

WORKERS WORLD

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Will Thailand Be The Next Vietnam

U.S.-Bangkok Expand Martial Law; Thai Patriotic Front Invincible

By PETER STORCH

The guerrilla war in Thailand has brought the U.S.-puppet regime in Bangkok to near panic as the Thai government declared martial law on Dec. 1 in five southern and central provinces, including one very close to Bangkok.

The decree allows the military and police to arrest persons at will and also to evacuate entire villages and herd their people into Vietnam-style "hamlets" (concentration camps). Martial law has been in force for several years already in seven other provinces in northeast Thailand, where the revolutionary guerrilla movement originated the armed struggle against the Bangkok military clique.

Guerrillas, led by the Patriotic Front of Thailand, struck government forces hard in recent months in Prachuapkirikan Province, 150 miles south of Bangkok. In August, a police convoy was ambushed and five policemen were killed. A month later, a few miles away, guerrillas attacked a second convoy and killed all 10 officers and men. The neo-fascist generals have now moved a whole battalion of the First Army Division to the province to prevent any further defeats at the hands of the guerrilla army.

Three of the provinces now under martial law are within 60 miles of Bangkok. And it is now admitted that out of Thailand's 71 provinces, guerrillas are now waging battles in 27.

The crisis has hit the U.S. lackeys in Thailand just three weeks after they announced that 10,000 Thai troops would be sent to Vietnam. At the same time the U.S. has announced a further step toward turning Thailand into a U.S. fortress by "promising" the generals air-defense missiles worth approximately \$50 million.

Thailand has been used as a giant airbase for bombing raids over Vietnam and Laos. In the northeast the U.S. has built airbases in Korat Province, Ubol Province, Udon Province, Khon-kaen Province, and Nakorn Phanom

Province. All these airfields have ten thousand-foot runways especially suited for the large heavy bombers. The airfield in Korat also has a rocket launching site and a huge armory. Besides, U.S. general logistical headquarters is located there, providing supplies and ammunition sufficient for 125,000 to 160,000 troops.

In Central Thailand, the U.S. military have established airbases in Uta-pao, Takli, and Don Muang, the latter being in the province of Bangkok. The Uta-pao base is for B-52 heavy bombers

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CLEVELAND DEFENSE GUARD for Stop-the-Draft Week, with plywood signs. Selective Service didn't have any induction for one day of the year. See story, page 3.

Anti-Draft Fighters Brave Police In Week of Struggle

Militant Youth Had to Dodge Cops' Horses, Clubs, And Contend With False Line of NY Leaders, Too

(See Pages 4-7 for Analysis and Comment)

Stop the Draft week, Dec. 4-8, made a tremendous impact on the whole country. It actually stopped the draft for a time in some areas, slowed it down a little in some others, but above all, the action-studded week publicized

the injustice of the draft and the injustice of the war, by going "from dissent to resistance" at the draft centers, themselves.

In New York City, with several thousand participating, in spite of an inadequate leadership that virtually collaborated with the Lindsay administration and the police, the magnificent action virtually turned the city upside down.

The anti-war youth aroused sympathy of thousands. Onlookers watched the demonstration with curiosity and many clapped or gave the V-sign in support. Hostility, much exaggerated in the press, generally withered in the face of the youth's militancy.

MONDAY AND TUESDAY

Beginning Monday and Tuesday, Dec. 4 and 5, with purely pacifist, but resolute actions, when 86 youths turned in their draft cards, 166 older people signed "complicity" statements and 264 were arrested for sitting on the sidewalk, the week ended with invasions of Union Square, Times Square, Grand Central Station, City Hall Park and the barricaded streets and sidewalks of the financial center. A picket of Secretary of State Rusk at the Waldorf Astoria was thrown in for good measure.

The brutality of the cops during practically the whole week aroused indignation, resentment, outrage, chagrin (from those who had "trusted" the police) and rage. In practically no case at all was there fear or real discouragement among the youth.

Tuesday's pacifists met with brutal

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Huey Newton Must Be Set Free!

Below is the text of a front page editorial reprinted from the November 23, 1967 issue of The Black Panther, a bi-weekly of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, P.O. Box 8641 Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif. 94608.

(American Whites for the Defense of Huey Newton, formed in Oakland, recently held a large rally and intends to carry out future activities to free the militant Black leader.)

* * *

Huey Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, lies in the hospital at San Quentin State Prison, with a gunshot wound in his stomach, inflicted by an Oakland cop. An Oakland cop is dead and buried and a second cop lies somewhere in some hospital with three bullet wounds in his body. Huey has been charged with the murder of the first cop and the

shooting of the second.

The shooting occurred in the heart of Oakland's Black ghetto. Huey is a Black man, a resident of Oakland's Black ghetto, and the two cops were white and lived in the white suburbs. On the night that the shooting occurred, there were 400 years of oppression of Black people by white people focused and manifested in the incident. We are at that crossroads in history where Black people are determined to bring down the final curtain on the drama of their struggle to free themselves from the boot of the white man that is on their collective neck.

Huey Newton knew that the chief instrument of oppression of Black people in America is the police departments of the cities. Through murder, brutality, and the terror of their image, the police of America have kept Black people intimidated, locked in a mortal fear, and paralyzed in their bid for freedom.

He knew that the power of the police over Black people has to be broken if we are to be liberated from our bondage. These gestapo dogs are not holy, they are not angels, and there is no more mystery surrounding them. They are brutal beasts who have been gunning down Black people and getting away with it. They call this "justifiable homicide" carried out by an officer of the law in the line of duty. Black people understand that this is very true—but not in the way that the lying mass media would have people believe.

The "duty" that these wretched jackals are carrying out is to keep the niggers in check; the peace that they are charged with keeping is the peace of the power structure, the peace of the Bank of America and General Motors. To perform their duty, they must necessarily disturb the peace of Black people. In fact, Black people have had

no peace since the first day they set foot on this bloody Babylonian soil called America. Peace is what Black people seek, what they are determined to have. Peace is what is being withheld from Black people.

Huey Newton is a child of Malcolm X. Malcolm said that we will get our freedom by any means necessary, and 20,000,000 Black people heard his voice and concur in his message. Huey Newton heard Malcolm's voice and understood his message. Twenty million Black people heard Malcolm's message and that same 20,000,000 feel exactly the same way about it as Huey Newton feels.

Twenty million Black people say that the cops are down wrong from the get-go and that Huey Newton is right. Twenty million Black people say that Huey is not guilty of any crime, that he is now being held as a political prisoner,

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**Welcome Back, Stokely!**

Stokely Carmichael is back after five months in countries abroad that included Tanzania, Guinea, Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam). Already a militant "nationalist," he comes home with a determination to internationalize the struggle for Black Freedom.

It was he who first popularized the slogan "Black Power." And now that millions have adopted it and given it revolutionary impact, he is investing it with more precise programmatic content.

"Black Power is the vanguard of the struggle against capitalism in the United States," he said while in Africa. Thus he summed up in a sentence the concept that should win all progressive elements in the U.S.

"United States capitalism has now reached the stage of imperialism," he also declared. "That imperialist struc-

ture enslaves Africa, Asia and Latin America. Our fight is to destroy this capitalist and imperialist structure. This means that Black Power is the vanguard of the real revolutionary movement inside the United States."

He spoke in Cuba and North Vietnam as well as Africa and identified the Black struggle with the world-wide proletarian struggle. In fact, he made the point again and again that the Black people are practically a proletarian race, the badge of super-exploitation being their skin. But he always distinguished between race and class.

Stokely Carmichael is not bringing the guns and bullets of liberation in his suitcase. But he is bringing the inspiration of fighting Africa, of Cuba and of Vietnam. This will go a long, long way toward gathering the material forces for further struggles. Welcome back, Stokely.

Two Against the War Bring Militant Message to Phila.

Philadelphia, Dec. 12 -- Pvt. Andy Stapp, a GI who has organized opposition to the Vietnam war among his fellow soldiers, and Ed Oquendo, a Black militant due to be sentenced this week for draft resistance, brought a feeling of revolutionary optimism to listeners who heard them during a quick speaking tour in the Philadelphia area yesterday and today.

The meetings at Westchester State, Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges, sponsored by Youth Against War & Fascism and at the Ethical Society hall on Rittenhouse Square, co-sponsored by the Philadelphia Anti-Draft



Pvt. Andy Stapp

Ed told how he foiled two FBI agents who accosted him near his home "to talk" during the summer. "I proceeded to talk in a loud and boisterous manner," he said, and many people, on the street to escape from overheated ghetto apartments, crowded around. The FBI men retreated into their car and left.

In describing his November draft trial before a racist judge and stacked jury, Ed mentioned one incident in which "Judge Zavatt ordered two of my supporters to wear jackets. He said he didn't want the courtroom to look like the bleachers at Yankee Stadium. I guess he wanted it to look like a board meeting of Dow Chemical."

Ed was greeting Stokely Carmichael at Kennedy Airport during the meeting at Westchester State College.

Pvt. Stapp told his audiences, "I went into the Army specifically to organize resistance against U.S. imperialism." When he was first assigned to a barracks at Fort Sill, "All the

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NAME

STREET

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

Ex-(?) Nazi Braintrust Key U.S. Space Planners

The most important individual in the development of the Saturn 5 rocket is a Nazi, Dr. Werner von Braun, formerly head of Hitler's German Ordnance Department, inventor of the V-2 rocket and now director of the George C. Marshall Space Center in Huntsville, Alabama.

The second top man in the scientific hierarchy of the U.S. space program is also a Nazi, Dr. Arthur Rudolph, formerly Hitler's Chief Planning Engineer in the W.W. II underground testing site Niedersachswerfen in charge of mass production and testing of the V-2 among other duties. He is currently director of the entire Saturn 5 program.

In fact, for the first time, it has finally been revealed in the New York Times that no less than 119 of Hitler's scientific brain trust were imported into this country by the U.S. high command at the close of W.W. II and that these hardworking Nazis were immediately put to work developing the military technology of the imperialist victors.

Rudolph and von Braun are old partners. In fact, according to the Times, the two first joined forces in 1934 to work "at the Peenemunde V-2 site in Germany." Thus, one year after Hitler took power, these two were working for fascist imperialism and they have never parted since.

In fact, von Braun and Rudolph loyally worked for the Nazi regime until virtually the last day of its existence. Von Braun fled Germany on May 3, 1945. V-E day was May 6, 1945!

On the day of the Nazi defeat von Braun and Co., which included 119 top scientists gave up the "Third Reich" to enlist in the cause of the "American Century."

"With 118 other German (Nazi!) rocket experts" revealed the Times, von Braun "was brought to the United States where he spent the next two years rebuilding V-2 systems and facilities at the White Sands Proving Grounds in New Mexico."

"Of the original 118 German-born engineers, 64 are still working with Dr. von Braun in key positions: 30 are working elsewhere in the United States."

So heavy was the contribution of these ex-(?)Nazis to the U.S. space effort that the Jupiter C which boosted the first U.S. satellite, Explorer I, into orbit in 1958 is basically "an improved version of the V-2."

The former Nazi scientific elite, which used to mingle with Hitler's general staff and the German monopolists, now fraternize with the

other men had been warned against me as a dangerous subversive." Andy was put between two tough guys -- one a stockade guard, the other second in command of the Fire Direction Control section. "These two men have recently been harassed by the military for anti-war activity," added Stapp. "We have decided," he said "to form a union of GIs to fight racism, secure Federal minimum wages and for the right to disobey illegal orders. Orders to fight in Vietnam are illegal

militarists in the Pentagon and Boeing, General Dynamics, McDonnell Aircraft, General Electric, IBM, etc., etc., etc. No doubt Von Braun, Rudolph and the rest of "the staff" have plenty of rich experience to offer the U.S. imperialists who are able to put them to far more use than Hitler ever dreamed of.

In fact, von Braun offered a little hint that he feels more confident in the "American Century" than he felt in the "Third Reich."

"I am convinced," he told the Times reporter, "that 50 years from now big corporations with world wide interests will be doing their inventory management with a computer center tied in with every branch office or dealer by satellite."

The old saying goes, if you don't succeed, try, try again!

Boy Scouts Have New Hero

NEW YORK, Dec. 6 -- Dr. Wernher Von Braun, the Nazi scientist, today addressed a convocation of 267 Eagle Scouts at the Annual Eagle Scout Recognition Dinner.

Only 2 per cent of all Boy Scouts make this special honor of Eagle Scout and attend this special dinner. But then, they are "very special young men," as Macy's full-page ad honoring them in the New York Times said yesterday. And they listened to "a very special speaker."

"... a very special day is set aside for these young men, a joyous day for them, their families, the people who have guided them."

"It's a day of wonderful opportunity as well," the ad continued. Each scout has a chance to meet the leaders of men from "AT&T to TWA, from Gray Advertising to Macy's (the president of Macy's New York became an Eagle Scout as a young man), from the FBI to Union Carbide."

And above all, he has a chance to meet and hear the inspirational message of Wernher Von Braun, who started at the bottom of the ladder making model T short-range missiles for Hitler and now makes the super-deluxe long-range missiles for Johnson.

"Dr. Braun," said Macy's, "symbolizes how scouting has kept up with the times."

according to the Constitution and international law."

Many of Philadelphia's most militant and courageous anti-war fighters, as well as a number of servicemen from nearby McGuire Air Force Base attended tonight's meeting at the Ethical Society Auditorium and sustained applause greeted the two speakers as they both went to the front of the platform.

YAWF Philadelphia coordinator, Larry Nicodemus, was chairman of the meeting.

The GI's HANDBOOK on

Why Rank and File GIs
Need an Organization
of Their Own

by F.O. Richardson, veteran of the 82nd Airborne (Pathfinders) who received the Bronze star in the Normandy invasion.

Introduction by Pvt. Andrew Stapp, Anti-war GI from Fort Sill.

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Johnson-Sato Deal Out In Open: Tokyo Must Rearm Against China In Return for Okinawa

Premier, Ambassador Lift the Lid Nuclear Threat Key to Washington's Plan

In a statement to the Japanese Diet last week, Premier Eisaku Sato blew open the real substance of the deal he made with President Johnson behind closed doors in Washington last month: Japan must rearm (especially with nuclear weapons) and point its guns at China if it hopes to regain possession of Okinawa!

In euphemistic terms (modelled after U.S. rulers' "defense" against China, while they bomb China's borders), Sato called on the Japanese to show a "determination and pride to defend their nation through their own efforts."

While Sato was opening up for rearmament in the Japanese parliament, Takezo Shimoda, Japan's ambassador to the U.S., described as the country's "top-ranking diplomatic official," caused a furor back home when he went even further.

In a speech in Washington Shimoda

said that the question of Japanese nuclear armament should be left to "future generations" and then alluded to the nuclear weapons of the Peoples Republic of China, indicating that nuclear armament was actually being suggested for the present.

However, no amount of delicate wording could disguise this bomb-shell of an issue to the millions of Japanese who have opposed rearming since the U.S. ruling class A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki (after peace feelers had already been sent by the Japanese government.)

Adding to the irony is the fact that the Japanese Constitution, barring the country from forming military forces, was forced on it by American occupation forces.

The question facing U.S. rulers was how to bring about the desired rearming of Japan in the face of fierce mass op-

position, and opposition from even a section of the Japanese bourgeoisie.

True, the powerful right wing of the Japanese ruling class (spoken for by Sato) agreed with the U.S. rulers on rearming against China but a method of selling the militarization is totally lacking.

New York Times Far East "expert" and head of the Tokyo bureau, Robert Trumbull, explained precisely the blackmail scheme which Washington has up its sleeve.

"It has been made clear by Washington," wrote Trumbull on Dec. 10, "that Japan has little hope of getting back Okinawa, a Japanese island retained by the United States as its principal military base in the Western Pacific, as long as the Japanese leave the defense responsibility in this area almost entirely to Americans."

Accordingly, in his speech to the Diet, Sato tried to capitalize on the mass demand that Okinawa be returned to Japan, and openly revealed U.S. blackmail by saying that a Japanese "defense" build-up would finally "lead to

the return of Okinawa to the homeland."

Sato demagogically pictured this return of Okinawa to Japan as a move toward peace, since it is assumed that the U.S. now has Okinawa stocked with H-bombs, and thus the U.S. nuclear arsenal would be removed. But the price of getting the U.S. to return Okinawa to Japan is to be the nuclear arming of Japan itself.

Perhaps the H-bombs now there would have their stars and stripes insignia painted over with the rising sun of the Japanese ruling class. Japan also would become the site of H-bomb missiles.

One thing is clear from all this: no matter how it is presented the Japanese people fully understand its real meaning and any attempt by the U.S. and Sato to swap Japanese membership in the nuclear cordon sanitaire around China for the return of Okinawa will arouse the masses of Japan to a point that may surpass the huge struggles against the ruling class that have taken place there in recent years.

After Sato's Visit to Johnson - Japan Gov't Cracks Down on China-Japan Friendship Groups

PEKING, Nov. 29 (Hsinhua)—The reactionary Sato government of Japan today sent armed police and plainclothesmen to search the headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (orthodox) and the Japan International Trade Promotion Association, reported Toho News Agency.

The searches were made on the pretext of rounding up revolutionary people who took part in the struggle at the Haneda Airport in Tokyo on November 12 against Eisaku Sato's visit to the United States.

Responsible members of the two associations immediately held press conferences, at which they issued statements protesting against the illegal searches by the Sato government in a wicked attempt to undermine Japanese-Chinese friendship.

Hisao Kuroda, chairman of the Special Committee for the Restoration of Japan-China Diplomatic Relations of the Socialist Party of Japan, also strongly protested against the illegal searches of the two associations by the police. He pointed out at a press conference that this act of hostility toward China was taken by the Sato government in accordance with the communique on the Johnson-Sato talks.

course, in the land of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, this is not mentioned out loud.

The Japanese government attack on the Japanese-China Friendship Association and the International Trade Promotion Association, therefore, has a special meaning and bears the bloody trademark of Johnson himself.

Rigged Elections - Canceled!

Washington's plans to reproduce a Saigon-style rigged election in Indonesia have fallen through. The elections have been postponed six months in advance of their scheduled date. The indications that the CIA-sponsored fascist regime is even more unstable than its Saigon counterpart, were revealed in the following press release which appeared in the November 24 edition of the New York Post.

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuters) — Acting President General Su-

harto has told a mass rally in Bali that general elections scheduled for next year cannot be held because of technical reasons.

He dismissed rumors that the government had no intention of holding elections at any time.

"The government will hold elections with a guarantee that the new order (the regime) will win," he said at the rally, held shortly after he arrived in Bali yesterday from Jakarta. The elections were originally scheduled for July 5.



GIANT NEW-TYPE TRANSISTOR COMPUTER at the Institute of Computing Technology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. (Hsinhua News Photo.)

Joint Chiefs Draw Up "New" Plans For War Move Against People's China

"It won't be admitted officially," said Drew Pearson in his column of November 17, "but the Joint Chiefs (of Staff) have just completed a new set of plans for knocking out the Chinese nuclear works located deep in the interior."

The key word here is "new."

Nearly three years ago the hawk columnist, Joseph Alsop revealed similar plans of the Joint Chiefs. And since that time a number of cryptic statements about China's nuclear "vulnerability" have come out of Washington. Moreover, most knowledgeable observers in the capital believe that underneath the long debate over Vietnam war policy is the question of the U.S. mak-

ing war on China.

With U.S. bombers now often 20 seconds from the Chinese border (and occasionally crossing it "accidentally"), as well as U2 planes brazenly spying over the interior, the Pearson note has to be taken very seriously.

Pearson concluded his brief comments by saying that "Pentagon planners wonder whether the Chinese might take a foolish, suicidal military gamble"—that is, a decision to fight back against U.S. border provocations.

"Most authorities," he said, "don't expect such a move. But the Pentagon's policy is to hope for the best and prepare for the worst."

Japan vs. Britain: Less Yen for the Pound

Devaluation of the British pound has raised the spectre of a possible new financial crisis in every major trading country of the capitalist world.

Twenty-five per cent of all Japan's vital export trade goes to Britain and other sterling bloc countries (which are geared to the British pound). In addition to this, People's China generally pays for Japanese imports with pounds, too.

Japanese exporters must lower their prices by 14 per cent to remain competitive in all these areas. But this isn't easy.

"Within days of the British devaluation," says the Wall Street Journal of December 4, "an English importer canceled an order for 500 Japanese Toyota cars," because they were now relatively more expensive.

The famous Honda Motor Co. is also expected to suffer, and of course, the novelty manufacturers, camera, cigarette lighters, umbrella makers, etc., too.

Japan could be forced to devalue along with Britain, which would enormously increase its competitiveness with U.S. goods within the United States, bringing consequent unemployment here.

Or in the case that Japan does not devalue, it will most probably suffer a more serious financial recession and economic misery for the masses than any it has seen since Hiroshima.

Whatever the Chinese should do—or the CIA might in the future claim they have done—to defend their borders, any U.S. air attack at any target "deep in the interior" of China, would be an aggressive act of imperialist war. And it would be so understood by the great majority of the masses of the world.

The foregoing Hsinhua item is a brief sequel to our story of Premier Sato's talks with Johnson in the last issue of Workers World. These talks, full of platitudes for the public, were really aimed, we thought, not at recovering Okinawa's independence, but at deepening the war in Vietnam and intensifying the war drive against People's China.

The attack on the Japan-China Friendship Association and the Japan International Trade Association were timed with Sato's return from the U.S. rather than his stormy exit. So the official explanation that it was simply reprisal for the demonstrations on November 12 is not very convincing.

The drive for Japanese trade with China is, under present conditions, equivalent to a drive for peace with China.

And this is diametrically opposite to what the U.S. and most of the monopolist Zaibatsu want. Their campaign to "isolate" China with embargo and boycott is, under the present conditions, equivalent to a drive for war. But of

- Huey Newton Must Be Set Free!

Continued from Page 1

and they want him set free. We know that white people, the majority of them, neither understand this nor do they believe that Black people really mean this. Some white people understand this, know it to be true and just, and they back Black people up in their just demands for liberation and an end to the terror.

Huey Newton's case is the show-down case. It marks the end of history. We cannot go a step beyond this point. Here we must draw the line. We say that we have had enough of Black men and women being shot down like dogs in the street. We say we have had enough of cops being set free with a verdict of justifiable homicide. We say that Black people in America have the right to self-defense. Huey Newton has laid his life on the line so that 20,000,000 Black people can find out just where they are at and so that we can find out just where white America is at.

We have reached the point in history where we must claim that a Black man, confronted by a bloodthirsty cop who is out to take his life out of hatred for the Black race, has a right to defend himself—even if this means picking up a gun and blowing that cop away. Make no mistake about it: that is where we are at today. A cop is nothing but a man in uniform. Through their propaganda and brainwashing of the people they have us believing that there is something supernatural or special about a cop. A cop is a human being just like anybody else, he came into the world just like anybody else, and he can leave this world just like anybody else.

Every week, from every corner of America, we hear the reports of how some cop has shot and killed some Black man, woman or child. We are sick and tired of hearing such news and

we don't want to hear any more. The only way that it can be from now on is that there will be no more reports of Black people being massacred or we want to hear more reports about more



Huey Newton

dead cops shot down by Black men. There can be no two ways about it, there can no longer be a double standard, one for Black people and one for white people, one for cops with guns and one for Black men with guns. Either human life is sacred or it is not. If human life is sacred then we must demand that Black life also be considered sacred.

On the very same day that the shooting incident involving Huey occurred, a seventy-year-old Black man in Palo Alto had his head blown off by a cop, from behind, and he was unarmed. Yet there has been no outcry about that. There has hardly been a peep about it. Was this seventy-year-old Black man's life sacred?

The racist dog Oakland cops say that this dead cop is the first one who has been killed "in the line of duty" in twenty years. Yet that same Oakland police force has shot and killed scores of Black men and women in that same period. What about them? Don't they count? Who is keeping the statistics about them? And what are we supposed to do about that? Are we supposed to just sit back calmly and add another digit to the statistics every time another Black person is killed by an Oakland cop? We know that that is what they want us to do—but we are here to say that those days are gone! Does everybody understand that? THOSE DAYS ARE GONE! THE DAY WHEN A COP CAN SHOOT A BLACK MAN, WOMAN, OR CHILD DOWN IN COLD BLOOD AND HAVE IT RULED JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE IS GONE FOREVER. FROM NOW ON WE SAY: ONE MAN, ONE LIFE!

Undoubtedly, the Oakland cops would be tickled pink if instead of having a dead cop and a live Huey on their hands, they had a dead Huey and a live cop. Black people all over America and around the world, and some white people in America and around the world, are glad for once to have a dead cop and a live Huey. But we go further and say that we want Huey to stay alive—we go even further and say that we want Huey set free.

Let us make one thing crystal clear: We do not claim the right to indiscriminate violence. We seek no blood-bath. We are not out to kill up white people. On the contrary, it is the cops who claim the right to indiscriminate violence and practice it every day. It is the cops who have been bathing Black people in blood and who seem bent on killing off Black people. But Black people, this day, this time, say HALT IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY! YOU

SHALL MAKE NO MORE WAR ON AN UNARMED PEOPLE. YOU WILL NOT KILL ANOTHER BLACK PERSON AND WALK THE STREETS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY TO GLOAT ABOUT IT AND-SNEER AT THE DEFENSELESS RELATIVES OF YOUR VICTIMS. FROM NOW ON, WHEN YOU MURDER A BLACK PERSON IN THIS BABYLON OF BABYLONS, YOU MAY AS WELL GIVE IT UP BECAUSE WE WILL GET YOUR ASS AND GOD CAN'T HIDE YOU.

We call upon the people to rally to the support of Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. We call upon Black people and white people who want to see the dawn of a new history in this land. We call upon people who want to see an end to the flow of blood. We call upon people who want to avoid a war in this land, who want to put an end to the war



Bobby Seale

that is now going on in this land. We call upon people to take up the cry: HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

—Minister of Information
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

Southern "Progress": More Lynchings, Arson

With one (1) Black sheriff getting elected in the South, likewise a couple of politicians in the North, and Thurgood Marshall making it to the Supreme Court, the millennium is here. Or so the we-shall-overcome demagoguery in Washington would have us believe. But facts below tell it like it is.

three white teenagers in hoods in New Orleans, who said they just wanted to 'go out and kill a nigger.'

"A charge of murder was launched against two white carpenters from Johnson County, N.C. after they admitted killing a 49-year-old Negro man. No motive was given.

"On a bus in Montgomery, Ala.,

recently, two Negroes were shot by a white man after a Negro woman tried to sit between two whites.

"In South Carolina a white man shot down a 10-year-old Negro youth, and a 17-year-old Negro was brutally beaten and then shot by an off-duty policeman. Neither white gunman was charged."

And In the North

From the Inner City Voice, Detroit's Black Community Newspaper, Nov. 16:

A Black woman, arrested when a dozen cops broke into her home on the first day of the rebellion in De-

troit and charged her with assault with intent to murder (charges later dropped) reports on the conditions in jail in an article called "Atrocities a Black Woman Witnessed."

"I was taken to the Tenth Precinct on Livernois and Elmhurst and placed in a dirty cell with sixteen other women with whom I took turns lying on the two wooden boards provided for us to sleep on.

"Our dinner consisted of unwrapped bologna sandwiches distributed in a cardboard box by an officer with dirty hands. When I refused to accept a sandwich, the officer became abusive and said that 'the animals (like us) shouldn't be fed at all.'

"I talked with several of the women there. Some had been picked up for violating curfew and had been denied permission to notify anyone of their whereabouts. Another woman was humiliated in the station when the officers deliberately snatched off her wig and then kicked her about the body....

"All during the night, men prisoners were taken into rooms and beaten. It seemed the louder they yelled, the more they were beaten. We were able to look through the bars and see the condition of the men as they left the rooms. One man's back was covered with blood; another had been beaten in the face and blood ran from the mouth of one prisoner where his teeth had been broken out. After this, I was threatened with bodily harm if I were caught looking out at the men prisoners again....

"A girl I went to school with was brought in on Friday. Her blouse had been torn off by the arresting officer. At the station they told her they were uncertain as to whether she was male or female and had her remove her pants to prove her status....

"The alcoholic beverages that the police indulged in at night heightened their sadistic tendencies. They called us nigger, bitches, prostitutes and animals....



NATIONAL GUARD PROTECTS KLAN at meeting earlier this year in Baton Rouge, Louisiana against civil rights demonstrations which were taking place at the same time. Klan speaker is a Christian minister. Klan was also given protection by state police. (photo from Muhammad Speaks)

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn., Nov. 20.—The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) reported today that the homes of 11 Black families in Haywood County, Tenn. have been set afire since August 4. This is in addition to four house burnings in the spring, the burning of a church in July, and the bombing of 13 Afro-American homes last year.

Mrs. Virgie Hortenstine, coordinator of the Fayette-Haywood Workcamps, said, "Some of the fires were set to the property of Negroes who were active in civil rights or who served as witnesses in court for the school cases. Some were old people and people handicapped by illness." The school case to which she referred was a U.S. District Court Order to place ten Afro-American teachers in white schools.

Mrs. Hortenstine also reported that the home of Dan Nixon, west of Brownsville, has been set afire twice. Nixon is one of the two Afro-American magistrates in the county, the first to be elected in this century. She called for protests to the Governor of Tennessee at Nashville.

From Muhammad Speaks, Nov. 3, 1967:

"Steven Young, a 20-year-old Black youth was viciously put to death by

Force Halt to Induction in Cleve. Anti-Draft Victory

Militants Win Right to Demonstrate After Nov. 28 Confrontation with Cops

CLEVELAND, Dec. 8 — The nationwide campaign to stop the draft the week of Dec. 4-8 scored a dramatic victory here when the Selective Service System under the threat of today's anti-draft demonstration cancelled induction in advance.

Twelve mounted police and almost 100 cops on foot stood by as 300 militant demonstrators marched for three hours on the broad plaza in front of the Federal Office Building, the site of the Army induction center. Leaflets opposing the draft which were to be handed out to the inductees as they got off the buses proved to be unnecessary. The buses never arrived — induction had been cancelled for the day.

The demonstrators gathered at 6 a.m. in front of Erie Tower. After consulting on strategy they surged across E. Ninth and formed two picket lines on the west and east sides of the Federal Office Building. Helmeted police guarded the doors and allowed no one to enter the building without identification.

The groundwork for today's victory was prepared by an anti-draft demonstration at the same place on Nov. 28. At that time one hundred picketers defied a police ban on demonstrations in the plaza and fought with cops to gain access to the induction center.

Mounted police attacked the crowd, brutally clubbing the demonstrators and sending four to the hospital. Many cops took off their badges so that they couldn't be identified by the protesters. Despite the brutality the demonstration was maintained until it was scheduled to end.

Rather than have another confrontation, for which the protesters were fully prepared today, the police backed down and the picket line proceeded without incident. When it was pointed out to Safety Director Joseph McManamon that at today's demonstration all the cops wore their badges as demanded by the demonstrators, he replied, "Oh, are they?" There were no injuries and no arrests.

This time the militant demonstrators came prepared for even more police violence. They organized a defense guard and came armed with 20 plywood shields with the slogan "Hell no, we won't go," on them. Many wore helmets and body padding. Some of their signs read, "Hell No, Nobody Goes," "Unionize the Army," and "Don't Fight Wall Street's War."

When some conservative elements on the picket line proposed that the demonstrators stage a sit-down in front of the Federal Building, the leadership sharply repudiated this pacifist tactic.

The anti-draft action here was sponsored by a coalition of organizations in the anti-war movement. On the leadership committee are Ron Lucas of Blacks Against the Draft, Tim Hall of the Draft Resistance Union, Jack Hill from Oberlin and John McCann of the YSA. Dave Gass, a leader of the Cleveland State University Student Mobilization Committee and Chairman of Cleveland Youth Against War & Fascism, was also among those who helped organize today's action. (Tim Hall, Ron Lucas and Dave Gass were the organizers of the Nov. 28 confrontation with the police.)

The only opposition to the demonstration came in the form of one lone rightwinger who wore a sign on his back saying, "No Complaints" and carried a Santa Claus balloon.

When he began to heckle and harass the crowd, however, Mrs. Frances Dos-tal, a nurse who accompanied the protesters to give medical care in case of injuries, took out a pair of scissors from her first aid kit and clipped off his sign. "I suppose you want to clip my balloon too," he complained in surprise. So she obliged — with one jab the Santa Claus balloon burst.



ANTI-DRAFT WEEK IN BUFFALO saw two days of demonstrations and was highlighted by draft card turn-ins. Outside the Federal Building in downtown Buffalo.

Draft Cards Turned In, 9 Arrested

Militant Buffalo Youth In 2-Day Draft Protest

BUFFALO, Dec. 6 — During the Dec. 4-5 Resistance protests held nationwide, Buffalo students held two militant picket-line demonstrations in opposition to the war in Vietnam and the draft.

The demonstrators represented a coalition of four organizations — the Student Mobilization Committee, Youth Against War & Fascism, Students for a Democratic Society and The Resistance — that united for the Dec. 4-5 protests. A new militancy was evidenced by Buffalo University students in the ideology and the organization of the actions.

On Dec. 4 a rally was held in the lobby of the U.B. student union. At the rally speakers from YAWF, SDS, Student Mobilization and The Resistance addressed students on anti-war issues. Karl Meller, an activist in YAWF, called for students to support those handing in draft cards as well as all other forms of draft resistance. After the rally, cars departed for the draft board at 121 Ellicott Street. Here, a large demonstration of about 200 students gathered.

Demonstrators carried signs that read: "Big Firms Get Rich — GIs Die!" and "Hell No! We Won't Go!" They were led in loud chanting by monitors. After a short while, members of The Resistance went inside the draft board to hand in cards and letters of complicity. Fifty-one men handed in either cards or letters in a three-hour confrontation with draft board officials.

On Dec. 5, a second rally began at 10:00 a.m. at the U.B. student union calling for student support for the day's protest demonstration. Speakers denounced the military and urged students to organize themselves for draft resistance. At 1:30 p.m. a demonstration began in front of the Federal Building which houses the Buffalo induction center.

The line was about the same size as on Dec. 4 but it was twice as militant. Monitors led chants such as "Hell No! Nobody Goes!" and demonstrators carried signs that read "Fight the Draft—Like the Champ!" "Rich Man's War! Poor Man's Fight," "Unconditional Immediate U.S. Withdrawal!" Others carried, "End Slavery — Fight the Draft!" "Big Firms Get Rich — GIs Die!"

The authorities were visibly shaken by the militancy and smooth organization of the demonstration. A monitor crossed the street to hand out leaflets to students getting out of Bryant-Stratton Business Institute and was arrested when he was jumped by a fascist in the crowd — the fascist was not arrested.

This made the demonstrators angry and they began to chant "Fascist cops!" and "Gestapo!" Several others were arrested when coming to Karl Kronberg's assistance, the student who had been distributing leaflets.

Jerry Gross, Chairman of Buffalo YAWF had been leading chants on an electric bullhorn when four cops and the subversive squad came for him. They forced him into a squad car with the sound-equipment in an attempt to stop the militant chanting.

Mr. Gross had just made a statement to TV reporters that stated in effect, "We have no stake in this war. Those who have the real interests in the war are the owners of Bethlehem Steel Corporation and banks like Marine Midland Corporation and Manufacturers and Traders Trust Company. The bodies of dead GIs are sent home in plastic bags while big business continues to rake in the profits!"

Altogether, nine demonstrators were arrested by the cops and put into a cell block in the police station City Jail. They were bailed out by their fellow anti-war comrades who raised the bail money in only a few hours by setting up a table in the student union.

The speed with which bail money was raised — over \$300 — is evidence of the growing solidarity amongst the anti-war youth who are confronting the police in the streets here in Buffalo in ever-increasing numbers and militancy!

steel bed — cells intended for one prisoner. They were later taken to room 103 for interrogation and then arraigned on various charges of breach of peace (for disturbing the war), disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Of the 74 arrested, 26 who refused to cooperate with their arrest had to raise bail of \$300. The others were released for \$1.

74 Arrests, Police Brutality Mark Protest

Anti-War, Anti-Draft Upsurge in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 7 — Stop the Draft Week in Philadelphia saw one of the largest, most militant anti-war demonstrations here in recent memory. Seventy-four people were arrested early this morning as they attempted to close down the Philadelphia induction center at 401 North Broad Street.

Eight hundred people marched on the line sponsored by the Philadelphia Anti-Draft Union and the Student Mobilization Committee an hour after it began at 6:30 a.m.

At first the Mobilization marshals ushered the demonstration across the street from the induction center, where the police wanted it to be. But the demonstrators later walked to the corner by threes and fours, crossed the street and began picketing right in front of the center at 401 North Broad.

A number of Black high school students joined the demonstration on their way to school.

Police — about 50 outside the building, 50 inside and busloads more around the corner — ordered the marchers to keep moving. Two people who didn't obey the orders fast enough were arrested.

At this point, 74 others responded by sitting down and blocking the doors of the building and were also arrested.

The 74 were dragged away by the hair or carried by the neck and dumped into police vans on their backs. Lt. Fencel of the notorious Civil Disobedience squad tried to halt some of the brutality of the cops when reporters arrived with cameras. The most bru-

tal officers had covered their badge numbers as they pushed, punched, and swore at the demonstrators.

The prisoners were taken to the police roundhouse at 8th and Race Streets and through a labyrinth of tunnels and hallways. Eighteen people were locked into steel-walled, barred cells with a



Outside the induction center at 401 North Broad Street, Philadelphia.

Chicago: 1,000 Protest, 160 Turn In Draft Cards

CHICAGO, Dec. 4 — One thousand anti-war protesters staged a massive demonstration around the Federal Building here today while 160 young draft resisters tried to turn in their draft cards.

The action, part of the Stop the Draft Week, was sponsored by the Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) and the Chicago Peace Council. Many sympathetic passersby also joined the demonstrators who chanted "Stop the Draft, Stop the War."

The mass demonstration began at 12:00 noon outside the Federal Building. At 1:00 p.m. a rally was held at

which several of the resisters and their supporters denounced the draft and the war in Vietnam.

In an attempt to intimidate the militant crowd, police and city officials had a public notice posted on the door to the building announcing that anyone who entered would be arrested. It didn't work.

At 4:00 p.m. when federal marshals refused to accept the draft cards (a tactic which they also used in New York on Oct. 16 and in Washington on Oct. 20) the demonstrators tried to enter the building. Police then charged into the crowd of demonstrators and pushed them back. There were no arrests made.

Conservatism vs. Militancy

Report and Analysis of the Two Co As Revealed In the New York Anti-R An Account by a Participant

By JOEL MEYERS

Below is a report by Joel Meyers, a leading activist in the anti-war movement and a leader of YAWF. His report is scheduled to appear in the next issue of The Partisan. It is being distributed by YAWF prior to publication and published herewith because of its interest to our readers. Joel Meyers is presently under indictment for "violation of the Selective Service Law," for alleged disruption at induction headquarters at Ft. Hamilton, in Brooklyn, N.Y.

The Stop the Draft Week experience in New York is one of the most significant events in the recent history of the anti-war struggle in the United States.

In order to fully appreciate the vital import of the events, two previous struggles that have a direct bearing and relevance to the New York experience should be borne in mind. I'm referring to the Oakland struggle of Oct. 16-20 and the anti-Rusk demonstration in New York on November 14.

I did not participate in the Oakland struggle, although I am familiar with the situation, but I did participate in the anti-Rusk demonstration.

On the surface it appeared that there was a sizeable picket line fenced in by police barricades with several hundred demonstrators in one group, and another much larger, more dynamic group composed largely of young people, who were practicing what has been referred to as "mobile tactics."

Officially, the appearance was given of cooperation between the picket line and the mobile tactic group, as if the two were really conceived as part of a single plan, having a sort of common objective. Nothing could be further from the truth, and this is the important point.

A COUNTERWEIGHT TO MILITANCY

The picket line group was organized and conceived by the leaders of the Parade Committee as a counterweight to the militants in the mobile tactics group. It was meant to undermine and sabotage the brilliantly conceived, imaginative and creative effort at a new form of struggle. This was concealed by a joint announcement of the two forces in the same leaflet, but it is the truth nevertheless.

It should be said at the outset that the leadership of the Parade Committee is composed of old-line pacifists, Women Strike for Peace types, and a variety of independent groupings which do not exercise any control at all, and a coalition of the SWP and CP groups and their allies. It is these latter groups which in reality exercise the dominant element of control in the organization.

COURAGEOUS AND UNORGANIZED

The mobile tactics group, on the other hand, is practically without any organization behind it, and is represented by a variety of different elements from among the rebellious youth. Almost all in it are distinguished by a readiness for action. They also show militancy and are distinguished by boldness and the courage to face the consequences, in any confrontation with the imperialist Establishment. The predominant mood is one of massive resistance. They scorn passive tactics, and seek to go over to the offensive, or at least to defend themselves, and not be the victims of police brutality, or serve as sitting ducks for these armed agents of the warmakers.

Tuesday, Nov. 14, the date of the anti-Rusk demonstration, made clear to those who were watching it from with-

in, that there were actually two currents in the movement, however unclear and indefinite they may be. But they do exist.

If the Parade Committee picket line were the only thing that had taken place at the anti-Rusk demonstration, it would hardly have caused a ripple, even among the most progressive elements in the country. It was a traditional-type picket line, only fenced in more, packed in like sardines.

ESTABLISHMENT CRIES "ANARCHY"

The mobile tactic group, however, was the group that caused a storm heard practically around the world. It was not only larger, bolder, more militant and aggressive, but showed a remarkable facility for outmaneuvering the massive array of police, their clubs and horses, while at the same time tying up almost the entire midtown area. As one who was right in the midst of it, and having been in a good number of demonstrations in this city, I think this was absolutely unprecedented. It was just terrific.

Naturally this aroused the ire of Johnson who immediately set the tone for the capitalist press by describing it as "stormtrooper tactics." The entire Establishment press let out a howl of "anarchy!" led by the New York Times and followed by all the others.

PUBLIC SUPPORT, PRIVATE SCORN

All this is known. But what is not generally known is that the Parade Committee leaders and their allies began a campaign of vilification of the mobile tactic group, denouncing so-called "provocateurs," but actually meant to discredit the militants who had led this splendid demonstration.

The loud howls of the capitalist press, which began with Johnson, and were echoed by the Parade leaders, by sly innuendoes and whispering campaigns, did not, however, deter the militants. If it had, the Stop the Draft Week protest, with its slogan of shutting down the induction center on Whitehall Street, and reaffirming resistance as the objective of the protest, would not have taken place.

It should be added that officially the Parade Committee leaders hailed it as a "success," but this is because they were obliged to do so in public. In private they reviled the mobile tactic group, and scorned this tactic in the demonstration.

LET'S CLOSE DOWN WHITEHALL

The very first meeting I attended of The Resistance (the group that initiated the idea of closing down Whitehall) took place on Nov. 1 at St. Peter's church. It was a meeting of the activists, and it was plain from the beginning that the mood was overwhelmingly for going beyond the traditional sit-in, for a more flexible, more militant approach that would be in harmony more with massive resistance, rather than passive dissent.

The idea of closing down the induction center was extremely appealing to almost all the audience, even though every one of us had our great doubts as to whether or not it could be done. This was not really the issue at the meeting. It was plain that what was at bottom of the heated discussion which took place there was the character of the approach to the struggle.

As speaker after speaker of the rank-and-file arose to reject the traditional sit-in and to talk for one thing or another which was more militant, it became clear that the issue was reducing itself to what is usually called, "Are you

for the mobile tactic, or are you for the same old thing?"

RANK AND FILE MAJORITY

A show of hands was finally taken, and it made it clear that 2 to 1 were in favor of having a full week of mobile tactics. The leadership seemed to go along.

Had the leadership abided by the decision of the ranks and continued on the course of organizing and agitating for the demonstrations along the lines sug-



gested by the meeting, i.e., for using mobile tactics as a show of strength, mass resistance, and possibly shutting down the center — it might have developed into a resounding success. It became clear, however, that the leadership would veer away from the tactic. This was what happened.

The Resistance leadership felt a necessity for a coalition with other groups for the purpose of making it a broader demonstration. And this was all to the good.

OVERRULED BY LEADERSHIP

However, no sooner had they contacted the Parade Committee, particularly the SWP-CP coalition and their allies, than they caved in on the character of the demonstration. At the first meeting of the coalition, Nov. 2 at the Parade Committee office, this became obvious.

Len Brody, spokesman for The Resistance, did a turnabout, which was obviously the result of behind-the-scenes negotiations with the Parade Committee leadership. On the crucial first two days of Stop the Draft Week, mobile tactics were to be ditched. Instead, the traditional sit-in was to be employed on Tuesday. On Monday, not even that was to take place. Instead, there would be a draft card turn-in, in a church, which appealed to practically none of the young militants at all.

What caused this about-face? Brody put it pretty plainly. He said it was at the request of Women Strike for Peace, and the War Resisters' League, with which The Resistance shares its office, and others. It was plain at this coalition meeting that the YSA, represented by Syd Stapleton, was opposed to the mobile tactics, and the DuBois Club representative, Steve Cagan, was still for it, but wavering.

Nevertheless, the plans seemed to go ahead as if there were no retreat on the issue of mobile tactics or the slogan of shutting down Whitehall St. And the leaflet still reflected that line.

RUSK PROTEST: THE TURNING POINT

The turning point came with the anti-Rusk demonstration. The militants became more confident in the correctness of the tactic, while the leadership veered further away from it under pressure of the Parade leaders and the howl of the

press and the government. The lines between the militants and the conservatives would have become clear ideologically, were it not for the doubletalk of the Parade leaders, and the new coalition of the Stop the Draft Week group.

While speaking for the mobile tactic, most of the leaders began preparing organizationally to reverse the decision. The YSA was opposed to the tactic from the very outset.

Nevertheless, it was apparent that there was evergrowing support for the demonstration, and that a large turnout seemed almost a certainty. But while the organizational preparations were going on to insure participation by many rank and filers, and the press could no longer avoid coverage of the preparations, the leadership had made several moves with the Lindsay administration and the police, which could only make a fiasco of the demonstration.

LEADERS MEET WITH COPS

On Tuesday, Nov. 28, Linda Morse of the Student Mobilization Committee, Syd Stapleton of the Young Socialist Alliance, Steve Cagan of the Du Bois Clubs, Len Brody of The Resistance and Eric Weinberger of the Parade Committee met with the police.

In the eyes of the public, this seemed a customary thing to do. In reality, it was a serious error.

Why? First, because there was no need to meet with the police, as we had every right to demonstrate without consulting them. Secondly, and this is really the important thing, if the committee had committed itself to a mobile tactic approach, meeting with the police could only mean that the Committee would lay bare the plans for the demonstration and thereby make it impossible for the demonstrators to escape the tentacles of the police.

WAY TO DEFEAT MOBILE TACTICS

One of the main features of the mobile tactic is to keep the police in the dark, thus giving the demonstrators the greatest freedom and flexibility to move about in such numbers and at such times and places as to paralyze the effectiveness of the police, while showing the maximum strength of the demonstrators.

The demonstrations would be at many places and at different times, and the police would have a tough time coping with them if a great number showed up. The Whitehall district would be so paralyzed by the tactic, that it would be shut, in spite of the overwhelming show of the police. The police were intent on knowing from the Committee leaders what the plans were, so they could effectively pen in the demonstrators like cattle, or parade them around a perimeter guided and engineered by them, the police.

The Committee had every reason to avoid meeting with the police, and to stand on its Constitutional rights, that the streets belong to the people, and that the people can demonstrate anywhere and at anytime, without first getting approval from the police. By meeting with the police and discussing their plans with them, they gave themselves away.

The worst aspect of meeting with the police was an agreement to abide by a perimeter beyond which the demonstrators were not to go. This was a complete rejection of the mobile tactics which would give the demonstrators mobility to go wherever they could effectively counteract police intimidation, violence and brutality.

Getting all the demonstrators into one specific area at a time when the police were bent on violence, is just

Currents In the Anti-War Movement Stock and Anti-Draft Demonstrations

the opposite of what was understood by the rank and file, when they supported the closing down of the induction center. But the most interesting and revealing aspect was a subsequent meeting with Mayor Lindsay.

SAVING ROCKEFELLER'S WINDOWS

The nature of this meeting with Lindsay speaks volumes. It shows, far more than just a difference in tactic, which could be entertained by any two groups in the antiwar movement, provided there is a common approach to the Establishment.

It must be remembered that the induction center is on Whitehall St., only a stone's throw away from Wall Street. As the prospects for a large, militant demonstration grew, the "financial community" became concerned. David Rockefeller, of the Chase Manhattan Bank, called Lindsay and demanded that the whole financial district be walled off from the demonstrators and that measures be taken that no windows be broken in the financial district, particularly his window in the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Rockefeller told the Mayor to call in the demonstration leaders for the purpose of reading the riot act to them. Incredible as this sounds, this is exactly what happened. No one was more astonished to hear of it than myself. The meeting was reported chiefly by Linda Morse and Syd Stapleton. Linda Morse went so far as to tell us, present at a marshal captains' meeting, to keep it secret from the press!

It is literally astounding that this group, consisting of Morse, Stapleton, Weinberger, Cagan and Brody, who sometimes resort to revolutionary phrases as the occasion demands, would actually think it was in the interest of the demonstration to keep the contents of this kind of a meeting secret!

MARSHALS CATER TO WARMAKER

The fact that David Rockefeller, a member of one of the most powerful circles of billionaires in the U.S. and one of the chief supporters and instigators of the war, who coins billions out of the blood and sweat of the workers of this country and the GIs abroad, could have the arrogance to make these demands, and that our Chief Marshals of the projected demonstration would keep this secret shows that they were not merely opposed to a tactic as such, but that they were collaborating with instead of fighting the Establishment.

Here is Rockefeller, who is so arrogant that on occasion he not only refuses to meet with the Mayor, but with heads of state. Yet so important was our projected demonstration, that Rockefeller ordered the Mayor to personally meet with our Chief Marshals—but for the purpose of reining us in and getting us to submit.

(In order to cover himself, the Mayor gave the Chief Marshals the "great concession" of appointing aides, Gottehrer and Davidoff, to watch over the civil liberties of the demonstrators. Instead they acted as finks for the Mayor, and actually as a left cover for the police brutality, and not as friends of the demonstrators, as the Parade Committee leadership claims. This is the "liaison" between the marchers and the Administration that the New York Times praises editorially.

LEADERS HAVE NO COMMENT

At the final marshals' meeting on Sunday, Dec. 3, not a word was said about this meeting until a leading

YAWF activist, Myron Jefka, pointedly asked if any meeting took place with the Mayor, and if so, what happened. It was brushed aside as if nothing had happened.

In reality, the basis of the capitulation to the demands of the bankers and their puppet Mayor Lindsay had been finalized. The police already had, at the least, firm confidence in the conciliatory character of the "leadership."

The whole demonstration was to be virtually guided by them. But because of the double-talk of the leadership, the ranks were kept completely in the dark about this.

Finally when the long-awaited Wednesday demonstration arrived, it was a complete fiasco. The frustration of the ranks was not only bitter, but volcanic. There was universal agreement that we had been led into a trap, that we had been at the mercy of the police, and that the leaders had done the opposite of what they had said they would.

We had all been penned in. Practicing any kind of resistance became virtually inconceivable, in view of the constricted area we were trapped into.

The anger, frustration and bitterness of the activists, and those who were most concerned with the seriousness of the struggle, became evident at a meeting at Columbia University that evening. So great was the anger, that a motion to have the leadership resign en masse was only narrowly defeated.

MILITANTS ANGRY AND FRUSTRATED

When one considers that just two days before, Saturday, Dec. 3, when a huge meeting took place, where substantially the same people were present and showed not only confidence but enthu-

Wednesday, it was no longer possible to make a success out of it.

Thursday evening there was another meeting, where the tactics for Friday were to be discussed.

At the beginning there were only the organized groups of the coalition and a sprinkling of independents and militants. The CP-SWP and their allies had apparently made a big push for a large turnout in anticipation of a lot of criticism from the ranks. However, at the beginning of the meeting, the militants seemed to be muted.

THE LEADERS DROP A TACTIC

When Cagan presented the strategy for Friday as agreed upon by the coalition, there was a notable lack of enthusiasm from the audience, but no real opposition. The proposal was to lead a march to Brooklyn over the Brooklyn Bridge.

This, again, was a reversal of the mobile tactic they had agreed to just the other day under pressure. After much discussion, it seemed that the auditorium became filled with new arrivals, and when the proposal was finally brought to a vote, it was voted down by a huge majority. This was another repudiation, and a real vote of lack of confidence in the leadership.

It is true that the militants did not have an agreed-upon proposal to counteract the bridge-crossing trap, but at least had sufficient unity of purpose to vote down the coalition proposal. The demonstrations which took place on Friday, could not possibly have been on a higher level than on previous days, because many of the participants became literally exhausted from the previous days of demonstrations, the long night meetings, and the early morning sessions.

revealed, as it has probably done in other areas, that there are two important political currents in the anti-war movement. It is true that they are not well defined, but as I stated earlier, they are there.

The current which is at the moment in the ascendancy, is the coalition of old-line pacifists, SANE and Women Strike for Peace types (especially the conservative top echelons), a variety of independent groupings which do not exercise any control, and a coalition of the SWP and CP groupings and their allies, which play an extremely important role in the organization.

They do not form a truly cohesive group, but on the contrary are divided by clan loyalties, ancient political dogmas of an utterly regressive type, and clique rivalry and jockeying for position and power. Their general tendency is toward the right, while giving lip-service even to massive resistance, disruption, etc.

COALITION HOSTILE TO STRUGGLE

They are, however, firmly united in their hostility to the growth and development of the new resurgence of genuine militancy and desire for struggle, as exemplified by the groups championing mobile tactics.

The stock and trade of the coalition of old forces is to employ the scare tactic as one of its principal weapons. All of us know the inherent danger in any confrontation with the Government. You can either realistically describe what the risks are and do it in such a way as to forewarn and forearm the demonstrators so that they will come out strong and fighting and raise the general political consciousness and



siasm for the leadership, the change is most remarkable. From high confidence, to distrust and utter hostility. But because the militants are disorganized and inexperienced, the leadership was still able to get away with it.

One or two, such as Linda Morse, thought it the better part of wisdom to admit their mistake, and promised that the next two days of demonstration would be based on mobile tactics. Actually, the leaders did not mean it and, on Thursday, they just followed after the unorganized militants who were trying to do what should have been done the first time. However, after all the frustration resulting from the fiasco on

Secondly, many could no longer see how it could be even moderately successful. But most of the militants, YAWF included, of course, felt that whatever happened, no matter how poorly organized or led the demonstration was, we had to be there.

Some of our people who got arrested, and friends as well, participated in this and the Thursday demonstration, not because we thought it was properly led and oriented, yet we felt it our absolute duty to do so and to uphold the banner of anti-imperialist struggle against the war.

TWO CURRENTS EMERGE

The New York anti-draft protest week

fighting ability of the masses. Or, you can try to scare hell out of demonstrators by posing the risk in such a way as to discourage struggle, demoralize the militants, take the guts out of them, and turn them over as fitting objects to the high priests of pacifism. And the police will be just as brutal, nevertheless.

AN OLD TACTIC FOR AN OLD AIM

Well, that's one of the hallmarks of the old coalition. Their real objective is to instill fear in the militants and divert them from the struggle and to canalize all the discontent and protest against the war into safe channels that

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Anti-War Strategy and The State as Organized Violence

By SAM MARCY

What is most crucial in the relation of the basic classes in society is their political attitude toward the state. As on so many occasions in past decades, it has taken a political and social upheaval to reveal this once again.

The state used to be an object of philosophical speculation and its true character was hidden from the masses by centuries of class domination, exploitation and oppression. Almost half a century after Marx had written his celebrated *Civil War in France* and analyzed the Paris Commune as a dictatorship of the proletariat, Marx's teaching on the state as an instrument of class domination was still basically hidden from the masses as an integral part of his doctrine of proletarian revolution.

It took Lenin to once again, as he himself put it, "revive and resuscitate Marx's teaching on the state" as the "product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms," as "an instrument of class domination," and as "organized violence" used by one class to maintain its domination over another.

Furthermore, and this is the most crucial teaching of Marx as developed by Lenin, he showed that the proletariat could not simply lay hold of the ready-made machinery of the state but must shatter it in order to achieve its own class emancipation from the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Still a half century later — after Lenin's State and Revolution, two world wars and several proletarian revolutions, one would think that the attitude of Marxists to the state, especially to that colossus known as the government of the United States, would be clear.

ROLE OF STATE "MORE OBSCURED THAN EVER"

On the contrary, it is more obscured than ever. After every great struggle, Marx explained in his monumental analysis of the Paris Commune, the "repressive character of the state apparatus" stands out in "bolder and bolder relief."

If anything is clear in the recent experiences of the American people, and those people abroad who suffer under the heel of U.S. finance capital and its predatory war machine, it is the growing, "repressive character of the state," its unrestrained use of force and violence.

The existence of the U.S. imperialist system and the ravages it visits upon all the peoples abroad, and the increasing degree to which it uses violence at home on ever larger sections of the population, should really make Marx's analysis of the state self-evident, rather than a point of contention. For if the state structure of the U.S. is not really as Lenin put it, "an instrument of organized violence for the purpose of perpetuating the class rule of the bourgeoisie," the ruling class would find it impossible to maintain the system for any length of time.

All of this is pertinent today, when one considers the attitude of various political groups who call themselves Marxist-Leninists — particularly their attitude to the state in the current war crisis of U.S. imperialism that arises from its mad adventure in Vietnam.

IN "BOLDER AND BOLDER RELIEF"

Has not U.S. imperialist intervention in Santo Domingo, in the Congo, in Lebanon and in the recent Mideast crisis, as well as in Vietnam, revealed the true class character of the bourgeois state as "organized violence"? Has not the unmitigated use of the most barbarous violence as practiced in Watts, Newark, Detroit, Philadelphia and a dozen other cities put the state apparatus in "bolder and bolder relief" as an "instrument of organized violence" for the perpetuation of the rule of the master class? Should not all this make clear to the various Marxist groups and their leaders that the extension of the use of force to the white civil

population which resists the imperialist war is an absolutely inevitable fact?

No, this is not at all clear to them! And to the extent that it is clear, they seek to forget it, rather than to utilize the opportunity furnished by the imperialist war to educate and enlighten the masses on the true character of the capitalist state. They seek to obscure the role of the state and its congenital use of violence on an ever growing scale. Not only do they seek to obscure it, but while doing so, they also seek to entice the youngest, most resolute and most determined sections of the anti-war movement to reconcile themselves with the state and try to avoid the inevitable conflict.

UNMASK THE "MARXIST" PACIFISTS

The Vietnam war has offered an opportunity to develop what is already visible to many observers as the beginning of a potentially revolutionary movement that can shake the very structure, the rotting edifice on which the piratical rule of monopoly capital rests. This, of course, entails resolute determination to come to grips with the imperialist colossus, and not merely to dissent from its criminal conduct.

More than anything, it is necessary to unmask the pacifism of the bourgeois leaders in the anti-war movement, and especially the neo-pacifists, meaning those Marxists who have abandoned the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Lenin on the state as organized violence against the masses, in favor of conciliation with the state.

Fifty years after the October Revolution, and in the midst of a barbarous war against an oppressed people 10,000 miles away, people who call themselves Marxist-Leninists see only the possibility of a "peaceful," so-called "Constitutional" response by the masses as the only means of stopping the war, which has been unleashed, it must be repeated, by the organized use of violence on an unheard-of scale.

But no imperialist war has ever really been stopped by mere peaceful methods of protest. The bourgeoisie is willing to agree to "peaceful dissent," as long as it can continue the unhindered prosecution of the war.

Therein lies the precise problem. Should the imperialist war effort be hindered? Should it not be the duty of working class leaders in and out of the anti-war movement to utilize the opportunity of the imperialist war to promote truly revolutionary methods of struggle?

REVOLUTION? SURE — SOMEWHERE ELSE!

Revolution? Oh yes. Some of these neo-pacifist leaders, real revolutionaries — on paper — are all for struggle, somewhere else.

But the thought of the use of violent struggle by the masses to counter the barbarous use of violence of the U.S. bourgeois state both at home and abroad, that is strictly "ultra-leftism." Their "revolution" is only a literary exercise. How else can we explain the hostile attitude of some of the leaders of the anti-war movement to the question of self-defense tactics, now being raised by a growing number of youth?

Reading the report on the New York City anti-draft week by Joel Meyers, in this issue of *Workers World*, one can clearly see that what is at the bottom of the dispute between the Parade Committee leaders and the youthful activists who are proponents of the "mobile tactic," is really the question of the capitalist state.

The Parade Committee leaders are at bottom seeking a pacifist rather than a revolutionary struggle against a state which is daily expanding a most counterrevolutionary war. They are not trying to educate the masses as to the true character of the war as a class war, nor do they see the war as a function of the class domination of the bourgeoisie.

They seek to explain it by resort to "morality" and "mistaken policy" and even the "accidental character" of Johnson as President.

This will not help enlighten the masses. It will only help to confuse them, and make them susceptible to the practical politics of the fraudulent two-party, electoral machine.

Preparing the masses for revolutionary struggle means preparing them to properly respond to the violence of the bourgeois state in an organized and disciplined manner. This does not exclude large mass marches, peaceful demonstrations or other means of struggle. But it brings home to the masses the grim reality that the bourgeois state is organized violence.

The state is a machine for the suppression of one class by another class. It is, as Marx called it, an engine of class despotism. And it will not succumb to incantations by leaders with pacifist delusions, who see the most violent struggles launched by the U.S. imperialist colossus abroad, at home, and virtually at their own doorstep, but can only see a peaceful, ritualistic response as the answer.

As the struggle unfolds, however, the masses themselves will see the fallacy involved in these preachments and find other ways and other leaders to carry out their urgent tasks.

The war that U.S. imperialism is waging is an imperialist war. This means, above everything else, that it arises out of the class needs of monopoly capital and is an inevitable product of its system of exploitation and rapine. Its fundamental features are like those of any other of the imperialist wars conducted by the imperialist powers. The strategical line of proletarian struggle against imperialist war was laid down by Lenin more than half a century ago.

FROM "RESISTANCE" BACK TO "DISSENT"

It is high time to remind those who lay claim to being adherents of the October Socialist Revolution that one of the fundamental conditions for the victory was the successful application of Lenin's strategical line on the attitude of the proletariat towards their "own" government during an imperialist war. The defeat of one's "own" government is a desirable objective on the road to peace through revolutionary struggle. How can one even think in terms of revolutionary defeatism, when the bulk of the so-called anti-war leaders are so spineless that they even retreat from what already has become an acceptable slogan of the movement — to proceed "from dissent to resistance."

Indeed, mass resistance on an ever larger scale and with a variety and multiplicity of new, dynamic methods which are calculated to defeat the war-machine and the banker-generals who head it is what is most urgently needed. There is need to find imaginative, bold and audacious ways of applying Lenin's strategical line of revolutionary defeatism during this period of imperialist war waged by the U.S. government against the Vietnamese people.

Now that a section of the youth have awakened to this need, as though instinctively and without the benefit of the knowledge of Lenin's teachings, it is precisely the so-called Marxists, who are doing their damndest to squelch them, to demoralize them with pacifist illusions, with fine arguments of "now is not the time" and with conjuring up all sorts of fears in order to scare them into submission. In this respect, these so-called Marxists reveal themselves to be the true descendants of the old social democrats in pre-revolutionary Russia, and their like in all other countries. History will accord them the same fate as it did their ancestors.

- Conservatism vs. Militancy

Continued from Page 7

are compatible with the standards of the imperialist Establishment.

Their meeting with the Lindsay Administration in New York symbolizes a conciliationist attitude to the very government and military-industrial complex they claim to be fighting. More than anything else, they fear any real confrontation with them, and their actual course in the New York anti-draft protest week was designed to avoid just such a confrontation. They even went to extremes to do it.

For instance, Syd Stapleton openly said that in order to avoid a confrontation with the police, the marshals could use violence on demonstrators. He and Cagan both stated that a demonstrator who shouted "Fascist cops" would be provoking the police, and should be stopped.

The marshals in the demonstration not only played the role of helping the police keep the demonstration "orderly," but nothing at all was done to stop the police from infiltrating the marshals — in fact, the careless and arbitrary method of selecting the marshals was a virtual invitation for the cops to do so. All anyone had to do to become a marshal was to attend a meeting at St. Mark's Church and sign the attendance sheet. At this meeting, Cagan admitted that there were "known plants" present, but instead of pointing them out, as has been done in other areas, he let it rest there.

Another method typical of the old coalition is to counterpose large masses of people to small militant groups "who are for violence" and "who are alienating the masses." This is an old, old trick used by right-wingers in every

great struggle, to cow the masses and the militants who want to lead the masses in struggle.

The truth of the matter is that the militants are just as anxious, and even more so, of winning the large following, but not on the basis of political capitulation, or a return to dissent from mass resistance.

Take the anti-Rusk demonstration. We championed the militant and highly successful tactic employed by the youth. But this by no means meant that we were opposed to getting support from those on the picket line. Nor were many of the people on the line opposed to the dynamic activity of those who were active in the streets.

What is really at issue is the opportunistic tactic of the old coalition forces to deliberately and maliciously counterpose those who cannot or for one reason or another do not want to be in the more

militant struggle, to the militants who are ready and willing to engage in the struggle.

These people might otherwise support such a struggle, were it not for the reactionary line of the old coalition forces.

The old coalition takes advantage of the fact that the militants are unorganized and inexperienced; but in embryo form they represent a genuine, potentially revolutionary current.

We naturally feel we have a lot in common with them. Our job is to go through all the trials and tribulations of the struggle with them, and in spite of any political differences, share the same experiences.

From this, I am sure, will emerge a more serious, more tempered, and a more effective alternative to the bankrupt policies of the old coalition.

Stop the Draft Week in New York City

Continued from Page 1

police repression even after the clearest protestations of intent to be "non-violent", etc. This was a curtain-raiser for the rest of the week.

On Wednesday three to five thousand people, mostly very young, turned up between 5 and 6 a.m. at Battery Park, a few hundred yards from the induction center, responding to the call to shut down the Whitehall depot for cannon fodder.

Many brought lunches, anticipating arrest. A few plastic helmets were in evidence. And a feeling of good humored determination was in the air. The ranks wanted action.

BEHIND THE COPS

The hysterical ruling class, took the shut-down threat far more seriously than most of the top leaders of the demonstration and were far more determined to prevent it than the leaders were to accomplish it.

Fearing for the disruption of their forced recruitment, and doubly fearing the further disfigurement of their "image," the war-makers arrayed four to five thousand police against the unarmed demonstrators.

These cops filled up a portion of Whitehall St. almost solidly, and guarded all other streets in the neighborhood with heavy concentrations of blue-coats. Infiltrating the demonstration itself were an unknown number of often recognizable cops in plain-clothes. Some wore beards and had long hair.

Even when the young demonstrators first arrived at South Ferry, at the very outset, they were greeted by dozens of police in the subway station. This obvious attempt to intimidate had little effect by itself, and when the columns of marchers moved off from the north end of Battery Park just before dawn, spirits were still high. With all the hordes of police present, the demonstrators were sure that something could yet be done — in spite of the constant attempts of the leaders to douse their militancy.

THE LEADERS

The leaders of the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee and the Stop the Draft Committee had called the action

THE FIGHT

The contingent that went south on State St. and then went up from the bottom of Whitehall, ran straight into the most solid phalanx of police. It stopped, milled around and some individuals tangled with some fascist-type hecklers.

A member of Youth Against War and Fascism physically defended a woman who had been struck by one of these. He was removed by four of the marshals, who pinned his arms behind him.

There were similar incidents. When a section of this contingent tried to get into FDR Drive to stop traffic and many had already succeeded in doing this, one leading marshal joined police in pushing the people back before the rush could get too big. "Do you want to get your heads clubbed?" the marshal asked. This was about 7:45 a.m.

When another contingent, labeled by the press, the "Lost Battalion," arrived at corners where it could have surged through toward the draft center, the marshals would tell everybody to halt — and they halted — long enough for the police to get there and put up barricades!

THE FRUSTRATION

One marshal, disgusted at all this, got up at the Battery Park rally about 9 a.m. and demonstratively tore off his marshal's arm band and burned it. At this rally, called to decide what to do after being so frustrated, rank-and-filers seized the opportunity to speak and condemned the misleadership of the action.

Joel Meyers of YAWF struggled to get the microphone and with the leaders turning off the sound system, urged the people to go to Wall Street and tell the billionaires there what they thought of the war. Finally, under pressure of the mass of activists, the crowd marched. They went up to City Hall, and found that edifice surrounded by barricades and hemmed in by mounted police.

THE TV GAG

There, newsman Gabe Pressman and a camera crew were on hand interviewing a lone student Pressman had beaten out of the bushes from somewhere, who said he supported the war.

As the cameras were turned off,

inside Grand Central Station. The slogans boomed off the echoing walls of the station. From there many went to the UN where busloads of police attacked and dispersed the marchers.

THE RANKS SPEAK OUT

At a marshals' meeting that night in Earl Hall at Columbia U., speaker after speaker accused the leadership of "sell-out" tactics and of having virtually done the police's work for them.

The next day, Thursday, the leaders were a great deal more subdued and the crowd although now smaller, was less restrained. The leadership had to disband the marshals. And nobody tried to scare the people by saying that the police had clubs and guns, for example, as the marshals had done the day before.

AFL-CIO. He was stopped by the cops as he tried to enter the building and arrested when he refused to submit to being searched. His buddies were arrested, too.

THE POLICE "HELP"

Those who eluded the police and got out of Battery Park, marched up Broadway, followed by mounted police who kept getting tangled up in traffic. The tangle was increased when the energetic youths threw wire trash baskets, stationary recruiting posters into the streets, turning over police barricades in the process.

A "HIPPIE" COP

At 34th St. a bearded cop in plain-clothes began beating up a demonstrator, starting a fray in which half a dozen more were arrested. By the time the group arrived in Times



A thousand strong, they again met in Battery Park and decided that if they could not cope with the still overwhelming regiments of police, they would again sally forth toward midtown as militantly as they could.

At the draft center itself, Danny Ortiz, a young anti-war activist was reporting for induction. With him were a number of friends from his union, the Social Service Employees,

Square, they encountered a wall of blue-coats surrounding the Times Square recruiting station.

The police, who had chased them on foot and horseback all morning seized 300 at various points and placed charges against 137.

BASHFUL PRESIDENT

The demonstrators were unaware
Continued on following page



on the initiative of the "Resistance" several weeks before. These leaders had coached the hundred or so marshals to keep the demonstration within a prescribed limit of militancy.

And the marshals made speech after speech to different sections of the crowd during the first mobilization explaining that the police shouldn't be provoked, that they had clubs, that the demonstrators were to be orderly, that they were not to wear helmets for protection, and so on and so on, with repetition for emphasis.

But spirits continued high in spite of these continued applications of the wet blanket. And marching out in three contingents at about 6:15 a.m. they were ready to behave as militantly as an unarmed group possibly can under such conditions.

a girl berated Pressman for giving "equal time" to this one pro-war person alongside thousands of anti-war pickets.

Pressman, stung, had the cameras turned on again and interviewed the young woman. She made a strong statement against the war, adding that most of the people in the country, although not ready to take to the streets, do oppose it.

(This interview was never aired, while the pro-war student appeared on the Pressman program that night.)

WITH RUSK AT WALDORF

A member of YAWF announced to the crowd that Dean Rusk was due to speak at the Waldorf Astoria and about 200 went up there, waving anti-war banners, picketed for a time, and then moved on for a demonstration

'Ultra-Left Nonsense' Says a 'Leader' About Concept of Closing Draft Center

Dec. 9 — "It was a mistake to call for shutting down the Whitehall induction center," said Fred Halstead, one of the central leaders of the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee today, repudiating three days of militant mass action.

The Parade Committee, which itself called for the attempted shut-down action last week along with the Stop the Draft Committee, was holding a post mortem discussion in a meeting of its administrative committee, at which both left and right wings stated their views.

During the meeting, it became apparent that top leaders of the committee, especially the representatives of the Socialist Workers Party, the YSA and the Dubois Club, took a dim view of the militancy of the people they were supposed to have led. And they more or less chimed in with Fred Halstead, Presidential candidate of the SWP, who said it was all a "mistake."

Halstead further declared that the committee had given in too much "to the ultra-left nonsense" of those who wanted to close the draft center.

Syd Stapleton of the YSA informed the body that there were more police in New York City than there were U.S. advisers in Vietnam during 1964 — apparently meaning that attempts to resist the war makers would inevitably be defeated.

These, and other Social Democratic experts at gloom and doom, were answered by Dave Axel of Youth Against War & Fascism, who said:

"The people came out in the thousands to demonstrate. Only the leaders were inadequate."

"It is the fault of certain political parties that the people were unprepared for what they had to face. If those parties, who call themselves revolutionary, had even been for resistance, the story would have been different."

On the motion of Pauline Rosen of Women Strike for Peace, there was a decision to hold a demonstration at City Hall on Dec. 21 to protest the police violence at the stop the draft week demonstrations.

Walter Teague, speaking for the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation front, proposed a defense guard for this rally.

This timely proposition was rejected, with only four administrative votes supporting it: Vince Copeland, for Workers World Party; Dave Axel, Youth Against War & Fascism; Abe Weisburd, Trade Unionists for Peace; James Haughton, Black United Action Front.

The SWP representative did not abstain, but voted directly against the proposal for defense guards.

The U.S. Committee could not vote, because it does not have a member on the administrative committee.

New York Protest

Continued from preceding page

during the action-filled hours that President Johnson was being spirited into town even as they were being harassed and clubbed by the police. Johnson appeared at Cardinal Spellman's funeral in St. Patrick's Cathedral. And he was taken out through a rear door of the church when he left — "security" provision against his being picketed!

FRIDAY, STILL MORE

On Friday, the demonstrators decided to march up town again, but this time all together.

About 1,000 demonstrators left Battery Park, four abreast, flanked by several rows of police, and mounted cops. As they marched through the financial district, they geared their chants to the "Big Firms" they passed, pointing to the particular building and chanting: "Chase Manhattan Gets Rich — GIs Die" — "AT&T Gets Rich..." etc.

APPEAL TO THE WORKERS

At the huge building under construction near Foley Square, several workers on a scaffold high above the street waved and clasped hands over their heads in a "victory" gesture. Demonstrators responded with cheers, and the two-finger "V."

Office workers and, later, workers in lofts along Broadway watched from windows, many if not most applauding or making the V and similar encouraging responses.

Once the crowd had left the busy financial district, police rode their horses into them on an isolated part of Broadway south of Canal St. As hundreds were pressed against building walls and a construction fence, cops picked out several for arrest and the ugly crack of a billy club was heard coming down on a marcher's head (luckily protected by a plastic helmet).

The demonstrators instantly called to spectators in the windows overlooking the scene: "You saw it. You saw them attack us!"

The onlookers nodded and shouted agreement and words of encouragement.

Undaunted and with spirits still high and salty, the marchers continued, although moving lines of cops practically surrounded them.

"WHAT KIND OF TRAP?"

They were angry with the "leaders" from the outset, because of the Wednesday's collaboration with the police

and because of the morning negotiations during which the demonstration was kept penned up seemingly endlessly in Battery Park and made to retreat backward toward the water and to get into formation so many abreast so as to "avoid arrest."

They had shouted such remarks as "what kind of trap will it be today?" and "Maybe none abreast will avoid arrest, too!"

After the police attack, one marcher inquired of a coalition leader, "What do you think of your cops, now?"

On one occasion — at the UN — the cops arrested over 100 after "promising" the leaders that they wouldn't.

STOP THE WAR!

Even where spectator response was not sympathetic, the marchers tried to gain friends. To printers jeering from a loft window, they chanted: "Higher pay for printers — Stop the war now!" The printers stopped jeering.

When they reached the Union Square area, the leaders said the cops would let them go as far as 23rd St. and then arrest those who continued uptown. But at 16th and 17th, several groups were surrounded (on Irving Place). And as girls from Washington Irving High School looked on, cops attacked one of the trapped contingents, brutally beating many individuals.

The rest met in Union Square park to decide what further action to take.

STILL DEFIANT!

Fred Halstead of the SWP suggested that they all go home until 50,000 people could be organized. A number of slogan hoarse voices shouted this down.

Deirdre Stapp of YAWF urged the crowd to go to Times Square through the garment district and appeal to the workers there.

But as the people remained to talk it over, the cops massed around the park so menacingly that the crowd decided to disperse and regroup in Times Square.

The anti-draft week thus ended at the recruiting booth again.

The draft headquarters was still running. But the people of New York were more aware than ever that young people were willing to fight against the war, even at great risk to their personal safety and freedom.

Committee to Aid the NLF.

On Friday, Dec. 8, cops cornered several hundred demonstrators on Broadway south of Canal Street. Mounted cops charged into the crowd pressed against a wall. After a struggle in which Teague rushed to the defense of the bearer of the NLF flag, he was singled out by a squad of cops who grabbed him, shoved him against a parked car and clubbed him viciously. Fortunately he had on a protective helmet and escaped serious injury.

He was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and carrying a deadly weapon. All but the latter charge was dropped. Bail was set at \$1,000. A bond for that amount was posted by YAWF for his release.

John Kronick, also of the U.S. Committee, was viciously clubbed and had several stitches in his head.

Protest to Be Held

A protest rally at City Hall in Manhattan will assert the Constitutional right of people to demonstrate against the war and demand an end to police beating and arrest of demonstrators.

It will begin at 4 p.m., Dec. 21 and continue to 6 p.m. Under Parade Committee auspices, it is expected that a group from the rally will go into City Hall to tell the Mayor the sentiments of the meeting.

Those "Longshoremen" Who Attacked Demonstrators Hid Their Badges

NEW YORK, Dec. 8 — The imperialist press here claimed that 100 "longshoremen" attacked anti-war demonstrators and started a number of fist fights during the militant draft actions near Whitehall today.

This obvious attempt to pit the working class against the youth and student protesters against the draft went deeper than just whipping up a few backward workers.

A number of the so-called "longshoremen" were seen to have tiny green buttons in their lapels. These were marks used by plainclothes policemen to identify each other. They were used widely by infiltrators of the demonstration itself.

In addition, among the "longshoremen" there were at least two cops who did not have the distinguishing green

buttons. They were recognized by a social worker among the demonstrators.

Furthermore, two longshoremen, with a combined seniority of over ten years, said they did not recognize a single one of the reactionary mob. (Admittedly, these two bonafide longshoremen do not know all their fellow workers on all docks. But they are widely acquainted, and especially so in this particular area.)

Generally speaking, the industrial workers of New York City have not played a substantial role in the anti-war demonstrations as yet. And many union leaderships — the bureaucracies — take a pro-war stand, while a growing minority, even of the leaders, openly oppose the essentially anti-labor war.

-Thailand, the Next Vietnam

Continued from Page 1

and also has a deep-water dock for vessels of 10,000 tonnage. Until recently 80 per cent of U.S. bombing raids over Vietnam and Laos were initiated from airbases in Thailand.

However, the growing guerrilla upsurge throughout Thailand has forced the Pentagon to station over 60,000 troops in Thailand. As the revolution in that country grows in strength, Thailand seems marked by U.S. imperialism as the next Vietnam. In a broadcast on October 25, the "Voice of the People of Thailand," radio station of the Patriotic Front of Thailand, said,

"... by applying the strategy and tactics of people's war and giving full play to its incomparable might, the Thai people's armed forces have killed or wounded 1,106 and captured 35 enemy troops over the past two years. They have thus dealt a heavy blow at the U.S.-Thai reactionary clique.

"The rapid growth of the people's forces and the spread of the armed struggle has struck panic among the U.S.-Thai reactionaries who have to step up their suppression in an attempt to wipe out the people's armed forces. But the enemy's "mopping-up" operations have been smashed one after another."



U. S. TROOPS IN THAILAND being blessed by a Buddhist priest at U-Tapao.

YAWF Leader Arrested: Fingering by Cops

NEW YORK, Dec. 7 — Key Martin, National Chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism, was the first person to be arrested here today in the third day of mass demonstrations against the draft after he was fingered by police in a round-up of demonstration leaders. He was charged with disorderly conduct while attempting to make a phone call.

Mr. Martin left the demonstration in Battery Park at 6:30 a.m. to make a phone call nearby. As he stood on line behind two students from New York University waiting to use the phone, a cop recognized him as the leader of the militant youth group.

A few seconds later several cops grabbed Mr. Martin off the line and placed him under arrest, refusing to say what the charges were. He was held for three hours without charges and was then informed that he was accused of "disorderly conduct."

Mr. Martin was recently released on \$1,000 bail after serving two months of a six-month sentence in federal prison for aiding GIs at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, to organize against the war.

Walter Teague Beaten, Arrested in Police Frame-up

New York police clubbed and arrested Walter Teague, Chairman of the U.S.

Send Xmas Greetings to a Black Liberation Fighter

BULLETIN

BUFFALO, Dec. 11 — Judge Frederick Marshall today committed Martin Sostre to ten days psychiatric observation at Meyer Memorial Hospital.

After an interchange between Mr. Sostre and Marshall about the right of Sostre to act as legal counsel for Geraldine Robinson, his co-defendant in a frame-up narcotics case, the judge threatened to literally gag Sostre.

"Go ahead," said the militant Black liberation fighter. The judge then whipped out an order, prepared beforehand, for commitment to Meyer.

Submitting political prisoners to the ordeal of confinement in a psychiatric ward is an old and tried method of judicial intimidation.

Note: for the next week to ten days please address all messages of greetings and solidarity to Martin Sostre to Meyer Memorial Hospital in Buffalo, New York.

Contributions to the Martin Sostre Committee should be sent to P.O. Box 382, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York, 14205.

There are more political prisoners than ever this Christmas: the Fort Hood Three, David Mitchell, Ronald Lockman, the Puerto Rican Nationalists, Morton Sobell, Captain Levy, and many, many others.

Special note should be taken of Martin Sostre, however, held in Erie County prison since the uprising in Buffalo last summer. He symbolizes all those liberation fighters who rose up so gloriously in 126 U.S. cities, braved police bullets to get a modicum of freedom. Unnamed thousands were taken to prison. Tortured hundreds still remain there.

Sostre has been in jail nearly five months awaiting trial on a vicious frame-up charge. His real "crime" was leading his people and helping them understand the logic of the rebellions by, among other things, running the Afro-Asian Bookstore.

His bail is \$12,500 cash or \$25,000 property bond.

Please address Christmas mail to:

Mr. Martin Sostre
c/o Erie County Jail
10 Delaware Avenue
Buffalo, New York 14201.

Fort Sill Anti-War GI In European 'Underground'

By F. RICHARDSON

The anti-war spirit of Fort Sill GIs has crossed the Atlantic. It has crossed the ocean and echoed back across the U.S. when a young soldier "someplace in Europe" gave a widely publicized interview to tell of anti-war organizing in the army.

Eighteen year old Richard Perrin joined the active anti-war movement among soldiers at Fort Sill last summer. He released a strong public statement against the war through the Committee for GI Rights (see accompanying letter) and was then court martialed for a minor pass violation.



Spec. 4 Dick Wheaton and Pvt. Dick Perrin at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

He was given 30 day's imprisonment in the stockade where officers gave him person-to-person indoctrination lectures to try to break down his anti-war attitude. They told him how bad communism was and how good capitalist democracy was. Later he told fellow GIs, "They made it sound so great about how free it was I'd almost be convinced and then I'd look around and remember that I was in the stockade."

He was then shipped to Europe. In December, sitting between Stokely Carmichael and a Dutch anti-war youth, and facing CBS television cameras, Pvt. Perrin told reporters and the TV audience that he was a "resister inside the army" activist (a RITA) and he recounted the steps from his ques-

Open Letter from Pvt. Dick Perrin

The following is a letter released by Pvt. Richard Perrin last July to the Committee for GI Rights and which was made public at that time. We reprint this letter in view of Mr. Perrin's filmed interview on CBS television from somewhere in Europe, where he is helping to organize GI resistance inside the army.

Before I enlisted in the Army six months ago, I had been to only one anti-war meeting, seeing the film "The Time of the Locust" and hearing a tape of Bertrand Russell's Appeal to the American Conscience. I was amazed at the atrocities but pushed all this into the back of my mind.

I wanted to forget. However, at Ft. Leonard Wood, Mo., when I was sitting in a PX cafeteria, I overheard at the next table two sergeants joking and laughing about Vietnam. They told of tying a "VC's" hands behind his back and torturing him to extract information.

I was being trained as a truck mechanic and was on my way to Ft. Sill to be trained as a mechanic for armored tanks and self-propelled artillery. I was being trained to support these atrocities. If I were to be sent to Vietnam, my support would be very direct.

At this point I decided to find out for myself the justice of this war if there was any. Everyone was telling me that there was but they couldn't tell what the justice of it was. There wasn't much around on the war. It wasn't until I got to Ft. Sill that I got literature. I told my brother my feel-

tioning of U.S. policy to his outright resistance.

When asked whether he agreed with Carmichael's recent call for the defeat of the United States in Vietnam, Pvt. Perrin replied:

"I do not think it would do any harm for the United States to be set back. I would rather have peace."

Though doubting the rightness of the war after talking to returning veterans in 1965 he later joined the army in 1966 "to get it over with" since he could not get a worthwhile job with his 1-A draft status.

At his second post, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, he met Pvt. Andy Stapp who had already organized a group of anti-war GIs. He joined them and took an active part in their activity of influencing other soldiers against the war with arguments and leaflets. Soldiers at the fort were supported by the Committee for GI Rights and activists from Youth Against War & Fascism with whom Pvt. Perrin worked closely.

(Maryann Weissman, Coordinator for the Committee for GI Rights and Key Martin, Chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism were later arrested trying to enter the base where Pvt. Perrin and Pvt. Stapp were both being court martialed.)

Pvt. Perrin reported that the anti-war resistance movement inside the army was growing rapidly.

Back at Fort Sill, army brass was frantically trying to stifle Pvt. Andy Stapp and fellow anti-war GIs. Pvt. Stapp was being threatened with a "other than honorable" discharge for his actions which the army termed "detrimental to the morale of soldiers" and "subversive."

Pvt. Stapp fought back and demanded a hearing. The army at first scheduled a Field Board Hearing for Pvt. Stapp on December 18th.

On December 13th two colonels arrived at Fort Sill from Washington and questioned GIs to determine their "suitability" as witnesses against Pvt. Stapp.

On the same day, Pvt. Stapp's hearing was postponed to January 9th.

ings and he told me to look up Andy Stapp, who had just been court-martialed for anti-war activities. From Andy I found out about the Ft. Hood Three, Capt. Levy, Pfc. Luftig, Lt. Howe, Pfc. Petrick, GIs at Ft. Dix and Ft. Lewis, Wash.

I wasn't alone. I read about the cases of the GIs in "Soldiers Against the War," Bertrand Russell's Appeal, Felix Greene's "Vietnam! Vietnam!", back issues of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and the Partisan, all the anti-war literature I could get.

The anti-war movement had answers. I shared this material with the guys in the barracks and they'd shake their heads and say "Don't say it," with a what-can-we-do expression on their faces. But they'd always come back and ask for more literature about the war. After reading the Vietnamese history, the purpose of the anti-war movement and the reasons for our government being there, it became quite obvious to me that there was an imperialistic nature and this was the only reason.

I sincerely hope that the people of the U.S. will wake up to the fact that they are being led through something which will one day be written as the darkest period in American history. The people of the world will condemn the U.S. as they condemned Hitler. I want to express my utmost gratitude for those who are fighting to stop the war in Vietnam. I hope that we anti-war GIs can count on your support in our activities.

Pvt. Richard Perrin
Ft. Sill, Okla.

Workers Take Over Plant For 9 Hrs., After Lockout



RCA WORKERS LOCKED OUT after militant sit-in at Broad St. RCA Building. Favorite slogan; "RCA, Cheap, Cheap; Cheap!"

NEW YORK — Some of the most militant action in the area this month is in the lockout of communication workers by the Rockefeller-dominated RCA Communications center.

The company had 170 of them arrested on the first day of the lockout because two whole shifts refused to leave the company premises on Broad St. when RCA told them to go.

The contract between the company and Teamsters Local 10 ended at midnight, Nov. 30. The 4-12 shift stayed in the halls after midnight. The 12-8 shift punched in and sat all night at their machines, refusing to leave at 8 a.m.

With two shifts inside, the company then called police, barred the front entrance and refused to allow the day shift in to work. And they insisted that the plant be cleared of all union employees.

In as clear a case of lockout as this city has seen, the workers inside resisted the edict for many hours. Finally leaving around 3 p.m. at the behest of the international union leaders, the whole 170, including the leaders, were carted off to jail, where they stayed for several hours before being bailed out.

They went off in the paddy wagons with boisterous shouts, men and women, black and white.

The company is charging them with criminal trespass (for the overtime they spent without pay at their own machines!)

Picket lines have been maintained on a 7-day, round-the-clock basis. And the chanting militancy, like some of the sit-in tactics, might have been borrowed from today's draft resistance demonstrations as easily as from yesterday's arsenal of labor strategy.

The union, formerly an independent one, witch-hunted and isolated by the larger American Communication Workers, AFL-CIO leadership, has recently affiliated to the Teamsters. Cooperation from truck drivers supposed to be making deliveries or pickups is very high. Garbage remains uncollected by the organized garbage drivers, and the stink, according to reports, is also very high.

The main economic demand is for a 20 per cent raise in wages or \$20, whichever is bigger, and a better pension plan. The company has offered 4 per cent or \$4.

The starting rate for teletypists is \$87 per week.

All branches of RCA are out solid. These include Washington, DC; Chatham, Mass.; San Juan, P.R.; San Francisco; Honolulu and Guam.

They DON'T Buy Bonds Where They Work !

The Army Brass doesn't think the GIs are doing enough when they sweat, wade through swamps, live for days on C-rations, and face death in battle. The Brass has, since the beginning of the Vietnamese war, been using every conceivable kind of pressure to force the GIs to buy war bonds.

If they really believed they were fighting in a just cause, the soldiers in Vietnam and in the training camps in the U.S. would buy bonds without a murmur —(as the Vietnamese people do when they contribute whatever they have to the National Liberation Army). It wouldn't be necessary for officers to cancel a GI's leave on the eve of his departure for Vietnam in order to force him to buy a bond. It wouldn't be necessary to deny him a promotion, refuse him a week-end pass, or assign him to long hours at dirty work details. But this is exactly what the Brass has been doing all along.

It all came out into the open at a Senate hearing last week when Sen. Sam J. Ervin, chairman of the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee,

sponsored a bill to make it a court-martial offence for any officer, or his agent, to coerce any GI into buying government bonds or contributing to charities. The Senate passed the bill in record time!

Remembering at what a snail's pace the Senate usually travels when any kind of a reform is thrown into the Congressional wagon, it's easy to guess that the fighting men themselves must have kindled quite a fire under the Senate's rear end to make it go so fast this time.

The subcommittee said its "files are filled with complaints from members of the armed forces about pressures to buy bonds or contribute to various causes." This, if you've ever talked to a GI about it, is putting it mildly!

The next time you turn on the TV and hear the soapy voice of the millionaire Bob Hope (or some other high paid patriot) saying, "He buys bonds where he works" and you see a soldier being dumped out of a helicopter into battle, remember he doesn't want to buy bonds any more than you do because he doesn't believe in the war any more than you do!

A One-Act Play Tells the Story; Tragedy Without (Many) Tears

Automated Out, and You're a 'Dodo Bird'

Ordinarily, the theatre is sort of an opium for the middle classes, just as the movies and TV are for the working class. But the off-Broadway shows sometimes give a chance for social protest to be heard, although all too often in symbolic and abstract form in which the spectator is asked to figure it all out, and somehow can't do it.

The Peddler and the Dodo Bird, two interconnected one-act plays at the Martinique in New York, are different. And every class-conscious worker would enjoy seeing them and feel the high-than-movie price was well worth paying for the much higher quality performance.

What is most unusual about the Dodo Bird is its authenticity. Not only is most of the story about the results of the closing of the Buffalo Bolt Plant in North Tonawanda, N.Y., a true one (even the

truth might have been dull in less expert hands). But the workers "come alive" — not like they do in the grade-B movies about construction gangs and the like, but with the real humanness that even the meanest of workers really do have, and seldom is seen in movies or plays.

The Dodo Bird is the automated-out relic, the former appendage to his machine, who is now "no good," even though he finally got a job. His tragedy is the tragedy of many, many others, and it is told with great understanding and power.

The Peddler is a more middle-class type, a house-to-house salesman, who was a "cracker-jack" and saved enough to buy a laundromat, but the plant closing and his friend's two-timing breaks him — morally, as well as financially.

The actors have fully caught the spirit of conflict between organized action

(in strikes, wildcats, etc.) and individual self-interest, although this is not the main theme of the play. And they show the crudeness, the unfeeling, unimaginative side as well as the deeply sensitive and perceptive side of the working class, doing so with real zest and gusto.

Manny Fried, the author, former union organizer and district director of the United Electrical Workers in the Buffalo region, knows whereof he speaks. Not automated out himself, but witch-hunted out in the early fifties, he has more than ordinary appreciation of the plight of the Dodo Bird. He helped to organize the men at Buffalo Bolt, shared their feelings, saw their personal tragedies.

His feat with the Peddler is equally remarkable and he seems equally able

to deal with the problems and sicknesses of the middle class. The play is probably not so original or quite so enjoyable as the Dodo Bird, only because there are others who have dealt with the Peddler's problems, too. The malaise of the middle class is getting to be an old story in the modern theatre. But in this case, it does have the special appeal of its connection with the plant closing. And it's well worth seeing anyway, especially along with the gripping and appealing Dodo Bird.

John Randolph is great in both plays, Leonard Cinino is a smash as the Dodo Bird. Thomas Anderson, an Afro-American, plays two so-called "white" parts well. Philip Sterling is the mad-deningly frustrated Peddler, and Walter Flanagan plays "Bull," the unconscious sadist (there's at least one in every department!) as though he just stepped out of the mill himself.

Both plays were directed by Sidney Walters and produced by Lily Turner.

— V. C.

Strikebreaker Dies

By MILT SEAMAN

They came from all over to pay homage to Cardinal Spellman in death. They eulogized, honored and revered the record of Christian righteousness, justice and compassion that spanned his fifty years in the Catholic church. Stories of his benevolence and charity filled pages in the daily press and tons of words were spouted by the preachers and politicians.

To eternalize all this, the Catholic hierarchy had readied a biography of his life to be placed in his coffin. It was encased in lead and prepared by Sister Mary Andrew, one of the few persons in the U.S. skilled in the medieval art of illuminating (intricate decoration of manuscript pages).

History surely will be illuminated by the "good works" of Cardinal Spellman. But it would enlighten history even more

Acting in behalf of the wealthy trustees of St. Patrick's Cathedral who operated this cemetery along with their other investments, Cardinal Spellman on March 4 of that year, flanked by two auxiliary bishops, three priests and a strong contingent of police, boldly rolled by two pickets of Local 293, United Cemetery Workers CIO. Shoulder to shoulder with the cardinal were 100 student priests from St. Joseph's seminary with shovels in hand who answered his call to scab. Cardinal Spellman, who supervised their grave digging, called their scabbing "a corporal work of mercy."

The New York Times of March 6 quoted him without blushing:

"I admit to this accusation of strike-breaking and I am proud of it. The reasons I considered trying to break this strike is because I think it is an immoral strike and an unjustifiable strike."

For eight days, this humane and righteous cardinal led his 100 shovel-carrying scabs on their mercy mission to break the strike. And it soon became clear that the compassionate cleric was not only interested in keeping slave wages, but also was intent on breaking the union.

Following a meeting with five wives of the strikers (all the cemetery workers were Catholic) who begged the Cardinal for Christian compassion, one of the strikers' wives stated "the Cardinal was adamant — promising nothing except that the strikers could return with a small increase but not as union men. He wants no part of the union."

Spellman charged that the parent union organization (CIO) was Communist-led, faithless and godless. Against an unprecedented stream of red-baiting charges, the men panicked and voted unanimously to disaffiliate themselves from Local 293 United Cemetery Workers CIO and join an AFL local, probably of the Cardinal's choosing.

At the end of that week the strike was broken and the men returned to work. Spellman's concept of Christian justice and morality was now put into dollars and cents. The men lost their fight for a five-day, 40-hour week. They received what Spellman reported was an 8 per cent increase and a sermon of forgiveness from the Cardinal himself.

"I have determined (the settlement) after the disaffiliation of the local union from its Communist dominated parent union — and based upon the dictates of my conscience before the highest and only indisputable law — the law of God — and if ever again the working men of this archdiocese must make their choice between following their faith or their faithless leadership they will, of their own free will and immediate choice, choose God."



Business Report

Competition may be breaking out in an old field in a new way.

Religionists are talking about active competition with LSD-pushers — churchmen claim their product is better.

At a conference held at the New York Statler-Hilton in October (which we nearly overlooked) a Reverend David DuPlessis told the "Regional Convention of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International" that: "Young people today are simply craving for visions so they turn to LSD in order to get a 'trip'..."

But, he declared, such products as LSD were fakes ("unnatural, not supernatural") and that he and his fellow businessmen should be pushing the fact that they have the only real "supernatural" product on the market.

In recent years the field has been invaded more and more by the aggressive young forces which are pushing LSD and other products which in some areas among youth have practically replaced the old reliable opiate put out by religious forces.

However, young salesmen like Reverend DuPlessis have not been taking the new challenge lying down. They now hope to put forth their re-issue of the old "supernatural vision" product which served as a feature of the old basic opiate for so long.

The larger and more prosperous of the religious businesses have for some time almost completely put aside such products as "visions" as being unmarketable in the modern day. While it is probable that these larger firms will not openly alter their advertising at this time, some of their spokesmen privately admit that they do occasionally prescribe such products for specific purposes. But these "non-visionists" or "revisionists" have maintained that the mass market will not take the crude old-time visions seriously. They say that the market is best served by encouraging the simpler tried and true formula of assuring the rich that their methods of making money (skeptics have even referred to it as stealing money) is morally justifiable and that God has said it was okay, and at the same time promising the poor that even if they are getting a "raw deal" — as some of them call it — they will eventually be rewarded someplace up in the sky — if they do not complain and cause trouble.

This old formula is now being criticized as "inadequate."

Too many people (especially youth) are demanding something now.

Forward-looking (or backward-looking) churchmen, like Reverend DuPlessis (who is from the forward-looking — or backward-looking — country of South Africa) are now insisting that the church must promise visions now — as well as something good up in the sky later. Otherwise they fear (and the market seems to bear them out) that their piece of the action will dwindle still further.

On the other hand, backers of LSD and similar products which produce visions by chemicals introduced into the body, claim their opiate is not only more reliable but can be "turned-on" whenever desired, a distinct advantage over the church-type product which is difficult to regulate.

Churchmen have countered this claim by pointing out that LSD is "potentially damaging to the mind."

Independent observers have caused concern in both circles by stating that both the church product and the LSD, chemical-type opiate are damaging to the mind.

From evidence which they present, it appears that supernatural visions and experiences, whether induced by chemical means or by chemical-less mysticism, render the mind incapable of proper functioning. That is, to put it more simply, when a mind is occupied with viewing angels or LSD-type visions, it becomes incapable of coping with real problems.

Independent observers also say that the apparent sharpening of competition between religion and LSD is only a part of the story.

Pointing to monopoly interests which have taken over everything else from soup to autos, these observers maintain that while competition may exist between advocates of religion and LSD, they are actually divisions of the large monopolies which are, in fact, promoting both products not so much as profitable but as effective opiates which serve the vital purpose of maintaining a docile population.

They claim that a docile population is vital to monopolies — that monopolies are anxious to find more effective ways to keep people from complaining about low pay, high prices or war. Maintaining docility has become very difficult lately, these observers point out.

However, church-backers, LSD-backers, and monopoly spokesmen all agree that such a viewpoint is "Communistic."



if the scrolls recorded his role as chief strike breaker in the grim eight-week struggle of the cemetery workers against the Calvary Cemetery in Queens, N.Y., in 1949.

The 240 members of Local 293 CIO had been on strike for seven weeks and the issues to them were much more than moral. They had been working a six-day week for \$59.50 and all they were asking for was a 40 hour week at the same rate of pay — with time-and-a-half for Saturday and other overtime. Cardinal Spellman publicly attacked this proposal as "a demand for a new wage scale that would raise the men's pay check to \$77.22."