madison, Wisc.

MADISON, Wisc. — The International Days of Protest were a great success here. It included a teach-in which lasted into the small hours of the morning. Part of the teach-in was a panel on America's Experience with Revolution at which Professor Harvey Goldberg of the History Department spoke out for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

On Saturday night, March 26, an outdoor rally of some 1,200 people was held, despite 20 degree weather. Professor Staughton Lynd was among the speakers who argued in favor of immediate withdrawal as the correct position for the antiwar movement.

Lynd compared the withdrawal demand with the demand of the American abolitionist movement for immediate and complete emancipation of the slaves.

On March 25, some 150 students from the university, demonstrated at the Badger Ordnance Works in Baraboo, Wisc., which was recently re-opened to manufacture gunpowder for Vietnam.

## Denver, Colo.

DENVER — One hundred and ten demonstrators marched through Denver to hold a rally on the steps of the State Capitol as Denver's participation in the International Days of Protest. En route, although the marchers were met by much heckling and some egg-throwing, they picked up 75 additional supporters.

At the State Capitol, the rally attracted an audience of about 2,000 — a giant step from Denver's turnout of 500 during the October 16 protest march. The meeting was chaired by Mary Walters, chairman of the Denver Stop the War Committee.

One of the speakers was Dr. H. Howe, the father of the Lieutenant Howe who was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for taking part in demonstrations against the war (see box, page one). Howe spoke proudly of his son and received enthusiastic support.



Photo by Finer

**SOCIALISTS MARCH.** Contingent from Socialist Workers Party presented party's stand in New York parade. Other SWPers marched with antiwar groups in which they are active.

Other speakers included Helen Miller, from the University of California; Lauren Watson, chairman of the Denver Political Action Committee of the Congress of Racial Equality and Dr. Jones, Chairman of the Philosophy Department of Southern Colorado State College, who was fired from his job because of his views on the Vietnam war and his defense of pacifist student John Dean.

## San Diego, Calif.

More than 150 persons marched in protest against the war in Vietnam here on March 26. The demonstration was one of the largest held in some time in this city, known as a center for the John Birch Society.

The marchers were mainly high school and college students. Among the slogans they carried were: "Bring the Troops Home"; "Self-determination for the Vietnamese" and "Freedom Now — Withdraw Now."

The march was organized by an ad hoc committee made up of rep-

resentatives of Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers Party, and Students of the Independent Left from the University of California at La Jolla.

## Hartford, Conn.

By Paul Basch

HARTFORD, Conn. — An all-night vigil in front of the Federal Building was held beginning about 11:30 p.m. March 25 and continuing until 1:45 p.m. on the 26th. After that the group, then numbering close to 100 persons marched to Bushnell Park where a rally was held. Among the speakers were: Harland Lewis, a minister; and Marj Swann of the New England Committee for Non-Violent Action. Dr. Francis Pallotti chaired the rally.

Organizations participating in the rally included: the Hartford Committee for Peace in Vietnam, which coordinated the rally, Women Strike for Peace, Students for a Democratic Society, and the W. E. B. DuBois Club.

# 5,000 in Vancouver Score Vietnam War

By Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER, Canada — The largest antiwar demonstration in this city's history — 5,000 at its peak — massed at the Vancouver Court House to protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Almost 3,000 marched two miles from the City Hall, headed toward the U. S. consulate. The police cut the march short, preventing all but 800 demonstrators from reaching the consulate.

The rally at the Court House was addressed by Professor Bill Willmott of the University of British Columbia; Ray Burns of the UBC Vietnam Day Committee; Alex MacDonald, New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) member of the Provisional Legislature, and others.

Banners and placards calling for withdrawal of U. S. troops now and slogans calling for an end to the Canadian government complicity in the war dominated the rally.

The Vancouver International Days of Protest were sponsored by numerous peace groups and the UBC Vietnam Day Committee, the Simon Fraser University Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the British Columbia New Democratic Youth.

All left tendencies — the New Democratic Party, the Progressive Workers Movement, the Communist Party, and the League for Socialist Action were represented. Freedom of both signs and lit-

erature distribution was the rule. Independents from the two universities, the city college and the high schools formed the largest contingent on the march. The United Fisherman's union meeting in convention at the same time was officially represented with a banner.

On Friday, the UBC Vietnam Day Committee held a campus rally of 5,000 students. Violence emerged when organized attempts by Forestry and Engineering faculties to throw Vietnam Day Committee members into the library pool were successfully prevented.

## British College Group Greets U.S. Protesters

SUSSEX, England — The University of Sussex Joint Faculty-Student Committee to End the War in Vietnam released the following statement to the U. S. protesters against the war:

"We send our solidarity to the demonstrations of March 25-26 against the war in Vietnam. Withdrawal of U.S. troops is a precondition of a just and peaceful settlement, as is recognition of the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination and social progress."



# THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 4, 1966

## 'Peace' Candidate Cops Out

Ronnie Dugger, widely touted "peace" candidate in the race for the U.S. Senate seat from Texas, announced on March 24 that he was withdrawing from the contest.

Dugger is the editor of the *Texas Observer*, a liberal political weekly, and is known as a leading liberal in the Southwest. He spoke at the April 17, 1965 march on Washington, and soon after announced he would run for office against both the Democratic and Republican parties in opposition to the administration's Vietnam policy.

Dugger's candidacy was hailed by such groups as the Committee for Independent Political Action in New York and Chicago, who advocate that the antiwar movement divert its energies away from organizing against the war by supporting so-called "peace" candidates.

In announcing his withdrawal, Dugger said that the statements by Senator Kennedy and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the recent Gallup poll showing 88 percent of the American people favor negotiating with the "Vietcong," made it clear to Johnson that the people want the war in Vietnam stopped — "honorably, but stopped." He concluded that this left him no reason for running!

The liberal Texan's explanation for his withdrawal is ridiculous on the face of it. He claims, in effect to have dropped out because too many people share his views!

The real reason why Dugger withdrew — and why he ran in the first place — was clear in his statement that if the Democratic candidate, Waggoner Carr, takes a more liberal stand than the rest of the Texas Democratic Party, "my withdrawal ought to help him." Many Texas political observers had predicted that Dugger's campaign would win enough liberal Democratic votes to ensure that John G. Towers, a Goldwater Republican, would be re-elected, so Dugger pulled out of the race.

It is clear that Dugger's "independent" campaign was not a break with the capitalist party politics responsible for the war in Vietnam, but a cynical maneuver within Democratic Party politics to put pressure on the Democrats. The net result of this maneuver is that genuine antiwar forces who possibly supported Dugger are now being asked to get behind the right-wing and pro-war Carr, in the same way they were asked to support "peace candidate" LBJ in 1964.

## Gumshoes—Private and Public

Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.) expressed shock when the General Motors Corporation admitted it had hired a battery of snoopers to pry into the private life of Ralph Nadar, critic of the auto industry's failure to promote safety standards.

Ribicoff said General Motors' action "was most unworthy of American business." GM President Roche said he agreed.

If Roche were feeling belligerent that day he might well have declared that what his firm had done was merely an integral part of the American Way of Life, with the federal government setting the example and pace in the field.

The very day Roche was apologizing for what his company had gotten caught doing it was revealed that a State Department official had notified two U.S. embassies to keep an eye on Harvard Professor H. Stuart Hughes who would be traveling in Europe this summer. The notice to put Hughes under surveillance was issued even before Hughes applied for his passport. It was said that the order had been requested by the FBI which asserts Prof. Hughes has "strong pro-Communist convictions."

The man Big Brother in Washington is keeping so careful an eye on is a widely respected liberal, a peace advocate and critic of U.S. policy in Vietnam. In 1962 he was a peace candidate for U.S. Senator from Massachusetts.

Anyway, GM might well have pointed to the State Department spokesman who said, that surveillance orders, such as the one issued on Hughes, are considered routine matters in the Department and that the practice goes back at least two decades.

## Socialist Directory

**BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

**CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

**CLEVELAND.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

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

**DETROIT.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

**LOS ANGELES.** Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

**MILWAUKEE.** 150 E. Juneau Ave.

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**NEW YORK CITY.** Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway. 982-6051.

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**PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 8412.

**ST. LOUIS.** Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

**SAN DIEGO.** San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St.

**SAN FRANCISCO.** Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 2741.

**SEATTLE.** 3815 5th N.E. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

## 'SPEAK BITTERNESS' SESSIONS

# AFL-CIO Brass Berates LBJ

By Tom Kerry

In a series of "speak bitterness" conclaves, beginning with the December 1965 AFL-CIO convention, the top union brass have lashed out at their "friends" in the Democratic Party for reneging — once again — on their promises to organized labor.

Most galling to the labor tops has been the failure of the Johnson administration to redeem its promise to repeal section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act under which some 20 odd states have enacted "right-to-work" laws banning the union shop. Such union-strangling laws have been largely responsible for the failure of the AFL-CIO to expand its membership since the unification merger in 1955.

In commemorating the tenth anniversary of the merger at the December 1965 convention, AFL-CIO president George Meany gave vent to what could be charitably construed as an oratorical flight of fancy. "George Meany," writes the *New York Times* labor reporter on Dec. 10, "reporting on his 10-year stewardship as president of the merged labor federation, said today that the organization had never been stronger and was on the threshold of a new period of expansion."

Meany was wrong on both counts. The coalition policy of subordinating the organized labor movement to the Democratic Party has led to a dead end. One of the announced aims of the 1955 merger was to rally the unified labor movement to a political crusade to reverse the legislative restrictions on the unions which began in 1947 with the enactment of the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act.

After ten years of coalitionism, Taft-Hartley stands intact, a bulwark of employer reaction to straitjacket the unions. Instead of reversing the anti-union legislative restrictions, Taft-Hartleyism has been bolstered, reinforced and extended through the enactment of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law. How do matters stand on the economic front?



George Meany

A second major aim touted as a most certain outcome of the 1955 merger was the expansion of union organization to cover those outside the union ranks. According to the report of the AFL-CIO executive council to the convention the paid up per capita membership at the time of the merger numbered 12,305,000. Ten years later, as of the end of September 1965, the paid up per capita membership totalled 12,869,000 or an increase of 564,000.

But, the 1965 figures did not represent an increase in union organization of the unorganized but rather an increase in total employment due to the protracted boom. In addition, the civilian labor force expanded from 65,848,000 in 1955 to 75,636,000 in December 1965. In other words, considering the increase of approximately 10-million in the civilian labor force, there has been a significant decline in the relative weight of the organized sector. That is scarcely anything to crow about.

As a matter of fact, the only significant expansion of union organization is credited to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, expelled from the AFL-CIO under the prodding of the Kennedy brothers.

So much for the past. What of the future? What credence can be placed in Meany's boast that the AFL-CIO now "was on the thresh-

hold of a new period of expansion?" Not much, I'm afraid. At the time Meany spoke he was still able to hold out the hope that his "friends" in the Democratic Party would fulfill their promise to meet labor's modest legislative goals.

Since then such hopes have been mangled beyond repair. Labor's number one legislative goal of repealing 14-b has been jettisoned; their minimum wage demands have been mauled and remain in question; on site picketing has been side-tracked; the Johnson administration's wage-price "guidelines" policy aims at imposing a virtual wage freeze in the face of mounting inflation which threatens to reduce the standard of living of the workers — organized and unorganized.

It is against this background that Meany has begun to ham it up before various union gatherings. In a burst of verbal fireworks at the recent AFL-CIO executive council meeting in Bar Harbour, Florida, Meany warned the Democrats, for the umpteenth time, not to take labor for granted. He even went so far as to threaten to explode the coalition by reverting to the "independent" Gompers policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies."

Meany's "declaration of independence," made under pressure from the lower rungs of the union bureaucracy and reflecting the growing dissatisfaction in the ranks, was so much boob-bait intended to create the appearance of a change in policy while retaining the substance of the same old policy. To make sure there was no misunderstanding that his performance was intended only for the edification of the boobs Meany and Reuther made a pilgrimage to the White House to assure their "friend" of their continued support.

It was all part of the act. To add zest to the farce, Hubert Humphrey, Johnson's Clown Prince of Prattle, made a guest appearance before the recent AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department legislative conference in Washington, to assure the assembled gathering that "the Democrats would fulfill their political promises to organized labor," — if not in this world, then in the next!

"The Vice President," reports the March 25 *New York Times*, "endorsed the call that Mr. Meany made earlier this week for union members to support their friends and penalize their enemies in the 1966 elections, regardless of party affiliation.

"If," opined "friend" Humphrey, "union members follow that policy, the Democrats will be mighty pleased," because, "on balance we'll come out pretty good."

"So," observes one *Times* labor reporter, "the federation already is cranking up its machinery to keep friendly Democrats in Congress." It's all part of the show!

## Joe Johnson, Kempton To Speak at Columbia

Joseph Johnson, a native-born American and member of the Socialist Workers Party who has been threatened with deportation, will speak on his case at Columbia University on Wednesday, April 6. Murray Kempton, a contributing editor to the *New Republic* magazine and sponsor of the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, will also speak on "Why We Should Defend Our Civil Liberties and Constitutional Rights." The meeting will be in Harkness Theater at 8 p.m.

## REVIEWS and REPORTS

**MALCOLM X TALKS TO YOUNG PEOPLE. A Young Socialist Pamphlet. P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003. 36 pp. 35c.**

This very attractive pamphlet contains four articles plus a number of photos of Malcolm X. It begins with part of a speech given by Malcolm X on Dec. 21, 1964 — just two months before his death — to a group of teenagers from McComb, Miss., who were on a trip to New York sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The second and longest part of the pamphlet is devoted to an interview given by Malcolm to two *Young Socialist* editorial board members, first printed in the March-April 1965 *Young Socialist*. Malcolm stated his position clearly and succinctly on many issues in this interview. He answered such questions as: Why did you break with the Black Muslims? How do you define black nationalism? What do you think is responsible for race prejudice in the U. S.? How do you view the role of the U. S. in the Congo and Vietnam? What is your opinion of the Democratic Party? What is

your opinion of the world-wide struggle between capitalism and socialism?

The other two parts of the pamphlet are about the impact Malcolm had on Africa and on young revolutionaries in the U. S. John Lewis and Donald Harris made a tour of several African countries as representatives of SNCC in 1964. Malcolm was on the last leg of his second tour of Africa that year and had just recently preceded them through a number of countries. Lewis and Harris wrote a report of their trip for SNCC dated Dec. 14, 1964. Excerpts from their report referring to Malcolm's impact on the Africans he met are included in the pamphlet.

The final piece consists of excerpts from a tribute delivered by Jack Barnes, then national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

This pamphlet will be of interest to all those who followed Malcolm in one way or another while he was alive, and is an excellent introduction to Malcolm X, what he stood for and what he accomplished in the last year of his life.

—Herman Porter



**SOVIET PEOPLE REMEMBER WELL**

**Move to Refurbish Stalin Image Hit**

By George Saunders

MARCH 28 — Dramatic signs of internal conflict and protest in the Soviet Union are showing on the eve of the twenty-third congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) as the question of the partial rehabilitation of Stalin arises as a possible item on its agenda. Other major issues face the congress which opens tomorrow — a new five-year plan for "building Communism in one country"; the Sino-Soviet dispute; the Vietnam war — but it is the question of Stalin that most of all troubles and concerns the Soviet people. The other questions they are still largely willing to leave to the "men at the top." But the Stalin question strikes too closely to home.

An event of tremendous symbolic importance occurred in Moscow's Red Square on March 5. Some 200 Old Bolsheviks, most of them survivors of the Stalinist concentration camps, staged a protest demonstration on that day. Persons of ripe old age, they demonstrated in front of Lenin's mausoleum against a return to the methods of the "personality cult," a return which a sector of the bureaucracy seems to have in mind.

**Packed Store**

Inasmuch as news of the demonstration was known in advance, the GUM department store overlooking the square was packed, and people watched the demonstrators through the windows with astonishment and sympathy. The square was filled with thousands of uniformed police and plainclothesmen, who did not seem to have received clear orders on what to do.

Also significant was the fact that some 25 leading Soviet intellectuals petitioned Brezhnev, CPSU first secretary, opposing any rehabilitation of Stalin. Among the petitioners were five of the Soviet Union's leading atomic physicists, including Nobel Prize-winner Igor Tamm; two leading anti-Stalinist writers, Konstantin Paustovsky and Viktor Nekrasov; the prima ballerina of the Bolshoi Ballet, Maya Plisetskaya; movie director Mikhail Romm; and former ambassador to Britain Ivan Maisky.

The petitioners reportedly ar-



**POET OF PROTEST.** Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko interviewed by newsmen at Helsinki Youth Festival in 1963.

gued that the Soviet people would "never understand or accept any deviation, even in part, from the condemnation of Stalin's personality cult in 1956" and that they knew of no "arguments which can make us believe that anything in this condemnation was unjustified." They also warned that any rehabilitation of Stalin would lead to a "new split in the ranks of Communists, between our party and the Communist parties of the West."

There is every reason to regard the trial and imprisonment of the two Soviet writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel as part of a general move toward "re-Stalinization" and reassertion of rigid controls over Soviet intellectual life. Mounting protests from Soviet intellectuals over the Sinyavsky-Daniel case, then, are definitely related to the conflict over the Stalin question.

**Unintended Effect**

If the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial was meant to warn Soviet intellectuals to toe the line, its purpose has not yet been achieved. In fact, it may have had the opposite effect. Some forty of the most prominent Soviet intellectuals have petitioned the Soviet government to protest the conviction and sentencing of Sinyavsky and Daniel.

The *New York Times* reported

March 16 that, according to its sources, "two letters of petition on the Sinyavsky-Daniel case had been sent to Soviet authorities within the last week, one from writers in Moscow, the other from Leningrad."

"Included among the 40 signers," said the *Times*, "were such leading liberal spokesmen as Yevgeny Yevtushenko, the flamboyant poet, now touring Australia, and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, author of the anti-Stalinist novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*."

**'Rebel Poet'**

Another signer, according to an unconfirmed report, was the poet Andrei Voznesensky, whose name is usually linked with that of Yevtushenko as an officially permitted "rebel poet," popular with Soviet young people. Voznesensky was nominated for the Lenin Prize in literature by the "liberal" wing of Soviet writers this year. He is currently in the United States on a poetry-reading tour.

These protests show that the "legal" anti-Stalinists recognize a danger to themselves in the drive against the "underground" anti-Stalinism, typified by Sinyavsky's and Daniel's clandestine works. Likewise, the "liberals" apparently feel that their position is strong enough, domestically and internationally, for their petitions to have some effect. They have been encouraged greatly by the protests lodged by Communists outside the Soviet Union, an influence that the petition of the 25 also shows.

As West European Communist parties, particularly the French, British, and Italian, continue to protest the suppression of the Soviet writers, opposition has also arisen from Czech sources. The Soviet Writers Union confirmed a report that three leading Czechoslovak writers had made a special trip to Moscow to get a "full explanation" of the case from their Soviet colleagues.

**Argue With Judge**

Although the Soviet press has not reprinted any of the objections by foreign Communists, Soviet intellectuals are aware of them. This became clear when a large group of Soviet writers publicly polemicized with Lev N. Smirnov, the judge who had condemned Sinyavsky and Daniel.

Smirnov was invited to address the Writers Union in Moscow to explain the case, a March 18 UPI dispatch reported, because the organization was in turmoil over the trial. Writers criticized Smirnov from the floor; they "noted criticism of the trial by foreign Communists, demanded to know why foreign correspondents had been barred from the courtroom, and said the case was unprecedented in Soviet history," according to UPI. Clearly they are encouraged in their stand by world opinion.

**Anti-Gov't Protests Mount in Vietnam**

By Dick Roberts

MARCH 29 — The mass demonstrations against the military government in south Vietnam entered their nineteenth day yesterday with the announcement from Saigon that Premier Ky had arrested seven military officers for participating in the anti-government demonstrations March 27. On that day it was reported that 1,000 Saigon soldiers had joined the marchers who were demanding an end to military rule.

These demonstrations began March 10 when the Saigon military cabinet ousted General Nguyen Chanh Thi from the ruling clique for "insubordination." Thi had consistently been more sympathetic to the south Vietnamese Buddhists than the predominantly Catholic Saigon government. (In south Vietnam, with a total population of about 17 million, 90 percent of the population are Buddhist.)

**Anti-American**

However since that time, the demonstrations have become much more militant and have taken a specifically anti-American character. In Hue, where the protesting soldiers joined marchers, signs were carried blaming the United States for intervening in south Vietnamese politics and for supporting the military government in Saigon.

In Danang, the other large city in the northern region of south Vietnam, a general strike and student boycott of classes have paralyzed the city since the early days of the recent outbreak. By March 26, the protest had spread south to Saigon where teen-agers marched into the central market demanding "Down with Ky!" and "We Want Democracy."

The essence of the demonstrators' demand is that Ky permit the election of a constituent assembly in the very near future which would serve as a provisional legislature and would draft a new constitution. Ky's position is that the ruling military tribunal should draw up the constitution.

When pressed on the question of allowing free elections, Ky indicated that these could take place when the Saigon government controlled 75 to 80 percent of the population.

"Many Western observers," *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr reported March 29, "say that if this formula were rigidly followed, elections in 1967 would be highly unlikely."

It is also unlikely, according to



Henry Cabot Lodge

many observers, that Ky will follow through on his repeated threats to crush the demonstrations by force. "Some United States officials," Mohr reported March 28, "portrayed the Government as helpless to deal with virtual insurrection in the region."

The situation is undoubtedly highly embarrassing to Washington which hasn't issued a single word since the demonstrations began. Only a month before the demonstrations, Johnson had drawn world attention to his backslapping summit conference with Premier Ky in Honolulu — where he and his colleagues praised the tin-horn dictator to the skies.

**'Worse Part'**

In Saigon, Mohr reported an unnamed "qualified diplomatic source" as saying: "The worst part is that the Government is not even trying to deal with the situation, because it apparently feels it cannot do so." The leak undoubtedly expresses the anxiety of U. S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, whose repeated advice to the Saigon government since its inception has been to reinforce the police.

Even the usually solid Catholic support for the Saigon regimes is falling apart in the present crisis. UPI reported from Saigon, March 26, that the most powerful Roman Catholic leader has charged that the country's military leadership was "worse than the dictatorial Government of Ngo Dinh Diem." The Rev. Hoang Quynh added his call for a new civilian government, undoubtedly under the influence of tremendous mass pressure.

**Left-Wing Opposition Reported in USSR**

(*World Outlook*) — Brief references have appeared in the European capitalist press about a trial in the Soviet Union involving a group in Leningrad who were charged with printing a clandestine magazine politically hostile to the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime.

We have just received more detailed information, indicating that those active in the group were evidently left oppositionists following a Marxist orientation.

The title of the magazine echoed an old revolutionary Russian tradition: *Kolokol* [the Bell]. Three issues appeared. The number of copies of each issue was considerable — almost 1,000. The declared aim of the magazine was to work for a revolutionary revival in the country.

**Several Hundred**

The group associated with the underground publication was composed of two or three hundred persons, most of them chemists or students of chemistry. It should be noted particularly that the group was headed by Komsomol (Communist Youth) leaders and that their work of political criticism began on the basis of a much smaller study group which called

itself the "Circle of Communards" and which studied Lenin's *State and Revolution*.

The organization appeared in Leningrad, spreading to other cities, including Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other important centers such as Omsk and Novosibirsk.

This is the first time in decades that an oppositionist organization has appeared in the USSR, extending to different cities. It demonstrates that the long process out of which a new Soviet revolutionary leadership will appear has already begun.

As the newspapers have indicated, the trial involved dozens of defendants. They displayed various attitudes in court. Some of them openly stated that they considered the ideas they were fighting for to be correct, while admitting that they were probably wrong in resorting to the methods of underground struggle.

A young girl, questioned by the judges on the aims of the organization, replied: "The first thing is to send all of you to work."

All the accused were given sentences ranging from two to seven years in so-called re-education camps.

**Noted Negro Historian Dies in New York at 85**

Joel A. Rogers, author of many books on Afro-American history, died March 25, 1966 in New York. He was 85 years old.

J. A. Rogers, as he was generally known, was born in Jamaica in the West Indies. He devoted his life to research about black people and their history, searching the libraries to discover many facts, generally unknown.

He became the best known specialist in his field to the average black person. From 1921 until he died he wrote a weekly column in the *Pittsburgh Courier*. His cartoons about little-known facts of Negro history were widely read.

Among the books he wrote were: "Great Men of Color"; "Sex and Race"; "From Superman to Man"; "Africa's Gift to America"; and "Nature Knows No Color Line."

Among the final talks he gave was one to the Militant Labor Forum in New York in 1964.

He leaves his widow, Mrs. Helga Biesenthan Rogers.

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## MAO WIDENS BREACH

## THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT

(World Outlook) — The refusal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to send a delegation to the twenty-third congress of the Soviet Communist Party consummates the split between Peking and Moscow on the party level. It remains to be seen how much this rupture will affect their governmental relations.

In view of the deepening differences since 1959 and the bitterness of their public disputes since 1963 this event is neither sudden nor surprising. But the final bill of divorcement which disposes of the last hopes of reconciliation is bound to have great repercussions among the Communist parties everywhere and condition the entire development of the international revolutionary movement for years, if not decades, to come.

The showdown has been precipitated by the immense pressures exerted upon both Moscow and Peking by the escalation of U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia. The bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in February 1965 was the first armed imperialist assault on a workers state since the Korean war. These attacks confronted the two leading Communist regimes with a direct threat to their own security as well as to the independence and integrity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

## Neither Meet Needs

Neither Moscow nor Peking responded to the military aggression of U.S. imperialism in a manner commensurate with the obligations imposed by the situation. Moscow protested but did not take any serious countermeasures to deter Johnson's escalation of the conflict. It did not even encourage the Communist parties under its influence in the West to conduct sustained mass protest campaigns against U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

For its part Peking has persistently rejected common action with the Soviet Union in defense of Vietnam on the fallacious ground that it was impossible or impermissible to engage in a united front with "revisionists" and "renegades" who were conspiring with Washington to encircle China.

The March 22 open letter of the Chinese Communist Central Committee turning down the invitation to attend the twenty-third congress refers to the "anti-Chinese" letter from the Central Committee of the CPSU, circulated among the leaders of the East European Communist parties, which accuses the Chinese CP of accentuating the split in "the socialist community as well as the world communist movement." The full text of this document, which is generally accepted as authentic, was published in the West German paper, *Die Welt* of Hamburg. The English translation of its main points appeared in the March 24 *New York Times*.

The CCP Central Committee said that the Soviet letter was aimed at instigating other Communist parties to join Moscow in opposing China. It "wantonly vilified the Chinese Communist Party" as being "bellicose" and "pseudo-revolutionary," as "refusing to oppose imperialism" and "encouraging United States imperialist ag-

gression," and as being guilty of "adventurism," "splitism," "Trotskyism," "nationalism," "great power chauvinism," "dogmatism," and so on.

The Peking statement charged the Kremlin with spreading rumors that China "is obstructing aid to Vietnam" and that "China has been encroaching on Soviet territory." "You have even gone so far as to state," the letter said, that "China is not a Socialist country."

## Great Marxist?

The Maoists castigated the Soviet leaders for exposing Stalin's crimes at their twentieth congress. "You suddenly lashed out at Stalin. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. In attacking Stalin, you were attacking Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union, Communist parties, China, the people and all the Marxist-Leninists of the world." Peking sees a grievous fault in one of the few meritorious acts of Stalin's successors.

There is somewhat more validity to their charge that the Kremlin leaders "have all along been acting in coordination with the United States in its plot for peace talks, vainly attempting to sell out the struggle of the Vietnamese people against United States aggression and for national salvation and to drag the Vietnamese question into the orbit of Soviet-United States collaboration."

"You have worked hand in glove with the United States in a whole series of dirty deals inside and outside the United Nations," the letter added. "In close cooperation with the counter-revolutionary 'global strategy' of United States imperialism you are now actively trying to build a ring of encirclement around Socialist China."

The letter ended with a pledge to the Soviet people that "once the Soviet Union meets with imperialist aggression and puts up resolute resistance, China will definitely stand side by side with the Soviet Union and fight against the common enemy."

The first half of the "private" Soviet letter reviews the efforts made by the Soviet leaders over the past year and a half to arrive at an understanding with Peking on joint aid to Vietnam. Khrushchev's successors contend that they have sought to refrain from open polemics against the positions and attacks of Peking and accuse the Chinese leaders of rejecting their overtures and positive steps for resuming cooperation in various spheres.

## Border Conflicts Charged

The second part of the letter deals with China's relations with the world Communist movement. The gravest charges are that China is provoking border conflicts with the Soviet Union and trying to embroil the Soviet Union in a war with the United States.

The document alleges that the Chinese leadership is replacing the course toward socialist revolution "with a course toward a world war."

This accusation is especially perfidious and poisonous since it is the aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialists directed against China through Vietnam which are threatening to engulf Asia and the world in armed conflict.

The Kremlin's attempt to shift responsibility for the danger of world war from Washington, where it really rests, to the People's Republic of China serves to substantiate Peking's contention that the Soviet heads are aligning themselves with the imperialists "to establish a holy alliance against China."

The second part of the letter assails the concepts of world revolution presented in the celebrated article by Lin Piao, deputy chairman of the CCP, published in September, 1965. It interprets these to mean that the whole arsenal of

revolutionary struggle is reduced to the single form of armed revolt and war. This is more than an apology for the multiple roads to socialism, including the gradual, peaceful parliamentary path, advocated by Moscow and practiced by its followers from Paris to New York.

Under the guise of attacking the Chinese leaders for an ultra-left and adventurist policy, it is a thinly veiled polemic against the Cuban line of armed guerrilla struggle in the Latin-American revolution adopted at the recent Tricontinental Conference in Havana.

The Soviet letter alludes to a speech by Kao Kolin, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, on Nov. 11, 1965 which categorically rejects the possibility of cooperation with the Soviet Union while recognizing the possibility of cooperation with "representatives of the upper strata of many nationalist countries" and with part of the "monopoly bourgeoisie." At the same time the letter complains that the CCP leaders "ignore the fact that in a number of former colonies and semicolonial countries, patriotic and revolutionary-democratic forces are in power. It is natural that the Chinese appeals for armed actions against these governments spark protests by the democratic forces."

## Justifies Line

Here again, under the guise of criticizing the extremism of Peking, Moscow is trying to justify its policy of supporting the bourgeois-bureaucratic heads of friendly neocolonialist regimes against the forces and movements striving to lift the national liberation struggle to a higher stage and clear the way for the rule of the popular masses on genuinely socialist foundations.

The letter concludes by pointing out that the Chinese leaders, who are so free in criticizing other Communist parties and countries for their lack of revolutionary spirit, "show an extraordinary caution in their own political deeds, as well as extreme patience toward imperialist powers and their policy, including the policy that is aimed against China itself."

This is a well-aimed shot at the most vulnerable opening in the Chinese armor. It is becoming widely recognized, not only in capitalist circles but among their opponents, that Peking's revolutionism in words has by no means been matched in the field of action, as the caution of its conduct in the Vietnam conflict indicates.

At the same time, this accusation, coming from the Kremlin, is utterly cynical. The Soviet Union is the only power in the world with a nuclear stockpile sufficient to really deter U. S. imperialism. When Khrushchev scrapped the nuclear pact between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China in hope of thereby winning a "peaceful coexistence" deal with Washington, China's military defense was greatly weakened.

It was precisely this weakening of China's defenses that encouraged the Pentagon to plunge into its military adventure in Vietnam and to begin actively considering a military attack against China with the possible use of nuclear weapons. In view of Washington's threat to attack China and the absence of guaranteed military support from the Soviet Union, particularly nuclear support, the caution of the Chinese government is not without justification whatever its exaggeration.

While Peking and Moscow pointed accusing fingers at each other for responsibility in a situation that is seriously weakening both of them in the world relation of forces, Washington has busied itself in scheming how to take further advantage of the deepening



PRIOR TO SPLIT. Chinese leader Chou En-lai with Polish Premier Gomulka prior to rupture in Soviet-bloc countries.

division. The latest exchange of missives between Mao and Brezhnev-Kosygin has led to a new stir of activity among the strategic planners in the Pentagon.

The *New York Times*, which has very good connections in U. S. government circles, indicated this in its March 27 issue:

"For if Russia can indeed be counted out as Communist China's military ally, the question arises: Can American military pressures against north Vietnam and even China be escalated with relative impunity since China alone has neither the air power nor the nuclear resources to take on the United States?"

When the Sino-Soviet dispute first came into the open several years ago, the Mao regime took the offensive against Moscow and for a while made considerable headway in gaining sympathy and support for its views both among the leaderships and the ranks of the Communist parties and the colonial revolutionists. Today, as the split reaches its climax, Peking finds itself on the defensive and more isolated than ever within the Communist world. What accounts for this weakening of its position since neither of the antagonists have changed their fundamental ideas?

First, the serious setbacks to the colonial revolution on three continents, initiated by the military take-over in Brazil in 1964, extending into Africa from Algeria through the Congo to Ghana, and culminating in the anti-Communist blood bath in Indonesia have dealt heavy blows to the prestige and influence of Peking. There are explicit references to this in the Soviet letter.

## Factional Policy

More directly detrimental has been the factional policy Peking has pursued in stubbornly opposing united action in defense of Vietnam. Chairman Mao and his associates propose to persist in this ruinous course. They try to justify it in a March 24 editorial in the official newspaper *Jenmin Jih Pao* with the specious argument that the world's peoples are already supporting one another in "the broadest united front."

This flies in the face of the facts and no amount of bluster and bravado from Peking can conceal them. In reality, the peoples of the world, and especially among the workers states, are sorely divided at a time when the expansion of the war in Vietnam demands the greatest unity. Peking cannot escape its share of the blame for this state of affairs which issues from its sectarian rejection of joint action with Moscow's leadership.

The united front of workers states and parties is rendered necessary in the first place by the existence of deep and unbridgeable political and organizational differences among the forces and movements facing a common enemy. It is designed to achieve unity in action against a mutual danger despite existing differences.

If Moscow is as revisionist and conciliatory toward the imperialists as Peking insists, this should come out and be manifested in the further course of the struggle. The task of exposure will thereby

by facilitated, not hindered, by the creation of a united front. As it now stands, the other Communist governments and parties are being called upon to trust in Peking's words rather than to make up their own minds on the basis of Moscow's actions.

The Soviet leaders boast in their letter that they have sent over half a billion dollars in military aid to north Vietnam and the National Liberation Front this past year. This is not much compared with the \$14 billion additional military appropriation for Vietnam just voted by the U. S. Congress. It has proved far from adequate to protect the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from bomber raids. Peking is less able to provide military matériel than Moscow while its opposition to united action lays it open to accusations of obstructing the transport of Soviet supplies to Vietnam.

## Alienates Allies

The wrongness of the Chinese attitude on this crucial matter is emphasized by the alienation of its closest allies. The Japanese Communist leaders have been vainly pleading with Peking to abandon its intransigence and promote unity in face of the U. S. military operations in Vietnam. Last week they joined with the North Korean Communist leaders in declaring that it was "the first and foremost task" of all Communist parties "to unite broad anti-imperialist forces and concentrate all strength on the struggle against U. S. imperialism" despite "difficulties in realizing this." Instead Peking has increased the difficulties from its side.

Now the governments of north Vietnam and North Korea, which have been Peking's two foremost allies in Asia and in its dispute with Moscow, are sending top-level delegations to the Soviet Communist Party's Congress, despite China's denunciation and boycott of it. The south Vietnamese Communists will also attend.

These steps must be regarded as sharp rebukes to Peking for its divisive stand which intensifies its isolation. At the moment, apart from sympathizers in the ranks of the Communist parties and pro-Moscow groups, Mao is left with no unquestioning supporters but the Albanian government and the New Zealand Communists.

The Kremlin has been exploiting the untenable position of the Mao leadership in respect to Vietnam to the hilt and with much success. The third major point on the agenda of the twenty-third congress will be a report on the situation within the international Communist movement.

The discussion around this question should indicate what steps the Soviet leaders propose to take in the light of the consummation of the split. The March 23 *Le Monde* reports that Soviet CP Secretary Brezhnev has sent personal messages to the first secretaries of the Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Rumanian and Bulgarian parties again insisting on the need for an international conference to discuss coordination of aid for Vietnam but really designed to condemn and further isolate Peking.

## Socialism on Trial

By James P. Cannon

Transcript of testimony in first Smith Act trial

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# Letters From Our Readers

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

## TV Report on N.Y. Parade

New York, N.Y.

The March 26 Vietnam Peace Parade here was so big that the news media found it hard to lie about. The CBS-TV news at 11 p.m. the night of the march, for example, was a pleasant contrast to the usual distorted coverage of antiwar protests.

First, it played down the sensational aspects. An aerial shot gave a good idea of the mammoth size of the march, which the reporter acknowledged lasted for hours. Many shots showed marchers filing by: the veterans, ordinary people, normal-looking students, not the select few beards. One attack on the march was shown but it was passed over and appeared in its true perspective as a secondary incident. Very good was the fact that film shots showed onlookers applauding — something that was much more a part of the occasion than the yelling of pro-war invective.

Second, on the size of the march, CBS-TV reported the estimate of the Parade Committee, 22,000 on the march itself. But they added that "the crowd seemed to swell by the minute" as it approached the Central Park Mall. They reported the Parks Commission estimate that the Mall held 50,000. And with the overflow, CBS stated, estimates were running as high as 75,000 and 100,000. That over a nationwide network is not bad news at all.

Third, the coverage of the rally and speakers was intelligent. They

selected the most significant speaker, Donald Duncan, and ran a film sequence, not of some outlandish or obscure remark, but of his excellent condemnation of red-baiting. It was wrong, he said over nationwide hook-up, for people to stay away from such protests just because "someone like the Trotskyites were also part of it."

The viewers' final impression must have been of a sensible, sane and large-sized demonstration.

What a contrast the *New York Times* coverage was the next morning! It was a model of subtle distortion. The final impression of the *Times* story, by one Douglas Robinson, was that this largest demonstration yet of the anti-Vietnam-war movement was not much of an event. He quoted the police straight out, for example, that there were only some 10,000 at the Mall.

Charles Gardner

## New Weapon

New York, N.Y.

A few days ago a TV network showed a touching program of the human side of our "effort" in Vietnam. Marines were learning a few words of Vietnamese at their base. The TV informed us this linguistic skill would remove the "major barrier of communication between our armed forces and the Vietnamese people."

After some GIs learn a few scraps of Vietnamese they will have to deal with General Ky's problem of communication. Ky and the officials in his "government" all speak fluent Vietnamese, and are still incapable of communicating with the Vietnamese people.

After school was out, the TV showed a group of Marines trying out their knowledge on peasants in the field. One rice farmer seemed annoyed as a Marine medic pestered him with some silly question in broken Vietnamese. Finally the medic, in what the TV saw as "symbolic" of "our role" in Vietnam, daubed a small cut on the farmer's leg — the kind anybody gets from working in the field — with some mercurochrome and applied a band-aid. The TV was ecstatic about how this, multiplied many times over, would or could win the war by winning the people from the "Viet Cong."

It certainly is symbolic. After wrecking the country, murdering thousands upon thousands with artillery, napalm, destroying their crops, the kind invaders will apply an occasional band-aid to a small wound. And they expect the people to love them in gratitude!

Robert Vernon

## Malcolm X Club

Chicago, Ill.

Please let me know how and where I can get copies of *The Militant* for our club, the Malcolm X Memorial Club.

Our organization is young, but growing. We advocate the later teachings Brother Malcolm did.

E.P.

[In Chicago, *The Militant* can be obtained at the Socialist Workers Party Hall at 302 South Canal St., Room 210. They also have available modestly priced tapes of

speeches of Malcolm X and others. Editor.]

## Circulation Booster

Cleveland, Ohio

I am not extending my introductory subscription because I now read my husband's copy of the paper. But I will help enlighten others by sending in a few introductory subs. Best wishes.

M.S.

## The DuBois Clubs

Brooklyn, N.Y.

I want to thank you for printing the truth about the federal government's attack on the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. I know that it was true because I happened to be there; stopping for a light. I saw two policemen hold down a DuBois youth, while three fanatical "patriots" kicked him in the stomach and punched his head. I had seen police brutality in action. The cops didn't defend the club members at all; they just laughed.

I did some research on the DuBois Club that night. I feel that I have sufficient proof to show that the Club is not "a communist-

## Thought for the Week

"Our men over there don't need cheering up, they need praying for. They don't need such entertainment by women with nothing hidden but their thoughts. And don't think that it spurs their love of country. Sex is a stronger motivator than patriotism, and when a fellow's sex desire is stirred up, he becomes less aware of the enemy, which may be lurking nearby." — Comment by Rev. Robert Harrington on returning from Vietnam where he was disturbed by touring "sex-pots" sent to entertain the GI's.

front organization, controlled by the U.S. Communist Party." It was, however, organized with the help of the party, and it was even controlled by the party at its beginning stage. But, as time went on, the DuBois Clubs rejected the party line and reorganized itself as a separate and distinct group. It is at present, not "a communist-front organization"; although it may be a Marxist, or even communist group.

The reason for the punishment is not that they are Marxist, but because the yhave played a small, but significant role in the antiwar movement. For daring to stand up to the "Establishment," they are paying the price of martyrs. This attack on the DuBois Clubs is a direct attack on the en-

tire antiwar movement! To show my support for the struggle of the DuBois Clubs against the federal government, I would like to join my voice to theirs. Can *The Militant* send me the address of the New York Chapter of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, so that I can join their courageous organization.

Please reprint this letter in the next issue of *The Militant* and also send me a personal reply.

Angelo D'Angelo  
Co-Chairman of the Organization of Young Americans Against War

[Mr. D'Angelo should have carried his research one step further. According to the telephone directory, the New York address of the DuBois Clubs is 160 Fifth Ave. Editor.]

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Like in Vietnam** — Marines in Vietnam reportedly often can't tell friend from foe. A Marine reservist in Houston, Texas, had the same experience. During the March 26 protest against the war he saw a young man at a table soliciting blood for the National Liberation Front. He promptly dumped the table over and began working out on the young man. When the dust settled it was established that it was a phony table set up by a supporter of the war to bug the protesters.

**Sure Thing** — With a straight face yet, New York Times military expert Hanson W. Baldwin reported March 27: "The chances of an accidental nuclear explosion are estimated by various authorities as one in millions, or as 'essentially negligible,' or as completely impossible." Meanwhile a U.S. force is still trying to recover the hydrogen bomb wedged between the rocks at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean off of Palomares, Spain.

**Wig Pickers** — The United States has relaxed its ban on the import of wigs containing the hair of Asian humans. The ban was instituted, the AP reported March 23, because of "the impossibility of distinguishing between hair types of different Asian countries." Some wigmakers were taking advantage of this to ship wigs into the U.S. containing Red Chinese hair. But eight nations have now signed a pledge not to do this anymore and so they will be permitted to send other Asian hair into the U.S.

**Only One LBJ** — The White House was reported displeased that a new chrysanthemum has

been named "Lady Bird." The AP reported that "the White House likes to discourage naming anything after Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson." Now, if that mum was called Lyndon Baines . . .

**Could Be** — The New Jersey Supreme Court was asked to overturn the manslaughter conviction of John Roberts, a Negro, because the presiding judge in his case, John Crane, used the word "nigger" during the trial. Commented Chief Justice Joseph Weintraub: "If we disqualified judges on this basis, I don't think we would have any judges."

**Answer to Anti-Smoking Drive?** — The American Tobacco Company and Sunshine Biscuits are planning to merge. Think they'd be fiendish enough to hook the kiddies by slipping nicotine into their crackers?

**Choice Attraction** — We're sure that young men eligible for the draft will want to make a pilgrimage to Washington next year when the Selective Service celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the Selective Service Act of 1917. A special feature will be the displaying of the glass bowl used in World Wars I and II to determine the order in which men would be drafted.

**Insulted** — Adman Fairfax M. Cone has called for a halt to the "constant carping at business practises and business morals and business-for-profit." He said all polls show that most bright college students today don't want any part of business. "They see it," he complained, "as something dishonest and demeaning; filled with false values; filled with hypocrisy, and often hateful." He made his speech in Washington on March 22 as Congress was reported preparing to consider legislation to protect consumers.

**Idiot Box Wears Off** — The TV industry got a big charge from the report from the Bronx Zoo last year that the gorillas were showing a great deal of interest in their new TV set and getting a particular bang out of cowboy and teen-age dance shows. But last week the zoo reported that the gorillas has soon tired of TV fare.

**With a Tiger in the Tank?** — The Rolls Royce is slated to become an all new car. In style it will reportedly be more American than English, resembling a Lincoln Continental. Two features that will not be widely publicized are an automatic transmission and power steering supplied by General Motors.

## 20 Years Ago In The Militant

The hue and cry raised by Truman, Byrnes, and their underlings about the retention of Russian troops in Iran is being used, among other things, to divert attention from the fact that U.S. troops are stationed in almost every part of the world.

The map on page 3 of this paper shows all the places where American troops are located. It can be seen that from these bases which are now maintained in 56 countries, bombers can be dispatched carrying devastating atomic weapons to any corner of the earth . . .

American men are being held in these far-flung outposts of American imperialism despite Washington's earlier promise that they would be demobilized as soon as Germany and Japan were defeated . . .

Soldiers and sailors are being prevented from returning to this country despite the insistent demands of their wives and families that they immediately be brought back home.

They are held there to prop up Wall Street's puppet regimes; to safeguard the investments and interests of American big business; to build a ring of steel around the Soviet Union . . .

The answer of the American people to the ruthless designs of the imperialists should be the one that the GIs themselves have raised repeatedly in letters home and to Congressmen and in their demonstrations against the slow-down in demobilization.

Bring the boys back home! Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil! — April 6, 1946.

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## Right-Wing Gang Fails To Halt Boston Protest

By Phyllis Sawyer

BOSTON — Two thousand antiwar demonstrators, mostly students, marched from the Cambridge Commons to downtown Boston on March 26 led by a group of Afro-Americans whose banner read: "Our Fight is Here, Not in Vietnam. Bring our Black Troops Home Now." Along the march rode a few motor "Cyclists for Peace." The theme of most of the signs was: "Bring the Troops Home Now . . . End the Genocide in Vietnam Now." The march was organized by the Greater Boston Coordinating Committee, composed of radical, peace and student groups.

Very soon, egg-throwing and heckling at the marchers began. Eventually, right-wing high school and college students and hoodlum elements, including some on motorcycles, joined forces to attack demonstrators as they neared their goal, the Arlington Church. As the right-wing group grew larger and more belligerent, the picket captains, serving as defense guards, routed the attacks.

At the church, a mob grown to at least 100, encouraged by police indifference, tried to prevent the antiwar demonstrators from going inside to hold a rally. About fifteen anti-war pickets linked arms as a defense guard and held the attackers back while marchers streamed into the church. Afro-Americans, though a small part of the march itself, played a large and heroic part in this line of defense.

Because of the overflow crowd, nearly 1,000 people were sent to another church. They were attacked at each traffic intersection

## 200 Demonstrate In Kansas City

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — About 200 people demonstrated here against the war at the Federal Building on March 26, a real breakthrough in antiwar activity in Kansas City. There were no antiwar groups active here as late as a month ago.

A rally was held afterwards. Speakers included: Richard Hill, chairman of the Kansas University Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Laird Wilcox, editor of the *Kansas Free Press*; and Pam Smith, of Students for a Democratic Society. The demonstration was sponsored by the CEWV and SDS chapters in the area. "Bring the Troops Home Now" was the most prominent slogan.

along the way, but they, too were able to enter the church and hold their rally. The speakers, Rev. Kenneth Hughes, Willard Uphaus, Noam Chomsky, Felix Greene, John Gerassi, and several foreign students, shuttled back and forth to address both audiences. Most speakers favored immediate withdrawal of troops; Rev. Hughes spoke of the importance of the antiwar movement even though it was only a minority now; and Felix Greene told of the preparations in north Vietnam and China against attack. The foreign students discussed new aggressive moves by the U. S. with regard to their countries and emphasized how much people abroad are encouraged by the growing American antiwar movement.

## March and Rally In Minneapolis Protest War

By Jack Marsh

MINNEAPOLIS — The International Days of Protest here were a great success. On Friday evening, March 25, there was a Bring the Troops Home Now rally attended by about 750 people. On Saturday, in 14 inches of snow, there was a parade of 400 to 450, the biggest of its kind since the labor upsurge of the '30s.

Sponsored by the Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the parade and rally centered around the theme of an immediate halt to the war through withdrawal of U. S. forces. Across the speakers platform at the Unitarian Meeting Building, a 25-foot banner was emblazoned: "Bring the Troops Home Now."

Chairman of the meeting was Don Ekstrom of the antiwar committee. Speakers included University of Minnesota Professor Mulford Q. Sibley; Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist*; Fred Stover, editor of the *U. S. Farm News*; and Larry Seigle, chairman of the MCEWV.

The antiwar march on Saturday made its way throughout the downtown area without incident. The right-wing Young Americans for Freedom organized a sickly-looking counter demonstration of about 30 to 35 people.

The parade concluded with a rally at Pioneer Square across the street from the Post Office. Larry Seigle presided.

## 2 Big Actions in Bay Area Hit U.S. Role in Vietnam

By Hal Verb

BERKELEY — The International Days of Protest began here with a stormy greeting by the student body at the University of California as U. N. Ambassador Goldberg was being introduced in the Greek Theater the afternoon of March 25. Goldberg was there to receive an honorary degree. He faced a sea of picket signs reading: "I Oppose this War!"; "U. S. Get Out of Vietnam [with a cartoon depicting LBJ wearing a green beret]"; "Arthur Goldberg Doctor of War." Most of the signs had been distributed by the Peace/Rights Organizing Committee (PROC).

In San Francisco the demonstration that saw an estimated throng of between 7,000 to 10,000 march from the foot of Market Street to the Civic Center on March 26 was organized and led by the International Days of Protest Peace March Committee made up of various groups of local Vietnam Day Committees. They marched to the Civic Center and held a rally at which speakers assailed U. S. policy in Vietnam.

Huge Audience

Ambassador Goldberg sat impassively at the Greek Theater ceremonies before he delivered his address. A capacity crowd of some 14,000 were on hand to hear him defend administration policy in Vietnam. He said that our objective in Vietnam was "to discourage violence and aggression" and that we did not wish to "establish an American imperialism or American interests" in Vietnam.

But even before Goldberg rose to speak it was obvious that the thousands of protesters present at the Greek Theater were tired of hearing stale versions of the de-



FLUNKED HIM OUT. University of California students at Berkeley at protest demonstration where they declared their opposition to honorary degree for pro-war UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg.

fense of administration policy. In the academic procession that marched to the stage where Goldberg was seated two gowned and tasseled professors slowly marched carrying signs protesting the war. One read: "I Oppose this War" and the other read "U. S. Get Out of Vietnam." Both were loudly applauded.

One of the professors was a British subject and stood to lose his visa status as a result of his protest. In the meantime, students kept up an intermittent chant of "no degree for war" and stood holding signs as a dull monotonous voice began reading the list

of people in the academic procession. After the reverend gave the invocation several students stood up and shouted "pray for peace."

Of far more significance was the reception accorded Goldberg at the Harmon Gymnasium where he agreed to "discuss" Vietnam policy with the Faculty Peace Committee immediately after the honorary degree ceremony. Professor Franz Schurmann, UC professor of history, agreed to "discuss" the issues. The moderator of the "discussion," Professor Reginald Zelnik, went out of his way to point out that the "discussion" was not a debate and urged the packed gym audience (about 7,000 strong) to refrain from any kind of heckling or cheering while the two engaged in their battle. There were few cheers or heckles from the audience in a remarkable display of restraint.

Big Anti-War Vote

Goldberg's moment of truth turned out to be a disaster politically. At the end of the "discussion" Professor Zelnik called for a standing vote of either approval of administration policy or disapproval. Of the 7,000 present less than 100 stood to support the war. The rest of the 7,000 stood in an overwhelming rejection of Goldberg's position. The vote represented a total defeat for the administration and according to one observer who said that he sat in the first row Goldberg became "flushed" when he witnessed the vote. Undoubtedly, the 99 percent roll call had some effect on the government's front man for the Vietnam war.

## Parade and Teach-In Held in Los Angeles

By Gordon Bailey

LOS ANGELES — The International Days of Protest were successfully carried through here, largely by students. On March 25 a marathon teach-in of 12 hours duration was held at the University of California, Los Angeles, and on the 26th some 2,000 opponents of the war in Vietnam staged a parade and rally in Pershing Square.

At its peak there were nearly 2,000 at the teach-in. They heard 23 speakers including Leonard Levy of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, Afro-American

correspondent William Worthy, Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and Dorothy Healy of the Communist Party.

Leonard Levy was particularly well received as the sole labor representative at the teach-in. He scored U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, former Steel Union attorney and a staunch supporter of the war, as a labor leader who had sold out. (See Berkeley story above.)

Fannie Lou Hamer drove home the question: How can we fight for freedom in Vietnam when there is none in Mississippi?

A wide variety of student groups had literature displays at the teach-in. Socialist literature offered by the campus Young Socialist Alliance was very well received.

The parade was an effective one. After circling the local Navy recruiting office the marchers headed for Pershing Square. There the police and park departments sought to discourage the rally by turning on the sprinklers for the grass. The crowd covered the sprinklers with paper and congregated on the wet lawn. Then the cops announced they would break up the meeting if the people didn't get off the grass. The chairman put it up to the crowd and they voted with their soggy feet — they stayed. The cops decided not to challenge the vote and the meeting proceeded.

## Pittsburgh Residents Join Vietnam Protest

PITTSBURGH — The Pittsburgh Committee to End the War in Vietnam in cooperation with Students for a Democratic Society, DuBois Clubs and the University of Pittsburgh Students for Peace had a very successful International Days of Protest.

In all, about 400 to 500 people participated in one or more of the events. On March 23, there was a Sing-in for Peace at the university which drew 200. A poetry reading the following day was attended by 65, and on March 25, 250 joined workshop discussions on the war.

On March 26, 150 people braved a torrential downpour to attend a demonstration and rally at the Federal Building.

## Vietnam War Protest Is Staged in Dayton

DAYTON, Ohio — Eighty-five people demonstrated here on March 26, an impressive figure because the students in the area were largely unable to participate.

The demonstrators marched from Cooper Park five blocks to the Federal Building, and after picketing there, marched back to the park. Many leaflets were distributed advocating immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and there were "Bring the Troops Home Now" signs. There was little or no heckling, in contrast to past demonstrations here.



Photo by Finer

PROVIDED DRAMATIC PUNCH. New York's Bread and Puppet Theater, now a regular feature of major antiwar demonstrations, during parade down Fifth Avenue.