

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

June 1967

15c

## Letters from an Antiwar GI



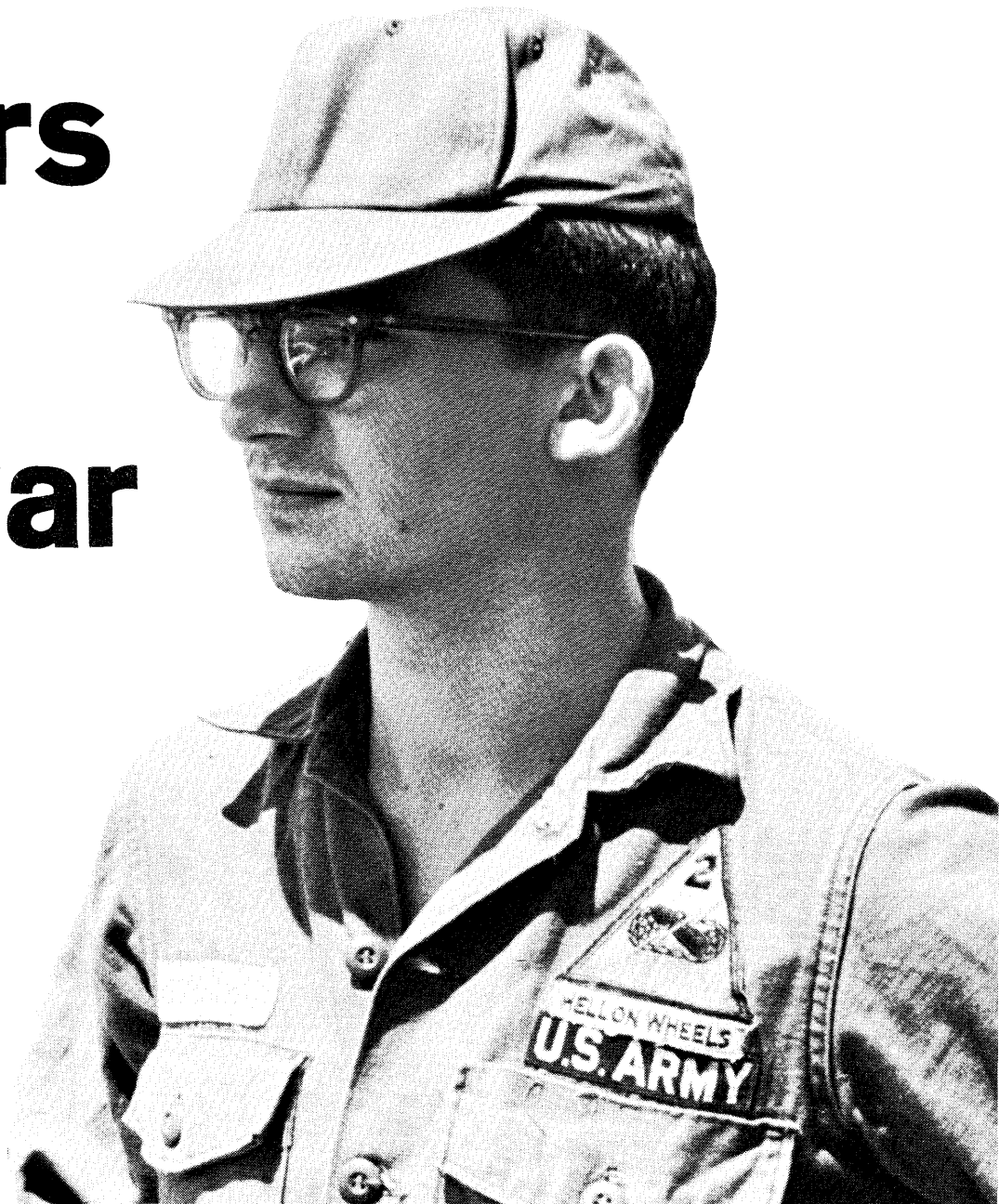
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TO ANTIWAR MOVEMENT***
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JUNE 1967

**Editor:** Doug Jenness  
**Business Manager,** Charles Bolduc; **Design,** Melissa Singler; **Technical Assistant,** Toby Rice  
**Editorial Board:** Charles Bolduc, Lew Jones, Wendy Ryon, Melissa Singler, Syd Stapleton, Mary-Alice Waters

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## In This Issue

WENDY RYON, is organizer of the New York City YSA and a member of the National Executive Committee of the YSA. She is a former student at Hofstra College and City College of New York

IRVING KIRSCH, is an active leader in the Detroit antiwar movement and YSA, and is on the National Committee of the YSA.

HOWARD REED, is an active member of the New York YSA and is a graduate of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

ELIZABETH BARNES, former National Secretary of the YSA, is a staff writer for the *Militant* and has been a frequent contributor to the *Young Socialist*.

# Young Socialist Notes

On Saturday morning, May 13, 1967, John Chelstrom, a founding member of the YSA and a member of its national committee for several years, was killed in a car accident. He and two friends, one of whom was seriously injured, were on their way to a Student Mobilization Committee Conference in Chicago. John, who lived most of his life in St. Paul, Minnesota, was a member of the Philadelphia local of the YSA.

We dedicate this issue of the *Young Socialist* to his memory.

**United May Day Demonstration Against Greek Dictatorship:** Well in keeping with some long standing but sometimes forgotten traditions of May Day, many political groups banded together in a demonstration against the military dictatorship in Greece. Participating in the demonstration were the Communist Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers Party, the DuBois Clubs, the MPI. (Puerto Rican Independence Movement), the Juventud Patriotica Dominicana, Youth Against War and Fascism and independent antiwar activists.

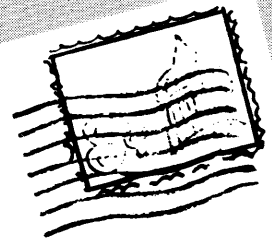
The demonstration, which took the form of a picket line across the street from the Greek Consulate, demanded freedom for all political prisoners, freedom for all political parties, students and workers organizations, and an end to the military dictatorship. A short rally following the picket was held and Doug Jenness, National Organizational Secretary of the YSA and Paul Friedman of the Communist Party spoke. The display of solidarity that the demonstration provided was a hopeful sign for both the antiwar and socialist movements.

Cover Photo: Pfc. Howard Petrick at Fort Hood, Texas.

(continued on p. 22)

"... Not every one here is for the war."

**Pfc. Howard Petrick  
Ft. Hood, Texas**



Pfc. Petrick, a 21-year-old soldier stationed at Fort Hood, Texas, has been threatened with court-martial proceedings for the sole "crime" of expressing antiwar and socialist beliefs to other soldiers. Petrick was an antiwar activist before being drafted. He joined the Minnesota CEWW during the preparations for the October 15-16 International Days of Protest in 1965, and then joined the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party.

During his induction proceedings, Howard refused to sign the standard "loyalty" oath and the disclaimer regarding connections with a list of organizations on the Attorney General's so-called "subversive" list. He felt that the oath and disclaimer were an unconstitutional infringement of his right to free political association.

Throughout his service in the army, Howard has openly expressed his ideas and circulated socialist, antiwar, and black power literature.

On April 1, Howard returned from a leave during which he attended the YSA national convention. In an interview released by the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick on April 12, Howard describes what happened to him when he returned from his leave:

"Upon returning from my leave I was immediately told by an officer that I was wanted in the orderly room. I went to the orderly room, and was then taken to squadron headquarters. From there the squadron duty officer called Military Intelligence.

"Military Intelligence arrived and waited for higher ranking men to come. They looked through my bags I had brought on post with me, and said they found literature and buttons of a subversive nature. After that, they typed up a list, and gave me a receipt for everything they had taken from me out of my attache case, and I was then taken to Military Intelligence.

"They read me Article 31, which is the same as the Fifth Amendment, and they explained it all to me. They called in a military lawyer, and we discussed the matter for about an hour, and then we went in and told them that I didn't

want to make a statement of any kind. The reason they gave for running the investigation of me was that they think that I am disaffectionate towards the army, and the government in general, that I have been handing out literature, that they have reason to believe I am a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which is on the Attorney General's 'subversive list,' and that I am handing out to other GIs literature put out by the Socialist Workers Party.

"Then they wanted to ask me a series of about 70 questions, which would have undoubtedly led into more questions. I refused to answer them. And that is where it stands right now. They're still waiting for me to make a statement and answer the 70 questions so they can complete their investigation and if I don't, why then they will consider their investigation complete, I assume, and attempt to press charges against me.

"The military lawyer told me that the most likely thing they have a chance of court-martialing me on is Military Code of Justice Article 134, which concerns disloyal statements.

"The military lawyer said that maybe another charge could be subversion.

"The maximum penalty under Military Code of Justice Article 134 would be dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and rank, and three years of hard labor on each count."

Petrick later found out from other GIs that there had been a shakedown of his entire unit. All the antiwar and socialist literature in Howard's locker was taken, and literature he had given to other GIs in his unit was also taken. Petrick's closest friends were questioned individually by Military Intelligence on what they knew about his beliefs and activities.

The case is now in the hands of the Pentagon.

The important fact is that Howard is still threatened with the possibility of court-martial. A deluge of protest letters, activities and publicity from socialists, antiwar activists, and Americans who want to defend civil liberties may have forced the Pentagon to back down.

The following excerpts are from letters sent by Pfc. Howard Petrick to members of the Young Socialist Alliance in Minneapolis, Minnesota, where Howard had lived before being drafted into the army in July, 1966. Sections have been chosen which describe the response to Howard's ideas among other GIs.

\* \* \*

July 23, 1966

. . . I have been talking to some of the draftee's and they all know they're going to Vietnam. There are four guys I have talked to quite a bit about the war and the army. One just graduated from college this spring, and the other three are workers. Two of them asked me why I didn't take the oath during induction. I told them I was against the war and didn't think we should be over there. They agreed with me and started saying what they thought about the army and the war. They all think that we shouldn't be there and that we should get out right away. Two of them said the Ft. Hood Three have the right idea. . . .

Almost none of the draftees signed up for an extra year in the army in order to get to go to school. All they want to do is get the two years over with and get out. A lot of these guys haven't made up their minds about the war. But I would say that most of them know that that's where they're going, and show disapproval about having to fight a war they don't understand and don't want to die in. This feeling, I think, will increase because most of them don't like army life. . . .

July 24

. . . Today I am going to show the *Newsletter* [*Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*] to two of the workers I mentioned before. The college graduate, the acting sergeant, and I had a talk about the war today. I try to raise questions and let them discuss them and try to answer them. . . .

July 25

One of the three workers saw me reading the *Newsletter* and wants to read it when I'm through. I want to try to talk to him more. I haven't told anyone that I'm a socialist yet. I just talk about the war and the army. I think a few are starting to catch on, though, that I don't defend this system. They seem to follow closely all that I say and ask me to explain different points. They agree 90% of the time. . . .

July 26

The army sure pulled the wrong move today. They gave us all kinds of anti-red propaganda. Not many sucked it up. Our brigade takes all of our classroom classes together. About 500-700 of

us sit in a big movie theater. The soldier that gives the class said that the class was starting 15 minutes early because he had something important that he wanted to tell us. Then he said, "Red China has just invaded south Vietnam in full force." You should have seen the guys! Some just stared, some yelled "God, no!" Others put their heads in their hands, and some started to *cry*. Me, I just watched everyone I could. I didn't believe it but was still scared. Then after about 45-60 seconds the instructor said, "Boys, I'm just kidding. That's why you have to train hard." Train, hell! Half of the guys were ready to go AWOL.

After mess the guys started talking about this. I got in 3 or 4 rooms where this discussion was going on, and tried to point out that China isn't fighting in Vietnam now, but if they did enter the war they would be in the right. Over 90% of the guys said we shouldn't be over there and we should get the hell out. Only one person I saw said we're there and we can't get out now. Everyone told him to go to hell. He left. I've been talking to quite a few guys I thought were completely for the war. Everybody here at least has some questions about the war.

July 29

. . . Please send me the *Young Socialist* with the article on the "Bring the Troops Home Now Movement" after World War II. I could also use some of the documented fact sheets on Vietnam put out by the Ann Arbor YSA. If there wasn't a law against selling things on base I could sell more *Newsletters* than are sold in New York. The guys sure want to know more than the army's telling them. All the army says is that *we* are going to fight there to *defend* our country. This they don't accept.

#### DEFEND PFC. HOWARD PETRICK

##### We Need:

- Contributions
- Letters of protest to Sec. of Defense McNamara
- Help in publicizing the case

##### We can send you:

Buttons ("Defend Free Speech for G.I.'s") at 25 cents each  
Pamphlet including interview with Pfc. Petrick

Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick  
Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

July 30

. . . Boy, just my luck, I was reading the *Militant* and a kid next to me kept looking over my shoulder trying to see what I was reading. I finished reading the article and he asked me if he could read it. I gave it to him and told him to read the article on the Fort Hood Three. He was reading it when I left.

August 1

. . . Almost got in a fight with one of my roommates the other night. He saw me come into the room and started talking up how we should bomb the hell out of Vietnam. I guess he was just trying to get my goat. When I didn't say anything he came over and asked me what I thought about the war. Of course, he already knew what I thought, so I just asked him what he thought of the Vietnamese defending their own country, and then walked out. When I came back six guys were arguing about the war with one kid who calls himself a radical. He asked me to explain some things to the other six. By this time the first guy had cooled down, so I started firing questions at him. He backed down so fast it was funny. One guy who was supporting the war was a history major in college and I know history better than he does. Well, the radical and I talked to them for about an hour, and there wasn't one thing they had left to stand on. . . .

I have had very good talks with two of the three workers. They don't care to talk politics much, all they want to do is stay out of Vietnam. . . . When you eliminate the week-end warriors, you get the guys who are going to have to fight this war, and they are not much for it. One of the workers was behind me in the chow line this afternoon and I started to talk about the war to a kid who wanted to be a preacher. I asked him what he thought about the war. He said he thought he was for it but didn't know for sure. When I started to talk to him about it, the worker behind me started saying some of the things I just told him last week. He really tried to make the kid understand why he should be against the war.

August 6

. . . At this time there are four people in my unit who are strongly opposed to the war, three more who I can count on for some type of support, and many others who could be in the second group if I could talk to them more. And all but one of the seven knew almost nothing about the war before I talked to them. The radical in my room took my new *Newsletter* off my bed this afternoon when I was gone and read it. Tonight when I came in he told me he liked it and wanted

to start reading it every week. (I leave my *Newsletter* out when off duty and let the guys see it on my bed. It draws attention.)

. . . There has been a lot of talk about going to Vietnam lately. This I think is starting to scare a lot of guys. Before it was something to talk about, but now it's a fact that most of us are going to go there. No one jokes or laughs as much about Vietnam now. They know that they might be someone who gets killed there.



Howard Petrick, front right, in Minneapolis demonstration before induction.

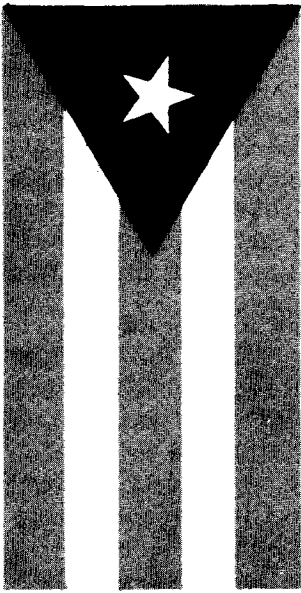


The antiwar movement could win over a lot of these guys if it would show them that they back them 100% when they take a stand against the war. Most GIs don't understand the antiwar movement and the power it has. Such things as the Fort Hood Three case will help tie the GIs and the antiwar movement closer together. The hardest thing will be to get the case to the GIs and tell them what their rights are. This, as I see it, can only be done by talking to GIs and by having literature that will appeal to them. Talking to them



Howard Petrick, front right, in Minneapolis demonstration before induction.





# YANKEE PLEBISCITE NO INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO YES

BY PEDRO JUAN RUA

Pedro Juan Rua, Organizational Secretary of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence in New York, was active for several years in the student independence movement in Puerto Rico.

One of MPI's primary activities is organizing a boycott of and international publicity about the phony plebiscite that is going to be held in Puerto Rico on July 23. This plebiscite is to be on the question of independence, statehood, or commonwealth status for Puerto Rico. The U.S. government has not committed itself to accepting the results of the plebiscite.

The following article is based on excerpts from a talk given by Rua at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on April 7, 1967.

\* \* \*

We should begin by making some short reference to the vote that was taken in Puerto Rico in 1950 when the commonwealth status, the so-called Estado Libre Asociado, began its history in Puerto Rico. At that time there was a vote in Puerto Rico where people were asked to vote strictly for or against the commonwealth status. Commonwealth status at that time implied certain elements of reform.

The U.S. government tried to argue at the United Nations that this vote taken in Puerto Rico was actually a plebiscite. Before Puerto Rico was a Commonwealth the U.S. government was required to make regular reports to the United Nations on conditions in Puerto Rico. However, on the basis of the U.S. government's argument that the 1950 vote was a plebiscite, which it was not (since there were no alternatives other than support or non-support of the Commonwealth status), all the dominant elements in the U.N. at that time were able to sponsor a resolution clearly stating that the U.S. was no longer required to continue presenting its reports to the U.N.

Only fifty-two percent of the eligible voters went to the

polls in the 1950 vote. However a majority of this number believed that Commonwealth status would bring some sense of dignity to Puerto Rico. This factor along with the governmental repressions against the independence forces led to a significant downturn in the struggle for independence in Puerto Rico for the next four or five years.

From 1956 up to the present, however, the struggle for independence has taken a new turn.

## Why the U. S. Government Wants Plebiscite

Surely there is a basic factor which is at the root of why U.S. imperialism is trying to force a plebiscite on Puerto Rico. We must first understand what are the aims of U.S. policy not only in connection to Puerto Rico but to the whole of the Caribbean which includes the borders of Latin America and the Caribbean islands. For several years now, U.S. monopoly capital has been transforming Puerto Rico into a center of petroleum refineries for the Caribbean. It has been part of the general policy of the U.S. imperialists for the last four or five years to make Puerto Rico into an anti-Cuban showcase of "democracy". To be able to more effectively use Puerto Rico as this center, the U.S. must by all means be able to "sell" to these countries (many of which are ex-colonies) the idea that Puerto Rico is fully free and independent.

In this sense we aim to establish clearly that the plebiscite has generally been a project of the U.S. imperialists for the past four years and they have chosen this time to impose it on Puerto Rico. The idea of the plebiscite goes back to the Kennedy administration when there was an interchange of letters between Kennedy and the former governor, Luis Munoz Marin, who is still leader of the Popular Democratic Party. Munoz indicated



that a plebiscite should take place between three formulas: independence, statehood, and what was then called "perfected commonwealth" status (this meant, among other things, some freedom in commercial relations with other countries). Kennedy approved this idea. However, the plebiscite that is going to be held this summer does not include the formula "perfected commonwealth." Although we do not want to make any definite statement on this question, it is reasonable to assume that the change of administrations in 1963 may have affected this change in policy of the U. S. government.

Then in the fall of 1966, there was a vote taken in the United Nations Committee on Colonialism to recommend discussion of the Puerto Rican question within that body. The United States was completely opposed to this recommendation. About five or six weeks after it was made Vice President Humphrey went to Puerto Rico. A few days later the plebiscite idea was announced and within two weeks it was drafted and public hearings were called.

In the public hearing, only two or three speakers out of forty or fifty actually defended the idea of a plebiscite. The government, seeing the tremendous condemnation of the idea and the public demand for more hearings, ended the hearings and passed the bill for holding a plebiscite.

We do not feel that the plebiscite is simply a response or answer to the U. N. question. It is in reality an answer to several general factors which include political economy and the growth of the general struggle for independence.

### How to Use the U. N.

Because we are urging that a discussion take place in the U. N., let me establish clearly what our policy is towards the U. N. on this question. We understand that the nature of the U. N. does not enable it to press for Puerto Rican independence. We know that on vital issues the U. S. government is either fully dominant or is able to neutralize those forces which are either anti-colonialist or anti-imperialist at the U. N.

Although the U. S. is definitely able to control the General Assembly, its dominance does not have to apply necessarily to the procedure whereby reports like that of the Committee on Colonialism goes to the General Assembly. The fact is that there has not yet been a precedent of the General Assembly not considering a report from the Committee on Colonialism.

What we aim for is to provoke a discussion at the U. N. Not only will we be able to stimulate a struggle for independence in Puerto Rico through this process but at the same time we will raise a growing international concern and in that process the U. S.'s stake in the Puerto Rican question will be unmasked.

Since the U. S. would definitely show desperate opposition to this policy we are not fooling ourselves or our people or anybody else that the United Nations is going to struggle for Puerto Rican independence. The nature of the U. N. would have to change for that to happen.

How has the plebiscite idea been received by the Puerto Rican people? Let me first make general statements, and

then go into particulars. Among the masses of people—the workers, a section of the peasants, and some social workers, teachers, etc.—there has been no enthusiasm for the plebiscite. The people didn't really understand it and they don't feel any need for it, because, among other reasons, the plebiscite doesn't answer the political crisis in Puerto Rico. Secondly even among some of the ruling circles in Puerto Rico there is also disinterest and in fact a split occurred in the ruling Popular Democratic Party on this question. Among the nationalist forces, of course, there is complete condemnation.

The immediate answer of the nationalist forces in Puerto Rico which are led by MPI was this: a plebiscite in Puerto Rico which includes the issue of independence without the expressed consent of the groups which represent the independence struggle, can easily provoke civil war in Puerto Rico. That was the position which was announced by the MPI and then taken by the Party for Independence. Other groups have also taken this position although not so clearly.

Why is it that the independence forces cannot under any conditions accept the plebiscite? In the first place, it is a simple question of self-determination. How can self-determination be legitimate when interference from a foreign country exists in Puerto Rico? In Puerto Rico, the U. S. holds all the gears of control. And it does not intend to relinquish these gears. There are 25,000 U. S. troops in Puerto Rico and 12 military bases, some of them nuclear bases. All the U. S. repressive agencies—the F. B. I., the C. I. A., and all the secret services—are in Puerto Rico and function very actively.

All the communication media are not only controlled, but radio or television stations and newspapers have to obtain special permits from the U. S. government in order to be able to function legally in Puerto Rico. Besides this, 80 percent of the industrial economy and 64 percent of the economy as a whole is controlled by U. S. imperialists. This of course involves control and dominance over the minds and activities of a large section of Puerto Rican workers.

So independence forces cannot accept any plebiscite without self-determination, and self-determination involves the full non-interference in Puerto Rico of the United States.

We challenge the U. S. government to remove its troops from Puerto Rico, to remove its repressive agencies, to transfer to Puerto Rico all powers that rightfully are hers but are now held by the U. S. Congress. Then we will not only self-determine ourselves but we are also going to self-determine U. S. monopoly capital!

---

CHE GUEVARA—APRIL 1967

"If we on a small point on the map of the world, carry out the duty which we hail and place at the disposition of the struggle this small bit which we are permitted to give: our lives, our sacrifice, it can happen that one of these days we will draw our last breath on a bit of earth already ours, watered with our blood."

# THE POLITICS OF FRUSTRATION

## SDS PRESIDENT SPEAKS TO HALF MILLION

BY MARY ALICE WATERS

How did you feel the afternoon of April 15, 1967, as you marched into the U.N. plaza in New York or entered Kezar Stadium in San Francisco? If you weren't there, you can imagine how you would have felt as half a million men, women and children poured into the streets of New York demanding an immediate end to the war in Vietnam?

President Johnson was undoubtedly dismayed by it (and probably found little solace in the FBI report on "communist" peace activities which he had chosen for his afternoon reading on the 15th); General Westmoreland indicated his "dismay" over these "unpatriotic acts" a few days later in his speech to the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York; and the tiny bands of ultra-rightists along the line of march expressed their impotence by throwing eggs.

But the last place one would expect to hear the note of despair sounded on that day of the most massive political demonstration in the history of the United States was from the speakers platform at the corner of 1st Avenue and 47th Street. Anger, yes. Outrage, yes. Condemnation, yes. Exhilaration, yes. But frustration and despair?

Yet such were the words of Nick Egleson, President of Students for a Democratic Society, as he addressed the half million. "Let us start by being honest with ourselves. We must admit that one of the chief sentiments that characterize those of us who have come here today is frustration."

In all fairness to the President of SDS, it must be borne in mind that one's complete political program can hardly be spelled out in ten or fifteen minutes. If his abbreviated remarks gave the wrong impression we certainly hope he will correct them, but for the purposes of this article, we will assume he meant what he said, and moreover, that he felt it was the most important message he had to bring to 500,000 people.

First of all, Egleson made several points with

which we agree, and it will be helpful to enumerate them as they better define our differences. He pointed out, quite rightly, that despite the growth of the antiwar movement, the administration has continued to escalate the war and intensify the slaughter and destruction in Vietnam.

He outlined the basic facts of the American government's foreign policy and pointed out that Vietnam is not an aberration. "For two thirds of the world's people, the net impact of American foreign policy is to exploit and deprive of hope. Vietnam is an integral part of the logic of the U.S. government's foreign policy."

Thirdly, Egleson developed the fact that American foreign policy *in toto* is not a "mistake" or a "freak," but bears close relationship to government domestic policy which feeds on poverty, racism, and exploitation. Both foreign and domestic policy are the result of a racist system "structured on profit rather than people," and a "society that cares only for the wasteful consumption of goods rather than for the widest use of them."

Our agreements come to a rather abrupt halt, though, when Egleson turns to the question of how one should oppose this system, and fight against the Vietnam war. These questions are not insignificant. "New left" or "old left," these are central questions that opponents of capitalism and war have had to answer for more than a century. And this is where the politics of despair and frustration makes its entrance on the stage.

### "Unreasonable Hope"

Egleson stated in the early part of his speech that "our expectations are so far naive. Our frustrations are the product of unreasonable hope that a system built on repression would respond to verbal pressure of most of the world's peoples, and most of the world's countries." Further on he characterizes the actions of the antiwar move-

ment as "appeals through moral protests to the power that has created this war."

Perhaps Egleson did hold an unreasonable hope at one time, or thought the government would respond to appeals and moral protests, but that is certainly not the premise on which the antiwar movement has been built. There is a vast difference between "verbal pressure" and half a million people in the streets, demanding the withdrawal of American troops from a war that is being fought at the very moment they march. Such an opposition has never been built in the U. S. before, and is an indication of the most profound radicalization that has occurred in this country in twenty years. Is this a cause for frustration and despair?

Egleson returns to this theme later on in the speech with the statement, "as we have found when we tried to work against the war, the political apparatus of this country will not yield public control of the basic questions." This, however, should come as no surprise. No ruling class in history has ever yielded control over questions of policy basic to its interests simply because the majority of people asked it.

But, the President of SDS recognizes this, and we will quote at length from his conclusion so as not to present it falsely.

"First, we must build a base of political power. A base cannot be built on simple slogans or simple solutions. We must find the issues that bear directly on people's lives. The war that drafts men and kills them is the most urgent issue. But racism in white America, the conditions of education, and the conditions of work are equally important issues.

"And as conditions begin to change, as people inside the country come to see that they can take control over their society, shaping it to fill their needs, they will come to see that other people have the same ability and the same rights to shape their own lives. Then war, such as the one waged in Vietnam, will come no more."

It sounds beautiful. But Egleson has jumped over two of the most basic questions. One, what sections of society will make up this base of political power; and two, what *program* of action does he propose in order to arrive at that point where he simply states, "And as conditions begin to change. . . ."

Let's deal with the question of program first, as that will tell us more than anything else what sector of society Egleson has in mind for his base of power. He continues the section quoted from above by saying "the difficult task which confronts us is to be political men in a time and in a country without political channels, without even a mean-

ingful definition of politics. To be political when there are no channels is to be engaged in resistance. It is the task of building a resistance movement that we now must turn."

### Politics

Since it would be difficult to proceed without any idea of what we mean by "politics, let's first define a few terms. Political issues are all those which relate to what the policies of the government are and who controls the government. Every important question of our time tends to become a political question, raising the issue of government policy and who makes that policy. For instance, even most strikes today rapidly develop into political issues as the government intervenes to try and prevent the striking workers from realizing their demands.

The war in Vietnam is obviously a political question, and the antiwar movement which is challenging the government's right to execute its foreign policy, is by its very nature a political movement. We are challenging the right of the rulers to rule on this specific issue, and that is the most significant political fact in the United States today. It is the most important "political channel" open to those who are fighting to bring the troops home from Vietnam, but its continued effectiveness to challenge the government and mobilize hundreds of thousands of Americans in opposition to the war will depend on its ability to maintain its independence from the rulers of this country and *their* political channels; and on its ability to periodically organize massive protests such as the April 15 Mobilization as the form of action *all* the forces involved can agree upon.

### Electoral Channels

If by saying that this is a country without political channels Egleson means that the established electoral two-party system is useless as a weapon in our struggle to destroy capitalism then he is absolutely correct. But it is not just a question of only two parties. No matter how many political parties exist, if they are all capitalist parties, that is, controlled by the rulers of this country or defending their basic interests by trying to preserve the capitalist system in one form or another, then they are worse than useless. Illusions about "using" capitalist parties and capitalist political channels are the greatest danger the antiwar movement faces, and they are the pitfall that has brought about the demise of every other social movement



Veterans of the Vietnam war join the New York mobilization, April 15.

in our country in this century. We hope Egleson will join us in fighting to prevent the antiwar movement from being channeled into such a political death-trap, whether it is called Democratic, Republican, Progressive Party, or "new politics."

If, on the other hand, Egleson means by a "country without political channels" that no mass labor or socialist party exists that can effectively challenge the ruling class in the electoral arena, then we would again agree with him and hope we could work together to build such a party. But it cannot simply be "created" by a "resistance movement" in the absence of a mass working class radicalization.

However, to say that the electoral channels established and controlled by the ruling class are closed to serious opponents of the system, and that no mass labor or socialist party exists, is not the same as saying we are "without political channels." Even the "resistance movement" Egleson talks of is a political channel. Our disagreement is not over what label Egleson wants to attach to his program for action, but with the *effectiveness* of the program he outlines.

### "Resistance"

"Resistance" sounds like a very radical and romantic course to follow. It, of course, immediately conjures up visions of the Greek underground or the French resistance to the Vichy regime. Underground or resistance movements under fascist or

totalitarian regimes may become a necessary, and sometimes the only, form of *political* struggle. However, since neither fascism nor totalitarianism exists in this country, the question for us is not whether "resistance" is the only "political channel" open to us, but whether it is the most effective channel for building a movement that can bring an end to the war in Vietnam.

Egleson throws out a couple of vague ideas such as creating "a political community outside the culture to sustain us," and resisting "the infinitely subtle ways our system molds us to careers by the fabricated imperatives of wealth and status." The main interest of these remarks is only that they indicate who Egleson is asking to join his "resistance" movement—the alienated middle class intellectuals who can *chose* whether or not to seek wealth and status.

The President of SDS mentions only one *concrete* thing which is part of his "resistance" program, and that is draft resistance. "Join us in supporting those who, like the 75 this morning, find they must burn their draft cards in order to say NO and be heard." "Join us in offering to help him (the man who says NO to the Army) in any way we can—leave the army or leave the country." Such acts are the way to begin "not only to end the war but to build a society which allows all men within and beyond these borders to live in peace and beauty."

Egleson's message to the half million marching in the streets of New York on April 15 was essentially: Why are you wasting your time here? Go home. Mass actions to end the war are meaningless. They only give you the illusion you are doing something, but you are not.

Without a doubt, it takes deep moral commitment to refuse to be drafted and spend five years in jail or leave one's country, perhaps forever. The question, however, is whether individual acts of defiance against the draft are a more effective tactic for building a movement to end the war than periodic mass demonstrations in the streets.

Political effectiveness, as well as ordinary intelligence, demands that you start to build a mass movement, mass resistance, or mass revolutionary party with what you have. The fact is that there are hundreds of thousands of men and women in this country who are ready and willing to demonstrate against the war, but who are not ready to burn their draft cards, refuse to be drafted, or leave the country. So what should we do *now* to help bring an end to the slaughter and destruction in Vietnam? Tell the hundreds of thousands to forget it unless they're willing to go to jail for five years?



Veterans of the Vietnam war join the New York mobilization, April 15.

### Why Mobilize?

The rulers of this country will respond to nothing but power, and a powerful opposition today means action by masses of people. The one thing that hundreds of thousands of opponents of the Vietnam war can agree upon is working together to organize periodic mass mobilizations against the war, and that is our most powerful weapon.

If we have not stopped the war yet, does that mean, *ipso facto*, that a mass opposition cannot end the war?

Some SDS leaders seem to forget that it was a *mass demonstration*, and one sponsored by their organization at that, which provided the impulse for giving birth to the antiwar movement. In an article in the SDS *Bulletin* (May, 1965), Paul Booth, Washington, D. C., coordinator for the SDS march, gave an excellent report of the demonstration, its impact and its lessons. "The important lesson of the March on Washington," he wrote, "is that we are many, and that we can apply a lot of heat ourselves if we so choose. Let us build the movement of opposition that we have begun so successfully."

The movement of opposition to the war has come a long way since the first March on Washington in April 1965, but unfortunately it has been done without the help of, and often over the opposition of most of the national leadership of SDS, which has consistently turned its back on the mass demonstrations of the antiwar movement, preferring instead the type of individual acts of civil disobedience which Egleson described.

The antiwar movement has continuously broadened its base and brought in new sections of the population, from the left wing of the civil rights movement such as SNCC and CORE, to the more conservative wing of SCLC, to a broader range of religious organizations, to sections of the labor movement. However meager the trade union support may be at this time, it represents one of the most significant breakthroughs made around the Spring Mobilization and is only a whisper of what can happen in the future. That, is the real base of political power in this country if it is organized independently of the ruling class and the trade union bureaucracy. If we are to build a movement that can bring this war to an end we must have tactics that can effectively mobilize this base of power.

The April 15 mobilization was a definitive answer to the pessimists who advanced the theory that people were tired of demonstrations and every succeeding attempt to rally large numbers of people would bring out fewer and fewer. The continued escalation of the war is the prime factor creating the increased opposition, but the fact that

the opponents of the war have been able to organize periodic mass mobilizations to demonstrate their *strength* has also been an important element in broadening the opposition by obligating people to take a stand and by bringing the scope of the opposition to the attention of millions of Americans.

A second and extremely important accomplishment of the antiwar movement has been its ability to begin to reach out to the GIs themselves who are forced to fight this war. Far from writing them off as mercenaries and hired killers, the antiwar movement has been able to take the facts of the war, in at least a limited way, to the GIs. We have attempted to show them that there is a large antiwar movement in this country and that it is on their side, not against them. That is why we say "bring the troops home now." By defending GIs victimized for their antiwar beliefs such as the Fort Hood Three and Pfc. Howard Petrick, we reach out to that section of the population most directly harmed by the war—the men who are fighting and dying. Most American youth are not willing to spend five years in jail or flee to Canada and are alienated by what they consider pacifist forms of protest such as draft card burning, refusal to serve, etc. Consequently, the tactics of the draft resisters do not serve to build effective bridges to the GIs.

### International Opposition

Finally, one of the most important results of the periodic mass mobilizations against the war has been their international repercussions. The growth of the antiwar movement in the U. S.—that erstwhile land of homogeneous reaction—has been a tremendous inspiration around the world, encouraging opponents of the war in other countries to organize antiwar committees and stage demonstrations, many of which have been solidarity demonstrations with the American antiwar movement. The recent decision by the French National Vietnam Committee to try and organize a demonstration of 100,000 in Paris this spring is a direct result of the April 15 mobilization and a concrete manifestation of its impact. The telegrams of solidarity that came from around the world to the Spring Mobilization testify to the importance the massive opposition within the U. S. has to our international allies.

Far from being a day of frustration and despair for opponents of the Vietnam war, April 15, 1967, will go down as one of the most significant days in the history of the United States. It is a new plateau on which we can *build*. Let's not whimper about our enemy's strength—let's fight.

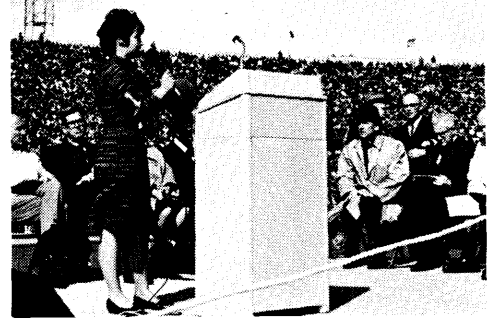
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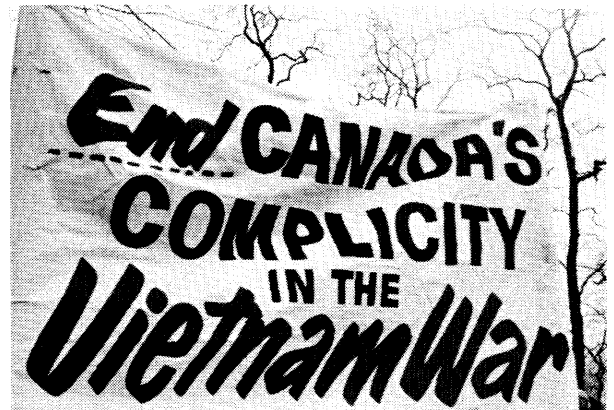
MPI delegation in New York.



Kipp Dawson, speaking in Kezar Stadium, San Francisco.



Market Street, San Francisco.



## Vietnam Veteran Blasts War At Detroit Hearing

BY IRVING KIRSCH

DETROIT—Over 500 people jammed Wayne State University's Upper DeRoy Auditorium to hear the U.S. government indicted for the commission of war crimes in Vietnam. The hearings, inspired by and in support of the International War Crimes Tribunal called by Bertrand Russell, were held as part of Vietnam Week sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee in Detroit. Scores of people unable to get into the packed auditorium stood in line outside.

Carl Campbell, an ex-marine, who spent eight months in Vietnam, gave eye-witness testimony on the way in which the war was being conducted. He has received the good conduct medal and the Vietnam service medal.

Campbell explained that he was ordered to "kill anything with slanted eyes." He reported that he had seen schools with small desks "all riddled with shrapnel holes," and gave first hand information on the mass slaughter of civilians.

Campbell said that he had seen "men and women pistol-whipped, beaten in the face with a pistol, kicked to the ground, slapped with boards and sticks." He also testified on the use of chemical warfare in Vietnam.

On the basis of the testimony of Campbell and other witnesses, noted Afro-American attorney Milton Henry was able to bring an indictment before the audience on behalf of the legal panel which had conducted the hearings. The indictment charged that the U.S. government

"has committed acts of aggression . . . [has] made use of napalm, and chemical products forbidden by the laws of war . . . has bombarded targets of a purely civilian nature . . . and that the Vietnamese prisoners have been subjected to inhumane treatment.

Henry also included charges against Dow Chemical Co., makers of napalm, and the University of Michigan for complicity in illegal acts of war. Other panelists were attorneys William Goodman and James Lafferty, chairman of the National Lawyers Guild.

Victor Papakhian, a Wayne State University law student, presented the legal basis for the hearings. He cited the Nuremberg definitions of crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, as well as other international treaties, conventions and covenants on which these definitions were based.

Other participants in the hearing included Charles Larsen, Student-Faculty Council president at Wayne State and Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., who spoke on the relationship of racism to the Vietnam war and the draft.

In his summation Henry said:

"I came to this proceeding tonight with something of a bias, which made me know that I had to . . . try to bend over backwards to see it from the other side. And I tried to do that all night. But . . . I have listened to the evidence, and I've come to the conclusion . . . that there has been barbarism of a type which possibly hasn't been seen in the world in the past thousand years."



## FOUR LIVES IN THE BEBOP BUSINESS

### NEW REVOLUTION

# JAZZ JAZZ JAZZ

(*Four Lives in the Bebop Business*, by A. B. Spellman, Pantheon Books, 1966)

The four musicians that A. B. Spellman writes about—Ornette Coleman, Cecil Taylor, Jackie McLean and Herbie Nichols—have several things in common. They are all black, and they are all talented jazz musicians. Jackie McLean has been playing for years in leading groups, with musicians such as Charlie Parker, Miles Davis, and Art Blakey. Cecil Taylor and Ornette Coleman are identified with the new music of the '60's. Herbie Nichols was a modern pianist who was forced to play other types of music, mainly Dixieland, in order to make a living.

*Four Lives in the Bebop Business*, consists mainly of material collected by Spellman in long interviews with these four musicians. Their music as well as their personal lives are described in this book, mainly in their own words.

American society has never treated jazz as a serious form of music. This shouldn't be surprising when one considers that it took years before Negro writers and singers were accepted as genuine artists and not just as "Negro artists." The artistic importance of jazz is ignored or denied by most music critics in this country, since they write for audiences which consider themselves too "cultured" to listen to it.

When Ornette Coleman first became widely known the general opinion was that he did not know how to play the saxophone. The music of people like Eric Dolphy, Cecil Taylor and Ornette Coleman has been described during the '60's as "anti-jazz." The critics are much more interested and impressed by white musicians such as Dave Brubeck or Stan Getz, who owe almost their entire jazz styles to black musicians who live in poverty and never receive credit for their innovations. It is much easier to describe the new music as chaos, than to sit down and think about the innovations

which give the musicians so much more freedom to express their personalities and conceptions of reality.

It is next to impossible for black jazz musicians to make a living as musicians. Cecil Taylor, probably the most talented jazz pianist today, has worked as a delivery man, record salesman, cook and dishwasher. The fact that he studied concert piano and music theory for several years at the New England Conservatory of Music has not changed the situation.

Musicians, of course, have no access to the books of the record companies. Jackie McLean speaking about record companies, says, "I did a million dates for them, and all it amounted to is that I paid for the whole thing; engineers, the notes on the back of the album, the color photograph, the whole thing."

Perhaps the most serious problem for jazz musicians is the lack of opportunity to freely develop their own style and conception of how a jazz group should function. One modern jazz pianist, Herbie Nichols, never had the opportunity to play with a group of his own choosing. He was always forced to play irregular stints which stifled his ideas. If he dared to express any of his own musical conceptions, he would have been fired immediately. Of these jobs, he says, "They were horrible jobs. There were good musicians on some of them, but we couldn't play any music. The music was only supposed to get the job done, keep time for the girls, back up the singers, keep the people dancing; and there was so much happening. I mean Parker and Monk and those people were really changing things. I kept hoping that things would get better, that I would have more opportunities, but they just never seemed to come."

Even when a jazz musician has an opportunity to play, he often suffers indignities that are not common to other musicians.

It is difficult for musicians like Cecil Taylor, whose style of music is not easy for other musicians to grasp, to develop a group which is able to play his music. It takes years of working together. This is impossible when economic necessity and the lack of jobs makes it impossible for the musicians of a group to stay together long enough to develop their group fully.

The only truly original American contribution to music is jazz; and jazz is going through a revolution, a revolution in which some of the most creative musicians of our day are involved. *Four Lives in the Bebop Business*, represents a significant contribution to the better understanding of both the jazz of the '50's (bebop) and the "new music" and provides a penetrating insight into the moods of the black community.

— HOWARD REED

# The Communist Party and Capitalist Politics

BY WENDY RYON

*"To oppose Goldwater one does not have to endorse or support Johnson. But under the electoral system and with the candidates running, what choice do people have but to vote for Johnson if they want to defeat Goldwater."* (emphasis added) Thus wrote William Weinstone in the Communist Party's newspaper, the *Worker* (Oct. 25, 1964), shortly before the 1964 presidential election.

L. B. J. was promoted by the CP as a "peace candidate" in the 1964 elections against the "greater evil" Goldwater; and when the election was over and Johnson had won by a landslide victory, the *Worker* (Nov. 8, 1964) carried a banner headline proclaiming: "Victory Spurs Fight for the People's Goals."

History has proved beyond a doubt that not only is Johnson far from a "peace lover" but he is one of the most hated and cynical war makers of this century. In the past two and a half years he has escalated the United States into the third largest war in world history bringing us closer to war with China and the threat of a nuclear war.

One would expect then that in a recently published pamphlet, "Toward a Peace Ticket in 1968", by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, the 1964 elections would be analyzed and some lessons drawn from this experience. However, in his report which is the pamphlet form of a presentation he made to the CP's National Committee in December, 1966, Hall does not go into the '64 elections.

Rather he begins his analysis with a look at the 1966 elections. He says that certain unique features were reflected in the '66 vote.

"In the total scene," he writes, "what is coming into ever sharper focus is that the catalyst that sparks all phenomena in the United States . . . is the persistent policy of imperialist aggression and war."

In 1966, the sentiment against the war was so strong that "the greatest single handicap for any candidate was a defense of the Johnson war policy."

He examines the dilemma that faces the trade union movement and correctly points out that the effectiveness of the movement was drastically cut because of the bureaucrats' support to pro-war candidates. There is a contradiction in fighting against inflation, wage restrictions, anti-strike legislation, and other effects of the war, while not fighting against the war itself. He says that labor's effort in the elections did not pay off because, "the union membership did not follow Meany in his backing of war-supporting candidates . . . because one cannot ride two horses, especially when they are going in opposite directions."

With all this one feels that a new militant stand is about to be taken by the CP. Hall has said that a pro-war stand will not be tolerated by the American people; that they are sick of capitalist wars and that labor has made a grave error in the past, by supporting war candidates. The logic of his statements leads one to the conclusion that it is time for the American workers to reject the capitalist war parties and build a party of their own that would serve their interests. But this is not his conclusion.

In light of his statements, at the very least, one would expect a call for the flat rejection of any future pro-war candidate. But no. We are told that it is "one-sided" to judge a candidate by the degree of his opposition to the war. Writing about the 1966 Congressional elections in California he says that, ". . . if the California New Politics Conference refused to endorse for re-election candidates like Gus Hawkins, Ed Roybal and others on the basis of their vote for war appropriations—this, it seems to me, was an error in many ways. It placed the issue of war on too narrow a footing. . . . Not all opposition to the war is going to be on a level of total opposition. Therefore, our level cannot be the yardstick for relationships or endorsements." (emphasis added)

Does Hall really believe that candidates who vote for war appropriations can be acceptable for endorsement from socialists, antiwar fighters and black militants? No matter what yardstick one uses, a candidate that votes for war appropriations is voting for the war.

We begin to see the outlines of the same old Communist Party policy—the futile scramble to find the "better" guys within the two parties.

But then Hall seems to become militant again in his section entitled "Independent Political Action." He says that "there are no political organizations of the two parties in which the masses can participate. They have to build their own independent forms." He goes on to say that now is the time for "boldness" and "experimentation" with independent forms.

This time we feel that he *must* be ready to issue a call for an independent party based on the working class and the black community. But again we are wrong. To call for such a party would be to "skip stages" we are told. *"While we work for a new party because it is a political necessity . . . today's political realities must be faced. Therefore, we are not for a new party now."* (emphasis added)

Just what is meant by independence if not a break with the two capitalist parties? There are actually three levels of independent political action, Hall explains.

The first level is demonstrated by what happened in the '66 elections—"the unprecedented splitting of tickets within the two-party system on November 8th. . . . This is a level that is both *within* and *outside the two party policy or machine.*"

This level of "independence" then, involves having an open mind as to which capitalist party to vote for. Very bold indeed!

The second level is even bolder. It calls for a certain craftiness. Here you "use" the two-party system to run candidates "independently." The Robert Scheer campaign is an example of this type of politics. In this case you run on the Demo-

cratic Party ticket (and of course register people as Democrats so they can vote for you in the primaries) in order to gain control of the party.

Scheer was unsuccessful in wresting power from the deeply entrenched capitalist interests that control the Democratic Party and the more he tried to line up support within the party, the more his opposition to the war was watered down.

Hall's third level of political "independence" begins to sound more like genuine independence. It is "completely out of the two party orbit, politically, organizationally, and on the ballot. . . . Broad, Left independent movements which very often include ourselves, the Communists." But since Hall rejected the idea that a party based on the working class can be built at the present time, he could only be talking of a third capitalist candidate or of a third capitalist party, perhaps along the lines of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party.

At any rate, lest we fear he has gotten too bold, Hall quickly reassures us that this latter form would be used only in cases of dire emergency. He says, "When there are two candidates who present no choice on such a fundamental issue as the war policy, and when we know the liberal candidate is not going to fight on other issues either, should not an independent candidate be considered for the specific or for the main purpose of exposing the candidate of the ultra-right?"

He is also quick to assure his old friends in the Reform Democratic clubs around the country that he has not forgotten them in all this discussion of "independence." According to Hall clubs along with the California Democratic Council are also independent forms! And *"they can play an important role if they are not put up as the sole independent forms, and if they work with other independent forms."*

In the end we are still left guessing what the CP has in mind for '68. Perhaps we will be urged to exercise our independence by voting for a Republican instead of a Democrat this time.

Or perhaps we will chuckle with the knowledge that the candidate is pulling a fast one, by "using" the Democratic Party as we press the level for the Democratic ticket.

At best we would be urged to vote for an "independent" pro-capitalist peace candidate.

We hope that as the 1968 election approaches the Communist Party leadership will not support any of these three alternatives but will make a decisive break with all forms of capitalist politics both inside and outside the Democratic Party. Unfortunately this is not too likely and those members and supporters of the Communist Party who do want to campaign against pro-war, pro-capitalist candidates will have to turn elsewhere.



A socialist and antiwar alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties: Judy White, SWP candidate for governor of New York in 1966, speaking at a Boston antiwar rally.



A socialist and antiwar alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties: Judy White, SWP candidate for governor of New York in 1966, speaking at a Boston antiwar rally.

# Black Power Hits

## The Campus

BY ELIZABETH BARNES

Florida Representative William Cramer recently told the Congress that, what Stokely Carmichael is doing is "anti-American" and "he should be put in jail." Rep. Cramer is one of the congressmen who are becoming concerned about the enthusiastic reception that Carmichael is receiving on his tours of black campuses around the country. They fear Carmichael because he is articulating pro-black, pro-black power and anti-Vietnam war views which are gaining more and more adherents among black students.

This is reflected by the fact that at Howard University a thousand cheering students turned out on April 22 to hear Muhammad Ali speak against the Vietnam war. And on March 21, Howard students hung and burned effigies of Selective Service Director, Lewis B. Hershey, Howard University President James Nabrit Jr. and Dean Frank Snowden of Howard's College of Liberal Arts.

Black consciousness is not only growing among students at all black colleges, but also on predominately white campuses where there has been little nationalist feeling up to now. For example Afro-American Societies have been formed at such staid New England schools as Mount Holyoke, Harvard, Amherst and Dartmouth.

On many campuses students have come into head on collision with school administrations over the issues of free speech, abusive rules, and inferior education. Such was the case recently at the all black Texas Southern University (TSU) in Houston, Texas. A student boycott of classes began when the administration refused to recognize Friends of SNCC as a campus organization.

In the course of the fight, new grievances were raised including demands for better facilities, higher faculty salaries and better food.

The students protested the obvious racial discrimination existing in Houston's educational sys-

### **Rioting Nashville Negroes Fire on Cars, Stone Police**

**Grocery Set Afire With Molotov Cocktail  
on Second Day of Student Outbreak—  
400 Policemen Fight Bands, 40 Held**

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

NASHVILLE, Monday, April 10—Negro rioters fired rifles at Stokely Carmichael, the chair-passing cars, stoned policemen and set at least one white from sneaking at Vanderbilt

Typical news report places blame for "violence" on black students.

tem. Only six blocks from TSU is the University of Houston, a predominantly white campus. Both TSU and the University are state supported. But on any basis of comparison: physical plant, curriculum, teacher's salaries, or rules, the two campuses are not only separate but grossly unequal. For example, campus cops at TSU wear guns, but cops at the University of Houston do not. Girls at TSU are forced to be in for a 9 p.m. curfew on week nights, but girls at the U. of H. can stay out until 11 p.m. A much higher quality of food is served at the U. of H. than TSU.

One of the most important student revolts has taken place in Nashville, Tennessee where for several days black students defended themselves in a struggle initiated by the cops. The confrontation in Nashville is now being used to stir up a witch-hunt against Stokely Carmichael and SNCC as well as the black students involved.

What happened in Nashville shows the kind of



Students from Texas Southern U. boycott classes.

traps which can be laid for black students by racist police and city governments. When Carmichael was invited to speak at the predominately white Vanderbilt University in Nashville, a local daily paper, the *Nashville Banner* led a campaign to get Vanderbilt to withdraw the invitation. When this did not work, the *Banner* started predicting that Carmichael's presence in Nashville would lead to violence.

Then the police began to prepare for Carmichael's arrival by mobilizing the "riot" squad for a "riot alert." According to the *Banner* itself the following took place on April 8, 1967: "As Carmichael and his goons departed for the Fisk area, two police squads were prepared. *They had been ready and waiting since Friday morning.*

"So when the SNCC picketers began to play their part in front of the tavern of Jefferson St.—when the crowds gathered and the fury mounted—the police put into effect their long-laid plans. Streets were blocked. The trap was closed."

SNCC describes the same events in a press release as follows:

*"On Saturday April 8th, a Fisk campus restaurant owner called white cops to arrest one black student . . . Because other students and onlookers felt the arrest was unjust, they began to protest as the police dragged him away. At this point, the police called out the riot squad which was fully prepared and waiting for such an excuse to move in and take control. Squads and squads of white police moved in, the crowd grew larger as everyone wondered what was happening and what this student had done to deserve such treatment.*

*"Police began to push and shove their way into the crowd, using billy-clubs against anyone who dared protest, which resulted in several onlookers*

*retaliating by throwing rocks and bottles. This was the only means they had to defend themselves and register their indignation.*

*"The riot squad began shooting . . . When students at nearby Tennessee State College demonstrated in a sympathy protest, more riot squads moved into the area, again claiming they were 'shooting into the air. —however, two students were shot in the neck, several were wounded in the arms and legs. . . ."*

*"By Sunday evening, over 100 black students and citizens were arrested, over 50 people had been injured."*

Carmichael and SNCC were blamed for the outbreaks in the press and by white government officials. The Tennessee State legislature even voted to have Carmichael deported.

SNCC has filed a suit with the U.S. District Court denying that Carmichael was responsible for the incident and asking that the state's "Inciting to Riot" statute be declared void.

The SNCC press release on Nashville ends by saying, *"It is very dangerous to be a black intellectual in the United States. It is dangerous to think for yourself, and it is dangerous to protest the violence and humiliation which white cops have heaped on black communities in the past and are getting ready to heap on us in the coming months. We in SNCC fully expect the white press, politicians, and powers that be to blame SNCC and Stokely Carmichael for what is happening in Nashville. The black people in that city know better, and we hope that the rest of our black brothers and sisters throughout the country will know better, that they will not believe the lies and tricks the press puts forth, that they will think for themselves . . ."*

## **YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM**

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# ... GI Letters

(continued from p. 5)

will be difficult, but literature can be given to them by passing it out at transportation centers (bus, train, airports). Literature, I think, should tell them that the antiwar movement understands their situation and supports them 100%. It should also explain the Fort Hood Three case and any other cases of that type (Donald Duncan, Lt. Howe, etc.). It should tell them that the ACLU, as well as the antiwar movement will support their rights to protest against the war. The feeling against the war is quite deep in the army. Most of the GIs are draftees and don't understand why they have to do the fighting in *Johnson's* dirty war.

One guy who is a writer for the post newspaper has written an article on me. He came into my room last night and asked me if he could write an article on why I am against the war. I thought he was kidding and said, "sure." So he sat there and started asking me questions. Later that night he said he had the article done and showed it to me. It didn't look too bad. He hasn't had an article printed yet, so I doubt if it will get in, though.

August 31

... The company officers now know about me. One of them has teased me about passing out "communist" literature. He hasn't acted hostile, but instead treats it more as a joke.

\* \* \*

In October, Howard was transferred to Fort Hood from Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, where he had basic training.

\* \* \*

October 6

I haven't had time to talk to many of the guys yet. The bathroom walls show that not everyone here is for the war.

November 22

I'm glad the *Militant* is giving good coverage to the Lowndes County Freedom Party election. I have a black friend who is "black power" all the way. He just got back from Vietnam and is really against what he saw over there. I got talking to him election night while we were watching the election returns. He mentioned how he liked Carmichael, and then I told him about the Lowndes County movement. He and his wife had both read the "Black Panther Party" pamphlet and his wife read *Malcolm X Speaks*. He is reading it now.

My antiwar material is starting to get low, so I'll make up a list of what I want and you can send it to me.

## Meet Young Socialists in Your Area

- ANN ARBOR: YSA, 630 Miller Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich., tel. 761-3678  
 ANTIOCH: YSA, c/o Rick Wadsworth, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio. tel. (513) 767-1576  
 ATLANTA: YSA, Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308  
 BALDWIN WALLACE COLLEGE (Berea, Ohio): John Yard, Box 1338, Berea, Ohio  
 BALTIMORE, MD.: YSA, c/o Les Evenchick, P.O. Box 751, Baltimore, Md. 21203, tel. 539-2867  
 BERKELEY-OAKLAND: YSA, c/o Carl Frank, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, tel. 843-6082  
 U. of Cal.: Pete Camejo, 2418-1/2 Roosevelt Ave., tel. 843-6165  
 BOSTON: YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, tel. 491-8893  
 M. I. T.: Nat London, tel. 354-1999  
 Harvard-Radcliffe: tel. 868-3021  
 Boston University: Debby Ginsberg, 267 Windsor St., Cambridge, Mass., tel. 868-1033  
 CHICAGO: YSA, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, tel. 939-5044  
 Roosevelt U.: c/o Activities Office, 403 S. Michigan Ave.  
 University of Illinois Chicago Campus: Richard Hill, 3039 W. Walton, tel. 533-6811  
 CLEVELAND: YSA, E. V. Debs Hall, 9891 Euclid Ave., tel. 791-1669  
 Cuyahoga Community College: James Katz, tel. 371-0290  
 DENVER: YSA, Box 2649, Denver, Colorado  
 DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., tel. TE1-6135  
 Wayne State U.: YSA, Box 49, Mackenzie Hall, WSU  
 KENT (Ohio): YSA, c/o Barbara Brock, Student Activities Center, Kent State U.  
 LOS ANGELES: YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif., 90033, tel. 269-4953  
 UCLA: Mike Geldman, tel. 656-4185  
 Cal. State College at L.A.: Vic Dinnerstein, tel. 064-2268  
 MADISON (Wisc.): YSA, 202 Marion St., tel. 256-0857  
 MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL: YSA, 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 204, tel. FE2-7781  
 U. of Minn.: c/o Larry Seigle, 1608 S. 5th St., tel. 339-1864  
 NEW YORK: YSA, 873 Broadway, tel. 982-6051  
 Queens College: Dave Frankel, 138-45 85th Drive, tel. OL7-9182  
 Columbia U.: Peter and Carole Seidman, 255 W. 108th St. #1D, tel. 666-4917  
 City College: Steve Dash, 219 Audubon Ave., tel. 781-9181  
 New York Univ.: Melissa Singler, 305 E. 21st St., tel. 677-4944  
 PHILADELPHIA: YSA, c/o John Benson, 440 N. 38th St., tel. EV 6-7699  
 U. of Penn.: Joel Aber, 4732 Kingsessing Ave., tel. SA9-6075  
 PORTLAND: YSA, c/o Bill Blau, P.O. Box 17154, Kenton Station, Portland, Oregon, tel. 289-4223  
 SAN FRANCISCO: YSA, 1733 Waller St., tel. 752-1790  
 S. F. State College: Paul McKnight, 625 Ashbury, #12, tel. LK2-2838  
 S. F. City College: Jim Miller, tel. 387-2562  
 SAN JOSE: YSA, c/o Anita Hansen, 34 S. 9th St.  
 SEATTLE: YSA, c/o Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way, NE  
 WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, c/o Steve and Linda Wetter, 1731 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., tel. 387-7955  
 UP STATE NEW YORK: YSA, c/o David Comeau, 47 South St., Glens Falls, N.Y.

### DISTRIBUTORS OF THE YS IN CANADA

- TORONTO: Young Socialist Forum, 32 Cecil St., tel. 921-4627  
 MONTREAL: Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 66 ouest, rue Guilbault, tel. 844-7742  
 OTTAWA: Young Socialist Forum, Box 2165, Station D.  
 EDMONTON: Young Socialist Forum, Rm. 1, 11129-89 Ave. tel. 433-8791  
 VANCOUVER: Young Socialist Forum, 1208 Granville, tel. 682-9332





## ...Notes

(continued from p. 2)

**ACLU Backs Air Force Captain in Suit:** Air Force Captain Dale E. Noyd has filed suit against the Air Force to prevent it from ordering him to Vietnam and then disciplining him for refusing to report. The Captain, who has been in the Air Force since 1955 and who has served as a tactical fighter pilot, said that he supported the use of force for defense, but that he would never be used as an instrument of aggression. Shortly after applying for a resignation on the basis of conscientious objection to a particular war, Captain Noyd was reassigned to the 27th Tactical Fighter Wing, believed to be a Vietnam replacement unit.

**Young Socialist Pamphlet Published in Greek:** "War and Revolution in Vietnam," by Doug Jenness, has been published in Greek by Ton Neon Bibliopoleion (New Publishing House). The Greek edition of the pamphlet is dedicated to the memory of Leo Bernard, the Detroit YSAer killed last year by a right-wing gunman. The pamphlet was also published in French in 1966, and the English edition has sold over 25,000 copies in the United States.

**Antiwar Action Set For Canadian Centennial:** On the 100th anniversary of the Canadian confederation, a demonstration will be held in Montreal against Canadian complicity in the war in Vietnam, and for the withdrawal of American troops. The nationwide action has been called by the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam which was formed on March 12th by students from across Canada. The three slogans of the demonstration are "Build the International Antiwar movement! End Canadian Complicity! Withdraw U. S. Troops Now!"

**"Anti-Judy White Bill":** A bill, described by the *New York Times* as the "anti-Judy White bill" has been passed by the New York State legislature. On the pretext that a vote for an "ineligible" candidate is a wasted vote, the bill has outlawed protest candidacies such as the 1966 Socialist Workers Party candidacy of Judy White for Governor. The New law reinforces the unjust qualifications for office in the State (the governor must be 30 years old) and makes even stronger the contradiction of being forced to die for your country at 18 but not being allowed to vote until you're 21 and not being allowed to hold office until you're 30.

Most important, the bill would have deprived

the 12,500 New Yorkers who voted for Judy White of the chance to vote against the war in Vietnam, against racism, for black power, for labor's rights, and for socialism.

**"The Bread is Rising":** A series of articles in the *New York Times* have carried threats of police violence to ghetto militants under the guise of "cracking down on riotous Negro gangs." The most recent of these articles centered around revelations by Eugene Callender, Executive Director of the New York Urban League, of "organized cells talking about the possibility of violence." The cells, said Callender, were centered around young men going around the community wearing a button with the slogan "The bread is rising." The sharp-eyed Dr. Callender neglected to mention that the button was put out by the Committee of Faith, the organized ministers and clergymen participating in the Spring Mobilization Committee.

**Canadian Pamphlet on Hugo Blanco:** An address by Andre Gunder Frank has been printed in an attractive pamphlet entitled "Hugo Blanco Must Not Die." The defense of Hugo Blanco is introduced by Kenneth Golby. Copies of the pamphlet are available from Robert McCarthy, c/o Massey College, 4 Devonshire Place, Toronto, Canada.

**Spanish Students Greet American Antiwar Fighters:** Of the many telegrams and letters of support received by the Student Mobilization Committee, one from the Vietnam Committee of the University of Madrid, was of particular interest. The letter explained that major campaigns against the war have been undertaken in the Spanish capitals, but that news of antiwar activity was suppressed by the Franco government. Demonstrations are being planned in front of the U. S. Embassy in Madrid, and a series of actions is being undertaken which will be directed against American intervention in both Vietnam and Spain.

**College Newspapers Hit War:** Many college newspapers gave very favorable coverage to Vietnam Week and the April 15th Mobilization, and some editors have published editorials opposing Johnson's war policy. An indication of the depth and geographical breadth of this opposition was indicated by an editorial in the *Montana Kaiman*, published daily at the University of Montana. The editorial, a biting attack on the racism and economic foundations of the war, ended by saying, "The United States should close the credibility gap by pulling out of Vietnam and admit it has been wrong in being there."

**Why DuBois Club Members Join the YSA:** At a successful Bay Area socialist conference that drew 200 youth, George Novack, noted socialist scholar, was asked in a television interview why so many members of the DuBois Clubs have joined the YSA. Novack indicated that he had noticed this trend and attributed it to the fact that "rebels against the American social system like the clear and unequivocal positions of the YSA", especially its "refusal to support either the Democratic or Republican parties" and its "determined struggle against U. S. presence in Vietnam."

**U.S. Drops McCarran Act Case!** After a fourteen-year fight, the Justice Department has given up its attempt to make the Communist Party register under the provisions of the Smith and McCarran Acts. In a landmark decision in the Court of Appeals, the judges declared that the McCarthyite McCarran Act awws "hopelessly at odds" with self-incrimination provisions of the Bill of Rights.

**Wisconsin Students Vote Against the War:** Ann Lachenbruch, YS correspondent at the University of Wisconsin reports that an all-campus referendum showed a majority of the students voting to be opposed to the continuation of the war in Vietnam.

Referendums held at Wayne State University in Detroit and San Francisco City College indicated that a majority of students voting on those campuses were for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops.

**Algerian Students Burn Johnson in Effigy:** Several thousand Algerian students chanted slogans against the war in Vietnam and burned an effigy of Presi-



At the April 15th Mobilization YS salesmen sold 1,960 copies of the *Young Socialist* and 800 copies of two YS pamphlets, *War and Revolution in Vietnam* and *GI's and the Fight Against War*.

dent Johnson in a demonstration before the American Cultural Center in Algiers. The students were on their way to a mass meeting to observe "world youth day against colonialism and imperialism" and stopped at the center to protest American intervention around the world. Shortly after it began the demonstration was broken up by club-wielding riot police.

**Sartre Reports Embassy Promise that Hugo Blanco Will Not Be Shot:** Jean-Paul Sartre, speaking at a mass meeting in defense of the victims of Peruvian repression, announced that he had received a letter from the Peruvian embassy guaranteeing him that Hugo Blanco would not be executed. Sartre added that the Peruvian authorities are not to be trusted and said, "We will not cease our struggle until the day that Hugo Blanco is free!"

Messages of support have continued to pour into Peru, and some of the recent statements have come from the National Council of SDS, West Berlin socialist youth, and a large number of Argentine trade unions. The urgency of the campaign is underscored by a report, which came on the heels of Hugo's hospitalization for a "lung ailment," that he had been badly beaten by Peruvian prison officials.

Only widespread international protest has stayed the firing squad up to now. Protests should be cabled to: Consejo Supremo de Justicia, Lima, Peru; Presidente Fernando Belaunde Terry, Lima, Peru; and copies should be mailed to Hugo Blanco's attorney, Dr. Alfredo Battilana, Avenida Nicola de Pierola 966, Oficina 215, Lima, Peru.

**Glad to Get It Over With:** In an article entitled "The Invisible Veteran" the *Wall Street Journal* noted that veterans of the war in Vietnam who return to college campuses on the GI bill do so with a minimum of fanfare. One veteran quoted in the article expressed what seems to be a common sentiment, "I was glad to get it over with and get out—and so were all the guys in my outfit." Speaking about veterans' organizations, another GI commented, "The VFW sent me some stuff while I was in Vietnam. I threw it away."

**Jersey High Students Boycott Speed-up:** Over 1,000 Jersey City, New Jersey, high school students participated in a boycott that closed the schools in that area for two days. They refused to attend classes which were scheduled during Easter vacation to make up for time lost during a strike by the Jersey City Federation of Teachers. The students held a city-wide march and demonstration outside of the City Hall. The Mayor, watching from a window, called the situation "deplorable."

# HELP ORGANIZE SUMMER ANTIWAR PROJECTS



"From the beginning of the Spring Mobilization we have talked of launching a movement to end the war in Vietnam. To us, launching a movement has meant that the number of Americans *totally* engaged in antiwar activity of all kinds has to increase geometrically from its present number—and I think that the time is ripe.

"Students and youth especially must be involved, for we have been in the forefront of the movement and continue to set the pace. Therefore, as a start, the Student Mobilization Committee proposes that we call on every high school and college student in the country to spend his summer totally engaged in radical activity to end the war. The Student Mobilization Committee will provide national coordination for a series of action programs which are imaginative, viable, and serious and which will provide every serious student with a job that he can do and is ready for."—Linda Dannenberg, April 15, 1967

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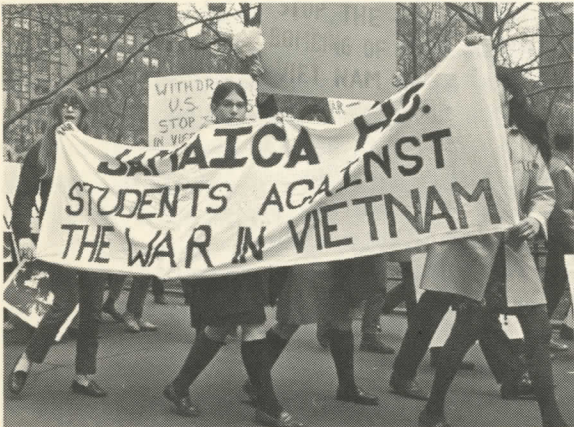
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