

Halstead Calls for New Effort in Antiwar Fight

THE MILITANT

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Situation After Johnson's Announcement

[Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, issued the following statement on April 2.]

The turn in the political situation resulting from Johnson's announcement that he is not seeking and will not accept renomination presents both opportunities and

dangers for the antiwar movement.

Johnson's statement reflected the serious setbacks Washington's aggression has suffered both in Vietnam and at home. The National Liberation Front's Tet offensive was a sharp military and political blow to Washington and its Saigon puppet regime. It exposed the administration's claims that it had the support of the South Vietnamese people and was winning the war. And it deepened antiwar sentiment in this country.

The antiwar movement began three years ago among a minority of students. Since then it has grown into a powerful movement capable of mobilizing hundreds of thousands in street demonstrations. It now articulates the demands and desires of tens of millions of Americans who want the war ended and the GIs brought home now.

The antiwar movement has been able to challenge the war-makers who run this country. Its mass protests have grown increasingly effective as the demand that the troops be brought home now has become the central slogan of the actions. This has given antiwar mobilizations an independent political nature, the logic of which is to challenge the two-party system. This is the source of the pressure felt by all the capitalist politicians, "dove" as well as "hawk."

The antiwar movement has accomplished something unprecedented. A President of the United States is unable to appear anywhere in the country without facing gigantic demonstrations. Johnson's popularity sank to an all-time low in the weeks before his statement. The Gallup poll of March 30 indicated that only 26 percent of the population supported him on Vietnam.

The crystallization of this anti-Johnson sentiment in such a decisive way is one of the indica-

tions of the strength of the antiwar movement. The movement must keep up the momentum it has developed and press forward to demand that the war be ended immediately by getting out of Vietnam now.

There is a great opportunity for the movement. It also faces a danger.

Johnson has become the symbol of the war, since he is the chief executive carrying it out. But the war in Vietnam is not merely Johnson's war. It is a direct result of cold war policies going back to Kennedy, Eisenhower and Truman.

The war is part of the effort to maintain and extend U.S. imperialist dominion and control throughout the world. Johnson's policy represented one tactical variant in carrying out the strategic objectives of the ruling class, a tactical variant that has drawn increasingly sharp criticism from a sector of the ruling class.

Should antiwar activists now assume that since Johnson has said he will not accept the nomination, the war will quickly end and peace be assured? Will a different capitalist politician in the White House make a real difference?

McCarthy and Kennedy's campaigns are designed to create the illusion that it will make a difference. Their real aims are to corral the antiwar movement back into the Democratic Party. They want to take antiwar sentiment off the streets and put it into the "safe" channels of their political machines, posing as "peace candidates" on the basis of their line on how best to carry out imperialist domination of the world.

Johnson's withdrawal does not change the aggressive intentions of the ruling class by one iota. Every politician in the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties, from McCarthy to Wallace, is

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CONTRASTS. Striking sanitation workers march in Memphis on March 29, day after police attack on peaceful demonstration reported below. National Guard was mobilized to intimidate strikers and supporters in the black community. Strike has become focus of struggle by black community against discrimination and for better conditions. Militant reporter Howard Reed covers background of strike in story on page 4. It is reported that Martin Luther King plans to return to Memphis to lead another march in support of the strikers.

March in Memphis Attacked by Police

By Howard Reed

MEMPHIS, March 28 — Hundreds of black people were injured and one black youth was killed here today when police made a brutal attack on a peaceful march of more than 15,000 people demonstrating in support of striking sanitation workers.

The cops waded into the demonstrators with tear gas, chemical Mace, and with clubs flying. They gunned down at least four people, and shot to death 16-year-old Larry Payne.

I arrived today in Memphis to cover the demonstration for *The Militant*, and at 11 a.m. started walking towards Clayborn Temple, headquarters for the march.

When I was about two blocks away, I saw about 500 black people, mostly youth, standing at the intersection waiting for the march.

All of a sudden, they started running away from the Temple, towards where I was standing, screaming. I started running with them and saw that cops were spraying tear gas at everyone in sight.

Squad cars were zooming down the street at 60 m.p.h., and every intersection had cops with tear gas guns and gas masks patrolling it. Police helicopters were flying around as squads of 30 cops or more would patrol a single corner.

I took an indirect route to Clayborn Temple, and when I got inside, I went to the kitchen in back of the church. Water faucets were going, and I saw long lines of people waiting in line to put water on their eyes because of the tear gas.

Many of them had been beaten and had blood running down their faces. All of sudden, people again started screaming, and we saw that the cops were spraying tear gas into the church.

I then went into the next building, the AME Minimum Salary Department Building, where many of the demonstration leaders were. The first floor of that building had already been tear-gassed by the cops.

From talking with black minis-
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April Days of Protest

Nat'l Roundup On CHOICE 68

The enthusiasm for the CHOICE 68 presidential primary and antiwar referendum to be held on college campuses on April 24 is spreading. About 15-20 new campuses each day are being added to the list of participating schools and universities. On hundreds of campuses debates, literature displays and newspaper articles are reflecting the interest and controversy over the 1968 presidential race.

The *Mac Weekly* (March 29, 1968), student newspaper at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minn., carried a front-page spread entitled, "CHOICE 68—Johnson vs. SWP." A long, favorable article about the Socialist Workers campaign, with pictures of SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Halstead and Boutelle, was printed, along with an article about President Johnson.

The *Daily Californian*, student newspaper at the University of
(Continued on Page 3)

STUDENTS:

Vote!

April 24

STUDENTS:

Strike!

April 26

EVERYONE:

March!

April 27

To Bring the GIs Home Now!

Student Strikes, Mass Marches

NEW YORK — The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee responded to Lyndon Johnson's announcement of a partial bombing halt in Vietnam and his announcement that he is not campaigning for renomination by declaring, "The need for antiwar activity is even greater now."

A committee spokesman said April 1, "Men, women and U.S. and Vietnamese soldiers are still dying in South Vietnam. The bombing continues there. The politicians must continue to be pressured by people marching in the streets so that the war is brought to a complete end."

Dr. Martin Luther King, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin and Dick Gregory will be among the major speakers at the mass antiwar rally in Central Park's Sheep Meadow April 27. The rally will be preceded by simultaneous twin parades down Fifth Avenue and Central Park West, beginning at 95th St.

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THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The longest copper strike in the history of this country is virtually over. Contracts covering three diverse operations in each of the Big Four—Kennecott, Anaconda, American Smelting and Refining and Phelps Dodge—have been approved by the 93-man negotiations team representing the 26 unions in the coalition. However, since local issues have not been settled, the men have not returned to work, except at Phelps Dodge Corporation, the first company to come to an agreement with the unions.

The unions lost both basic demands they had put forward—common expiration dates for all union contracts with each copper producer, and uniform economic gains for the more than 50,000 workers involved.

Each company agreement is covered by three master contracts, with expiration dates varying across a six-month period. Each of the unions in every plant will sign one of the three master contracts after local issues have been resolved. The three divisions cover the copper mining, smelting and refining employees; the scrap-processing workers; and those in the lead and zinc operations.

The American Smelting and Refining Corporation (ASARCO) copper workers will receive the largest wage increases, totaling 55 cents over 39 months; lead and zinc employees' wage increases total 45 cents per hour over 45 months; and the Federated Metal (wire, cable and scrap) wage package will average 40 cents over 42 months.

Fringe-benefit improvements include an increase in company pension contributions to \$5 a month per year of service, and full pension benefits to workers who retire early, at 60, with a minimum of 30 years service.

The terms for the Anaconda settlement have not been revealed, but are reportedly basically the same as for the other three corporations, including a wide spread of expiration dates for the three divisions in their operations.

Both the industry and the union leadership expressed themselves graphically, as quoted by A. H. Raskin in the April 1 issue of the *New York Times*:

"We are not crowing about the way this came out," said an industry spokesman. "We may be eating crow when we have to go through all this again in 1971."

"A ranking union strategist had a more caustic reaction: "This is the only prizefight I ever saw that wound up with both contenders flat on the canvas and the referee lying alongside them."

The White House is also unhappy. The wage increases, they figure, amount to 7 to 8 percent

a year—too high, inflationary, etc., but the fact that the copper corporations are moving (have moved, as a matter of fact) toward a 10 percent increase in the price of the metal, has only resulted in a verbal slap on the wrist by the White House.

The Glass Bottle Blowers Association (AFL-CIO), on strike since Feb. 1 against the glass bottle manufacturing industry, has won a decisive victory.

The victory is the result of the rank-and-file workers' refusal to accept two offers from the Glass Manufacturers Institute, offers which their union president, Lee W. Minton, had recommended for acceptance. Workers in 15 plants east of the Rockies and 16 on the West Coast sang the increasingly popular new union song: "It's not enough! Take it back and get us some more!"

Two features in the new contract make it an important victory: a cost-of-living escalator clause and the breakdown of wage differentials on a geographical basis. During the three-year life of the contract, workers in the South will be brought up to the same wage levels as their Northern brothers.

Wage increase for the first year will be 20 cents per hour; the second- and third-year increases will be 4 percent with a 1 percent cost of living increment each year. Shift differentials will be increased to 12 cents per hour for the second turn, 14 cents for the third.

Pension payments by the company have been increased to \$4 per year of service with early retirement at 62 at the new level.

Minton had additional trouble with his rank and file during the six weeks of this strike. Originally he had ordered a contract extension for the machine-operating skilled workers in the West Coast plants but, when the Feb. 29 deadline of their contract arrived, the skilled workers walked out and production workers honored their picket lines. Minton went to court to enforce his edict and two California courts upheld the extension. Now he has ordered the workers back into the plants.

This is a period of long strikes and more and more rank-and-file refusal to be pushed around by the union bureaucracy. According to the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, more than 1,900 tentative contracts have been rejected, sometimes rather dramatically, by the union memberships involved. For instance, the first paragraph of a March 30 story in the *New York Times*:

"About 100 members of Local 101 of the Transport Workers Union charged onto the stage of the Brooklyn Academy of Music last night and overturned tables, ripped up ballots and broke chairs, to force the postponement of a vote on a new contract between 2,246 union members and the Brooklyn Gas Co. The police were called to restore order . . ."

—Marvel Scholl

Harry Ring Returns From Visit to Cuba

NEW YORK — Harry Ring, staff writer for *The Militant*, has now returned from a three-month stay in Cuba. However, a number of articles he wrote while in Cuba and since his return will appear in coming issues.

In addition to articles about Cuba, we will also feature interviews he obtained with revolutionaries from Peru, Brazil and Venezuela. The article on Venezuela is a lengthy interview with Francisco Prada, Political Secretary of the Venezuelan FLN-FALN.

The Town of Sandino

Results of Cuban Rehabilitation

By Harry Ring

PINAR DEL RIO, Cuba — While at this capital city of the province of Pinar del Rio, I visited a farming community outside the nearby town of Guanes.

Sandino is another of the new rural communities that dot Cuba. Some 3,500 people live in Sandino. They work at two big *granjas* (state farms), the Sandino and the Simon Bolivar. Together the two *granjas* embrace nearly 2,000 caballerias of land. Sandino grows a large amount of blond tobacco for cigarettes. Simon Bolivar has 6,000 heads of cattle. Both raise a variety of other crops and are significant components of the national farm program.

But the special significance of the community of Sandino is that some 70 percent of the people who live there had at one time been convicted of cooperating with counterrevolutionaries.

The majority of them come from the Escambray mountains where in 1962 a significant amount of activity by counterrevolutionary bands had developed and where there had been cooperation with them by local farmers.

Isle of Pines

As the counterrevolutionaries were cleaned out, those farmers who had cooperated with them were sent to the Isle of Pines or other places of detention. Their families were sent to Havana where they were housed in the formerly upper-class Miramar district. There were rehabilitation programs for the families and for those of the imprisoned men who wished to participate in such a program.

Lee Lockwood was the first North American to visit some of these prisoners on the Isle of Pines and described in his book, *Castro's Cuba — Cuba's Fidel*. At Sandino I had the opportunity to talk with some of those who had gone through the rehabilitation program.

They live and work without restriction in Sandino. Reunited with their families they live rent free in modern, well-furnished homes. They work on the two *granjas* for a daily wage of approximately 4.50 pesos. There are a nursery, public school and cafeteria so wives can work too if they wish.

The school goes through the sixth grade. The older children are sent by bus to the school in Guanes but a secondary school is planned for Sandino. There is already a small evening secondary school for adults at Sandino. Soon the town will have a 70-bed hospital.

Free to Travel

The residents are free to travel around the country as any other citizens and can move from Sandino at any time if they so choose. There is no effort to keep them isolated from the rest of the population. On the contrary, many young people are brought there to help with the harvest and for agricultural and teachers' training. Those who will be going to the teachers' school at Minas del Frio, high in the Sierra, to become rural teachers, spend three months at Sandino as part of their preliminary training. Right now there are 1,300 girls from technical schools working there while the boys from their school work on the sugar harvest.

Are any of the people here still opposed to the revolution, I asked. Some still describe themselves as "neutral," I was told, but none are against. And many have been integrated into the revolution.

None of them are yet considered eligible for membership in the Party. For that a person's total political record is the criterion, the local Party secretary said. But they are members of the mass organizations. Of the population of



Jacinto Bosch

3,500, some 1,400 are members of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. Of the women, 693 are members of the Federation of Cuban Women. Approximately 300 of the young people are members of the Union of Communist Youth. They will be eligible for Party membership on the same basis as anyone else.

I talked with Jacinto Bosch. He is 42 and has a wife and four children, ranging in age from 2-8. He comes from the Escambray. There, some ten miles outside the city of Trinidad, he had 1.4 caballerias of land which had been in his family for several generations. He raised coffee and owned 24 head of cattle. He was not a poor man.

Early in 1963, a captured counterrevolutionary testified that Bosch had fed his group and acted as a scout for them. Bosch was arrested and spent 40 days in a municipal jail in the Escambray. Then he was sent to work for 13 months at a special *granja* at Sandino. His wife and the two children he had then were sent to Miramar.

During the last four months of his 13 at Sandino, he worked in the city at Guanes, doing clerical tasks in the offices of one of the government ministries. In the summer of 1964 he was freed, his family was brought from Miramar, and they were installed in their new home at Sandino.

Why had he cooperated with the counterrevolutionaries? It was a result, he explained, of the isolation of the people of the Escambray. He had been a supporter of the revolution from the outset, he insisted. He said he had obtained medicine for some of Che's troops during the war and that after the revolution he had supported the agrarian reform program.

But, he said, when he was confronted by the counterrevolutionaries with their demand for assistance, he felt he had no choice. A neighbor had informed on the counterrevolutionaries and shortly afterward was murdered. The only alternative, he felt, was to leave the area. But because of the isolation, he said, he had no realization that he could leave his piece of land and still be assured of the possibility of a livelihood and support for his family. This, he insisted, was the only reason for the cooperation he gave.

Today Jacinto Bosch is an active revolutionary. About a year ago he became a member of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and several months ago was elected coordinator of four units of the CDR.

He had completed only two grades of school in the Escambray. Now, at Sandino, he has gone through the fifth grade and intends to continue further.

How does his wife feel about things? "She would not go back to the Escambray for any price," he declared.

And himself, did he still feel it important to have his own piece of land? He smiled and replied: "I know now that anyone within the Revolution has no problem of a living. I'm satisfied here."

SOCIALIST FUND

We Need Your Help!

By Evelyn Reed
Fund Director

As Spring 1968 comes upon us, the mood of the American people is far from light and springlike. They are thinking less about the returning birds and flowers blooming in the soft breezes and sunlight than about the wasted lives of the young men fighting in Vietnam who will not return.

They sense with foreboding that the social crisis gripping this country is only beginning. The genocidal war in Vietnam is costing 500 deaths and thousands of wounded each week. Billions of dollars wasted on war are being wrung out of the hides of the working people as higher taxes are in the offing.

Meanwhile the "plight of the cities" remains unrelieved. And among Afro-Americans unemployment keeps rising and living conditions grow ever more intolerable. More bitter and violent confrontations are anticipated in the next long hot summer. The "gold run" demonstrates that even "allied" nations are losing confidence in the value of the almighty dollar.

This mounting disaffection and distrust coincide with the presidential race. The new Democratic contenders, McCarthy and Kennedy, are offering the same false promises about peace abroad and improvements at home that gave Johnson his place in the White House. Neither one of the McKennedys has proposed to withdraw from Vietnam and bring the troops home now.

Fortunately, the emergency of 1968 has produced another result

and a quite different choice. Growing sectors of the American people, especially among the students and black liberation fighters are awakening to the fact that something is fundamentally wrong and rotten with the existing social order. They want more than a change of face in the White House. Today their ears are open and their minds receptive as never before to the message of revolutionary socialism.

In response to this unprecedented opportunity, the Socialist Workers Party has already put two qualified candidates in the field, Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President. For months both have been touring the country, talking on campuses and in cities and appearing on TV and radio stations.

Now national election activities are being stepped up on all sides. The SWP campaigners must keep pace with this quickened tempo and reach many more voters seeking a real alternative to capitalist misrule.

The Socialist Workers Party has launched a three-month fund drive of \$26,000, starting March 15 and concluding June 15. This spring and summer of discontent, this year of social unrest, political awareness and intellectual inquiry, is the most favorable time to acquaint people with the ideas and proposals of socialism.

We appeal to all *Militant* readers to help us with this important job. Simply clip the coupon on page 3 and send it to us along with your donation.

NBAWADU Plans N.Y. Conference April 12-14

NEW YORK — A national conference sponsored by the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU) is planned for April 12-14 in New York.

The conference agenda includes a keynote speech by Stokely Carmichael and workshops on such topics as the draft, black GIs in Vietnam and at home, the war and the black community, and high school students.

All black people interested in ending the war and the draft are urged to attend to plan future anti-war activities. For further information contact Gwen Patton, 17 East 17th Street, N.Y.C. (255-1075) or John Wilson, 100 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. (YU 9-1313).

A TALK WITH HOWARD PETRICK

GIs' Attitude to War

By Elizabeth Barnes

Pfc. Howard Petrick was recently given an "undesirable" discharge by the Army brass, after a successful year-long fight against threats to court-martial him for discussing his antiwar and socialist views with other GIs. Petrick believes he was discharged at this time because Army authorities didn't want him speaking out against the Vietnam war when opposition to the war is increasing rapidly in the Army.

A few days after he was discharged, Petrick spent several hours with me, discussing the nature of this rising sentiment against the war among GIs. He said that it has increased noticeably since the Tet offensive, and that while the overwhelming majority of GIs are against the war, those most against it are GIs just back from Vietnam.

There is one thing the soldiers returning from Vietnam are certain of, Petrick says, "and that's the U.S. doesn't give a damn about the Vietnamese people."

He told me that Vietnam veterans in his battalion were not in the least surprised by the success of the National Liberation Front's Tet offensive. "What did they expect?" one GI commented. "Saigon wasn't secure six months ago when I was there."

Petrick explained that up until recently, the general attitude of GIs was, "I'm against the war, but there's no use talking about it to anyone, no use in doing anything about it."

But this attitude is changing. Petrick mentioned the pray-in at Ft. Jackson and the black GIs who passed out literature at Ft. Sam Houston as examples of how GIs are finding ways to express their true feelings. "It is getting harder for the government to hide the fact that many GIs are against the war," he said.

"A lot of times when guys were against the war or were totally



Photo by Hermes

AT NEW YORK PRESS CONFERENCE. From right to left: Sylvia Crane, Clark Foreman, Pfc. Howard Petrick, Linda Morse and Gwen Patton. At left is Caroline Lund, secretary of the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick. (See story, page 8)

alienated from Army life, they would start taking individual acts, like they would go AWOL. But of course, all this would mean was that they would get an Article 15 when they got back." [An Article 15 is a nonjudicial administrative punishment which does not involve a court-martial.]

Petrick said that the antiwar movement can play the role of "giving guys a much broader perspective on the war and the Army. It can bring the facts about the war to the GIs, and defend the rights of GIs to discuss the war, form opinions about it, and make those opinions known."

"If one GI discusses the war," he continued, "or puts some antiwar literature up on a bulletin board, other GIs become interested because the majority of them are against the war. It works very effectively. It has a snowballing effect."

Petrick said he had many discussions with other GIs concerning the indoctrination on the war given by the Army. "Such indoctrination often has a boomerang effect, especially the new film the Army is showing which equates Ho Chi Minh with Hitler and the NLF with fascism. It's easy to show they aren't the same."

In basic training, Petrick explained, GIs were actually told that Communists go into countries and try to stir up guerrilla movements by giving the children candy. The children then supposedly prod their parents into joining the Communist cause. "That night, after the indoctrination session, there was probably the most fruitful discussion we ever had. The GI's just didn't believe it."

He added, "It was the same with the riot control classes they started last summer. Can you imagine a black GI sitting in a class while they're talking about riot control? Just a few weeks before I got out I overheard a black GI telling his company commander that he was glad he was getting in on the riot control classes because 'now we'll know what you are going to use against us.' It is not uncommon to hear black GIs tell off the officers in this way. Black GIs are beginning to express more openly how they feel."

I asked him what effect this had on the white GIs and Petrick replied that racism is very deep among the white GIs, "even the ones that are against the war." He said the militancy and growing black nationalism of the black GIs helped to bring the racism of the white soldiers more to the surface.

"But," he added, "it is a complicated thing. The new militancy among blacks is also causing white GIs to have more respect for black people, and in this sense it is decreasing their racism."

He said that the same thing is happening in regard to the Vietnamese. "The war brings out a

lot of the basic racist feelings of the GIs towards the Vietnamese," he said, "but at the same time they are learning to respect the Vietnamese because of the way they are fighting."

GIs returning from Vietnam, he said, will admit that the Vietnamese "have something we don't have" because they are willing to go out there and fight. "But they don't understand yet what it is that makes these people fight the way they are fighting. And this is something that the antiwar movement should try to do—explain why the Vietnamese are fighting so heroically, explain the facts about the war to the GIs."

Petrick said that the antiwar movement has had an impact on GIs. "I've known a lot of GIs who have told me they want to get involved in the antiwar movement once they get out of the Army." However, he said, actions against the draft are generally misunderstood by GIs.

"I've sat and listened to GIs after they've seen a demonstration against the draft on television, and they'll sit there and criticize it. Yet these same GIs are against the war. This can be overcome, I think, by making sure that anti-draft actions are presented as part of the fight against the war. Anti-draft demonstrators should make it clear that they are sympathetic to the plight of GIs, that they want the GIs released from the armed forces, and they want the GIs brought back from Vietnam."

When I asked how the GIs reacted to Petrick's being a socialist, he said that one thing which surprised him was the lack of "anti-communism" among GIs. "I've had almost no redbaiting at all," he said. "I expected it when I went back to Ft. Hood after they investigated me, but instead the reaction was just the opposite. The GIs stood behind me. Guys would come up and say, 'I know a good lawyer,' and things like this. Or someone would say, 'I know someone who's in the SDS,' or 'I have a friend who's in the Berkeley antiwar movement. Let me write them and tell them about you.'"

One of the most valuable lessons Petrick said he learned from the threatened court-martial was that GIs are most ready to support someone who seems to know what he is doing. "The thing that impressed them the most was the fact that I haven't been court-martialed, that I haven't been given an Article 15 for anything else, and that there is a defense committee backing me up."

"One thing that happened was that people would come to me for help when they were threatened with an Article 15 because they thought I knew how to interpret the regulations. And so I would go with them and get the regulations, and read through them and try to help them to know what to do, and this built up support."

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Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD

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...CHOICE 68 Roundup

(Continued from Page 1)

California at Berkeley, is carrying a series of articles on CHOICE 68 and the various presidential candidates.

At Alfred University in Alfred, N.Y., the campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society is organizing an "antiwar turn-out vote" for April 24.

At the University of Indiana in Bloomington, the *Spectator*, an underground magazine, reprinted the CHOICE 68 ballot with X's marked for support to Fred Halstead, immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, permanent cessation of bombing, and a write-in for black control of black communities. The same issue (March 18) carries an interview with Fred Halstead obtained when he was in Bloomington in February, an article entitled the "Freedom and Pieces Party" which, despite its title, is favorable to the Peace and Freedom formations, and an article supporting the McCarthy campaign. There is a prominent ad for a meeting sponsored by the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.

When Paul Boutelle was in Wisconsin during the last week of March, thousands of students were campaigning for McCarthy. Boutelle, however, had successful meetings both at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where 485 turned out to hear him, and at Wisconsin State University in Whitewater, where he spoke to a meeting of 200 sponsored by SDS. Before Boutelle arrived on campus, a group of faculty members, Citizens for the Halstead and Boutelle Ticket, sponsored an ad in the Whitewater student paper, the *Royal Purple*. A number of responses have come into the national campaign committee as a result of this ad.

In Milwaukee the executive committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Youth Council unanimously endorsed the SWP campaign.

Fred Halstead wound up a series of meetings in Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina last week. At the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, he received the red carpet treatment

from the university administration and his meeting was sponsored by the CHOICE 68 group on campus. At the University of South Carolina in Columbia, several GIs showed up for his meeting.

The largest meeting was held at Georgia State U. in Atlanta, where 100-200 people attended. At a reception in Atlanta one girl told Halstead that he had changed her mind on the electoral situation. She said: "I was going to go 'clean for Gene' but after hearing you, I know that Democratic Party stuff is a trap so I'm putting my sandals and old jeans back on and campaigning for you."

In a recent press release issued by the CHOICE 68 national office and sent to all their campus coordinators, a one-page profile of Fred Halstead is included along with the address of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee. The release features Halstead's plans to go to Vietnam and Japan this summer and includes his positions on the CHOICE 68 referenda.

Three new pieces of literature have just been published by the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee. The first is a 16-page booklet entitled: *The Truth About the McCarthy Campaign*. It sells for 25 cents for single copies and can be ordered in bulk for 15 cents a copy.

The second new item is a Spanish version of the campaign platform brochure. It is printed in a colorful red and is available at the rate of \$1.50 per hundred. Single copies are free.

In addition a printed throw-away leaflet, listing endorsers of the Socialist Workers ticket from over 200 schools, is available at the rate of \$5.50 per 1,000.

All of these items can be obtained by writing to: Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

The Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle group at the University of Illinois in Champaign is planning to fly a weather balloon bearing campaign slogans over the campus during a campus-wide "love-in." They are also planning to make kites out of campaign posters, to be flown on that day.

In addition this ambitious group is considering the possibility of producing and selling Halstead-Boutelle sweatshirts.

—Doug Jenness

State Dept. Decides Against Ban on Travel

The U.S. State Department was forced, in effect, to abandon its unconstitutional prohibition on travel to "off-limits" countries March 27 in the face of a series of unfavorable court decisions and a growing number of people traveling to Cuba and other banned countries to see for themselves.

Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, and China will still be designated "off limits" but the witch-hunters will no longer be able to revoke the passports of people who go there, and there are no legal penalties for violating the present "ban." The State Department still insists that travelers not use their passports to enter such countries, but if the countries will admit the travelers without passports, there is no longer any penalty.

Passports revoked for previous "illegal" travel will now be re-issued if the holder promises not to take the passport into a restricted country.

**Malcolm X
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His Ideas**

By
George Breitman

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Began with Sanitation Strike

Memphis Community in Struggle

By Howard Reed

MEMPHIS — The fight of the Memphis sanitation workers for union recognition has become the focus of the struggle by the entire black community here for decent living conditions, jobs, schools and employment.

According to a recent survey made by the Memphis NAACP, as of June 30, 1967, in a city where black people are 40 percent of the population, they are employed in only 8 percent of city-controlled jobs, except those that are traditionally open to blacks—menial jobs that whites do not want.

There are 34 city departments with what are called "customary white jobs," 14 of which have no black people and 23 of which have fewer than three Afro-Americans. No black person is employed as a department head.

Sanitation work is one of the lowest paying and most dangerous jobs in the city. On Feb. 1, 1968, 11 days before the strike started, two men were killed as a result of faulty equipment.

The strike originated over a dispute that took place on Jan. 31. Twenty-two black employees of the Memphis Department of Public Works who reported for work Jan. 31 were sent home because it was raining. White employees were not sent home and, after an hour,

when it stopped raining, the whites were put to work for the rest of the day.

When the black workers complained, they were given two hours "call-up pay," and the white workers were paid for the complete day. Immediately after this happened, Local 1733, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO (AFSCME), which is all black, called a meeting attended by more than 700 sanitation workers and voted to strike. The city refused to negotiate with them, and on Feb. 12 the strike was on.

The black community in Memphis regarded the strike as part of their general struggle from the start. According to a poll in the *Tri-State Defender*, Feb. 24, 98 percent in the black community felt that Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb was acting in a racist manner, 88 percent said that the issue of the sanitation workers was a racial one, and 93 percent felt that Loeb's charge that the strike was illegal was a means of avoiding the real issues.

On Feb. 13, the strikers had their first meeting with Loeb. They made the following demands: union recognition and a written contract with the city, effective grievance procedures, dues check-off, merit promotion without re-

gard to race, equal treatment in the retirement system, payment of overtime, and increased wages. The average wage is presently \$1.70 an hour, and the men are asking for an average of \$2.35 an hour.

On Feb. 16, the Memphis NAACP threatened massive demonstrations unless the city met the demands of the strikers. Also at that time, a group of Negro ministers, headed by the Reverend James Lawson, became interested in the strike and began acting as mediators between the union and the city. After several meetings produced no progress, the ministers openly and strongly supported the strikers.

On Thursday, Feb. 22, the City Council's Subcommittee on Public Workers held a public hearing at 10 a.m. About 100 people, including union officials, ministers and union sympathizers, were present. It became immediately obvious that the hearing would produce no results, so union leaders called the Rubber Workers' hall, where a meeting of strikers was to begin.

Shortly, 700 sanitation workers crowded into the City Council's chamber, and said they would remain there until they were heard. When this happened, 140 cops converged on city hall. They remained parked within a block, five to a car, with car motors running. Finally, at 5:30 p.m. the committee agreed to recommend a resolution supporting dues checkoff to a special meeting of the City Council the next day.

By this time, the entire black community was actively supporting the strikers. In addition to the daily strike meetings, the Negro ministers had formed an organization called COME (Community on the Move for Equality). The immediate purpose of COME was to aid the strikers, but it made clear that after the strike it would work on other problems of the black community, such as housing, jobs and income.

For the Feb. 23 City Council meeting, COME mobilized 2,000 people. The meeting had to be moved to a municipal auditorium. At the auditorium, the resolution of the City Council subcommittee calling for dues checkoff was not considered, and a substitute resolution—which recommended concessions to the union on all demands except the vital ones of union recognition, a written contract and dues checkoff—was passed 9-4. The three black city councilmen voted against it, as



Photo by Continental Photographers

WOUNDED BY COPS. Striker being cared for after police broke up Feb. 23 demonstration.

did a white councilman (who thought too many concessions had been made).

After passage of the resolution, the meeting was adjourned, 15 minutes after it started. The spectators were aroused to fury. T. O. Jones, president of Local 1733 said, according to the *Memphis Press Scimitar*, "We are ready to go to their damn jail."

Dr. Vascoe A. Smith, Jr., Memphis dentist and NAACP leader, was quoted in the press as saying, "Don't let them hoodwink you. You are living in a racist town. They don't give a damn about you."

A march down Main Street was quickly organized, and an understanding was reached with the police that the marchers would stay on the west side of the street. However, after they had been marching a few blocks, police cars began crowding the marchers towards the curb. Then the cops made a vicious attack on the marchers with clubs and the chemical Mace.

One squad car ran over the foot of a marcher, Gladys Carpenter, and then stopped, right on her foot.

P. J. Ciampa, white field director of AFSCME, was sprayed with tear gas and Mace repeatedly. One 72-year-old man, O. B. Hicks, was sprayed with Mace until he toppled to the ground. Jacques Wilmore, regional director of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, pleaded with cops to stop beating Hicks.

The cops then sprayed Wilmore with Mace, even after he showed cops his federal identification card. Meanwhile Hicks was rushed to a hospital, treated, released and then arrested on charges of disorderly conduct, assault and battery, and night-riding.

White reporters were given police protection to cover the march, but the reporter-photographer team of one black paper, the *Tri-State Defender*, was attacked and sprayed with Mace by cops.

These events immediately provoked a strong response from the black community and the organized labor movement. On Feb. 25, the black ministers called from their pulpits for a boycott of all downtown stores, the two white daily newspapers (which had consistently given a racist account of the strike) and every business operating under the name "Loeb." (The mayor's brother owns a chain of barbecue and fried chicken restaurants, and a chain of laundry stores.) The boycott has been about 40 percent effective.

The 35,000-member Memphis AFL-CIO and the 103,000-member Tennessee AFL-CIO also endorsed the strike at this time. The Seafarers International Union, AFL-CIO, pledged \$1,000 a week for the strikers until the end, and donations were received from locals of the UAW, Rubber Workers, the Furniture Workers, and AFSCME locals across the country. AFSCME New York District Council 37 raised close to \$10,000.

Meanwhile, on Feb. 24, the city served an injunction against the strikers, preventing them from

"engaging in a strike against the city, causing, authorizing, or inducing employees to strike against the city, picketing city property and coercing the city by striking, picketing, or other means to recognize the union as bargaining agent." Twenty-three persons were cited for contempt, and seven were convicted: Jerry Wurf, international president of AFSCME; P. J. Ciampa, field staff director of AFSCME; Bill Lucy, assistant director of legislative affairs, AFSCME; Joe Paisley, international organizer AFSCME; Jessie Epps, international organizer AFSCME; T. O. Jones, president of the Sanitation Local; and Nelson Jones, another leader in the local.

Daily demonstrations continued, and on March 2, 500 high school and college students picketed downtown stores all day.

The strikers also were attacked by the state legislature, which on Feb. 26 voted to impose a five-year prison sentence for persons "disrupting public communication with police and fire departments." (There had been talk of tying up police and fire department telephone lines.)

Two other bills which did not pass would have outlawed strikes against police, fire and sanitation departments, and prohibited union dues checkoff from government paychecks. These two bills were defeated only because 600 state AFL-CIO officials, meeting in Nashville at the time, all descended on the legislature. Matt Lynch, president of the State Labor Council, said that the bills were opposed by all elements of organized labor.

On March 4, 500 white trade unionists marched with the strikers; the same month, the Catholic Council on Human Relations donated \$1,000 to the strikers.

On Monday, March 18, Dr. Martin Luther King addressed 12,000 at Mason Temple and said that a day must be set aside for a general work stoppage in support of the sanitation men. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute also addressed the strikers during the week.

During all this time, the strikers have remained solid. Morale is high, and a thousand strikers attend daily meetings at the Rubber Workers headquarters. Fewer than 100 strikers have returned, and attempts to hire scabs have resulted in fewer than 300 new additions to the force. Over the duration of the strike, less than 70 of the 190 trucks have been on duty.

The March 28 demonstration showed again that the entire black community supports the strikers. King plans to return to Memphis, and the black community as well as the organized labor movement in Memphis is considering stronger action to back the strikers, including an all-out work stoppage.

Contributions can be sent to the strikers. Checks should be made out to C.O.M.E. and addressed to the Clayborn Temple A.M.E. Church, 280 Hernando, Memphis, Tenn. 38126.

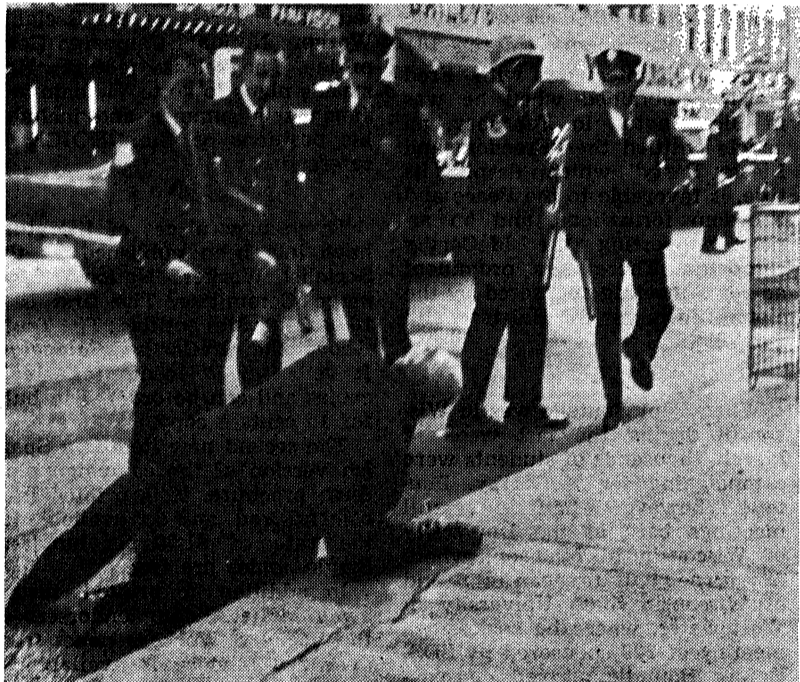


Photo by Continental Photographers

UNION LEADER MACED. Cops used chemical Mace on AFSCME field director P. J. Ciampa (on ground) during Feb. 23 demonstration.

...Cops Attack Marchers

(Continued from Page 1)

ters, a black photographer from the *Tri-State Defender* (a black weekly in Memphis) and demonstrators, I pieced together the following account.

There had been a police attack that morning, before the demonstration had even begun. At Hamilton High School, large numbers of black students left school to join the demonstration, and cops entered the school grounds to prevent them from doing so. They started to club students, and one girl was sent to the hospital. There are also reports of cops shooting tear gas and Mace at high school students.

Dr. Martin Luther King had come to Memphis at 11 that morning to lead the massive demonstration in support of the 1,300 striking sanitation workers, almost all of whom are black. This demonstration had the support of the entire black community, and at least 10,000 black students left school to participate in the march.

Soon after the march started, a shoe store window was broken by a single youth. This happened on Beale Street, one block from Main

Street, down which the marchers were planning to walk to city hall. When this occurred, the cops made an initial charge on the demonstrators, clubs swinging. A few more windows were broken as the cops attacked, and some looting occurred.

Then the cops attacked the entire demonstration, in spite of the fact that the ministers leading it had already turned it around to go back to the church.

Cops were swinging their clubs at any black person. I saw cops knock down and beat a crippled man who was just standing on the sidewalk watching.

Fred Davis, a black city councilman, was among those attacked by the police. He was with the marchers downtown when the violence started and was punched in the side by an officer's nightstick. He told them he was a city councilman; a sheriff's deputy replied, "Well, Goddammit, move on." They raised their sticks, and almost hit him again.

Mrs. Lizzie Payne, mother of Larry Payne, the 16-year-old black youth who was shot to death by the cops, charged that her son

"was murdered in cold blood."

The cops say that Larry Payne "attacked" them with a knife, and that's why they gunned him down. The true story, as reported by eyewitnesses, refutes the police version.

Mrs. Payne says her son had the day off from school to participate in the march. He arrived home shortly before noon, saying he had left the march when the police attack began. Then he went to buy soda at a neighborhood store. According to a black newspaper photographer, who spoke to many eyewitnesses, the youth was stopped by cops. Frightened, he ran into a cellar.

The cops told him they would shoot him if he didn't come out. He came out with his hands up and surrendered to the police, who then shot and killed him.

After police suppressed the demonstration, Mayor Henry Loeb called 4,000 national guardsmen and 250 state highway patrolmen into Memphis. A 7 p.m. curfew was imposed. About 8,000 additional guardsmen were stationed in armories just outside Memphis, on immediate call.

Vietnam War Protest Increases in Japan

Opposition continues to deepen in Japan to any further escalation of involvement in Washington's aggression in Vietnam. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported March 28 that "An edgy mood of apprehension about the Vietnam war seems to be growing among the Japanese people at large . . .

"Ever since the Tet offensive, the unsettling feeling has prevailed that something is radically wrong, that the United States may resort to nuclear weapons . . ."

A number of clashes have taken place in recent months between the antiwar movement and the growing U.S. military presence in Japan. The major incidents have been the visit to Japan of the Vietnam-bound nuclear carrier *Enterprise* in January, the moving of B-52 bombers to Okinawa, the plans for building an airport at Narita that will handle American military flights, and the recent opening of a U.S. army hospital in Kita Ward of Tokyo to treat Vietnam casualties.

The Socialist, Komeito, and Communist parties announced, March 8 that they would submit a "B-52 withdrawal resolution" to the Diet in Tokyo.

The same night students clashed with police in front of the U.S. "field hospital." The *Japan Times* reported March 10:

"Riot police, 2,000 strong, battled with 1,200 rock-hurling Zengakuren demonstrators around a newly built U.S. Army field hospital at Oji, Tokyo, and arrested 157 of them . . . at least 72 police officers and 24 students were injured in the clashes which continued for more than five hours."

The *Japan Times* said that unionists and onlookers cheered the students. "Unionist demonstrators, about 1,000 in all, meanwhile, staged a street rally near the hospital's main gate, shouting protests that the hospital's treatment of American soldiers wounded in Vietnam would mean Japan's direct involvement in the war."

The students, organized by the militant Sampa Rengo (Three Faction Alliance) of the Zengakuren, staged an even bigger demonstration March 10 at Narita, in Chiba Prefecture, the site of the proposed new Tokyo International Airport. A similar protest took place February 26.

This time police carried out semi-military preparations for the demonstration. Barbed-wire fences were strung around the airport site, around Narita City Hall, and at the office of the Tokyo International Airport Corp. Bus companies were "asked" by police to refuse to charter buses to student groups, checkpoints were established throughout the city to arrest students entering the city with poles or sticks. More than 4,700 police were mobilized.

The demonstration began with a rally of more than 3,000 students, unionists and farmers at the Narita Municipal Baseball Stadium.

About 1,300 of the students later tried to break through the barbed wire surrounding the airport site. The *Asahi Evening News* reported March 11 that the police attacked "with teargas bombs . . . and then used hoses to pour water containing teargas on the students." According to this account, "the farmers supplied the students with rocks" in their fight with the police. More than 477 were injured, including 277 police, and 198 students were arrested. *Asahi* said that "Police had explained their policy to Narita citizens last Thursday. During the clashes Sunday, they called for their cooperation but there was no response."

The *Japan Times* added March 12 that "Ichiro Tomura, chairman of the Sanrizuka-Shibayama Farmers' League opposing the construction of the airport, said . . . [from a hospital after the police attack] the league would continue its joint struggles with Zengakuren students. He said Sunday's rally with Zengakuren in Narita City was a 'big victory.'"

... Antiwar Effort

(Continued from Page 1)

out to defend and promote the interests of the ruling class. They differ only on tactics and what they think they can get away with. In Vietnam they all want to crush the revolution, if they can, or at least to weaken it as much as possible. That's why the whole bunch, from McCarthy on down, are against bringing the troops home now and letting the Vietnamese people determine their own fate.

McCarthy and Kennedy immediately hailed Johnson's phony "peace" offer of stopping the bombing in some parts of North Vietnam. And Kennedy even indicated he was ready to bury the hatchet. Kennedy and Johnson are getting together to discuss "national unity," by which they mean attempting to unite the people behind the aggressive schemes and designs of the ruling class.

McCarthy said "me, too." He praised Johnson, asserting Johnson deserved the honor, respect and approval of the nation. "He left no doubt about his commitment to peace," McCarthy said.

But if Johnson or McCarthy or Kennedy or Nixon or any of that gang of deceitful capitalist politicians were really interested in

peace, he would get behind the demand that all bombing be permanently halted and the war be ended right here and now by bringing the GIs home immediately.

Johnson hopes to shift public sentiment against the Vietnamese people through his phony "peace offer." Just what did this "offer" consist of? Johnson repeated the lie that North Vietnamese "aggression" was the cause of the war. He repeated the lie that U.S. troops were there to resist such aggression. What he really meant was that he intends to prevent the victory of the revolution in Vietnam and preserve a puppet regime in Saigon, if he can get away with it. His "bombing halt" is a fraud. It is clearly intended only as blackmail against North Vietnam. The bombing and killing continue. More troops are being sent. Some 60,000 reservists in this country face call-up.

McCarthy and Kennedy are hailing this phony gambit. But the antiwar movement can effectively counter all of Johnson's machinations. It can counter all of McCarthy's and Kennedy's schemes to get the antiwar activists off the streets and keep them corralled in the two-party system. The antiwar movement can do this by continuing to build massive street demonstrations, by continuing to demand that the bombing be halted unconditionally and completely and permanently, and that the troops be brought home now.

At this time, the most important task facing the antiwar movement is to build the April Days of Protest into powerful demonstrations against the war.

Major Party Candidates

Birds of a Feather

By Dick Roberts

APRIL 2 — Will President Johnson's announcement that he is not campaigning for renomination ultimately bring peace to Vietnam?

That is what presidential aspirants McCarthy and Kennedy implied the morning after Johnson's TV address, when they applauded it as "the first step" toward peace. Neither offered any criticism.

But the truth of the matter is that Johnson, Kennedy, McCarthy and all the capitalist politicians agree on central policy. What they have been arguing about is the most favorable tactic for continuing imperialist aggression, and not only in Vietnam but throughout the world.

Disagreement developed as further prosecution of the war in Vietnam threatened to undercut Washington's aggressive policies elsewhere in the world. And as long as the imperialists continue to press the war with victory remaining out of sight and popular opposition mounting by leaps and bounds, it is certain these disagreements will become sharper.

This can be seen by placing the Vietnam war in the context of U.S. imperialist aims in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Secretary of State Rusk has often argued that the war springs from Washington's "commitments" under the SEATO pact. What does he really mean by this?

Following the second world war and the loss of China from the

ample. In his 20-year career in Congress, McCarthy has never opposed the objectives of U.S. imperialism. In 1955, for instance, he

movement with a fundamentally anticapitalist momentum?

A giant escalation of U.S. troop strength in Vietnam threatened to weaken the global reserves of imperialist police forces. It threatened to drive deep divisions and doubts into the American electorate about the administration in Washington. It threatened to erode political and economic alliances with other capitalist powers. It threatened the stability of the two-party system.

Robert Kennedy's record is like McCarthy's. On March 2, 1967, he rose in the U.S. Senate and announced some disagreements with Johnson's policies; his subsequent positions do not differ from this first major policy statement. The fifth and sixth sentences of the speech read:

Wants to Keep GIs There

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

At that time as today, Kennedy merely advocated that more emphasis be put on "peace" maneuvers rather than "bombing" pressure to bring Hanoi to the negotiating table and bend her to Washington's will. In the same 1967 policy statement, Kennedy declared:

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

That hardly comes under the category of bringing peace to Vietnam. It suggests blackmailing Hanoi into making some deal to allow the U.S. to stay in Vietnam.

Same Position

On this point, McCarthy essentially holds the same position. In the current (April) issue of *Glamour* magazine, McCarthy talks about "de-escalation." His first two proposals are "Stop the bombing and seek negotiation. Halt the escalation and freeze the troop strength." Nowhere in the article does McCarthy suggest U.S. withdrawal from South Vietnam.

As long as struggles against imperialist oppression and aggression continue, the proposals of the capitalist politicians will always boil down to the same thing — more war.



Nixon

voted for the resolution authorizing Eisenhower to use U.S. forces to "protect" Formosa and the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

But Formosa itself was set up to provide a launching ground for the attack on China. The 1955 Quemoy-Matsu incident could easily have been turned into another major conflagration.

McCarthy has voted for every single appropriation bill to finance the invasion of Vietnam. He voted for the Tonkin Bay resolution authorizing Johnson to take any steps he wanted to escalate the war.

Tricky Dick

In the Republican camp, Richard Nixon has spent his political career helping along the anticommunist mythology which has been used to "justify" imperialist aggression. His main plank in the 1968 campaign is to carry on Johnson's policies but do it better than Johnson.

The disagreement that did arise in U.S. ruling circles over Vietnam, and which is reflected in McCarthy's and Kennedy's present stand on the war, was not over imperialism's "right" to be in Vietnam. They agreed on this from the outset and still agree on it.

The dispute centers on several related issues: Can Washington actually crush the National Liberation Front — as Westmoreland had promised — without overextending itself militarily? Without undermining the domestic and international economy? Without stirring up a massive antiwar



Kennedy

world capitalist market, Washington undertook to "contain and roll back" the Chinese revolution. Giant U.S. bases were constructed around China's borders and throughout the Pacific.

As early as 1950, one year after the victory of the revolution in China, the American troops in Korea were poised at the Yalu border. But these troops were halted and driven back, temporarily defeating Washington's military aggression.

In Vietnam, Washington sought to take over as the French imperialists were driven out. By 1954, Eisenhower was underwriting the Dai-Diem dictatorship in South Vietnam. The SEATO treaty "committed" that regime to grant U.S. bases.

But the establishment of artificial borders and imperialist troops and military dictatorships to maintain them do not guarantee peace. They guarantee just the opposite. The Vietnamese peasants began to put together a guerrilla army to end the Diem regime. Kennedy sent military "advisers" to help Diem.

The war today is the logical extension of this long, heroic and just struggle for freedom.

None of the presidential aspirants who are contending in the Democratic and Republican parties disagree with the overall aims of U.S. imperialism involved in the Vietnam war. They support and defend these aims.

Eugene McCarthy is a good ex-

'New' Coalition Formed Somewhere in Illinois

CHICAGO—An "invitation only" conference of one sector of the antiwar movement was held near here on March 23 and 24. The conference, ostensibly called to discuss possible antiwar demonstrations at the Democratic Party convention, took no action on that matter. The meeting instead established what it called a new "peace and freedom" coalition.

Organized by Dave Dellinger of *Liberation* magazine and Rennie Davis, a former leader of Students for a Democratic Society, the secret confab sought to chart a course of action in the election year. Assuming that mass antiwar action is "ineffective," the participants also avoided discussion of the general political situation and of the candidates and parties in the elections.

The bulk of the participants were SDS members or former members.

The conference agreed to a catch-all program, to "generate massive popular support against the war, the draft, imperialism, racism, repression, poverty and unrepresentative government." No action was projected, except for unspecified electoral activity "on behalf" of the above causes.

In its preparations and proceedings, the conference marked a step away from the antiwar movement. Contrary to the tradition of the antiwar movement of inviting everyone opposed to the war to join in planning meetings, some sectors of the movement were not present. The April Days of Protest were never mentioned.

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

Black Liberation Notes

Almost every major American city has seen school boycotts and protests by black high school students during the past few months.

The most common demands being made by the students are for courses in Afro-American history, replacement of racist white administrators by Afro-Americans, better school facilities, and the reinstatement of black teachers fired for their militant views.

In many instances cops have attacked the protesters. In Detroit, the *Michigan Chronicle* reported "indiscriminate use of night sticks" by cops when boycotting students at Post Junior High School refused to leave the school area.

In response to SNCC's call for a national "Rap Day" on March 20, demonstrations in support of H. Rap Brown were held in Atlanta, New York, Seattle, Durham, Los Angeles, Paris and Stockholm.

In addition, numerous telegrams and letters of support poured into the SNCC office. The Union of Vietnamese Students in France wrote an especially moving telegram which stated, "When black people of America rise up to defend their liberty, they defend the liberty of the whole world."

A statement supporting Brown was signed by a long list of anti-war and black movement activists, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Floyd McKissick, Dave Dellinger, and Donna Allen.

Other messages were received from groups in England, Haiti, Japan, Puerto Rico, Canada, Guyana, Egypt, and many cities in the U.S.

According to the *Aframerican News Service*, H. Rap Brown has been bailed out of the New Orleans jail and is now in the custody of the U.S. government in Alexandria, Va. Authorities are holding him so that he can be extradited to Cambridge, Md., to go on trial on charges of inciting to riot and arson stemming from the so-called riot in Cambridge last July 24.

In a recent statement, the President's "Riot" Commission said that an investigation of events in



H. Rap Brown

Cambridge showed Brown to be completely innocent of the charges.

Martin Sostre, the owner of an Afro-Asian bookstore in Buffalo, N.Y., was recently framed up and sentenced to the extremely long prison term of 31 years and 31 days. He is charged with selling narcotics and assaulting a policeman.

A Martin Sostre Defense Committee has been set up in Buffalo to defend Sostre, who is a black militant. The political nature of the case was reflected in Sostre's unusually high bail of \$12,500. During the sentencing the judge told Sostre, "You have shown yourself to be a vicious and violent person, motivated only by hate."

An insight into the nature of the current "riot" investigations being carried out by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations can be gleaned from the following dialogue which took place at a subcommittee hearing on March 19:

According to the March 20 *New York Times*, Gov. Romney told the

subcommittee that a recent survey in Detroit has come up with the startling revelation that black people do not like being patronized, "As when a white policeman addresses a Negro man as 'boy.'"

Senator McClellan from Arkansas, who heads the subcommittee, interrupted him and explained that in his part of the country it is an old custom for whites to call Negroes "boy" and that "no offense is intended."

"I sometimes use it, as a custom, a habit," he said. "But I mean no disrespect."

"I try to avoid it, but sometimes I say, 'Boy, this or Boy, that.'"

McClellan then went on to say that "Negroes are too sensitive about things like that. It makes no sense to start a riot over such a thing as being called 'boy,'" he added.

Gov. Romney answered by observing that "Well, it's a hard thing..." And then he went on to explain that there is inequality in this country.

"The inequality is overexaggerated," said McClellan.

According to the *Times* report, the subcommittee later became involved in a discussion of whether there was evidence of a "conspiracy" in the Detroit rebellion last summer. Michigan State police director Fred Davids was called in to testify. He told the senators that there were some "strangers" in Detroit at the time, but that they didn't start the riot.

When Senator McClellan asked if the strangers could have "planted the seed of the riot," Davids said he didn't know.

Romney then explained that he disagreed with the "Riot" Commission report which places the blame for "civil disorder" on white racism. He said that he would lay equal blame to white and black racism. He also made the point that federal spending would not stop the "trouble." If each citizen would treat every other citizen with respect, he opined, everything would be all right.

Senator McClellan heartily agreed. "Human dignity starts in the man within himself," he observed.

—Elizabeth Barnes

Case for a Black Party

The Democrats

By Clifton DeBerry

Is it possible to win our freedom by supporting the Democratic Party? This is the question which will be posed very concretely to millions of black voters as they go to the polls this year. And it is a question which must be answered with a clear and unequivocal NO by anyone seriously interested in building a black liberation movement in this country.

The Emancipation Proclamation is more than a century old. For a hundred years black people have been supporting either the Democratic or Republican party, with the illusion that one or the other of them was their friend.

But after a hundred years of promises by demagogic Democratic and Republican party politicians, black people still live in slums, still receive a poor education, still get the lowest paying, dirtiest jobs, and still constitute the largest percentage of unemployed.

History shows that in every area where black people are denied their rights as human beings, the political administration which is responsible is in the hands of either the Democrats or Republicans. They not only make all the decisions affecting the lives of black people, but they control the police, the state troopers, and the national guard which are around to make sure the decisions are carried out.

It doesn't make sense to demand a change in bad conditions and at the same time to support and vote for those in power who are responsible for them.

It doesn't make sense to talk about bad schools and then support those who are responsible for poor education.

A party that Afro-Americans support should reflect *our* interests. It should be for those things we are for and against those things we are against. Black people will never be free by supporting political parties that are controlled by our oppressors.

The Democratic and Republican parties are the political arm of the white capitalist rulers of this country. These political parties are the means by which they organize and perpetuate their rule, and

they are careful to keep a firm grasp on the apparatus of these parties.

At the same time it is the masses of black people who have helped put the Democratic Party in power. As Malcolm X said in the "Ballot or the Bullet" speech, "They get all the Negro vote and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return."

It is a fact that black people were the deciding factor in putting John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson in power. The Democratic Party politicians need the black vote to win, and nothing frightens them more than the prospect of black people refusing to support them. They will do anything to stop this.

Now the Democratic Party is consciously beginning to run more black candidates like Carl Stokes in the hopes that this will keep black people in the Democratic Party.

Another trick used to keep black people voting Democratic is what Malcolm X called the game of the fox and the wolf. Black voters are urged to support Democratic foxes like Kennedy and Johnson, in order to avoid the Republican wolves like Goldwater and Nixon. At the same time it is continually reiterated that black people are a minority and thus have no political power of their own.

But the rise and spread of the idea of black power shows that more and more people are beginning to see through these tricks. They are beginning to see that the "lesser evil" fox is still a fox, and that black candidates in the Democratic Party are powerless to make any big changes because, like Adam Clayton Powell, they are dependent on their white masters who can strike them down at any time.

Not only do black people hold the balance of political power on a national level, but we are becoming near-majorities or majorities in many of the major cities. This gives us a lot of potential political power. Next week I will discuss this power we have in our hands if we stop supporting our oppressors and their parties and organize a party of our own.

... April Days of Protest Against War in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

Dave Dellinger, coordinator of the New York Parade Committee and chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, said in answer to Johnson's March 31 address, "The powerful forces that got us involved in Vietnam are still in basic control of our country. They have suffered a setback, but until they are repudiated there is danger of further military adventures at home and abroad."

"It is crucial," Dellinger stressed, "that the American people not lapse back into the apathy and trust in the federal government that allowed the U.S. to get involved in Vietnam in the first place under President Eisenhower and to stay there at such a tragic loss of American and Vietnamese lives under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. We must keep up the pressures until every American soldier has been brought back from Vietnam."

"Under no circumstances can the administration be allowed to resume the bombing or find excuses for keeping troops in Vietnam. It was a bad sign that the President did not call an unconditional and total end to the bombing and that he announced the sending of 13,500 additional troops in the wrong direction."

The Student Mobilization Com-

mittee to End the War in Vietnam has announced a big buildup of activity for the International Student Strike April 26, as well as for the April 27 mass marches. The New York office has already put out 180,000 strike calls, 100,000 Strike/April 27 leaflets, 50,000 of a special issue of the *Student Mobilizer*, 100,000 CHOICE 68 leaflets, 20,000 strike buttons, 500 April 27 buttons, 7,000 strike posters, 5,000 April 27 posters, 100,000 stickers, and 100,000 pledge cards.

The April 27 poster contains space for each area to print or write in information on local activities. The SMC is selling the posters in bulk at 10 cents each. Order, with other materials, from Student Mobilization Committee, 17 East 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.

The national YMCA has sent out SMC strike brochures to its campus coordinators across the country, in an effort to get them involved in strike activities.

The International Union of Students, representing student groups throughout the world, has endorsed the strike and will help build it.

The SMC national office in New York is receiving letters from all over the country describing plans

and progress for April 26 and 27. Following are a few excerpts.

HAMPTON, Va. — (From the Afro-American Collegians Together at Hampton Institute) "Re: SMC April program, we are interested in mobilizing participation on our campus. . . ."

UPPER MONTCLAIR, N.J. — (Montclair State College) "A gala host of events is scheduled for Strike week: peace vigil on April 22, a literature table on April 23, an Angry Arts Day on April 24 which includes the showing of the film 'War Games,' another literature table on the 25th, a moratorium on April 26 with a massive vigil, and finally an exodus to the New York demonstration on the 27th."

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — (University of Pennsylvania) "The Penn Vietnam Week Committee, builder of the anti-Dow demonstrations, is planning a student-faculty strike for April 26 and participation in the massive Philadelphia area mobilization on April 27."

DOWNERS GROVE, Ill. — (George Williams College) "So far the week will start out with every male student receiving an induction notice in his mailbox (copies, with a letter on the week's ac-

tivities). The next day we have gotten an OK for an air raid drill. . . . Friday we are asking all teachers to devote class time to the issue. Black armbands will be worn. The afternoon the school will strike and hold a rally."

RIVER FALLS, Wis. — (Wisconsin State University) "Our student government, through the Legislative Action Committee, has chosen to set aside the day of April 26 as Vietnam day. From 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. that day we will be having a teach-in here in conjunction with your International Student Strike."

LANCASTER, Pa. — (Franklin and Marshall College) "Our plans for the 27th consist of a 'be-in' to be held in a nearby park. . . . we will march through downtown Lancaster."

In Cambridge, Mass., the *Harvard Crimson* reports that "The Harvard-Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-American Students . . . called for a one-day student strike on April 26."

At the University of Vermont in Burlington, the school paper, the *Cynic*, will coordinate the strike.

Metropolitan, campus paper at

Fairleigh Dickinson University, Madison, N.J., said in a March 20 editorial, "There are petitions circulating, and demonstrations in the making everywhere. There is an international student strike to protest the war, slated for April 26. All this activity must be augmented with more and more manpower daily. The time for students to act is now. Mere talk is cheap. . . ."

GIs and the Fight Against War

By Mary-Alice Waters

Introduction
By Fred Halstead

25 cents

Young Socialist

P.O. Box 471
New York, N.Y. 10003

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.]

Gold Speculators

Minneapolis, Minn.
In the news reports on the gold crisis, one factor remains constantly hidden. This is that strange group of men known as the "gold speculators." Who are these nameless, faceless phantoms? How do they live? Do they sleep in golden beds, drink from golden cups, and brush their gold inlaid teeth with gold handled toothbrushes? Are they evil spirits flitting from market to market gobbling up gold to fulfill some insatiable psychological craving? Or are they our old friends the capitalists, greedily filling their pockets with the riches that we have created before the economic crisis which they have caused engulfs the rest of the world?

Devaluations, tax hikes, budget cuts, etc., these are the capitalists' solution to the economic crisis we are facing. But there is another solution to the problem, and that is the solution of Lenin and Trotsky, of Castro and Guevara.

Sam Richardson

Opposes Ali and Militant

Brooklyn, N.Y.
Under slavery, in the South, certain "sporting" slaveholders used to pit pugilistically talented slaves against one another. The ancient

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM VIETNAM AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. Speaker: Russell Johnson, peace educational secretary, American Friends Service Committee. Friday, April 12, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

AFRICA AND THE LESSONS OF VIETNAM. Speaker: Bangani Banturini Tsotsi. Friday, April 12, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

THE NEW GREEK RESISTANCE. Speakers from Democratia, a union of Greeks and Americans against fascism: Costas Stergiou, on The Background of the Coup of April 21, 1967; Ted & Cathy Kokkinos, reading the Poems of Yannis Ritsos to the music of Mikis Theodorakis; Shirley Georgiana Nanopoulos, on The Greek Resistance since April 21; Mikis Theodorakis on tape from the Greek underground.

Friday, April 12, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

WAR, TAXES, AND DOMESTIC CRISIS—The Impasse of World Capitalism. Speaker: Herman Porter, Marxist economist. Saturday, April 13, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240, Minneapolis. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Romans, with their gladiators, did the same sort of thing. Thus, in an appropriately brutal way, they applied the divide-and-rule principle; they exhausted the fighting impulses of their chattels against one another.

Boxing in the United States today, so often pitting Negro against Negro, signifies much the same thing. If this is not clear inside the ring, it is clear at the ring-side, with its crowd of white-shirted white-faced "sportsmen."

When white superpatriots divested Cassius Clay of his championship, there was a certain logic in their action. "If you can punch the heads of your fellow black men for money," they were saying, "you can take potshots at your fellow brown men in Southeast Asia — for 'your country.'" But to Mr. Clay, to the black nationalists, and to you, there is a difference. And that difference is a good old capitalistic one — money.

You have seized the heavyweight championship issue at the wrong point. You prefer to forget that boxing is a bread-and-circuses business, corruptive of the oppressed and the exploited.

In this matter, Cassius Clay (the name of a fine white abolitionist, incidentally) is too much the captive of Muhammad Ali (a good name for an Arab slave trader). And you are too slavish to emancipate his, your own, and other like minds. Your reluctance to print this letter will illustrate that.

A.P.

Unionist

Southampton, N.Y.
As an old subscriber I continue to enjoy *The Militant*. As an active unionist I particularly like the "National Picket Line" column. Would like more labor news, but, of course, I'm not an "average" reader I suppose.

J.L.

Black Power

Chicago, Ill.
Whenever I hear the cry "Black Power," I react with a combination of fear and understanding. I fear because I am a man and because I am white. I fear because I know that the time has arrived when the black man is no longer accepting "Whitey's" tokenism.

The time has come to where he is now fighting — fighting to the death when necessary. At present, it has only reached the point of open rebellion, but as the nation continues to divide, and the blind white power structure frantically attempts to maintain the status quo, the black man marches toward revolution. When that revolution takes place, and it seems inevitable that it will, he won't stop to ask whether or not I was opposed to the great injustices heaped upon his people.

The black revolution in this country will be unique as far as history is concerned. In the past, revolution had been led and fought by the middle class and the intellectual. The black man in this country, however, is a different situation. He is poverty stricken and certainly oppressed, but generally speaking he is not starving, and his intellectual development

and sense of justice are much more acute than the tyrannized classes of the 18th and 19th centuries. His realization that what should rightly be his and is denied him is complete.

Los Angeles, Detroit, and Newark are only the beginning of a just and moral revolution. In the days to come, it will gain momentum and sweep this country like a great hurricane — crushing in its path all the injustices, hypocrisies, and moral degradations of a decaying society. My only hope, not as a white man but as a human being, is that the black man will show more intelligence, more justice, and more mercy than the tyrants of my race ever showed to him.

Gerald J. Broderick

Against Polish Students

Hackettstown, N.J.
Your treatment and reception of the Polish student turmoil was predictable. Are you aware of the poll taken among Polish students in which John Kennedy's name led all the rest (Marx was way down on their choice of heroes)? Before you leap, you might look. This does not imply I favor the Eastern European regimes which go from rotten (as evidence Czechoslovakia) to soft.

Your authoritarian treatment of the cultural revolution and the role of China's students contrasts with the unseemly haste you embraced the Poles with. Sometimes consistency is a virtue. Personally I think I ought to demand it.

A.N.

Lenin and De Leon

New Haven, Conn.
Recently, while reading some publications from the Socialist

Thought for the Week

"Elect me President and I promise I will never send American boys 10,000 miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves." — Groucho Marx, as reported in the April issue of *Labor Voice for Peace*.

Workers Party, I noticed that they do not truly want a complete social revolution. I say this because under the social system wanted by the SWP, industries would be nationalized, under the control of democratically elected representatives.

Lenin would not want this. Lenin's opinion on government was, according to John Reed, "the industrial State as conceived by De Leon will ultimately have to be the form of government in Russia . . ." The industrial State, as conceived by De Leon is the Socialist Industrial Union. Daniel De Leon was the founder of the present Socialist Labor Party in 1890. Lenin thought very highly of De Leon. In fact, Lenin wanted to translate De Leon's works into Russian.

Socialist Industrial Unionism works in the following ways: Workers will be represented by industries. The worker in each plant will elect his representative to the Plant Union, the Local Industrial Union, the National Industrial Unions, and finally the National Socialist Industrial Union Congress. This will be an Industrial Democracy. Political or geographic constituencies will be replaced by industrial ones. Thus, instead of sending representatives to Congress from States and congressional districts, we will send them from the various industries.

R.A.

[Daniel De Leon was one of the pioneers of American socialism, and its first important Marxist theoretician. Present-day socialists can benefit from De Leon's writings and the example of his 100 percent devotion to the cause of socialism and the working class.

[While his conception of the structure of the future socialist society contains valuable insights, however, he conceived of his scheme of Socialist Industrial Unions in a somewhat mechanistic manner. His followers have converted this scheme into a rigid, dogmatic blueprint for the future society.

[While learning something from De Leon, Lenin and Trotsky led a revolution through democratic organs, the soviets, that were not (nor under the circumstances could they have been) exactly like the Socialist Industrial Unions De Leon envisaged. In addition to workers' soviets, there were peasant and soldier soviets, reflecting the realities of mass participation in the revolution. The Paris Commune of 1871 was again different. In the Hungarian revolution of 1956 against bureaucratic misrule, workers' councils sprang up as the chief organs of the masses.

Certainly any structure of socialist democracy in this country would have to provide for the independent representation of black people, not only as workers, but as a national minority with the right to self-determination.—EDITOR]

The Great Society

Hell, No! — In an article headed "Outfoxing the Army: How Draftees Scheme to Skip Vietnam Duty," the *Wall Street Journal* of March 20 lists a series of "ploys" soldiers use to remain Stateside. These range from "the LSD ploy" (telling the post psychiatrist that numerous LSD trips have unbalanced your mind), to various ways of confusing the records (applying for a commission and a hardship discharge at the same time), to stalling tactics (applying for special training, standing by for as long as 10 months for the class to begin, and then changing your mind).

Fair Enough — Conscious opposition to the war is not the only reason for all this ingenious plotting. As a Missouri youth said, "They forced me to join the Army and they can make me do anything they want. Now I'm causing a little trouble for them."

'Pox' Americana — One of the blessings U.S. intervention has brought the people of South Vietnam is bubonic plague. In recent weeks 150 cases have been reported in a single province (only 55 miles from Saigon) as compared with 40 cases per year for the entire country from 1954 to 1962. Dislocation of people from areas to which they have genetically adapted and widespread destruction of woodland and foliage (which tends to bring wild rats into contact with domestic rats) are classic conditions for an epidemic.

Tell It to the Marines — There seems to be general agreement that Khesanh is a trap; a U.S. Army colonel, however, insists it is not the 6,000 marines who are trapped "but the far larger enemy force that surrounds them — at the cost of becoming an easy target for American planes." Meanwhile the untrapped marines cannot venture 500 yards outside the base

to dispose of their garbage properly, and the base is overrun with rats.

Moral Incentive — According to a Reuters report from South Vietnam, GIs who kill one or more "Viet Cong" in operation "Determined to Win" — a desperate effort to drive National Liberation Front forces from the environs of Saigon — are rewarded with three days of sunbathing at a seashore rest and recreation area.

Pop Art — Unpop Price — A New York toy store is offering a 9-foot metal lollipop, created by sculptor Rudy Seno, for a mere \$1,500.

Loyal Stooge — The author of the campaign book, *Ronald Reagan, Governor and Statesman*, unwittingly reveals his subject's alacrity in helping Big Business censor the mass media. To illustrate Reagan's loyalty and devotion, the naive author tells this story of the days when the actor shilled for General Electric on TV: "One proposed play that did not go out over the air concerned a plane-load of passengers who were endangered because their plane had become lost in the fog and all the instruments had gone bad. Almost at the last minute Ronald Reagan and his co-players were reminded that General Electric was the manufacturer of just such instruments . . . Needless to say, plans to produce the play were quickly dropped."

—Ruth Porter

New Readers

If you would like to be sure of receiving every issue containing Harry Ring's special on-the-spot series from Cuba, order an introductory four-month subscription now. In addition, you will receive FREE a copy of the November-December 1967 issue of the *International Socialist Review* containing Fidel Castro's speech at the OLAS conference held in Cuba last summer, and the general declaration issued by OLAS. Send this coupon and \$1 to

THE MILITANT

873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

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Pfc. Howard Petrick Announces Nat'l Tour

NEW YORK — Pfc. Howard Petrick, along with a number of leaders of the antiwar movement, held a press conference here March 29 to discuss his plans to fight for an honorable discharge from the Army, the growing dissent in the armed forces, and his plans for a national speaking tour.

The antiwar GI, stationed at Ford Hood, Tex., was given an "undesirable" discharge from the Army March 15 for his outspoken criticism of the war in Vietnam. This marked a retreat on the part of Army officials, who had originally threatened Petrick with court-martial. At the news conference the former GI said he would carry the fight for an honorable discharge and the rights of servicemen to free speech to the Supreme Court if necessary.

Back Petrick

Supporters of the case at the press conference included Sylvia Crane, a member of the board of directors of SANE; Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Linda Morse, executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; and Gwen Patton, national secretary of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union.

Sylvia Crane said, "An attack on any section of the antiwar movement is an attack on our right of dissent."

Clark Foreman declared, "The Army has clearly violated the rights of Howard Petrick." He said that the Army was well aware of Petrick's antiwar views, as well as his avowed membership in the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, before he was inducted in 1966.

Violated No Regulations

"The type of discharge Petrick was given can only be based on his military record, yet he is not accused of violating any Army regulation or refusing to obey any order—his case is unique among antiwar GIs in that respect," Foreman said. He added that the chief difference between an "undesirable" and a "dishonorable" discharge, is that in the latter a court-martial is mandatory and the Army has to prove its case.

Linda Morse said that both the SMC and the National Mobilization Committee "fully support Howard Petrick's fight to gain an honorable discharge." She read a message of support from Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine.



PFC. HOWARD PETRICK. The antiwar GI, discharged from the Army March 19, discusses the attitude among GIs toward the war in an interview on page 3.

Gwen Patton read a letter from the freedom fighters in South Vietnam pledging their solidarity with GIs who are opposed to the war.

The press conference was covered by NBC-TV, Channel 5-TV, the Associated Press, and the Liberation News Service.

Petrick said that he had received more than 50 letters of support from GIs, and that he had seen a growing antiwar sentiment among soldiers. He said he had encountered little or no hostility to his views among enlisted men even after the Army threatened him with court-martial in April of last year.

Petrick announced that he would begin a seven-week national tour speaking on the subject of "Antiwar GIs and the Right to Dissent." He will be in Minneapolis April 1-3; from there he will go to the West Coast for speaking engagements in Los Angeles, Berkeley, San Francisco and Seattle. Information on Howard Petrick's national tour can be obtained from the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick, P.O. Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

'Bloomington Three' Write ECLC

Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan, and Jim Bingham, the three former students at Indiana University in Bloomington who were indicted in 1963 for their socialist ideas and activities, sent a letter March 29 to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, thanking that organization for its aid on their behalf in the long legal struggle finally concluded last year. The three young socialists were among the first of the new generation of student radicals to be subjected to prosecution for their political ideas, and after a four-and-a-half year fight against the indictment, succeeded in having the charges dropped.

"Now that the Bloomington case has been successfully concluded," the three wrote to Dr. Clark Foreman, ECLC's director, "we would like to take this opportunity to thank the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and yourself for the invaluable and vital aid that

you provided us at a time when we greatly needed assistance, and our civil liberties as well as those of many others here in Indiana were in grave danger."

In addition to the work of the ECLC, the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, formed to publicize the case and raise the necessary funds for the expenses involved, enlisted widespread support for the three indicted members of the Young Socialist Alliance from thousands of individuals throughout this country and abroad.

County Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley, who had initiated the charges, found he could not use the issue of "anticommunism" to achieve the political career he wanted, and left the state. An instrumental part of this victory was the help given by the ECLC in providing the services of the noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin. His legal aid and counsel played

Calif. Brown Beret Leaders Answer L.A. Police Charges

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — By the time the Chicano high school walkout had passed its first phase, around 65 members of the Brown Berets, a militant Mexican American defense organization, had been arrested for their role in the student demonstrations.

Warrants were still out for their arrest March 18 when I met with David Sanchez, Brown Beret prime minister, and four other leaders of the organization in a room in East Los Angeles which they were momentarily using for a headquarters.

Sanchez had no hesitation about being interviewed. "But interview us all," he said. "We're an organization."

The five appeared more Indian than Spanish, and one laughed, "There's no Spanish among us!" They are militant. Most of them had attended college and then rejected it in order to organize in "the community." A large part of their members are high school students.

The five were concerned mostly with the poor educational system and police oppression — constant harassment, arrests, and brutalities — of Chicanos.

Learns About Cops

Two years ago Sanchez, at 17, became chairman of Mayor Yorty's Youth Advisory Council. Now he says when asked what he thinks of the police: "I was beaten twice by the police."

"Of all the problems of East Los Angeles," Sanchez said, "police brutality is the most visible."

Ralph Ramirez, 19, minister of discipline, added, "But it all goes back to the system. The police are there to perpetuate the system."

The Brown Beret spokesmen reject the school system because, as Sanchez put it, "They teach you what to think, not how to think." He had dropped out of East Los Angeles College. A key slogan in the high school walkout was "Education, Not Contempt!"

The Brown Berets grew out of the Young Chicanos for Community Action about six months ago and now claim about 200 members in Los Angeles and another 100 in Fresno. Their membership includes about 30 young women.

The Brown Berets operated the Piranya Coffee Shop on Whittier Boulevard as a community center and headquarters until police harassment forced it to close recently.

an important role in securing the victory.

In their letter, Levitt, Morgan and Bingham said, "We will always be deeply appreciative and always view the ECLC, Mr. Boudin, and yourself with the greatest warmth and admiration.

"As the defendants, we feel that our defense organization, the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, and the Young Socialist Alliance, for membership in which we were attacked, acquitted themselves well in this fight: the witch-hunt was defeated, we received widespread support from students, professors and democratic-minded individuals both here and abroad, and most gratifying, the McCarthyite prosecutor Thomas Hoadley had his career as county prosecutor in Indiana abruptly terminated.

"Your unwavering support and defense of democratic principles were intrinsic to this victory."

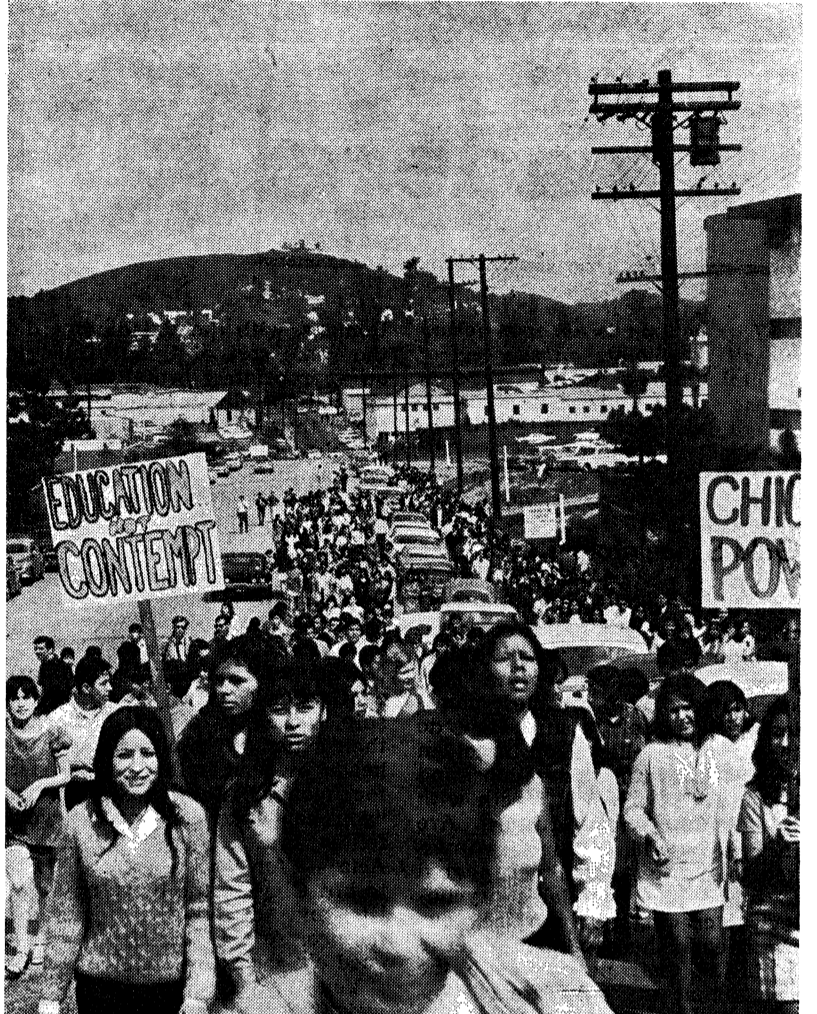


Photo by Paul Ruiz

CHICANO STUDENTS. On March 6, Los Angeles Mexican-American high school students walked out of their classes to meet in rally at nearby park.

(The Brown Berets are now attempting to raise funds both to reopen a community center and buy equipment for an "alert patrol" in order to "protect the Mexican Americans of our community" from the "extreme police harassment in East Los Angeles." Funds may be sent to David Sanchez, 724 N. Fickett, Los Angeles, Calif. 90033.)

Their statement of purpose says the Brown Berets were organized to protect the rights of Mexican Americans "by all means necessary. How far we must go in order to protect these rights is dependent upon those in power."

"The brown beret," their statement reads, "was chosen because it is a symbol of the love and pride we have in our race and in the color of our skin," and "as a symbol of unity among the Chicanos."

The Brown Berets point out that the Mexican American has "suffered at the hands of the Anglo establishment for over 120 years," he is "discriminated against in housing, schooling, employment, and every other phase of life."

"In California approximately half of the Mexican American children do not go beyond the 8th grade," their statement reads. "In California and Texas, Spanish-speaking families occupy worse housing than any other ethnic group." And, "In East Los Angeles 76 percent of all the families are considered poverty stricken by the federal government."

Vietnam is one of four points in their written statement. "We're all against the Vietnam war," Ramirez said. Brown Berets have participated in the anti-draft movement.

Their statement reads, "The Anglo establishment is not content with just seeing the Mexican American suffer in poverty and misery; it has gone one step farther, that step is the genocide of the Mexican American in Vietnam.

"Although the Mexican American

makes up only 3 percent of the population of the United States, he accounts for a much higher percentage of the casualties in Vietnam. Forty-five percent of the Mexican Americans eligible for the draft are being drafted, while only 19 percent of the Anglos eligible for the draft are drafted."

Sanchez said, "We identify with Tijerina's Alianza movement in New Mexico. We have a mutual assistance treaty with them. We think Tijerina's actions, even if violent in self-defense, were correct for his area and his situation while the nonviolence of Cesar Chavez' movement in Delano is correct for his area and his situation."

"Brown nationalism" had its first voice in the recent period in the Delano farm workers' movement and the Denver Crusade for Justice, then developed in Tijerina's Alianza, and spread to Los Angeles via the high school walkout, where students left their classes with signs reading "Viva La Raza" (the race, our people), "Viva La Revolution," and "Mexican American Liberation."

Although the police have a warrant for his arrest, Sanchez spoke at a "people's tribunal" at South Park March 17, called to put on trial the policeman who killed Gregory Clark, a black man.

"The police wouldn't dare arrest me with all my black brothers there," he said. He strongly supports black and brown unity. Sanchez said he ended his rally speech with "Viva la coalition!"

Socialist Campaign Materials

Write to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, for list of socialist election campaign materials available, including posters, pamphlets, buttons, etc.