

Student Parley Urges D.C. Antiwar March

By Harry Ring

CHICAGO — A large, representative gathering of student antiwar activists meeting here May 13-14 voted overwhelmingly in favor of a mass march against the Vietnam war in Washington this fall.

The conference, called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, was attended by nearly 600 young people, more than double the number that attended the initial conference of the group last December. An extensive program of action for the summer and fall was adopted.

A dramatic feature of the gathering was an address by Pfc. Howard Petrick, the GI who faces possible court-martial for expressing his antiwar, socialist views within the army. Petrick, who was on leave, told the gathering he felt he had the same right to address them as General Westmoreland had to address a New York meeting in favor of the war while in uniform. (See text of Petrick's speech page four.) The young GI was given a standing ovation when he appeared on the platform.

Roots of Committee

The Student Mobilization Committee developed out of the activities around the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam which organized the huge April 15 New York-San Francisco antiwar marches. The student group organized the highly successful campus Vietnam Week which preceded April 15 and brought out large numbers of marchers April 15.

The student committee is a coalition of antiwar organizations and individuals. Some of the individuals in the committee are also members of other organizations.

Among the various organizations associated with the committee either through direct support or through participation of members are: Young Socialist Alliance, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, Youth Against War and Fascism, Student Peace Union; Committee for Non-Violent Action, numerous campus antiwar committees, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Progressive Labor Party, Students for a Democratic Society, University Christian Movement, SNCC, CORE, various draft resistance groups and others.

The impact of the highly successful April 15 march was strikingly apparent at the conference. There was a much greater degree of confidence in the antiwar movement's capacity to build a significant mass movement than at previous similar gatherings. And, unlike previous gatherings where there had been a good deal of



STUDENT MOBILIZATION LEADERS. TV interviewer talking to leaders of antiwar group. Among those in picture are Linda Dannenberg, Gus Horowitz, Kipp Dawson, Peter Camejo, Patty Miller, Paul Friedman.

skepticism as to the worth of antiwar marches, there was only a minimum of argument from this viewpoint at this gathering.

It was generally agreed that the April 15 march had given the Student Vietnam Week a focus that assured its success and that the student committee had grown significantly as a result of April 15.

This growth was manifest in the size and scope of representation at this conference as compared to the founding one less than five months ago. There were 250 people at the founding conference. This time there were 490 registered participants and an estimated hundred additional who did not pay the registration fee.

At the conference last December there were representatives from some 40 colleges and universities and virtually none from high schools. This past weekend there were participants from 94 universities, colleges and junior colleges. There were students from 24 high schools who reported they represented students at 48 high schools.

The conference mapped out a program of summer activity, approved the idea of a Washington march and other fall actions, adopted a revised Statement of Aims and established a structure

for the functioning of the organization.

Some 15 workshops were held embracing the various facets of student and related antiwar activity.

A motion was adopted unanimously to support the case of Pfc. Petrick; the Fort Hood Three, the three GIs imprisoned for refusing to go to Vietnam and all similar cases of antiwar GIs.

A motion was adopted by a substantial majority to go on record in favor of the abolition of the student "2S" draft deferment classification.

A motion to amend the Statement of Aims to include promoting individual resistance to the draft was defeated by a vote of 173-123.

The discussions at the plenary sessions and at the various workshops were serious and business-like. Participants in other student gatherings commented on the level of the discussions and the obvious appreciation of the participants for a well-ordered meeting.

Discussion on the proposal for a fall Washington March was based on a position paper submitted by Kipp Dawson who had been chairman of the San Fran-

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Cops Kill Black Youth

By Elizabeth Barnes

Cops have again opened fire on black students — this time at Jackson State College in Jackson, Mississippi. As a result, 22-year-old Benjamin Brown of Jackson is dead.

The confrontation between students and cops began on May 10 when two policemen arrested a student motorist on the all-black Jackson State campus. Students began pouring out of the dorms in protest and a crowd gathered. Cops were brought in, barricades set up, and students began throwing rocks and bottles.

The fatal shooting occurred the next day when students rushed a police barricade. At the time most of the shots were fired, the students were in retreat. According to the May 13 *New York Times* some of the cops pointed their guns into the air, others leveled them at the crowd of approximately 100 young people.

A woman's voice called out, "Don't shoot! Don't shoot! They're just kids!"

Brown was left lying on the ground for 10 minutes, bleeding, without being given any aid. Fifty Jackson police, armed with riot guns and tear gas, and wearing gas masks, stood by. Black businessmen and their wives who lived near the area pleaded with police to help Brown. He was finally carried away by several students. He died nine hours later after four hours in surgery.

Police bullets hit three others besides Brown, wounding Cleothus Jackson, a 19-year-old Jackson State student, Charles Donaldson, also 19, and Lamar Weems, a state investigator.

Mr. Brown had not been involved in the confrontation between students and cops. He just happened to be walking from a nearby restaurant when the cops opened fire.

Brown was a former civil rights activist on the staff of the Delta Ministry. According to the ministry staff, it is possible that in light of his past civil rights work, the shooting was "deliberate and vindictive."

Immediately after the shooting national guardsmen were brought

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Pro-War Parade Far Below Goal

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, May 13 — The so-called "Support Our Boys in Vietnam March" took place here this afternoon. Contrary to national TV and press reports of a quarter million marchers, there were less than 70,000. It was larger than the pro-war "Loyalty Day" parade here two weeks ago; but it was still much smaller than the massive antiwar mobilization in New York April 15 of nearly one-half million.

For all of its seven hours of flag waving, anthem singing and band playing, therefore, the parade failed to make its point. It was supposed to demonstrate that the majority of Americans support the war in Vietnam.

News Coverage

The *New York Daily News* with a circulation of three million tried to build the march with full-page advertisements, and it was given wide radio and TV publicity during its preparation. The April 15 antiwar march had no such endorsement from the daily press and received comparatively little publicity.

Today's march was supported by some local union bureaucrats who plastered the city with parade posters and put strong pressure on their members to participate.

According to today's edition of the *Daily News*, which appeared on the stands a few hours before the march began, "it received endorsements from governors, senators, representatives, mayors and other prominent public officials."

"No estimate of the number of marchers was available, but if all who endorsed the parade showed up it would be the most mammoth demonstration in the history of the city."



Photo by Finer

BACKS LBJ. Number of flags topped only by number of beer cans on pro-war march.

It wasn't, and came nowhere near it. Two *Militant* reporters counted less than 60,000 marchers. Residents of New York State and a few other nearby states took part in the parade; no high city, state or government official showed up. The ranking dignitary present for about half an hour was Cardinal Spellman.

The *New York Times* estimated the total at a generous 70,000. This was a good deal lower than the *New York Times* estimate of the April 15 Mobilization at 125,000. And this 125,000 constituted only the number of antiwar demonstrators at the UN rally, leaving out the hundreds of thousands of others who were marching or still in Central Park.

What the pro-war parade really demonstrated was that comparatively few Americans are willing to take part in organized demonstrations supporting the war.

Broadened Theme

This is true despite the fact that the pro-war parade organizers cast its theme along the line of "Support Our Boys." They hoped in this way to catch a broader spectrum including some who do not openly support the war. A few participants expressed this position.

The failure of the pro-war march was also manifested by the conspicuous absence of high city and government politicians from the reviewing stand. They are well aware of the deepening opposition to the war in the country, and don't want to take unnecessary risks in a pre-election period.

In the main, the demonstrators were members of reactionary veterans associations and their families, particularly the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Each Legion and VFW contingent brought along its town band, policemen, firemen and various town officials.

Thus young people on the march consisted almost entirely of veterans' families and band members. Conspicuous by their absence were teenage and univer-

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Young Socialist Dies in Car Crash

A tragic accident involving three antiwar activists occurred en route from Philadelphia to the Student Mobilization Committee conference in Chicago. Their car went off the road near Fort Wayne, Indiana.

John Chelstrom, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, was killed.

A Temple University SDS member was seriously injured but is expected to recover. The driver of the car escaped serious injury.

There will be an obituary for John Chelstrom in our next issue.



While the Teamsters Union officialdom scramble around the country trying to sell their new version of a national contract to the union membership before a referendum vote begins, the mood of the drivers makes evident that it will take super-salesmanship to do the job. For instance, we received the following report from a St. Louis IBT member the other day:

"Two meetings were held in the Kiel Auditorium, St. Louis, for the purpose of selling the agreement Teamsters leaders made with the bosses, to dock workers and drivers of Local 600.

"At the first meeting, Matt Abboud, president of Local 600, had the sorry job of selling the contract to the members. Before the contract was voted on, the men were asked to send a telegram saying that no local should make separate agreements. The workers were against this for two reasons — first, they thought it was a trick to make it harder to turn down the contract, and second, the majority wanted to turn down the contract as soon as possible, and dispense with all other business.

"When Abboud could not get the workers to go along with him he called on Harry Craig, a union lawyer, to explain things to the fellows. Matt was told that he was the one that was elected and he, not the lawyer, should speak. Whenever Craig started to talk he was unable to do so because of shouts. Matt decided to end the meeting and say the vote was unanimous not to accept the contract.

"For the second attempt to sell the contract, bigger brass was called in, Roy Williams, a leader from Kansas City, who we were told had sat in on the negotiations, and Vice President Harold Gibbons.

"At the first meeting there were microphones on the floor so the members were able to speak from the floor. At this meeting there were no microphones. The fellows were told to come to the platform if they had any questions.

"They did! There was a continuous line of workers to ask questions of Gibbons and Williams. Only, most of their time they spent making speeches. The workers showed their approval or disapproval by shouts and sometimes boos.

"I never knew we had so many good speakers in our union. The meeting lasted four and a half hours and about half the time was taken up by the workers talking. The speeches showed that they were dissatisfied with the way the officers ran the union and were willing to fight for the right to run their own union.

"The meeting ended with an agreement that the members would vote on the contract as soon as voting machines could be set up in the union office.

"And with shouts of 'Back to the Picket Lines.'"

* * *

It is still not clear just what the terms of the IBT-Truck Employers Inc. contract are. However, the most generally publicized money figures are 25 cents per hour the first year (including the 11 cent cost-of-living increase due last April 1), 15 cents for each of the following two years; up to 8 cents per hour cost-of-living increment for all of 1968 and 1969. Nowhere have we been able to find the increased mileage rates for over-the-road drivers. Nor is there any late news on the method to be used in voting on the sweetened contract which came out of the Chicago negotiations during the lock-out-strike there.

* * *

In New York City the Transport Workers, the United Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees announced they are jointly raising a fund of one million dollars to fight the newly enacted Taylor Act, known in the labor movement as the Rockefeller and Travia (RAT) Act, which imposes stiff fines on striking government employe unions. The purpose of the fund is to pay the fines and defeat those legislators who voted for the new law.

Unfortunately this negative political approach means only that the old Gompers "reward your friends and punish your enemies" theory will be the tactic. The only real way these unions could defeat their political enemies would be to launch a labor party. But of this there is no mention.

* * *

On May 12 the Baltimore teachers called off their two day strike. The only gain was a verbal promise that the city administration would sponsor an ordinance clearing the way for teachers to elect a single bargaining unit.

* * *

Developments in the 11 month farm workers strike at Rio Grande City, Texas, include the active support of the powerful Mexican Confederation of Labor, the arrest of a strike leader charged with "threatening the life of the Texas Rangers," and testimony before the House Labor subcommittee by two farm owners organization leaders against including farm workers under provisions of the National Labor Relations Act.

The Confederation of Mexican Workers threw a picket line across the Mexican end of the International Bridge to stop about 200 would-be strikebreakers from crossing to harvest the melon crops. Intervention by the Mexican government because "others were being stopped" caused withdrawal of the picket line during the night — and during those hours scabs were able to slip across, equipped with food and bedrolls, prepared to stay for the duration of the harvest.

—Marvel Scholl

Cleveland Hospital Workers Win a Hard-Fought Strike

By Rachel Towne

CLEVELAND — The eleven-week strike of hospital workers at Sunny Acres, a county owned TB hospital, ended May 4 when union members voted overwhelmingly to accept a contract granting union recognition, wage increases, grievance procedures and fringe benefits. Sunny Acres is the first hospital to win union recognition in this area and establishes an important precedent for the organizing of thousands of other local hospital workers. The union representing Sunny Acres is the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers, Local 1746.

Union recognition was granted April 1 when the hospital trustees agreed to submit, with the union, a joint request for mediation to the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Technically, public employees are not under the jurisdiction of the FMCS, but the service will accept cases where mediation is jointly requested. The union had been trying to get the trustees to submit such a request for over a month. The trustees obtained private legal council at a cost of \$12,000 taken from the hospital budget to advise them on negotiations. They then stalled on reaching an agreement for a period of five weeks.

The agreement calls for a three percent increase in pay effective May 1 and an additional three



Photo by Auda Romine

SOLIDARITY. Support for striking hospital workers came from other unions.

percent on each employee's anniversary date during the one year contract. Wage increases of 12.8 percent have been granted by the hospital since the union began organizing last October.

Shift differentials of 18-36 cents per hour for the second shift and 12-24 cents per hour for the third shift as well as double time for holidays have been won. A bi-weekly laundry charge of \$1.15 has been assumed by the hospital.

The contract also provides for the establishment of a union steward system, for seniority governing transfers, shift preferences, promotions, layoffs and recalls, for the improvement of meal allowances and rest periods and for a dues checkoff.

A grievance procedure that is final and binding on both parties has been established. Also, if a union member is denied a merit increase in wages the union may ask and must receive an explanation from the hospital. At the present time some employees have worked for as long as 16 years without a raise.

The strike received a great deal of public interest and support. Groups declaring public support included the NAACP, CORE, the ADA, the National Association of Social Workers, a number of churches and the Cleveland Federation of Labor. The federation issued a statement to all union locals calling for moral and financial support for the strike. It met with county commissioners several times to encourage them to force the trustees to meet with the union. Several picket lines were held in front of the County Administration Building to put additional pressure on the publicly elected commissioners.

Local 1746 has signed the majority of employees at Highland View, another county owned hospital, and has asked for recognition. Organizing drives by the local are also underway at several other places including Metropolitan General Hospital and the County Administration Building.

A strike for union recognition at St. Luke's, a privately owned hospital, began April 12. Local 47, Building Service Employees is seeking recognition.

Socialist Fund

Why You Should Help

The Socialist Workers Party is now in the process of raising a \$21,000 Party Building Fund. The money raised will be used to meet the deficit inevitably incurred by a socialist organization and to expand the party's antiwar and socialist activities.

While the bulk of the fund will be raised by Socialist Workers branches, friends of the party are also being asked to help meet the fund goal. It is hoped that readers of *The Militant* will contribute.

Over the years the Socialist Workers Party has done an outstanding job of keeping alive the principles of revolutionary socialism. Through wars and witch-hunts, while other radical groups abandoned socialist principles, the SWP stood fast. As a new generation of radical young people developed they found there was an organization with a program, a tradition and a body of theory capable of meeting today's needs.

The meaning of what the SWP has done is most graphically shown in the major contribution that the party has made to the building of the antiwar movement. It was in the forefront of efforts to convert a rather limp "peace" movement into a movement against the Vietnam war. Its members have worked energetically to build campus and community committees against the war.

From the outset, SWPers were among the foremost advocates of the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, as counterposed to those

who would have limited the movement to such stands as the demand the U.S. negotiate.

Throughout, the SWP fought for the principle of nonexclusion in the movement.

The SWP was among the first to give full support to the April 1965 SDS march on Washington which proved a major turning point in the building of the antiwar movement. Since then it has supported all of the major actions of the antiwar movement and its members played an exemplary role in the building of the mammoth April 15 Mobilization.

If you believe these are worthwhile contributions and if you want the SWP to be in a position to expand its activities, you should certainly want to give to the fund. If so, there is a convenient coupon below.

The drive is proceeding very well. Now at the half way mark, ten branches have already raised 50 percent of their quotas. Hearty congratulations of the week goes to Detroit which is already at the hundred percent mark.

Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$1,400	\$1,400	100
Oakland-Berkeley	1,200	1,000	83
Philadelphia	500	416	83
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	897	74
Cleveland	1,000	700	70
St. Louis	100	62	62
Chicago	1,800	1,110	61
New York	5,800	3,197	55
Boston	1,300	694	53
San Diego	200	102	51
Los Angeles	4,500	1,087	24
San Francisco	1,200	155	13
Seattle	200	25	13
Allentown	150	0	0
Denver	125	0	0
Newark	100	0	0
The General	350	50	14
Totals through May 15	\$21,000	\$10,885	52

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COMPULSORY ARBITRATION LAW

Johnson Attacks the Rail Unions

By Farrell Dobbs

Johnson's move to impose compulsory arbitration on the railway shopmen marks a new escalation of the assault on labor. It is a maneuver toward large-scale suppression of the right to strike, using as a pretext the illegal and unjust war in Vietnam.

Intensified strikebreaking has been a central feature of government policy since the unions challenged Johnson's "guideposts" designed to tie wage gains to increased labor productivity. The challenge stems from rank-and-file demands for immediate pay hikes to offset war-inflated prices. Workers have also fought for cost-of-living escalator clauses, which are opposed by the White House.

As a result, *Business Week* complained on May 6: "Wages now threaten to rise faster and higher than expected . . . What one union gets becomes the militantly supported demand of others . . . Strike figures are inching up nationally." This voice of big business also notes approvingly that ". . . the Johnson administration made clear this week that it doesn't intend to stand idle . . ."

The latter comment refers to Johnson's attack on the railroad workers. A review of the facts will show that he has ganged up with a clique of private owners against 150,000 shopmen whose demands correspond to the needs of all labor. It will also show the price paid when workers in an industry are split up into craft unions and when they are dominated by bureaucratic misleaders.

Last fall nearly a score of craft unions representing 700,000 railway employees presented demands for new contracts. All asked for substantial wage increases and in most cases also demanded an escalator clause. The companies refused anything more than a five percent wage hike spread across 17 months, which meant only a 3.5 percent raise for a one-year period.

Bureaucrats heading unions of trainmen, firemen and enginemen soon pushed through settlements on the companies' terms. Other crafts began to follow suit, holding out only until they got five



Johnson

percent for a one-year instead of a 17-month period. This left six shopcraft unions out on a limb as they continued to demand a 20 percent wage increase and an escalator clause.

Johnson invoked the Railway Labor Act against the shopmen, banning a strike for 60 days, and union officials voluntarily postponed a walkout for another 15 days. After that Johnson requested — and Congress swiftly passed — two successive special laws that have extended the strike ban to June 19.

At the same time the government has pressured the shopcrafts to slash their demands to the bone and accept a settlement proposed by a mediation board. It calls for a general six percent increase across an 18-month period from last Jan. 1; and an extra hourly raise for skilled men of five cents as of April 1, another five cents on Oct. 1 and an additional five cents on April 1, 1968.

Under the government's pounding the shopmen's unions have said they will accept a six and a half percent general pay increase, plus an extra 12½ cents an hour for skilled men, as of last Jan. 1; and a further five percent general increase, along with another 12½ cents for skilled men, as of next Jan. 1.

The railroad owners arrogantly replied that some shop rates should be cut instead of raised. They refused to consider any general increase of more than six percent across an 18-month period and said they would not go beyond one extra raise of five cents an hour for skilled men.

As a union official told the Senate Labor Committee, the railroad magnates don't want to settle the dispute. They know that in a showdown the capitalist government is their friend and labor's enemy. They want the government to order compulsory arbitration of the dispute and that is what the capitalist politicians have now set out to do for them.

Johnson has asked Congress for a new law that would bar a shopmen's strike until Jan. 1, 1969, and would freeze wages at present levels until new contract terms are dictated by a government board. He has tried to pretty up this brazen strikebreaking as "mediation to finality" over "narrow differences."

A union spokesman answered: "What this bill proposes is a long step toward a police state, with the government using the threat of prison to make the railroad shopmen labor for less pay than they themselves could win by the exercise of their economic strength. And the effect of this is to increase the profits of the private railroad corporations."

Liberal "friends" of labor are acting in collusion with Johnson, as two specific examples will show. Democratic Senator Morse

hailed the proposed law as "wise and statesmanlike." This faker, who poses as an opponent of the Vietnam war, made a jingoistic attack on the shopmen in the Senate. "We are in a major war," he said, as he called it labor's "patriotic duty" to keep the industrial peace. As for the right to strike, Morse held, "The public has a superior right — namely, the right to be protected in time of war."

Republican Senator Javits takes a modified strikebreaking tack. He advocates "partial seizure" in labor disputes. The industrial facilities involved would be operated in the name of the government, with a permanent strike ban until the unions agreed to a contract acceptable to the companies. The capitalists could either pocket the profits from operations during the "seizure," or they could demand even more as "compensation" from the government. Only the workers would get hurt.

Union officials have also called for government seizure of the railroads "until this dispute is settled." They think it would "prompt the carriers to settle without legislation" so as to avoid that form of government intervention. But history shows that such a step by the capitalist government would be along the lines advocated by Javits. The sole aim would be to force union acceptance of a dictated settlement akin to compulsory arbitration.

Seizure of the railroads could have meaning for labor only through outright nationalization. It would also be necessary to require operation of the industry by democratically-elected committees of workers and technicians. Only then could operations be assured on a fair and equitable social basis.

Under the capitalist government intervention in industrial disputes, whatever the form, quickly assumes an antilabor character. Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, side with the employers in every showdown. Labor finds no true defenders among them. With today's major industrial disputes swiftly becoming national issues, the workers remain without any voice in government.

In this situation union leaders worth their salt would organize mass demonstrations and protest stoppages in support of the shopmen. They would summon an emergency congress of all labor as an immediate step toward political defense of labor's rights. They would make a complete break with capitalist politics and act to form an independent labor party based on the unions.

A Solid Point By Fulbright

In an interview quoted May 4 in *Newsday*, U.S. Senator J.W. Fulbright said that some businessmen and government officials regard the Vietnam conflict as "a nice little war — not too much killing but a big help to the economy."

He expressed fears about the influence in Washington of the "military-industrial complex" on U.S. policy in Vietnam. He mentioned that Richard B. Russell, Henry M. Jackson and L. Mendel Rivers, who hold powerful positions in Congress, all come from areas where there are large defense [war] industries.

Fulbright also said that he "no longer believes statements on Vietnam by President Johnson, Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara."

When Fulbright's remarks were made public, he at once issued an apology, saying he had spoken "of the record."

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Lesson from Pro-War Parade

There is an important political lesson that the antiwar movement must absorb from the pro-war parade held in New York May 13. While the relatively small turnout demonstrated that there is only limited popular support for the war, the way in which the parade was organized is significant.

In the preparations for the march and in the publicity surrounding it, one central theme was elaborated in every possible way: March to support our boys who are fighting and dying in Vietnam.

Although the right-wingers who organized the parade want to wage a bloody crusade to exterminate "communism," they deliberately soft-pedaled this. They know there is no mass market for that kind of business today. But there is deep, genuine concern about GIs in Vietnam that can be demagogically exploited.

In carrying on this kind of demagogy, they have a dual aim. They want to cover their reactionary purposes and equally important, they want to isolate the antiwar forces. They seek to do so by convincing the mass of the American people that the peace movement doesn't give a damn about the U.S. soldiers who are fighting and dying in Vietnam and are, in fact, "stabbing them in the back."

The truth, of course, is the exact opposite. It is those who want to get the U.S. out of Vietnam that are really supporting the GIs. And it is those who would keep them there that don't give a damn about their fate.

But that truth will be buried in a mountain of poisonous propaganda if the antiwar movement does not make its voice heard loud and clear with the demand: Support Our Boys! Bring Them Home Now!

The Reuthers and the CIA

For years the social-democratic wing of the labor movement peddled the notion that it was perfectly possible to be a vigorous anticommunist without giving aid and comfort to reaction.

Among the principal exponents of this have been the Reuther brothers, Walter and Victor, the United Auto Workers officials who began their labor careers as members of the Socialist Party and who still like to leave the inference that they have never really given up their youthful vision of a socialist society.

In lining up against "communism," they asserted, they were seeing to it that the fight against "totalitarianism" was not preempted by right-wingers who exploit anticommunism for reactionary, antilabor purposes.

Indeed, the Reuther brothers suggested, one of the factors behind their rift with George Meany has been the scandalous way his foreign policy advisor, Jay Lovestone, has been playing footsie with the CIA.

The recent revelation that the Reuther brothers were among those who accepted CIA cash to play the anticommunist game in foreign union movements should put an end to that kind of pious hokum.

It is not simply right-wingers like Meany and Lovestone who wind up playing stooge for the cold-warriors and their cloak-and-dagger agents. Anyone who joins the "anticommunist" gang-up is equally eligible for such a role. The politically sophisticated CIA understands full well that "liberal" anticommunists are just as useful as any other kind. Maybe more so.

Rosa Luxemburg Program for Revolution

A special issue containing Rosa Luxemburg's final speech, delivered to the founding congress of the German Communist Party (Spartacus League), 16 days before her brutal assassination.

In this speech, Luxemburg drew a sharp line between the so-called "minimum-maximum" program of the German social democracy and the full program of revolutionary socialism set forth by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto.

In addition, this issue features an article by Pierre Frank introducing the Transitional Program of the Fourth International to new revolutionists.

For a limited time, new subscribers to the ISR will receive a free copy of "Malcolm X On Afro-American History" with a year's sub. The speech was transcribed from a tape recording made at the Audubon Ballroom just a few weeks before Malcolm was assassinated.

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Antiwar Students Hear GI

[The following is the transcription from a tape recording of Pfc. Howard Petrick's extemporaneous address to the Student Mobilization Conference in Chicago May 13.]

I'd like to speak to you very briefly today on behalf of not only myself but many other countless GIs who are opposed to this war in Vietnam.

As most of you know, General Westmoreland came back from Vietnam and spoke to an organization in New York, and he clearly stated in this meeting what he thought about the war in Vietnam.

I'm glad to say that most of the GIs I have been in contact with in the army don't necessarily agree with what General Westmoreland said.

I was opposed to the war in Vietnam before I was inducted into the service. I was drafted in July of 1966. At that time I thought the war in Vietnam was illegal, immoral and unjust. Before my induction I was active in the antiwar and socialist movements in Minnesota. I was active in the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Before my induction into the service I never hesitated to speak very frankly and openly what my political views and my antiwar views were. And I can see no legal or moral reason now, being a member in the army, why I can't state them as I did before I was inducted.

Just the same as other GIs speak for the administration's policy in Vietnam, I believe I should be able to speak against



AT CONFERENCE. Pfc. Howard Petrick addressing antiwar students.

the administration's policy in Vietnam, because I do not agree with it.

While in the army I've maintained my political beliefs as I did before I was inducted. I've maintained a library not only to advance my own studies, but I've found that there are many other GIs who I've talked to that are also interested in reading more on

Vietnam and understanding the situation in Vietnam.

They are faced with possibly being sent to Vietnam and having to fight this war. The indoctrination they are given in the service is very poor. It doesn't tell them anything about Vietnam except that they may have to go there and this is the sacrifice they have to pay to their country.

A lot of GIs do not believe this. They do not believe we are fighting for the freedom of the United States or the freedom of the south Vietnamese people. They're very confused by this war. They think it's a stupid war, a dirty war. And it is.

I've come in contact with many GIs both pro and con on the situation of the war in Vietnam, and I've never hesitated at any time to express my beliefs. I've found in doing this that there are other GIs who have come around and asked me questions about the war, about why I am against the war.

I've never hesitated to tell them that I have literature and books that I have read on the war, that you can buy in any book store, and that I'd be glad to let them read it if they wanted to.

I went on a leave after being in the army for nine months. I came back and found that military intelligence was conducting an investigation of me, had broken into my lockers and confiscated all of my political items and also some personal items.

This investigation brought me the threat of a possible court-martial under the Uniform Military Code of Justice, Article 134 — "Disloyal Statements." I have at no time while in the army made a disloyal statement and with the many GIs whom they interviewed pertaining to me, they found that the GIs told them that I had never made disloyal statements, that I had only told them what I thought and that it was what many of them agreed with.

At the present time here I would like to ask you young people concerned with the war in Vietnam — I'd like to make it clear that there are also many other young men in this country who are now serving in the army that are very concerned with the war in Vietnam. They want to see this war over. They do not want to go to Vietnam, and to have to take the chance of getting killed over there for something they do not understand and don't believe in.

I would like to ask you people here today to continue your effort and to try to expand the antiwar movement as wide as possible, bringing in all sections of the American population and mobilizing the masses of America, having them demand that the troops be brought home now.

This is the only way we are going to get out of Vietnam. There are a lot of GIs who also agree that they do not want to go — and they want to be brought home now.

Army Trial of Capt. Levy Raises Key Rights Issue

By Barry Sheppard

MAY 17 — The army court-martial of Capt. Howard B. Levy has raised important questions concerning the rights of soldiers in general and army doctors in particular. The army brass is using the court-martial in an unconstitutional attempt to further restrict the rights of soldiers.

One of the charges against Capt. Levy is refusing to obey an order to teach combat Green Berets about skin diseases. But the brass has not rested content with that. They are also pressing charges against Capt. Levy under the catch-all Article 134 of the Military Code which unconstitutionally restricts the freedom of speech of soldiers, and Article 133, which proscribes "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman."

Specifically, the brass are saying that Levy committed a "crime" by speaking against the Vietnam war, and by saying that black soldiers should be home fighting against racial injustice instead of in Vietnam.

Denied Free Speech

Capt. Shusterman, the army prosecutor, has pressed this point, saying that soldiers do not have the right of free speech as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Charles Morgan, Jr., the southern regional director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who is serving as Levy's counsel, vigorously defended the right of soldiers to speak and think what they please, and attacked the constitutionality of the Military Code.

The Military Code is patently unconstitutional. It is an act of Congress, but Congress has no authority under the Constitution to pass unconstitutional laws for the military. As far as the Constitution goes, the First Amendment

guarantees of the right of freedom of speech apply to soldiers like every other citizen, and Congress can pass no laws abrogating that right for anyone.

This is the same essential issue in the case of Pfc. Howard Petrick, who has been threatened with court-martial under Article 134, for explaining to his fellow GIs the truth about the war in Vietnam.

Capt. Levy also contends that the order given him to teach medicine to elite soldiers whose primary function is to kill is in violation of the Hippocratic Oath all doctors subscribe to, and to the Geneva Convention on doctors in war.

Under cross examination by Morgan a Green Beret soldier who received medical instruction admitted that he was also trained to kill and that he carried weapons. "I wouldn't want to go out there and have Luke the Gook shoot at me and not have something to shoot back," the racist Green Beret said.

A bombshell was released on May 15, when the doctor who replaced Levy as chief of the dermatology clinic of the base hospital testified that he also would not obey the order Capt. Levy rejected.

Attorney Morgan asked Capt. Ivan Mauer: "If you knew that Special Forces aidmen were trained to improvise napalm fire-bottles, thermite grenades and molded brick incendiaries, would you train them in medicine?"

Capt. Mauer's Stand

Mauer quietly said, "No, I would not."

The army withheld comment on whether it would now prosecute Capt. Mauer.

In other testimony, the brass had a host of soldiers testify against Levy. According to Barry Cunningham in the *New York Post*, "A preponderance of these soldiers were Negroes, all of whom assured the court that they had encountered no racial discrimination during their upbringing in the Deep South, and therefore had argued against Levy's insistence that Negroes are fighting in Vietnam for freedoms they lack at home."

Another issue in the Levy case is redbaiting. Under cross examination by Morgan, Col. Henry Franklin Fancy, who pressed the charges, admitted that he had planned merely a fine and reprimand for Capt. Levy, until Army Intelligence reported that Levy had once attended some forums on the Negro struggle held by the Militant Labor Forum in New York. The Militant Labor Forum is an open, public forum.

The army's case, therefore, rests upon redbaiting, unconstitutional laws, and the assertion of their "right" to force army doctors to violate the Geneva Convention and the Hippocratic Oath.

2,500 Hear Ali At U of Chicago Antiwar Rally

An enthusiastic and youthful crowd of 2,500 turned out to hear Muhammad Ali speak at an antiwar rally at the University of Chicago fieldhouse May 10. According to the Associated Press, Ali told them that, "My intention is to box and win a clean fight — but in war the intention is to kill, kill, kill and continue killing innocent people."

He said, "They say a prize fighter's main goal is violence. There is a helluva lot of difference between fighting in the ring and going to war in Vietnam."

"In the ring," he said, "we have a referee to stop the fight if one man should become too hurt physically. Boxing is nothing like going to war with machine guns, bazookas, hand grenades and bomber airplanes."

"Right now, at this very moment, in Louisville, Ky.," Ali said, "My people are being clobbered and stoned! Women beat up, kicked! For what? Just simply demanding the right to live in the neighborhood which they choose! "And they turn around and send us to war!"

At the end of the rally Muhammad Ali cupped his hand to his ear and shouted, "Who's the boxing champion of the world?"

"You are! Muhammad Ali!" the audience screamed back.

Gary Rader, member of an army Special Forces reserve company, and James Bevel, aid to Martin Luther King and officer of the Spring Mobilization Committee, also spoke at the antiwar rally.

Bevel said that, "We American Negroes will not stand idly by and watch Muhammad Ali be lynched by the racists of this country."

How You Can Help End the Vietnam War

● Join the antiwar movement in your city. The April 15 Spring Mobilization was the most important political event in years. Hundreds of thousands who never marched before marched on April 15. Millions were reached with the antiwar message. Antiwar committees need volunteers to spread the facts about the war.

● Join the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance. If you want to be in the forefront of the struggle to end the war and to build a new America of peace, prosperity and socialism, you belong in the revolutionary socialist movement.

I want more information on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

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Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003; or, Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

WATTS AND HARLEM

The Rising Revolt In the Black Ghettos

by Robert Vernon and George Novack

15c

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Marxism and The Negro Struggle

Articles by:

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War Crimes Verdict: U.S. Guilty

(World Outlook) — The International War Crimes Tribunal, meeting in Stockholm, concluded nine days of deliberations on May 10. After hearing extensive testimony by investigation teams, jurists and Vietnamese victims of the war; the body of distinguished intellectuals found the United States guilty of the crimes of aggression and "widespread, deliberate and systematic" bombardment of civilian targets in Vietnam.

The tribunal, organized by the eminent British philosopher Bertrand Russell, also found the U.S. guilty of violating the "neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia."

Australia, New Zealand and South Korea were found guilty of complicity in the war crimes.

Jean-Paul Sartre, the French philosopher and author, read the opinion of the body. Sartre is the executive president of the tribunal.

Genocide Issue

At future sessions the commission will take up the question of whether or not the United States has committed genocide in Vietnam.

U.S. crimes were defined as "crimes against peace and crimes against humanity." Specific violations of international law were cited under the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, the United Nations Charter, the Nuremberg declarations and the Geneva accords of 1954.

The verdict of the tribunal and the volumes of testimony presented at its sessions represent a big blow to American prestige. While the U.S. press has mounted a campaign of silence or slander against the Stockholm hearings, the evidence presented by the tribunal is having a significant impact in Europe.

Indicative of the importance Washington has attributed to the tribunal are the intensive efforts by Johnson to prevent the hearings from taking place at all.

U.S. blackmail succeeded in



PACIFICATION. Civilians rounded up after "search and destroy" operations, en route to mass concentration camps.

prompting de Gaulle to ban the tribunal from holding its sessions in France as originally planned.

Attempting to hound the tribunal from country to country, Johnson used the occasion of Adenauer's funeral to bring pressure on the Swedish government to refuse admission to the group.

The *New York Times* reported May 9 that Swedish Premier Tage Erlander had announced "that a White House aide had told him President Johnson 'considered it highly regrettable' that the so-

called war crimes tribunal was holding sessions here [Stockholm].

"Mr. Erlander said he was told this in Bonn on April 25 by Walt W. Rostow, a special assistant to the President . . .

"Mr. Rostow developed President Johnson's regret with considerable sharpness," Mr. Erlander said."

Failing to prevent the tribunal from meeting, Washington and the U.S. press have pulled all stops in a drive to vilify and discredit the proceedings.

The usually sedate *New York Times* ran a column on May 12, the day after reporting the findings of the tribunal. Penned by C. L. Sulzberger, the *Times* foreign affairs expert, the article assails Bertrand Russell with a venom that the gutter press would find difficult to match.

Entitled "Corpse on Horseback," it describes the philosopher variously as a "relic," "totem," "zombie," "unthinking transmission belt for the most transparent Communist lies," "the wasted peer

whose bodily endurance outpaced his brain," "human echo chamber," etc.

Sulzberger likens Russell to the "stiffened corpse" of a dead Moorish king led into battle by his followers. He concludes:

"Russell is no more accountable for the Stockholm farce enacted in his name than were the dead Moors accountable for battles they no longer understood but into which their swaying corpses were borne."

The tribunal itself, with the exception of Jean-Paul Sartre, is dismissed as "several mediocrities playing the role of yes men."

Nowhere is any attempt made to refute the evidence of the tribunal. The extreme embarrassment of U.S. imperialist rulers at the findings of the tribunal couldn't be plainer than in this resort to the vilest slander and character assassination.

As to the actual mental state of the "wasted peer," this was testified to by the noted historian Isaac Deutscher during a recent visit to the United States. Deutscher (one of the members serving on the tribunal) commented:

"I can only hope that when I am his age I have half the intellectual vigor and keenness of mind that Lord Russell displays today to such a remarkable degree."

Sartre Tells Aims

Jean-Paul Sartre responded to many of the charges raised against the tribunal by clarifying the body's aims in his opening address as executive president:

"What we wish is to maintain . . . a constant contact between ourselves and the masses who in all parts of the world are living and suffering the tragedy of Vietnam. We hope that they will learn as we learn, that they will discover together with us the reports, the documents, the testimony, that they will evaluate them and make up their minds about them day by day, together with us . . .

"Yes, if the masses ratify our judgment, then it will become truth . . .

"What a strange Tribunal: a jury and no judge! It is true: we are only a jury, we have neither the power to condemn, nor the power to acquit, anybody . . .

"We the jury, at the end of the session, will have to pronounce on these charges: are they well-founded or not? But the judges are everywhere: they are the peoples of the world, and in particular the American people. It is for them that we are working."

... Student Mobilization Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

cisco State College Vietnam Day Committee prior to serving as West Coast director of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

The position paper described the need for a summer of rounded, varied antiwar activities in the various communities to be culminated by a massive march in Washington. She noted how the April 15 demonstration had shown how local organizing and large protest actions were completely interrelated.

This point was emphasized by a number of speakers at the conference. Bettina Aptheker, a Communist Party activist at the University of California at Berkeley, reported on how the actions leading to the April 15 Mobilization had contributed to a significant broadening of the movement, with many areas and campuses being brought into the movement that had not been previously involved. An agreed upon target like April 15, she said, served effectively to unite the various forces in the movement and to intensify their efforts.

This was further emphasized by Dan Styron of the Chicago Young Socialist Alliance. He declared that the results of April 15 should end the debate on whether mass actions interfered with community organization. The universal experience, he said, had been that April 15 had been the decisive factor in stimulating an unprecedented amount of community activity.

When the vote came on the proposal there were no more than a dozen or so raising their hands as opposed.

Another fall action approved by the body was the organization of campus referendums on ending the war by withdrawing U.S. forces from Vietnam.

The revised Statement of Aims was essentially the same as the one approved by the committee's initial conference. It includes proposals for activity around three focal points. These are:

- "1) Bring the GIs home now.
- "2) Opposing the draft and supporting the right of individuals to refuse to cooperate with the military system.
- "3) Ending campus complicity with the war effort."

The proposal to amend the statement of aims to incorporate organization of individual draft resistance was defeated after debate. Favoring the amendment were spokesmen for the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Youth Against War and Fascism, pacifists and other antidraft activists. It was opposed by spokesmen for the Communist Party youth section, the Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party and a number of independent figures in the committee. Among those voting against were Linda Dannenberg, coordinator of the committee, and Patty Miller, of the University Christian Movement and a member of the student committee staff.

Mike Zagerell of the Communist Party argued that incorporation of individual draft resistance in the Statement of Aims would inhibit the development of the coalition. Linda Dannenberg, Patty Miller and others who favor individual draft resistance felt that inclusion of it in the program

would prove divisive within the coalition.

This view was shared by the SWPers and YSAers who also felt that individual draft resistance was an obstacle to winning support for antiwar views among GIs and was also a hindrance to developing mass resistance to the war and draft.

In the debate on the student 2S deferment, it was argued that the antiwar students must make clear they oppose any special consideration in the draft for students.

Those who opposed taking a stand against 2S — principally the CPers and DuBois Club members — argued that such a stand essentially represented an effort to democratize the draft and that efforts should be concentrated on abolishing it.

The summer project approved by the conference included a program of campus education about the war; support of GIs opposed to the war and distribution of information about the war to members of the armed forces; efforts to involve unions in the antiwar movement; support for antiwar referendums in communities; research and planning for activity against campus complicity in the war.

Others were: organizing among high school students; organizing antiwar caravans; draft resistance to include encouragement and support of draft resistance unions and circulating information on draft resistance efforts; civil disobedience demonstrations including an August antidraft action in Washington, nationally coordinated "we won't go" demonstrations sup-

porting draft resisters; demonstrations at napalm and other war plants.

A broadly representative national continuations committee was established with a proviso for adding to it as new forces entered the movement. A New York-based working committee was similarly structured.

Representation was provided on the committees for the High School Mobilization Committee which bids to become an increasingly significant sector of the movement.

A staff was approved. Among the staff members are Linda Dannenberg, Kipp Dawson, Paul Freidman and Patty Miller. Others will be added.

The gathering expressed in many ways the continuing development of the antiwar movement. The warm reaction to the appearance of Pfc. Petrick indicated a growing appreciation that the members of the armed forces are not impervious to the truth about Vietnam and that there is every good reason to make serious efforts to reach them with that truth.

The Student Mobilization Committee had been initially established to organize the campus Vietnam Week and help build the April 15 Mobilization. There was complete accord at this conference on the value of continuing and building the committee. The fact that it was able to agree on a program of aims and activities despite a diversity of political views within the coalition was a heartening indication that students are determined to work in a united way to end the monstrous Vietnam war.

Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years Of the CIO

By Art Preis

The dramatic story of the birth and establishment of mass industrial unionism comes to life in this comprehensive, swiftly-paced historical work by an outstanding labor and socialist journalist.

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...N.Y. Pro-War Parade

(Continued from Page 1)

sity students. Outside of four small-sized pro-war college clubs, the thousands of marchers simply did not include independent youth.

Also conspicuous by its absence was any organized Negro political or social group. Several hundred uniformed black youngsters from the New York antipoverty program were dragooned into the parade in military uniforms. Otherwise the black community boycotted it.

Besides the Legion and VFW memberships there were large contingents from the New York police force and fire departments, and a number of Catholic organizations ranging from monasteries to high-school bands. The Catholic Veterans of Foreign Wars numbered several thousand.

A smaller but vociferous contingent of the pro-war parade was the extreme right-wing European anticommunist organizations and the Cuban anti-Castro exiles. They were followed by a few hundred John Birchers and a slightly larger contingent of local Conservative Party members.

The relatively small turnout of organized trade unionists further confirmed the lack of support for the war among American workers. Those who did participate constitute the hard-core "patriots" of a handful of right-wing local unions: notably, the Teamsters, National Maritime Union and International Longshoremen.

The overwhelming majority of New York workers apparently did not feel like demanding "Victory in Vietnam," chanting "All the Way With LBJ" and "Bomb Hanoi."

In keeping with the rightist com-



CIVIL LIBERTARIAN. Pro-war demonstrators want to keep GIs in Vietnam — for "democracy" and "freedom."

position of the parade organizers and the smear-propaganda they had directed against the antiwar movement, was the tar and feathering of an unfortunate bystander.

A local cook, who happened to be walking by the parade, with long hair and sandals (although neatly dressed) was set upon by a gang of hooligans equipped with hot tar and feathers.

In the climate of intolerance of dissent, and just plain stupidity worked up by the march organ-

izers, the passer-by was converted into the symbol of "commie agitator." This was no doubt helped by the quantities of beer that had been consumed by the marchers beginning early in the morning and lasting well after dark.

They had come looking for a fight, and if they weren't provoked — and they weren't — then they would make one. "If there are any of them commies here, there's going to be a riot," one well fed marcher told me. "We'll kill him."

Thousands Are Jailed By Greek Dictatorship

(World Outlook) — The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported May 11 that three members of the French parliament, upon returning from a mission of inquiry in Athens, estimated May 3 that there are 12,000 political prisoners in the jails and concentration camps of Greece.

This figure appears to be conservative. On April 28 General Patakos declared that there were 5,421 persons under arrest, of whom 780 had been shipped to the island of Yaros.

But on May 9, the same General Patakos, who holds the post of minister of the interior and who is one of the key military men who plotted the April 21 coup d'état, gave a press conference the figure of 6,138 on Yaros alone.

"I just came from the island of Yaros," the general told the correspondents. "I went there in a helicopter with the minister of public order. At present on Yaros there are 6,138 detainees, of whom 235 are women. But I can state that more than half of these detainees will be released because there are many innocent people among them arrested without reason."

The "guilty" ones arrested "with reason" are, in actuality, guilty only of having political views different from those of the reactionary generals who toppled the government in order to block an election that would only have been

won by an ordinary bourgeois party.

To sort out the "guilty" from the "nonguilty," an ad hoc commission has been set up, said General Patakos. Those whom the ad hoc commission decides to hold will be sorted out in various categories and sent to different islands.

The sorting out job is scheduled to be completed within ten days, the general added.

He did not reveal the names of the members of the Inquisition which will sit in judgment on the 6,138 detainees.

The general waxed eloquent about the conditions that have been provided for the political prisoners herded onto the island, a notorious hellhole under the Metaxas dictatorship, under the Nazi occupation and under the dictatorship fostered by the Truman Doctrine.

"The site is idyllic," said Gen. Patakos. "The detainees live in tents or little houses which need repairing. A dispensary assures them medical care. There are two military doctors who are helped by medical students among the detainees. At present there are fourteen sick people, all of them very well cared for."

The military junta has banned mini skirts and beards. The Western press is satiric about this, but is saying less and less on the tragedy of Greece again converted into a stifling prison.

Cleaver and Novack Speak

S.F. Symposium on Malcolm Book

SAN FRANCISCO — The development of the ideas of Malcolm X was the subject of a Militant Labor Forum held here on Thursday, May 4.

The speakers were George Novack, Marxist scholar, and Eldridge Cleaver. Cleaver is a staff writer for *Ramparts* magazine, and chairman of the Black House, a center for militant Afro-Americans in San Francisco.

The discussion centered around *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary*,

Che's Message News in Tokyo

(World Outlook) — One of our correspondents in Japan reports that the message sent by Comandante Ernesto "Che" Guevara to the *Tricontinental* magazine created a stir in Tokyo.

The first publication to reach Japan with the news that Che Guevara had broken his silence was *World Outlook*, which also provided an English translation of the full text of Guevara's revolutionary message.

An article based on the material in *World Outlook*, with extensive quotations from Guevara's appeal for revolutionary struggle against American imperialism, was published as a main front-page story by the *Nippon Dokusho Shimbun*, the biggest book-review weekly in Japan (circulation about 100,000).

The other newspapers in Japan had apparently decided on a conspiracy of silence, not a line appearing about Guevara's message even in *Akahata*.

The article in *Nippon Dokusho Shimbun* thus created a considerable sensation.

the recently published book by George Breitman.

Cleaver praised the book for taking a vast amount of material — speeches, statements, interviews — and organizing it so as to clarify the development of Malcolm's ideas. He was particularly interested in the break with the Black Muslims. While in prison, Cleaver had gone along with the Malcolm faction at the time of the split.

"Waiting on salvation paralyzes," Cleaver said. "The Black Muslims captured a lot of energy — the energy of black militants — but they focused it in the hereafter. Malcolm's break focused

that energy in the here and now. He no longer carried the message down the pipeline from Allah to Elijah Muhammad to himself." That is one reason, according to Cleaver, that Malcolm's ideas travel "so fast and so far today."

Both speakers took time out from their talks to defend the Black Panthers (see page 8) from the hysterical charges mounted against them for their recent action in Sacramento. Eldridge Cleaver, who was in Sacramento reporting the demonstration for *Ramparts*, was arrested with the Black Panthers.

George Novack said, "As I understand what happened at Sacramento, they were demonstrating against projected discriminatory legislation aimed at the black communities and their rights of self-defense. They were petitioning for a redress of their grievances, as they have every constitutional and moral right to do."

Eldridge Cleaver blamed the police for the near-hysterical reactions against the Black Panthers. "If they had known the law," said Cleaver, "it never would have happened. We have no choice but to fight this out to the bitter end and the only end is the complete exoneration of all of those who protested and participated in the exercise of their rights."

Returning again to Malcolm X, Novack pointed to the influence of Malcolm's ideas on young people "afflicted by the brutal realities of poverty and racism as Malcolm was . . . Malcolm's words are passed on in classrooms, in schoolyards, on street corners and tenement stoops because they match the deepest feelings, the inarticulate aspirations and life experiences of rebellious black youth."

Novack predicted that, Malcolm X will take his place in history as a "leader of the world revolution of all the oppressed."

Wall Street Tip

"Anyone who firmly believes — and staunchly practices — the theory that small investors are the world's biggest suckers has probably made a killing in the stock market in the past two years. During that period the 'odd-lot theory,' which tells its followers to buy stocks when the little guy starts selling and to sell when he starts buying, has worked to near perfection." — Business Week, May 6.

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

Fighter for Sacco-Vanzetti Dies in Boston at 76

By George Lavan

Aldino Felicani, an anarchist and the founder of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, died in Boston on April 18 at the age of 76.

The day after Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were arrested in what was to become one of the world's most infamous frameups, Felicani organized the committee for their defense. That was on May 6, 1920 — at the height of the post-World War I witchhunt and the "deportation delirium" against foreign-born radicals. Like his two arrested comrades, Felicani was an Italian immigrant.

Though the case got virtually no public attention in its early stages, the efforts of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, the International Labor Defense, and the Communist and Socialist parties eventually made the whole world aware of it. The fabrications, perjury and prejudice on which the frameup was built were thoroughly exposed. This evoked worldwide appeals and mass demonstrations on behalf of the two innocent men.

But the decision of the U.S. power structure — from its most "cultured" sector to its yellow press — was that the frameup undertaken should be carried out, and Sacco and Vanzetti were put to death on Aug. 23, 1927.

The fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti was the introduction for tens of thousands of Americans to the realities of class justice and to social protest. Felicani made a life-long impression on the many people (and among them were a remarkably large number of writers and artists whose talents would make them famous in the next decade) who worked with the defense committee.

Felicani became a radical in his youth. He learned the printing trade in Bologna. When the Italian ruling class launched a war (1911-12) on the crumbling Turkish Empire in order to seize Libya as

a colony, young Felicani edited a paper denouncing the war as imperialist robbery. To evade arrest he finally migrated to the U.S. Going first to Cleveland, he edited there an anarchist paper entitled *The Social Question*. Then he worked as a printer in New York for several years. In 1918 he moved to Boston, where he lived the rest of his life. Throughout the 1920s he published *L'Agtazione* (The Agitation), an Italian-language paper devoted to the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Later he published *Contracorrente* (Countercurrent), a monthly which exposed and opposed Italian fascism and, as that new form of barbarism spread, all forms of fascism.

Felicani was an inveterate opponent of falsehood and injustice and a practitioner of working-class solidarity. In the days of the Moscow Trial frameups and the Stalinist slander campaign against Leon Trotsky, representatives of the Socialist Workers Party in Boston always found Felicani a good friend and they remember with gratitude favors done them by his print shop, the Excelsior Press.

That generation of Italian anarchists whose most famous representatives — Sacco, Vanzetti, Carlo Tresca — laid down their lives in the struggle, has almost completely disappeared now. Joseph Amari of East Boston's Aurora Club died a few years ago; now Felicani is dead. Though they have left no movement to continue their ideas, they have not failed to leave their imprint on this country's revolutionary movement. In all the many places where they lived and worked they have left a heritage to the other radicals who came to know and admire them. That heritage is the memory of the qualities so well personified by Felicani, qualities which seem to have been a common possession of them all — pureness of motive, passionate class-consciousness, and high revolutionary idealism.

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.]

Louisville Struggle

Providence, Ky.

Louisville is witnessing a great struggle between the forces of reaction and the forces of progress over the issue of open housing. In Hopkinsville, where an open housing ordinance is also proposed, police had to guard the burial services of a Negro lawyer in an all white cemetery.

In Henderson where the fourth local boy recently was killed in Vietnam, the daily newspaper asks, "Is the war worth it?"

In Madisonville a great number of Negro residents are petitioning the city to pave some of the many dirt roads in the city's ghetto. In Paducah a small group of Negroes hear Muhammad Ali praised for his antiwar stand.

In Bowling Green, the Confederate capital of Kentucky during the Civil War, a Confederate flag is burned on the campus of Western State University.

In Murray, students at Murray State University hear a call for an end to American involvement in the Vietnamese civil war.

In Sturgis and Morganfield, people are made aware of alternatives to the Vietnam fiasco, through house to house leafletings.

In Providence, the Committee for 3L (Liberal Lending Library) serves as a clearing center for antiwar literature and a planning group for antiwar action.

We are now entering another summer period. It will be long and hot, in more ways than one. During this period the Committee for a Liberal Lending Library hopes to expand its work for peace and freedom. It is already in debt and cannot advance until debts are cleared and funds for activities are raised.

In order to raise funds, Scott and Helen Nearing have generously offered us copies of *USA Today*, their excellent analysis of modern America, which we may sell. We will send this wonderful exposé of our civilization to any interested people who will send \$3 or more to advance our work for

a truly great society, the kind that comes with peace and freedom.

Richard Chinn, Chairman
600 Third Avenue
Providence, Ky. 42450

Muhammad Ali

Philadelphia, Pa.

Congratulations on your excellent article on Muhammad Ali.

Your objective reporting is indeed the distinguishing factor which makes your newspaper number one on the "reading man's list."

You have my support and the support of the six hundred million Muslims of the world for your sincerity.

Muhammad Abdulla

What Next in Peace Fight?

San Francisco, Calif.

Having participated in and organized peace activities in Milwaukee and New York as a member of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, I also recently helped in the San Francisco Mobilization for Peace. Now that is over, our chief success is the 65,000 people attracted (the rally itself was uninspiring and too long). At this point, we must proceed with what we promised from the beginning — that the Mobilization be not "just another demonstration," but the start of stopping the war machine.

In respect to this last point, I would like an answer from you on Socialist Workers Party goals. I have talked to a hard-working and personable member of SWP here, to deduct the following from his statements: "We should continue with broad-based events so that people can keep cooperating in big things together, but individually or in groups pursue the specific antiwar activities they think might hamper the Establishment (such as anti-draft, community organizing, referendum, tax refusal)."

This has led SWP here into advocating a conference as follow-up to April 15. Out of this, I presume, will come a march on Washington, from which may arise another conference (perhaps over Thanksgiving for students), where we will find the germ of a big spring demonstration. Which leaves us where we started, but with money and energy drained, and the cold warriors hardly having to consider us opposition.

Your April 17 issue says (p. 2): "Kennedy's aims (in Vietnam) are not different from those of the Johnson administration." But SWP's position in Mobilization West seems to make it an advocate of a series of "broadening community participation" conferences, which effect nothing against the war but do make us peace people a statistic to be turned over to Bobby Kennedy in 1968 or 1972.

At the very least, we will be waging a 1948 campaign with King and Spock instead of resisting and educating about the system which makes Vietnam necessary to the U.S. economy.

Jean C. Pelletiere

Yes and No on Slogans

Washington, D.C.

Please find enclosed two clippings from today's *New York Times*. One deals with the army trial of an antiwar medical officer. Perhaps there is a connection between this and the trial of the Fort Hood Three, and the intimidation attempts toward Petrick. The charges are remarkably similar.

Also enclosed find a clipping of Tiffany's offering of diamond and gold encrusted safety pins at the low low price of \$1,565 and \$1,880. Perhaps it can find its way to your "It Was Reported in the Press" section.

Your paper has been very informative in many respects, and I have used it in preparing my thesis on Mao's doctrine of uninterrupted revolution. My only objection is your intense sloganizing. But it was effective in the April 15 rally, which I attended. Let's have more.

R.F.

Thought for the Week

"They all wanted support for the boys in Vietnam, just as the peace groups did. But these people thought you supported them by keeping them there to get shot to death and the peace kids thought you supported them by bringing them home." — New York Post columnist Pete Hamill on the May 13 New York pro-war parade.

"Man for All Seasons"

Detroit, Mich.

The movie-producing industry has chosen "A Man for All Seasons" for several academy awards, including best film and best actor, and in the opinion of several socialists here, it probably deserved it.

It is rare that such a struggle as that between Thomas More, who represented the finest characteristics of Renaissance Man, and England's Henry VIII, the absolute monarch that ruthlessly enriched himself while paving the way for the rise of capitalism in England, has been portrayed with such skill as in this film.

More's humanism, his unique religious tolerance, personal charity, universal mind and keen wit are well brought out by actor Paul Scofield. Scofield faithfully recreates More's great personal integrity which made him refuse the complete submission demanded by

Henry VIII but also could not save his life, as a mass movement like those led by his cruder contemporaries Martin Luther and Thomas Munzer might have.

The social and economic background to this struggle is only faintly referred to in the film and the issue of Henry's divorce takes on more importance than it actually had. The real issue was Henry's seizure of Church lands accompanied, as it was, by expulsion of the peasants and conversion of the land into sheep meadows, a move which created widespread dislocation and poverty.

More sympathized with the poor and wrote his famous *Utopia* to show how a society where tools and land were socially owned could solve the problem of poverty. (But don't expect the bourgeois movie-critics to admit that the protagonist of the year's best film was the first "modern socialist," though a utopian one at that.)

Jan Garrett

It Was Reported in the Press

Art News — W.C. Fields contended that you can't cheat an honest man. We're sure that thought has no relevance to Algor Meadows, the Texas oil baron who was the victim of a \$1-million swindle in forged European art works. Meadows started out as a money lender and worked his way from there into the oil racket. At any rate, we have a suggestion. Maybe as consolation he might like that rejected portrait of LBJ. It may be ugly, but it's authentic.

Success Story — Last week we reported that LBJ's son-in-law Patrick, who has a part-time job at the family radio and TV station in Austin, bought himself and Lucy Bird a \$70,000 home. Apparently we weren't the only ones who were impressed by the young man's capacity to stretch part-time earnings. The Citizens National Bank of Austin just elected Patrick to the board of directors.

Note to LBJ — Dr. Heinz Lehmann, a McGill University professor of psychiatry, reported that by 1980 psychiatrists and biochemists may be centering on a search for "anti-aggression" pills. "Unfortunately," Dr. Lehmann added glumly, "that might be a little late."

Progress Report — The British Navy has discarded caning as a form of punishment.

Relax, Everyone — The inflationary threat is gone. Remember last year when LBJ announced how he and Lady Bird were putting off adding a wing to the old ranchhouse because we all had to spend less to combat rising prices? Well, carpenters are now at work on the addition.

'Freedom Fighters' Carry On — Three Cuban exiles were seized at Kennedy Airport with a reported \$300,000 worth of heroin. You'll never guess what their story was. They were trying to raise funds to liberate Cuba.

Could Be a Problem — On occasion, we have suggested that perhaps some day pollution might get to be a problem. This thought was somewhat bolstered when it was reported that the U.S. Army

Corps of Engineers had begun a nationwide program to increase protection of navigation channels from impediments created by solid industrial wastes. Also, a group of experts advised New York officials that unless something were done, the city might "become uninhabitable within a decade."

Crazy, Mixed-Up Kids — Thomas Braden, former cloak-and-dagger operator, reported in the *Saturday Evening Post* that Adlai Stevenson, the man who assured the world that the U.S. had nothing to do with the invasion of Cuba, used to get very upset in the UN because young men from underdeveloped countries "assumed that anyone who was for 'peace' and 'justice' must also be for 'communism.'"

Enough of That Liberal Hooley — Someone finally made a speech about the Vietnam war which pleased LBJ. The president is, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, offering visitors a copy of a speech by Thurman Arnold, one-time

New Deal "trust-buster." The speech says people like Walter Lippman and Senator Fulbright and others are stirring up "dis-sent" and portraying the U.S. as "a stupid and brutal power unnecessarily killing thousands of people . . ." To the contrary declares Arnold, "... it is the function of a dominant world power ... to take the lead in establishing world order . . ."

Philadelphia Free Enterprise — The Philadelphia Police Department recently cancelled a slated civil service examination for cops who want to become sergeants or lieutenants. The action was taken because a couple of cops were reportedly showing a little old-fashioned free-enterprise initiative and selling the answers to the exam. Clear-eyed businessmen, they were allegedly offering the answers to the sergeants' test for \$250, with the answers to the lieutenants' available for \$500. The sale was apparently unauthorized by higher officials.

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

IS THE SOVIET UNION CAPITALIST?
Speaker: Robin Maisel. Fri., May 26, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75 cents. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

CALIFORNIA EDUCATION IN CRISIS — The Student Revolt. Speakers: Milton Alvin, Marxist journalist, and two editors of "underground" high school newspapers. Fri., May 26, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1, students 35 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MARXIST COMMENTARY, A biweekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., May 29, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Thurs., June 1, 12:45 p.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7) on your dial.)

NEW YORK

WHAT NEXT FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT? A symposium with: Linda Dannenberg, executive secretary, Student Mobilization Committee; Kipp Dawson, executive director, April 15, West Coast Mobilization, now co-coordinator Student Mobilization Committee; Henry Bucher, field secretary, Univ. Christian Movement; and Mathew Berkelhammer, co-chairman, New York DuBois Clubs. Fri., May 26, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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Rally at Berkeley Protests Frame-Up of Black Panthers

By Roger J. Filene

BERKELEY — A rally for the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was held here at the University of California May 10. Over a thousand students listened to Black Panther Party leaders speak in defense of 24 of their members who were arrested May 2 after a demonstration at the state capitol in Sacramento.

The defense meeting was sponsored by VOICE (a campus political party), the Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, the campus Young Democrats, the Resistance (antidraft organization), the Independent Socialist Club, the Community for New Politics and the American Friends Service Committee. All of these groups felt that the general civil liberties issue involved merited their sponsorship.

Press Distortion

Speakers at the rally attempted to refute the false picture of the demonstration given by the press. Papers in the Bay Area have been carrying such screaming headlines as "Armed Group Subdued After Scare at Capitol," and "Armed Gang Storms Assembly Chamber."

The story of what actually happened was told by Barbara Auther, cochairman of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and a student at the University of California. She said that the Black Panthers decided to take their grievances to the state legislature after the killing of Denzil Dowell, a 22-year-old black man from North Richmond.

Police Claim

Police claimed that Dowell was shot as he was running from a liquor store he had burglarized. Mrs. Auther explained that there were no marks on the store to show that anyone had tried to enter and that Dowell had no stolen goods on him. Furthermore, Dowell's hip had been injured in 1963 in an auto accident making it impossible for him to run.

Dowell's body was found by his brother in an empty field. He had been shot six times. Nevertheless,

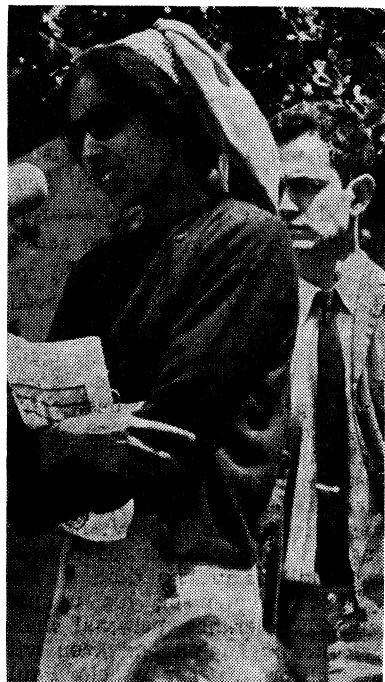


Photo by Tom Kendall

AT SPROUL HALL. Speaking is Barbara Auther of the Black Panthers. Behind her is Peter Camejo of Socialist Workers Party.

the coroner jury's verdict was justifiable homicide.

In protest against this, the Black Panther Party went to the sheriff. The sheriff told them that if they wanted police policy changed, they would have to go to the legislature.

"And that we did," said Mrs. Auther. The Black Panthers went to the legislature ready to read a statement they had prepared. They went armed (which is legal in California), symbolizing their belief in the right of citizens to bear arms in self-defense. The focal point of their protest was the proposed antigun legislation being debated in the legislature.

Barbara Auther said that the black demonstrators showed "great discipline and dignity walking

into the capitol." She said that among the demonstrators were members of Dowell's family.

When they walked into the chamber the capitol police decided that there must be a law against such demonstrations. Mrs. Auther explained that the police "checked their lawbooks" and found that no law was being violated. "After they looked for half an hour, we walked out," she said. "We were there from noon to 12:30. We drove three blocks and were arrested in a gas station. The attendant said we caused no trouble. We had guns, but so do hunters." Contrary to press reports, there was no attempt at resistance to the arrest.

Bystanders Arrested

Robert Seale, another Black Panther leader, spoke after Barbara Auther. He told the crowd that the cops "arrested everything black." He said that three black people who had nothing to do with the demonstration, who just happened to be around, were arrested at the gas station because they were black.

They have been charged with "conspiring" to "disturb the legislature," a felony.

Other speakers at the rally included Marie Walker Johnson, organizer of Blacks United to Motivate Progress (a welfare rights organization), and Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party.

Constitutional Right

Camejo told the crowd that the "true test of our belief in civil liberties is not if you defend someone you believe in, but if you defend someone even if you don't agree with his particular view." He said, "whether you agree with the Black Panthers or not, your help is needed to defend their constitutional right to bear arms." He explained that the bail for the 24 defendants had been set at an exorbitant \$50,000.

A student based defense committee has been set up to raise money and to disseminate the facts about the case.

Quebec Labor Urges Freedom for Blanco

There have been important new developments in the defense work for Hugo Blanco. These include the addition of significant forces in the Canadian and Latin American movements for Blanco's defense and the intervention of British philosopher Bertrand Russell to appeal for Blanco's release.

Blanco is the Peruvian peasant leader condemned to 25 years in the notorious El Frontón fortress-prison because of his role in organizing a massive grass-roots land reform program. He faces a possible death sentence at the hands of a military tribunal because the Peruvian state prosecution is unsatisfied with the 25-year sentence.

One month ago it was learned that Blanco had been brutally beaten by prison guards in what appears to be an attempt to save the military tribunal the embarrassment of passing the death verdict on so popular a leader.

Unionists Send Petition

In Canada, the April 29 issue of *La Presse*, the biggest French-language daily newspaper, carried an article on Hugo Blanco that took up about a half page in the final section. The article, an entirely favorable one, reports the sending of a petition, carrying 7,500 names, mostly unionists, to the Peruvian embassy in Ottawa asking for Blanco's release.

The Quebec Young New Democrats, a provincial wing of Canada's labor party youth, has passed a resolution demanding amnesty for Blanco.

Bertrand Russell, the world-famous philosopher now actively associated with the War Crimes Tribunal just held in Stockholm, Sweden, appealed directly to Peruvian President Belaúnde Terry:

"Above all I appeal to you to prevent his execution which will be an event unparalleled in its injustice and outrage. If you release Hugo Blanco and protect his life, you will do your government a great service and will earn the gratitude of humane people everywhere.

"I appeal to you urgently and

personally to release a great Peruvian who is esteemed by mankind."

Meanwhile these developments were reported in the Chilean campaign to free Blanco: The Plenum of the Communist Party sent a telegram to Belaúnde, stating in part: "To shoot this patriot would stain your government with blood and violate the conscience and human sentiments of the peoples of Chile, Peru and the entire world."

The University Brigades of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) in the schools of philosophy, history, sociology, journalism, law and medicine appealed for marches and rallies on the campuses of Chile on April 25 to demand Blanco's release.

And in Argentina, the weekly *La Verdad*, which carries a report in each issue on the solidarity work in behalf of Hugo Blanco, noted that many prominent figures in Uruguay have rallied to the cause. These included politicians, labor leaders and newspaper editors.

Hugo Blanco Sends Letter To the YSA

The imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, sent a letter of thanks to the Young Socialist Alliance for its work in his defense. The letter was dated March 10, 1967, but the envelope postmark of April 25 indicates that it was delayed, possibly by prison authorities. Blanco wrote:

"Your attitude of solidarity against the death penalty is one more proof that revolutionary socialism has a strong bulwark within the United States.

"We know that the conditions for your struggle are very unfavorable; this will strengthen you, temper you; this will prepare you for successful leadership of the workers of your country when the time comes for them to deal the definitive blow against capitalism.

"Each one of your acts of solidarity with the world revolution has enormous repercussions throughout the entire world. The exploited of the world have in you a worthy ally.

"All of us are aware of your struggle in solidarity with the defenders of the world: our Vietnamese brothers. Fight, comrades; fight tirelessly, fight ceaselessly in defense of Vietnam, liberator of the world.

"With the warmest greetings, Hugo Blanco."

Baltimore Clerics: Bring Gls Home!

Another indication of the continuing growth of antiwar sentiment was provided when the May 3 *Baltimore Sun* carried a full two-page ad against the war.

Sponsored by the Baltimore Interfaith Mission of Clergymen and Laymen, the ad offers valuable information about the credibility gap, the reactionary character of the war and the toll for Americans and Vietnamese.

A special section of the ad argues persuasively, "Why We Should Bring Our Boys Home Now."

Baltimore has a population of nearly a million and the *Sun* is the leading Maryland daily.

Leo Bernard Fund Makes Appeal

DETROIT — The Emergency Medical Fund for Bernard, Garrett and Graham is making a widespread appeal for funds on the anniversary of the shooting of the three socialists at Debs Hall here. On May 16, 1966 a crazed anticomunist gunman killed Leo Bernard, and seriously wounded Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

Contributions of \$1,800 were made to the fund, \$600 of which paid Leo Bernard's funeral expenses, and the balance went toward the medical expenses of the wounded young socialists. Both Garrett and Graham require further treatment, and Garrett will have to undergo further surgery.

Contributions to help defray these expenses should be sent to the Emergency Medical Fund for Bernard, Garrett and Graham, c/o English Department, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. 48202.

U Thant Warns of WW III

(World Outlook) — At a luncheon gathering of United Nations correspondents May 11, Secretary General Thant voiced his foreboding that the war in Vietnam already constitutes the initial phase of World War III.

In response to a question about where the fighting in Vietnam might lead, Thant said: "In my view, if the present trend continues, I am afraid direct confrontation first of all between Washington and Peking is inevitable. I hope I am wrong. I am afraid we are witnessing today the initial phase of World War III.

"If you recall the series of events leading to World War I and World War II, you will realize that the prologues were quite long; what I mean is, the psychological climate, the creation of political attitudes, took some time and when conditions were ripe for some plausible excuse, then the global wars were triggered.

"In my view we are witnessing today similar conditions.

"I am really concerned about the potentialities of this war, knowing as I do the mood not only of the principal parties primarily involved but also some of the parties not directly involved at present.

"That is why I say that if the

present trend continues, a direct confrontation between Washington and Peking is inevitable and I am afraid that we are witnessing today the initial phase of World War III.

"I must say in this context that the mutual defense pact between Moscow and Peking is still in force."

Arthur J. Goldberg, Johnson's representative to the United Nations, at once issued a counterstatement, since it was taken in Washington that Thant's grim conclusion was directed mainly at the Johnson administration which has refused to meet his appeal to halt the bombing.

Goldberg asserted that "we do not share his current assessment of the situation in Vietnam." Then like the highly skilled attorney that he is, he talked fast and furiously about the peaceful aims of his government and its desire to engage in "negotiations."

The "current assessment" in the Pentagon is that they can get away with further escalation of the war in view of the "peaceful coexistence" attitude of the Kossygin-Brezhnev regime and the political crisis in China. Both powers will issue strong denunciations of the U.S. for the sake of the record, the Pentagon calculates, but will

not really come to the aid of the Vietnamese in an effective way.

The Pentagon's assessment, which the generals have sought to test step by step, has led to more and more extensive commitment of U.S. troops until they are now engaged in a big war on the Asian mainland, with all signs pointing to deepening and spreading the conflict.

The question that Thant raises is, "Has the point of no return been reached?" His fear is that Johnson has already gone so far that now the logic of war is taking over as it did in World War I and World War II.

MAY 15 — Six U.S. senators warned the Johnson administration today that further escalation of the war against north Vietnam might bring China and the Soviet Union into the war. The warnings followed a speech to this effect given by John Sherman Cooper, the Kentucky Republican.

The other senators agreeing with Cooper's warning included Democrats Mike Mansfield of Montana, Frank Church of Idaho, and Wayne Morse of Oregon; and another Republican, George Aiken of Vermont.