

Guevara's Declaration

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New Escalation Plan Revealed by Army; Risks War with China

By Dick Roberts

APRIL 25 — The *Wall Street Journal* today revealed that U.S. bombing of MIG air bases in north Vietnam and rail yards in Hanoi are only the first steps in a major new escalation of the war. Additional targets already approved by Washington include civilian population centers. At least 50,000 troops will be sent into combat above the present stated limit of 470,000 men.

These plans were described by *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter Frederick Taylor, writing from Washington. "Beyond yesterday's targets," Taylor stated, "three more major airfields probably will be struck soon. And there will be further strikes aimed not at purely military targets — directly affecting north Vietnam's civilian population.

"Among these: The steam power plant that provides electricity for Hanoi, including its industry." Late papers today indicate heavy bombing of Haiphong and the closest attacks so far to the center of Hanoi.

This new escalation of Washington's aggression in north Vietnam poses a serious threat to China. According to correspondent Taylor, the risks involved were discounted in the Pentagon: "The north Vietnamese airfields have been among the targets U.S. military men have wanted to hit since the war began.

Confrontation with China?

"But until yesterday they had been off-limits because of the administration's fears that the north Vietnamese would react to such bombing by moving their planes across the border to bases in Red China and flying missions from there; U.S. planes, flying in 'hot-pursuit' against these China-based MIGs, might cross the border — and bring the U.S. into head-on confrontation with China."

However, according to Taylor, "U.S. Air Force generals, though perhaps deliberately minimizing the peril of a clash with China, have been saying recently that there would be little need to pursue north Vietnamese fighters over the Chinese border . . ."

One trouble with this proposition is that the same day Taylor wrote this article, two U.S. fighter planes "invaded Chinese air space" according to the Peking radio and were shot down.

Each escalation of the war has

been followed by a new escalation and a more dangerous one. Peking has every reason to believe that such escalation will eventually include an attack on China, herself.

U.S. commander in Vietnam, General Westmoreland, told a press luncheon in New York yesterday that "the Vietcong is not a legitimate nationalist movement. It is a movement organized, controlled and supported by the Communist government of north Vietnam. What support it gets from the people in south Vietnam is largely the result of terror, intimidation, and murder of those individuals who support it."

That kind of talk betrays the cynical mentality of the ruling

circles which ordered the latest escalation of attack on north Vietnam.

The terror, intimidation and murder in Vietnam originate in Washington. The guns, napalm and bombs directed against Vietnamese south and north are the guns, napalm and bombs of a foreign aggressor — Washington.

The miracle is that given the horrendous power of the U.S. attack, the people of Vietnam have stood up against it so courageously and for such a long time. We here who are opposed to this war can take heart from their example, and meet Johnson's new escalation of the war with an escalation of the antiwar movement.

Case of Howard Petrick Turned Over to Pentagon

APRIL 26 — The case of antiwar GI Howard Petrick is now in the hands of the Pentagon. The top military brass will now decide the army's next steps in the case of Pfc. Petrick, who has been threatened with court-martial for the "crime" of expressing his socialist and antiwar views to his fellow GIs.

Statements of support continue to come in to the Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick. Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE, sent the following:

"As an organization dedicated to the creation of a society in which all men are equal, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), condemns the criminal violation of the fundamental constitutional and human rights of Pfc. Petrick by the United States Army. CORE supports the efforts of the Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick in the belief that a soldier cannot be forced to sacrifice any of the basic freedoms guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States, as a citizen. Among these rights, two of the most vital are freedom of speech and freedom of political association."

Student Support

Expressions of solidarity and support have also been made by student antiwar committees. The Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which Pfc. Petrick belonged to before he was inducted, said in a letter to the antiwar GI released by the defense committee: "We are willing and eager to give all the help we can to your case and to you, as a hard-working member of the Minnesota CEWV when you were with us, and now as a brave soldier in your struggle for justice."

The Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam, the New York University CEWV, the Student

Mobilization Committee of San Francisco State College, and the Antioch College CEWV have all expressed support.

Statements of support have also come from Pedro Juan Rua, organizational secretary of the New York branch of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; David McReynolds, field secretary of the War Resisters League; and Barbara Deming, member of the editorial board of *Liberation* magazine.

Expressed his Opinions

Pfc. Petrick is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. He was inducted into the army last July, after he had refused to sign the disclaimer concerning organizations on the Attorney General's so-called "subversive" list. Since his induction, he has openly discussed his views in opposition to the war in Vietnam and his views on other political questions with his fellow GIs.

While he was on leave from the Ft. Hood army base in Texas from March 23 to April 1, his belongings were searched and his reading material on Vietnam and other topics was confiscated. When he returned, he was told he faced court-martial on possible charges of making "disloyal statements," "subversion," or causing "disaffection" within the army. The case has now been turned over to the Pentagon for further action.

The Provisional Committee to Aid Howard Petrick is appealing for statements of support and for protest letters to be sent to Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. The Committee is badly in need of funds to publicize the threat against Pfc. Petrick and for legal costs. Send contributions to the Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick, P.O. Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



MUHAMMAD ALI

Muhammad Ali Blasts Viet War

APRIL 25 — Muhammad Ali, world heavyweight boxing champion, blasted the war in Vietnam, saying he would not go into the army "simply to help continue the domination of white slave masters over darker people the world over.

"Why should they ask me," the champion said, "another so-called Negro, to put on a uniform and go 10,000 miles from home and drop bombs and bullets on brown people in Vietnam while so-called Negro people in Louisville are treated like dogs and denied simple human rights?"

Muhammad Ali continued at the April 20 press conference, "I will not disgrace my religion, my people or myself by becoming a tool to enslave those who are fighting for justice, equality and freedom."

The reaction of young black people to Muhammad Ali's stand against the war was indicated when over 1,000 black students turned out to hear him at Howard University in Washington on April 22. The huge throng cheered Ali's black nationalist speech, cheered when he reiterated his stand against the war, and bought

hundreds of copies of *Muhammad Speaks* autographed by the world champion.

Ali is due to be inducted into the army on April 28. He has stated he will not take the traditional step forward required for induction into the army. Yesterday the Supreme Court rejected two appeals by Ali. One appeal related to Ali's contention that the draft itself is unconstitutional; the other was an appeal from a lower court decision denying draft exemption to Ali in spite of the fact that he is a minister of the Nation of Islam.

The boxer could receive five years in prison for refusing to be drafted.

De Gaulle Bars War Crimes Tribunal

French President de Gaulle has forbidden the War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell to hold hearings in France. In a letter written to Jean-Paul Sartre, an organizer of the Tribunal, De Gaulle made it clear that not even private meetings of the Tribunal could be held on French soil.

The Tribunal will now seek to hold the hearings in another country.



The Perfidy of Liberals

In dealing with social welfare measures capitalist politicians move in super-low gear. When it comes to matters like breaking strikes, however, they put the governmental machine into over-drive.

Last winter Johnson invoked the Railway Labor Act to block a walkout by six railroad shopcraft unions representing 150,000 workers. The action followed their refusal to accept terms for a new contract that were dictated by a Johnson-appointed board. Further negotiations brought no change in the union-employer deadlock, and a work stoppage was scheduled to begin when a voluntary extension of the strike ban under the Railway Labor Act expired on April 12.

Two days before the deadline Johnson asked Congress to continue the ban another 20 days to May 3. Within 24 hours both the Senate and House had passed the desired measure and on April 12 it was flown to Uruguay for Johnson's signature.

Protesting against this new attack on labor, a union spokesman said, "If the government instead had let railroad management know, firmly and unmistakably, that the railroad workers' right to strike is not going to be abolished, then management would have made a fair offer and this dispute would be settled by now." He also announced that the unions have set a new strike deadline of May 3, the day the extended strike ban expires.

Johnson reacted to the union protest by threatening to ask for further strike-blocking action by Congress if the dispute is not ended. He thereby continued to remove any pressure the railroad owners might have felt to meet union demands. All they have to do is lay back and wait for the government to blackjack the workers into a settlement on company terms.

The *Wall Street Journal* reports "speculation that, should a railroad settlement fail to come during the 20 days, the administration would send Congress a one-shot compulsory arbitration proposal." Such a step would follow the precedent set in 1963 when the Kennedy administration pushed through the first compulsory arbitration law in U.S. history to prevent a railroad walkout.

Danger of Further Attack

Behind the present assault on the railway shopmen lurks a further sinister attack on labor. The capitalists are dissatisfied with both the Railway Labor Act and the Taft-Hartley Act because these laws only postpone strikes and fail to provide a means for definitively crushing labor struggles. They want antilabor measures with sharper teeth. While the capitalist politicians may juggle around some with the hot potato thus handed to them, they will wind up obeying their masters' command. Consider, for example, a bill submitted April 6 by Senator Javits of New York, a Republican liberal.

Javits calls for a Presidential board to dictate settlement terms in disputes over union contracts. If a union rejects the terms and undertakes to strike, a special receiver would be appointed to take over the facility involved and operate it in the name of the government. There would be a permanent strike ban until the union comes to terms with the employer. The facility would be operated "for the account of the employer," or he could elect to be paid "compensation" by the government while the facility is in "receivership." In the latter case he could sue the government in the courts if he thought he should get a bigger financial handout than the government offered him.

Speaking in the Senate the day Congress extended the strike ban against the railway shopmen, the same Javits had the gall to say, "I think it should be an assurance to labor that the problem is in the hands of its friends and not of its enemies." His reference was to himself and other "friends" of labor, such as Senator Morse of Oregon, a Democratic liberal and floor manager of the measure extending the strike ban. The measure passed 81 to 1 in the Senate and 396 to 8 in the House. Those voting against it generally advocated other steps to prevent the threatened railroad walkout.

This test proves once again that labor has no defenders in government. There will be none until the unions break with the perfidious liberals and organize an independent labor party.

—Farrell Dobbs

BACK TO GOMPERS?

West Coast Longshore Convention

By Olaf Hedstrom

SAN FRANCISCO — The biennial convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, held here April 3 to 8, demonstrated once again the essentially conservative nature of the top leadership of the ILWU, headed by Harry Bridges.

The most radical event of the convention was a speech by British labor leader Clive Jenkins. Militant action against the war in Vietnam was shelved. Only in the area of wage negotiations were gains registered [a future article will deal with present ILWU contracts].

The convention's statement of policy on the war in Vietnam correctly says that the United States doesn't belong in Vietnam and should get out. It expresses opposition to the AFL-CIO executive council "which officially supports the administration in the war." But when it comes to *how* and *when*, the statement does not go beyond endorsement of the positions of U Thant and Senator Fulbright, i.e., negotiate, cease-fire, and gradual withdrawal. The international officers' report even lists with approval Fulbright's eighth and final point which states that if an agreement for ending the war cannot be reached, "the United States should consolidate its forces in highly defensible areas in south Vietnam and keep them there indefinitely."

The resolutions committee declined to report out for favorable action several resolutions submitted from ILWU locals supporting the Spring Mobilization against



Harry Bridges

the war in Vietnam. ("Harry was against it," was the explanation given in the corridors. "You know how *he* is. If there's one person in it he doesn't like — he's against it.")

The resolutions committee's compromise was that the Spring Mobilization would be announced to the convention, but not presented for endorsement. (Significantly, the *ILWU Dispatcher* had no coverage of the Mobilization prior to April 15.)

Bridges declined to speak at the Mobilization. Charles Duarte, international executive board member, did speak, however, indicating there was not complete agreement in top circles.

The principal speaker before the convention on the Vietnam question was Republican Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon. Hatfield's chief complaint was that American boys are fighting a war that the south Vietnamese should be fighting. Hatfield said that if he were President he would say "All right, this is your war: we are willing to *supply, train and equip* — but on a scheduled basis. We want to see you substitute *your* manpower for *our* manpower as we de-Americanize this war and put it back in the hands of the Asians." He reminded his listeners that Eisenhower had ended the Korean war (by permanent partition), and concluded by saying, "You can advance the cause of peace by supporting the Republican Party!" Hatfield received a "standing ovation, with loud and prolonged applause" (convention minutes).

Clive Jenkins, antiwar labor leader from England, in his address to the convention, said that British labor had stopped direct participation of their government in the Vietnam war. He called the war a "dirty imperialist war," the like of which the British people knew too well.

Independent Political Action

An examination of the report of the officers (signed by Harry Bridges and other international officers) and the statement of policy on independent political action, shows that the ILWU is officially moving away from the Democratic Party toward a Gompers-like policy of fishing for "friends of labor" in both capitalist parties.

It is noted in the report that "Labor lost a net of 33 friends in the House elections — in effect, labor came out of the elections with a bloody nose and possibly the need to take a hard look at its political action programs." But there is no mention anywhere of the need for an independent labor party.

A face-saver is thrown into the statement: "Our need, when the Democrats or Republicans offer us no candidates deserving our support, is to put our own labor candidates in the race or back a good candidate put forward by organizations of minority peoples, community organizations, etc." But, "We see no need to modify

ILWU's traditional nonpartisan policy." This policy is spelled out in the last section of the report. "The Washington office works with Republicans and Democrats alike. It pays no heed to party labels." And this is defined as "independent political action."

How the Policy Works

On the eve of the convention the joint legislative committee of the East Bay ILWU endorsed incumbent John H. Reading, prowar, big business Republican, for a second term as Mayor of Oakland. This action clearly "paid heed to the party label" of Mayor Reading's opponent, Paul Montauk, endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party.

In an open letter distributed to the ILWU Convention entitled "What Kind of Politics Is This?" Montauk pointed out that Reading had such a bad reputation with labor that even the AFL-CIO Alameda County Central Labor Council did not endorse him, in spite of their mealy-mouthed policy of supporting "friends of labor." Montauk concluded, "If you could not find your way to endorse a socialist antiwar candidate, it appears to me that the last thing you should do is support a big business, prowar candidate. What kind of politics is this?"

The question evidently disturbed some of the delegates. A delegate from Oregon took the floor to ask if it were true — what the open letter said — and if it were true, he said, the ILWU had better take another look at its politics. His answer was dead silence.

The next day the chairman of the joint legislative council of the East Bay explained to the convention that it was true that the ILWU had opposed Reading when he first took office, that Reading had been prowar, but that since then he had been "talked to" and that he thought Reading would turn out to be a good guy. Whereupon the Oregon delegate who caused all the trouble took the floor to apologize abjectly for his remarks of the previous day. It had all been explained, he said. Several delegates then publicly congratulated the Oregon delegate for being "man enough to admit he was wrong."

What kind of politics is this? It is the politics of a cynical labor bureaucracy that has no faith in the ability of the working class to develop as an independent political force, and has allied itself politically with the deadly enemies of labor. It is the politics of Harry Bridges, "radical" labor statesman, erstwhile admirer of J. V. Stalin, and now a registered Republican.

Court Turns Down Antiwar Officer

DENVER — An Air Force captain lost a civil court suit here to obtain status as a conscientious objector to the Vietnam war. Capt. Dale E. Noyd was told that the civilian courts could not rule on his case until he had exhausted military processes.

Noyd does not claim to object to all wars nor does he object to military service. "My objections in this instance," he stated, "emanate from my beliefs about the war in Vietnam." Noyd's sincerity in the case was testified to by a number of witnesses including Capt. Donald B. Clapp, a former chaplain at the Air Force Academy.

Noyd has stated that he will not obey orders involving him with the Vietnam war in any way. He could receive a five-year jail sentence for this stand. The suit was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union which will appeal the Denver federal court ruling.

SNCC Challenges Nashville Racists On 'Riot' Charge

SNCC is fighting back against attempts to use the black student rebellion in Nashville to frame-up Stokely Carmichael and other SNCC workers. First, they have sent out a press release which describes in detail how the Nashville police attacked the students so as to deliberately provoke a rebellion. In addition, SNCC has filed a suit with the U.S. District Court in Nashville denying that Carmichael was responsible for the rebellion and asking that the state's "Inciting to Riot" statute be declared void.

The suit states that "At no time during any of the three days (April 6, 7, 8) while Plaintiff Carmichael made public addresses in the city did he suggest, advocate, incite or encourage anyone to riot or engage in any other form of violence." The suit also charges the police with brutally beating two SNCC workers after they were arrested for "inciting to riot" while driving into Nashville with SNCC literature in their car.

Meanwhile in Congress, legislators are beating the drums for a national "anti-riot" bill. In testifying in favor of the bill, Rep. William Cramer of Florida, couldn't have been more explicit as to its intent. Referring to the activities of Stokely Carmichael he said, "To put him out of business it is essential this Congress enact a law which, should he continue to incite riots would put him in jail."

The Black Ghetto

By Robert Vernon

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Reuther Asks UAW Parley For Bargaining 'Flexibility'

By Tom Kerry

DETROIT, April 22 — The special collective bargaining convention of the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers union adjourned here today, after three days of deliberations, involving union contract demands and relations with the national AFL-CIO. Flexibility was President Walter Reuther's watchword on both points — flexibility in contract negotiations and flexibility in resolving the conflict with George Meany's executive council.

In his opening speech to the delegates Reuther made an impassioned plea not to "tie the hands of your bargaining committee," by nailing down any one of the numerous contract demands which ranged from a guaranteed annual income to control of assembly line production standards. The list of demands constituted a veritable grab bag which held the promise of something for everyone — but nothing tangible enough to withstand sifting through the sieve of "flexibility."

As one delegate put it: "We are going once again to the bargaining table with a flexible position. Let's not be too flexible. This time let's get something!"

In his hour-long speech to the convention Reuther made no mention of the war in Vietnam and what effect it would have on strike action if it became necessary. One delegate pointed out how more and more the so-called "war effort" was being used to herd workers on strike back to the job under Taft-Hartley. He also called attention to the increasing clamor for additional anti-strike legislation.

While Reuther made no comment on these remarks he did seize upon the question of another delegate to make his position clear. So far as strike tactics were concerned, Reuther outlined a variation of his one-at-a-time strategy. If, he affirmed, it became necessary to strike General Motors, those GM plants producing parts for Ford, Chrysler, American Motors, White Motor Co., etc., would be exempted "so that we can have the maximum pressure on GM."

In addition, those GM plants engaged in "defense" production would be exempted. For, he declared, "I take the position that,



AT TIME OF MERGER. Meany (left) and Reuther.

if we protect defense production, no one can make a national emergency out of the fact that somebody driving a 1967 Cadillac is in an emergency situation because he can't get his 1968 Cadillac for a few months." No one, that is, except LBJ, who, judging by past performance, obviously doesn't see eye to eye with Reuther on this question.

Reviewing the period since the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955, Reuther proclaimed the complete bankruptcy of the top leadership of the unified trade union movement. In the eleven years of the merger, he declared, "the AFL-CIO has become stagnant and is vegetating. I say," he concluded, "to put it simply and understandably, it has an acute case of hardening of the arteries."

Record of AFL-CIO

The AFL-CIO, he averred, has been a dismal failure on all fronts. It has failed "on the organizational front," it has failed "on the collective bargaining front," it has failed "on the legislative front." In addition it has lost its crusading spirit, social vision, etc., etc.

Anyone familiar with the record could readily agree with every count in Reuther's indictment of the top brass of the AFL-CIO. But what of his own role? Did he do any better as head of the CIO? At the time of the merger the CIO had undergone a period of decline and dry rot. From an organization equal in membership to the AFL it had declined in 1955 to one-half its size. This altered relationship was reflected in the division of posts among the respective leadership of the merged federation.

The merger was essentially a defensive regroupment of the union movement in the face of accelerated attack on labor by federal, state and local government. Significantly, there was one "front" which Reuther did not mention in his sweeping indictment of the Meany wing of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy — the political front, the decisive front in any assessment of the reasons for the declining influence and prestige of the union movement. For on this front, Meany and Reuther are cheek and jowl.

Both supported and continue to support the costly policy of subordinating the unions to the Democratic Party — a policy which has served to weaken and disarm labor in the face of increased government intervention and attack upon the independence of the trade union movement. Both

are now vying for the favor of Big Daddy in the White House.

Meany's gambit was to make a public endorsement of Johnson for reelection more than a year in advance of the campaign. Reuther, on the other hand, went out of his way to publicly absolve Johnson from all responsibility for the failure of the 1964 Congress to enact legislation repealing section 14b of Taft-Hartley under which some 20 states have imposed antilabor "right-to-work" laws.

At a convention press conference Reuther boasted of his good relations with LBJ. Johnson, he declared, "is doing a good job under difficult circumstances." Under the circumstances Reuther's crusade to "reform" the AFL-CIO into an instrument to represent the interests of the workers looks not too promising.

Nevertheless, the convention voted by an overwhelming majority, to authorize the UAW international executive board to take whatever action it deems necessary to resolve the Meany-Reuther conflict.

Louisville Is Scene Of Mounting Fight On Housing Bias

During the past two weeks Louisville, Ky., has been the scene of racial clashes similar to those which rocked Chicago last summer. A series of marches have been held in favor of open housing through white residential areas and these have been met by mobs of hostile whites. The demonstrators have been attacked with cherry bombs, rocks and garbage.

The demonstrations began when the city's Board of Aldermen turned down an open housing ordinance by a vote of 9-3.

The marchers have defied a court order against marches at night in order to carry out their protest. As a result of both government opposition and the struggles involving white hecklers, over 500 people have been arrested and scores have been injured.

Despite this the demonstrators plan to continue their struggle. They project new tactics for the period ahead, including a "drive-in" in downtown Louisville where 200 cars would disrupt traffic by driving at a snail's pace in the rush hour, and a disruption of the Kentucky Derby which will take place May 6.

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Che Guevara's Declaration

The news that Ernesto "Che" Guevara has broken the silence he had maintained since he left Cuba in the spring of 1965 to work in other fields effectively serves to dispel the rumors and fabrications about his having died or even having been executed.

More importantly, the news indicated that Guevara was doing precisely what the Cuban leaders, particularly Castro, said he was doing — helping in his way to advance the revolutionary struggle.

It was not clear, however, from the reports in the bourgeois press, exactly what Guevara had said in breaking his silence. Even the *New York Times*, which has carried many inches of speculation on his whereabouts, remained singularly noncommittal. Thus we were not able to read what Guevara had written until *World Outlook* translated the Spanish original issued by *Prensa Latina*. (For a copy send fifty cents to *World Outlook*, P.O. Box 635 Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.)

Guevara's article is about the escalation of the war in Vietnam, its portent and meaning for all of humanity, particularly the ever graver threat it raises of a third world war.

He speaks plainly and bluntly. The "United States of North America," he says, is wholly responsible for the aggression and constitutes the most mortal enemy faced by mankind. Against this foe there is only one recourse and that is to struggle for a socialist revolution.

In this world battle, the revolutionists in the underdeveloped areas — Latin America, Africa and Asia — can contribute by staking their lives in guerrilla war in the example of the heroic Vietnamese people.

If two or three or more Vietnams could be created in the underdeveloped areas of the world, this could make a decisive difference in the conflict, could ensure the victory of the new socialist revolutions like the one in Cuba and thus end this entire grim and bloody stage in human history.

Guevara appeals for recognition of this basic reality. Despite the fearsome aspects of the struggle, the least costly course is to accept the need for revolutionary struggle, to begin that struggle and to carry it forward vigorously.

Role of USSR and China

An important section of his appeal for action deals with the intolerable way in which "the two big powers in the socialist camp" have permitted the Vietnamese people to stand alone.

It is illusory, in Guevara's opinion, to attempt to mediate the dispute between these two powers. They should, nevertheless, close ranks against the common foe and begin sending more effective aid to the Vietnamese so that they are no longer left "tragically isolated."

As revolutionary socialists inside the imperialist "monster" itself, we hail Guevara's fighting call for struggle. The peoples of the underdeveloped areas whom he addresses will surely respond to what he says. And let both Moscow and Peking consider that he voices the opinions of the best revolutionary fighters in Africa, Asia and Latin America!

What about the people of the United States? Guevara does not go into this, other than noting that the war is having repercussions inside the U.S. and that it will further arouse "the class struggle inside its own territory."

We feel that we can assure the Vietnamese people and revolutionary fighters like Guevara who are doing their utmost to aid them, that the American people are growing more and more impatient with the bipartisan clique waging this monstrous war of genocide.

The first signs were the teach-ins that began immediately after Johnson escalated the war in February 1965. These signs have multiplied and grown until on April 15, at least a half million people turned out in the most massive nationwide demonstration in the history of the country.

The mood of the demonstrators was one of deep anger over the failure of Johnson to pay heed to the previous warnings. This mood can deepen, for the American people do not like to have their wishes in matters as serious as this disregarded.

The massive demonstration, in fact, signaled the beginning of a new radicalization of the American political scene.

This is of the utmost significance to those who have been holding out in the front-line trenches of the international class struggle, for it means that some very powerful forces are stirring in their behalf.

This is not yet the beginning of a mass socialist movement in the United States — far from it — but the direction is clear. Let it be added that when the American people do begin moving massively along this line, they will not take long to catch up with those who have already taken the road to socialism. Once the process starts, the days of U.S. imperialism, and with it the world capitalist system, will be numbered.

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Meaning of April 15 Mass Turnout

Prospects for Spring Mobilization

By Harry Ring

To "prove" that there weren't more than 125,000 participants in the Spring Mobilization against the Vietnam war, a New York Police Department spokesman issued a set of figures which, on analysis, presumes that the people at the UN Plaza rally were standing more than a foot and a half apart from each other. Anyone who tried to squeeze through that elbow-to-elbow crowd will find this somewhat amusing.

The government and the prowar press and broadcasting media have good reason to avoid admitting that nearly half a million people joined the New York Mobilization, with another big contingent of 75,000 marching in San Francisco. They don't want to admit that opposition to the Vietnam war, as evidenced by the Mobilization, has now assumed a genuinely mass character.

Yet this is the overriding political fact that emerges from the demonstration. Antiwar activists are still expressing surprise and astonishment on discovering that friends, relatives, and co-workers whom they had never thought about in relation to such things were on the march. They are finding that the Mobilization really did reach into significant new layers of the population. Probably a majority of the marchers were participating in their first antiwar demonstration.

The Mobilization was bigger than the only previous thing that was anything like it, the 1963 civil rights March on Washington. A record-breaker at the time, that action involved a quarter of a million people.

Same Thing?

Comparisons between the Washington March and the Spring Mobilization are inevitable since they are the only actions on social issues in recent decades that were of a genuinely mass character. But the differences between the two are greater than the similarities.

While the March on Washington did register the fact that large numbers of Americans, black and white, are concerned with civil rights, the success of the project was due in good measure to its "respectable" sponsorship and the massive financial and administrative resources made available to it.

In addition to all the major civil rights organizations — NAACP, Urban League, SCLC, CORE, SNCC, Negro American Labor Council — the action had the active support of the powerful United Auto Workers and other unions, plus major religious groups.

In addition, the march had the near-official endorsement of the government. ("Jack Kennedy asked to help organize the March on Washington," Walter Reuther told the UAW convention April 22.)

The Spring Mobilization organized an even bigger demonstration with far less resources. At the outset its support was largely limited to those peace and radical political organizations already actively committed to opposition to the war. It had few prominent names, no money, a shoe-string staff, no favorable press publicity and — most definitely — no support from the government. These facts are important since they underline that one thing and one thing alone made possible the success of the Mobilization — the widespread popular opposition to the war.

While the Spring Mobilization Committee started out quite modestly, it became apparent as April 15 approached that the movement was gaining significant momentum and that the organizers of the project had been correct in their assessment that sufficient popular sentiment existed to as-



AFRO-AMERICAN GROUP. Black marchers make their point during April 15 march in San Francisco.

sure the success of the action.

This was indicated in a number of ways. One was the many organizations, previously aloof from the Mobilization and from antiwar activity generally, who begin to join in. In New York, for example, eight or nine Reform Democratic clubs — which, if nothing else are not insensitive to public opinion — endorsed the Mobilization. Similarly in the last weeks a number of local unions did likewise.

Perhaps the most significant expression of the recognition that the Mobilization was developing into an important force was the entry, in the final weeks, of Dr. Martin Luther King. King had been approached at the outset to sign the call for the Mobilization and to become an officer of it. Although James Bevel, one of his associates in SCLC, had become national director of the Mobilization, King refrained from signing the call.

Pressure on King

While he indicated sympathy for the project it was apparent that he was being subjected to terrific pressure not to give it his public blessing. It was said that Norman Thomas and others who strongly oppose the demand for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and who are bitterly opposed to the principle of nonexclusion on which the Mobilization is based, made the most vigorous efforts to persuade King not to become part of the Mobilization.

Yet in the weeks prior to April 15, King's top aide, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, became a vice chairman of the Mobilization and King spoke out publicly in favor of the April 15 march.

His final decision expressed the political fact that he regarded the forces being attracted by the Mobilization as more decisive than the pressures he was being subjected to by liberal and social democratic opponents of the Mobilization. King, too, has a sensitive finger for the popular pulse.

While the outcome of the Mobilization has been a source of inspiration for those determined to build a serious, effective movement against the war, the very success of the action has also posed further questions.

Perhaps the key concern is whether or not the very success of the Mobilization might not prove its undoing. Will the addition of new forces have a conservatizing, crippling effect on the movement? Will it be diverted into "safe," "respectable" channels? In short, will it become another March on Washington?

While such a prospect is always possible for any movement that is assuming a mass character, it is by no means preordained. In the case of the Spring Mobilization movement, important factors weigh against such a development.

To begin with, the very program of the March on Washington provided the basis for it being embraced by the government and progovernment elements. Its principal slogans — jobs and freedom — were worthy generalities that could be supported by almost any capitalist politician.

The April 15 Mobilization was of an entirely different political character — its demands were aimed directly against the government and its policies. The official call for the Mobilization urged withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. At the demonstration itself banners and placards calling for withdrawal and for support of the right of the Vietnamese to self determination predominated.

The political character of the demonstration was recognized by all. That was why the *New York Times* editorially assailed it for backing the withdrawal demand rather than negotiations and for failing to place "equal guilt" on the Vietnamese freedom fighters. This has also been the tone of the daily denunciations that are still continuing in the halls of Congress.

Inclusive

Further, while the militancy of the Washington march was curbed by the unseemly efforts of the initiators to screen out "subversives," the Spring Mobilization stood on the principle of nonexclusion. Radicals played an open, important role throughout. This is a vital difference. Any movement that begins with the concept that Marxists and other radicals can be excluded because of their beliefs by that very act opens the door for a drift to the right. A movement based on nonexclusion, where all viewpoints can be heard, holds far better promise for a healthy future.

All this, of course, does not automatically guarantee the future of the Spring Mobilization. The spectacular success of April 15 will attract opportunistic forces intent on pushing it from its present radical course. There is, obviously, always such a danger in building a mass movement. This is no excuse for abstaining from building a big movement.

The meaningful approach is to continue to work within the Mobilization to keep it on its present radical, nonexclusive basis.

The Mobilization must be viewed as its initiators projected it — not as an end but as a beginning. While a giant stride was taken April 15, the big job remains of involving decisive sections of organized labor and doing it on a militant basis.

April 15 demonstrated that masses of Americans are opposed to U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Now the job is to organize that potential powerhouse into the kind of a force that can halt the war-makers.

Swiss Marchers Back April 15 Mobilization

BERN, Switzerland — The Swiss Ban-the-Bomb Movement held a two-day demonstration April 15-16, including a march from Biel to Bern, calling for peace and independence for Vietnam in an expression of solidarity with the New York and San Francisco demonstrations.

The various protest activities attracted large numbers of participants, considering the severe restrictions placed on the march itself by Swiss authorities.

For example, the 2,000 marchers were not permitted on the main road from Biel to Bern (some 15 miles), but had to wind up hill and down dale along country roads — adding considerably to the mileage.

And, while the Bernese farm-lands are a delight to behold, more cows and sheep saw the colorful banners and slogans than did people.

Moreover, "democratic," "neutral" Switzerland permitted no signs or slogans "derogatory" to any country or to any head of state.

This presented quite a problem to the slogan writers — how to protest against American imperialism's criminal massacre of the Vietnamese people without mentioning names.

Substitute Slogans

So slogans such as "Vietnam for the Vietnamese," "Hands off Vietnam," and "Yesterday Bombs, Today Gas, Tomorrow the A-Bomb" had to substitute.

One group of militant youth, however, refused to accept the rules laid down by the Swiss police and the leadership of the "Mouvement Suisse contre l'armement atomique."

Their signs read "Johnson — Assassin," "Johnson, Remember Nuremberg," and had references to "U.S.A. Imperialism." In addition, they chanted slogans in support of the National Liberation Front.

This was the same group that, after the official end of the two-day demonstration, tried to march on the American embassy.

The police had ringed it off, however, and the young militants were forced to burn their caricature of "stormtrooper" Johnson several blocks from their target.

The weekend protest consisted of a Saturday forum (that had to be moved at the last minute from a hall seating 450 to one seating 1,300) at which one of the best speakers was the well-known journalist Claude Bourdet, of France's *Nouvel Observateur*.

Following the afternoon forums, there was an impressive and spirited torchlight parade to Biel's medieval "Ring" — where a short speech calling for an end to the war in Vietnam was read in six

different languages — German, French and Italian (the three official languages of Switzerland), and English, Spanish (there are many Spanish workers in the country) and Romanch — an ancient national language.

Saturday's activities ended with a large meeting at which the overflow audience voted to send a telegram of support to the "American opposition" — the Spring Mobilization Committee in New York.

Participants then went to their dormitories to rest in preparation for Sunday's long march to the Swiss capital.

Vote Reported For Socialists In California

LOS ANGELES — William Hathaway, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the board of education position 7, received over 8 percent of the vote in the April 4 elections here. He ran second in a field of five candidates with 27,312 votes. Frank Lindenfeld, Community for New Politics candidate for the same office, received 19,742 votes.

Hathaway ran on an antiwar, pro-labor, pro-black-power and socialist platform. Donald Freed, Community for New Politics candidate for position 1 on the board of education, called Hathaway's vote a "fabulous showing." It was "a conscious vote of the political radicals," he said.

BERKELEY — Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for Mayor of Berkeley, received 1,019 votes in the April 4 election here. Incumbent Republican Mayor Johnson received 25,224 votes; conservative candidate Huntley, 2,160; and Jerry Rubin, an antiwar activist, received 7,385 votes.

Socialist Workers Party candidates for city council received the following: Jaimey Allen, 1,414; Ove Aspoy, 560; Brian Shannon, 903.

Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

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ON THE MARCH TO BERN. Over 2,000 people marched about 20 miles to protest war in Vietnam.

A TREMENDOUS SUCCESS

Student Vietnam Week

By Doug Jenness

On April 12, over 400 students at Wayne State University in Detroit attended hearings indicting the U.S. government, the university administration and Dow Chemical for war crimes in Vietnam. These hearings were the culmination of weeks of preparation by the Detroit Student Mobilization Committee, and were part of the April 8-15 Vietnam Week, which saw activities on campuses from coast to coast directed against the war in Vietnam.

The national Student Mobilization Committee was responsible for organizing Vietnam Week, which built student support for the April 15 demonstrations in San Francisco and New York.

Broad Coalition

The Student Mobilization Committee was formed last December at a conference of student antiwar activists. It has managed to weld together the broadest coalition of forces yet seen in the student antiwar movement, centered around three demands: Bring the troops home now; End the draft; and End campus complicity. The tremendous outpouring of youth in both the San Francisco and New York demonstrations reflects the deepening of antiwar sentiment among young people, but it is also a tribute to the organizing efforts of the Student Mobilization Committee.

Linda Dannenberg, executive secretary of the committee, estimates that close to a half million high school and university students from over 500 schools participated in some aspect of Vietnam Week. Without attempting to cover the full scale of these activities, we will list some examples and highlights.

Best Response

The Wayne State hearings were "by far the most tremendous response we've had to any antiwar activity," said Eve Rosen, one of the coordinators of the Detroit committee. At the hearings, lawyers discussed the Nuremberg judgments and other international precedents in order to define war crimes. Published materials, slides, photographs and a Detroit physician's report on the effect of napalm bombing were presented. Chairs with signs for the "University of Michigan," "Dow Chemical," and "U.S. Government" remained vacant during the hearings, although all were invited to send representatives.

Referendums on the war were held at a number of campuses. At San Francisco City College, 55.6 percent of student voters in a referendum supported the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. At Wayne State, 51 percent voted for immediate withdrawal. Over 50 percent of the voters in a referendum at the University of Wisconsin called for an end to the Vietnam war.

At New York University several hundred students gathered for an outdoor rally to listen to speakers and watch the Pageant Players present their new antiwar play. As a result of this and other activities during Vietnam Week, 500 students came out on April 15 to march behind the NYU banner.

Large advertisements with hun-



NEW YORK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. On April 8, high school students marched to rally in opposition to the war.

dreds of signatures were placed in the campus newspapers at Queens College and Columbia University urging people to oppose the war and join the April 15 march. Over 1,500 students marched behind the Columbia banner.

The U Thant Chapter of SDS at Wagner College on Staten Island, the only antiwar or civil rights group on the campus, organized the first literature table and antiwar demonstration in the college's history during Vietnam Week. They also organized a feeder march from Staten Island to Manhattan on April 15 where they joined the main march at Central Park.

Following a state-wide antiwar conference in Maine, a mobilization committee called the Maine Alliance for Peace was established at the University of Maine. A regular literature table was set up, the selective service deferment examination was leafleted and students were signed up for buses to New York.

In Georgia

The Atlanta, Ga. Student Mobilization Committee maintained a regular literature table at Georgia State College and held a speakers' program during Vietnam Week. They also helped organize a teach-in at Emory University and a demonstration against Vice President Humphrey on April 13.

In New York, San Francisco, and Detroit, high school students organized themselves into mobilization committees to carry out numerous activities during the week. In New York the High School Committee kicked off the week's activities with a spirited and militant march of 500 students.

One indication of the depth of the antiwar sentiment on the campus is the favorable front-page coverage given to Vietnam Week, the April 15 Mobilization, and the Student Mobilization Committee by dozens of campus newspapers across the country. The *Amherst Student* (Amherst College, Mass.), the *Daily Californian* (University of California at Berkeley) and the *Golden Gator* (San Francisco State College) carried editorials supporting the Mobilization while other papers carried notices with news

articles indicating where students could sign up for buses.

The coverage given to the Student Mobilization Committee by the campus press can be illustrated by an example from the lead article in the April 15 *Daily Collegian* (Penn State University) which said: "During the past week, antiwar activity has been reported across the country. Coordinated by several Student Mobilization Committees, the protest actions are part of the 'Vietnam Week' programmed by the national Student Mobilization Committee in New York City."

Student Leaders

Besides support and favorable reporting in the campus press, the student committee was able to win backing from Julian Houston, student body president at Boston University; Charles Larsen, student-faculty council chairman at Wayne State University; the student executive council of the Student Christian Movement in New York State; and the Vermont Student Movement.

Greetings of solidarity have been received from the south Vietnam National Liberation Front representation in Budapest, the Yugoslav Youth and Student Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Council of Peace, the Eureka Youth League of Australia, the Vietnam Committee at the University of Madrid, the International Conference of Vanguard Youth Organizations held in Brussels, March 11-12, and numerous antiwar committees in Canada.

The Student Mobilization Committee is planning to follow up its very successful job of organizing youth for the April 15 Mobilization by coordinating and helping to organize high school and college students to spend their summer vacations engaged in activity to end the war.

The Student Mobilization Committee will hold a national student antiwar conference in Chicago on May 13 and 14 for all those interested in working on summer projects against the war. For further information contact the Student Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, New York, N. Y., tel. (212) 675-1822.

Antiwar Meeting in N. Y. Hears Isaac Deutscher

By Arthur Maglin

NEW YORK — Speaking at the New School for Social Research April 14, the internationally famed Marxist historian, Isaac Deutscher, discussed the war in Vietnam and the function of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal of which he is a member.

Deutscher said that the Tribunal represents a very wide-spread mood among the people of the world. That mood is one of opposition to the atrocity of the U.S. war in Vietnam. He pointed out that people in other countries identified with the Americans who oppose the war and not with the U.S. government. "We don't identify the American people with the American government," he stated.

Deutscher said that no one can believe that the American army is in Vietnam to protect democracy. He said that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 were a "shame and a disaster."

The liberation forces, he said, held the whole country then but the Russians and Chinese prevailed upon Ho Chi Minh to give up half of it. This gave the U.S. government the opportunity to violate the other provisions of the Geneva Agreements by preventing the reunification of the country through elections provided for by the accords.

Fighting Alone

It is also clear, Deutscher argued, that the U.S. is not in Vietnam to contain communism. Neither the Soviet Union nor China is engaged in Vietnam. "I wish they were engaged a little more. I wish the Vietnamese were not fighting so desperately alone," he said.

Deutscher said that the Tribunal does not intend to act as a go-between or a prompter of negotiations. "We leave this job to those who love bargaining," he said. It is the Tribunal's job to express an opinion without fear or favor on the rights and wrongs of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Deutscher said the Tribunal would be much more impartial than the Nuremberg Tribunal which was a court of the victors over the vanquished. It would have been better, he stated, to have let the German people try the Nazi war criminals.

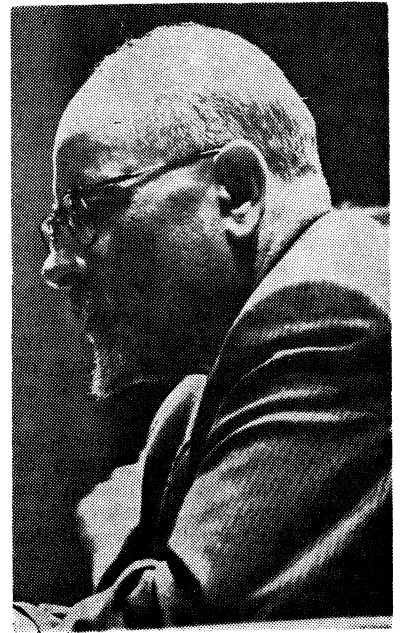
The Nuremberg Tribunal, nevertheless, despite the "partiality" of its judges, arrived at a verdict based on irrefutable objective evidence. The Nuremberg Tribunal was impartial, Deutscher said, in that its conclusions were unquestionably true. The Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal, he pointed out, has such a tremendous amount of hard factual evidence that it has an even better chance to render an impartial judgement.

"We are not trying President Johnson," he said, "We hope that one day the American people will try President Johnson."

NEW YORK — Isaac Deutscher was among the noted personalities invited to sit on the speakers' platform during the rally which culminated the New York Spring Mobilization on April 15. Deutscher told *The Militant* that he was "terribly impressed," "very enthusiastic," at the "immense demonstration."

However, he regretted that he could not be in the crowd to determine the reaction to speeches and the general feeling of the participants. These were important questions, Deutscher stated, that had to be answered in order to gauge the real impact of the Mobilization.

Most important, according to Deutscher, was the necessity of the radicals and socialists to maintain the leadership of the antiwar movement. They must "constitute the element of political in-



Isaac Deutscher

telligence," he stated, "conscious of its distinct objectives."

"Without the predominate participation of the working class," he continued, "the movement still has a grave weakness." Deutscher explained that he was thinking more of the young workers than the union leadership. "They are the element of decisive strength," he said.

When one of the speakers appealed to draft card burning as a means of opposing the war, Deutscher objected strongly. "Draft card burning is a demonstration of weakness and impotence," he stated, "and you can quote me on that. It is what I call passive pacifism."

Socialist Nominees Rip Taxes for War In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS — The Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee here held a street rally and demonstration at city hall against the taxes being collected from the Minneapolis workers for the war in Vietnam on April 7. The slogan for the street meeting was "Tax the War Profits, Not the Workers!"

At 5 p.m., in peak city traffic, in front of city hall, Bill Onasch, candidate for Mayor, and Larry Seigle, candidate for board of education, spoke.

Both candidates challenged the present Mayor Natfilin (Democrat) and the Republican candidate Karlson to debate the war, the Minneapolis tax situation and the local school crisis.

That evening, at the Friday Night Socialist Forum, Bill Onasch was one of four panelists in a symposium on the present stage of the antiwar movement.

The antiwar panel was composed of participants in the Minnesota Ad Hoc Spring Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam, a local united front of the Minnesota peace, socialist, and pacifist organizations. Martha Harris, chairwoman of the Minnesota CEWW; David Boye, chairman of U. of Minnesota CEWW; and Ann Campbell, representative of WILPF, were the other panelists.

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THE THIRD STAGE OF IMPERIALISM

By L. Marcus

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Puerto Rican Independence Forces Gain

Mass March in San Juan

By Pedro Juan Rua

The largest demonstration for independence seen in Puerto Rico for the last 15 years took place in San Juan on April 16. The capitalist press (*El Mundo* and *The San Juan Star*) said that "over 10,000 participated." The Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) which organized the demonstration, claimed "from 13,000 to 15,000."

The significance of the demonstration is indicated by the fact that it was organized by the most radical, anti-imperialist sector of the Puerto Rican independence forces.

The demonstration began with a march through the streets of Old San Juan. According to the capitalist press, for nearly two hours all traffic had to stop at the Capitol.

There were a few incidents in which right wing elements, Cuban exiles and advocates of annexation to the U.S. (statehood) attacked the marchers. The MPI members defended themselves. There were only two arrests, both MPI members singled out by the police. The night before the march, seven MPI militants were arrested while distributing leaflets.

Along with the demand for "Independence Now!" the slogans on the march condemned the plebiscite farce which the U.S. im-



Juan Mari Bras

perialists plan to hold soon in an attempt to "legally" ratify the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

The demonstration was in open support of the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam, and in support of the young Puerto Ricans, now numbering in the thousands, who are resisting the draft. It also demanded the immediate discussion of the colonial status of Puerto Rico in the UN committee on colonialism.

The march ended with a rally at the Sixto Escobar Stadium. Speakers included Juan Mari Bras,

secretary-general of MPI; Juan Angel Silen, president of MPI's youth organization and Francisco Manrique Cabrera, director-general of MPI.

Mari Bras said that the U.S. imperialists will not succeed in their attempt to smother, through the plebiscite, the independence struggle. On the contrary, he said, "the anti-imperialist and patriotic forces will come out strengthened and in greater unity from the process" of opposing the plebiscite.

At the end of his speech, Mari Bras, after briefly commenting on the guerrilla struggles in Latin America, sent greetings to Comandante Ernesto "Che" Guevara "wherever he should be," in the name of the Puerto Rican patriotic forces. An outburst of applause lasted several minutes.

Silen spoke on the antidraft struggle and the struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam. "Each time the heroic Vietnamese people inflict a defeat upon the invading U.S. forces," he said, "our struggle here takes a leap forward. Similarly, when hundreds of Puerto Ricans refuse to enter the U.S. Army and thousands condemn that genocidal war, the Vietnamese people are closer to victory."

The rally expressed its solidarity with the huge antiwar demonstrations which had taken place the day before in New York and San Francisco.

The Protectors — The state of Pennsylvania has passed a consumer protection law limiting interest on installment payments to a mere 15 percent.

Embassy Tells Sartre Peru Won't Kill Blanco

Jean-Paul Sartre, speaking at a mass meeting in Paris April 10, announced that the Peruvian embassy had assured him that Hugo Blanco would not be executed. Blanco is now serving a 25-year sentence in Peru for his activities in organizing peasant unions. The prosecution has appealed the sentence, demanding the death penalty for the peasant leader. Sartre said he had received a letter from the Peruvian embassy in Paris guaranteeing that Hugo Blanco would not be shot.

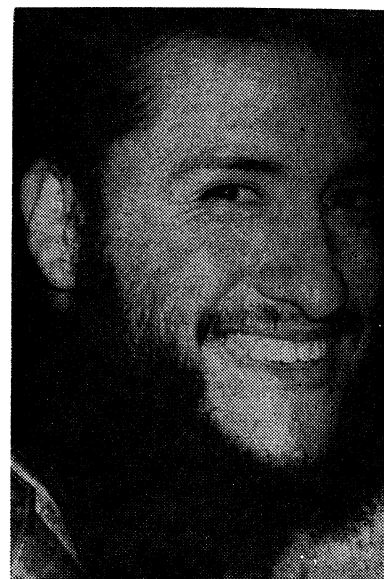
Despite this assurance, he urged that the campaign in defense of Blanco be continued, declaring: "We will not cease our struggle until the day Hugo Blanco is free!" This was well received by the audience of more than 1,500 as the Peruvian authorities are not to be trusted.

Meanwhile, in Detroit, professors, poets and a student leader issued an appeal on April 13 in behalf of Hugo Blanco. They sent a telegram to Peruvian President Francisco Belaúnde Terry which read:

"A man cannot be condemned to death for fighting against hunger and repression. General amnesty for peasant leader, organizer, Hugo Blanco and his companions."

The appeal was signed by 13 professors from Wayne State University and Montiel College; also, student council president, Chuck Larson; and Buckeye poets, Allen Van Newkirk and Halma Perry.

At the Paris meeting, Sartre told the audience that a revolutionary bond united the freedom



Hugo Blanco

struggle led by Hugo Blanco and that of the Vietnamese. The world-famous French philosopher said that in face of the international aggression of imperialism, it is necessary to organize internationally against it.

The Paris meeting was organized by the Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru. It was chaired by Daniel Mayer, president of the League for the Rights of Man. Other speakers included Laurent Schwartz, the renowned mathematician; the Peruvian writer, Murio Vargas; the journalist A. P. Lentin; and P. Vandeburie, president of the National Union of Students of France.

Apr. 15 in Vancouver: 3,000 March in Rain

VANCOUVER — Over 3,000 people braved rain and hail to participate in the April 15 Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam here. Local unions, professors, students, antiwar and peace groups marched under their own banners with a wide variety of slogans. The unity of different sections of society and different viewpoints against the war in Vietnam was more obvious than on any previous demonstration here.

For the first time, the Vancouver Labor Council officially endorsed the protest. The demonstration was also endorsed by four of the largest trade union locals in Vancouver — International Woodworkers of America, Marine Workers and Boilermakers, Carpenters, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (all affiliated to the AFL-CIO). Paddy Neale, secretary of the Labor Council, chaired the rally at the courthouse which followed the march. He stressed the fact that more rank-and-file trade unionists had turned out than ever before.

The youth of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, endorsed the protest and participated in the demonstration. NDP leader T. C. Douglas spoke

to the demonstrators. He denounced American action in Vietnam as a "continuation of French colonialism" and exposed the Canadian government's support of the war.

Other Speakers

Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, Toronto psychiatrist, reported on his recent trip to north Vietnam and urged the marchers to continue speaking out against the war. He presented some of the evidence which he collected as a member of the second investigating team of the International War Crimes Tribunal — two types of antipersonnel bombs, useless against steel and concrete, which have been killing civilians in Vietnam. He stressed the importance of Canadian support for the Tribunal in the form of funds, publicity and evidence.

Rev. Dixon of the United Church demanded that all foreign troops be withdrawn from Vietnam to allow the people there to determine their destiny. "And since the Americans have farthest to go, they should withdraw first!"

The rain and hail did not dampen the spirits of the protesters. The call for further action to build a mass movement against the war was received with enthusiasm.

MPI Speaker Rips Imperialist War

[The following speech by Pedro Juan Rua, organizational secretary of the New York branch of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, was given at the April 15 Mobilization against the war in Vietnam in New York.]

Puerto Rican and Latin American compañeros, black brothers and progressive people of the United States:

It is utterly revolting to recognize it, but at this very moment that we gather here so leisurely, the Vietnamese people are knowing only terror and death, suffering a mass slaughter. Is this accidental? Has something "casually" gone wrong, as many claim, in the fabric of U.S. society?

Vietnam, my brothers, is the stage of the most barbaric war of aggression ever waged by one big powerful country against a small one; but it epitomizes, only in the most cruel contemporary form, a policy which has long been characteristic of the rulers of this country. It was first the black people, the Indians, the Mexicans, subjected to brutal economic, physical and racial oppression.

At the turn of the century, the Philippines and Hawaiian Islands, Guam, Cuba — who was able to wrest itself from the U.S. oppressor — and my country, Puerto Rico, were all captured by the U.S. invader. Then came Nicaragua, Korea, Guatemala. The Congo, Vietnam and Santo Domingo.

This historical process has not been accidental. It is the product of the drive for cheap labor, for raw materials, for ample markets, for weaponry production; in one word, the drive for super-profits which is the dominant urge of the rulers of this country. That drive and its results are what we, colonial and oppressed people throughout the world, indict without fear as U.S. imperialism!

In the case of Vietnam, the rulers of this country are des-

perate also for another reason. That the Vietnamese people, in their determination to keep their country free from U.S. domination, are proving to the whole world that U.S. imperialism can be effectively resisted and defeated with the power of sheer guts and the strength of the masses!

It is then symbolic, although many of you may not have noticed it, that we should gather today, the 15th of April 1967, in mass protest against the war, because on a day like this six years ago — the 15th of April 1961 — the Cuban revolutionary forces expelled from their territory the invading forces of Cuban exiles organized and supported by the United States government. The 15th of April 1961 victory at Playa Giron [Bay of Pigs] was an example to all Latin Americans.

The Vietnamese people led by the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam and the Workers and Peasants Party of north Vietnam, has the unreserved sup-

port of the Puerto Rican independence fighters and all anti-imperialist forces of the world. In my country that support has its most concrete expression in the nearly one thousand young Puerto Ricans who recently refused publicly to be drafted.

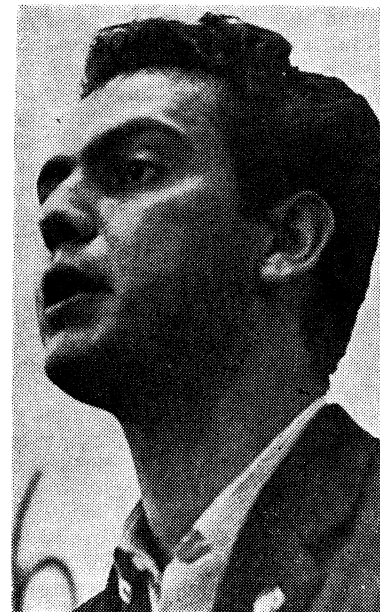
Brothers, as witness this mass gathering of you today, the imperialist policy of the U.S. rulers is not at all in the interest of the workers, students and honest intellectuals of this country. It is much less in the interest of the black, Mexican-American, Indian, Puerto Rican or white GIs forced to fight as cannon-fodder. They are forced to kill or die to fill the pockets of the rich. You suffer economic deprivation or spiritual alienation, or both, in a society which is moved by greed and violence.

Must Demand Withdrawal

That is why we must join forces to resolutely demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, weaponry and military installations from the national territory of Vietnam. It is the only demand agreeable to the dignity of the Vietnamese, who want to rebuild their country in the direction they see fit.

It is, moreover, the only demand consistent with the attempt to bring welfare to this society; for no sanity and economic welfare can come to the U.S. as long as the instruments of greed and violence retain their capability. And, so very important, the rulers of this country will not be even scratched by anything less than a determined posture on the part of its citizens.

To sum up, brothers, let it be enough to quote the message and slogan carried by my organization, the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, through the previous march. That message is: "U.S. Rulers Are New Nazis. Unite To Defeat Them!"



Pedro Juan Rua

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5644.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

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

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin

Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 982-6051.

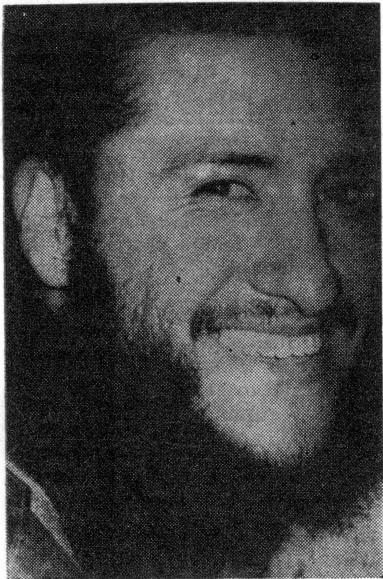
OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 848-3992. Open 2 to 7 p.m. Monday thru Friday; Saturday 12 to 5 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412, Phila., Pa. 19101.

ST. LOUIS. Phone EVERgreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117. 752-1790. Socialist books and pamphlets available.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party. LA 2-4325. 5257 University Way, Seattle, Wash. 98105.



Hugo Blanco

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.]

Committed

Philadelphia, Pa.
Enclosed I hope you will find a \$20 bill. I was going to use this to go to the Mobilization in New York, but my parents would not let me.

I am only 15 years old, but two years ago I had to stand in front of the church and confirm my belief in God. But now they say that I am too young to commit myself by participating in an anti-war demonstration, even though I got a job in a sweatshop and child-labored at the below-subsistence-level wage of 85 cents an hour and earned the money for the trip myself.

They told me to give it instead to "some worthy cause," and that is just what I have decided to do. Please use it to start the next mobilization. Hands off the Vietnamese revolution! Bring the troops home now!

Reader

To Michigan Residents

Detroit, Mich.
The Michigan Socialist Workers Party will be conducting a petition campaign from July 5 to August 28 with a goal of 20,000 signatures to put us on the 1968 state ballot. Campaigns of this sort permit us to run candidates who are free of the ruling parties and class, and who effectively communicate our socialist program to the public. If any Michigan residents can help us this summer, please contact me.

Linda Belisle
Debs Hall
3737 Woodward Ave.
Detroit, Mich. 48201

Vietnam Vets Marched

New York, N. Y.
One aspect of the coverage of the April 15th demonstration in New York that was not sufficiently reported in last week's *Militant* was the veterans' participation.

More than 1,000 veterans, reservists and members of their

families made up the first large contingent of the parade. At least nine organized veterans' groups against the war from New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, New Jersey, Long Island, Westchester and Rockland County, were represented in force.

A group of five veterans of World War I, some wearing parts of their old uniforms, proudly marched near the head of the contingent.

But most impressive and significant of all was the dozen or more Vietnam veterans who led the entire contingent, marching under the banner, "Vietnam Veterans Against the War." A widow of a young GI who was killed in Vietnam marched with this group.

Another point worth noting — I saw a half dozen or so GIs in uniform either marching with the vets or at the rally at the UN plaza listening to the speeches.

Ron Wolin

Finer Photo Fans

Sheridan, Wyoming
We are enclosing a money order for a subscription to *The Militant*.

We used to get your paper when we lived in New York and we not only miss your news coverage but also the excellent photography done by that fellow Finer.

Bob and Laura Greger

Retarded Squares?

Pittsburgh, Pa.
What? A picture of a rock band? In *The Militant*? I must have dropped too much acid!

Check out your friend and mine, Ike Deutscher, writing about Leon the T in 1917 (in *Ironies of History*): "Trotsky, fresh from the battlefields of the civil war, was Russia's leading literary critic and appeared in Moscow's artistic clubs to argue with young poets as with equals."

My question: If Trotsky was hip enough to the importance of cultural matters in winning the minds and hearts of young people, why can't his successors in this country be equally tuned in? Why, that is, does *The Militant* so studiously ignore cultural developments of such vast significance as the revolutions in rock and jazz, when an understanding of what these revolutions signify may hold the key to communicating with and ultimately organizing young people.

Put it this way: there are a lot of people who accept the implicitly radical ideas contained in the new musics without becoming explicitly political. You are not going to appeal to these people — let alone win them as converts — with the same approach, rhetoric, etc., that succeeded in the '30s (though it appears that *The Militant* appears to be determined to pursue this course to the very end).

Even in SDS, which is an explicitly politically radical organization, 85 per cent of the membership are, according to national Vice President Carl Davidson (*National Guardian*, April 15), not ideologues but rock-LSD-pot hippies. If this is true of SDS, what about those young rebels — and potential revolutionaries — who are outside of even the loose boundaries of SDS? Do you really think that you will be able to reach and attract them without breaking out of the limitations of neo-1930s jargon to speak their own language?

There are, I know, a thousand rationalizations about why *The Militant* can't begin coverage of the cultural scene (if you must categorize social reality in terms of "culture," etc.). To all of them I say: "Bull . . ." [We really are square.—EDITOR.]

If you default, you merely leave

the way open for demagogues, like Bob Scheer, who know well enough how to pander to the anti-intellectualism and distaste for formal ideology of the hippies. Ultimately, it comes down either to making yourself relevant or be bypassed. The choice is yours.

Frank Kofsky

Canadian View

Toronto, Ontario
I want particularly to have the whole of the current series of articles by Farrell Dobbs on the need for an independent U.S. labor party. In Canada, you know, we have the New Democratic Party, but with a frustrating, reformist leadership.

And Vietnam: The *Toronto Daily Star* reported on April 6 that U.S. doctors are protesting U.S. plans to use laser beams shortly in Vietnam!

And black power: A Chicago businessman is suing Stokely Carmichael in court for advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government. Like Stokely said, "To hell with the laws of the U.S." How right he is! The U.S. says to hell with everybody else's — and acts upon it.

I'm pessimistic about people forcing the U.S. to get out of Vietnam before they kill off all

Thought for the Week

"... the indigenous bourgeoisies have lost all capacity to oppose imperialism — if they ever had any — and constitute only a source of supply for it. No other changes can be made; it's either a socialist revolution or a caricature of a revolution." — Che Guevara in his message to the Tricontinental.

its heroic fighters and make a vast concentration camp out of that land. I think Russia and China will let this happen — even let north Vietnam be invaded. And if China is attacked, Kosygin will "protest." Look at Mao. He may be a Stalin, but why don't his bureaucrat opponents speak clearly to the people on the issues, especially foreign policy. I mean, what avails them to save their "privileges" if they lose their heads in Mao's purges? I can't understand it.

M.S.

A Modest Proposal

Berkeley, Calif.
Open Letter to Governor Reagan: As long as capital punishment exists in California, I accuse you to gross inefficiency in carrying out your duties. Why do we taxpayers have to pay for one execution at a time? This is a waste of gas, time, etc.

I suggest that for next-week's execution, the entire room be filled to capacity with condemned men. Then gas them. Can you see what a savings this would be? Perhaps you might allow the men to drink cocktails during the festivities. After all, cocktail parties are always crowded, and the men wouldn't mind the cramped quarters. With drinks in hand, the men wouldn't have to endure for long.

R.C.

Changing Times

New York, N. Y.
I tuned in on the tail end of a newscast and didn't catch exactly where it happened, but a young woman was being interviewed about a student strike that had won a change in school policy. Commenting on the student victory, she said:

"It makes you realize nothing is absolute anymore."

Reader

It Was Reported in the Press

The Medium Is the Message — We hope the bombing of Haiphong didn't interfere with communications there. If it did, the residents may not know that U.S. foreign policy, as explained by presidential assistant Walt Rostow April 21, is "bringing countries under Communist rule into peaceful communication with the world."

They Catch On Pretty Quick — The *Washington Post* correspondent at the United Nations reported April 18: "Communist governments have concluded that the Johnson administration has made a deliberate decision to press for military victory in Vietnam instead of peace talks, according to a key Eastern European ambassador here."

Seedy Hash House — We had been thinking about taking a group of friends for dinner to the recently re-opened New York restaurant, Le Pavillon. But fortunately we read Craig Claiborne's report on the place in the *New York Times*. It's not as good as it used to be, Claiborne reports. Both the shrimp and lobster were tough, and there was an extra charge of \$1.50 for bread and butter and the rolls were stale.

We were ready to overlook all that, but Claiborne added: "With a restaurant of La Pavillon's reputation and cost (the check for a recent dinner for six guests . . . totalled \$173.90), even the minutest details loom large, and thus one is aware of the seeds in the lemon quarters that were served with the salmon." They probably don't even peel the grapes.

Presto, Chango! — An Associated Press account of how the Federal Reserve Board, to the satisfaction of bankers, lowered its discount rate, reported that the reserve board members attended a symposium on interest rates sponsored by the American Bankers Association. Then, the report added, "They disappeared . . . shortly after noon to approve requests for lower interest rates. . ."

CIA Job? — Helmut Winter, the West German marksman who forced U.S. and German jets to stop flying over his Munich suburb home by firing his wife's dumpings at them with a catapult, was invited to New York by an anti-

noise committee. On the eve of his departure he was stricken with what was reported to be acute appendicitis.

Marxian Slip? — Herb Caen, the *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist, reports that a local newscaster tongue-twisted Department of Health and Welfare into "Wealth and Hellfare."

Erotica Dep't (I) — The dean of women at a San Francisco-area high school has banned opened toe shoes on the ground that she views bare toes as the sexiest part of a girl's body.

Erotica Dep't (II) — The National Catholic Film Office pressured 20th Century-Fox into cutting a scene from a film that included a fleeting glimpse of a woman's partly bare rear end. The film company complained that the Catholic office apparently had a double standard for U.S. and foreign films, since it had approved the British film "Ulysses," which includes several rear-view shots of Blazes Boylan clambering into bed with Molly Bloom. The April 20 *New York Times* reported: "The [Catholic] office

does make a distinction, Fox was told, but not between domestic and foreign films. It distinguishes between male and female rear-view nudity, because it believes that females and 'normal' males are not sexually stimulated by rear-view male nudity. Female nudity, rear-view, however, is believed to be stimulating." We were going to comment on male-female double standards but decided the whole thing defies comment.

Capitalism Vindicated — Hamburg, West Germany, is refuting the Marxist contention that capitalism drives women into the streets. The city fathers have enthusiastically approved construction of a \$1-million apartment building specially designed to accommodate prostitutes. Named "Eros Center" (registered with the federal patent office), the swank structure is the work of Wilhelm Bartels, a restaurant operator. In addition to contributing to social progress by getting the girls off the street, Herr Bartels may even net a few dollars on the operations. The 136 inhabitants will each pay nearly \$200 a month rent.

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON
THE MEANY-REUTHER SPLIT AND THE FUTURE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Tom Kerry, editor, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., May 5, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (one block from Mass. Ave.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK
MAY DAY BANQUET — SALUTE TO CUBA — and Its Solidarity with Vietnam. Films from Cuba including "Now." — the prize winning film on the U.S. Freedom Now struggle. Speaker: Judy White, 1966 Socialist Workers Party candidate for N.Y. Governor. Cuban dinner; Cuban revolutionary songs; Afro-Cuban music. Sat., May 6, 6 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$2.50. A usp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

SAN FRANCISCO
THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X: Speakers, George Novack, contributor to *The Militant* and Eldridge Cleaver, contributor to *Ramparts*. Thursday, May 4, 8 p.m. 55 Colton St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES
HISTORY OF WORKING CLASS INTERNATIONALISM — May Day Today. Speaker: Frank Lovell, Mich. state chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Ham dinner banquet and celebration. Sun., April 30, 5 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Contrib. \$1.50. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

FOR NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

THE MILITANT

873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

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GI's Letter Describes Burning of Villages

[The following letter from a GI in Vietnam to his parents was sent to the Akron 'Beacon Journal' by the GI's father. It was reprinted and distributed by the Spring Mobilization Committee in Cleveland.]

[The father said in his covering letter: "My son enlisted in the Army, asked to be sent to Vietnam and backed the government's strong policy toward the war in Vietnam — at least he did when he left this country last November."]

Dear Mom and Dad:

Today we went on a mission and I'm not very proud of myself, my friends or my country. We burned every hut in sight!

It was a small rural network of villages and the people were *incredibly* poor. My unit burned and plundered their meager possessions. Let me try to explain the situation to you.

The huts here are thatched palm leaves. Each one has a dried mud bunker inside. These bunkers are to protect the families. Kind of like air raid shelters.

My unit commanders, however, chose to think that these bunkers are offensive. So every hut we find that has a bunker, we are ordered to burn to the ground!

When the 10 helicopters landed this morning, in the midst of these huts, and six men jumped out of each "chopper," we were firing the moment we hit the ground. We fired into all the huts we could. Then we got "on the line" and swept the area.

It is then that we burn these huts and take all men old enough to carry a weapon and the "choppers" come and get them (they take them to a collection point a few miles away for interrogation). The families don't understand this. The Viet Cong fill their minds with tales saying the GIs kill all their men.

The Women Wail

So, everyone is crying, begging and praying that we don't separate them and take their husbands and fathers, sons and grandfathers. The women wail and moan.

Then they watch in terror as we burn their homes, personal possessions and food. Yes, we burn all rice and shoot all livestock.

Some of the guys are so careless! Today a buddy of mine called "La Dai" ("Come here") into a hut and an old man came out of the bomb shelter. My buddy told the old man to get away from the hut and since we have to move quickly on a sweep, just threw a hand grenade into the shelter. (There is a four-second delay on a hand grenade.)

After he threw it, and was running for cover, (during this four-second delay) we all heard a baby crying from inside the shelter!

There was nothing we could do. . . .

After the explosion we found the mother, two children (ages about six and 12, boy and girl) and an almost newborn baby. That is what the old man was trying to tell us!

The shelter was small and narrow. They were all huddled together. The three of us dragged out the bodies onto the floor of the hut. IT WAS HORRIBLE!! The children's fragile bodies were torn apart, literally mutilated. We looked at each other and burned the hut.

The old man was just whimpering in disbelief outside the burning hut. We walked away and left him there. My last look was: an old, old man in ragged, torn, dirty clothes on his knees outside the burning hut, praying to Buddha. His white hair was blowing in the wind and tears were rolling down. . . .

Destroy that "Hut!"

We kept on walking, then the three of us separated. There was a hut at a distance and my squad leader told me to go over and destroy it. An oldish man came out of the hut.

I checked and made sure *no one* was in it, then got out my matches. The man came up to me then, and bowed with his hands in a praying motion over and over. He looked so sad! He didn't say anything, just kept bowing, begging me not to burn his home.

We were both there, alone, and he was about your age, Dad. With a heavy heart, I hesitatingly put the match to the straw and started to walk away. Dad, it was so hard for me to turn and look at him in the eyes but I did. I wish I could have cried but I just can't anymore. I threw down my rifle and ran into the now blazing hut and took out everything I could save — food, clothes, etc.

Afterward, he took my hand, still saying nothing and bowed down touching the back of my hand to his forehead.

Machine gun fire is coming into our village (Base Camp). We are being attacked, *now* as I am writing. I must go.

Next day: Everything's OK. It was just harassing fire. I was up for the better part of the night, though. Well, Dad, you wanted to know what it's like here. Does this give you an idea? Excuse the poor writing but I was pretty emotional, I guess, even a little shook.

Your Son

Cleveland Police Threaten To "Pacify" Black Ghetto

By Susan Harris

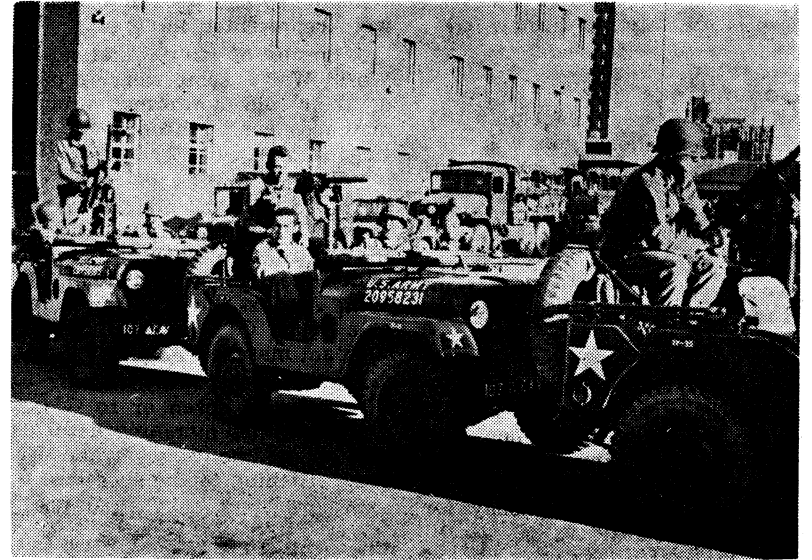
Announced as a crackdown on "unruly Negro youths," the authorities in Cleveland are projecting a campaign to repress and intimidate ghetto dwellers which is in effect a legalization of open warfare against black people. The breadth of the projected campaign which has been referred to as a "pacification" plan was reflected in the words of Mayor Ralph Locher, who ordered the police to "fill every jail in Cleveland if necessary."

Brutal Suppression

The plan has been described by a local Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Charles W. Rawlings, as a "deliberate escalation of and public invitation to violence and vengeance." He said, "What Cleveland is doing is preparing itself with the first rationalization of a really brutal suppression of many Negroes, not just the gangs. If the city pursues this plan, they will need stockades to hold all the people by this summer."

Already Gov. Rhodes has ordered the Ohio Highway Patrol to make aerial photographs by helicopter of the "enemy" ghetto territory. The Cleveland police are using floodlight-equipped helicopters for nighttime surveillance over ghetto areas. Additional policemen are being hired and trained.

One of the focuses of the attack will be the black militants who



NATIONAL GUARD. These armed forces were used last year to attack black ghetto in Cleveland.

have already been the victims of police harassment and frame-ups. According to the April 24 *New York Times* the police in Cleveland describe their ghetto targets in the following way: "the marauding gangs comprise only a few hundred teenage dropouts, led on a spur-of-the-moment basis by no more than 20 to 30 black nationalist extremists who have filled the civil rights leadership void."

Councilman Anthony Garofoli has claimed that his white constituents "are ready to take action themselves." This not very veiled

threat of white mob attacks on the black community is the logical result of the deliberate fanning of white racist feelings by the authorities and the Cleveland press over the past year.

The official attitude behind the new campaign was reflected in the answer given by Cleveland's "public safety" director when he was asked about possible charges of police brutality. He said, "I don't care." The city government is saying that any struggle against police brutality will be met with more of the same.

Victory at Texas Southern University

SNCC Wins Campus Recognition

By Elizabeth Barnes

Students at the all-black Texas Southern University in Houston have won a significant victory in their fight against the school administration and local authorities.

The current struggles began when the administration moved against the campus chapter of Friends of SNCC by denying it the use of campus facilities and by terminating the teaching contract of SNCC's faculty advisor, Mack Jones.

In protest against these moves TSU students closed down the school by calling a boycott of classes on March 28. The boycott was temporarily suspended when the administration indicated it would rehire Mack Jones and negotiate with the students. But when it was found that the administration's offers were insincere, the protests began again.

On April 3 a rally was held in the morning, and at noon the students placed chains and padlocks on the doors of the classroom buildings. That night hundreds of students staged a sit-down in the middle of Wheeler Street which runs through the center of campus.

At this point the protest broadened to include new grievances. While the students were sitting down on Wheeler Street, others who were dissatisfied with the food being served in the school cafeteria began dumping trays of food on the floor.

Later that night the girls in the dormitories decided to revolt against the rule that they be in the dorms by 9 p.m. Boycotting the 9 o'clock curfew, they set up a record player on Wheeler Street, brought food and soft drinks, and began a street dance that lasted until 11 o'clock.

These spontaneous actions caused the students to raise new demands. Among these were: 1) a change in the curfew hours for women; 2) replacement of "the present slop served in the cafeteria with edible nutrition"; 3) an increase in salaries paid to TSU faculty and maintenance personnel to the level of white campuses; and 4) replacement of "pistol-packing officers on campus with unarmed guards such as is the case on white campuses."

After the protests on April 3, the police moved to stop the demonstrations. At midnight they raided a YMCA near the university and arrested Rev. F. D. Kirkpatrick, co-chairman of Friends of SNCC and a leader of the protests; along with Franklin Alexander, the national chairman of the DuBois Clubs. Bond was set at \$25,000. The bond was a "peace

bond," which meant that it would be forfeited if the defendants were involved in any infraction of the law.

In reaction to the arrests, the students blocked the streets once again and held a rally of 750 students to which administration representatives were invited. President Joseph A. Pierce and Dean James B. Jones both showed up and the students put before them the demand that charges against Kirkpatrick and Alexander be dropped. Pierce responded by saying, "I am not a lawyer. I do not know how to do that. We are not involved, it is a matter to be settled between the two men and the city authorities."

March on Courthouse

At that point the students walked out of the meeting and began a march down Wheeler Street which ended up at the Harris County courthouse. On the way two cops grabbed another protest leader, Lee Otis Johnson, and pushed him into an unmarked patrol car. Johnson was a member of SNCC who had been suspended from TSU some weeks before for his political activities.

At the courthouse the demonstrators were surrounded by cops. In response to the demonstration the riot squad had been called out. The students decided to remain at the courthouse until their demands for release of the prisoners were met. Blankets and food were brought, in preparation for an all-night stand.

On April 15, the authorities gave in to the pressure of the students and lowered the bond to \$1,000 each. In addition to this, the school administration has granted campus recognition to SNCC.



MARCH TO COURTHOUSE. Students marched from Texas Southern University campus to courthouse to protest arrest of their leaders.



Stokely Carmichael