

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 31 - No. 17

Monday, April 24, 1967

Price 10¢

Many Urge Support For Pfc. Howard Petrick

— See page 6 —

Nearly Half a Million In New York March Against Vietnam War

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — April 15 was an historic day. A relatively small group of individuals and organizations armed with a correct idea and a correct assessment of the political temper of the country organized the biggest antiwar demonstration this city or country has ever seen. The fantastic outpouring showed there is massive opposition to the war and a significant growth of radicalism.

It is now clear that nearly half a million people participated in the demonstration. The police figure, quickly picked up by the press and TV, of 125,000, was an estimate made at 2 p.m. of the number of people then present at the UN rally site. It did not include the line of marchers that stretched a mile and a half back to Central Park and the thousands still assembling in the park.

A professional crowd estimator retained by the Spring Mobilization Committee estimated at least 400,000 present. He based his figure on a study he made of the crowd from a helicopter and from an examination of enlarged photos of the rally.

Dr. Martin Luther King and others said it was bigger than the giant civil rights March on Washington of 1963.

And it could be added that, unlike the Washington March, this mobilization didn't have the support of the government but was in fact directed against it. The call for the Mobilization urged the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and the slogans that predominated in the demonstrations were those calling on the U.S. to get out and supporting the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination.

It was a militant demonstration and a young one. Probably two-thirds of the participants were young people.

Minority groups were well represented. There was a larger group of Puerto Ricans than in previous antiwar demonstrations and a far larger number of black faces than seen in any action of this type. A

spirited, militant contingent of several thousand marched down from Harlem. This represented a major breakthrough for the antiwar movement.

There was, of course, an outpouring of students from the city's high schools and colleges and from colleges throughout the East. Here again there were many schools never previously represented.

Thousands came from as far west as Chicago and Minneapolis, as far north as Canada and as far south as Georgia and Louisiana.

SANE, Women Strike for Peace, religious and professional groups were all heavily represented.

75,000 MARCH IN SAN FRANCISCO. For report on West Coast Mobilization see page 8.

ed. There were more unionists from more different unions than in any previous peace parade. CORE, SNCC and SCLC all brought out people.

The Spring Mobilization Committee, the Student Mobilization Committee and the New York Parade Committee had done an incredible job with tiny resources to build and publicize the action. The Parade Committee alone distributed more than one million leaflets.

But all the effort in the world could not have built this kind of an action if there were not the political basis for it. This Mobilization demonstrated to the entire world that the antiwar movement in this country has entered into a new stage — a stage where it is capable of rallying significant mass opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam. April 15 was a stunning reply to those who argued that only a "vociferous minority" are against the war.

The power of the action grew throughout the day. Well before noon there were already thousands

in Central Park. By noon, when the first contingent was getting ready to leave, the vast Sheep Meadow was a sea of human faces. The long road from the Meadow to the park exit was filled solid, with assembling contingents.

The first marchers reached the UN rally site at one p.m. and then they kept coming. First Avenue, a very wide thoroughfare, was filled up from 47th St. down to 43rd St. On 47th Street, which is the width of a double avenue, the crowd jammed in all the way back to Second Avenue. The side streets between 43rd and 47th Streets were filled. And still they kept coming.

At 5 p.m. a heavy downpour ended the rally. As the thousands left they met additional thousands still marching. The two last contingents — students and the medical group — arrived at the UN at 6 p.m., five hours after the first section of the parade. And they were determined to get there. When they were about two blocks away, sloshing through the downpour, a well-meaning parade marshal came running up and began announcing over his bull horn that the rally had ended. He was shunted aside by a marshal for the medical contingent who declared, "It's not over till we get there!" And they marched in unbroken ranks until they got there.

A *New York Times* editorial the morning of the mobilization sanctimoniously advised that the action would have neither political nor moral impact. A demonstration for a halt to the bombing leading to negotiations, the paper piously suggested, might do some good. But, it sternly added, "a demonstration in favor of unilateral American withdrawal" can only lead to a dead-end.

Nearly half a million Americans demonstrated they think otherwise.



Photo by Finer

AGAINST THE WAR. This photo covers just one segment of the crowd on 47th St. during rally at UN. The entire throng, standing elbow to elbow, filled an area equivalent to approximately 16 city blocks. And that didn't take into account the line of marchers stretching all the way back to Central Park and the contingents that were still forming there at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Student Antiwar Parley Slated

NEW YORK — The Student Mobilization Committee, which involved a half million students in its Vietnam Week and which brought out large contingents for the April 15 Mobilization, has issued a call for a national student antiwar conference.

The conference will be held in Chicago, May 13-14. It will evaluate the results of the Student Mobilization and map future projects for the summer.

For information about the conference and how to help build it contact the Student Mobilization Committee national office at 29 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10003 or the Chicago office, Student Mobilization Committee, 3101 W. Warren, Chicago, Ill., 60612.



Photo by Finer

Stokely Carmichael

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Direct government intervention against strikes and threats of strike came from three directions this week.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz "arranged" a truce in the five-day old Chicago Teamsters strike.

The House and Senate made record time in passing a resolution postponing a strike by six shop craft unions against the railroads, for another 20 days.

Federal Judge William H. Timbers granted a 10-day restraining order against the UAW Locomotive-Avco Division strike at Stratford, Conn., and set a hearing for April 25 on Johnson's request for a Taft-Hartley injunction to postpone the strike 80 days.

As we reported last week, the lockout of 250,000 truck drivers by the Truck Employers, Inc., effectively tied up long distance freight over most of the country. The lockout lasted only three days and was brought to an end when the Teamsters Union negotiators headed by general vice president Fitzsimmons accepted what appears, from limited facts available, to be a totally inadequate contract with the employers' organization. The bosses had hoped for immediate action on the part of Johnson in the form of a Taft-Hartley injunction. Union leaders, running scared, appear to have settled for a wage-fringe benefit contract less than what the bosses had previously offered.

No official figures on the actual settlement are available, but enough has leaked out to indicate that the wage-benefit package is probably about 50 cents per hour over a three-year contract. And to add insult to injury, the disputed escalator clause was given what the *New York Post* calls a "new wrinkle." The 11¢ per hour cost of living increase due the workers under the old contract is reportedly included in the 23¢ hourly increase for the first year of the new contract. The new escalator clause is apparently limited to 6¢ per hour over three years and will be paid into the health, welfare and pension funds as part of the bosses' contribution.

The IBT leadership seems to anticipate more than a bit of trouble selling this deal to its membership. And to add to their difficulty, 10 IBT locals and one independent truck union in Chicago voted with their feet on April 10, by striking for the original 90¢ per hour package. The Independent Truck Drivers Union reported that it had already won its demands from some of the local cartage firms. If the Chicago teamsters had won their demands, Fitzsimmons would have faced an embarrassing situation indeed.

So, Secretary of Labor Wirtz stepped into the situation. On April 17 he "arranged a truce" between the bosses and the local union officials in Chicago. The strike was called off. Negotiations

are now going on in Washington, D.C.

The IBT leadership has delayed a membership vote on the proposed contract settlement until April 22-23. Fitzsimmons has arranged to "fully acquaint local leadership with terms of the contract" so they will be better able to convince an angry and militant membership to buy the deal.

The House and Senate responded with alacrity to Johnson's request for a resolution postponing a threatened rail strike another 20 days — to May 3. Six shop craft unions are involved in this dispute over wages. The government had already exhausted all of its strike-banning provisions under the Railway Labor Act and the strike was scheduled for April 13.

Union demands, already revised downward, include 7 percent wage increases for all shopmen, with a 15¢ an hour additional increase for skilled crafts, retroactive to Jan. 1, and a 5 percent general increase and another 15¢ for skilled classifications and journeymen next Jan. 1. The railroads refuse even to negotiate beyond the 5 percent increase recommended by the President's Fact Finding Emergency Board.

It took Johnson just one day to decide that the UAW strike against the Locomotive Division of Avco Corporation at Stratford, Conn. was "detrimental to the national welfare" and apply for a Taft-Hartley injunction. The strike began on Sunday, April 16. On Monday a federal judge granted a 10 day restraining order against the strike and set a hearing on a Taft-Hartley injunction for April 25.

Avco Corporation manufactures the T-53 gas turbine engines for helicopters, and the Mohawk reconnaissance fixed wing airplane. Both aircraft are used in the Vietnam war. Defense Secretary McNamara said the Pentagon "couldn't tolerate a work stoppage."

Negotiations between the union and the company have been going on for a long time. A staggering 168 issues were involved. According to the union president, Russel R. Booth, specific demands were served on the company on Feb. 13 but the company did not respond with its counter proposal until just before the strike deadline. Mr. Booth said this was typical — a "historic practice" over the last 15 years, to wait right up to a strike deadline and then come in with proposals "loaded with bear traps."

A major issue involves a company threat to move operations to Charlestown, S.C. The union is demanding supplemental benefits to "cushion the shock" when and if the company runs away to the cheap labor market in Charlestown.

—Marvel Scholl

SOLIDARITY OF OPPRESSED

Harlem Rally Hears Indians

By Les Evans

NEW YORK — American Indian leaders received a warm reception at a street corner rally in Harlem April 13. Spokesmen for the Rosebud Sioux Tribe of South Dakota and representatives of the Iroquois Six Nation Confederacy of New York State and Canada addressed the rally at 125th St. and 7th Ave. The Indians were in New York to participate in the massive April 15 Mobilization against the Vietnam war.

Sioux leaders told how FBI agents had tried to prevent their delegation from leaving the South Dakota reservation. Robert Burnette, a Sioux leader and president of the American Indian Civil Rights Council, said, "We had 35 people from the Rosebud Sioux Tribe who got on the bus in Mission, South Dakota, to come to New York. Two FBI agents got on that bus before it left. They intimidated and intimidated them until only seven were left. But those seven had a lot of heart and a lot of guts. When the bus pulled into Winner [S.D.] they went out and got 16 more Indians who would stand up, and they are coming." [Twenty-three actually arrived on the bus.]

On the speakers' platform were posters reading "Great White Father Speaks With Forked Tongue!" and "Americans — Do Not Do To Us! The Vietnamese What You Did To Us!"

Dollarism

Burnette explained why the Indians had decided to join the anti-war protest: "In this world of turmoil we live in, this world based only on profit, the world of the almighty dollar, we felt we had to stand up and fight for human values. That is why we came to join the rally."

"We are losing Indian boys by the hundreds. Last July 4th, when the white man was celebrating his independence, I lost a first cousin in Vietnam. We Indians are without any rights anyway. What are we fighting for? We are destroying little people. Our people are being forced to kill in Vietnam."

"People have asked me 'What are you doing here in Harlem?' My answer is that I have come to the other reservation."

Burnette castigated the government's oppression of Indians and its control of reservation life: "Many reservations are run by Indian puppets of the government. They are traitors to their people... The government plays a game of divide and conquer. Some day we'll all get wise and not let them do this to us. This society is run by the dollar and by the landlords. This is not right. No man owns the land we stand on. It belongs to the people that use it. When you die it goes to somebody else."

"We cannot receive justice in this country... If you want justice you must fight for it! And don't be fooled by the little poverty program they throw your way."

Chief Lame Deer, also of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, said of the Vietnam war that "My own relations are out there without cause. I am not going to fight another nation. I want all the boys to come back. Bring the boys home!"

Mad Bear Anderson, from Sanborn, New York, a spokesman for the Iroquois Nation, spoke on the

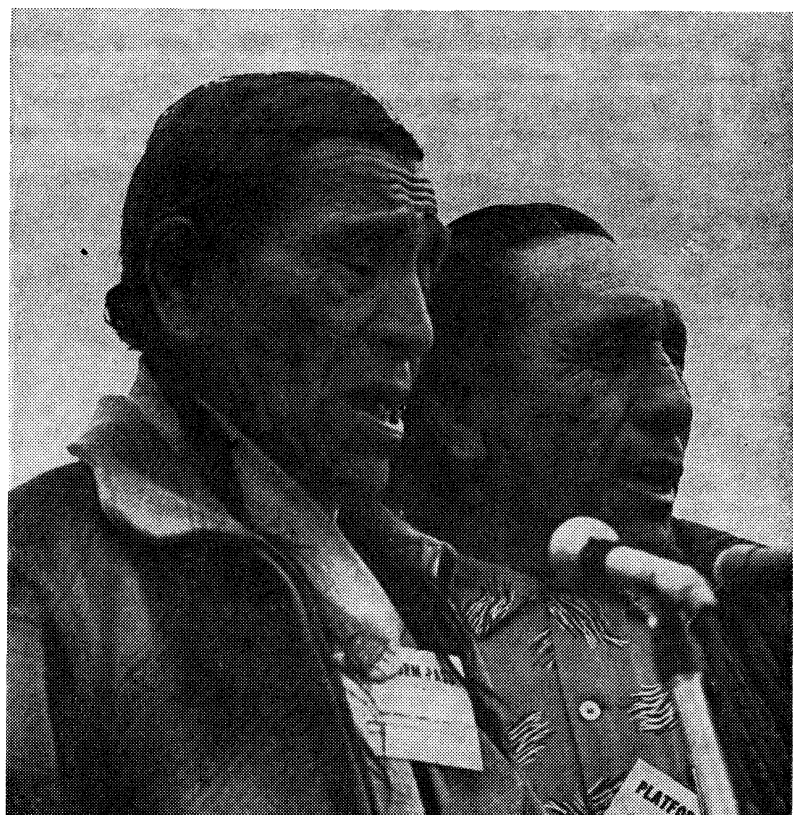


Photo by Finer

OPPOSE RACIST GENOCIDE. Spokesmen for Rosebud Sioux Indians from South Dakota on platform at April 15 rally.

history of his tribe's dealings with the white man. He is a leader of the Tuskarora Tribe. "We originally lived in North Carolina," he said, "My people were sold into slavery by the white man. Many were deported to the West Indies and died. The rest fought back. We moved north and joined the Iroquois Confederacy. We were the sixth tribe to make up the Iroquois Nation."

"I got a white education. I should say I was brainwashed in the white schools. I was told that Indians were dirty savages who ran around scalping people. I was taught how the white Christians 'civilized' the Indians. I even enlisted in the U.S. Army in World War II to show how patriotic I was. I served 101 days under fire. After I was honorably discharged I applied for a GI loan. But they would not let me have it because I was an Indian."

Sick Society

"We opposed the act that was passed in 1924 making us citizens. We don't want to be absorbed into a sick society. Our people were murdered in this country — and are still being murdered. They used germ warfare against us in 1870 when they drove my people across into Kansas. They promised us homes, land, tools. My people crossed the river and waited. Wagons came filled with clothes and blankets. They were infected with smallpox! My people took them and they died and died."

"We have asked for justice—we have received nothing. When we heard that black men were willing to join forces with us we came at once. This is the dawn of a new

day. I will do all in my power to see Indians unite across the continent. There is a movement of Indian nationalism in the nation. In the future we will work closely to bring our movement and the black movement together."

Mr. Anderson has been to Vietnam eight times as a seaman. In commenting on the Vietnam war he said, "When I walk down the streets in Saigon, those people look like my brothers and sisters. They have a right to determine their own destiny. Many told me they detest American GIs being over there. In Vietnam the people should not be forced to accept a government at the point of a gun."

Mr. Anderson said that Indians have their own religion and do not want Christianity pushed down their throats, especially as white Christians show little evidence of practicing what they preach. In closing he said:

"We will go back to our reservations and tell about this meeting between the red man and the black man. And no damn FBI is going to stop us. When we heard that the white man's FBI was using Nazi gestapo tactics on our brother Sioux it made our blood boil."

The meeting was sponsored by the Spring Mobilization Committee. It was chaired by Paul Boutelle, administrative assistant to Rev. James Bevel, and an officer of the Black United Action Front. A number of black speakers followed the Indians, including Charles Kenyatta, Eddie "Porkchop" Davis, and spokesmen for the Black United Action Front. Grace Mora Newman, sister of one of the Fort Hood Three antiwar GIs, also spoke.

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Mobilization Rally in N.Y. Blasts LBJ's Vietnam War

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, April 15 — The tremendous throng that jammed into the UN Plaza for the Spring Mobilization antiwar rally listened with remarkable attentiveness to a series of speakers. They heard a variety of views including strong declarations for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. They did not hear a single speaker accommodate in any way to the red-baiting drive to which the Mobilization has been subjected and they heard vigorous defenses of the non-exclusionary policy on which the Mobilization was so successfully built.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, the distinguished pediatrician who is national chairman of SANE, was co-chairman of the rally along with Dave Dellinger, a vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Dr. Spock opened with a forthright attack on the red-baiters. He characterized the non-exclusion policy of the Mobilization as a striking victory over McCarthyism. Any concession or retreat on this score, he warned, could only pave the way for a revival of the witch-hunt.

Other speakers at the rally included Dr. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, Rev. James Bevel, Floyd McKissick, William F. Pepper, Cleveland Robinson, Pedro Juan Rua, Linda Dannenberg, Nick Egleson and Howard Zinn.

Both King and Carmichael vigorously refuted the charge that the civil rights movement should not join forces with the antiwar movement. "I join in this mobilization," King stated at the outset of his speech, "because I cannot be a silent onlooker while evil rages."

Black Power Stand

Stokely Carmichael reiterated SNCC's black power stand and branded the U.S. role in Vietnam as an extension of the racism practiced at home.

He declared, "We black people have struggled against white supremacy here at home. We therefore understand the struggle of the Vietnamese against white supremacy abroad. We black people have struggled against U.S. aggression in the ghettos of the North and South. We therefore understand the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression abroad."

"This is why there can be no question of whether a civil rights organization should involve itself with foreign issues. It must do so,



Photo by Finer

LEADING THE PARADE. At head of march were Dr. Benjamin Spock, Rev. Martin Luther King and Msgr. Charles Rice of Pittsburgh.

if it claims to have any relevance to black people and their day-to-day needs in the United States of America."

Floyd McKissick, CORE national director, in a brief greeting, expressed his solidarity with the position King and Carmichael had taken. Cleveland Robinson, the president of the Negro American Labor Council and secretary treasurer of District 65, AFL-CIO, in New York, spoke in the best tradition of labor militancy. He declared: "We have to take issue with those labor leaders who have found it expedient to support the war." He scored AFL-CIO President Meany for claiming that he represented American labor in supporting the war when "tens of thousands of working people are here today."

Strongly supporting the Vietnamese right of self-determination, Robinson demanded, "Get out of Vietnam and leave the people to their own affairs!"

A militant effective argument for withdrawal was given by Howard Zinn, the Boston University government professor who recently wrote the book, *Logic of Withdrawal*.

Martin Luther King indicated that he agreed with the withdrawal position, but that "the majority of Americans have not yet learned this lesson."

"Whether we realize it or not," King stated "our attitude toward a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam places us in a position

of obstructing the principles of self-determination. By entering a war that is little more than a domestic civil war, America has ended up supporting a new form of colonialism . . ."

Speakers were unanimous in emphasizing the necessity of continuing the antiwar movement and bringing in new forces. Linda Dannenberg, the executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee, took the platform near the end of the rally when it was pouring down rain.

Putting aside her prepared speech, she announced that the Student Mobilization Committee had planned antiwar activity for the summer. (In a release issued prior to the talk, she announced that the committee would hold a national student antiwar conference in Chicago, May 13 and 14.)

Stokely Carmichael stated, "Brothers and sisters, the future and the issues are yours. We urge that the Spring Mobilization be fully supported so that it may lead to a summer mobilization and fall mobilization and on to a great amassing of people who shall speak out against this war."

Both Carmichael and SDS Chairman Nick Egleson called for increased anti-draft activity. "The draft exemplifies, as much as racism, the totalitarianism which prevails in this nation in the disguise of consensus democracy," Carmichael stated.

End Johnson Administration

William F. Pepper, executive director of the National Conference for New Politics, said that his organization would support independent political activities in the summer. "The reign of Lyndon Baines Johnson must be ended," Pepper stated, "and the scourge of his administration swept from our soil."

Pepper suggested as an alternative to the major parties, a slate headed by Martin Luther King and Benjamin Spock.

Pedro Juan Rua, New York organizer of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, made a slashing attack on the imperialist nature of the Vietnam war. Rua pointed out that this war was no exception in the history of a country which included the enslavement of the blacks, the suppression of the Indians, attacks on Latin Americans and colonization of Puerto Rico.

Pedro Juan Rua declared, "The imperialist policy of the U.S. rulers is not at all in the interest of the workers, the 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 . . ."

THE MILITANT

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Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 31 - No. 17

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Monday, April 24, 1967

Why the Mobilization Succeeded

The massive turnout for the April 15 demonstration against the war was a powerful vindication of the coalition of forces that built the Spring Mobilization Committee and of the concepts the coalition was built upon.

When the idea for the Spring Mobilization was projected at the initiating conference last Thanksgiving, there were some who viewed it as unrealistically audacious.

Those who favored the action argued that popular discontent with the war was stronger than generally realized and that this discontent would continue to deepen. It was argued that because of this it was possible to bring significant new forces into the coalition which at that time was largely confined to peace activists and political radicals.

It was further argued that the success of such an action required that it be given a militant content and that the coalition be built firmly on the principle of non-exclusion — that is to welcome in everyone opposed to the war regardless of other political beliefs.

Armed with these concepts and little else (the results were even more fantastic in relation to the funds and staff available), the Spring Mobilization Committee succeeded in bringing in significant sections of the civil rights movement and made some modest progress on the imperative job of involving the labor movement.

No serious group opposed to the war was kept away by the militant stand of the Mobilization Committee for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. Nor did the red-baiting about the open participation of radicals have any significant negative effect. To the contrary, these proved powerful poles of attraction.

Thousands of young people rallied to the Mobilization because it represented not only forthright opposition to the war but refreshingly healthy opposition to McCarthyite norms.

Not only did the Mobilization Committee succeed in involving so many key forces but it succeeded beyond reasonable expectation in reaching out to new, previously, untapped layers of the population.

The antiwar movement has every basis for looking to the days ahead with confidence.

Labor's Stake in Antiwar Fight

Lyndon Johnson is seeking a Taft-Hartley injunction the third time this year to send strikers back to work on the grounds that they are injuring the war effort. This time, Johnson wants the injunction against 4,900 workers at Avco Corporation's Lycoming helicopter works in Stratford, Conn.

In March, Johnson came to the rescue of West Coast shipping firms which were being struck by electrical workers; and in January, he used the 80-day back-to-work order against Union Carbide strikers in Kokomo, Ind., and Ashtabula, Ohio.

In each of these cases the war is being used as a club against workers to prevent them from achieving their legitimate demands. It is one more sacrifice the war imposes upon them.

Working-class families provide the 18 and 19-year-old sons for the Vietnam battlefields; they pay the large majority of taxes to finance the war. And in return they get high prices, higher taxes and injunctions against their right to strike.

On the other side, the corporations rack up immense profits on war production, and at no risk whatsoever. Avco, it happens, registered the record profit increase for that corporation of 31 percent last year. Now the bosses are rushing to the White House to keep these profits in their hands.

As it continues, the Vietnam war will prove a major threat to the rights of the unions. The right to strike will face greater and greater curbs, more and more of the cost of the war will be imposed on the workers who will find it difficult to resist the process because of wartime restrictions. Clearly organized labor has a direct, compelling interest in opposing the Vietnam war.



Photo by Harry Ring

CAP AND GOWN CONTINGENT. The Universities Committee on Problems of War and Peace brought out some 2,000 faculty members including 250 in cap and gown. Facing camera is Prof. Harry Lustig of City College, chairman of the New York area Universities Committee.

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 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 8801 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, L.A. 2-4325. 5257 University Way, Seattle, Wash. 98105.

Highlights and Sidelights of New Yo

Seventy-three members of the British Parliament sent a telegram hailing the Mobilization, declaring the demonstration "inspires us to hope there will be a world without war."

There were also messages of solidarity from Cairo, Tel Aviv, north Vietnam and many other parts of the world.

A dignified, grey-haired woman stood along the line of march on 47th St. holding a hand-lettered card declaring, "Stop the war." Queried, she explained, "It's for my grandson who's with the Ninth Division in Vietnam."

The idea for the Spring Mobilization was, to our knowledge, first advanced at the Cleveland conference by Prof. Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University. He spoke of a mass mobilization on each coast involving a half million people. Many people at the conference agreed with the proposal but were chary of the half million figure. This was resolved when one speaker for the proposal suggested considering it as "a concept, not a number." Either way, Prof. Peck was vindicated.

A woman stood in the line of march watching the contingents take off from Central Park. She said to her husband, "Can you imagine the amount of organization something like this takes?" She reflected and added, "I wonder how many people are here like us who don't belong to anything and never did this before?"

A raggedy looking derelict stood on the corner of Second Avenue and 47th St. holding aloft a box of Fab and screaming "take a bath!" as a group of very proper looking Quakers marched by.

Two teen-age boys came into Central Park and stopped and looked with wonderment at the tremendous throng. The one young man exclaimed to the other: "Aren't you glad we came!"

One lady commented that it was too bad there wasn't more chanting. Another responded, "Well, dearie, I'm new to all this so I don't know the words, but if you want to shout, I'll help the best I can."

A bag of paint was hurled at the veterans contingent, landing squarely on a legless veteran in a wheel chair. The vet was drenched with paint, but if the hooligan who threw it thought he would dampen his spirit, he aimed at the wrong man. It was James Kutcher, who lost his legs in World War II and then waged a victorious eight-year fight after being fired from a federal civil



REINFORCEMENTS. Mobilization registered major advance in winning support from black ghettos for struggle against Vietnam war.

service job for his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Jim had to throw away his clothes when he got home from the march, but said it was well worth it to have participated.

The New York Welfare Workers' Committee for Peace in Vietnam, which raised more than \$1,000 for a *New York Times* ad supporting the Mobilization, had at least 300 members of their union in the parade. There was also good representation from the State, County and Municipal Employees which also represents New York welfare workers.

Women Strike for Peace did an outstanding job in a number of cities in bringing out participants for the march. The actual WSP contingent in the parade was huge, probably the biggest of any single group. A spokesman estimated there were 20,000 in the contingent.

A sign of the changing times and the effectiveness of the Spring Mobilization Committee's non-exclusion policy was the par-

ticipation of a contingent marching under the banner of the Communist Party, led by party secretary, Gus Hall.

The impact of a mass action like the Mobilization was strikingly apparent to one antiwar activist the day after. She lives in an East Side cooperative which has a modest-size, active committee against the war. The committee had thought it was in touch with most of the people in the project who are opposed to the war. But, she reports, she was utterly amazed the next day to hear all kinds of people who had never previously indicated any views on the war, speaking openly and enthusiastically about the success of the Mobilization. "On the elevator, on the benches downstairs, all over the place, people were talking about it," she says. "You could see that the size of it affected them. It made them feel that you're not in a little minority if you're against the war. They felt free to speak out."

Jan Garrett, the Young Socialist who was seriously wounded by a crazed anti-communist in the Detroit Debs Hall shooting last May, was there on crutches, helping to sell books and pamphlets at the SWP table. We checked to find out how he got across town to the UN rally. "I started out with the Atlanta contingent," he explained, "but they were moving too slow, so I walked on ahead."

The joke of the day was, to our knowledge, first advanced from the platform by Stokely Carmichael. If you were being raped like Vietnam is, he asked, would you favor prolonged negotiations or immediate withdrawal?

An indication of the broad scope of participation in the demonstration was the presence of the wife of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas and the wife of columnist Drew Pearson.

There were an estimated 2,000 in the white-clad medical con-

tingent of doctors, medical technicians, students and — a first — uniformed nurses.

They were among the last contingents to reach the UN and they got drenched in the downpour. But they didn't break ranks.

As usual with such actions, the Mobilization had to depend on red-baiting attacks as the only publicity the commercial press would give the demonstration. The opening gun in the red-baiting drive was fired by the gutter-sheet *Daily News* with a tall tale about "Red Guards" building the Mobilization.

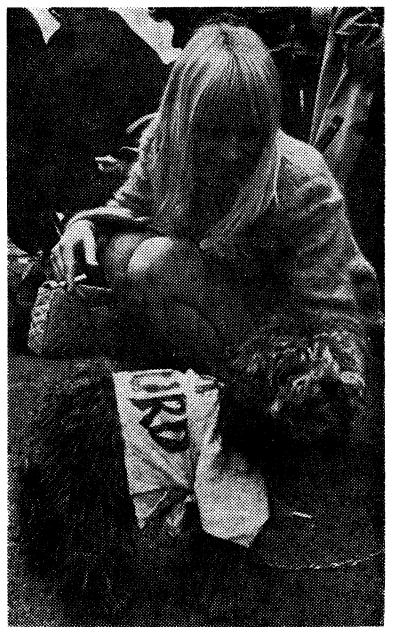
On the day of the Mobilization, the red-baiting was taken over in somewhat more genteel fashion by the *New York Times*. It ran a front-page article designed to put the "Red" label on the action. It reported that the Mobilization forces included "Trotskyites, anarchists, Communists and Maoists." It said that around the country "left-wing activists — primarily Trotskyites operating in the Young Socialist Alliance — were reported to have provided the manpower for the distribution of protest literature and mailings. They were also instrumental in raising funds and transportation for persons who wanted to attend the protests in either San Francisco or New York."

Pointing to disputes within the Mobilization, the paper reported: "The Students for a Democratic Society . . . fought with the Young Socialist Alliance on the ground that resistance to the draft was more important than mass protests."

As the marchers passed the swank Plaza Hotel, a group of elegant-looking teen-age girls in party dress stood at the windows of the ballroom holding pink napkins inscribed, "Peace."

Those who wanted to sell copies of *The Militant* didn't have any problem remembering where to pick up the papers. They were available in a VW bus parked on 72nd St. directly in front of Trotsky Caterers.

The daily press, of course, played up the reactions of the right-wingers in order to suggest significant opposition to the demonstrators. This was a deliberate falsification. There were only two or three places along the line of march where a couple of dozen right wingers hurled epithets and objects and one place where they attacked some individual demonstrators who left the line of march.



DOUBLE ATTRACTION. While crowd around rally platform was engrossed with Mary of Peter, Paul and Mary, she was engrossed with dog whose jacket declared: "War is absurd."

But they represented zero in terms of the total numbers of spectators. The people who lined the parade route, with only occasional exceptions, watched with quiet, serious interest. At many places along the route there was significant applause for the demonstrators.

A contingent from Fordham University carried a depiction of Christ on the cross with the declaration, "You don't have to be Jewish to want peace."

Jack Barnes, New York SWP organizer, is still fuming because he didn't have a camera for a prize-winning shot of two cops on a bench at a Central Park entrance reading with obvious interest *The Militant* interview with GI Howard Petrick.

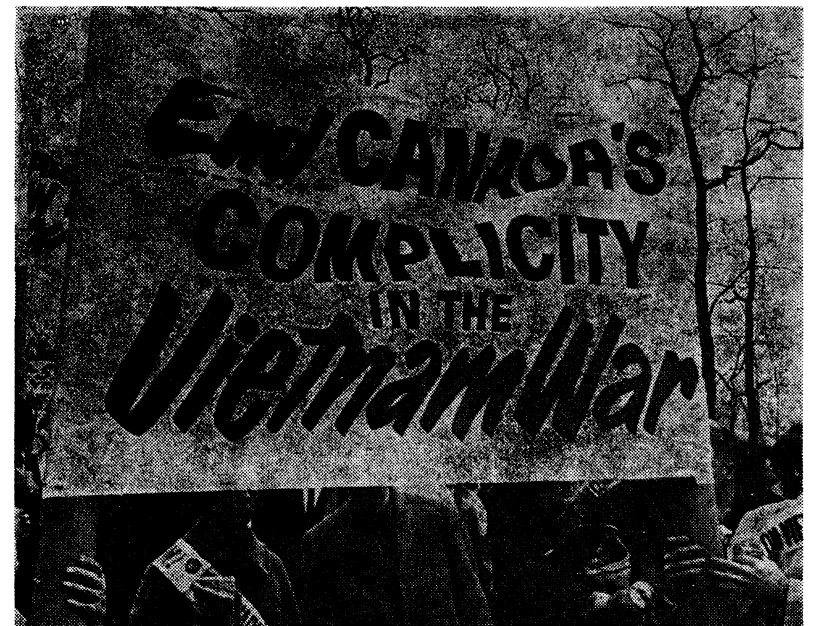
Mrs. Cyrus Eaton, wife of the Cleveland industrialist, is an invalid. She participated in the march in a wheel chair.

There were a lot of youngsters with a variety of peace balloons at the demonstration. But the eye-catcher was a little black girl with a black balloon bearing the slogan: "Black Power."

Nearly two thousand people made the long trip from Chicago. There were 16 busloads, mainly students from a dozen colleges in the Chicago area. Others organ-



ANTIWAR FIGHTERS. Young Socialists plunged into building of Spring Mobilization and were well represented at Parade. There were Young Socialist Alliance banners from Chicago, Cleveland, Antioch College, U of Wisconsin, New York City, Queens College, Columbia University, Detroit, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Boston, U of Penn., and Minneapolis.



NORTHERN SUPPORTERS. Part of Canadian Contingent at New York Mobilization. Four busloads came down from Toronto area, organized by the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. A solidarity demonstration with the Mobilization was also organized in Toronto by the High School Students Against the War in Vietnam.

ork Spring Mobilization



Photo by Harry Ring

ANTI-IMPERIALIST. Contingent from Movement for Puerto Rican Independence carried banners and placards indicting U.S. imperialism and declaring Puerto Rican solidarity with Vietnamese freedom fighters.

ized car pools and some came by train.

A group of marchers recognized Cardinal Spellman's mansion on Madison Avenue and as they marched by began chanting: "Draft Spellman!"

The full gamut of radical literature was available at the demonstration. Most of it was distributed free. But 200 supporters of *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* sold 5,500 copies of *The Militant*, nearly 1,200 *Young Socialists* and 1,000 of the *Young Socialist* pamphlets, *War and Revolution in Vietnam* by Doug Jenness and *GIs and the Fight Against War* by Mary-Alice Waters.

From San Francisco it is reported that 3,000 copies of *The*

Militant were sold, along with 700 *Young Socialists*.

Salesmen reported great interest in *The Militant's* coverage of the case of Pfc. Howard Petrick.

The *New York Times* which fell somewhat behind in its count on the attendance at the Mobilization, apparently decided to continue counting on Sunday. They went back to Sheep Meadow and found some out-of-town participants in the Mobilization there. A group from Cincinnati was having a ball game with a group from Detroit before they headed home. Cincinnati was leading 7 to 1 at the bottom of the fifth.

Dr. Linus Pauling, the Nobel prize-winning chemist came in from California for the Mobiliza-

tion with Mrs. Pauling. They were due in Princeton next week but came in early to join the march. Dr. Pauling, who was one of the first public figures to oppose the war, was tremendously encouraged by the success of the Mobilization. "I don't like being ashamed of my country," he said. "I hope this demonstration will encourage the government to take steps to end the war."

After announcing several lost children, Dave Dellinger assured the mothers: "Have no fear, Dr. Spock is here."

An enterprising young man from California set up shop at the Peace Fair with reprints of Berkeley Socialist Workers Party and Jerry Rubin campaign posters, plus poster pictures of Che Guevara and Malcolm X at \$1 each. He did a brisk business.

The big Cleveland contingent included a sizeable group of members of the Butcher Workmen's Union carrying placards declaring, "Bring the Troops Home Now." Their union local had gone on record in favor of withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and had endorsed the Spring Mobilization.

Members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance wound up the day with dinner at the Party headquarters at 873 Broadway. Nearly 300 activists who had worked all over the East to help build the Mobilization jammed into the hall for a ham and yams dinner. It was an exciting ending to an exciting day.

—Herman Chauka

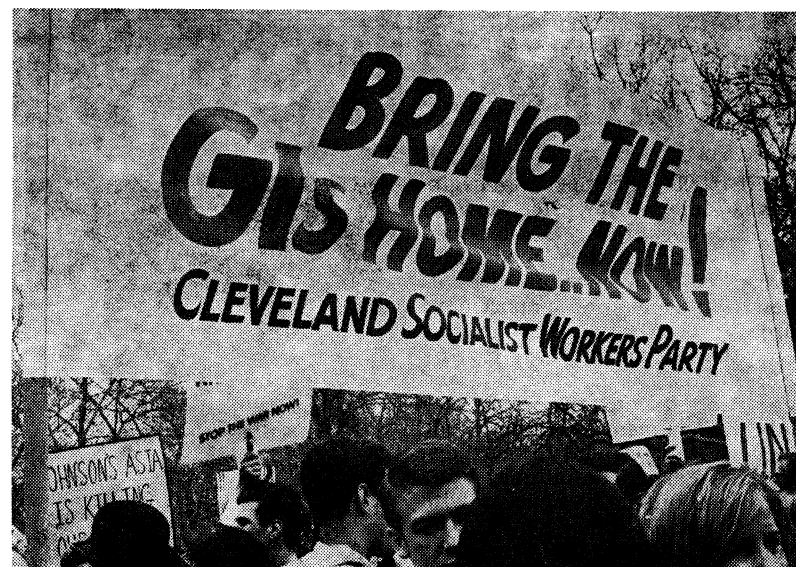


Photo by Barry Sheppard

SOCIALIST STAND. Banners demanding U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam were carried by Socialist Workers Party contingents from Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Detroit, Boston, Philadelphia and Minneapolis.



Photo by Finer

A FIRST IN CENTRAL PARK. Revolutionary literature was sold in park for first time at Mobilization. Socialist Workers Party book and pamphlet counter did a brisk business. Best sellers were text of Fidel Castro's March 13 speech on Venezuela and speeches of Malcolm X.

Speech by Linda Dannenberg

Because of the sudden downpour at the April 15 antiwar rally in New York, Linda Dannenberg, executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, put aside her prepared text and made a few brief remarks. The following is the text of the speech she had prepared for delivery at the rally.

* * *

It is two years since the United States government began its insane policy of bombing north Vietnam and steadily escalating the illegal war in both north and south Vietnam. During this time there have been many viable new developments in the struggle against the war.

One of the major developments in the student antiwar movement was the formation of the Student Mobilization Committee, a national coalition of students that was born from the traditional student groups against the war and has enlisted the energy of whole new sections of the student body. From the radical left to the University Christian Movement, Newman Clubs, and YMCA and YWCA members; from pacifists to student body leaders; from high school students to interfraternity councils; students have been involved in a nationally coordinated coalition of youth groups which recognizes and deals with the concerns of youth about the war in Vietnam. We have been able to maintain and even broaden support for our antiwar activity despite red-baiting attacks by the House Un-American Activities Committee and other such groups because we are based firmly on the principle of non-exclusion. Everybody, no matter what his political beliefs, must be part of the antiwar movement.

As youth, we have dealt with the

issues that most affect us: the war itself, the draft, and university complicity with the war effort.

Young men are faced most directly with the draft, and we are united on a platform of ending the draft — period. The newly proposed lottery system, or any other draft system that the government can come up with may deal with some of the inequities of the present draft system, but these cannot solve the basic question: that no one — student or ghetto youth, civil rights leader or playboy — no one should be drafted to fight in the war in Vietnam or any other war like it.

As students we are concerned with how the war in Vietnam has affected our lives at the universities. The rising war-induced inflation has increased tuition, and other costs, making it even harder for the poor and minority groups to receive an education. More and more of our universities are engaging in war-oriented research, perverting their purpose from institutions of learning to cogs in the war machine, where research in napalm and chemical and biological warfare is conducted. We will not be satisfied until these bloody ties of campus complicity with the war are cut.

Thirdly, we are united on a platform of bringing our GIs home from Vietnam now: a platform of immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, which is the only decent course left to our government. We will not be satisfied with another Korea or any other solution which leaves Vietnam divided against itself and our soldiers stationed there. We want our brothers, cousins, sweethearts, and husbands here now, where they belong, to build a truly free America.

Toward these ends, students on

over 500 high school and college campuses have been working on Vietnam Week, which started April 8 with activities of all kinds on these campuses, and has culminated in the participation of tens of thousands of students at the demonstrations here in New York and in San Francisco on the West Coast.

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

Students and youth especially must be involved, for we have been in the forefront of the movement and can continue to set the



Linda Dannenberg

pace. Therefore, as a start, the Student Mobilization Committee proposes that we call on every high school and college student in the country to spend their summer totally engaged in radical activity to end the war. The Student Mobilization Committee will provide national coordination for a series of action programs which are imaginative, viable and serious, and which will provide every student with a job that he can do and is ready for. Some of the projects that we are considering are the following:

Summer Projects

(1) Peace caravans of students in each state which would travel around to small towns, resort areas, camps, etc., during the summer and leaflet extensively, hold street corner rallies about the war, and, hopefully, leave behind them a group of townspeople willing to work on antiwar activity.

(2) There are, throughout the country, a number of napalm plants, bomb production companies, and research centers connected directly with our government's war effort for Vietnam. One such shocking example is a defoliation project which is going on right now in our own New York Botanical Gardens! We would like to see these operations exposed by whatever means necessary — intensive community education, civil disobedience, leafletting at the plant gates, or by massive demonstrations that can bring a peaceful halt to this type of war production.

(3) There is, naturally enough, a widespread feeling among the armed forces that the war is not in the interests of GIs, as symbolized by the growing numbers of cases of servicemen opposing the war in Vietnam. Some examples

are Lt. Henry Howe, who was court-martialed for participating in an antiwar demonstration; the courageous Fort Hood Three who are now in prison for refusing to go to Vietnam; and just this week we have learned of Pfc. Howard Petrick, a young antiwar activist who continued to speak his mind about the war after he was drafted into the army and now faces court-martial merely for maintaining his constitutional right to free speech. These GIs report that antiwar sentiment is well received within the army. One major project would therefore be nationally coordinated leafletting of GIs with the facts about the war and the GIs' right to oppose it.

(4) Draft resistance is a major area of concern for students all over the country. We won't-go projects, draft counseling, draft card burnings, anti-draft unions and educational projects are springing up all over. The Student Mobilization Committee can tie into these projects, helping local groups to coordinate their actions with national projects and helping to keep everybody informed, thereby aiding these vital grass roots movements.

These are just a few of many possible projects for this summer. The Student Mobilization Committee will hold a national student antiwar conference in Chicago on May 13 and 14 to which we invite all those interested in working on such summer actions. The purpose of the summer projects will be to coordinate activity on all levels in such a way that it will build the activities of all participating groups rather than conflict with any one.

We must unite and work together, whatever our differences, to end this illegal, immoral war. Let us begin! Now!

Many Urge Support for Pfc. Petrick

APRIL 9 — Support is beginning to mount for Pfc. Howard Petrick, the antiwar GI stationed at Ft. Hood, Texas, who faces threat of court-martial for his views. Statements of support have already been made by leading civil liberties and antiwar figures.

Pfc. Petrick is 21 years old, and was drafted into the army last July. He is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. The military brass have been unable to come up with any charges of infraction of army rules or refusing to obey any order, against the antiwar GI. Pfc. Petrick's sole "crime" is that since his induction, he has continued to exercise his rights as a citizen, expressing his socialist, antiwar views to his fellow GIs. He has had an excellent service record and is well-liked by the other GIs.

On March 20, he was granted a leave, during which he attended the Young Socialist Alliance national convention in Detroit. Upon his return, he found that his locker had been searched and his literature confiscated. That evening he was questioned, and assigned a military lawyer, who advised him that he faced possible court-martial on charges of "subversion," creating "disaffection" within the armed forces and making "disloyal" statements. The lawyer said each count under these charges carries a maximum penalty of three years in prison.

Since then, the army prosecutor has told Pfc. Petrick that the case is now in the hands of the Pentagon, and they have not yet decided whether to press forward with charges against Pfc. Petrick, or seek to discharge him with a less than honorable rating, or take other action. The court-martial threat still hangs over Petrick's head, and it is important that as much support be marshalled now behind the antiwar GI as possible.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is providing the services of the eminent constitutional lawyers Leonard Boudin and Victor Rabinowitz. But all other legal costs, and costs of publicizing the case, are being borne by the Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick. The committee asks that additional statements and resolutions of support, and badly needed contributions, be sent to the committee at P.O. Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

* * *

The following statements were sent to the Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick and were released by the Committee April 19.

Dagmar Wilson

[Dagmar Wilson is the founder of Women Strike for Peace.]

I join my voice in protest of the violation of the constitutional rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick. In expressing his views he is obeying the dictates of his conscience and asserting his rights to free speech under the First Amendment. In protesting the violation of his rights he is upholding the rights of all Americans and deserves the support of his fellow citizens. I add my support herewith.

Frank Donner

[Frank Donner is a well-known civil liberties attorney, council for the United Electrical Workers Union and author of "The Un-Americans."]

The First Amendment makes no exception in favor of the military. Both our Constitution and our tradition of civil control of our institutions, including the army, require that military personnel be accorded the fullest measure of dissent. A soldier does not become a second class citizen when he puts on a uniform. The Petrick



Pfc. Howard Petrick

case deserves the support of all Americans concerned with the increasing threat to our freedoms posed by the Vietnamese war.

Prof. Sidney Peck

[Prof. Sidney Peck teaches at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, and is a vice-chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee.]

It is my understanding that Pfc. Howard Petrick is being harassed and intimidated by army authorities for matters of conscience. I believe that every citizen soldier has the right to believe in what he thinks to be true and to express his beliefs to his fellow soldiers.

At a time when our President, as Commander-in-Chief, has authorized the use of U.S. troops in an illegal, immoral, and unjust war, I believe it is particularly important for soldiers who oppose that war to express their convictions freely and fully without threat or intimidation by army authorities.

John Gerassi

[John Gerassi is a professor of journalism at New York University, author of "The Great Fear in Latin America" and a member of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal.]

Pfc. Howard Petrick's courageous actions, which will undoubtedly bring him repressive consequences, are still another illustration that more and more conscientious Americans are finding it impossible to remain silent as America intensifies its imperialist policies. The fact that he faces court-martial for this expression is another proof that freedom of speech and freedom of thought applies only to those who agree with the official views. Thus both as an individual and as a symbol he deserves our congratulations and full support.

Linda Dannenberg

[Linda Dannenberg is the executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee, and is on the staff of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.]

The stand of Pfc. Howard Petrick, the young antiwar activist who continued to openly oppose the war in Vietnam after he was drafted, is one of great courage and conviction. That the army should attempt to harass and

court-martial him for this stand points up their great fear of having the truth about the war brought to GIs. All those opposed to the war, and especially young people, must support Howard Petrick's case in any way necessary, including redoubling our efforts towards showing GIs that the war in Vietnam is not in their interests.

Maxine Orris

[Maxine Orris is co-chairman of the High School Student Mobilization Committee in New York.]

The right of every soldier to hold his views should not be infringed upon when he speaks out against an unjust war. An attack on Pfc. Howard Petrick's rights is an attack on the political liberties of every American.

Dr. Herbert Aptheker

[Dr. Herbert Aptheker is a noted historian and a spokesman for the Communist Party.]

I find wholly admirable Pfc. Howard Petrick's insistence on maintaining all civil and political rights and exercising them while in the armed forces.

It seems to me he is raising a matter involving fundamental constitutional questions. For his actions I express warmest support and hope that all who value the Bill of Rights will support this courageous man.

Petrick's Parents Support Stand

Pfc. Howard Petrick's parents are standing solidly behind their son and in defense of his constitutional rights. Nicholas Petrick, his father, works at the GE plant in Erie, Pa., and is a shop steward in the United Electrical Workers Union. In a statement released by the Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick, the antiwar GI's father said:

"I don't like the way the Army went about it. If they had asked Howard, I believe he would have told them anything they wanted to know. I don't think he has done anything wrong, either. He has the right to think and say what he wants, just like any other citizen."

Reuben Butler

[Reuben L. Butler is a veteran of the Vietnam war.]

After having been at the fighting front in Vietnam for 11 months with the Second Battalion, Second Infantry, First Division, I resolutely support Pfc. Howard Petrick's unyielding stand against the war. I sincerely hope that all people aware of his plight to maintain his position in his struggle will come to his aid morally and economically for the defense of his beliefs.

Dr. Annette Rubinstein

[Dr. Annette Rubinstein is a well-known literary critic and author of numerous works, including "The Great Tradition in English Literature — From Shakespeare to Shaw."]

Mark Twain once said that in the United States we have three unspeakably precious things: freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to use either one of them. Pfc. Howard Petrick is extraordinary in the courage and intelligence with which he has consistently used all his rights and thus encouraged others to do so as well.

I cannot adequately express my admiration and respect for the example of dignity, strength and effective social concern which he gives us. Like the Rosenbergs, Morton Sobell, David Mitchell and the Fort Hood Three he makes us feel anew how proud a thing it can be to be human.

Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy

[Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy are the editors of Monthly Review.]

The case of Pfc. Howard Petrick is a very important one and deserves the full support of all who oppose the aggressive wars being waged by the United States in Vietnam and elsewhere. We believe that there is not only a right but a duty to speak out against these crimes both inside and outside the armed forces. The prosecution of Howard Petrick is obviously an attempt to intimidate all Americans. It must be defeated.

Prof. Robert Greenblatt

[Prof. Robert Greenblatt is a vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee.]

The war is going to end when the soldiers stop shooting. We must not only support but encourage any questioning and resistance in all levels of the community. This means supporting those who want to stay out of the killing, and those who are on their way to making that kind of decision. The peace movement and peace leadership continually urge other people to take action to end this war. It therefore becomes our responsibility to defend and support all people who take this kind of action.

Prof. Staughton Lynd

[Staughton Lynd is a professor at Yale University and chairman of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee.]

The case of Pfc. Howard Petrick follows other similar cases: That of Lt. Henry Howe, arrested while off duty and in civilian clothes for carrying a picket sign; and that of Dennis Mora, David Samas and James Johnson — the Fort Hood Three arrested during a pre-embarkation furlough for having stated that they intended to refuse to go to Vietnam.

More clearly than any previous case, Pfc. Petrick's poses the question, does a man retain his rights as a citizen when he enters the United States Army?

The United States Army is defying not only the judgements of the Nuremberg Tribunal but also the First Amendment of the Con-

stitution of the United States. Every friend of civil liberties as well as every opponent of the Vietnam war should give Pfc. Petrick their full support.

Norma Becker

[Norma Becker is the co-coordinator of the New York Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.]

The army's persecution and harassment of Pfc. Howard Petrick because of his outspoken criticism of America's war in Vietnam exposes the hypocrisy of Johnson's pious phrase that we must fight in Vietnam to preserve freedom and democracy. Pfc. Petrick is to be saluted for his refusal to be intimidated by the awesome power of our military apparatus. The rest of us must give unqualified support to his fight to maintain the constitutional rights of all Americans — even when they are forced into uniform.

Paul Friedman

[Paul Friedman is a coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee.]

I think Pfc. Petrick is a courageous person who is struggling under the worst conditions to bring the truth about the war to other GIs. The antiwar movement should give its full support to his fight.

Paul Krassner

[Paul Krassner is the editor of The Realist.]

Appropriately enough in view of American genocide, *The Militant's* call requesting a statement on the Private Petrick case came while I was watching Peter Weiss' *The Investigation* on TV. It's possible that working on the inside could be even more effective than conscientious objection, and of course I support the right to dissent especially in the context of army drafteedom. If this healthy subversive should be sent to Vietnam, however, his aim may have to be more clearly focused.

Timothy Wheeler

[Timothy Wheeler is a staff writer for The Worker and a member of the Communist Party.]

I regard the interrogation and harassment of Pfc. Howard Petrick as a blatant violation of his rights as guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution. This is an attempt to stifle the growing antiwar sentiment in the military against the Vietnamese war and the draft. His case is one of a growing number of cases of revolt against the Vietnamese war in the military and all Americans of good conscience should take immediate steps to support him against this harassment and to defend him in the event of a court-martial.

Furthermore, this harassment is an attempt to drive a wedge into the peace movement, to divide certain sections from other sections. This attempt must be repudiated by the movement as a whole.

Bradford Lyttle

[Bradford Lyttle is chairman of the New England Committee for Non-Violent Action and the former acting coordinator of the Spring Mobilization Committee.]

I have read the report in *The Militant* of Pfc. Howard Petrick's courageous determination to express his antiwar views while in the army. As a pacifist and advocate of nonviolent resistance to tyranny and exploitation, I do not share all of Howard Petrick's political beliefs. However, I agree with him completely that he has the right to express his political ideas in the army just as he does in civilian life. I fully support his struggle for free speech and his claim that the constitutional guarantees of free speech should apply to men in the armed forces as well as to civilians.

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.]

A Great Day for Peace

Bronx, N.Y.
Looks like we really cleaned up for Peace this April 15 — including a smashing reply to the drunken editorials of the *Daily News*. Step by step we're getting there! Please, do you have a couple of back issues of *The Militant*? I know where they can be sent to do the most good. Also, send something about the Sioux Indians who are coming to the fore now as a slap in the face to our so-called American Democracy which had all these years to do something for the Red man — and then let them languish in shame.

M. M.

Takes Issue

Chicago, Ill.
I wish to comment on four recent items in the "Letters from Our Readers" section of your newspaper.

One of these, by "M.Z." (March 13), stated that: "Marx on many occasions freely interchanges the use of these two words ['socialism' and 'communism'] when speaking of that society which is to replace capitalism. The only reason for two different words being used to describe the same form of society, seems to lie in the differing terminology which has developed in the English and French languages." This is inaccurate, or inexact. Frederick Engels himself supplies the reason for the "differing terminology" in his Preface, written in Jan. 1888, to the "Communist Manifesto," in the following words: "the Manifesto . . . is undoubtedly the most widespread, the most international production of all socialist literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of working men from Siberia to California. Yet, when it was written, we could not have called it a *Socialist Manifesto*. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems . . .; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks . . ."

In the letter from "African Socialist" in *The Militant*, March 13, it was written that "As we all know, the movement of the world now is toward socialism and then to the utopian Marxian commun-

ism which we all await." This sentence contains one non-Marxist assertion — that socialism and communism are different, and one anti-Marxist assertion — the designating of Marxian Socialism as "utopian . . . communism." Frederick Engels wrote a book entitled "Socialism: From Utopia to Science," refuting the very premises of "utopian communism."

In a letter entitled "Washington and Lincoln," (March 6) "J.W." inaccurately classes George Washington and Abraham Lincoln together as "radical" and "revolutionists." Actually, Washington must be regarded as a political conservative, whereas Lincoln was indeed "radical" in his distaste for capitalism. Lincoln said it was the "right of the people to amend or overthrow reactionary governments." It may be added that Lincoln denounced the capitalist class by name in his statement that "capitalists generally act harmoniously and in concert to fleece the people . . ."

In the March 24 issue, Barry Sheppard, presumably on behalf of the SWP, avers that "many of the arguments advanced against Progressive Labor apply equally well to the Socialist Labor Party's state capitalism theory." This claim is an instance of mental dishonesty, if not of intellectual bankruptcy, for, on examining the various arguments launched with complete success against the fatuous PLP position, I was unable to find even one which might be applied against the SLP explanation. It may also be of interest to you that not only does the SLP designate the current Russian economic system as "State Capitalism" in *Stalinist Imperialism* by Eric Hass, but the SLP also designates the said system as "Fascism" (or some synonym thereof). Arnold Petersen, in *Marxism vs. Soviet Despotism*, p. 11, observes that "we see in Russia . . . today . . . a ruthless ruling-class despotism and a working class subjected to a form of servitude best described as economic serfdom — economic serfdom as the logical counterpart to a poorly disguised industrial feudalism . . ." ("Industrial feudalism" is used by the SLP as the "scientific" term for "fascism.")

Frank M. Richards

Comments on Hoover

Hudson Falls, N.Y.
According to a recent news item, Mr. Hoover of the FBI has fired a broadside in his monthly bulletin which is distributed to about 57,000 law enforcement officers.

Mr. Hoover says: "Those who

are bent on replacing all ethical practices now established, with lawless, unbridled vulgarity; who flood our college campuses with pornographic publications containing obscene four-letter words; off beat dolts whose sole ability is to see how deep they can dip their poisonous pens into pots of blasphemy, filth and falsehood; and worst of all, a playwright who concocted a 'satirical' piece of trash which maliciously defames the President and insinuates he murdered his predecessor."

I cannot refrain from making a few comments on Mr. Hoover's broadside.

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that Oswald was the sole assassin of President Kennedy as Mr. Hoover himself, so he says anyway, so fervently believes. According to most accounts, Oswald, many of his activities, and the fact of his presence in Dallas — where he lived and where he worked — were all thoroughly familiar to the FBI.

Even Rep. Ford, one of the Warren Commission, in his biography, *Portrait of an Assassin*, says, "Incredible as it may seem, the FBI knew that Lee Oswald was an employee of the Texas School Book Depository three weeks before the assassination."

The charge of dereliction of duty rests squarely on one established fact, admitted by the FBI, viz., the omission of Oswald's name from its "risk" list given to the Secret Service.

Yet in spite of his record in the Oswald case, House Speaker McCormack tells us that "love of God

Thought for the Week

"You've heard of the house Negro and the field Negro. Now we've got a lower category than the house Negro — the White House Negro." — Robert Vernon at Militant Labor Forum symposium on George Breitman's "The Last Year Malcolm X — Evolution of a Revolutionary."

and country" animates Mr. Hoover's every action. Republican leader Halleck of Indiana said Hoover has "earned and deserves the respect, confidence, admiration and, yes, the love of all the people of our country."

G. M.

A Thought

Minneapolis, Minn.

As I was reading an article in a back issue of *Fortune* magazine (March, 1964) on "The Boundless Age of the Computer," I came across this sentence:

"War itself, these days, is only a highly unfriendly kind of business."

S.W.

State Strike-Breaking

New York, N.Y.

The new "Public Employees Fair Employment Act," passed as a replacement of the Condon-Wadlin union-busting law, can take its place alongside the Taft-Hartley or Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin acts, as a vicious piece of anti-labor legislation.

In addition to the features of the law indicated in last week's *Militant*, New York Welfare Local 371, AFSCME, AFL-CIO has indicated in a leaflet that:

1. The term "strike" has now

been redefined to include every conceivable work stoppage or slowdown, without qualification.

2. Public employers are not required, but only "empowered" to recognize public unions.

3. Only public employees' unions which do not "assert the right to strike" may be recognized.

4. The invoking of Condon-Wadlin during its last year was discretionary, but now is legally required.

5. Injunctive procedures stand even when the government might suspect that a union is about to strike, and fines and jail sentences on the union and its officers for civil and criminal contempt may be imposed.

6. Penalties on striking unions include loss of checkoff, grievance rights and representative status, none of which can be regained unless the union signs a yellow-dog agreement to never again strike.

Since penalties on individual strikers, including dismissal, have not been eased in the slightest, this new law can only be regarded as an extension of Condon-Wadlin which will openly and blatantly be used to destroy all public unions in New York.

T.S.

It Was Reported in the Press

Hubie Confused — Hubert Humphrey assured newsmen that all those Vietnam demonstrators he faced in Europe didn't really represent anyone. Beside, he added, most of them probably didn't even know his name. What confused him, perhaps, is the way they kept calling him "assassin."

Greetings for LBJ — A partly submerged abandoned ship in the harbor at Punta del Este, site of Johnson's Latin American conference, had a south Vietnamese National Liberation Front flag flying from its mast.

Non-Ostrich Policy — "Bonn Acknowledges Reds Rule in East Germany." — Headline in the April 13 *New York Times*.

Steady Man Gone — Carl Swensen, long-time Ray-O-Vac shipping room foreman, died in Madison, Wisc. at 101. In 1940 when the company introduced a pension plan they advised Swensen that at 74 he was too old to qualify. However, they assured him, he could keep on working as long as he wanted. Swenson kept up the grind until he turned 100 and decided to retire, pension or not. In his 49 years with the company he missed a day and a half's work. Despite the absenteeism, we're sure the company sent flowers.

LBJ's Base Narrowing — The New York City College chapter of the conservative Young Americans for Freedom repudiated the support of its national organization for the war declaring, "we cannot, in good conscience, fight and die in Lyndon Johnson's war."

Art News — Compulsive eaters should be smitten by Kelvinator's dream refrigeration plan of the '70s. Kelvinator looks forward to a wall refrigerator in every room connected by a series of ducts. They are also planning the "ultimate application of the built-in look" which should wow the na-

tion's aesthetes. It's a double-decker job with the top part covered by a painting. To open it, the painting is pulled down. The back can be used as a chopping board.

For Pleasant Puffing — We were almost tempted to start smoking again when we saw Tiffany's spring special on 14 carat gold cigar and pipe smoker's accessories: Lighter, \$220; cigar holder, \$56; pipe tool, \$65; cigar cutter, \$95. What would really break our will would be if they came up with a 14 carat cigarette rolling machine.

Good As Gold — We were fuming about paying 19 cents for two pieces of garlic, each about the size of a marble, when we obtained temporary relief by reading that

hijackers had emptied a freight car in the Bronx of 4.5 tons of the precious stuff. Meanwhile in Elizabeth, N.J., another hijacker made off with a trailer loaded with 31,000 pounds of meat.

Second Choice — Perhaps because there isn't enough meat and garlic to go around, some people are still liberating money. During a recent five-day period, \$420,000 in small bills vanished from a guarded strong room in Kennedy Airport, (authorities refused to classify the disappearance as "theft, loss or misplacement"); a 42-pound, \$40,000 solid gold bar vanished somewhere between the airport and Aruba; four gunmen walked off a U.S. Line pier with \$620,000 in negotiable travelers checks.

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar of Events

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

CHICAGO

FROM HAYMARKET TO GEORGE MEANY — Is the American Labor Movement Relevant to the New Generation of Radicals? Speaker: Howard Packer, Marxist lecturer. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75 cents, students, 50 cents. May Day celebration to follow forum. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

MARXIST COMMENTARY. A biweekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., May 1, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Thurs., May 4, 12:45 p.m. KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

NEW YORK

THE UAW CONVENTION AND THE FUTURE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Tom Kerry, editor *International Socialist Review*. Kerry attended the

UAW Convention as a correspondent for *The Militant*. Fri., April 28, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

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. Aup. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

MARXIST LECTURE SERIES. Is Marxism-Leninism Obsolete? Speaker: Joseph Hansen, editor *The Militant*. Mon., May 1, 8 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Fee 50 cents. Aup. Socialist Workers Party.

PHILADELPHIA

VIETNAM, BLACK POWER, INDEPENDENT POLITICS. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry. Sat., April 29, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad and Vine Sts. Contrib. \$1. Students 75 cents. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

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THE MILITANT

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75,000 March in S.F.

By Roger Filene and
Merry Safier

SAN FRANCISCO, April 15 — Disregarding the intermittent showers which fell all morning, between 75,000 and 100,000 anti-war marchers (according to the official police estimate released on TV) walked over four miles through the city of San Francisco to Kezar Stadium to express their opposition to the war in Vietnam. This was by far the biggest demonstration against the war to occur in this city.

The march began at the foot of Market Street, near the San Francisco waterfront. It took nearly three hours to assemble the marchers in the staging area.

The marchers filled each of four streets intersecting Market, for several blocks back along each street. On Battery Street were ranged 7,000 trade unionists, most of whom were members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union locals which supported the march, the Painters Local 4 in San Francisco, and the United Auto Workers. Union delegations were also present from the American Federation of Teachers Local 1570 (Berkeley) and the American Federation of County, State, and Municipal Employees (Berkeley-Oakland). In addition many individual unionists lined up with the labor contingent.

Professional Groups

Also on Battery Street was a vast throng of groups and individuals from the professions: doctors, attorneys, businessmen, sociology professors.

On Front Street the women's peace groups assembled — chapters of Women for Peace represented the bulk of these. Afro-American groups also lined up on Front Street, and a large group of black men and women opposed to the war joined the march when it reached Alamo Square, a mile up the route.

Davis and Drumm Streets were blocked off farther back than the others, and were filled with thousands upon thousands of students representing every conceivable antiwar committee and peace organization. The students made up by far the majority of the march and rally — one estimate ran as high as 75 percent.

The march began on time — although some of the last contingents to move must have found that hard to believe. The San Francisco *Examiner* stationed a reporter on Market Street whose

sole job was to time the march as it passed her. It took two hours and 19 minutes to pass, according to the reporter.

The march proceeded up Market Street and then turned and made its way through the Fillmore district — the black ghetto of San Francisco. It skirted the Haight-Ashbury district, which seemed a forlorn place when empty of its student and "hippie" residents, most of whom were marching.

The march stretched in a river of protest four miles long across the city. As the first marchers reached Kezar Stadium, the last had just begun their trek from the foot of Market Street.

The march was greeted with great enthusiasm all along the route, especially in the Fillmore district, where those unable to march shouted "Bring the Troops Home!" from their windows.

Kezar Stadium gradually filled up until it was packed to its 62,000 seating capacity while thousands more stood on the grass inside the stadium or wandered through the Peace Fair which was set up all around the outside of the stadium.

The demonstrators came from every Western state — Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Idaho. Busloads arrived from Seattle, Portland, Eugene, Medford, Salt Lake, Boulder, Denver, Phoenix, and Tucson.

Five hundred buses came from Los Angeles, in addition to charter buses arriving from Los Angeles suburbs. A sendoff rally in San Diego loaded up five buses with antiwar demonstrators.

Housing for Thousands

The housing office of the Spring Mobilization found space for nearly 10,000 from out of the state — another estimated 10,000 from California made their journeys nonstop, climbing on buses immediately after the rally for eight- and ten-hour trips back to Los Angeles, San Diego, and Eureka.

The official slogans adopted by the West Coast Mobilization were Bring the Troops Home Now, Stop the Bombing, and End the War in Vietnam. All of them were prominently displayed in the march. The student contingent added to the prominence of the Bring the Troops Home Now signs with their Withdraw U.S. Troops from Vietnam Now posters.

In addition to the official slogans, there were tens of thousands of placards and banners, some printed and some elaborately hand-painted, which expressed a wide range of views.

On the speakers' platform in the center of Kezar Stadium there were two banners. One said "The Viet Cong — NLF — Never Called Us Niggers," and the other said "End the War in Vietnam Now."

Many banners simply stated what group was marching under them. Some that were visible all across Kezar Stadium from the press booth were the ILWU locals; Painters Local 4; University of San Francisco Students for Peace and Catholic Peace Fellowship; Colorado to San Francisco Antiwar Mobilization; St. Francis Square Committee for Peace; SNCC; American Federation of City, State, and Municipal Employees; First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles; Physicians for Peace; Stanford Medical Students; San Francisco State College Vietnam Day Committee, Sociologists for Peace; Sacramento Peace Vigil; and one showing a vulture on a purple heart with "MacBird" written on it, brought by The Committee Theatre troupe which is performing *MacBird* in San Francisco.

Many of the banners were pa-



Photo by Brian Shannon

FULL HOUSE. Scene at West Coast Mobilization rally at Kezar Stadium. Stadium holds 62,000. Before the rally a San Francisco police sergeant told newsmen: "They tell us they hope to fill Kezar Stadium, which is more than the 49ers have done in the last few years." They did—to overflow.

raded around the infield so that the entire crowd could see them. The last to parade was the green and orange banner of the Orange County Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The banner received a thunderous ovation from the crowd. (Orange County is notorious as the Southern California hotbed of Birchite reaction.)

The rally began when Kipp Dawson, executive director of the West Coast Mobilization, introduced the Human Rights Cantata, the composition of James Wood of San Francisco. The Cantata was written especially for performance at the rally, and the words were taken from the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

Our next issue will feature a roundup of reports on the Student Mobilization Committees' highly successful campus Vietnam Week which preceded and helped build the April 15 Mobilization.

It was interrupted briefly when a small band of American Nazis entered the stadium bearing a sign which said "Support Our Men in Vietnam." They marched once around the infield, and monitors were barely able to avoid skirmishes with the angered demonstrators, who booed and heckled the Nazis and tossed leaflets at them. The monitors formed a human chain to prevent the Nazis from going around the track again, and they were led out of the stadium. The Cantata resumed.

When it was over, Miss Dawson welcomed everyone to San Francisco. She said, "I think it's important for us when we're taking note of the success of our demonstration here in San Francisco to note that we are joined by 500,000 of our brothers in New York." A great cheer went up from the crowd.

Both here and in New York, said Miss Dawson, there were important new sections — new joiners of the movement to end the war in Vietnam. She welcomed the large section of organized labor, and the "black men and women who are sick of the war in Vietnam and who've joined us

to fight to end it." She welcomed men and women from the religious community and the professions. "We mustn't forget," she added, "perhaps the largest section that's with us today and has been with us from the beginning — that is, the young people, the students who have been organized by the Student Mobilization Committee."

"But," she continued, "there's one section of American youth who aren't with us in the stadium today. They aren't in the New York rally. Those are the American youth who have been drafted to fight this dirty war in Vietnam. But because they're not with us today, we cannot assume — and indeed we must not assume — that they are against us. We have in the past few months seen very encouraging signs that the men who have to fight this war in Vietnam are getting sick of it . . ."

"We are here to demonstrate our belief that the soldiers have the right to protest the war in Vietnam. We're extending our hands to them, and taking a lesson from the students who have been fighting the war, have been making attempts to build links with the soldiers. We are joining with the soldiers in their demand — that they be brought home now."

She introduced Edward Keating, publisher of *Ramparts* magazine and West Coast director of the Spring Mobilization. Keating chaired the rally. "There's an old saying," he said, "that a bell once tolled can never be un-tolled. Today we toll the bell of peace . . . Today is not the end of a daring idea; it is the beginning of a great adventure."

He then introduced the first speaker, Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg, Rabbi Emeritus of Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto. Rabbi Feinberg is an American citizen who visited north Vietnam in January together with Pastor Martin Niemoller of Berlin; Bishop Ambrose Reeves of South Africa — expelled for his opposition to apartheid and now Bishop of Chichester, England; and Rev. A. J. Muste.

Rabbi Feinberg spoke of the conclusions he and Muste arrived at while in Hanoi. "Some Americans seem to think that the daily count of Viet Cong corpses, like pheasants in a bag, will somehow lead to victory. A. J. Muste, Bishop

Reeves, Pastor Niemoller, and I assure you that even if and when the mightiest nation in the history of the world, namely the United States, decimates, devastates, obliterates, subjugates, pulverizes north Vietnam, the Vietnamese people will never surrender . . ."

Keating then introduced the first of several speakers for labor. He was Charles Duarte, president of ILWU Local 6 (Warehousemen) in San Francisco. Duarte read a statement of policy on the war in Vietnam passed at the recent ILWU Convention with only two dissenting votes. The statement calls the war "an undeclared, illegal war," and says "The ILWU's position is that we don't belong in Vietnam and should get out. We cannot play cop to the whole world."

Eldridge Cleaver

Eldridge Cleaver, staff writer for *Ramparts* magazine and Bay Area Steering Committee chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, spoke. Cleaver read a telegram from Stokely Carmichael: "The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee wholeheartedly supports the Spring Mobilization to stop the vicious slaughter of human beings in Vietnam. May we all redouble our efforts to stop this genocidal war being waged by the United States government."

Paul Schrade, Western regional director of the United Auto Workers, was applauded when he proposed a national debate and referendum on the war. But he was booed when he called for the U.S. to take up "easily defensible positions in south Vietnam" if efforts to force north Vietnam and the National Liberation Front to the negotiating table failed.

Robert Scheer, who spoke later in the program, articulated the sentiment of the crowd: "One of the things that disturbs me about more 'reasonable' speakers at meetings of this sort is that they always talk about the complexity of peace. If someone advocates just getting out of Vietnam, he's told that isn't a complex enough solution. I think it's time we said very clearly that we have to get out of Vietnam, and let's not beat around the bush."

Other speakers included Mrs. Martin Luther King, Robert Vaughn, TV's "Man from U.N.C.L.E."; and Julian Bond.

Delegation to Go To See LBJ

NEW YORK — Officers of the Spring Mobilization Committee announced April 18 that a delegation representing the forces that had marched in the April 15 Mobilization will go to Washington to see President Johnson May 17 and demand an end to the war.

A telegram to Johnson, signed by committee vice chairmen Dave Dellinger and Robert Greenblatt and national director James Bevel, declared in part: "... a delegation from the Spring Mobilization Committee and their friends will be in Washington on May 17, the thirteenth anniversary of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, to express to you the determination of the American people that this policy of genocide be stopped."