

Mississippi reply to Negroes: Death

By Robert Analavage
Special to the Guardian

Jackson, Miss.

THE CITY OF JACKSON has always resorted to one method to suppress protests by discontented black people—massive, brutal force. The uprising which took place May 11 at Jackson State College was no exception. One veteran civil rights worker was killed, four youths were wounded (all of them black) and many arrests were made.

And as has been the case with student revolts in the past, a seemingly innocuous incident led to challenge and confrontation, anger and fury, arrest and death.

Theoretically, Mississippi law states that city police have no jurisdiction on a college campus because each college maintains its own guard and enforces the law. This rule is observed on Mississippi white campuses but, as might be expected, is given only token recognition on Negro campuses.

On May 10, two students were arrested by the Negro cops on charges of speeding on campus. Both of the policemen have reputations for brutality against their own race. (Many Negroes say that the chief requisite for a black cop's advancement on the police force is his proved viciousness toward his own people, who are of course in Mississippi the only ones he has authority over.)

Students angered

JSC students were holding elections for the student government at the time of the incident. Angered, they poured out of the meeting hall and ordered the police off campus, reminding them that the college security guard had jurisdiction. The policemen radioed headquarters. Soon six squad cars filled with white policemen appeared.

The students considered this a gesture of contempt toward the school's supposed legal autonomy, and with bricks and mere numbers they drove the police back across Lynch St., which splits the campus. The police withdrew and the students occupied the street, shutting off traffic.

(A recurrent student demand at JSC has been that the Lynch St. speed limit be lowered from 45 mph to 15 and that an overpass be built to protect students as they cross from one campus section to another. Also, local white hoodlums have used the street to speed through while they shouted obscenities at the Negro students.)

The police made no move as the students occupied Lynch St., but instead sealed off the area with barricades. Meanwhile, students at nearby Tougaloo College learned of the trouble, commandeered a school bus and drove to the JSC campus to lend support.

The mayor talks

A night of disturbance followed in the sealed-off sector; telephone booths, street lights, and a store were destroyed.

The next day Mayor Allen Thompson entered the student sector in a Cadillac, accompanied by an escort of motorcycle police with riot guns. Climbing upon the hood of the car he addressed the students with a bull horn.

"We got a great city," he exclaimed.

"Yea!" the students shouted back.

Then as the mayor tried to speak he was drowned out with shouts of the black anti-war slogan, popularized by Stokely Carmichael, "Hell no, we won't go! Hell no, we won't go!"

Thompson then said, "We're going to talk, call policemen away and all the guards, and let you tend to your own business."

Motorcycles revved up and the mayor and police withdrew from the student

(Continued on Page 9)

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BILLBOARD LENDS GRIM IRONY AT JACKSON, MISS., AFTER POLICE KILLING OF NEGRO RIGHTS WORKER
The marchers are on their way to City Hall to protest the May 11 shooting of Ben Brown

U.S. 'guilty' of war crimes

By John Duffett
Special to the Guardian

Stockholm

THE INTERNATIONAL War Crimes Tribunal ended its sessions here May 10—its ninth day—as the president of the Tribunal, Jean-Paul Sartre, read its findings to the spectators. The Tribunal, which has had great impact upon world opinion, at least in Europe, made three judgments:

- That the U.S. and its co-belligerents in Southeast Asia have committed crimes against world peace by consistent violation of international agreements defining the nature of aggression.

- That the U.S. and its co-belligerents have committed war crimes by conducting the war in Southeast Asia in ways which violate many international agreements and conventions on warfare.

- That the U.S. and its co-belligerents have committed crimes against humanity by systematic and selective bombardment of the civilian population with weapons specifically designed for such purpose.

The Tribunal reviewed for eight days a stream of testimony by investigation teams which had extensively toured Cambodia and Vietnam. Entered into evidence by the Tribunal session president, Vladimir Dedijer, were thousands of documents, photographs, personal interviews and depositions taken by about 25 experts in the fields of public health, science, political history, international law, medicine, and military tactics and ballistics. These investigators presented evidence almost pedantic in the thoroughness of its documentation. The U.S. government, however it chooses to answer—and if it does—will have difficulty in disputing these charges. The effects of the Tribunal will gather momentum as details of its findings become available to the world press.

On May 8 Lelio Basso, international

lawyer and deputy in the Italian Parliament, presented a legal summary of the witnesses' findings on violations of international law in the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. There was general agreement among the legal experts that many agreements, including the Nuremberg Judgments, the Hague Agreements on Codes of Conduct in War, the Geneva Agreements of 1954, the U.S. Army's Rules for Land Warfare, and the Charter of the United Nations, have been violated repeatedly. Indefinite as the juridical language defining aggression is, Basso said, the policy followed by the U.S. in Southeast Asia unquestionably constitutes aggression.

More horrifying to a layman observer, however, was the opinion expressed by several investigators who visited North Vietnam that U.S. authorities are consciously carrying out a new kind of "psycho-social war" against the people of Asia. This warfare, tailored for use against underdeveloped nations, involves a mass homicidal kind of bombing against the civilian population and institutions necessary to the survival of the people, such as schools, hospitals, sanatoriums, churches and pagodas.

War cost soaring

A NEW INCREASE of \$5 billion will raise the cost of the Vietnam war to a minimum of \$26.9 billion in the 1968 fiscal year, government sources disclosed May 12. The increase puts the total figure well over the Administration's current estimates.

In testimony from the Defense Department at a congressional hearing released last week, it was reported that the U.S. has spent almost \$20 billion since World War II on missile systems which were never completed or superseded as obsolete.

This "psycho-social" warfare has been in use in Vietnam long enough now, the witnesses said, so that it is now a standard attack procedure. First a wave of planes in formation bomb houses and any solid structures that appear in reconnaissance photos with high-explosive demolition bombs. This attack wave is followed by low-flying planes which come in slightly over treetop level to drop napalm and "super-napalm" on the inhabitants as they flee to shelters or attempt emergency first aid.

Improved . . . enriched

The so-called super-napalm bomb is an "improved" version, more adhesive and "enriched" with a mixture of sodium, magnesium and phosphorous. It burns at a temperature of 1,500 to 2,000 degrees Centigrade. If the victim recovers he or she is left covered with keloid scars like those of Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors burned by radioactivity. Flaming napalm is semi-fluid; it "runs" almost like lava and drives people out of bomb shelters and trenches. The next stage in this type of attack is another wave of planes to strike with a new and demonic anti-personal bomb called a "CBU"—"container or cluster bomb unit."

The CBU bomb has only minor effect upon concrete or even thick wood structures, but is designed exclusively to destroy human beings, the witness said. It consists of a "mother bomb" containing from 300 to 640 small "guava" bomblets much like hand grenades, but infinitely more deadly. Each guava is charged with 260 to 300 steel pellets about the size of a small pea. Those guavas are exploded by a charge of cyclotol, much more powerful than the TNT in a conventional hand grenade.

When a "guava" bomb explodes the

(Continued on Page 8)

Guardian VIEWPOINT

The fire

"You can see very clearly how a village burns, even a dozen miles away. A pretty sight. You've no idea what a fine effect even the most insignificant little hamlet, which you wouldn't even notice in the daytime, in the dullest country, will make at night when it's burning. You'd think it was Notre Dame! A village takes all night to burn, even a small one; it looks like a great big flower of flame, then a bud, then nothing is left. It smokes for a while, and then morning comes."*

By comparison, the burning of a flag, even an American flag, cannot equal the burning of a village, though some would have it so.

There are those who watch with satisfaction or apathy a peasant hamlet burn on the 7 o'clock television newscast but rage against the burning of an article of cloth—symbolic cloth no doubt; but cloth, not an old woman or a child. They call themselves patriots, but patriotism so perverted is madness.

The present legislation before congress—more than 50 bills have been introduced—to make flag-burning a federal crime is symptomatic of this "patriotism." All told it is doubtful a half-dozen U.S. flags have been burned in America by those who oppose the war in Vietnam in the last two years. How many Vietnamese peasants have been burned to death by fire or napalm in the same period? Needless to say, no

*Louis-Ferdinand Celine, in *Journey to the End of Night* (1932).

congressman has introduced legislation to make the slaughter of Asian civilians a federal crime. That would be unpatriotic.

One congressman has even proposed the death penalty for flag-burners. A few suggest sedition trials for those who "curse the flag." Still others urge punishment for those who advocate draft defiance, even when the right to such advocacy is protected by the Constitution. "Let's forget the First Amendment," says Rep. Edward Hebert (D-La.). Rep. Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, goes so far as to imply a "conspiracy" exists between the Justice Department and some federal judges to protect draft dissenters.

The most vociferous patriots of the last few weeks have been Southern congressmen for whom the description "racist" is charitable. Much of their hostility is directed at black leaders such as Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick, Martin Luther King and boxing champion Muhammad Ali—all of whom have opposed the war along with millions of other Americans.

Such patriotism, however, is not confined to a handful of blatant racists. Pollster George Gallup

reports that one out of four American adults would approve of the use of atomic weapons to gain victory in Vietnam. In New York, 70,000 citizens marched down Fifth Ave. to "support our boys in Vietnam," which basically means, as many of their placards proclaimed, "Bomb Hanoi."

The rise of patriotic fervor during a war is not unexpected. Those who amass great wealth and power from wars plan it that way. The real significance of recent patriotic outbursts is not so much that they occur but that they occur in reaction to a highly developed anti-war movement operating in the midst of a war.

If the anti-war movement in the United States is a minority, so is the pro-war movement. The mass of Americans, who normally follow the patriots in a war, are strangely indifferent to this war, and perhaps even disturbed. The ultra-patriots, in clothing themselves in the flag and threatening those who refuse to do likewise, are upping the ante in an effort to coerce the recalcitrant majority. Those who oppose the war should look upon this as a challenge, not a fearsome assault. They, too, should up the ante.

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LETTERS

The Sunflower election

Because of its importance, the GUARDIAN prints in full the text of the letter below.

NEW YORK

Robert Analavage's article on the Sunflower-Moorhead elections appearing in the May 13 issue of the GUARDIAN begins as follows:

"The people of Sunflower County lost. Anyone who tries to read a victory into the May 2 election results here would be unrealistic, and worse—cruel to the people of this county."

"Once again, electoral politics, as in Lowndes County, Ala., last fall, failed as a method of lifting people out of the oppression under which they live."

The undersigned, who claim some familiarity with the Sunflower-Moorhead campaign because of their intensive involvement in it for the last 14 months, both there and in the North, deny that it is "unrealistic . . . to read a victory into the May 2 elections" or that it is "cruel" to do so or say as much. We reject the clear implication of the article that the Sunflower-Moorhead elections are merely the latest exemplification of the futility of participating in electoral politics; and find unacceptable the counterfeit logic which says that a struggle was not worth waging because it met a defeat.

We believe that the May 13 article distorts reality since it fails to report essential facts necessary to an accurate evaluation not only of the election results, but of the 14-month campaign which preceded it. For example, the article barely speaks of the organization created in the two communities in preparation for the elections, or that this organization remains intact for future efforts, such as immediate county-wide registration for the fall elections or poverty-program fights. The article is silent in reporting the emergence of courageous people beginning to master the problems and techniques of leadership—a leadership capable of functioning in the electoral as well as other struggles. How is it possible to be mute with respect to the courage displayed by each black voter in going to the polls at all in the face of the historic pattern of repression still present and active in the two communities?

If unrealism and cruelty obtain at all

with respect to the Sunflower-Moorhead campaign, they lie in telling the Sunflower-Moorhead movement that what it has been doing is futile and that electoral politics represent a dead-end street. An effort is by no means unrewarding if new organization, leadership and movement evolve from it, especially where little existed before. If we must speak of victory it is here we must look. It is bizarre that a writer and publication purporting to regard electoral politics as futile can be so crushed by election results.

Lastly, we protest the indifference of the GUARDIAN to the humanity of people in movement. The fact of the matter is that whatever the GUARDIAN or anyone else thinks, the people of Sunflower and Moorhead will be continuing their organizing activities. While it may be appropriate to share with them the bitterness they may feel following the immediate defeat of their candidates, it is totally destructive for a periodical which claims to believe in popular movement to demoralize it by stating that its aims are futile. May God deliver us from our friends! We can deal with our enemies.

We believe that an analysis of the Moorhead-Sunflower election effort still needs to be written. The GUARDIAN essay does not meet the requirements either of objective reporting or adequate analysis. For this reason, we request the opportunity to undertake this task in the columns of the GUARDIAN soon.

Joseph Harris, Patricia Horan,
Dorothy S. Jones, Susan Kinoy,
Robert Lewis, Sandra Nystrom,
Milton N. Schreiber, Joseph Shill,
Morton Stavis

The Guardian replies

The GUARDIAN welcomes the opportunity to publish this letter. We hope and expect that it will open a discussion on the viability of electoral politics as a method to change oppressive conditions of black people in the rural South, in Northern urban ghettos as well and, indeed, for an entire nation which has lost control of its foreign policy. Such a discussion is essential in advance of the presidential election year of 1968.

The Robert Analavage story did, in fact, state that in Sunflower, electoral politics failed "as a method of lifting people out of the oppression under which they live." The GUARDIAN understands

OPINION

"Confrontation . . . is inevitable"

In my view, if the present trend continues, I am afraid direct confrontation first of all between Washington and Peking is inevitable. I hope I am wrong. I am afraid we are witnessing the initial phase of World War III.

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

In my view we are witnessing today similar conditions. I am really concerned about the potentialities of this war, knowing as I do the mood not only of the principal parties primarily involved but also some of the parties not directly involved at present.

That is why I say that if the present trend continues, a direct confrontation between Washington

U Thant's opinion on the Vietnam war was expressed at a UN press luncheon in New York May 11. Please send us your opinions on controversial subjects and also source material on the opinions of others. Length, from 250 to 500 words.

and Peking is inevitable and I am afraid we are witnessing today the initial phase of World War III.

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

The fact that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a developing nation, is continuing to withstand the pressure of an enormously superior power has been and still is the essential factor which has prevented an enlargement of the conflict beyond the frontiers of Vietnam.

But in the meantime, further very heavy damage continues to be inflicted upon Vietnam, both in the North and in the South, and there is a greater risk that the possibilities of a just and lasting settlement in Southeast Asia will be definitely jeopardized as well as the detente between the larger powers . . .

U Thant,
Secretary General,
United Nations

this to be the fact of the case, just as the magnificently conceived challenge to the seating of five Mississippi congressmen—pressed through Congress by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which also sponsored the Sunflower elections—failed in 1965 as a device to lift people out of their oppression.

This is not to say that electoral politics has no meaning. In both instances and others, electoral politics became a method to build organizationally and a means by which—through direct confrontation with the system—that system was exposed.

The Analavage article was an on-the-spot news story which expressed the mood of the people in the particular confrontation which occurred in Sunflower May 2. A thorough analysis might take off from the concept expressed by Law-

rence Guyot, chairman of the MFDP (GUARDIAN, March 12, 1966): "We will use the existing institutions as a way of proving that either these institutions have to be revamped or there is simply no hope for a large segment of the population. So we try to involve as many as possible in attempting the impossible."

Organization was built, and lessons were learned in Sunflower, as the letter states and as the GUARDIAN story also stated in extensive quotes from Morton Stavis, one of the signers of the letter. The story did not imply that the "struggle was not worth waging." It laid the blame for the electoral defeat on the white power structure of Mississippi which had prevented Negroes from uniting in a struggle for power to control institutions that affect their lives.

(Continued on Page 9)

Student-worker alliance goal in Spain

By Karen Wald

Special to the Guardian
Second of two articles

Madrid

"HAVING HAD our revolution—and lost it—makes it much harder this time." The speaker, a student at the University of Madrid, pointed to the biggest problem confronting the student and worker movements in Spain: the atmosphere of total political oppression that exists 30 years after Francisco Franco took power in a fascist revolt.

"Even the minimal gains," the student continued, "take a great deal of struggle, and sometimes bloodshed." (The names of sources in this article cannot be given.)

At the universities, for instance, no student meeting may be called without approval of the dean, who in all probability is a fascist functionary. Posters, leaflets and material to be posted on the bulletin boards must be submitted to the dean—who decides whether the material is subversive. Subversion means criticism of the Franco regime.

A citizen found with one copy of a "subversive" leaflet is not usually bothered by police. Several leaflets may constitute grounds for arrest. Students who break the dean's rules may be put on trial by the school and penalized. The trials are conducted in the student's absence and no appeal is possible.

One unlocked door

Every school in a university is contained in a separate building, with one unlocked door which is flanked by guards who admit only those with appropriate credentials.

These are the conditions under which Spain's youth—invariably middle and upper class—are educated. Children of the poor, the great majority of the population, do not attend universities. Fewer than 2% of semi-skilled working-class and 1% of unskilled working-class families have children enrolled in a university. Only 4% of university students are on scholarship. A student thrown out of the university for political reasons or arrested in a political demonstration is branded for life, or at least for the life of the fascist government.

The university students who have engaged in sometimes violent demonstrations against school and state in recent months come from well-to-do families, live in homes that range from comfortable to luxurious, and are well fed and clothed. Nevertheless they are risking jail, beatings and possibly death at the hands of the grises (police) to fight for basic democratic rights.

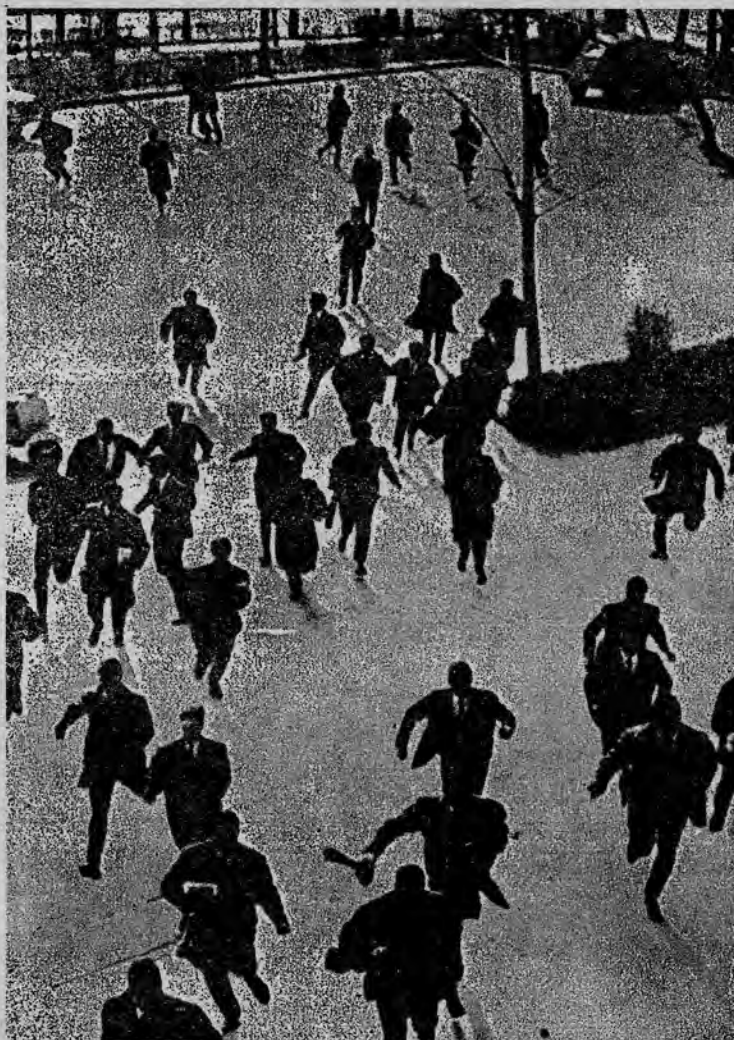
Despite class differences between the student and worker movements, and intense pressure on students to conform to an authoritarian class mold, the students make a point of identifying their interests with those of the working class. "The students are with the workers" is a frequent slogan. Students take part in workers' protests and, last winter, timed their own demonstrations to coincide with demonstrations by workers.

The more politically conscious students understand that they cannot be free unless the Spanish people are free, and that to achieve this goal students and workers must join together.

"You can't just talk in terms of the university or in making gains only for ourselves," said one Madrid student, an officer of the new student union called the Democratic Syndicat. "The problem lies not in the rules of the university, but the laws of the state. It is not the university which says that certain kinds of meetings, certain things you say or write or do are illegal. It is the Franco government. In Spain the university is simply one department of the state apparatus, and to solve the problems of the university you must first abolish the oppression of the state."

The student demonstrations in the last several months grew out of an attempt to organize students on a nation-wide basis into "democratic syndicates." A

Spanish students at Madrid University flee under attack by police during recent demonstrations. Risking jail, beatings and even death from Franco police, students continue to fight for democratic rights.



national student convention held in Barcelona in October drafted a charter for the organization.

Three months later trouble broke out at the University of Barcelona when the Democratic Syndicat sought to hold a meeting in the student delegation room. University officials denied the group use of the room because the students were not delegates of the legal (government) student union, A.P.E. When 500 students held the meeting anyway, one of the leaders was dismissed from school as a "subversive agitator."

The next day, Jan. 21, 100 angry students charged into the dean's office, destroyed furniture and records and "roughed him up a bit." Another 37 students were dismissed.

At the same time, students at the University of Madrid were also organizing a Democratic Syndicat. Hearing of events in Barcelona, the Madrid group decided to support the Barcelona students. The result was a call for a student strike and demonstration on Jan. 27, coinciding with a planned demonstration of thousands of workers protesting poor wages and working conditions and high unemployment and demanding "autonomy."

Government "union"

As with the students, the workers, too, have an official, government-approved union of which all "workers"—from the owner of an industrial firm to manual laborers—are members. This "union," to say the least, seldom functions to meet the needs of the working class.

Militant workers have organized a rival union which the Franco government was forced to recognize and negotiate with after some effective mass strikes. The Jan. 27 demonstration by this independent union took the form of three marches from factories to the center of Madrid, from 3 to 10 p.m. Police broke up the demonstration, beating and arresting many participants. Some leaders were arrested later in their homes or factories.

About 2,000 students took part in the Madrid demonstration. That day, for the first time in Spanish history, police entered the university to make political arrests, beating students in the law school. Police arrested about 100 students who threw stones in retaliation.

The next day another demonstration was held to protest the arrests. This time, several thousand students split into groups of a few hundred each and employed what they termed "guerrilla tactics"—attacking the police with stones from several directions, running away, regrouping and attacking again.

One large group of students retreated to the university cafeteria to escape police horses and water hoses. The grises ran into the building and severely beat the trapped students.

On Jan. 30, with police surrounding the university, school officials suspended classes. About 500 students held a protest rally in a commercial area of Madrid, burning fascist newspapers which blamed the disturbances on "a few subversive agitators."

The university remained closed almost two weeks. During that period, the first national coordinating meeting for the formation of a nation-wide Democratic Syndicat was held in Valencia, attended by more than 2,000 student delegates. The Franco government declared the meeting illegal and ordered the arrest of delegates. Though some students were arrested in their homes or on trains on their way to Valencia, the meeting was held anyway, illegally and in secret.

On the fourth day of the conference, police discovered the location and arrested those who could not escape. Word of the arrests spread to other Spanish universities and a national student strike was called for Feb. 7-8.

With Madrid University already closed down and every other university cooperating in the demonstration, Spain was faced with its first national strike since 1939. Demonstrations, broken up by police in the usual manner, took place in Madrid and Barcelona.

Most of the students arrested during the protests were released after a few days. Striking Barcelona students were fined. An estimated 5,000 out of 8,000 fined students refused to pay, sending instead written explanations of their action. Their fate has not yet been decided.

A second national coordinating meeting was held in a secret location April 7-9, and the decision was made to hold demonstrations (reported in the GUARDIAN last week) on April 11 to protest the trials of syndicate leaders.

The WORLD in MOVEMENT

Tipsters

Youthful police informers, called "police counselors," are being planted in the Negro slum districts of Atlanta, Ga., to tip off police to "signs of trouble." The youths presumably will keep tabs on the activities of their friends and families. Atlanta experienced four nights of "rioting" last August in slum areas. The use of teenage informers is part of the city's program to keep things quiet this summer.

Border pickets

Mexican workers picketed at the Mexican end of an international bridge crossing the Rio Grande river in support of a strike by farm workers in Starr County, Texas. The inflow of Mexican workers presented a problem for strike organizers of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The border move May 11 by members of the Confederation of Mexican Workers was believed to be the first of its kind in U.S. labor history. The Mexican pickets talked to 200 Mexican farm workers and persuaded about 120 of them not to cross the border and work for the struck U.S. growers.

Voice, yes—vote, no

Argentine students will no longer have a vote—only a "voice"—in the operation of that country's 26 universities. The decision by Argentina's education secretary followed last year's military-government intervention in the universities. The former tripartite university regime (students, professors and graduates) will be discarded, and in the future the students will only be "consulted." The decision appeared to be an attempt to discourage politically active students. "There will be no politics for students" on campus, declared the education secretary. "Those interested will have to study politics as a course in class" he said.

Okinawa restoration

Growing unrest in Okinawa, a major U.S. military base in the Western Pacific, culminated April 28 in an "Okinawa Day" rally by 150,000. The demonstrators called for the return of Okinawa to Japan "immediately and unconditionally" and demanded that the U.S. remove its military base, according to the news agency Hsinhua. The island was captured from Japan in 1945.

Minority plans

Hostility is mounting between police and minority groups throughout the U.S., the national crime commission stated April 29. The breakdown in relations was attributed to widespread harassment of minority group members by the police, coupled with police dishonesty and brutality. The commission urged greater efforts to improve police-community relations to avert a crisis. The police appear to be taking an opposite tack, however, according to a recent survey of 35 cities. Most police departments in these cities are beefing up their forces, developing elite "tactical" units and making elaborate plans to suppress anticipated summer riots in the ghettos. Only a few departments are making "hesitant" efforts to improve relations with minority groups, according to the poll in the May 5 Christian Science Monitor.

Guerrilla clash

A Bolivian military spokesman reported May 10 that guerrillas killed four government soldiers in the mountainous southeastern section of the country. The guerrillas suffered "a high number of casualties," the spokesman said.

U.S. gives probbers 'guided tour' in Vietnam

By Robert L. Allen

THE U.S. AND SAIGON governments do not want the world to know the full extent of child casualties in South Vietnam.

This is the major conclusion that can be drawn from the report of a team of four Americans who spent three weeks last month touring civilian hospitals in Vietnam.

The team, sponsored by the Committee of Responsibility—a group organized five months ago to bring war-burned and injured children to the U.S. for treatment—was given what amounted to a "guided tour" of South Vietnam.

The result was that few injured children were located—a fact the U.S. press and government agencies broadcast widely.

Two of the four team members—which included an internist, plastic surgeon, pediatrician and a former journalist—considered breaking off the investigation when they realized that it was government-controlled. This action was opposed by the other two and the tour was completed.

Thirteen children

At a press conference May 15 the group reported that it visited 37 hospitals and saw 273 war-injured children, of whom they believed 13 should be brought to the U.S. for treatment. The group estimated that three to six children would be brought to the U.S. a month and that this token number gradually would be increased.

The COR team said that recent estimates of 50,000 civilian casualties for 1967 represent "at least half of surviving war casualties" although it has been estimated by others that only one out



Prof. Leo Haas in Neues Deutschland, Berlin

of three victims ever reaches a hospital. "Eighty percent of all patients we saw were women and children," the group reported.

An article in a recent issue of Ramparts magazine said that there are about 100 hospitals in South Vietnam which treat civilians and estimated that "at least a million child casualties" have occurred since 1961. Press reports have sought to discredit this estimate by referring to the relatively few casualties seen by the COR investigating team.

William Pepper, author of the Ramparts article and a member of the board of directors of COR, attributed this apparent discrepancy to the fact that the team was given an "escorted tour" in Vietnam. "They operated under the surveillance of USAID [U.S. Agency for In-

ternational Development]," he said. "They operated under tight control and were not allowed to arrange their own itinerary." The group did not see private or sectarian hospitals, Pepper said. He added that the team also did not see hospitals in areas under National Liberation Front control. The 80% of South Vietnam under NLF control receives the bulk of U.S. firepower.

"Every attempt of the group to break the [government] schedule" said a statement released by the COR team, "was met with obstacles. Protests were unavailing. The group was officially not allowed to separate nor to conduct investigations of its own." They were told, the statement said, that they could only interview persons in South Vietnamese Ministry of Health (MOH) facilities and in the presence of an MOH escort.

Dr. Henry Mayer, a member of the COR team, said that the group had been told earlier by the U.S. government that they would have freedom of movement while in South Vietnam, but this proved not to be the case.

Committee "assured"

The committee was reportedly "assured" by William Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State, that it would receive the full cooperation and support of the U.S. State Department.

"Aren't you encouraging the continuation of the war by saying 'We'll take care of the maimed'?" asked a reporter at the press conference.

"Someone has to take care of them," replied Dr. Theodore Tapper, another member of the team. Dr. Herbert Needleman, chairman of COR, added that the

committee "has no position on the war." "Short of ending the war," injected Mayer, "this is our effort to do something for the children of Vietnam."

Asked who was responsible for civilian casualties, Mayer replied: "I don't know how many people are being killed by Americans and how many by the V.C."

"I really don't care who kills or injures these people," he said, and added that what is important is to obtain adequate medical care for the victims.

Records inadequate

The statement released by the investigators said that hospital records were often inadequate. "Many casualties never reach hospitals at all. Many die within 24 hours of being injured," it said.

"As to war burns, we observed that no burn cases in hospitals were over 20% third degree of the body surface. This means that few of those with any burns of over 20% make it to the hospital," the statement continued.

The investigators found that "several napalm cases seen in the burned ward

11 o'clock news—U.S.

Mrs. A. Landon Morrow Sr. of La-Grange, Ga., was watching the 11 p.m. news on TV April 30. An on-the-spot reporter was describing fighting in Operation Manhattan in Vietnam. An explosion took place, and the camera focused in on the wounded. Mrs. Morrow recognized her son, lying on the ground with several soldiers bending over him. The next day, the Morrrows received a telegram from the Defense Department notifying them that their 20-year-old son had been wounded but would survive. "I'll never forget the night I saw that," Mrs. Morrow told reporters. "It was on WSB, Channel 3."

at the Danang hospital and clearly identified by patients and staff had initially been labeled in the patients' dossiers as gasoline burns—apparently an honest error because the napalm bomb is also known as a gasoline bomb."

The report by the investigators concluded that most South Vietnamese hospitals visited met "minimum adequate standards" necessary for the recovery of patients, although few met U.S. standards. It urged that severely injured children be brought to the U.S. for treatment.

Peter Franklin, a former journalist and member of the COR group, remained in South Vietnam to arrange for the transport of children to the U.S. The fourth member of the team was Dr. John Constable.

Peace leaflets balk an induction

"What are you giving out?" asked the officer.

"None of your business," replied Joel Meyers, who was handing out leaflets to other young men in the Ft. Hamilton induction station in Brooklyn. Meyers had been ordered to report for induction May 4. He did, but he brought along several friends and a satchel full of anti-war leaflets.

Two of the friends stationed themselves outside the main gate in the early morning and the others went inside with Meyers. At a designated time all of them began distributing leaflets to the men reporting for induction.

After quickly reading the leaflet the officer barked, "You're not allowed to give those things out in here!" He attempted to take the remaining leaflets from Meyers but the young man, a member of Youth Against War and Fascism, protested that he was still a civilian with freedom of speech.

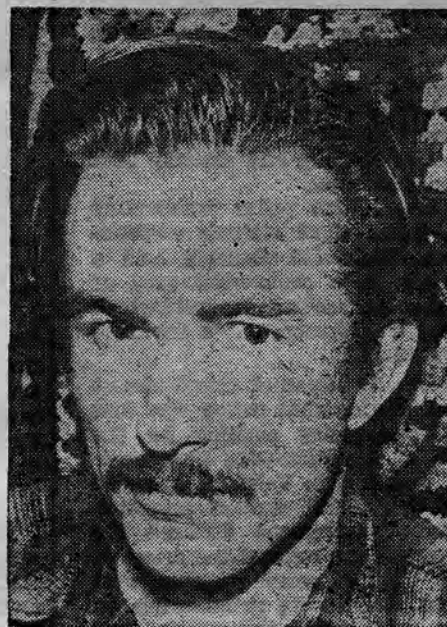
The leaflet said in part that the war in Vietnam is "an imperialist war of aggression," and urged that draftees refuse induction.

The officer left and returned with several military policemen, who grabbed the leaflets and handcuffed Meyers. His friends were ejected from the building and he was taken to the provost marshal's office, where his satchel was searched and his induction papers were confiscated.

After looking through the papers and making several phone calls, the provost marshal had Meyers uncuffed and told him: "Get out of here and don't you ever come back!" Four soldiers escorted him to the nearest exit.

Meyers, 23, had planned to refuse induction. He is waiting to see if the military will call him up again.

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Negroes in Louisville renewing housing fight

By Anne Braden

Special to the Guardian

Louisville

THIS CITY'S open-housing movement pulled itself out of a tailspin last week, began to regroup, and seemed to be settling in for a long battle. There were indications that the movement might broaden its goals to attack other issues affecting the city's racially changing areas: democratic control of the poverty program and relief from overcrowding in schools.

The tailspin resulted from several factors—primarily an onslaught from the power structure as massive as any that has been recorded in the Deep South.

Demoralization set in within the movement over the weekend of the Kentucky Derby May 6. Movement leaders had announced that non-violent direct action would be used to stop the Derby if an open-housing ordinance was not passed. At the last minute, demonstrations at the track were canceled in favor of a downtown march.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., whose brother, Rev. A. D. King, is a Louisville movement leader, was in town Derby week. He announced cancellation of track demonstrations and so got the blame or credit—depending on the viewpoint of the observer.

Local decision

Actually, the decision was made by local movement leaders. Their immediate reason was just what they said publicly: They had become convinced that racist hoodlums were going to create a riot and that this would take the focus off open housing and put it on the question of "who caused the riot."

Before the Derby decision, however, the movement had been in retreat for two weeks. City Hall was not budging an inch on its refusal to pass open-housing legislation. It is election time in Kentucky, and politicians are filling the air with charges that all the trouble is caused by "outside agitators" and "communists."

More important, peaceful marches into the city's all-white South End had been met with mobs of up to 2,000 hurling rocks and bottles. The city arrested only a few members of the mobs, and instead obtained a state court injunction against night marches, jailed movement leaders for contempt, made mass arrests of demonstrators.

By April 21, the South End marches had stopped. In effect, the mob—with the help of police and the courts—had run the demonstrators out of the South End.

The same thing seemed to have happened to the Louisville movement that has happened repeatedly to non-violent direct action movements throughout the

South: It ran out of people to go to jail.

Police charged demonstrators with serious offenses requiring bond which could not be made until a court appearance the next morning. For many, this meant loss of jobs. Some charges carried year-long jail terms—and in one case, 21 years.

The movement was in the position many movements have been in: Attack from the power structure had forced it to ask, in effect, that people take revolutionary actions that might change their whole life pattern. Few people were in that revolutionary a mood. And, as some observers pointed out, the issue—open housing—was not a revolutionary goal.

But some people were willing to, and did, go to jail and lose jobs or school standing. These people felt betrayed when the Derby demonstrations were called off.

At a stormy session on Derby morning, many people denounced the decision. "We've been singing that we won't let them turn us around—but that's exactly what we've done," said one youth leader.

The result was a weekend of discussion within the movement, and on May 8, the Monday following the Derby, marches in the South End resumed.

Meantime, there was a court victory. A federal court suit asking a halt of arrests and challenging the constitutionality of city laws being used by police had been filed by local attorneys. The judge ordered the city to permit daylight marches if 12 hours' notice was given. In order to answer the suit, the city postponed prosecution of those arrested until July.

By Saturday night, May 14, the South End mobs had again become so violent that police responded in their usual way: more arrests of Negro demonstrators. Whether the movement would withstand another onslaught of arrests was a crucial question.

Meantime, Hulbert James, a movement and community leader, called on demonstrators to turn their attentions also to other problems facing the racially changing West End.

The question

"The question is whether they are going to listen to the voice of the people—on housing, on schools, on anything else," James said at a mass rally. "Maybe the time has come when we'd better march on the Board of Education and the Community Action Commission."

A positive factor in Louisville is that the direct-action movement is receiving considerable support from more moderate groups—people who don't join the marches where arrests are made but who support those who do.

On the day movement leaders were in jail for contempt, an interfaith committee of clergymen organized a march of more than 100 ministers in the downtown area. An intercollegiate Human Relations Council stages weekly prayer vigils at City Hall. Others are raising bond money.

To many of these people, the issue is now whether Louisville will become a police state. One white minister wrote to the newspaper: "The major issue in Louisville is no longer open housing; it is now fascism."

Many, many people who have not themselves reached the point of marching are convinced that their freedom—and the future of Louisville—hangs on the slender hope that there will be enough people who can withstand the attacks and continue to march.

Anne Braden is editor of the *Southern Patriot*, published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund.



REV. F. D. KIRKPATRICK LEADS TSU STUDENTS IN SONG AT PROTEST RALLY
University's rejection of demands brought confrontation on Houston campus

Negro students in Texas press demand for power

By Mona Schacht

Special to the Guardian

Houston, Texas

NEGRO STUDENTS at all-black Texas Southern University are demanding the right to a say on questions of vital concern to them. Disillusionment with the failure of the federal administration to solve the worsening ghetto conditions in Texas and student concern over the Vietnam war have led to a growth in black consciousness in the state.

Last month, around the demand to have Friends of SNCC recognized on the TSU campus, a tide of broader requests arose for better conditions on campus and in the community. The students began by demanding that Mack Jones, who was dismissed from his TSU post because he was faculty adviser to Friends of SNCC, be reinstated, and that the organization be recognized on campus. When these requests were denied, a rally was held March 28 under the leadership of Rev. F. D. Kirkpatrick, a graduate student, and the students voted to boycott all classes. In addition, they closed the thoroughfare through the campus.

When Kirkpatrick and Franklin Alexander, national chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, were arrested the first day of the protests and \$25,000 bond was set for each, the fight was transformed into a movement for student power. The students now demanded changes in curfew hours, better food in the cafeteria, establishment of a student court with powers equal to those of the dean of students, replacement of armed guards by unarmed ones, as on white campuses, and removal of Dean of Students James B. Jones from the draft board. "We believe Dean Jones uses his power on the draft board to put the fear of death into young men and as a disciplinary practice to further oppress the entire male student body," the students said.

On news of the arrests of Kirkpatrick, Alexander and Lee Otis Johnson, a Friends of SNCC leader, the students set up an all-night protest vigil at the courthouse.

Vets plan war protest

AT LEAST 15 veterans' groups are planning to stage a protest against the Vietnam war on Memorial Day in Lafayette Square, Washington, opposite the White House. The theme: "Our Men Are Dying in Vain; Bring Them Home!" Some of the contingents plan to visit Arlington National Cemetery and the Pentagon—as a forerunner of a mass march against the Pentagon, led by veterans. Chicago Veterans for Peace in Vietnam (7127 South Chicago Ave., 60619) will hold informal discussions about how to oppose the war at headquarters in the Willard Hotel, beginning May 27.

Some outside organizations are backing the students. The Houston chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union offered legal aid; COBRA, a Negro student organization on the University of Houston campus, came to the TSU campus to join the protest. Support also came from SDS at the University of Texas and U of H campuses, and the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

According to Kirkpatrick, "The students are beginning to realize that the institutions are set up to miseducate. The educational system perpetuates old ideas and trends. It is white-oriented, and therefore we propose to set up freedom schools all over the city, similar to classes on campus, to search out and seek the continuity of the Negro in American society."

The TSU administration has now recognized Friends of SNCC. The student court was set up, but has not been allowed to function, since it was not permitted to hear the case of Johnson, arrested on charges of trespassing and disturbing the peace. (He is free on \$400 bail for trial May 28.) Cafeteria standards have been improved.

The student leadership, with its developing community alliances, plans to take the black-power struggle into the ghettos, and to organize unions against slumlords in Houston. The students propose to take a block at a time and have rents placed in the bank until landlords make repairs. They also plan campaigns to eradicate police brutality and to desegregate craft unions.

'Revolt' at Baton Rouge

STUDENTS at Southern University in Baton Rouge, La., have won a series of changes in regulations governing campus life after a demonstration by almost the entire student body—3,000 in all—which put the campus in a state of siege.

The students were seeking liberalization of curfew rules, an end of restrictions on campus speakers, and the right to review and rate the work of their teachers. When the demands were rejected, a class boycott was called, but it proved ineffective. The youths then decided to seal off the campus with barricades. A security guard, demanding to be let through, fired several shots into the pavement, and seven students were wounded by bullet fragments and flying pieces of asphalt.

The gunplay brought out the entire student body, and a mass sitdown blocked all roads. Facing such resistance, police arrested the security guard, took the injured students to the hospital, and withdrew. The administration, realizing that the university was paralyzed, agreed to all the student demands, including a voice in the hiring and firing of teachers.

Carmichael replaced

THE STUDENT Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has replaced Stokely Carmichael as chairman with H. Rap Brown, 23, the organization's Alabama state director. Brown helped build the Greene County (Ala.) Freedom "Black Panther" Organization, similar to the independent all-Negro party in Lowndes County.

Brown was elected May 12 at a week-long annual SNCC staff conference in Atlanta, Ga. The change in leadership indicates no change in SNCC policy. Carmichael, 26, said he was "going back to the field to organize" for SNCC. Stanley Wise, 24, of Charlotte, N.C., was named executive secretary and Ralph Featherstone, 27, of Washington, D.C., was elected program director.

Fascists tighten grip on Greece; no elections

By Phyllis Rosner
Special to the Guardian

Rome

FASCISTS ARE in firm control of Greece, one month after the Army coup of April 21. Arguments between the Greek right-wing and court circles, and London and Washington about how to bar a victory for the center-left in the May 28 elections have been resolved in practice. There will be no elections. There will be no center-left.

Dr. Nicholas Nicolaïdis, secretary general of the Greek Center Union—the party of former premier George Papandreu—charged in self-imposed exile here May 13 that the coup has produced “a fascist regime . . . similar to that of the Nazis when they occupied my country during World War II.”

Nicolaïdis warned that “civil war threatens Greece,” but all indications point to stability of the military regime. The Greek people, deprived of the most democratic leaders they have had in more than a generation, have been delivered once more—perhaps for a long time—to a terror regime.

The army generals and colonels who took power have sought to put a veneer of respectability on the coup, but each day provides new examples of fascist control. Hundreds of organizations have been dissolved. Constitutional rights have been abrogated. Arrests continue, swelling the number crowding jails and island prisons.

Local mayors and councilors have been dismissed. Those nominally still in office have been curtly told to keep out of politics. In the future, it has been announced, local administrations will be appointed by the Athens government. Reminiscent of the Nazi era, anyone found distributing anti-coup leaflets or writing slogans against the regime will be “shot while attempting to escape.”

Nicolaïdis stated that “Europe must mobilize its forces” to avoid a major conflict over Greece, but little if anything is being done. The U.S., which may not publicly approve of a fascist dictatorship, has resorted to the familiar formula of “not wishing to interfere in the internal affairs of another country.”

Several Scandinavian governments have protested the repression. The Socialist International is sending a commission to Athens—including two notorious anti-communists. The European labor movements are pulling their weight in favor of the Greek people.

But unless pressure is intensified

greatly, neither the Common Market nor NATO will do anything. Indeed, at last week's NATO council meeting in Paris, Gregorius Spandidakis, leading coup member, characterized his own country before the takeover as the “weak link” in the NATO alliance. No one objected.

Whether or not the U.S. played a direct role in the coup, it certainly played a direct role in the army. Greek armed forces are trained, paid and supplied by NATO, primarily by the U.S. The army is equipped with modern weapons of American manufacture. Some of these went to the 160,000 members of the TEA—a rural guard force in the villages created as an anti-partisan and repressive paramilitary organization. TEA members carried out the bulk of the terrorist activity against left-wing militants.

Half of Greece's budget is allocated to the armed forces. But it is U.S. dollars (\$3.5 billion between 1956 and 1964 alone) which are the army's mainstay.

Control over the country's economic life is shared by American, French, West German and Greek concerns. In recent years it has been under the domination of two trusts, the Onassis-Nyarkos-Livanos group linked to the National Bank, and the Papas-Andreadis-Kiriakopoulos group, linked to the Commercial Bank. For a time the Onassis and Papas groups were more or less of equal strength, the latter having a direct link with American interests (pre-eminently through Esso and the large oil companies). Then Papas switched allegiance to Onassis, bringing with him the Americans.

War between the trusts

The war between the trusts started about three years ago. At that time new possibilities arose in the fields of hotels, fertilizers, and derivatives from oil, etc.—over which each of the two groups wanted to obtain the monopoly. In 1956, the economic situation had begun to change when the U.S. shifted from direct aid control led by the Greek government to the introduction into Greece of U.S. capital, which took over, one by one, the country's productive sectors.

The penetration of foreign capital into



Fischetti in the Arizona Republic

“I was not being sarcastic when I said, ‘Ah, Athens! The cradle of democracy.’”

Greece has been large-scale. Between 1953 and 1965 about \$572 million was invested, with the U.S. supplying \$120 million. Production of the large enterprises is almost exclusively for export. The domestic market is ignored because the people's spending power is too small. When Greece was admitted as an associate to the Common Market in 1959, Karamanlis commented: “We were a market of 7 million poor people; now we shall have a market of 100 million rich people.”

He was correct in describing his people as poor. Greece ranks with Spain and Portugal as the least developed among European countries. There are fewer than 4 million in the Greek labor force. Of these, 300,000 are unemployed, 800,000 are underemployed, and about 750,000 have emigrated in the last seven years. In this period industrial production and national income have doubled, but the people have benefited little; the army has swallowed the lion's share. State industry has also increased in this period, but has been almost completely subordinated to Greek and foreign monopolies.

During the Papandreu regime the trusts' search for new areas for exploitation intensified. The fury of the military leaders and economic interests against Papandreu was fanned by his announced aim of curbing the trusts.

In his May 3 dispatch to the New York Times, C. L. Sulzberger gave details of NATO's role in the April 21 coup. “The Greek military coup of April 21,” he wrote, “was code-named Prometheus. It worked with dazzling efficiency. . . . Prometheus was a general staff contingency

plan drawn up under NATO and envisaging war with a communist country. . . . First drafted in the 1950s, Prometheus was successively revised. The last version appears to have been prepared in 1965. . . .”

No revelation

But to the Greek people this was no revelation. They have daily experience of NATO and U.S. intervention. One version of Prometheus known as the Pericles plan was disclosed by the opposition press in the early '60s. It contained detailed instructions as to how the population was to be terrorized, how the army was to be “convinced” it must not vote for Papandreu or the left-wing EDA, etc. . . . But when the first free elections were held the people did vote for Papandreu and EDA in their majority, and they did so despite repression.

The ensuing Papandreu government of 1964-5 (arising out of the absolute majority obtained by Papandreu's Center Union in the elections) was only an interlude. As soon as Papandreu—anything but a radical—tried to introduce minor reforms, he was dismissed by the monarchy, in alleged collaboration with the CIA. It took almost two years to try to establish a solid reactionary regime through plots and the corruption of politicians. When it became apparent that these means, coupled with repression of workers and students, could not shake support for Papandreu and EDA, the coup was staged.

Brazilians resist U. S. influence

By David G. Epstein

Special to the Guardian

Brasilia, Brazil

MOUNTING U.S. efforts to remold Brazilian culture in accordance with Washington interests are giving rise to increasing resistance and anti-U.S. feeling. Student protests against the April 10 visit to the university of U.S. Ambassador John Tuthill have brought a crisis at that institution and revived the student campaign against U.S. guidance of Brazil's university reform. U.S. birth control experiments have aroused opposition in both Catholic and left circles, while U.S. influence has made itself felt also in mass communications.

In Brasilia, students protesting Tuthill's visit staged a demonstration against the Vietnam war. After Tuthill left, military police savagely beat the students, arresting 72.

The Student Federation called a strike demanding the ouster of Rector Laerte Ramos de Carvalho and the administrative director, Col. Encarnacao, for complicity in the attack, and called for the removal of 11 Peace Corps members active on the campus.

The students in Brasilia gained wide support. Thousands of students demonstrated in Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte.

In Rio de Janeiro students staged a sit-in in the patio of the Ministry of Education.

The Rio protests were directed against agreements between the ministry and the U.S. Agency for International Development, providing for U.S. guidance of university reform in Brazil. The clandestine National Student Union says the accords are part of a plan to reform Brazil's faculties along U.S. lines, turning them into “foundations.” Tuition increases in some universities supposedly would turn them into preserves for the wealthy, more politically “reliable” than the present students.

Protest birth control

Wide protests have also arisen over U.S. birth-control programs in urban slums and in the interior. In the Amazonian city of Belém, Brother Gil M. de Novato charged that U.S. birth control programs “would be the same thing the Nazis did to the Jews—mass sterilization of Brazilian women.” These objections are not merely religious: the Amazon region, where many such experiments have taken place, is one of the world's most underpopulated areas, though potentially wealthy. Brazilians believe U.S. interests desire its “internationalization”

under Yankee auspices. Some gynecologists have charged that the Lipps loop or intra-uterine device employed is still unproved, and that the women are being used as guinea pigs.

Still another controversy in the press and in Congress concerns U.S. penetration in the field of mass communications. Under fire is a “technical assistance” contract between Time-Life and the *Globo* press, radio, and TV group, generally held to be a mouthpiece for the State Department. Under Brazilian law, foreigners may not participate directly or indirectly in the management of any of the mass media. A parliamentary investigating committee found that the contract between the *Globo* group and Time-Life violated the law, but Castelo Branco in the last days of his rule sanctioned the contract.

Fundamental, of course, in U.S.-Brazilian relations are corporate investments, and Brazil's place in global anti-revolutionary strategy. About 30% of the 55 largest private economic groups in Brazil are U.S.-owned or have major U.S. participation. At the same time, Brazil, Latin America's largest nation, is to be the keystone of the U.S.-dominated Latin American Common Market, and principal Latin American executor of U.S. policies.

By their friends . . .

THE NATION'S largest circulation newspaper, the New York Daily News, has come out in support of the fascist coup in Greece. In an editorial May 11 entitled, “The Glory That Is Greece,” the News said:

“Greece's new military regime has just issued an order barring tourists with bearded mugs and/or dirty duds. Before entering Greece, they've got to shave and/or clean up—and no starting new beards while in Greece, either.

“Let's duly note the screams of tyranny—authoritarianism—outrage emitted by sundry ‘liberals’ here and elsewhere.

“Having done that, let's lift a triple cheer for the new bosses in Greece, Greece's good King Constantine, and the glory that obviously is increasing in Greece by the hour.”

The military junta dropped the ban on beards May 15. Whether this will cause a change in the paper's editorial policy is not known.

The Flower Brigade braves Loyalty paraders

By Mary Hamilton

ONLY 14 IN NUMBER, they came carrying American flags, "Support Our Boys" pennants, and flowers. Their only sign said "love" and it showed bravely on their faces.

They walked two blocks. Then they met the self-styled Loyalists. These also carried flags and pennants but apparently couldn't stand the sight of flowers. They attacked the Flower Brigade — punching, kicking and throwing red paint to the cries of "Get 'em, get 'em."

The first and loudest shouts came from a highly coiffured woman in a fleecy white coat who had been leading a troop of Boy Scouts. A few minutes earlier she had been offered a flower by a girl, but the woman refused, saying, "Flags are beautiful. Why should I want a flower?"

The cops rushed in to save the bearers of love from the mob of hate. The cops—who earlier had implored the Flower Brigade not to march in New York's Loyalty Day parade May 13 because "those people aren't rational down there. There's been a lot of drinking and they're just waiting for somebody like you."

The cops—who then refused to protect the group after they decided to join the parade anyway because, as their organizer, Jim Fouratt, put it, "We want to show them there's much more power through love . . . and it's not unpatriotic to dissent."

"We support our boys in Vietnam, too; we just don't want them to die," Fouratt said.

But the 14 young men and women obviously had other ideas about the power

of love as they rode a city bus downtown, escorted by two police cars.

"Cowards die 1,000 times; brave men die only once," paraphrased a sign carried by a loyal American in the parade. Whom would its bearer have thought more brave—the Flower Brigade or the big men with hate in their faces who rushed to stamp them out?

A city fireman organized the parade, which turned out about 70,000 men, women and children who sometimes goosestepped down Fifth Ave. waving American flags and "Burn the Flag Burners" signs in the bright sunshine. Often military in tone with its marching bands and uniformed veterans, the parade also seemed like a firemen's convention as several male marchers brazenly waved beer cans to the onlookers. (The parade figure compared with Spring Mobilization's estimate of up to 400,000.)

The sidewalk crowd munched popcorn and licked "Good Humor" sticks as they watched a smiling matron gaily brandish a sign saying "Bomb Haiphong," or a well-dressed Negro man with a large banner, "The Right Way Is The American Way." Two little boys, about 6, one white, one black, happily toted a sign twice their size that said "We Like Ky."

There were too many black faces—usually in the front lines of labor unions as if to say, "See there." Too many young people with beards and long hair usually taken for "peaceniks." Too many very young children led by the hands of parents who would be furious to see equally young children with their parents in peace parades.



POLICE STAND NEAR ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATOR BEATEN AT N.Y. PARADE
'Patriotic' marchers May 13 assaulted peace advocate who joined parade

But the Flower Brigade was lucky perhaps. Their injuries were mainly to their souls. Not injuries like those received by a young man who was tarred and feathered by a gang of 30 men just because they didn't like his long hair and sandals. And not like the injuries received by a Negro woman who got punched on the nose because she stood on the sidelines with a sign, "No Vietcong Ever Called Me Nigger."

Why had she done this? a radio reporter asked her. "Because my brother just returned from Vietnam and he said they were told to kill women and chil-

dren if they had to," she replied.

The committee that arranged the parade had stated as its purpose: "Peace is not the issue—all sane men are for peace. Our purpose is to morally support our servicemen in the field. The committee takes no position on the Administration's policy, nor does it dispute the right to dissent. It only opposes attacks on our nation and the impression given to the world of a people who oppose their country. Above all we are striving to assure our fighting men in Vietnam that they have the full respect, love, prayers and backing of the American people."

Vietnam summer of protest set

THOUSANDS OF VOLUNTEERS are wanted for a Vietnam Summer to strengthen protest by Americans against their involvement in the war. The project is being compared to the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964.

One major difference is that the Vietnam Summer volunteers will be working among the oppressors rather than the oppressed. Hopefully, there will be 10,000 full and part-time volunteers organizing and educating Americans throughout the country who heretofore have not been involved in peace activity but who can be joined together in an anti-war force.

Although all peace organizations are urged to mobilize behind the Vietnam Summer, most of its organizers are centered in the Cambridge-Boston area. Key originators include Harvard professors, Clergy Concerned, Massachusetts Action for Peace and members of Harvard's Students for a Democratic Society.

The director of Vietnam Summer is Lee Webb, of the National Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. Project headquarters are at 129 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Webb met recently with the staff of Student Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam because initiators of Vietnam Summer intend "to encourage every single liberal radical peace organization in developing its own Vietnam Summer," he said.

Training institutes will be held June 10 in eight major cities to help organize regional volunteer staffs. After June 15, the Cambridge office will become mainly a fund-raising and publicity center, Webb said. The office is preparing kits for volunteers with leaflets on how to organize local groups, draft resistance in the black community, how to work with churches, etc.

"The only political thing that the national office will be rigorous on," Webb



PICKETS AT HOTEL PIERRE, N.Y., PROTEST AWARD TO LADYBIRD JOHNSON
President's wife was honored May 11 by Citizens Committee for Children.

said, "is that volunteers develop contacts that involve new people, new geographic areas, new classes and new racial groups. Otherwise, they can develop their own Vietnam Summer emphasis program."

In other peace news:

Alexandria, Va.

The trial of 20 persons arrested May 12 at the Pentagon is scheduled for 2 p.m. May 18 in the Federal Court at Alexandria. Daily picketing was carried out by CNVA at District of Columbia jail, where the 12 men were incarcerated, and at the Women's Detention Center in Washington, where the eight women were kept. They were charged with acting "in an unwarranted manner by loitering or sleeping in or about the Pentagon." They were arrested on the fourth day of their sit-in, which climaxed the Boston-to-Pentagon Walk for Peace begun May 8. The charge carries a maximum sentence of 30 days in jail and/or a \$50 fine.

Fort Jackson, S.C.

Capt. Howard Levy, a dermatologist, went on trial before an army court-martial May 9 because he refused to teach skin disease treatment to medics going to Vietnam with the Green Berets. Among four other charges, he was also accused of intent to impair loyalty, morale and discipline. Levy allegedly wrote to a sergeant in Vietnam suggesting that he return to the U.S. and fight for the cause of oppressed Negroes and poor whites.

New York

President Johnson and other government leaders received a letter May 11 signed by 321 faculty members at Columbia University urging the U.S. to halt the bombing of North Vietnam as one step "to extricate the nation from a detestable war." The group included two winners of the Nobel Prize (Polykarp Kusch and Tsung-Dao Lee, both in physics), a two-time Pulitzer Prize winner (historian Richard Hofstadter), 11 members of the National Academy of Sciences and 21 department chairmen.

A victory for free speech was won May 4 when U.S. District Court Judge Walter Mansfield ruled that the New York Port Authority could not ban Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam and the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee from distributing leaflets in the concourses of its bus terminal as long as the action did not impede traffic.

Scarsdale, N.Y.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the local boy who made good, came home to Scarsdale High School May 7 to receive an award especially created for him by the Scarsdale Town Club, for outstanding service beyond his community. As an audience of 1,100 applauded Rusk, 500 rain-soaked pickets protested his role in the military escalation of the war in Vietnam.

Houston, Texas

The trial of Muhammad Ali, world heavyweight boxing champion, will begin June 5 in Federal District Court on a charge of refusing induction into the Army. Ali asked the Supreme Court to prevent the government from prosecuting him for draft defiance until his court challenge to Selective Service is decided.

San Francisco

More than 300 medical students from about 30 medical schools across the nation have signed pledges refusing to serve with U.S. armed forces in Vietnam.

Summer in ghetto hot or cool?

cracked skulls . . .
federal funds . . .
or ghetto power?

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Russell tribunal

(Continued from Page 1)

primary trajectory of each individual pellet is horizontal. This lethal blow-out is designed to spread the pellets close to the ground. It is a modern variation on the "grape-shot" or "canister" broadsides of 18th Century sea warfare, but of a magnitude and a homicidal efficiency which applies a bizarre modern technology to extermination.

This is a weapon useless against a modern industrial society. If such weapons were to be used upon a city of the West, universal execration would be directed against the user. But, declared Prof. Sabure Kugal, chief of the first investigation team to North Vietnam from Japan, the U.S. has always tested its experimental arms against Asians.

Horried disbelief

The most dramatic — and the most horrible — moments of the Tribunal came on the fifth and seventh days, when Dr. John Takman, chief medical officer to the Stockholm Child Welfare Board, a medical member of the third investigating team and a specialist in napalm burns, exhibited and explained the consequences of napalm and steel pellet bombs on four Vietnamese victims. A gasp of horried disbelief rose from Tribunal members, spectators and press alike as these mutilated ones bared themselves for examination. Two of these victims of the "new" American technology of warfare were from South Vietnam and two from North Vietnam.

Evidence was presented by about 20 witnesses who had traveled in Than Hoa and Nam Dinh provinces of North Vietnam that U.S. pilots ignore the international symbol, the hospital red cross, and bomb sanitoriums, hospitals and lepro-



RUSSELL TRIBUNAL MEMBERS DELIBERATE AT STOCKHOLM SESSION
From left: Dave Dellinger, Ralph Schoenman, Jean-Paul Sartre, Vladimir Dedijer.

sariums systematically. Newsmen have been aware of this for a long time. But what is not generally known in the U.S., that American and South Vietnamese pilots selectively "zero in" on Catholic churches and cathedrals as priority targets in North Vietnam, was amply documented. The secretariat of the Tribunal has published all this evidence.

Why should the Americans bomb Catholic churches? Cross-examined by members of the Tribunal, a North Vietnamese witness said it was thought the Americans believed they could break the will of the Catholics by this terrifying punishment, thus driving them to blame the Hanoi government and revolt against it.

Pham Van Bach, a justice of the DRV Supreme Court; Col. Ha Van Lau of the DRV army, and Dr. Gabriel Kolko of the University of Pennsylvania, presented point-by-point testimony on North Vietnamese attempts to negotiate for peace, all of which, the witnesses said, had been rejected or U.S. demands escalated so that negotiations were impossible.

The Tribunal ended on a note of rising emotion. After Sartre finished his summary of findings, Ralph Schoenman, sec-

retary to Bertrand Russell and general secretary to the Tribunal, read a statement of support and commendation from the man who was the prime mover in this dramatic inquiry.

Russell said in part: "The International War Crimes Tribunal must do for the peoples of Vietnam, Asia, Africa, and Latin America what no tribunal did while Nazi crimes were committed and plotted. The napalm and pellet bombs, the systematic destruction of a heroic people, are a barbarous rehearsal. The starving and the suffering will no longer die in silence."

Perhaps it was a strange end for such solemn proceedings, but the Tribunal's audience of several hundred stood and applauded for more than half an hour after the gavel sounded.

Emergency aid denied to Mississippi's poor

EXTREME HUNGER and slow starvation will continue to be the condition of Mississippi's poor. The Johnson Administration turned down an appeal by a Senate subcommittee for emergency action to feed hungry families in that state and elsewhere. The appeal was based on an investigation by the subcommittee, although Gov. Paul B. Johnson has denied that there is a hunger problem in his state.

Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.), who was chairman of the subcommittee, said: "It seems incredible that the federal bureaucracy is so tied up in knots that it can't do anything. We are the richest nation in the world and they are saying we can't feed hungry people."

But not all Americans are hungry. Most executives of U.S. companies received pay increases averaging 10% to 15% in 1966, and many received raises of 20%, 30% and even 35%, according to the April 22 issue of Business Week. Additional compensation came in the form of stock options, bonuses and other "incentive" pay.

Average Americans didn't do so well as the executives. Personal income for the first two months of this year was up \$7 billion, or 7.6%, over January-February, 1966, said Business Week April 29. However, not everyone shared in these gains. Factory workers were hit as employment and hours worked declined. Factory payrolls dropped by 65,000 and non-farm workers on part-time increased. Furthermore, the consumer price index, compiled by the Department of Labor, was up more than 3½%, as compared with its level at the beginning of 1966. This rise nullified almost half the gains recorded in personal income for most Americans, and insured that the misery of the poor would continue to deepen.

Napalm victim tells his story

Following is the testimony of napalm-victim Hoang Tan Hung, 45-year-old rice grower and merchant from Quang Ngai province, South Vietnam, before the Stockholm tribunal:

On May 10, 1965, I was on my way to buy goods in the village of the province of Quang Ngai. It is a densely populated, sugar-producing region. A wave of American jets appeared, and began to drop rockets and bombs indiscriminately. I heard a tremendous explosion behind me, and was immediately covered with flames. The heat was unbearable. I ran around screaming. Houses caught fire, and the village was hidden by clouds of smoke. Women and children were screaming. I managed to run a little, then I slumped to the ground and lost consciousness.

Agonizing pain

When I regained consciousness, I realized that I was in the hospital. My wounds were bandaged. I was in a state of semi-consciousness. When the bandages were changed, I saw that my flesh was burned, and there was a yellowish puss oozing from the wounds. I could scarcely see with my left eye. My left eardrum was burned and mutilated. I was in pain and often in a state of semiconsciousness. This prevented me from sleeping, and even from resting. When I regained consciousness, the nurses told me what had happened. When I slumped down to the ground, the inhabitants of the village came and put out the flames, and took me to a hospital. An hour later, white smoke, like burning tobacco, was still rising from the burns on the nape of my neck and on my back. I was agonizing pain.

Ten days later I was transferred from the village to a provincial hospital. The road was long, the means of transport precarious, it was raining, and my wounds became infected with insect larvae. After six weeks of hospital treatment, I was still in terrible pain; I had fever and burning sensations. I suffered from insomnia and anorexia. Often, when my wounds were being dressed, my flesh would come off in pieces, giving off an unpleasant odor. My wounds healed after six months of treatment, but the whole of my left arm remains attached to my body. Keloids (keloid scars) appeared on my skin. The wounds on my neck became infected again. The keloids on the neck and back made it difficult for me to move.

A few months later, I was taken to the hospital of Duc Pho district to continue the treatment. Two years have now passed, but the wounds on the back of my neck have not yet completely healed. The keloids cause me discomfort. Today I am determined to denounce before the Tribunal the barbaric crimes of the American imperialist aggressors, who have brought so much suffering to me and to my country.

Peace rally disrupted

Spectators threw eggs and booed speakers at an anti-war rally staged May 13 by about 200 students from St. Mary's College, Easton, Pa. About 15 students at Lafayette College held a silent vigil for the second straight day May 13 in protest of the Vietnam war.

TOUR B

JULY 13-AUG. 3, WITH DR. VAL BURTAN, travel expert long familiar with all of the cities on the itinerary. A most exciting itinerary to five socialist cities—East Berlin, Warsaw, Sofia, Moscow and Leningrad, plus Copenhagen. "Special treatment" in Berlin and Sofia—if you want to see the amazing progress of socialism, this is the tour to take. 16 registered—three more can be taken. **\$915**

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OR 3-3800

THE GI TOLL IN VIETNAM WAR

69,975

THIS REPORT on U.S. casualties in the Vietnam war is a regular GUARDIAN feature. The figures are from military releases, with additional statistics included as announced. The first figure covers the period from Jan. 1, 1961, to May 6, 1967; the figure in parenthesis shows the increase in the week of April 29 to May 6, 1967.

Killed	"Non-combat" deaths	Wounded	Missing, captured
9,681 (274)	1,966 (432)*	57,824 (1,748)	504

* A Pentagon breakdown issued May 9 revised the figure for "non-combat" deaths.

Jackson killing

(Continued from Page 1)

sector, back to the barricade amid student chants.

Word of the student stand spread throughout the black community. It became apparent to everyone—the city officials were afraid that the insurrection would spread to the rest of the black community (which comprises almost 50% of the total population of Jackson).

That night, the power structure acted. City police, state highway patrol troopers and an all-white National Guard moved on the student sector. Behind them, four tanks became visible, as were jeeps with machine guns ready.

The students fought back with bricks and rocks—the weapons of the street—retreating all the time. Shots pierced the night and five persons went down.

Ben Brown, 22, a long-time civil rights activist, was buying a sandwich at a local restaurant for his wife. He saw the line of troops advancing and ran away from them with the others. He was struck with bullets in three places—the head, the back and the legs. He crumpled to the street and as some Negroes moved toward him, the troopers threatened them.

"But he needs help," one student said. "He's got all the help he's ever gonna get," a trooper replied and Brown laid there, bleeding to death.

An eerie calm prevailed and a scene which could have been directed by Ingmar Bergman occurred. A tank rumbled

up to the body and a medic climbed out to examine Brown. An ambulance was called 45 minutes after he was shot, and took him to a hospital. He was dead.

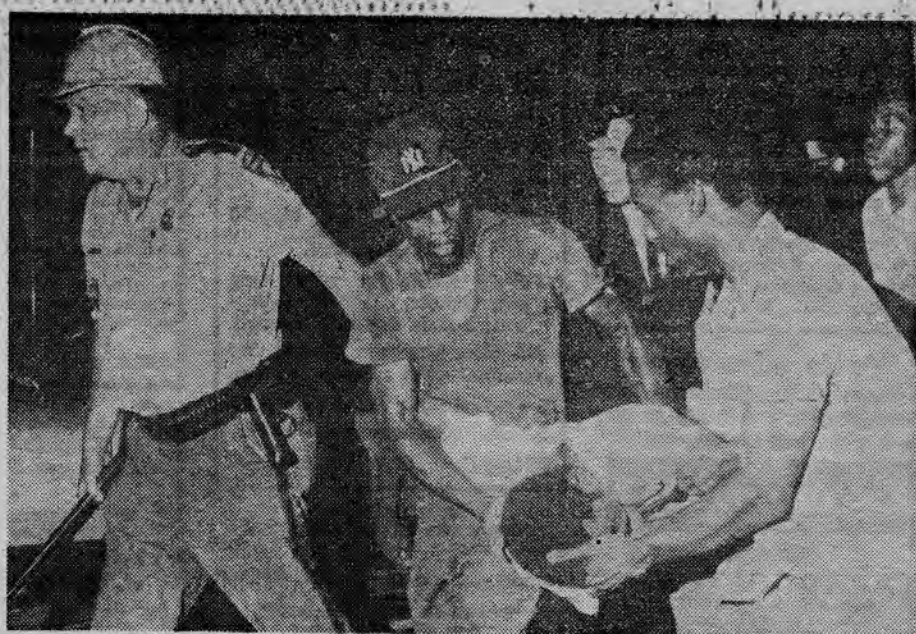
(The Freedom Information Service at Tougaloo said: "Police never used tear gas, but guns instead, to push the men back. Ben Brown was shot twice in the back. He had been a full-time civil rights worker and only a few hours before his shooting was talking to others about his work in the delta. He had been a member of the Freedom Corps of the Delta Ministry [of the National Council of Churches] he had recently driven a delivery car for a Jackson drug store. The Delta Ministry has asked the Justice Department to investigate the murder, done by a high-powered rifle." Brown had also been active with the Council of Federated Organizations and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which grew out of COFO.)

The revolt was broken. "Law and order" returned to Jackson. In the aftermath, the JSC administration blamed the trouble on outside organizers. The Jackson papers referred to SNCC organizers on the scene. The mayor said an overpass would finally be built across Lynch St. and the police said the autonomy of the college would be respected.

What was established after all had occurred was that JSC had lost its reputation as a "conservative" black college. White hoodlums could not cruise the area and intimidate black students. The police would respect their own laws. And the warnings were clear to those who would heed them.

The Black People's Unity Movement, a fledgling group centered at Tougaloo College, passed out leaflets that quoted a statement from the late Malcolm X: "We must do whatever is necessary to protect our own black women, black babies and black men right here in this country. We must unite or perish."

(In a leaflet entitled "America Is the Black Man's Battleground," the Black People's Unity Movement also said: "Ben Brown, a 22-year-old courageous black



NEGRO YOUTHS CARRY DYING BEN BROWN THROUGH ROADBLOCK
Rights worker, shot by Jackson police, was left in street, unaided

soldier, was shot in the back and left there in the street to die like a dog. His murderers are the same pigs we've been dying for in Vietnam, the same pigs we died for in the American revolution, the Civil War, World War I, World War II, and the Korean War; the same pigs that we work for, and the same pigs that some of us are foolish enough to love. For them we will die no more."

The MFDP put it another way and called for the black middle class "to cooperate with their less fortunate black-skinned brothers, because if they don't there is no alternative but violence — black against white, rich against poor. Nobody wins, everybody loses."

The Hinds County (Jackson) MFDP asked: "When every God-given freedom is trampled on, what do you expect college students to do? What do you expect a community to do? What do you expect a people to do?"

Letters

(Continued from Page 2)

The letter itself concedes the "bitterness" with which the election results were greeted by the people of Sunflower—a natural reaction of people who have lost every electoral bid since the MFDP was founded in 1964. The GUARDIAN thinks that the movement is served, not "demoralized" by giving expression to this bitterness.

The GUARDIAN does not think that the signers of the letter seriously contend that by stating that the Sunflower elections put the electoral process to the test, the GUARDIAN has shown "indifference to the humanity of people."

To cover defeats with an aura of optimism might very well be the real inhumanity and—as Analavage states—be "cruel to the people of this county."

The GUARDIAN

Demonstration at Harvard

About 200 Negro students from 14 New England colleges demonstrated against the "racist war in Vietnam" on the steps of Memorial Church in Harvard Yard on May 13. The demonstration was sponsored by the New England Regional African and Afro-American Association.

Get Vietnam on the Ballot this November!

A MERICANS NORMALLY have no opportunity to express their opposition to the government's war in Vietnam through the voting booth. One recent exception was in Dearborn, Mich., where last November a referendum on Vietnam was on the ballot. 40% of the people of Dearborn demanded that the United States withdraw its troops from Vietnam now, so that the Vietnamese could settle their own problems.

I T'S TIME for such a referendum in New York City! A referendum is the only way for the hundreds of thousands of non-demonstrators who are against the war to express their demand that the U.S. get out of Vietnam now.

T HE NYC COMMITTEE for the Withdrawal Referendum has initiated a petition campaign to put a referendum on the ballot this November through which the people of NYC can demand immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The referendum needs the entire movement's support (i.e., work) if the voters are to be given this opportunity to repudiate the war at the polls. The petition period is on now. We invite all individuals and organizations to carry out political activity in their communities by participating with us in this referendum campaign.

Work on the City-Wide Referendum on U.S. Withdrawal from Vietnam!

FIRST BORO-WIDE CAMPAIGN ORGANIZING MEETINGS

MANHATTAN-BRONX

THURSDAY, MAY 25 8 P.M.

Beacon Hotel, Broadway & 75th St.

FOR INFORMATION:

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QUEENS

THURSDAY, MAY 25 8 P.M.

Queens College Social Science Bldg., Room 145 (co-sponsored by and with permission of Queens College SDS)

FOR INFORMATION:

QUEENS COMM. FOR INDEP. POLITICS

P.O. Box 13, Rochdale Village Station
Jamaica, N.Y. 11434 Tel.: 454-6328

BROOKLYN-STATEN ISLAND

TUESDAY, MAY 23 8:30 P.M.

Universalist Unitarian Church of Flatbush
East 19th St. & Beverly Road

FOR INFORMATION:

BROOKLYN COMM. FOR INDEP. POLITICS

P.O. Box 93, Lefferts Station
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11225 Tel.: 282-9538

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FUNDS NEEDED, OF COURSE

Make checks payable to N.Y.C. Committee for the Withdrawal Referendum

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☐ I can't make the meetings but would like to help. Please contact me.

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Notice to advertisers

Because of the Memorial Day holiday, deadline for ads in the June 3 issue will be May 26.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

MEMORIAL DAY, TUESDAY, MAY 30. COME WITH US TO WASHINGTON, D.C. First national Veterans' Action against the Vietnam War. Theme: "Our Boys Are Dying in Vain." Vets & families, women, clergy, other peace activists invited. Meet at duPont Circle noon for solemn procession to Lafayette Sq. opposite White House. Memorial Ceremony for American & Vietnamese victims of war will include Vietnam veterans, mothers of soldiers who served or were killed in Vietnam, clergy of major faiths. For transportation & other details write: Western Area Coordinating Vets Group: Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, P.O. Box 4598, Chicago, Ill. 60680. **FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED.** Help with the logistics by sending contribution. Organize pro-peace vets in your area to come and send support.

LOS ANGELES

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NEW YORK

DRAFT RESISTANCE, ACTION AND SUPPORT. Public meeting, Fri., May 19, 7 p.m. sharp, Friends Meeting House, Rutherford Pl. & East 15 St. Speakers: John Gerassi, Staughton Lynd, Paul Goodman, Robert Greenblatt, others.

FRI., MAY 19—THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE GREEK COUP, a talk by WILL REISSNER, N.Y. Executive Comm. member, Y.S.A. 873 B'way, nr. 18 St., 8:30 p.m. Cont. \$1. Auspices: **MILITANT LABOR FORUM.**

Queens Committee for Independent Politics invites you to discussion on **REFERENDUM ON U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM** Organization & ideas for Queens borough-wide campaign will be discussed. **EVERYONE WELCOME!** Sun., May 21, 8 p.m. at 87-71 Chevy Chase Rd. Tel. 454-6328.

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WORK ON WITHDRAWAL REFERENDUM. Queens borough-wide organization meeting, Thurs., May 25, 8 p.m. at Queens College Social Sciences Rm. 145. Get the War on the Ballot this November! Ausp: Queens Comm. for Ind. Politics. Tel. 454-6328. (Co-sponsored by and with permission of Queens College SDS)

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—Dan Georgakas

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(Continued on Page 11)

Apologia by Schlesinger

THE BITTER HERITAGE,
Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.,
Houghton Mifflin, Boston,
1967. 126 pp. \$3.95.

In one of his frequent verbal salutes, Schlesinger says that "we all pray" that Joseph Alsop is right and that an American victory in Vietnam will be won before the year is out, but he does not believe it. He sees the consequences of the Americanized war: in Vietnam, the entrapment of a prolonged struggle, or a military victory made a political defeat by the means employed to obtain it; abroad, the isolation of the United States; at home, the death of the Great Society and revival of McCarthyism.

Yet he cannot countenance withdrawal. That would have "ominous reverberations throughout Asia" and would violate the Administration's "moral obligations" to its Vietnamese allies, who presumably would be killed or imprisoned by a victorious NLF.

So he offers an alternative road to an American victory

which out of habit he calls a "middle course."

The bombing of the north is to be tapered off, and in the south the American forces are to de-escalate, carrying out "clear-and-hold" rather than "search-and-destroy" missions, meanwhile stepping up political efforts to obtain a "pro-peasant" government in Saigon which would at last carry out the reforms necessary to win hearts. At some point the National Liberation Front is to be offered a role in a coalition regime and "free elections"—provided that it lays down its arms and opens up its territories, while accepting the presence of American and Saigon armed forces.

"Clear-and-hold" and "search-and-destroy" in reality embrace like yang and yin in counter-revolutionary warfare. To forgo "search-and-destroy" is to surrender the initiative to the revolutionary armed forces and to concede the immunity of their bases.

A main purpose in initiating the bombing of the north was to

"improve the morale of the South Vietnamese"—that is to say, the quislings—and to kill the hopes of the anti-war neutralists. This happened to a considerable extent. A cessation or tapering off of the bombings would reverse the effect, in all likelihood politicizing the situation in both the NLF and Saigon areas in a way Schlesinger would find disagreeable.

A diminution of the American military effort would be a partial victory for the NLF, and yet Schlesinger allows himself to suppose that it would then agree to exchange its bid for power for the role of a constricted "loyal opposition." We are reminded of the Marshall mission to China, which entertained somewhat similar illusions.

Not half-bad

In short, the situation is not so simple that Washington can freely pick and choose between military and political instruments and policies. It cannot abandon without political risks its effort to retrieve its earlier political failure by military means; it cannot suppose that the NLF would agree to an intermission while it hones new political weapons. The old brutal imperatives remain. It is just not easy to be only half-bad in suppressing resourceful revolutions that do not make big mistakes.

Schlesinger of course is trapped by binding ties to the Establishment that are made evident by the corollary theme of this book, that of American innocence.

A concept of history as rather opaque is his main resource in protesting that neither American foreign policy nor particular makers of it are to be blamed for what he himself describes as a mounting horror of death and devastation.

Why Americans are in Vietnam is now "a question of mainly historical interest," he says in his first sentence, and in a later



AT THE BATTLE OF HILL 110 IN SOUTH VIETNAM
U.S. marine and a wounded Vietnamese soldier

chapter on the "inscrutability of history" he minimizes what even historians can make of such matters. He thus is enabled to relate the past in terms of a series of decisions which were reasonable and well-meaning even if expectations were not realized.

The supposition in 1954 that American power could make the Diem regime viable was "by no means an unreasonable judgment at the time." And again: "It is not only idle but unfair to seek out guilty men . . . Each step in the deepening of the American commitment was reasonably regarded at the time as the last that would be necessary . . . The Vietnam story is a tragedy without villains."

We are asked to look sym-

pathetically upon the chief of the non-villains: "No thoughtful American can withhold sympathy as President Johnson ponders the gloomy choices which lie ahead."

All honorable men

Inadvertence is everywhere. Washington is not seeking the encirclement and strangulation of the Chinese, though "it really should not astonish us that a crew of dogmatic Marxist-Leninists should so interpret the extraordinary deployment of American armies, navies and military bases . . ."

And when the American leadership does think beyond the ad hoc, it has only decent thoughts. Johnson and Humphrey are indulging in mere "sentimental imperialism" in propounding the idea of the Great Society for Asia; "their Asian vision is not dishonorable."

The professor of history apologizes through a denigration of history. It has to be added that on certain matters Schlesinger finds history perfectly scrutable. It informs him of the "intellectual collapse of Marxism."

—Hugh Deane

A newspaperman in China and Japan for many years and the author of a pamphlet on Vietnam (Monthly Review Press, 1963), Hugh Deane has in common with Schlesinger membership in the He almost

class of 1938. . . of bomb shelters and weapons, and next stage in this type of attack is another wave of planes to strike with a new and demonic anti-personal bomb called a "CBU"—"container or cluster bomb unit."

The CBU bomb has only minor effect upon concrete or even thick wood structures, but is designed exclusively to destroy human beings, the witness said. It consists of a "mother bomb" containing from 300 to 640 small "guava" bomblets much like hand grenades, but infinitely more deadly. Each guava is charged with 260 to 300 steel pellets about the size of a small pea. Those guavas are exploded by a charge of cyclotol, much more powerful than the TNT in a conventional hand grenade.

When a "guava" bomb explodes the
(Continued on Page 3)

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(Continued from Page 10)

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Artists east and west protest on Vietnam

Special to the Guardian

Philadelphia

MORE THAN 300 artists joined here May 7 to 13 in conducting a "Week of the Angry Arts"—the anger provoked by U.S. war-making in Vietnam. Painters, sculptors, poets, dancers, musicians, potters, photographers—artists in all the fields—came together to say, in the words of the poet who proposed the protest, "We cannot abide, don't need and won't stand in silence for these horrors which are being committed in our names."

Dozens of exhibits and performances were held at schools, churches and theaters throughout metropolitan Philadelphia. More than a half-dozen events took place each night.

Pianists Peter Serkin and Agi Jambor gave concerts; the play "Hamp" was performed by its off-Broadway company; New York's Bread and Puppet Theater appeared; Bryn Mawr College's poet-in-residence, Clayton Eshleman, gave a "napalm poetry reading" interspersed with showings of slides of Vietnam war victims.

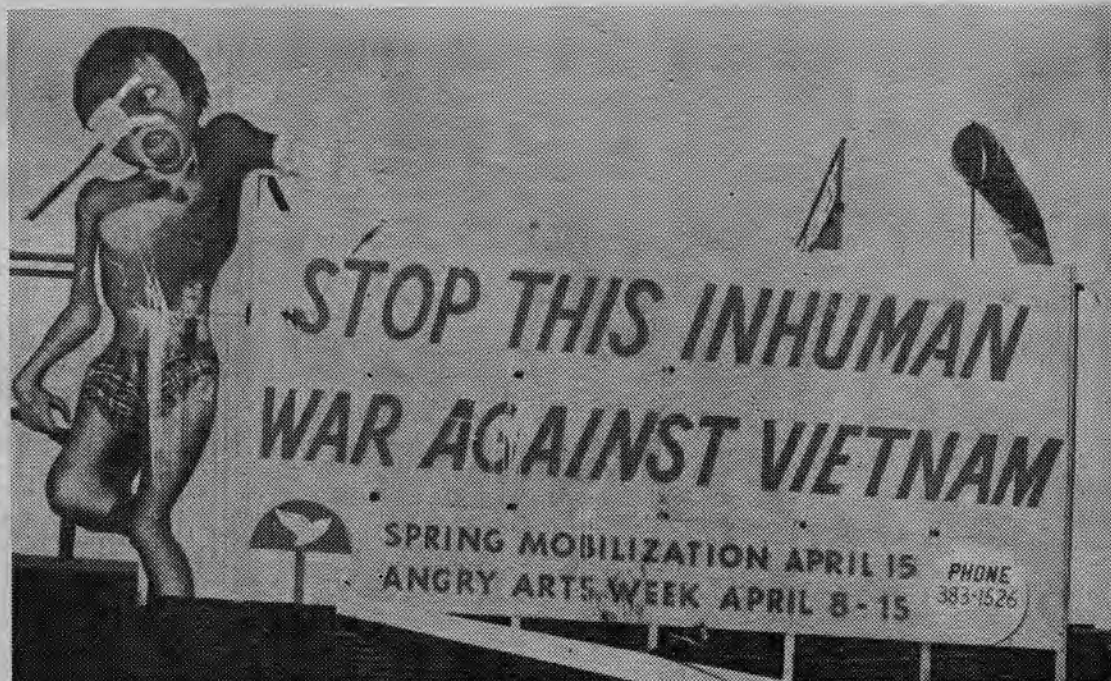
The program's sponsor—the Ad Hoc Committee of Philadelphia Artists—rented a big downtown garage which formerly housed a speedometer repair shop to serve as one of the art galleries as well as a temporary headquarters.

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

THE WEEK preceding San Francisco's April 15 Spring Mobilization against the Vietnam war saw the mobilization of artists throughout the area for a massive week-long Angry Arts West.

Artists of all caliber lent their work and services. There were dramatic readings by the Black Arts West, poetry readings by Nazam Al Fitnah, Lew Welch, James Broughton, Charles Upton and many others; sounds by well-known dance and rock and roll bands including the Sopwith Camel and Dave Meltzer's Serpent Power; anti-war films from the Soviet Union and Poland in addition to the world premiere of the movement's own feature film, "Sons and Daughters."



BILLBOARD IN MARIN COUNTY ANNOUNCING ANGRY ARTS WEST WEEK IN S.F. BAY AREA
A wide variety of artists joined protest against U.S. role in Vietnam. Events included poetry readings, dances, chamber music and films.

Photo by Sydney Goldstein

War-crime Nazi sings to U.S. 'buddy'

The following is from an article published in the New York Times May 13, written by David Binder and datelined, "On a German Train."

"You an American?" the heavy-set German asked in German as he sat down in the first-class compartment.

Receiving an affirmative nod from the other traveler, the German continued, his tongue slowed by liquor:

"Then answer one question: What are you doing in Vietnam? Aren't you committing war

crimes there?"

"I don't know," the American replied in German. "I am not a judge."

"You are committing war crimes in Vietnam," the German went on, swaying with the movement of the speeding express. "I saw it on television."

The American was silent.

The German loosened his flowered necktie and spoke again. "What is your profession?" he asked. "Are you a lawyer?"

"No, I am a newspaper correspondent."

"I will tell you something if you promise not to give me away," said the German. "I will tell you because you are an American and because your people are committing war crimes in Vietnam. Promise not to sacrifice me?"

He held out his right hand to seal the agreement.

The American shook hands and said: "All right, I promise."

The German leaned forward and resumed in a confidential tone:

"I am called a war criminal, too. The courts say so. I have been accused of murdering two dozen Jews. I just left the hearing. I didn't admit anything to them. But I am telling you, I did it. I killed them."

The American asked, "Where did it happen, and what were you?"

"White Russia, it was," the

German replied. "I was in a police battalion. Sergeant. It wasn't our commander who gave the order but somebody from the SD [German abbreviation for security service, an arm of the Gestapo]. He said to shoot these people, a group of civilians."

"Why did you shoot?" the American asked.

"When the SD gave an order you had to obey or they stood you up against the wall," the German said. "What would you have done? In Vietnam you are

doing what I did. I see it on television every night. . . ."

"Were you a Nazi party member?" the American asked.

"Yes, of course. One hundred per cent. But you accuse us? You hate us? The whole world condemns you for what you are doing in Vietnam. Don't you think those are war crimes, too? Yes, they are. But you won't betray me, will you?"

"No," said the American.

The train slowed, and he stood up to go. His station was next.

The German reached out his hand, smiled and said, "See you again, buddy."

Harry Rathner dies

HARRY RATHNER, long-time supporter of left activities, died April 27 in Mt. Sinai Hospital at the age of 85. Rathner had been active since the early days of the AFL, when he was an organizer and worked with Samuel Gompers. Surviving are his wife, and daughter, Norma Copley.

Sincere condolences to the Wallach family on the death of their dear mother and our dear cousin
JENNIE WALLACH
died May 6, 1967
Becky Venus Hertha Friedman
Robert Venus Sarah Levy

Margaret Larkin dies

MARGARET LARKIN, a long-time friend of the GUARDIAN and organizer of contacts for its Mexican tours, died May 8 in Mexico City. She was 67.

Miss Larkin, who recently helped Oscar Lewis prepare his book *La Vida*, was a union activist, a poet, a folk composer and singer, a theater personality in New York in the '30s and a student of Mexican problems and the kibbutz movement in Israel. Two of her own books were *Seven Shares in a Gold Mine* and *The Hand of Mordecai*.

Survivors include a daughter, Mrs. Franklin Ramos, and a son, Peter Maltz, both of Mexico City. The funeral was held May 9 in Mexico City.

which **PAPER** All correspondence with the GUARDIAN circulation department concerning changes of address should include created in the two communities in preparation for the elections, or that this organization remains intact for future efforts, such as immediate county-wide registration for the fall elections or poverty-program fights. The article is silent in reporting the emergence of courageous people beginning to master the problems and techniques of leadership—a leadership capable of functioning in the electoral as well as other struggles. How is it possible to be mute with respect to the courage displayed by each black voter in going to the polls at all in the face of the historic pattern of repression still present and active in the two communities?

If unrealism and cruelty obtain at all

The GU. tunity to p expect that the viability method to cha of black people Northern urban gh deed, for an entire control of its foreign cussion is essential presidential elector The Robert An fact, state that politics failed " people out of the they live." The C

INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

Our Work Has Just Begun

THE INITIAL SERIES of sessions in Stockholm concentrated upon two of the five questions which were raised by the United States government's open commission of atrocities against the Vietnamese people. The International War Crimes Tribunal, with the assistance of numerous legal, medical and scientific experts, inquired:

Has the United States government committed acts of aggression according to international law?

Has there been bombardment of targets of a purely civilian character, for example, hospitals, schools, dams, etc., and on what scale has this occurred?

The sessions were preceded by the initial studies leading to Lord Russell's *Appeal to the American Conscience* and the formation of the Tribunal. Exhaustive research in America, Europe and Asia by lawyers, scholars and scientists continued following the original London meeting of the Tribunal members on November 13. On-the-spot inquiries in Vietnam and Cambodia were completed by five investigating missions, over a quarter of whose members have been Americans.

The Tribunal's work has only just begun because the testimony, studies and films presented in Stockholm must be published, and during the coming six months Tribunal sessions will examine the remaining three questions:

Has the United States Army made use of or experimented with new weapons forbidden by the laws of war (gas, special chemical products, napalm, etc.)?

Have Vietnamese prisoners been subjected to inhuman treatment forbidden by the laws of war, and in particular to torture or mutilation? Have there been unjustified reprisals against the civilian population, in particular, execution of hostages?

Have forced labor camps been created, has there been deportation of the population and acts which can be characterized judicially as acts of genocide?

The expenses for the continued success of this international effort—future sessions, research, investigation missions—will continue to be a major concern to the Tribunal members. Additionally, the costs of publication and distribution in the United States of the testimony, studies and films already received by the Tribunal will require active fund-raising by the American friends and supporters of the Tribunal's work.

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