

# THE MILITANT

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## Beginning This Week: 'Malcolm X Speaks'

— See page 4 —

# Thousands Protest U. S. War in Vietnam



NEW YORK PARADE. Scene along mile-long parade route down Fifth Avenue in New York. When first contingent reached end of route thousands were still waiting to begin march. Official slogan of the parade, which was carried by most marchers, was "Stop the War in Vietnam Now."

## New York SWP Wins Fight for Ballot Place

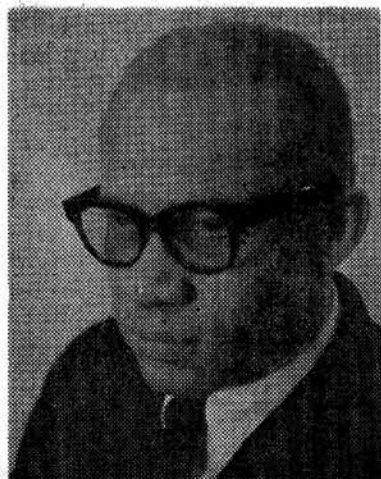
NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party successfully blocked the attempt by the New York City Board of Elections to keep the SWP off the ballot in the coming city election. On Oct. 14 New York State Supreme Court Justice Joseph A. Brust overruled the board and ordered the reinstatement of the SWP on the Nov. 2 ballot.

The successful outcome of the SWP's challenge to the Board of Elections' ruling sets a legal and political precedent which will make it easier for all minority parties and independent candidates, to achieve ballot status in New York state.

To obtain a place on the ballot in New York, a minority party must submit nominating petitions bearing the signatures of 7,500 registered voters. The SWP filed 14,000.

The Board of Elections did not attempt to knock the SWP off the

ballot by challenging these signatures. Instead, it ruled that the SWP slate was not entitled to ballot status on the technical grounds



Clifton DeBerry

that a certification of acceptance of nomination was not received from the party's candidates until 11 hours after the election board's deadline.

### Rigged Ballot

Now the Board of Elections has drawn up a ballot which places the SWP candidates with those of two other parties on the same ballot line. The SWP, Socialist Labor Party and United Taxpayers all appear on the same line, with their candidates scrambled together, while Republican Lindsay occupies three full lines all by himself. The SWP is protesting this grossly undemocratic ballot, and court action is being taken.

The SWP's slate is: Clifton DeBerry for Mayor; Peter Camejo for President of the City Council; Hedda Garza for Comptroller; Paul Boutelle for Manhattan Borough President; and Lynn Henderson for Manhattan Councilman-at-Large.

## 30,000 March In New York

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — The unexpectedly large turnout of some 30,000 for the antiwar parade here Oct. 16 was one of the highlights of the International Days of Protest against the Vietnam war. An estimated 70,000 to 100,000 in about 60 cities across the nation joined in the protest and there were demonstrations in a score of other countries.

Participants in the New York demonstration were given an instructive example of how the press and TV can twist a story inside out. After taking part in a large, spirited demonstration that won a surprising amount of applause from onlookers and was marred only by the heckling of a few hundred right-wing counter demonstrators, the marchers later saw a very different picture on their TV screens and in their papers.

TV viewers saw carefully edited films that gave the impression of a beleaguered band of demonstrators making their way through a bitterly hostile crowd of equal or greater size.

Newspaper photos were largely confined to shots of the several scuffles that took place when right-wingers lunged at demonstrators. No major daily carried an over-all photo of the demonstration that would suggest its true size. All the papers were agreed that the attendance was "over 10,000," even though, on the scene, their own reporters estimated the crowd at anywhere from 25,000 to 40,000 and a police estimate of 35,000 was reported.

(The lower figure of 30,000 is the estimate of the parade committee.)

The march began at 91st St. and Fifth Avenue and proceeded down Fifth Avenue to 68th St. The parade took nearly two hours to pass a given point.

The demonstrators marched in ranks of eight carrying banners and placards that declared: "Stop the War in Vietnam Now." Some carried reproductions of Vietnam war photos. One group carried a huge flag with dollar signs and skulls replacing the stars. Banner and placard decorated floats displayed grim black coffins.

The Bread and Puppet Theater offered a powerfully savage depiction of the warmakers. (See photo page 2.)

The great majority of the marchers were under 40, with the bulk in their teens or twenties. There was a good sprinkling of parents with their children walking with them or riding in perambulators.

A contingent of a thousand students from Columbia University, with some from City College and a local high school, marched from the Columbia campus through central Harlem to join the main parade. Marching four abreast, their arms locked in solidarity, they were warmly received in the black ghetto with people opening windows to wave and applaud.

As the parade moved down Fifth Avenue, spectators watched largely with quiet interest, although a significant number clapped. (Continued on Page 2)

## Witch-Hunt Threat

An Editorial

The Oct. 15-16 protests against the Vietnam war have produced a violent and hysterical reaction in the McCarthy tradition in the highest government circles. In addition to vituperative statements by liberal as well as conservative senators, Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach announced Oct. 17 an investigation of "Communist influence" in organizations involved in the antiwar activity. President Johnson quickly concurred.

This witch-hunt threat can be rebuffed by refusing to be stamped by the hysteria, by stating frankly and proudly the principle of non-exclusion on which the new antiwar movement has been built and is growing. The movement welcomes all those opposed to the war including Communists and those of all other political persuasions, and it seeks to show the world, including the Vietnamese, that the U.S. people want their G.I.'s brought home. In addition, all participants should rally to the defense of any and all persons persecuted for antiwar activities.

THE PAY-OFF FOR AFL-CIO TOPS

# The Non-Repeal of 14-B

By Fred Halstead

October 11 has come to be known in Washington as "labor's blue Monday." That's the day the Senate refused to end the filibuster against the repeal of section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits states to outlaw the union shop.

It is "blue Monday" because it marks the flat failure of the union leaders to get any of the legislation that Lyndon B. Johnson had promised them in return for their all-out support to the Democratic Party and for their slavish support to Johnson's crimes in Vietnam and Santo Domingo.

What is more, it marks the most ignominious defeat in a long line of legislative defeats for labor under the policy of "coalition politics" within the Democratic Party. It marks a new low point in labor's political influence generally.

What makes the failure even more significant is that it takes place precisely in the session of Congress most favorable for the so-called labor-liberal coalition — the session following the Johnson landslide with the Democratic majority as large as can ever be expected.

Last May, Johnson sent to Congress messages asking on the one hand for tax cuts favored by big business and on the other hand a set of proposals demanded by labor. These included the extension of minimum-wage coverage, liberalization of unemployment compensation, and the repeal of 14-B. The May 31 *Newsweek* quoted a big businessman as saying: "That's the way LBJ operates. We got ours one day, they got theirs the next."

The big business tax cut pro-



George Meany

posals which were sent to Congress were not only passed without serious resistance, but Congress hiked the cuts by an extra \$915 million.

But with the labor bills it was another matter. In the first place, none of these bills represented major concessions. The repeal of 14-B, for example, is not even resisted by the major corporations. But even these bills were not seriously pressed by the Democratic leadership. The AFL-CIO officialdom, instead of pressing for immediate consideration of the 14-B repeal, agreed to Johnson's request that this issue be left to the end of the session.

This fitted in exactly with the tactics of the opponents of 14-B repeal who were counting on having a filibuster which would have been virtually impossible to maintain at the beginning of the session, but which had every chance of success at the end of it.

Even in the unsuccessful fight at the end to stop the filibuster, AFL-CIO President George Meany discouraged attempts by other unionists to put more serious pressure on the administration Senate leaders to come through with their pledge. And Meany took President Johnson off the hook by declaring: "I don't expect the President of the United States to be a lobbyist for the American trade union movement and I think he's done what he could."

So the union leaders did not even get their token concession on the Taft-Hartley Act after 18 years of campaigning on this act as the most crucial issue facing the labor movement. The Taft-Hartley Act was passed in 1947 by a Republican-dominated congress during Harry Truman's first term. The labor leaders went all-out to elect Truman to a second term in 1948 on the basis of his promise to repeal the Act. But Truman's congress didn't repeal it.

The labor leaders then shifted to a campaign to have the law amended. But the amendments, when they finally came in the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law were even more restrictive on the unions and have given the government weapons which could virtually destroy the union movement, or utterly subordinate it to the government, if applied to their fullest extent.

The labor leaders then dropped the idea of general amendments and centered their fight on repealing 14-B. In itself this is little more than a face-saving move and indicated that the AFL-CIO officialdom had resigned itself to living with the sword of Taft-Hartley-Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin hanging over the labor movement.

Reporting a closed conference of union leaders held in Washington the day the Senate voted not to end the filibuster, Washington newsmen Evans and Novak commented in their Oct. 19 column: "The reason for the gloom went far beyond the loss of that one bill... the verdict of the union men was clear: In President Johnson's consensus government, labor was out in the cold."

And this is the kind of "coalition politics" into which some figures in the civil rights and anti-war struggle would channel the growing new movement. In his arguments in favor of this policy, Bayard Rustin says the Negroes and those opposed to the war in Vietnam must seek allies in the "labor-liberal" alliance and therefore must follow the labor leaders in their coalition politics with the liberal capitalists.

But when Rustin speaks of unity with labor, he means following the overpaid, tea-at-the-White House labor bureaucrats who have gone all the way in subordinating the interests of the working people to those of big business. The allies needed by the black and anti-war freedom fighters are the rank-and-file workers whose interests are opposed to big business.

The problem is to break the labor movement away from capitalist politics, that is, from "coalition politics." Because even liberal capitalist politics are cold-war, racist, anti-working class politics. The Negro freedom fighters and the antiwar movement will serve their own interests not by putting new juice in "coalition politics," but by feeding the fires of revolt within the labor movement itself against the "labor lieutenants of capitalism" and their policy of "coalition politics" with the capitalist power structure.

## 600 Join in Anti-War Protest At New York Induction Center

NEW YORK — The tremendous New York Vietnam protest march was given a militant kickoff Friday, Oct. 15, by a speakout against the draft and the war at the Whitehall induction center in downtown Manhattan. More than 600 persons attended this rally to hear speakers from 14 organizations, including David Miller, who burned his draft card before TV cameras from all the major networks in the country.

Before burning his card, Miller stated, "I'm a Catholic pacifist and I'm against all wars. But I'm particularly against the war in Vietnam, where the United States is conducting horrible atrocities." While burning the card with a lighter, Miller received enthusiastic applause from the audience — completely drowning out the boos and swearing of a disgruntled right-wing mob which tried to disrupt the rally.

Other speakers included Bob Parris, leader of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee,

Joe Martin, the McComb freedom fighter who issued a declaration against the draft last July, and Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the New York City Council.

Parris, who left the rally early to fly to the Accra Conference in Africa, stated that "the controversy that needs to be raised in this country is not whether we are fighting a war, but whether it is a criminal war. Is this country in the position of Nazi Germany before World War II?"

Camejo stated that there were no other foreign troops in Vietnam except those of the United States. "The U.S. is the aggressor. The Vietnamese people have fought for 20 years and they are going to drive the United States out," he said.

"One way of registering protest against this war," Camejo pointed out, "is voting for the SWP candidate and against the bi-partisan Vietnam war policies."

## ...New York Parade

(Continued from Page 1)

ped. At about four points along the way, gangs of counter-demonstrators held aloft red-baiting, pro-war placards and hurled abuse and, in some cases, obscenities, at the marchers. In several cases, people standing in the vicinity countered with applause for the passing marchers.

Three incidents were reported of counter-demonstrators attacking individuals or groups of marchers. In two cases they were separated by the cops. In one instance, a man attacked student marchers with a broom stick. Cops picked him up from the street.

The parade culminated with a mass rally with marchers covering an area of more than five city blocks in the 68th St. area. (Park Commissioner Morris denied the parade committee a permit to hold the rally at the Mall in Central Park and was upheld by the State Supreme Court.)

### Ultra-Rights

At the rally a group of about a hundred ultra-rightists tried to disrupt but were removed by the cops as they were being surrounded by demonstrators.

Throughout, the parade and rally were free of any yielding to the pressure of red-baiting by the press and government. Everyone was welcome to participate who agreed with the purpose of the parade.

Sponsors included pacifists like A. J. Muste and Dave Dellinger; Al Evanoff, representing District 65, AFL-CIO; Moe Foner of Hospital Workers Local 1199, AFL-CIO; Elizabeth Sutherland of the New York office of SNCC; Margery Haring of the American Friends Service Committee; Lila Hoffman of Women Strike for Peace; Levi Laub of the Progressive Labor Party; Jack Barnes of the Young Socialist Alliance; Clifton DeBerry of the Socialist Workers Party; and the late Robert Thompson of the Communist Party.

### Smear Job

On the eve of the parade, Senator Dodd (D-Conn.) let loose with a red-baiting smear in the Senate and in a TV interview. Dodd seemed particularly irate that Henry Abrams, a former American Labor Party leader, was a member of the organizing staff of the parade. Several years ago Dodd pressured the leaders of SANE into removing Abrams from an administrative position in the organization of a Madison Square Garden rally.

On television, Dodd pointed to Abrams' presence on the staff of the parade, and cited what he called the "well-known Communist-front" paper, *The Militant*, as his authority for this. (Abrams' name was included in an ad that appeared in *The Militant* and other publications. His charge that the paper is a "Communist front" will certainly come as a surprise to all concerned, particularly the Communist Party.)

Dave Dellinger, who chaired



Dave Dellinger

the rally, answered the charge of Communist-domination by declaring, "There isn't a man or a party who could dominate this movement. It is based on a single principle: 'Stop the war in Vietnam now.' Its sponsors include Republicans, Democrats, Communists and Socialists. It is open to everyone who agrees with its purpose, regardless of race, color, creed or political persuasion."

Dellinger also paid tribute to Robert Thompson, who had died that morning. He declared that whatever one thought of Thompson's views his efforts were directed toward building a better world and that "we should all salute his courage and express our sympathy to his friends and comrades."

### On Platform

Speakers at the rally included: A. J. Muste of the War Resisters League; I. F. Stone, editor of *I. F. Stone's Weekly*; Dixie Bayo of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement; David Gilbert, a student leader of the New York Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Gilbert Gerena Valentin, Puerto Rican community leader; Joe Martin, one of the McComb, Miss., freedom fighters who first issued a leaflet urging black people to resist going to Vietnam; William Sutherland, speaking for SNCC leader Robert Parris; Chris Koch, formerly of radio station WBAI, who recently returned from North Vietnam; Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace; and Russ Nixon, former general manager of the *National Guardian*.

Leon Davis, president of the Hospital Workers, yielded his speaking time because of the lateness of the hour. Father Philip Berigan was never able to get through the crowd to the platform.

The biggest ovation of the afternoon was extended to David Miller, the young pacifist who faces five years in prison for publicly burning his draft card.

Folksingers who entertained included: Rev. Gary Davis, Len Chandler, Guy Carawan, Tom Paxton, Barbara Dane, Ronnie Gilbert, the Pennywhistlers and Gil Turner.

A high point of the demonstration for this reporter was the sight of a resident of a swank Fifth Avenue apartment standing under a canopy and hysterically shaking his rump at the marchers while a bedecked doorman watched in embarrassed silence.

### Your Help Is Needed

Beginning January 1966, the Post Office requires that we include the zip code number with all subscribers' addresses. If we don't have yours, would you please drop us a card at once. We can't promise it will improve speed of delivery but it will help us avoid unnecessary headaches.



A. J. Muste

### Weekly Calendar

#### CHICAGO

THE CRISIS IN GREECE. Speaker: James Marshall. Fri., Oct. 29, 8 p.m. Debs Hall (204), 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

#### CLEVELAND

THE PAKISTAN-INDIAN WAR. Speaker: Auda Romine. Sun., Oct. 31, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Ausp. Militant Forum.

#### MINNEAPOLIS

BEHIND THE INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR. Speaker: Peter Allen. Fri., Oct. 29, 8:30 p.m. Rm. 240, 704 Hennepin Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

#### NEW YORK

CONFERENCE ON SOCIALISM: At 1 p.m., The Meaning of Coalitionism. Speakers: Stanley Aronowitz and Jack Barnes. At 4:30 p.m., Politics and the Anti-War Movement. Speakers: Irving Beinen and Tom Kerry. SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ELECTION RALLY. At 8:30 p.m. See ad on Page 4.

Saturday, Oct. 30, Central Plaza, 2nd Ave. near 7th St. Registration for the day — \$1.50. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

#### OAKLAND

WHAT PROGRAM FOR THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT? Speaker: Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 5, 8:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5714 San Pablo Ave. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

#### PHILADELPHIA

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: I.B. Tabata, president of the Unity Movement of South Africa. Thursday, Oct. 28, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad and Vine Sts. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Alexander Defense Committee.

#### DETROIT

WHERE IS THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT HEADED? Panelists: Alvin Harrison, field secretary, Northern Student Movement; John Hawslee, chairman, Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Mary Alice Styron, national executive committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 29, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

# Nation-Wide Protest

## Chicago, Ill.

By Dave Weber

CHICAGO — The weekend's antiwar activities here included campus teach-ins, Vietnam seminars, leafleting, and city-wide picketing.

At the University of Chicago, 500 students heard Wayne C. Booth, Dean of the University, say that while the university could not take a position, students should feel free to express themselves. Speaking as an individual, he told the audience that he had grave reservations about U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Paul Booth (no relation), National Secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society, speaking next, said, "We are faced with a government which is unable to learn from its mistakes." Following the rally, some 100 students marched eight miles from the campus to Grant Park where a city-wide rally was held.

At Roosevelt University students began picketing at 9 A.M. in opposition to the war, carrying signs calling for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. They then watched a film entitled "The Magician," which illustrated subtle propaganda techniques used to drum up war spirit. Then, before proceeding to Grant Park, 150 students held a "talk-in" on ways to build a movement opposing the war.

At the University of Illinois, Chicago campus, 200 students heard Stephen Cary of the American Friends Service Committee report on his recent visit to South Vietnam. After the speech and some picketing on campus, demonstrators joined the Grant Park rally, which began at 2 P.M.

Students from many other campuses besides the three mentioned here also attended the Grant Park rally bringing it to a total of 350. Earl Silbar, regional coordinator for the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Todd Gitlan of the Students for a Democratic Society, Dick Flacks, a University of Chicago professor, and Assistant Professor Maxwell Primack of the Illinois Institute of Technology, spoke.

### Marched to Loop

The speakers denounced U.S. aggression in Vietnam and called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. Following their speeches, the protesters marched through the Loop to the major downtown induction center where they picketed and passed out leaflets aimed at new draftees.

Several hours later, about 200 picketers assembled at the Conrad Hilton Hotel to demonstrate against General Maxwell Taylor, one of the architects of U.S. policy in Vietnam, who was there to address the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

## Detroit, Mich.

DETROIT — A teach-in at the Wayne State University campus here, transformed by circumstances and speakers into an anti-Vietnam war rally, almost turned into a battle between antiwar militants and right-wing students on Oct. 15.

The rally, called by the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam, was attended by some 500 students. The rightists, led by the known leader of Wayne's Young Americans for Freedom, attempted to drown out speakers calling for an end to the war, withdrawal of U.S. troops, and support to the colonial revolution.

Main speakers included Carl Haessler of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, who was imprisoned during World War I for his opposition to it; Professor Norman Pollack, a friend of Staughton Lynd from Yale now teaching history at Wayne; Der-

rick Morrison, Young Socialist Alliance; and Al Harrison, Northern Student Movement.

The most militant tone was set by the black speakers. YSA's Morrison explained in broad outline the growing world-wide struggle against imperialism and stressed its anticapitalist nature.

The rightists attempted to drown out Morrison's talk by singing "The Star Spangled Banner"; they continued to hurl epithets at NSM's Harrison who publicly disowned the flag that flies over Dixie courthouses where murderers are let to go free and over strategic hamlets in Vietnam.

### Reasoned Analysis

Prof. Pollack attempted a reasoned analysis of the issues of the war: he pointed out the "internal imperialism" wherein the war drive is hailed for buoying up the economy and establishing a strait-jacket of conformity on the working and student population.

Pollack spoke of the State Department, which "tells us the student protests have not made a dent" in Johnson's ability to escalate the war. But, he added, they tell us this so often that we must realize it is not the case.

The antiwar speakers outlasted the hecklers. The rally lasted from 11:30 a.m. to after 3:30 p.m. and was concluded peacefully.

On Oct. 16, some 100 antiwar pickets demonstrated outside of Ft. Wayne, the induction center for Southeastern Michigan. The picketing, called by the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, continued in the same tenor as the day before. Military police stood between the fence, which kept out the pickets, and the 20 or so inductees present.

A dozen rightists from "Breakthrough" were present, consorted with the police and played "patriotic" songs on a loudspeaker.

## Madison, Wisc.

MADISON, Oct. 16 — The highlight of the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations here this weekend occurred today when about 50 University of Wisconsin students attempted to make a citizens' arrest of the commander of the local Air Force Base. The charge was "acting as accessory to mass murder and genocide."

Air policemen broke up the attempt with billy clubs, dragging 11 students off in police wagons. Their charge was "loitering and obstructing traffic." Hearings are scheduled for Oct. 25.

On Friday, a rally was held at the University Memorial Union. Speakers included Joan Scott, Walter Lippmann and Lester Radke, all students, and there was an impromptu performance by the Mitchell Trio which had given a concert here the previous night.

One of the members of the Mitchell Trio, Joe Frazier, said the unbilled appearance was his group's way of expressing themselves in their attempt to stop the Vietnam war. He said that they had campaigned for Johnson in 1964, but now felt that Johnson had betrayed his campaign promises.

Frazier's statement that "We won't campaign for him again," received a large applause from the audience of about 300. Lippmann and Radke called for a large attendance at the forthcoming November conference in Washington to found a national organization of the antiwar movement.

An unusual panel of four speakers from foreign countries Friday afternoon presented views of American foreign policy. A white professor from South Africa exposed the U.S. support of Verwoerd's fascist apartheid regime, while an Indian student attacked the myth of Chinese expansionism and a Ceylonese student defended the world-wide colonial revolutionary movement.

## Ann Arbor, Mich.

Thirty-nine students and teaching assistants at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor were arrested Oct. 16 at the Selective Service Office for sitting in to protest the war in Vietnam.

The protestors were part of the Ann Arbor Vietnam Committee participating in the International Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam. Earlier in the day there had been a vigil, a rally, and then a march to the Selective Service office where the civil disobedience occurred.

Those participating in the sit-in entered the building at about 3 p.m. More than 200 students picketed outside. The sit-ins were arrested several hours later after they refused to leave the building. Most went limp and were carried out.

The students were charged with trespassing and disorderly conduct, and bail was set at the high figure of \$100.

The vigil that began the demonstrations lasted eight hours and was attended by shifts of protestors. Their signs ranged from "Your silence is creating a graveyard in Vietnam" to "Homecoming for U.S. Troops Now!"

The rally which closed the vigil was addressed by Prof. Richard Mann of the psychology department.

## Cleveland, Ohio

By Rachel Towne

CLEVELAND — The activities in the International Days of Protest here were organized by the Cleveland Vietnam Day Committee, a temporary organization. Events included a Speakout attended by 400, an all-night vigil of 100 persons, and a concluding rally and march to an induction center in downtown Cleveland by 200 demonstrators.

At the Speakout and the picketing of the induction center discussions of the future of the antiwar movement led to the issuing of a call for the formation of a permanent organization to be started next week.

For several days prior to the demonstrations, the local press and radio had attempted to smear the activities and had predicted violence and "organized law-breaking." However, even though rightwing hecklers tried to stir up trouble — for instance by burning the banner at the vigil — turnout at the marches was larger than expected and no serious incidents occurred.

### Noted Speakers

The featured speakers at the Speakout were Dr. Marshall Sahlins, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, who presented a report on his trip to Saigon last summer and Dr. Helen Lamb, Far East specialist, who discussed the history of the National Liberation Front.

Workshops were held on how the United States got involved in Vietnam, the nature of the National Liberation Front, and the program for organizing an effective peace movement in this country. The chairman of these sessions was the noted child-care specialist Dr. Benjamin Spock.

## Seattle, Wash.

SEATTLE — More than 400 people participated in a demonstration protesting American intervention in Vietnam on Oct. 16 — the largest demonstration in Seattle in recent years. It was sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society in conjunction with the national protests.

The demonstrators assembled at the Federal Courthouse and walked six blocks to a mall downtown where a rally was held. The



Photo by Finer

**SMASH PERFORMANCE.** The Bread and Puppet Theater stole the show hands down in New York parade with savagely satirical attack on U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The theater group is winning increasing popularity on the city's Lower East Side with its street performances.

six speakers included a housewife, a student, two ministers and two professors.

The slogans carried ranged from "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam" and "Stop Mass Murder in Vietnam" to "Seek a Humane Solution to Conflict."

Previous plans to have a non-exclusive ad-hoc committee sponsor the march were abandoned when some of the pacifists and liberals in the committee decided less than a week before the 16th that they were not willing to work with more radical groups and individuals.

There was a small counter demonstration near the rally. One of the hecklers threw a cup of red paint at Prof. Paul R. Brass, professor of political science at the University of Washington, while he was addressing the rally.

## Denver, Colo.

DENVER — A rally organized by the Denver Stop the War Committee was held on the grounds of the State Capitol here on Oct. 16 during the International Days of Protest. About 200 people turned out.

A right-wing organization known as "Soldiers of the Cross" tried to disrupt the rally with about two dozen organized hecklers. One of them assaulted Mary Walters, chairman of the committee, who is a victim of polio and uses crutches. The committee's defense of the meeting won the support of a number of onlookers who had previously been indifferent or hostile. They bought antiwar literature on sale at the rally.

Afterwards, 40 participants — about 30 of them from other parts of Colorado — met and decided to set up a state-wide Stop the War Committee. The demonstration raised the enthusiasm of the active participants, who see possibilities of arousing more people.

## Pittsburgh, Pa.

PITTSBURGH — Students for Peace at the University of Pittsburgh organized workshops on the evening of Oct. 15 as their contribution to the International Days of Protest. More than 300 people — mostly students — attended and heard a talk by history professor Robert Colodny. Then they broke up into workshops to discuss the "Historical Significance of the War," "Civil Rights, Democracy and the War," and "How the War Affects Us as Individuals."

On Oct. 16 the Pittsburgh Com-

mittee to End the War in Vietnam sponsored an automobile peace caravan to distribute leaflets and demonstrate at the seven induction centers in Pittsburgh.

## San Jose, Calif.

SAN JOSE, Calif. — The teach-in at San Jose State College on Oct. 15 attracted a crowd of over 300 for the duration of an 11-hour discussion.

Highlighting the speakers list were M. S. Arnoni, editor of the *Minority of One*, and William Mandel, noted Soviet expert. At the close of the protest, 120 people participated in workshops which explored the political, psychological and moral implications of American aggression in Vietnam.

A rally today in downtown San Jose was attended by about 250 persons who heard State Assemblyman William Stanton and other community leaders attack foreign policy.

## Worcester, Mass.

WORCESTER, Mass. — A teach-in at Clark University over the International Days of Protest weekend, here, attracted over 600 people. Some 200 right-wingers attempted to march into the room where the meeting was being held but were turned back by the audience.

The panel of speakers included faculty members, students and civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn. The State Department had been invited to send speakers to defend its position, but none came.

This teach-in, and a demonstration Saturday, were sponsored by the Clark University Campus Peace Committee.

## Lawrence, Kansas

LAWRENCE, Kansas — The University of Kansas sponsored a teach-in here on Oct. 16, attended by over 200 people. A panel of eight professors and graduate students led the discussion on Vietnam.

The most enthusiastic applause was given to a Cuban graduate student who called upon Americans to remember their revolutionary traditions and to support modern-day revolutions against "the old corrupt orders."

Plans are underway to conduct a "Week of Crisis" here Dec. 6, during which General Maxwell Taylor is scheduled to speak at a University Convocation.

# THE MILITANT

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Monday, October 25, 1965

## Significance of Vietnam Protest

Tens of thousands of people across the country joined the largest protests against the Vietnam war to date during the International Days of Protest on Oct. 15 and 16. The coordinated demonstrations were an important blow to the government's dirty war in Vietnam. They raised the enthusiasm and confidence of the participants, and were a big step forward for the antiwar movement.

Demonstrations took place simultaneously in other parts of the world, indicating the potential the movement has to develop on a world-wide scale.

The vicious attacks on the demonstrators by Washington, from Johnson on down, and by influential columnists, such as James Reston of the *New York Times*, and the lies and distortions about the protest actions that the press and television presented, are the best evidence that the demonstrations frightened and upset the government and its supporters. Their reaction is conclusive proof that they do not believe their own claims that antiwar sentiment represents an "insignificant minority."

The vocal opposition to the war is growing. In every city, the only people who came out to oppose the demonstrations were elements of the ultra right. The vast majority of the American people were not hostile to the demonstrations, and are not gripped by any pro-war sentiment, let alone hysteria.

The demonstrations represented a victory for the policy of non-exclusion. In most cities, all those who opposed the war and wanted to demonstrate against it were able to do so together and build the largest possible actions. Many different individuals and organizations, representing a wide spectrum of political views from the more conservative peace organizations to revolutionary socialists, worked together locally to achieve the success.

The next step for the antiwar movement is to consolidate the gains won during the International Days of Protest. The thousands of unorganized demonstrators should be drawn into local and campus committees to end the war in Vietnam. As these committees grow and become consolidated into a functioning national organization, it will become possible to reach more and more of the millions of Americans who are becoming increasingly uneasy about the war.

Everyone opposed to the war should join and help build these committees, and form them where they don't yet exist.

Every committee, whether campus or community, should send delegates to the national convention of the Committees to End the War in Vietnam that has been called for the four-day Thanksgiving weekend starting Nov. 25 in Washington, D.C.

The Washington convention will establish a national organization of the antiwar movement, qualitatively raising its level of national coordination and striking power.

The National Coordinating Committee Against the War in Vietnam is urging all people opposed to the war to attend the convention. For information on accommodations at the national convention write: Washington Committee to End the War in Vietnam, P.O. Box 19249, Washington, D.C. 20036.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

## The Meaning of Coalition Politics

STANLEY ARONOWITZ, editor, *Studies on the Left*  
JACK BARNES, nat'l chrm., *Young Socialist Alliance*

1 p.m.

## Politics and the Anti-War Movement

IRVING BEINEN, chrm., *Mobilization for Peace Action*  
TOM KERRY, editor, *International Socialist Review*

4:30 p.m.

## Socialist Workers Party Election Rally

CLIFTON DeBERRY, candidate for mayor  
JOSE FUENTES, independent candidate for assembly  
BILLY KOCHIYAMA, chrm., *Students Against Social Injustice*  
RALPH LEVITT, *Young Socialist Alliance*

At 8:30 p.m.

SATURDAY, OCT. 30 starting 1 p.m.

Central Plaza, 2nd Ave. (near 7th St.)

Registration fee for entire day — \$1.50

Ausp. *Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party*

# Malcolm X Speaks

With one exception, the new book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, consists of speeches and statements made between March, 1964, when Malcolm left the Black Muslims, and February, 1965, when he was assassinated. The exception is the first speech in the book, "Message to the Grass Roots," which was given to a militant conference in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963. This was one of Malcolm's last speeches as a Black Muslim, but in it he was already beginning to express ideas (on black nationalism, separation and revolution) that had a different emphasis from the orthodox Black Muslim line. Later, after leaving the Black Muslims, Malcolm developed ideas different, on some points, than the ones expressed in this speech.

Installment 1

## MESSAGE TO THE GRASS ROOTS

We want to have just an off-the-cuff chat between you and me, us. We want to talk right down to earth in a language that everybody here can easily understand. We all agree tonight, all of the speakers have agreed, that America has a very serious problem. Not only does America have a very serious problem, but our people have a very serious problem. America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here.

And every time you look at yourself, be you black, brown, red or yellow, a so-called Negro, you represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you're not wanted. Once you face this as a fact, then you can start plotting a course that will make you appear intelligent, instead of unintelligent.

## Forget Differences

What you and I need to do is learn to forget our differences. When we come together, we don't come together as Baptists or Methodists. You don't catch hell because you're a Baptist, and you don't catch hell because you're a Methodist. You don't catch hell because you're a Methodist or Baptist, you don't catch hell because you're a Democrat or a Republican, you don't catch hell because you're a Mason or an Elk, and you sure don't catch hell because you're an American; because if you were an American, you wouldn't catch hell. You catch hell because you're a black man. You catch hell, all of us catch hell, for the same reason.

So we're all black people, so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, ex-slaves. You're nothing but an ex-slave. You don't like to be told that. But what else are you? You are ex-slaves. You didn't come here on the Mayflower. You came here on a slave ship. In chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken. And you were brought here by the people who came here on the Mayflower, you were brought here by the so-called Pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. They were the ones who brought you here.

We have a common enemy. We have this in common: We have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we all realize that we have a common enemy, then we unite — on the basis of what we have in common. And what we have foremost in common is that enemy — the white man. He's an enemy to all of us. I know some of you all think that some of them aren't enemies. Time will tell.

In Bandung back in, I think, 1954, was the first unity meeting in centuries of black people. And once you study what happened at



Excerpted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Price \$5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

the Bandung conference, and the results of the Bandung conference, it actually serves as a model for the same procedure you and I can use to get our problems solved. At Bandung all the nations came together, the dark nations from Africa and Asia.

Some of them were Buddhists, some of them were Muslims, some of them were Christians, some were Confucianists, some were atheists. Despite their religious differences, they came together. Some were communists, some were socialists, some were capitalists — despite their economic and political differences, they came together. All of them were black, brown, red or yellow.

The number-one thing that was not allowed to attend the Bandung conference was the white man. He couldn't come. Once they excluded the white man, they found that they could get to-

gether. Once they kept him out, everybody else fell right in and fell in line. This is the thing that you and I have to understand. And these people who came together didn't have nuclear weapons, they didn't have jet planes, they didn't have all of the heavy armaments that the white man has. But they had unity . . .

They realized all over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man; where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man. So they got together on this basis — that they had a common enemy.

And when you and I here in Detroit and in Michigan and in America who have been awakened today look around us, we too realize here in America we all have a common enemy, whether he's in Georgia or Michigan, whether he's in California or New York. He's the same man — blue eyes and blond hair and pale skin — the same man. So what we have to do is what they did. They agreed to stop quarreling among themselves. Any little spat that they had, they'd settle it among themselves, go into a huddle — don't let the enemy know that you've got a disagreement.

Instead of airing our differences in public, we have to realize we're all the same family. And when you have a family squabble, you don't get out on the sidewalk. If you do, everybody calls you uncouth, unrefined, uncivilized, savage. If you don't make it at home, you settle it at home; you get in the closet, argue it out behind closed doors, and then when you come out on the street, you pose a common front, a united front. And this is what we need to do in the community, and in the city, and in the state. We need to stop airing our differences in front of the white man, put the white man out of our meetings, and then sit down and talk shop with each other. That's what we've got to do.

Next week: **What is a Revolution?**

## 1,500 Pickets Mass at U.S. Consulate In Toronto to Protest Vietnam War

TORONTO, Canada — Over 1,500 Torontonians joined demonstrations across America in protest against the war in Vietnam on Oct. 16. Crowds which assembled at two separate points marched with colorful banners and placards to join forces with citizens of the United States and picket the U.S. Consulate General for an hour. They then joined with the U.S. picketers in the mall across the consulate in An Assembly of Unrepresented People in Exile.

The assembly was called, in the words of the U.S. delegation's spokesman, because "we are unrepresented, not only are we being ignored, we are also deliberately being misunderstood."

This demonstration with its main theme of *Stop the War in Vietnam, Withdraw U.S. Troops* was the most impressive since the one climaxing the week-long demonstrations last spring in front of the consulate in solidarity with the Negro struggles in Selma. In some ways it was more significant for it was not merely directed against the American power structure, but against the Canadian government for complicity in it.

This was clearly spelled out at the assembly held in the new city hall square by the Toronto International Vietnam Day Committee. About 200 persons there enthusiastically passed a resolu-

tion acknowledging "the full complicity of the Canadian government in this war despite the pretense of its impartiality on the International Control Commission." This was highlighted by Art Young, speaking for the League for Socialist Action, who condemned the Pearson government for its recently announced intention of training and equipping a mounted police force for the venal U.S. puppet regime in Saigon.

While the full unity of Toronto anti-Vietnam war forces sought by the Toronto International Vietnam Day Committee was not realized until the fusion of forces at the Consulate, the demonstration was significant in this respect too. For the first time in decades all tendencies were invited to participate, to march with their own banners, to display their own slogans, and freely circulate their literature. The Student Union for Peace Action, which claims a monopoly on the University of Toronto campus activities, withdrew from the committee, followed by the Communist Party, until finally it called its own rally of about the same size as the TIVDC rally.

TIVDC was supported by the Toronto Peace Center, the Young Socialist Forum, the Progressive Workers Movement, the League for Socialist Action and leading members of the New Democratic Youth.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

# Escalation Accelerated

By Dick Roberts

OCT. 18 — "The war is an American Marine setting fire to a hut because it looks like Vietcong headquarters. It is American paratroopers abusing a village chief because they don't have interpreters to explain his importance. More than anything else, it is the bombing." With these few sentences, *New York Times* reporter Jack Langguth summarized what he saw as the basic change which had taken place in Vietnam during his year's tour of duty there which ended last month.

Written to be printed in the Sept. 19 *New York Times* magazine section, Langguth's article was distributed Oct. 17, a month later, because of the *New York* newspaper strike. Since Langguth's article was written, events serve to reinforce his impression:

• American troop commitment has increased by 20,000 and is in the process of increasing even more greatly. In mid-September the level was the 125,000 figure Johnson announced last July as the top limit which he would not exceed without "consulting" the American public. Now the level is 145,000, with plans to have 200,000 troops in Vietnam by the end of the year.

• According to Hanson W. Baldwin, the *New York Times* military specialist, the American military is revamping its training apparatus to speed up the process of getting troops to Vietnam. "The total average training load — nationwide — will go up to 150,000 from 105,000," Baldwin wrote Oct. 14. For the fiscal year 1966 (beginning July 1), he states, the Army will increase the number of trainees from 195,000 to 408,000.

• The December draft call of 45,224 is the biggest since the Korean war, with the Marines issuing their first draft call in many years. On Oct. 13, 150,000 members of the Army National Guard and Army Reserves were "semi-mobilized" for "speed training."

• Since Sept. 19, the number of saturation bombing raids by the 30 Guam-based B-52s has doubled in number, and plans have been made to prepare 200 additional B-52s for this deadly mission.

• American casualties were listed Oct. 14 as 831 dead, 4,259 wounded and 76 missing. This is almost double the total number of 2,720 casualties listed July 12.

In this month-old article, Langguth speculated about the future of American commitment in Vietnam. Suppose, he suggested, "American pilots fan out over the country each day on hundreds of missions. They bomb huts, afterward described as 'structures' and they kill Vietnamese, afterward described as 'Communists.'"

Offers Repairs

"In the meantime," Langguth continued to imagine, "the American Government prepares to send tens of thousands of soldiers to storm the enemy territory. When the bombs have blasted the people into submission and the infantrymen control the country, the United States will be prepared to repair the damage it has done."

The trouble with Langguth's speculation is that it is not a

## Victims of B-52 Bomb Strike

When the largest U.S. military ground troop movement of the Vietnamese War ended near Anke, South Vietnam, Oct. 12, the word from command headquarters was: "Enemy disposition — withdrawn to the west." What it meant was that the week-long effort, accompanied by extensive prior saturation bombing of the area, had not encountered the alleged 325th North Vietnamese Division.

Despite the apparent failure of the nearly-division strong U.S. force, an Oct. 13 AP dispatch from Anke had this sidelight to add about the operation: "When the stunned survivors collected their wits they found two dead children, one critically wounded, two others and the mother cut badly . . ."

"The family had the misfortune to live in a rice paddy on the fringe of an area where the U.S. and Vietnamese forces launched their biggest operation of the war Sunday.

"They were the apparent victims of a U.S. B-52 bomb strike . . . When troops from the 1st Cavalry division moved in after the bombing and artillery bombardment, they found the battered family. A medic, Pfc. Donnie Rutherford . . . administered aid [to the wounded child] . . ."

"That's a brave little kid," Rutherford said.

"Damn it," said the lieutenant, "I had a guy shot through the rear end by a sniper this morning and we joked about it. Said he'd gotten the million-dollar wound and would go home now. You expect to see a soldier get shot and maybe killed. That's what we get paid for. But a little kid like that. I can't take that."

fantasy. The cold hard fact is that Washington has decided to bomb the Vietnamese people into submission and to occupy their country with tens of thousands of U.S. troops. For the time being, apparently, this policy is to be carried out behind the backs of the American people.

While Johnson has been procrastinating about that report he promised in July concerning the troop increase, there's another item the White House has been noticeably silent about: the decision not to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the war. Here's what *Wall Street Journal* correspondent William Beecher had to say about this, Oct. 14:

High-Level Boys

"All around Washington are high-level planners who predict that the war is to be settled, not around the conference table, but more likely by the unilateral disengagement of Communist forces from battle. It is this infinitely more desirable prospect that has made the talk of negotiations subside."

"Until recently," Beecher continued, "the Communists might have gained representation in a Saigon coalition government. This would have legitimized the Communist Party, the only well-organized cohesive political force in South Vietnam . . . But the mood of the Saigon government today,

flushed with recent victories, is said to be unalterably opposed to any coalition government."

About this flush of victories, the close reader of the news might have some question. The largest U.S. military operation of the war to date, supposedly of divisional strength, ended Oct. 12 without encountering the enemy, with the capture of several families, and the murder of children (see adjoining box).

Candid Explanation

Be that as it may, there is still the question why Washington used to talk about negotiations when, according to Beecher's report, this would have given the "Communist forces" the upper hand. Beecher offers the following candid explanation:

"The negotiation chant served administration designs quite well. It helped quiet criticism, both domestic and foreign about our 'militaristic' policy in Vietnam. And at a time when we were launching a mammoth buildup of combat forces, constant talk of negotiations also served to allay the fears of Hanoi, Peking and Moscow about an ultimate U.S. invasion of the north . . ."

Lest we be lulled into believing that Johnson's negotiation offers were insincere, Beecher advises, "For such benefits as these, some lip service to negotiations ought to continue . . ."

# "TO DIE IN MADRID"

By Arthur Maglin

*To Die in Madrid* is a feature-length documentary about the Spanish Civil War. It is not often that documentary films rise above the level of being merely "interesting" or "educational." *To Die in Madrid* is an exception.

This is not to say that the film is not interesting and educational — it most certainly is. But it is much more than that — it is an artistic masterpiece.

One function of art is the communication of feeling. For this function the art of film provides an especially effective vehicle. Unfortunately, the potentialities of this art are seldom actualized — in documentaries almost never. This is what makes *To Die in Madrid* so notable an achievement — it stands head and shoulders above so much dross.

The hopes and aspirations of the Spanish people in their struggle to put down Franco's fascist rebellion are contrasted with the Falange's morbid sloganeering ("Long Live Death!"). The hero-

ism of the International Brigades that came to the aid of Republican Spain is contrasted with the German Luftwaffe's blitzkrieg bombing of Spanish cities.

The facts of the struggle of 1936-39 emerge powerfully and often heart-rendingly. The moment of the first blitzkrieg is lifted out of the realm of dry fact and is made a moment of pure agony. This intense level of emotional involvement is maintained throughout the film. At no point does the film let go of you. It never gets dull.

Weapons Test

We feel it when we see Hitler and Mussolini using their alliance with Franco to callously test out new weapons and techniques of war, just as Kennedy and Johnson have done in Vietnam.

Madeleine Chapsal's narrative text remains objective without being dispassionate. John Gielgud, Irene Worth, William Hutt and George Gonneau present the narration. They never let themselves

# N.Y. Socialist Nominees Appear on TV and Radio

NEW YORK — Despite customary efforts at the "silent" treatment, the Socialist Workers ticket is making itself heard and seen on radio and television. The Federal Communications Act is supposed to guarantee equal time to all candidates for the same office, but the SWP has found that it requires the most vigorous efforts to secure even a part of the time it is legally entitled to. But it has succeeded in this field to a good degree in this campaign, thanks in good measure to the tireless and effective efforts of Campaign Committee member William Martin.

The following are television and radio appearances that are currently scheduled:

SUNDAY, OCT. 24: WNBC TV and radio: Direct Line Show: Hedda Garza from 11 to 11:30 a.m. Peter Camejo from 11:30 to 12 noon.

WCBS-TV (Ch. 2) 1:45 p.m. Peter Camejo.

MONDAY, OCT. 25: WOR radio, Fay Henle Show, 3:15 to 4 p.m., Hedda Garza.



Hedda Garza

TUESDAY, OCT. 26: WNDT-TV (Ch. 13) "Who Speaks for New York?" 8:30 p.m. Clifton DeBerry. WCBS-Radio, Ed Joyce Show, 2:15 to 3 p.m. Clifton DeBerry.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 27: WNDT-TV, 10:30 p.m. Repeat "Who Speaks for New York?" Clifton DeBerry.

MONDAY, OCT. 25 - FRIDAY, OCT. 29: WPIX-TV, 10:30 a.m. and 12:30 p.m. Daily five-minute interviews with Clifton DeBerry.

## Gov't Stooze Has Second Thoughts in Travel-Ban Trial

NEW YORK — Richard D. Riemann, a former undercover agent for the FBI testifying for the federal government in Brooklyn Federal Court Oct. 12, startled the prosecution by renouncing all connection with the Justice Department. Riemann was testifying in the trial of Stephen Martinot, Levi Laub and Anatole Schlosser for defying the State Department's ban on travel to Cuba.

Riemann said, "I renounce all past, paid and unpaid, connection with the FBI and I would add that if there has been any wrongdoing here, it has been the government's."

Two of the defendants, Martinot and Laub, are charged with having "conspired" to organize a trip to Cuba in 1963 and having gone there. This was the first of the two student trips to Cuba. Schlosser is charged only with "conspiring" to organize the trip but not with having gone to Cuba.

Riemann said that on his application to the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, "I pleaded the cause of free travel. And I genuinely meant it. I don't know how I reconciled that with what I was doing for the FBI."

## Right of Asylum Being Sought for Francisco Juliao

Efforts are being made to secure political asylum for Francisco Juliao, the leader of the peasant leagues in northeast Brazil, who was temporarily released from prison on a writ of habeas corpus Sept. 27.

Arrested in June 1964 during the nation-wide witch hunt conducted by the Castelo Branco dictatorship, he was held in chains and repeatedly tortured, according to an editorial in the Sept. 4 *Paris Le Monde*.

The well-known peasant leader is now broken in health and his friends are trying to get him abroad. If they do not succeed, he faces a possible 26-year prison term aside from what might be added to this in several trials he still faces.

Negotiations are now being conducted with Chile, Indonesia and Algeria, according to a dispatch in the Oct. 13 *Le Monde*.

The supreme court released Juliao on the grounds that he was held in prison too long, while charges against him — having to do with his activity in the peasant leagues — were not tested in court. He was temporarily released to face trial on those charges.



Francisco Juliao

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## ANALYSIS OF EVENTS IN JAKARTA

# Military Takes Over in Indonesia

(World Outlook) — The Indonesian revolution has suffered a grave setback. The bourgeois army, while still maintaining Sukarno in nominal power, has taken over control and launched a nationwide witch hunt. Communist Party members are being hounded and arrested. Communist Party papers are being suppressed, its leaders forced underground.

The brunt of this stinging defeat has been suffered by the biggest Communist Party in the capitalist world. It claims 3,000,000 regular members, a People's Youth wing of 3,000,000, and a following of 20,000,000 in mass organizations of the workers, peasants, women, students and people working for the government. How could such a massive political force undergo a mauling at the hands of armed forces totaling 350,000?

It is due to the strategic line of "revolution by stages," of forming blocs and coalitions with the "national bourgeoisie." The Stalinist-educated leadership of the Communist movement in the colonial and semicolonial countries has applied this line again and again since the second Chinese revolution of 1925-27, notwithstanding its tragic results.

In Indonesia, the masses have surged forward repeatedly. Industrial and agricultural wage earners and poor peasants have occupied factories and plantations, seized the holdings of the big landowners, and poured into the streets in great throngs urging a decisive struggle against inflation, exploitation and imperialism. Several times the situation has been propitious for a government of the workers and poor peasants to take power.

## Applied Brakes

But each time, the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party, headed by the group of chairman D. N. Aidit, has put the brakes on the mass movement and held the masses prisoner to "Nasakom" — the "national front" of the three main political groupings, the Sukarno Nationalists, the Religious Teachers (a Moslem group), and the Communist Party.

Each time the masses surged forward, the Communist Party sought to channel their militancy against the single target of foreign imperialism, failing to organize systematic, nationwide struggles against the semifeudal landowners, the money lenders, rich merchants, and corrupt administrators of enterprises that serve as seed beds of a new industrial bourgeois class.

In this way the fighting energy



Sukarno

of the masses was not concentrated on the central task of winning power, but was split up and dispersed into numerous partial actions.

Meanwhile the bourgeois army, the center of the counter-revolutionary forces, quietly strengthened by American imperialism and beefed up with shipments of armament sent by the Soviet bureaucracy, sought to increase its popularity and its political standing by staging easy "successes" against imperialism, as in West Irian and North Kalimantan, biding its time to turn against the revolutionary mass movement.

It is true that in recent months the Aidit leadership made a shift to the left, radicalizing its orientation somewhat. Aidit even called for arming of the workers and peasants.

But he did not call upon the masses to arm themselves. He asked Sukarno to arm them. Sukarno, of course, gave this appeal the brush off.

Finally, on Sept. 25, only a few days before the attempted coup of the "September 30 Movement" which precipitated the present situation, Aidit told the masses to act boldly against the "bureaucratic capitalists," and to take control of the former imperialist enterprises which had been confiscated or nationalized.

The shift came too late. "Bung (Brother) Karno" cannot be praised day in and day out without sowing immense confusion among the masses and disorienting them in the problem of win-

ning power. It is impossible to remain silent year after year about the reactionary danger represented by the army without paving the way for the masses to be taken by surprise when the reactionary generals finally decide that the time has come to strike.

The hesitant and wavering attitude of the Aidit leadership stood out starkly during the decisive week of the army coup. Not a single appeal, not a single indication of what to do, not a single list of slogans of action was issued by the Indonesian Communist Party to the masses of workers and peasants. They were left leaderless in face of the enemy. Confused by the contradictions in past policies, abandoned by their leaders in the hour of greatest peril, they stood stunned as the generals brought the sword down.

## Still Unclear

The role played by the left-wing army officers under Lt. Col. Untung is not yet clear. It is possible that these officers, informed about the impending coup being prepared by the reactionary generals, sought desperately to throw it off balance by striking first. It is also possible that they actually tried to topple the Sukarno regime through a purely military conspiracy which General Abdul Haris Nasution then seized as a pretext for his own coup.

If the latter hypothesis proves to be the correct one, then it must be listed as a putschist adventure in which a handful of resolute men attempted to substitute for the power of the masses. It is quite wrong to think that an attempted coup d'état by reactionary generals cannot be blocked by a strong mass movement; or that putschists can succeed whereas the masses are doomed to failure. There are many examples in history where powerful mass mobilization, supported by relatively weak popular military formations, have successfully blocked reactionary army circles from taking over a country. This occurred at the time of the attempted Kapp putsch in Germany in 1920. It happened again in Spain in July 1936. The latest instance was in the Dominican Republic.

The best response is a powerful general strike which paralyzes the enemy, throws him into confusion, forces him to divide and dissipate his forces, giving the labor movement a breathing spell in which to arm the workers and peasants and thereby prepare a truly effective counterblow against the reactionary threat.

## Old Pattern

But the responsibility for the Untung putsch — if it turns out to have been a putsch — must be laid squarely on the Aidit leadership. It is the old pattern: opportunism breeds adventurism. It is probable that inside the Indonesian Communist Party, a left wing became more and more impatient with the wavering, opportunist policies of the Aidit leadership. Under pressure of the constantly rising tension between classes and political forces in recent months, certain elements in this left wing might very well have thought of turning to direct action as a possible way out.

Feeling that a reactionary coup d'état could occur at any time, they might have despaired of convincing the party cadres and members of the danger before it was too late. Miseducated as to the real potential of mass action, lacking confidence in their capacity to mobilize the masses — if necessary against the Aidit leadership — they might have thought that the situation could be saved through some kind of short cut.

Whatever the facts — and these are not easy to determine as yet — the opportunism of the Aidit leadership stands at the center of the

setback dealt to the Indonesian revolution. And the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the pro-Mao tendency in the world Communist movement likewise bear heavy co-responsibility.

In several documents, the Chinese Communist Party leadership has correctly criticized the opportunist policy of the Thorez and Togliatti leaderships in the French and Italian Communist parties, the servile subservience to the "national" bourgeoisie which led the Iraqi Communist Party and the Dange leadership of the Indian Communist Party to heavy defeats.

But in gross contradiction to these criticisms, the Mao leadership placed a rubber stamp of approval on the opportunist policies of the Aidit group inside the Indonesian Communist Party.

This course was linked to the diplomatic maneuvers with which the Chinese government sought to counter the blockade of American imperialism and the hostile moves of the Soviet bureaucracy against the Chinese revolution. To seek friendly relations with bourgeois governments like those headed by Sukarno or Ayub Khan in Pakistan is not at all wrong in and of itself. A workers state has a perfect right and even duty to seek to maneuver among its bourgeois enemies and to take advantage of their differences. The Soviet government in the days of Lenin and Trotsky did this at the time of the Rapallo treaty.

## Impermissible

What is impermissible — it is one of the products of Stalinist miseducation and degeneration — is to identify the needs and prerogatives of the government of a workers state with the political needs of the world revolution which are expressed on a party level. To confuse the two, converts the party into a mere instrument of the government with its passing diplomatic needs, and tears the heart and brains out of Marxist political policy. Even Marxist theory becomes reduced to the role of apologizing for each twist and turn in the field of governmental diplomacy.

Thus when the Soviet government in the time of Lenin and Trotsky signed a temporary pact at Rapallo with German imperialism against "Allied" imperialism, the Communist International did not stop calling for and seeking to help organize the overthrow of German imperialism through a proletarian revolution. The Communist International did not stop calling the rulers of Germany what they actually were — ferocious capitalist exploiters of their own workers.

But in Mao's deals with Sukarno and Ayub Khan, all the radical words about "uninterrupted revolution" are forgotten. These representatives of exploiting classes and butchers of striking workers are pictured as "progressive national leaders." A veil is drawn over the class nature of their regimes; debilitating illusions are sown about the possibility of creating a "bloc of newly emerging forces" against world imperialism.

## 'Peaceful Evolution'

This opportunist policy is not fundamentally different from the treacherous, revisionist line of Khrushchevism in the colonial and semicolonial countries with its gross illusions about "peaceful evolution," "national democratic states" and "noncapitalist forms of development" that still cannot be said to be moving in a socialist direction.

In Indonesia, Aidit appears only as a "left" variant of Khrushchevist opportunism. The Chinese Communist Party leaders who have covered up for all his opportunism



Chou En-lai

and invested him with all the tremendous authority they have among the Asian workers and poor peasants as a result of the victory of the Chinese revolution, today share the responsibility for the defeat in Indonesia.

The defeat in Indonesia will not prove to be an enduring one. An important battle was lost but reaction is not definitively in the saddle. Experience since the end of the second world war has proved that the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semicolonial countries has been able to quite rapidly forge again to the forefront after suffering partial defeats.

This recuperative power is due primarily to the objective conditions; i.e., the incapacity of neocolonialism and the national bourgeoisie to assure even temporary improvements in the abysmal living conditions of the millions upon millions of exploited colonial slaves.

## Learning Well

These slaves are learning the power of revolt; and it takes more than a temporary defeat to force them back into numb acceptance of an intolerable existence.

The 3,000,000 adult Communists, 3,000,000 Communist youth and 20,000,000 members of mass organizations in Indonesia have not been crushed. They are only temporarily thrown off balance and left leaderless. They are certain to rally, resume their struggle and compel reaction to retreat.

Their struggle will continue until the most conscious and critical Communist militants, united with the Indonesian Trotskyist cadres, forge a revolutionary party capable of leading the working class and peasantry upon the only road to victory — the road to the conquest of power, the establishment of a workers and farmers government, the road of Fidel Castro, of Lenin and Trotsky, the road of the permanent revolution.

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## U. S. Aggression in Vietnam Protested in Many Countries

Protest demonstrations against U.S. aggression in Vietnam were held in many European cities during the International Days of Protest of Oct. 15 and 16. The largest foreign demonstrations were held earlier in the week in Japan.

Some of the demonstrations were reported in the *New York Times* of Oct. 17. The *Times* underplayed the size of U.S. demonstrations, so its figures should be taken with a grain of salt.

### An African Document:

## UNITY

### The Road to Freedom In South Africa

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It reported some 1,500 marched on the American Embassy in London chanting "Out of Vietnam." About 2,000 marched in Rome. In Brussels a militant demonstration estimated by police at about 900, carrying National Liberation Front flags, shouted slogans such as "Johnson Assassin."

Demonstrators in Copenhagen presented petitions against the war to the American Embassy. Police in Stockholm attacked about 300 young protesters at the American Embassy.

On Oct. 11 a huge demonstration was held in Tokyo protesting both U.S. actions in Vietnam and the pending treaty between Japan and South Korea. The Oct. 13 *Times* estimated the size at more than 35,000. The demonstration was led by the Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Japan Unions. This was one of a series of demonstrations in Japan that included at least one teach-in during the International Days of Protest.

# 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.]

## Bread and Puppet Theater

New York, N.Y.

To me, the most effective part of the New York march against the Vietnamese War, was the demonstration of the Bread and Puppet Theater. It was one of the most moving — and disturbing! — protests against the war I have ever seen in a parade.

I hope you have pictures of their masks and costumes in the paper, but it might have been difficult to catch the whole effect in a still photo. Leading the Bread and Puppet demonstration was a giant, hideous thick-lipped Uncle-Sam-like figure with a fat cigar and a "All the Way with LBJ" but-

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**CRUCIAL ISSUE BETWEEN UNIONS AND CORPORATIONS POSED IN INDIANA STRIKE** — The eyes of the most conscious representatives of capital and labor are focused on New Castle, Hagerstown and Richmond, Indiana, where the strike-bound Perfect Circle Corporation has resumed operations with scabs under National Guard protection after police and company thugs had shot down peaceful CIO United Automobile Workers pickets.

"The strike's significance spreads far beyond the boundaries of these three small Indiana towns," writes the *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 18. And, this spokesman for the Wall Street money sharks adds, some businessmen regard Perfect Circle, "as the leader of a crusade, fighting for the workers' right to hold a job without belonging to a union." — Oct. 24, 1955.

## 20 Years Ago

**20,000 WORKERS IN LOS ANGELES PICKET FASCIST SMITH'S MEETING** — More than 20,000 workers, veterans, servicemen, and youth of every race, creed and color, last night picketed fascist Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith's meeting here at the John H. Francis Polytechnic High School for three hours in the most powerful demonstration of antifascist solidarity in America since the Trotskyist-led 1939 action against the Nazi Bund rally at Madison Square Garden in New York . . .

Afraid to face the singing, chanting, banner-bearing mass of workers before the entrance to the auditorium, the would-be fuhrer Smith, his two bodyguards, two plain-clothesmen, and their companions sneaked into the building through a dark and unpicketed rear entrance to address a mixed audience of less than a thousand, which included many unsympathetic observers as well as the "Ham and Eggers" of Willis Allen's Payroll Guarantee Association which sponsored the meeting.

The attendance represented a sharp drop from the 5,000 at Smith's last meeting here in July, and decreased, at least for the present, the usefulness to Big Business of this spouter of anti-labor, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro viciousness as a fascist organizer of storm troops. — Oct. 27, 1945.

ton on his lapel.

He was followed by tall hooded gray figures with bowed heads marked "Vietnam." Then came a troupe of marchers in gray skull masks, led by a drummer, singing patriotic songs including the Marine Corps Hymn. This troupe was followed by more tall, weird figures which seemed to represent death.

Last was another troupe in battle-color grotesque helmets carrying symbolic instruments of war and making strange sounds. When these figures were booed by the right-wingers along the sidelines, they answered the "criticism" with honk-like sounds.

Many of us probably owe belated applause to the Bread and Puppet Theater. When I saw them at the march I was struck silent.

E.S.

## Freedom Labor Union Report

New York, N.Y.

The following is the most recent of a series of letters I have received from Marks, Miss., since my stay there the summer before last. I hope that you can find space to publish at least part of it and that some of your readers will be able to help.

\* \* \*

The Union is growing fast now. There are 193 members in this local. A lot of them are in places like Tutwiler, where last October of 1964 the people were still so scared that they backed off down alleys so they wouldn't be seen near a civil rights worker.

The big demand that has everybody excited is the demand for \$1.25 an hour. The Union started when all over the delta this spring the wage for chopping cotton was lowered from \$3.00 to \$2.00 a day. That was all the people could take. One lady here tells me people ought to think of folks here, just barely living, when they buy a shirt.

The loss of the challenge has made people feel that the Federal Government, which they thought of as their protector, is against them. Now they want to know where can they go?

Though there is little physical violence against the Movement here, there is some talk of starting a group of Deacons here, I think just for the feeling of being armed against the white power structure — because they feel so helpless to reach it otherwise.

On the other hand, there are people who are starting to ask lots of questions now about the whole economic and political structure — a lot deeper and more radical than I would have thought possible a year ago.

I think that the Movement is a lot more real and important to people here than it was a year ago. There are still some petty quarrels and divisions among the people here, but not only do they feel more unity with other Negroes, but also with groups like students at the University of Oklahoma trying to organize for higher wages for student employes. There is not even much resentment of the Mexicans who have been brought here from Texas to take jobs on at least one plantation from the Negroes. There is a lot of resentment at the man who brought them here, but most people recognize that the Mexicans are poor people like themselves.

Not everybody has gotten this far, but the progress people have

made on their own is amazing.

We need money for a strike fund, if we are ever to have a strike. The amount of U.S. Agriculture Commodities available here is limited and it's hard to get on Welfare. The people have given, and given, and given, and they are so damn poor that they still just can't keep up with the bills.

If you or anyone you know can help at all please send any money or supplies to:

Rev. L. C. Coleman  
511 Cotton Street  
Marks, Mississippi.

R.M.

## Appreciative

Boston, Mass.

Enclosed is my subscription renewal. As a reader I am indebted for the knowledge I get from your paper.

M.R.

## Favors India-Pakistan War

Brooklyn, N.Y.

George Novack is somewhat confused (your issue of Oct. 10). He calls the struggle between India and Pakistan "a war nobody wants." If nobody wanted it there would be no war.

## Every Little Bit Helps

Chicago, Ill.

The enclosed copy of an airmail postcard to President Johnson represents my puny effort in behalf of peace. However, if we all exerted even a puny effort, maybe Washington, D.C., might get the message.

Expect to participate in Chicago peace demonstration, also in the "reception" committee for Gen. Taylor!

\* \* \*

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON:

The American people do NOT support the administration's foreign policy as the demonstrations of tens of thousands (organized hastily and without appreciable financial support) have shown.

It is not cowardice to oppose military service if one's principles are violated. The Nuremberg trials have set a precedent and laid down decisions which the world will honor.

American soldiers are NOT expendable. They shall not serve as mercenary soldiers for every fanatic anti-Communist tyrant in Asia. The people wish to live in PEACE!

Nellie De Schaaf

R.E.J.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Voice of Experience** — Fulgenio Batista, ex-dictator of Cuba, told newsmen that Fidel Castro would be hard to overthrow and that Che Guevara would prove a difficult man to catch. He assumes Guevara is out "promoting more problems."

**Oops!** — Two nuclear submarines collided while submerged near Honolulu. Navy spokesmen said there were no injuries and little damage. They're going to investigate.

**Most Likely Story of the Week** — Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann, who originally enunciated the Johnson administration's policy of supporting dictators in Latin America as soon as they come to power, has a new version of the Dominican events. In an Oct. 12 speech he asserted that the original intention was to pull the Marines out as soon as U.S. citizens were evacuated. It was only after they got there, he said with a straight face, that they discovered the "imminent peril" of a "Communist" takeover and decided to stay.

**Book Notice** — Putnam is publishing "Man of Honor, Man of Peace: The Life and Words of Adlai Stevenson." Wonder if it will include that UN speech at the time of the invasion of Cuba where he eloquently denied the U.S. had anything to do with it.

**Deliberate Speed** — Dr. Pauli Murray, Negro educator, says women should be ready to march on Washington to win enforcement of the new statute barring discrimination against women in hiring. Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., who is in charge of administering it, replied that the statute had been added to the Civil Rights Act by Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia to "create ridicule and confusion" and that Congress hadn't really considered the measure before adopting it. Mr. Roosevelt said enforcement of the law should proceed "gradually."

**Price List** — An inmate of the Dade County jail told a board of inquiry in Miami that prisoners can buy a pint of whiskey or a hacksaw blade for \$5. For an unspecified price, he said, detectives will take prisoners out for a rendezvous with a girl friend, and for \$10,000 a prisoner can buy his way to freedom. The inquiry began after reports that a man wanted in a jewel robbery had bought his way out of jail for \$35,000.

**Free World Guardians** — A Dallas enterprise announced in a *Wall Street Journal* ad production of a compact military rifle. It said "the mass production of this rifle will make the weapon available to the Free World at a remarkably low cost" and that after conferring "with military and political leaders throughout the Free World," company spokesmen "became convinced of the urgent need for such a weapon in countries faced with communist aggression. These businessmen believe the mass production of the rifle can help strengthen the Free World against future aggression, while offering a substantial return to investors."

**Plain-Talk Dep't** — Madison Avenue adman Stephen Dietz told a conference of marketing executives that manufacturers were headed toward a "profit squeeze" because of "today's rising labor costs and decreasing incremental gains in productivity."

**Our Rational Society** — Millions of people around the globe go to bed hungry every night but the U.S. government is now paying farmers \$4 billion a year to limit food production in order to safeguard prices and profits.

**Bright Side** — We were perked up by a letter in the St. Petersburg, Fla., *Times* which branded "states rights" as "all too often [being] exploited for the benefit of the powerful and the privileged." The writer, John C. Veltman of New Port Richey, Fla., declared: "Soon, this abuse will end, and states rights will be exposed as a shield for criminals in places of power and influence. The United States are not UNITED until the laws of the United States protect the lives and rights of every American citizen in every state."

**In Case You Qualify** — If you can convince the Rolls Royce Company that you're a member of royalty or a head of state, they may sell you one of their special new jobs. Made to order, it will sell for "upwards of \$33,000." A good-sized car, it will run 20 feet long and six feet wide. In addition to the usual Rolls features, it will have such things as a glass window separating chauffeur and passenger, a hood that rolls back to reveal passengers to the public, a motor that raises the rear seat a bit higher and fluorescent lighting for the interior. A police blinker light on the roof is an optional extra. If they included a siren with the blinker it could be handy in city traffic.

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## Thought for the Week

"All this long hair, this lack of decorum . . . Even a worse sign of this, this moral decay . . . is the feeling toward their country. Just a few nights ago I saw a television show . . . and there were scenes of a class where some subversive fellow was giving instructions on ways and means of getting out of service — one of them was to plead homosexuality . . . and these demonstrations about Vietnam: I think they're terrible . . . we are going too far away from the old virtues." — Gen. Eisenhower's view of America today.

## 2,000 Boston Students Stage Commons Rally

BOSTON — About 2,000 protesters joined in the International Days of Protest here. They marched from Harvard, MIT, and Boston University to a rally at the Boston Common where they heard speakers against the war. Some 500 counterpickets heckled them, shouting "All the way with LBJ" and "We want victory," but their shouts only served to inspire the demonstrators to applaud every militant statement against war.

The march, called by the Cambridge Committee to End the War

in Vietnam, was endorsed by 16 groups ranging from the peace section of the American Friends Service Committee to six campus committees against the war and Marxist organizations like the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Advertised speakers for the march included Irving Fishman, State Representative from Newton, Russell Johnson from the American Friends Service Committee, and Noam Chomsky, a professor from MIT. In addition, Judith White, one of the coordinators of the march from the Cambridge Committee, spoke on the present stage of the antiwar movement.

Miss White, who had been red-baited on radio and in the newspapers previous to the march for her membership in the YSA, denounced the attempt by Senator Dodd (D-Conn.) to witch hunt the antiwar protests as "communist controlled."

Miss White pointed out that one of the great strengths of the movement was its nonexclusionist

character, allowing persons of all political tendencies to participate. "We must strive to broaden and deepen the opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam," she said. "We must try to organize this opposition into independent, nonexclusionist committees in communities and on campuses across the country. We must demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and recognize the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their own government."

Today's march was the largest antiwar protest seen in Boston in recent years. Besides the impetus to the antiwar movement given by the march, another outgrowth of the demonstration was the formation of a Greater Boston Coordinating Committee to organize future protests, composed of representatives from all participating groups.

The next project of the Committee will be the organization of buses to go to the Washington convention of antiwar committees in November.

Other speakers were Mary Alice Styron, who is touring the Midwest for the Young Socialist Alliance and speaking on the "Hidden Chapter in the History of the Fight Against War"; Brian Cole of the Students for a Democratic Society, and Joseph Johnson of the Socialist Workers Party.



Photo by Atwood

**PROTEST.** Pacifist David Miller burning draft card during peace rally at New York's Whitehall Induction Center. He was arrested by FBI. For story of rally see page 2.

## 1,000 Picket At City Hall in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA — More than 1,000 people, mostly college and high school students, staged protests against the war in Vietnam during the International Days of Protest here.

On Oct. 15, the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam (PACEWV) held a rally at City Hall. Thousands of commuters watched and listened quietly behind police lines. Staughton Lynd called for Americans to break the travel ban to North Vietnam and rebuild the damage caused by American bombings.

Lynd spoke that evening at the 50th anniversary dinner of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. He condemned the use of university facilities as part of the war effort, referring to the attack by the PACEWV on the Institute for Cooperative Research at the University of Pennsylvania.

The ICR is engaged in chemical and biological research into such fields as spreading epidemic diseases of rice and wheat, influenza, anthrax (a disease of cattle), and spreading from the air arsenic and cyanide compounds which kill by suffocation.

Other speakers at the City Hall rally were Dr. Robert Rutman of the University of Pennsylvania, Russell Stetler of the May 2nd Movement, William Davidson from Haverford College, Aline Berman of Women Strike for Peace, Jarris Turner of the DuBois Clubs, and Robert Martin of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The next day, a picketline of 900 formed at City Hall at noon. Participating in the picketline were PACEWV, Women Strike for Peace, SANE, CNVA, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. After picketing for an hour and a half, 400 demonstrators marched two miles to the Institute for Cooperative Research.

At both the Friday and Saturday rallies, organized defense guards successfully kept order, and were able to prevent any serious incidents, although counter-demonstrators were present.

## 15,000 Marchers In Berkeley, Calif.

By Leslie Evans

BERKELEY, Calif. — Two days of massive protest actions opposing U.S. involvement in Vietnam reached their peak here with a march of about 15,000 through the streets of Berkeley Friday night carrying signs such as "Stop U.S. Aggression!" "Get Out of Vietnam!" and "Uncle Sam is a Murderer!"

The march began at the University of California campus in Berkeley at the close of an all day teach-in, and was scheduled to go through Berkeley and Oakland to the Oakland Army Base, one of the chief points of embarkation for Vietnam on the West Coast, where an all night rally was to be held. The City of Oakland refused to grant the Vietnam Day Committee, the sponsor of the march, a parade permit.

As the marchers, eight and ten abreast and extending in a line thirteen blocks long, approached the Oakland city limits they were met by a cordon of 400 steel helmeted cops brandishing riot sticks and carrying tear gas grenades. (More than 3,600 cops were on active duty assigned to the anti-war demonstration, and the state Governor, Edmund Brown, had called up 700 of the National Guard on stand-by alert to be called in "if necessary.")

As spectators and a group of about 100 right wing "counter demonstrators" filled the gap between the marchers and the police line, the marchers turned off and walked to Constitution Square in Berkeley where they held a rally throughout the night.

### Returned

On Saturday the marchers reassembled 5-6,000 strong and walked back to the Oakland city limits, where they were again stopped by a massed wedge of Oakland cops. At this point members of the right-wing motorcycle gang the "Hell's Angels" shouting "America for Americans," broke through the police cordon and attacked one of the demonstrators.

When the police tried to pull them off, they fought the cops, and broke one policeman's leg. They were hustled to jail and booked on assault charges.

For more than a week prior to the demonstration city and state officials carried out a scare campaign, lashing out at the Vietnam



William Worthy

Day Committee with scathing attacks and thinly veiled threats. This was despite the fact that the Committee had publicly announced that it had no intention of committing civil disobedience or courting arrest as it had tentatively planned earlier in the summer.

Alameda county District Attorney J. Frank Coakley issued a statement that said in part that distributing antiwar leaflets to soldiers at the Oakland Army Base "smacked of treason" and would be punishable under the Espionage Act of 1917.

State Attorney General Thomas Lynch warned that the slightest violation of law would result in "severe criminal penalties" including prosecuting all participants on misdemeanor charges and indicting the leadership for conspiracy. When asked what he would consider an illegal action, he replied: "Marching without a parade permit." The Oakland City Council refused to grant a permit to the march which was then headlined in the papers as an "illegal" demonstration.

Speakers at the rallies included Staughton Lynd, Yale history professor; Robert Scheer, foreign editor of *Ramparts*; M. S. Arnoni of *The Minority of One*; and William Worthy, newsman who recently returned from North Vietnam.

## 2,000 in Los Angeles March Down Hollywood Boulevard

LOS ANGELES — About 2,000 marched several miles down Hollywood Blvd. here on the night of Oct. 15 against the war in Vietnam. The march, organized by the International Days of Protest Committee, wound up with a rally at Sunset and Vine.

A leaflet distributed during the march called for an end to the bombing of North and South Vietnam, withdrawal of troops, a return to the Geneva agreements, self-determination and the reunification of all of Vietnam, and no support to candidates who support the war.

### All Kinds

Included in the march were college students, mothers with babies in their arms, middle-aged couples and a scattering of elderly people. Some of the signs carried were "End the War in Vietnam," "Napalm Burns People, Vietnamese Are People," "They Draft Us, They Don't Ask Us," and "Make Love Not War."

A group of counter-demonstrators, including members of the Joe McCarthy Society and the Young Americans for Freedom, were on hand but there was little heckling.

Earlier on Friday, about 500 students participated in a rally at UCLA campus Hyde Park area.

On Saturday, several hundred members of the International Days of Protest Committee went out to nine areas of the city with leaflets and ballot boxes. They asked people to fill out a ballot with two propositions: 1) There shall be nationwide public discussions of the issues of the Vietnam war including open committee hearings by the U.S. Congress; and 2) There shall be a national vote on U.S. participation in the Vietnam war. Of the thousands who filled out these ballots, the overwhelming majority approved both propositions, although complete returns have not yet been counted.

## 1,000 Join Teach-In at U of Minn.

By Chuck Bolduc

MINNEAPOLIS — A street meeting Oct. 15 and a teach-in Oct. 16 highlighted Minnesota's participation in the International Days of Protest. Over 200 people attended the street meeting in downtown Minneapolis, sponsored by the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

This was the first time in over 20 years that such a meeting has been held in the Twin Cities, and it was conducted in spite of police regulations. The cops informed the committee leaders that it was unlawful to hold such a meeting and that an American flag, three by five feet large, on a nine-foot pole was necessary.

The police had refused to communicate information on regulations prior to the meeting, so the committee read the law to the audience and continued the meeting.

Saturday evening, Oct. 16, over 1,000 people gathered at the University of Minnesota for the teach-in, also sponsored by the Minnesota Committee. Speakers included Carl Weiner, Professor of History at Carleton College, and Fred Stover, National Chairman of the U.S. Farm Association.

Other speakers were Mary Alice Styron, who is touring the Midwest for the Young Socialist Alliance and speaking on the "Hidden Chapter in the History of the Fight Against War"; Brian Cole of the Students for a Democratic Society, and Joseph Johnson of the Socialist Workers Party.



Photo by Alexander

ON BOSTON COMMON demonstrators, mostly students, marched from Harvard, MIT and Boston University for rally at historic free speech area in downtown Boston. Protest was organized by many groups on non-exclusionist basis.