

WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

8 Pages on the War
From How It Began
To How It Will Be Ended

For Unconditional and Immediate U.S. Withdrawal from Vietnam!

Many Millions Support April 15 March Against War

By J. MOORE

Pro-war news propoganda has consistently referred to war protesters as "an insignificant minority." In the face of large and widespread demonstrations against the war, the press and TV reports have largely belittled or buried these actions and said or implied that few people across the country oppose the war.

Even anti-war speakers have themselves sometimes spoken to the effect that "we are a minority" -- as though facing a vociferous pro-war majority.

Since a realistic estimate of the popular feeling is a vital factor in planning effective action, it is important to determine what the anti-war potential amounts to.

Are we a minority?

Active anti-war demonstrators may total no more than a few hundred thousand. This, pro-war pen-prostitutes like to point out, is but a tiny fraction of the total population. But as any student of history knows, this is, at this stage, a highly significant number of people, deeply representative of the still passive millions.

Furthermore, active demonstrators against the war -- that is, ready to go out in the streets to oppose it -- outnumber the few active pro-war elements by a huge, perhaps a hundred to one, majority.

Where are the pro-war marches, parades, meetings? They do not even exist! The active pro-war pushers have been reduced to little more than Administration officials, big business press hirelings, and the extreme right Birchites, Rockwell-Nazis, etc.

And what of the huge mass of people across the nation?

These millions, propagandized daily with pro-war news, have shown a rising opposition to the war that is deeply feared in ruling class circles.

AFTER ALL THE PROPAGANDA, 40% VOTED FOR WITHDRAWAL!

Last Fall a surprising proposal was put on the ballot in Dearborn, Michigan. This was a referendum on a straight-out immediate withdrawal from Vietnam by U.S. troops. What small play the press gave it, featured the fact that the withdrawal idea was defeated.

But the truly significant part was not this, but that the withdrawal demand was backed by 40% of those voting. That is, nearly half came out for the most "extreme" anti-war demand -- immediate withdrawal.

Underlying this fact was another of decided importance: according to election reports from Dearborn, the heaviest part of the withdrawal vote came from the poorest sections of the city -- the most oppressed opposed the war the most.

ICEBERG OF HOT REFUSALS

Reported to Workers World by a former worker at the New York draft induction center is the fact that consistently, every day, a large percentage of

those called to report for the military services simply do not show up to be drafted. This is the iceberg underneath the visible acts of those increasing numbers of young men who have openly

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Don't Let U Thant-Johnson Force Surrender Of Viet Freedom to U.S. Armed Occupation!

ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT AT THE CROSSROADS

Everybody wants to end the war. Nobody wants to get killed and nobody but an absolute lunatic (and not many of them) wants to kill others for the sheer sake of killing. Even

Johnson wants to end the war -- with a military and political victory for U.S. big business.

Every politician in the USA knows that the people don't want the war. That is why they all speak in the name of peace, escalate in the name of peace and plan still bigger wars in the name of peace.

The genuine anti-war movement, however, wants an end to the slaughter immediately, on the basis of no annexation of territory, no privileges for U.S. business, no U.S. military bases, and no U.S. political or economic dictation over the lives of the Vietnamese people. This is the fundamental point of departure that separates the warmakers from the real opponents of the war.

The movement against the Vietnam war has never been more widespread or more numerous than it is today. But it is standing at a historical crossroads, faced with a momentous decision:

Shall it remain steadfast in its one hundred per cent opposition to the war; or shall it, in the hope of "respectability" and the support of "big names," compromise and accept a position that is not really anti-war at all, but only appears to be so?

To ask this question at the very moment of a great demonstration (that of April 15 in New York and San Francisco) may at first seem to cast a note of disunity into proceedings in which the vast majority are undoubtedly sincere and profound in their opposition to the aggression of U.S. big business in Indo-China.

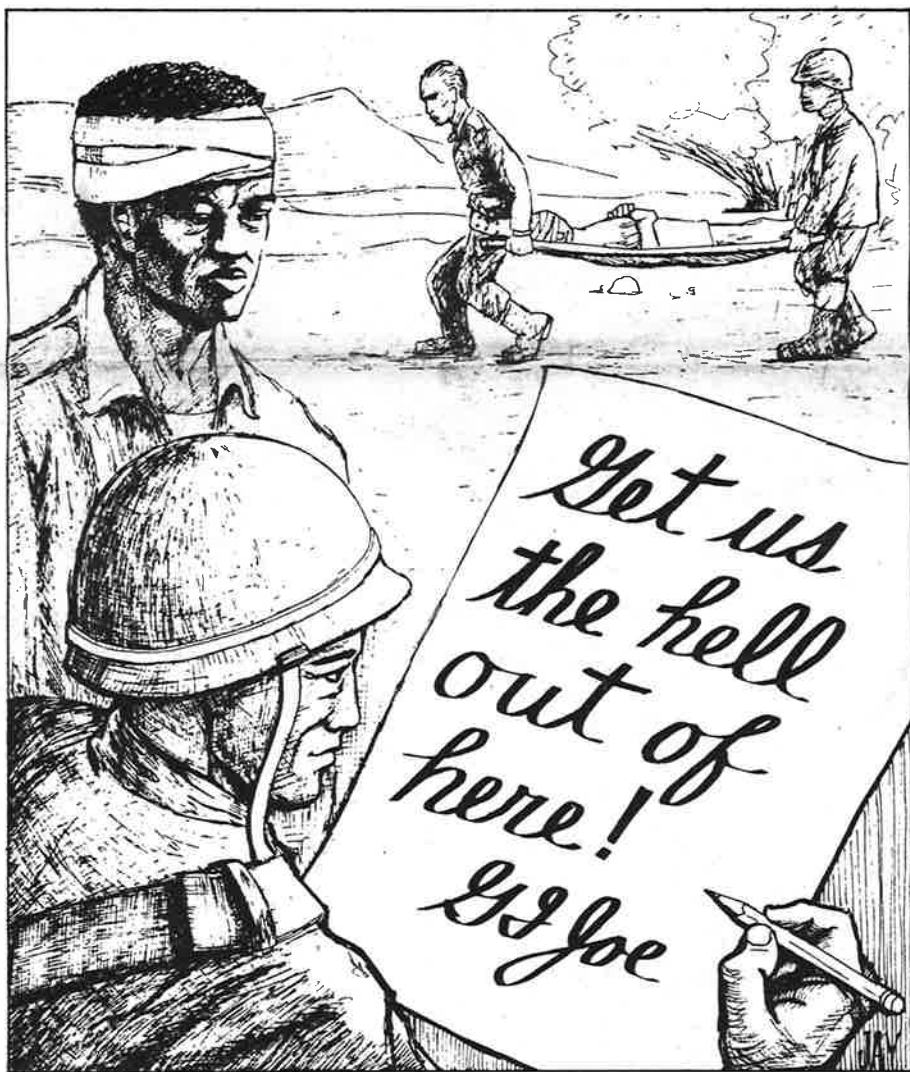
But it is not a question of the good will of the masses. It is a question of the line of the leadership. The greatest movement of opposition can easily be diverted or dissipate itself, when its leaders are more loyal to the people they are supposed to be fighting than to the masses they are leading.

Why Did Leaders Oppose Slogan of Unconditional Withdrawal of U.S.?

At the March 24 meeting of the N.Y. Spring Mobilization Committee, the top leaders categorically refused to make unconditional withdrawal the main theme of the demonstration -- and counterposed to this a whole series of slogans such as "Stop the Bombing", "War on Poverty", "Stop the War", etc.

Now all these slogans are good ones in and of themselves. And no anti-war militant can oppose what they seem to say. But when they are consciously counterposed to the one slogan that obviously means business and squarely opposes the warmakers (to say nothing of its consideration of the GI's who are dying!), something is radically wrong!

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Real Nature of War: Why Wall St. Needs It

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

In a highly significant speech last July 13 Johnson summed up the results of the so-called "debate" between the doves and the hawks and gave the consensus of the corporations as a whole. He expressed the "determination to meet our obligations as a Pacific Power," and declared that the military might and technological strength of the U.S. made it possible "to span both the Atlantic and Pacific" and finished his talk with a laudatory reference to the coming of the "Pacific Era of Theodore

Roosevelt."

The authoritative Washington Post commented at the time that "President Johnson's message...makes the policy of the United States in Asia as clear as it can be made by the use of language... The President has...committed this nation to a great power role in Asia."

Johnson's pointed reference to Theodore Roosevelt was fraught with meaning and reveals that the U.S. mission in Vietnam is far from a blind "mistake" but rather is profoundly

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Chinese Cultural Revolution Is Consolidated

The Cultural Revolution in People's China has not followed the script written up for it by the Wall Street Journal.

China has not fallen apart; Chiang Kai-shek has not conquered (He hasn't even boarded a slow boat to China!); and the Mao leadership has not conducted a blood purge — all of which was being freely and positively predicted by the soothsayers of the U.S. ruling class, together with the seers of Communist revisionism and Socialist reformism.

The definitive victory of the Mao revolutionary line in the Chinese leadership was reported from Tokyo on April 10 in a dispatch that said the faction of Liu Shao-chi, who is chief exponent of the "softer" and essentially pro-capitalist line, had "surrendered to the Maoists."

The revisionist faction carries the seeds of capitalist restoration in its ideology, as well as in its way of life, and is undoubtedly pro-capitalist in essence, while it is pro-Moscow in form. Comrade Sam Marcy explained that in these pages several weeks ago.

The danger has not entirely disappeared with the present surrender of the rightist faction, because the ex-

ternal pressures still exist and although the old ruling classes have been politically defeated, they have not yet been thoroughly destroyed economically or assimilated socially.

But the leaders of Chinese Communism have consolidated the old revolution with their victories in the new one. Among other things, they have mobilized the people for a great new thrust toward the socialist future.

And they have physically and spiritually armed millions for the coming struggle against the U.S. invasion that has been so long planned in the White House and the Pentagon.

As we have attempted to explain in accompanying articles in this issue, the attack of U.S. big business on Asia is rooted in deeper and older causes than even the existence of China's magnificent revolution. However, this revolution provides both the arms and the inspiration for the fight against imperialism, both in Asia and America.

Thus, the Cultural Revolution not only has not failed; it is succeeding on a grander scale than its ill-wishers had even thought about.

Black Troops in a Colonial War

There are twice as many Black soldiers in Vietnam as there would be if the proportion was the same as that of the general Afro-American population. Twice as many are serving. And even more than twice as many are dying.

It has also been reported that American Indians, who are one-third of one per cent of the U.S. population, comprise three per cent of the GI's in Vietnam. That's nine times what their number should be. (Proportionately, that is, Nobody should be drafted!) Puerto Ricans, who have little more sovereignty than the Indians and no more rights than the Black People, are similarly discriminated against.

The spokesmen of the U.S. Army frankly admit that the draft hits the poor the hardest and also that the professional "career" soldier is often from an oppressed nationality, because he can't get a job anywhere else!

On top of this, the schemers in the Pentagon are already sounding out the public on a completely "volunteer" army in which the pay would be raised considerably -- "like in the police force" (1) This would lead to an even greater, perhaps far greater percentage of the oppressed doing the fighting for their enemies.

The imperialism of ancient Rome as well as that of modern Britain and France, did the same. The Romans used the very Gauls they conquered to guard the borders of their own former lands.

The British dragooned the Sikhs of India; the French used the Senegalese of Africa, and so on.

Now, the newest and biggest imperialism plans a similar outrage upon the oppressed.

But it won't work.

The Afro-American people are already being kidnapped in a new "Atlantic passage," it is true. But this is taking place at the very time that Africa itself is in revolt and the billion-fold Asian masses are rising.

The U.S. is spending over two billion dollars a month to suppress a revolution in a small country and it cannot spend two billion a year in the so-called "war on poverty" to prevent a Black revolution in the U.S. itself. A purely "police" solution is out of the question.

Moreover, in calling ever greater numbers to the slaughter, the imperialists cannot make the "professional" army a reality. With all the automation of the mass murder machine, they still need a mass army. And they will inevitably unite the oppressed of all colors against themselves at the very time they are trying to extend their oppression.

The Black masses have already begun to fight back. Even normally conservative Afro-American leaders begin to feel the rumblings of the masses and echo them in silver-tongued speeches. The racist ruling class is already somewhat shaken. Bigger rumblings — and earthquakes — are ahead.

Our Crystal Ball

WASHINGTON, April 9 -- Barry Goldwater applauded President Johnson today for his stand on the Vietnam.

— Is it too much to predict that in the next Administration, Lyndon Johnson will be applauding President R. Kennedy for his stand on the war, too?

Millions Oppose the War And Support April 15 Demonstration

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refused to be a part of the U.S. armed forces.

Young men who have been forced into the army have increased their AWOL rate since 1960 by some 25 per cent or more. The AWOL rate, according to the March 14, 1967 New York Times, is now over 50 per thousand.

FORT HOOD 3 NOT ALONE

Not generally known is the fact that the Fort Hood Three, who opposed the war though it meant their jailing, were a part of a much larger group at Fort Hood which opposed going to Vietnam but lacked the trio's conviction to stick it out to the end and go to jail.

Soldiers returning from Vietnam report that the war is "unpopular." While the big right wing press (such as the Daily News and the Hearst papers) likes to feature articles quoting a serviceman who tells how proud he is to be in Vietnam "serving his country," such concoctions are given the lie by reports from Vietnam which reveal the average GI's main wish: to get the hell out of there.

EVEN THE LABOR BUREAUCRACY!

At home, the civil rights leadership has come out against the war -- reflecting the deep opposition of their members. And even the CIA-infested labor leadership shows cracks in its

pro-war policies, indicating a serious rumbling in the ranks.

The people's concern with the war, which is taking their sons, is slowly growing from concern to irritation and anger. A soldier is killed, as was Angel Luna of the Bronx last December, and the whole neighborhood is angered.

Said a neighborhood candy store owner when questioned about the Luna youth's death: "We need that war like I need heart palpitations."

MILLIONS AGAINST IT

Across the country a feeling against the war is deepening. The reiteration of how the U.S. is fighting for "freedom" and "our way of life" and "against Communism" has less and less effect against the taking of sons, and the raising of taxes, and the increases in prices, and the cutting of government services for the people.

The mass of people, though still largely inert, are already passively against the war. Johnson and Kennedy -- each in his own way, with his own political fish to fry -- thoroughly understand this, even though some faint-hearted anti-war leaders do not.

The marchers against the war -- even though they already number many thousands -- are merely the forerunners of a massive anti-war movement that will include the millions.

War Profiteers Make Billions Out of Sweat and Blood of Workers, Soldiers

By ELLEN PIERCE

The U.S. government is spending over \$2 billion every month to carry on the war against Vietnam.

The total military budget will be \$70 to \$75 billion in the coming year. The World War II budget was \$72 billion.

The Pentagon spends \$322,000 to kill one Vietnamese guerrilla. The "war on poverty" spends \$53 for each poor person — with much of that amount going to high-salaried administrators.

Five million gallons of poison chemicals for crop destruction (more than a quart for every man, woman and child in South Vietnam) have been ordered by the military this year at a cost of \$32 million. Next year it will be \$50 million. But many American children do not even get a quart of milk a day and recently cutbacks were announced in the Federal school milk program.

These are some of the costs involved in the Vietnam war. And the cost, like the genocidal war itself, is constantly escalated by Johnson and his backers.

Military expenses, originally estimated at \$57 billion, will be over \$70 billion this year.

On March 2, an extra \$4.5 billion in additional military funds was voted by Congress. A move to bar use of the money "in or over North Vietnam" was crushed 372 to 18 in the House.

Days later a \$12.2 billion emergency Vietnam appropriation was passed with only two Representatives voting for an amendment to prevent the money from being used to invade North Vietnam.

On March 21, the Senate authorized a staggering \$20.8 billion for military procurement by an 86 to 2 vote.

Meanwhile, "anti-poverty" and "Great Society" measures, puny

enough to begin with, are reduced even further. Federal aid to states and localities for education has been cut by \$395 million; money for hospital and college construction by \$275 million; highway construction by \$1.1 billion; and Department of Housing and Urban Development funds by \$545 million. (New York Times, Nov. 30, 1966)

But the resources and money wrenched from the economy to wage war just don't disappear down a hole. These billions of dollars go to giant corporations that produce for war. For instance, United Aircraft Corp. and Bell Helicopter have contracts for 2,451 helicopters at an undisclosed cost. Ling-Temco-Vought Inc. has a \$907 million contract to produce A-7 subsonic attack aircraft; Grumman Aircraft is turning out \$151 million worth of A-6 attack planes; McDonnell Co. will get over \$1.7 billion for its F-4 supersonic fighter-interceptor.

Contracts for the F-111A and F-111B (new names for the scandal-tainted TFX) have gone to General Dynamics and Grumman in the amounts of \$989 million and \$251 million respectively. (Wall Street Journal, Jan. 25, 1967) For development of a missile to attack the radar defenses of North Vietnam, General Dynamics is getting \$90 million. If the missile is put into use, it will mean half a billion dollars in contracts to General Dynamics. (New York Times, Dec. 13, 1966)

The men who direct these and other huge armament corporations are intimately connected with the war-planners in the Pentagon and State Department. The sweat and blood of working people and soldiers means profits for these merchants of death.

"Anti - War" Leaders Meeting With the U.S. - UN War Makers

Just days before the Spring Mobilization the leadership of the committee has further encroached on the rights of the anti-war masses (in whose name they pretend to speak) by announcing an unscheduled and unratified meeting with one of the highest U.S. officials in the UN.

The Fact Sheet of the Spring Mobilization has just stated:

"UN Undersecretary Ralph Bunche will meet with a delegation from the Mobilization some time Saturday afternoon, probably just before the UN rally begins at 3 pm."

This meeting with the organization that invaded Korea, betrayed the Congo and is currently trying to stifle the freedom struggle in South Arabia, was never authorized by any open meeting of the Mobilization Committee.

U.S. Pacific War Drive Planned for a Century

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understood in Washington. Roosevelt's Pacific Era was lauded once before, more openly and for more specific reasons. At the Republican Convention of 1900, where Roosevelt was nominated for Vice President, Chauncey DePew of the Vanderbilt railroad empire and spokesman for U.S. big business gloated to the delegates: "The American people now produce \$2,000,000,000 worth more than they consume, and we have met the emergency, and by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates (Henry Cabot Lodge, the elder, J.P. Morgan, etc.) we have our market in Cuba...in Puerto Rico...in Hawaii...in the Philippines, and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 of people, with the Pacific as an American lake....Let production go on...let the factories do their best, let labor be employed...because the world is ours."

Objective Is Conquest

So Johnson is hardly an innovator with his program to make the U.S. a Pacific Power. On the contrary, he has firmly established the continuity of U.S. foreign policy, only now the objective is the conquest of 1.5 billion Asian people (three times as many as in Africa and Latin America combined!) If Johnson is just the executor of the historic destiny of U.S. imperialism in Asia, Roosevelt was not a pioneer in the Pacific either. It was Commodore Perry and the U.S. Navy who "opened up" Japan for U.S. commercial penetration back in 1853. And it was U.S. gunboats which sailed up the Han River in 1871 and slaughtered hundreds of Koreans to open up Seoul for the U.S. merchants. Washington's intervention in China dates back to the American Revolutionary period and U.S. influence was

so strong that by the 1860's an American headed the trade delegation of the Chinese Empire in its negotiations with Europe and the U.S.

As the Nineteenth Century drew to a close, the heartland of Asia was the last remaining portion of the globe which had not been completely swallowed by the imperialist powers. On this heartland, the most populous portion of the globe and on China in particular, the U.S. monopolies staked their future. Only a mighty productive base could command the Pacific and conversely, only a vast colonial reservoir could absorb the commodities and yield super profits sufficient for the technological giant in the West. (If that was the case in 1900 then how much more vital is Asia to the billionaires now!)

Massacre in Philippines

During the last three decades of the century the U.S. fought the European powers for island bases in the Far East. The battle culminated in the Spanish American War and the conquest of the Philippines which was accomplished with the bloody massacre of the Filipino liberation fighters.

The purpose of the struggle was bluntly explained by Commodore Robert Shufeldt (who was in charge of "opening up" Korea) during the early struggle with Bismarck over Samoa.

"The acquisition of Alaska and the Aleutians, the treaties with Japan, the Sandwich Islands," wrote the imperialist predecessor of Admiral U.S. Grant Sharp, Arleigh Burke, etc., "are only the corollaries to the proposition that the Pacific Ocean is to become at no distant day the commercial domain of America."

By 1900 Washington was firmly entrenched on Wake Island, Guam, Samoa, Hawaii and Manila and thus bludgeoned its way into the back yard of the rising Japanese bourgeoisie, which also re-

garded China and the Pacific as its "domain."

The growing weight of the U.S. Navy enabled Washington to "exercise its obligation as a Pacific Power" in both the Sino-Japanese war of 1897 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1905.

McKinley and Roosevelt arbitrated the fate of China as a special U.S. sphere of colonial exploitation.

"Open Door" — for Pillage

It was in Washington in 1922 that the "open door" policy of equal rights for all imperialist powers to pillage China was organized. But the "door" was only left "open" pending the growth of the U.S. military power sufficiently to slam it shut. Every advance by the Japanese ruling class into China during the 30's was hysterically regarded by Wall Street as a virtual violation of U.S. territory. When Japan took Manchuria, Washington regarded the event as a domestic invasion and it was now only a question of timing before the U.S. was to enter W.W. II in order to vanquish the Japanese power in Asia.

Thousands upon thousands of U.S. troops were killed trying to capture the tiny islands which today serve as operational bases in the Vietnam war.

It is often overlooked that although the U.S. developed the atom bomb on the pretext that the Germans had the secret, the bomb was dropped upon the adversary in Asia—after Germany was defeated! This was not only chauvinist hatred of the yellow race. It was the super-explosion of U.S. capital onto the Asian arena.

Under cover of the Korean war and the war in Vietnam, U.S. military and economic missions have swarmed over Asia from Melbourne to Kuala Lumpur, from Bangkok to Singapore, in a relentless effort to broaden the foundation of the U.S. empire in the Pacific.

It is only from such a vantage point that the savage war of genocide in Vietnam can be understood.

It is a favorite pastime among moderates to search for the original sin of the Vietnam war, and, once having discovered it, to put forward some political figure or grouping who will vow never again to indulge.

The origin is variously traced to the decision by Truman to finance the French in 1950, or to the refusal of Eisenhower to sign the Geneva Accords in 1954, or to the commitment to Diem in 1956. Some point to the first commitment of troops to combat by Kennedy and other to Johnson's dispatch of 200,000 troops in 1965 as the critical moment.

What appears to be a series of reckless "mistakes" is only the surface manifestation of the relentless drive by the U.S. capitalist class as a whole towards self-preservation by ruthless expansion.

The goods must be sold. Profits must be made. Capital must be invested and reinvested. Above all the already oppressed masses must be further oppressed and the liberated masses fastened with new chains.

That is what the present war is all about. And that is why the opponents of the war must help to break the chains.

The War Is "Immoral" All Right But Moralists Will Find It Tough Going Since Ruling Class Dictates Morality of the Age

Many honest people oppose the war in Vietnam because of its "immorality." It is indeed an immoral war from the point of view of the oppressed and exploited masses. But it is highly moral and perfectly virtuous from the point of view of the exploiters and their military agents in the Pentagon.

It is "immoral" for the U.S. to keep the whole Black People in bondage. But it does it, and so far, no lightning has struck the capitol building at Washington.

The trouble with the "morality" argument is that it may be turned around — perhaps when the U.S. invades China, on the probable pretext that China "started it" by some alleged attack such as in the Tonkin Bay Incident. China might be made to appear "immoral" and because the U.S. would then be more evenly matched, many "moralists" would discover the war was endurable after all.

Morality is at best a matter of what is right. The question is: what is right for whom? Morality is really a class question. The rich and the poor get the same penalty for stealing a loaf of bread, they say. But the rich don't have to steal bread. They steal millions. And

unless they are very careless, it's not even legally a crime, much less an act of "immorality." Bobby Baker, who just got one to three years in jail for stealing two million dollars (poor people have been known to get life imprisonment for stealing \$1.95), is a glaring exception to the rule.

It was moral for the slaveholders to keep slaves, according to all the religious preachers of the slaveholders for many centuries. It was moral to horsewhip the slaves and on occasion, to hang them. And according to the preachers, it was never moral for the slaves to rebel.

The fact that some now view the rebellion of the Viet masses against the U.S. as a moral act shows that the morality of the oppressor is weaker than it once was. But it is still the official morality. It still persists and confuses the people who base their opposition only on moral grounds.

It is perfectly healthy and normal to begin one's opposition to the war in the name of morality, but it is only possible to sustain that opposition and carry it through to the end in the name of the oppressed against their imperialist oppressors.

Refugees From a Refugee Camp Expose the "Resettlement" Program

Vietnamese peasants who have been driven from NLF areas in the Iron Triangle and herded into "refugee camps" are simply leaving the camps and disappearing, the CDN news service reported on March 8.

While U.S. newspapers are carrying headlines about "Vietcong desertions," the far bigger story is that all the U.S. destruction of the peasants' homes and promises of a new life in U.S. camps are unable to keep the peasants from rejoining the NLF.

Two thousand refugees have fled the camp at Phu Cuong in Binh Duong province alone, since January. The men among them are presumed to have rejoined the NLF army.

U.S. officials hail the operation as promising the peasants "a new life free from Vietcong oppression." In their new life, the peasants live in open sided tents and receive government "handouts" of 8 cents a day.

About 250 of them have been given jobs where they can earn a can of cooking oil for three days of labor. The camp is surrounded with barbed wire.

The peasants were brought to the camps as part of Operation Cedar Falls in Ben Suc and nearby areas, which began in early January. In the Operation, U.S. forces burned the peasants' homes, and turned the area where they lived into a "Free Fire Zone," where anything that moves is considered hostile and is subject to air and artillery strikes.

The truth is that the "refugees" in the U.S. refugee operation are refugees from the U.S. destruction of their ancestral homes, and that the refugee camps are nothing but concentration camps. All the barbed wire and air and artillery strikes, however, are proving unable to hold the peasants.



PERSONALLY, I'M FOR BRINGING THE GIs HOME.

BUT THAT'S THE WRONG SLOGAN—MAY OFFEND PEOPLE.

PICK SOMETHING THAT'S NOT SO CONTROVERSIAL—ASK FOR NEGOTIATIONS OR THE UN.

WHY I'D EVEN MARCH WITH YOU MAHSELF!

Friends(?) and Enemies of Anti-War Movement

— Why Leaders Opposed

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Within the Committee, the representatives of SANE, the Committee for New Politics, the Martin Luther King forces, the SWP and the CP and the pacifists all opposed having unconditional withdrawal as the main theme of the demonstration, on the ground that it would "break up the coalition," although most said their organizations were for it and all were personally for it, themselves! Finally, chairman David Dellinger, a leading pacifist, ruled the whole thing out of order on the ground that 22 days before the demonstration was "too late" to change.

As in all serious arguments over fundamental questions, there is confusion and unclarity. Some, even in the Spring Mobilization, lack complete understanding of the issue. Others play a purely opportunist and conciliatory role.

The attractiveness of some of the slogans previously chosen by the committee help make the confusion deeper and the work of opportunists and diversionists easier.

Who in the peace movement could be against the idea of stopping the bombing? Only the U.S. is dropping bombs. And of course the U.S. should stop dropping them. But "Stop the Bombing" (usually meaning just the bombing of the North) has become the slogan of those who want to "test the will" of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, see if its leaders are willing to give in to U.S. demands upon them, and so on. It is understood to mean that U.S. troops should stay in Vietnam, battleships should remain in Vietnamese waters, spy planes should still fly in Vietnamese skies, and the whole U.S. war machine should remain in Vietnam, oiled and ready to strike again if the Vietnamese are not sufficiently amenable to Johnson's demands.

Kennedy-Fulbright Are Not Against the War -- Just Against "Losing Asia" for the U.S.

Is the Kennedy-Fulbright Vietnam policy to "stop the bombings of North Vietnam and negotiate" intended to be a prelude to the withdrawal of U.S. troops? Does Kennedy's "break" with Johnson on the escalation of the war mean that Kennedy's road leads to peace?

The answers to these questions are crucial to those who would lead the growing numbers of the population who are fed up with the war in a real struggle against it.

In a speech that was widely publicized in advance as a three-step plan to end the war, Kennedy gave his viewpoint on March 2. He told the Senate his "differences" with Johnson and how he himself views the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

"Nearly all Americans share with us the determination and intention to REMAIN IN VIETNAM (our emphasis) until we have fulfilled our commitments....There is no danger of any division in this chamber or in this country....which will erode American will and compel American withdrawal."

An amen came from Senator Fulbright, leading dove, who counterposes General Gavin's "enclave theory," to Johnson's policy. As presented to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Gavin in Feb., 1966, the enclave theory clearly advocates the military occupation of Vietnam in order to achieve a political settlement in accord with U.S. objectives.

Hardly a single soul would demonstrate in New York or San Francisco under the leadership of Kennedy or Kennedy supporters if he fully understood these facts.

Voted for Guns, Tanks

Both Kennedy and Fulbright have supported every military appropriation bill that came up for approval on the

Similarly with the slogan of "negotiations." It would be very good to have negotiations over the amount of war reparations the U.S. owes the North and South Vietnamese people, for example, after tearing the country up and decimating its population. But this is not the generally accepted meaning of "negotiations" at the present time.

Individual leaders try to fool their followers and perhaps themselves as well, by saying that "negotiations" really means negotiating the U.S. withdrawal. But if this were so, then they would not oppose the slogan of unconditional withdrawal with the "negotiating" substitute.

The slogan of "negotiations" generally means negotiating on the demands of Washington and moving the Vietnamese people away from their stand of absolute sovereignty and independence. In the present political context, it really means negotiating a permanent status for U.S. puppets like Ky and fixing the terms of the Viet people's surrender.

The leaders of the Spring Mobilization rally know this. But they persist in their position that the demonstration endorse these slogans as opposed to immediate and unconditional U.S. withdrawal.

The reason is sad, but simple. They are not so worried about the opinions of fifty to one hundred thousand demonstrators as they are fearful of the pressure of fifty to one hundred "prominent" people, who are in turn operated by a handful of the more liberal big business bosses and their politicians, such as Robert Kennedy. Kennedy in his turn, has "broken" with Johnson, but sincerely or not, proposes to support Johnson for President in 1968. Thus the whole peace movement is tied by invisible strings to the very forces it wants to fight.

Senate floor. On March 2, the day before the Kennedy "peace proposals" both senators voted to add 4.5 billion to the tens of billions that have been spent for military conquest for fiscal 1967. This was specifically earmarked for planes, ships and tanks.

There are those who will call Kennedy a wheeler-dealer like Johnson, a man who set the White House as his goal. There are others who will see his opposition to Johnson's escalation



"Dove" cooing to the Hawk

as a lesser of two evils. And there are those who believe that Kennedy may bring about an end to the bombing and the beginning of the end of the war.

These speculations hide what is most fundamental.

Kennedy, by birth and inclination, represents the interests of big business, which has staked the prestige of its system on extending its frontiers in Asia. Not Kennedy, not Fulbright, not any dove politicians will violate that strategic objective and call for unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops.

It's All in the Family!

A boss politician whose family has accumulated a vast amount of wealth, Kennedy is akin to the Wall Street financiers and their military-corporate empires that are pocketing the billions in war profits and whose appetites are whetted by their dreams of new Asian conquests.

When Kennedy talks about "negotiations" as he did in his March 2 speech, he means first and foremost, negotiations for Wall Street's right to invest its capital and gouge its profits out of the colonial peoples.

When Kennedy talks about an agreement that neither side will substantially increase the scale of the war during "negotiations," he means legalizing the aggression of half a million troops armed to the teeth and backed by the power of the Seventh Fleet and the U.S. Air Force, whose guns and bombs

are targeted on the Vietnamese people.

When Kennedy talks about an "international presence" gradually replacing American troops, he means putting a UN armband on the U.S. troops as was done in Korea.

Kennedy's differences with Johnson's strategy are "real" enough. While Johnson wants to pound the Vietnamese into unconditional surrender and is escalating the war to do it, Kennedy wishes to use the cunning of negotiation to achieve the same objective. This, in fact, is a family quarrel — and Kennedy's present support of Johnson in '68 is its proof.

What is so ominous about the buildup of Kennedy as a leader who will bring about peace, is that it comes at a time when broader sections of the American people are opposing the war. More and more sacrifices are being urged upon them. Casualty figures mount. GI's die. Families mourn. Few American working people have any use for a jungle war 10,000 miles from home.

His "Peace" Proposal

Kennedy's March 2 "peace proposals" contained the thinly veiled threat that "if the passage of substantial time and events prove that our adversaries do not sincerely seek a negotiated solution...then we can re-examine our entire military strategy including bombing or the possible erection of a physical barrier to block infiltration in light of the changing nature of the war."

Fulbright has said on several occasions that he is opposed to a full withdrawal of U.S. troops. And he has explained his vote for war funds with the demagogical argument that a lack of such funds would hurt U.S. soldiers. Since he himself opposes bringing these soldiers back home and votes for more ammunition — i.e., more war — he is just as responsible for their deaths as Johnson or anybody else.

Kennedy is waiting in the wings to be called when the Johnson strategy of military escalation and unconditional surrender falters. Whether he gets into the White House remains to be seen. But his politics have nothing to do with peace and the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese people. His opposition (like Fulbright's) to unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops is clear proof that this is true.

And when his seemingly sincere and earnest effort fails, because the Vietnamese people will settle for no less than their national independence, then it will be Kennedy and Fulbright who will say to the people, "We tried, God knows we tried," — and rally the masses of the people to make further sacrifices for an even bigger war. Kennedy is approximately in the same position as Woodrow Wilson in 1916, who campaigned for — and won — the Presidency on the slogan, "He kept us out of war."

Presidential Ambitions

Kennedy is trading on this anti-war mood. His Presidential ambitions are riding on this and on the revulsion against U.S. bombings of cities and villages, and the napalming of women and children.

There are those in the anti-war movement who accept Kennedy's "peace image." They are mouthing his political line. They are imposing his — "negotiate and stop the bombing" — slogan, "cease fire and intervention of the UN," on the organized anti-war movement in an attempt to bury the slogan of unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops. They are in fact laying the groundwork for the movement to support a Kennedy-Fulbright Presidential ticket. And they are reinforcing his image as a figure who works for peace.



Glad-handing Wm. Buckley, the arch-conservative, at El Morocco last month.

The Role of Pacifism in Fight Against the War

Some Leaders of Spring Mobilization

Giving practically all-out support to the Kennedy-Fulbright position in the Spring Mobilization are the leadership of SANE and the Conference for New Politics (Edward Keating, who is vice-chairman of the Spring Mobilization, Robert Scheer, Cora Weiss on the Program Committee, the Ramparts forces, etc.).

The Conference for New Politics, not so well known in the East, but very active on the West Coast is considering backing Senator Robert Kennedy for president.

The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) often dominates the Spring Mobilization — by making frequent threats to "withdraw" from the coalition and thus intimidate those who are slightly to the left of SANE. Abner Grunauer, representing SANE in the New York Committee, made such a

threat over the draft card-burning proposition.

SANE's line is to push for a "sane" international U.S. policy, rather than a militant anti-war program or even a consistently pacifist one.

On November 27, 1965, after an extremely successful anti-war march in Washington, D.C. Sanford Gottlieb, then national co-ordinator of SANE, publicly warned Ho Chi Minh not to take the demonstration too seriously or assume that it represented the feelings of the general American public! (Naturally, the U.S. newspapers, magazines, radio and TV, all of whose owners put together wouldn't fill the Senate vestibule, do represent the American people — and twenty-five thousand determined working people demonstrating in Washington do not!)

The Role of Pacifist Leaders And the Reason Pacifism Won't Do the Job

The professional pacifists who lead the Spring Mobilization Committee (the late A.J. Muste, David Dellinger, James Bevel, the national director and an associate of Martin Luther King) are more committed to peace, in the abstract at least, than the previously mentioned figures.

But they actually perform as apologists for the pro-Kennedy forces and constantly finish up as their spokesmen. As preachers used to "justify the ways of God to man," so the pacifists now sell the dictates of the right wing to the left.

This happens in the Spring Mobilization Committee every time the more militant anti-war forces make a proposal and the conservatives oppose it. (Workers World, Youth Against War & Fascism, End the Draft, etc., have pushed for the kind of anti-war demonstration that would reflect the feelings of the mass of protesters.)

Considering the traditionally individualistic and even anarchistic approach of pure pacifism, this is a strange phenomenon. But it is more true of the pacifist leaders, and most of the rank and file, having little interest in politics, fail to see the shift of position in their leadership.

Pacifism Ignores Cause

The great majority of those who oppose the war and those who come to giant demonstrations are of course not pure pacifists. But they have much good will toward those who are. The question is: Will pacifism stop the war? And is it even really directed toward stopping the war?

Pacifism as such, generally reacts only against the horrors of war and shows little or no interest in the causes of war. Individual pacifists, who defy the Government in various ways, of course play a role in the fight by dramatizing the horrors and helping to spark a genuine popular revulsion to the war. But revulsion alone or horror alone is inadequate.

The real cause of the war is the drive of U.S. big business to dominate our planet at the expense of millions of corpses, including those of American youth. This is the cause of the war and the cause of the drive to expand the war.

A cease fire, for example, with 500,000 U.S. troops continuing to aim the biggest firepower in history straight at the heart of Vietnam might satisfy those who want merely to end the fighting, but it would in fact be a guarantee of continued violence against the oppressed people of Vietnam for as long as a foreign army occupied their shores.

Why They Compromise

Pacifists can compromise with those who want such a cease-fire, partly because they fail to understand the war aims of the U.S. and the basic

causes of the U.S. war. And they can also compromise because their main interest is in the cessation of violence, while they lack an understanding of what the violence is all about.

The U.S. has built several fantastically big bases in both Vietnam and Thailand. They are among the largest in the world. Both Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam and Sattahip in Thailand are now capable of accommodating almost the whole Seventh Fleet. The U.S. has bases and 40,000 GI's in South Korea, 14 years after the Korean War — an equal number in the Philippines and still more in Puerto Rico, 69 years after the Spanish American War. Those wars were "ended," but the violence against those peoples was not ended, because the exploitation of those peoples had only just begun.

The reason that it is necessary to demand immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops is that the anti-war movement can have no confidence in the intentions of the U.S. Government, since the Government is not acting for the American people, but for the American exporters, investors and bankers.

The purely pacifist position begins and ends with the question of violence and war and leaves aside the question of economics and politics. But "war is a continuation of politics by other means," as Clausewitz observed nearly 150 years ago. And the Vietnam war is a continuation of the aggressive politics of Standard Oil, American Aluminum, U.S. Rubber, First National City, Chase Manhattan and their associates of the international U.S. plunderbund. The war is a continuation of the politics of 100 billion U.S. big business dollars invested by rich Americans, which poor Americans are being asked to lay down their lives to protect and extend further.

Friendly to Their Enemies

In addition to this theoretical misunderstanding the pacifists have about the nature of war, and to a large extent because of it, they can more easily have personal and social ties with the class that is conducting the war. David Dellinger, for example, who often chairs the Spring Mobilization meetings, can on occasion be equally friendly with the anti-imperialist left and the pro-imperialist right of the "anti-war coalition."

Like many of his pacifist associates, he is perfectly sincere in his desire to see an end to the war, and unlike Kennedy, Fulbright, etc. he has no plans to lead the U.S. people to slaughter at a later date. But he fails to repudiate or expose Kennedy, and on the contrary, conciliates with his direct and indirect agents in the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Rev. Martin Luther King (main speaker in the New York demonstration, as his wife speaks in the San Francisco demonstration) has just recently taken

a more militant anti-war position, which is in reality a militant pacifist position, mixed in King's case, with anti-Communist reformism and possibly a deeper collaboration with the Kennedy political forces.

Rev. King was given the Nobel Peace Prize for his espousal of non-violence in the civil rights cause. And he, more than most pacifists, has met with the positive approval of a large section of the war-making ruling class.



Released NLF prisoners threw their clothes at their captors.

Socialists and "Communists" Who Oppose Immediate U.S. Withdrawal!

It would be wrong to say that the revisionist U.S. Communist Party or the reformist Socialist Workers Party have said in any program or platform or party document that they are against unconditional and immediate withdrawal.

But the objective sum of their activities on the Spring Mobilization Committee in New York adds up to just that. Intimidated by such bourgeois figures as the SANE leaders, and imagining that these leaders represent the broad masses, they go along with the substitute slogans of "cease fire and negotiate," etc. and do not even put up a fight for the correct slogan or attempt to organize a contingent to march under such a slogan.

This is a classic example of subordination of the left to the right in a coalition in which all forces are supposed to keep their own identity.

At a convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Detroit last month it was agreed to take the "NOW" off their slogan "Bring the Troops Home Now" — "in the interest of the united front."

The forces who put out the Bring the Troops Home Now newsletter have just discontinued it, also presumably in the interest of "unity."

The pacifists themselves have also repudiated their own sympathizers who want to burn their draft cards — also in the name of "unity."

And Yet — Red Baiting

Meanwhile the Spring Mobilization is red-baited by the New York Daily News as being "Communist" — thus increasing the credit of those who have the name of Communist among those who are looking for militancy! But the scurrilous attacks from the News and similar quarters merely repeat the same propaganda that the bosses used to spread about the CIO, calling all strikers "Communists" — the same line the State of Alabama took a few years ago, outlawing the NAACP as subversive.

Such attacks have to be exposed and fought against, but the evaluation of the reactionaries cannot be accepted by progressives and revolutionaries. The

Rev. King has correctly pointed to the monstrous inequity of Black soldiers fighting and dying at a rate twice that of their relative weight in the population at home. Nevertheless, he, like the other leading pacifists, has ties to the ruling class, and does not oppose the root causes of the war any more than he opposes the root causes of oppression and segregation.

Rev. James Bevel, an associate of Dr. King, is national director of the Spring Mobilization.

Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party are not leading the Spring Mobilization (but that is not their fault); they are being led by it (and that is their fault). The Daily News knows this, but is just as determined to wreck the Spring Mobilization whether it is "dominated" by Communists or not.

In spite of the general witch-hunt against Communists, which has never really ended in this country, the fact remains that the "Communists," like the Socialists, have adapted to the liberal wing of the ruling class. And they confuse their followers by selling their compromises on principle as mere adjustments in tactics.

Thus, when they go for the liberal capitalist slogan of "Cease Fire and Negotiate" instead of immediate withdrawal, this is rationalized as being "almost" as good, and why be sectarian and "isolate" yourself?

The Socialist-"Communist" performance at the Spring Mobilization is marked by such anti-Communist excesses as putting the label of "ultra-left" on those who want unconditional withdrawal as the main slogan, and the label "petty bourgeois" on those who want the committee to support a mass draft card-burning that had previously been organized!

They Bow to the Right

In a constant effort to convince the conservative leaders of the Spring Mobilization how reliable and statesman-like they are, the Socialists and "Communists" bow to the demands of the right wing proponents of a compromise imperialist peace instead of fighting for the anti-imperialist peace all their own doctrines and traditions teach them to do.

But they are deceiving themselves. Instead of leading the masses they presume to be moderate, they are themselves are being led by leaders who really are "moderate."

This is not because of personal cowardice on their part, but because of political conciliation to the oppressors in the false hope of thus getting leadership of the oppressed.

Unity Against the War, Yes! But Unity Behind a False Line, No!

The True Meaning of a UNITED FRONT —What Do You Give Up to Maintain It?

The Spring Mobilization is a coalition of a number of organizations of different programs and principles who are all united on the one point of a demonstration against the war in Vietnam.

This unity is a good thing insofar as it is a real unity and an honest unity for the objective originally proclaimed — that is, an anti-war demonstration that reflects the feelings of those millions who are opposed to this war and want to end it.

The limits of any "united front" are determined first of all by the objective it sets itself.

For example, the Communists and the Jewish War Veterans can both unite in a demonstration against Rockwell and Nazism. But since the Jewish War Veterans as an organization supports the war in Vietnam, it would not be possible to unite with them for a demonstration against the war.

Minimum Agreement

But when two or more organizations do unite for a specific purpose and the "united front" is to work at all, each participating party's point of view on the issue involved is respected or there is no united front. Nobody is required to give up his program or his specific principled position and all are supposed to consult one another.

The members and friends of Workers World do not demand that the pacifists agree on the nature of imperialism or the imperialist nature of the war, before agreeing to jointly demonstrate against the war. But they do insist on really demonstrating against the war — on demanding a real end to it, calling for unconditional withdrawal, etc., which is not necessarily in contradiction to a pacifist position.

They do not demand that the CP give up its theories of a "change" in the nature of imperialism or the possibility of "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, but they do demand that the CP stick to its own stated program of really being for an end to the war, insofar as the demonstration itself is concerned.

Even those confused by the Kennedy-Fulbright line have a place in the demonstration, but the idea is to get

them to speak from their strong side rather than their weak side.

Finally, in the event that opportunist and other forces sabotage and divert the whole affair into conservative channels, the correct thing for those who really want to fight the war is not to give in to the slogans and program of the conservatives on the committee, but to raise their own banner and spell out their own slogans, regardless.

Right Wing Got Its Way

The Spring Mobilization has turned out to be not a united front, but a coalition dominated by the most conservative elements in the anti-war movement.

For example, the New York rally is taking place at the United Nations and the San Francisco rally is being held near a UN historic site. This has the effect of posing the UN as an important factor in the solution of the war. A sizable number of anti-war activists, if not the majority, reject the UN as having no role in the situation and in fact as dominated by the United States.

For the sake of a fair coalition, the rally should be held, if not in front of a U.S. Government building, which would point clearly to the aggressor, than at some place that is not so sharply objectionable to militant Mobilization supporters.

When the rally was first planned, leaders of the Committee — Bevel, Dellinger and Greenblatt — claimed

that the UN sites were chosen merely as symbols of many governments. But at least one widely distributed edition of the call, the one sent from the Cleveland Regional Office, described the marches as "Pilgrimages to the UN."

At the March 16 Committee meeting in New York, as quoted in the minutes, "Dave Dellinger reassured the working committee... that the program committee fully intends to see that... the point of view calling for withdrawal is represented."

But this was actually a concession to the moderates because the overwhelming majority of the people who are against the war feel that the only way to end it quickly and justly is for the U.S. to get out without any strings attached.

Can we say that the speakers list is representative of an honest united front? No — the list has been carefully prepared by the conservative section so that the idea of immediate withdrawal is minimized and that of "negotiations" dominates. This despite the fact that leaders like Dellinger claim they personally are for immediate withdrawal.

Puerto Rican Speaker

In New York, the majority of the Committee approved a report that listed Juan Pedro Rua as a speaker. He is a militant leader of Movimiento Pro Independencia, the Puerto Rican Movement for Independence. This is one of the few Puerto Rican organizations that has held demonstrations against the war. It has organized over one thousand

youths to proclaim publicly that they would not go if drafted.

At a small program committee meeting on April 4, the conservatives took him off the list. Cora Weiss of National Conference for New Politics said, "I will not get a single representative from the House or Senate if that guy is on the platform."

Al Evanoff of District 65 said, "I can't live with that kid speaking." This was a sharp attack on the possibility of a fair coalition by the conservatives.

After a big fight the next night at the Mobilization Committee, Rua won back his position on the speakers list but only as long as a "more respectable" Puerto Rican speaker would serve as a cover. (if one can be found)

YSA Capitulates

It is noteworthy that the Young Socialist Alliance has capitulated to the most conservative elements in the Committee by dropping the word "Now" from their Berkeley election campaign posters and around the Mobilization so as to "maintain" the coalition. The YSA has given up their political rights in the coalition in their overwhelming desire to snuggle up to the pacifists and the pro-Kennedy people. This is not a "united front" action; it is a mockery of the United Front.

Despite the bending over backwards by supposed militants like these, the conservative group in the coalition is never satisfied. It is an open secret in New York that when the conservative group wants a vote on something they can win, there is a vote; but when the group fighting for immediate and unconditional withdrawal wants a vote, it is usually not permitted but the proposition is sent to committee and killed.

It has become a common sight to see Abner Grunauer of SANE or Al Evanoff of District 65 threaten to withdraw support from the Mobilization if some particular militant resolution might be voted on and passed. This happened on the question of slogans.

Early in the planning of the Mobilization, the majority of the Committee had voted down one slogan, Cease Fire Now — Negotiate With the NLF. They did this because the slogan creates confusion, since it is similar to the slogans of people who want the U.S. to maintain a foothold in Vietnam.

The vote had been closed and finished, but because of the threats of people like Evanoff and Grunauer, the vote was reopened and the slogan put back in.

Thus the right has dominated the left and thus the "united front" principle has been violated in order to water down the militancy of the demonstration and deprive the demonstrators of the genuine anti-war expression they want.



Mr. Nguyen Van Tien, head of Permanent Representation of South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, confers with delegates at Congress of Heroes and Fighters in Hanoi.

They're "Against the War", But They Oppose Support for Mass Draft Card Burning!

Anti-war students of SDS at Cornell University and the East River chapter of CORE have been organizing a mass draft card burning to take place at the Spring Mobilization on April 15. But the Spring Mobilization leaders refused to support this.

In fact they narrowly passed a resolution that stated: "Draft card burning is not part of the Spring Mobilization Committee."

Weeks ago, Workers World and Youth Against War and Fascism urged a vote of support to the large group of draft card burners the above organizations were assembling, and asked that they be given the use of the platform.

Greenblatt, Bevel and Dellinger refused to allow a vote for a couple of weeks. Greenblatt lied publicly, while claiming to be the spokesman of the draft card burners, saying they did not want to burn their cards on that day.

Finally, in a discussion on April 5, the shameful resolution mentioned above was passed by a vote of 14 to 11 with a number of abstentions.

Such an action as the card burning, said Harry Ring, representing the Socialist Workers Party, was merely

the result of "petty bourgeois frustration" and in any event was ineffective unless done "in giant numbers." (The plan of the organizers of the mass burning was to get 500 participants and apparently they had already amassed over a hundred pledges in March. But the attitude of the Spring Mobilization leaders was guaranteed to discourage many more from burning their cards.)

A Workers World representative was described as "petty bourgeois" for wanting to support this proposed act of mass defiance.

Again, all the representatives of parties and organizations said that they personally were "for it," but it would be "harmful to the coalition," — "harmful to the demonstration," etc.

The opposition of those calling themselves "Marxists" to draft card burning is a particularly repulsive bit of chicanery.

It is true that a militant action of 20,000 workers, perhaps tying up an important war industry might be more effective than 500 young men burning their draft cards in actually stopping the war machine. But the dramatic appeal of such an act to the youth of the

whole country would be well-nigh irresistible. That, incidentally, is why Congress rushed through such a severe penalty for this "petty bourgeois" protest in record time.

Is the real reason behind such "revolutionary" talk a fear of disrupting the pattern of capitalist legality — a pattern which envelops the millions who go out to die, because "everybody else" does?

It is all right to oppose "individual" efforts at protest, if they seem to be useless, or if a better alternative can be worked out. But to hide behind their "petty bourgeois" character, while delivering Marxist lectures to the militants is something else again!

To speak plainly, it was another question like that of having a Puerto Rican nationalist speaker. A question of drawing a line between the Mobilization

and the authorities — a line that could easily be crossed by 50,000 or more demonstrators, but that loomed like a wall of iron to the more conservative leaders of the Mobilization.

It is true that not everybody is prepared to burn his draft card and face a possible five-year sentence. Few soldiers are prepared to refuse to fight a battle either — and face court martial or perhaps instant execution. But any serious anti-war protester would support them. So the tens of thousands of demonstrators would be inspired to see such mass defiance as the draft card burning, and instinctively applaud it.

The failure of the Spring Mobilization to support it is a violation of the spirit of popular opposition to the war as well as a betrayal of its own objectives.

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They Love Profits Even More Than They Hate the Black People

Is It a Race War? And Are They Just Out To Imitate Crimes of Hitler at Auschwitz?

Even though there are cases of "Asians fighting Asians" and many Black Americans are in uniform, the Vietnam war is indeed a race war, riddled through and through with chauvinism and race hatred. As in Korea, the brown-skinned "ally" is an object of contempt, held up to derision and discrimination by the "superior" white soldier.

U.S. officers openly compare it to the Indian wars. They speak of bombs exploding on their victims below as "Fourth of July fireworks" and on occasion, they have dropped Vietnamese prisoners out of helicopters from a height of 1,000 feet. One can hardly imagine them doing this to an enemy they considered their "equals."

But the war in Vietnam is also a class war. It is primarily a war of oppressors against oppressed, a war in which the troops of the U.S. side, no matter what their color, are mere pawns of the financial rulers of the West against the struggling masses of the East.

It is a war of the rich against the poor — of U.S. big business against those whom it hopes to exploit even more viciously than the French did for eighty years. And of course, it is also

part of the world-wide struggle of capitalism against socialism, just as the extreme right warhawks say it is.

But leaving aside the future intentions of the Rockefeller Bank, which has just opened in Saigon, or the oil, tin and rubber interests of the USA, the mere fact that the U.S. is allied with the clique of small-time landlords and exploiters in South Vietnam, is proof enough that it is fighting a class war of the rich against the poor.

"These peasant warriors," said Walter Lippmann last month, "believe they are fighting for their lives against their native landlords backed by foreign invaders."

They believe it, and it is true. The only thing they may not be aware of is the colossal extent of the territorial and financial ambitions of these "foreign invaders."

They are being rapidly made aware, however, by a rain of bombs greater than that of World War II. And their colonial and proletarian allies of the whole world are also being made aware. That is why the war, even if one phase of it should be lost or only partially won, will end in the victory of the exploited and the defeat of the exploiters.

Why Ask the UN to Settle It? And What Is the Character of UN Anyway?

While immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam has become the strongest demand in the anti-war movement, the call for a "UN settlement" of the war still appears desirable in some quarters.

But does the UN have jurisdiction within the territorial borders of any nation on the globe (e.g., Vietnam), whether it is a member of the United Nations or not? And can any organization, such as the United Nations be an impartial arbitrator between an aggressor nation (U.S.) and a nation who is the victim of aggression (Vietnam)? Above all, is the UN a super-body, a "world government" existing up in the stratosphere — or is it simply the sum of its parts, which are in their majority imperialist nations and imperialist puppet nations?

THE ANSWER IS NO

The answer to the first question, simply from a juridical point of view, is clearly no. Never has a nation, even if a member of the UN, handed over its sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction to the UN, and there is no reason why Vietnam should be the first exception.

Few Americans would have approved of some sort of "UN" cease fire or negotiated settlement while American revolutionaries were throwing the British out of colonial America in 1776. It was clear then that the only solution to the war was to respect the Declaration of Independence by a complete withdrawal of the British from America. Any other solution would have conceded or compromised American independence.

Similarly, the Vietnamese, including the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as well as the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, feel that any UN settlement would deny their national independence. They feel, as the American revolutionaries did, that a complete withdrawal of the aggressor's troops from their homeland is the only solution to end the war.

AND AGAIN-NO!

The answer to the second question is again an emphatic no. Any international organization which claims to be for peace and justice is duty bound to vigorously oppose and denounce the aggressor nation and defend the victimized nation. But in fact, in conflicts between imperialist powers and colonial or neo-colonial countries, the UN has intervened on the side of imperialism.

In 1950, by illegally (according to the UN Charter) bypassing the Security Council veto, the U.S. was able to put on a UN uniform and carry out its war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In 1956, when England and France were helpless in their attempt to retake the Suez Canal from its rightful owner, the United Arab Republic, they also called on UN military forces to carry out imperialist aggression against the Arab peoples.

UN IN THE CONGO

In 1960 and again in 1964, the UN militarily intervened against the Congolese, and crushed the progressive Lumumba government while preserving American and Belgian economic interests in the Congo. The denial of People's China's rightful seat in the UN is further proof that the UN serves imperialist interests.

As late as February of last year, Johnson maneuvered in the UN Security Council to blame North Vietnam for his resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam!

The record of the UN speaks for itself and shows beyond a doubt that it is dominated by the imperialist bloc, and especially by the U.S.

LATEST UN MANEUVERS

And what are the latest U.S. maneuvers in the UN as carried out by U Thant? U Thant wants a UN-imposed cease-fire and subsequent settlement which the Vietnamese know would allow U.S. forces to remain in Vietnam for years, if not decades. Replying to this

cynical maneuver by the U.S. government and its "liberal" allies, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam officially said on March 27:

"To call on both sides to cease-fire and hold unconditional negotiations while the United States is committing aggression against Vietnam, is to make no distinction between the aggressors and the victim of aggression, to depart from reality and demand that the Vietnamese people accept the conditions of the aggressors."

The reply further stated:

"As the U.S. is committing aggression against Vietnam, the correct way to settle the Vietnamese problem is that the U.S. stop its aggression."

But who were the originators of a "UN settlement" idea?

Did the idea come from the ranks of the anti-war movement? Of course not. It came from the mouths of the Fulbrights, Kennedys, Morses, and Gruenings, and from some of the top so-called "peace leaders," at a time when

the war was becoming more unpopular as well as more difficult for the Pentagon.

Their position is that U.S. imperialism can maintain its foothold in South-east Asia more successfully with a UN type of negotiated settlement rather than with an all-out war. The anti-war masses must not be deceived by these "doves," who merely preach a different method than Johnson, McNamara and Co., of dominating Asia for the interests of Washington and Wall Street.

Of course the U.S. does not dominate the UN quite so absolutely as it once did. The strains in the Atlantic Alliance are now showing. And a UN "settlement" would have to take French imperialism into consideration along with some minority pressure from the socialist countries, etc. But these factors are purely secondary, and worse still, they are the source of dangerous illusions for the anti-war movement.

It is perfectly obvious that U Thant's "intervention" is weighted heavily in favor of Johnson's position and the propositions in his "negotiations" seem to be quite similar to those made by many of the liberal and even some of the conservative rulers of the attacking country — the USA.

The shortest short-cut to extinction for the anti-war movement would be any dependence upon the UN to bring about an anti-imperialist peace.



Youths in Quang Nam province march enthusiastically to join Liberation Army

Can this War Be Ended at All? — Not a Question Of Despair. Answer Points the Way To Victory Over All Wars

Among the anti-war forces there has arisen a muted but highly important debate. It is over the question: Can the war be ended at all?

This question does not arise especially out of fatalism or defeatism or lack of those qualities, but out of an appreciation of the degree to which the war involves the fate of the whole capitalist system. Naturally, if the capitalist class regards this war as its death struggle, it will not stop until it has been defeated.

But it would be wrong to characterize this specific war — although it is undoubtedly part of a global class war — as absolutely such a death struggle in and of itself. It would be wrong to make a specific prediction about such a specific event.

It is impossible to know precisely how many resources are left to capital, how much flexibility is left in it and how much room to maneuver it has left on the world arena. Obviously, for example, a large group of capitalists think that capitalism has a whole new historical perspective in collaboration with the Soviet Union, along with the perspective of assisting a capitalist counter-revolution in that country.

This is extremely unlikely in spite of the undoubted cooperation of the Soviet revisionist leaders.

The war of social systems is absolute, just as the class struggle is absolute and has continued ever since the rise of an exploitative society divided into classes, about 6,000 years ago.

This war of social systems cannot be solved by a more permanent detente

between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, even in the unlikely event that that detente appears to be accepted for a while by imperialism and should for a time "relax the tensions."

Whether or not the Vietnam war is ended, the liberation struggle will not be ended. And the ruthless exploiters who send their Marines to the Dominican Republic within hours of a nationalist uprising, will be sure to create other Vietnams, if they extricate themselves from this one.

And since each of the liberation struggles is connected to the world struggle of social systems by bonds infinitely stronger than the subjective will of the Kremlin leaders, the Soviet Union will again become involved. And the Chinese, who are growing militarily by the day, will of course be involved.

Johnson, Rusk, McNamara and their generals know this. Their bosses among the billionaires know it. And Kennedy, Fulbright, Morse, Hartke and the rest know it. For them it is only a question, as one of their generals once put it, of "fighting the right war in the right place at the right time."

For some of them today in Vietnam, it is "the right war" — for others it is "the wrong war." But their determination to keep half the world hungry and ransack its resources for the benefit of U.S. corporations is unanimous.

This is the fundamental war drive of our epoch. And this is the war drive that must be exposed and halted. The war will end. But in its larger sense, only the masses of the world, acting against the economic exploiters of the world, will end it.

British Labor Party Youth Call for Break With U.S. on Vietnam War

LLANDUDNO, WALES — The youth group of the British Labour Party, at their National Conference here, has passed a resolution accusing the U.S. Government of aggression and demanding that "The Labour Government publicly disassociate itself from U.S. action in Vietnam."

The resolution was passed at the sixth National Conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists, held on March 27, by an overwhelming show of hands. The Conference also voted to send a copy of the resolution to the NLF.

Preceding the vote of the Conference was a meeting organized for the youth delegates on March 24 by the Vietnam Solidarity Committee. This meeting sharply condemned U.S. aggression. A packed hall of delegates gave enthusiastic applause to the main speaker, an American youth leader, Deirdre Griswold.

Miss Griswold is the editor of the

Partisan, the magazine of Youth Against War & Fascism. She called upon the delegates to take the position described above.

Later, at the Conference, the resolution condemning the U.S. was made by the Esher Young Socialists.

Bureaucrats of the Wilson Labour Party leadership tried to head off a vote by a series of maneuvers. Among other things they put the matter off until the last day, hoping that most of the militant youth delegates would have gone home. In spite of these tactics the resolution passed with such an overwhelming support that no count of hands was necessary.

It stated in part: "This conference completely condemns the savage and barbaric war being pursued by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam...."

"It declares its belief in internationalism and pledges its full support to the victory of the Vietnamese revolution

and the National Liberation Front.

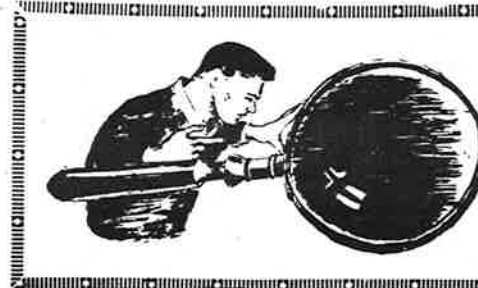
"It believes that the American Government has no right to negotiate the future of Vietnam and declares that only the people have the right to decide the future of Vietnam...."

"It demands that: All foreign troops

withdraw immediately from Vietnam...."

Later, by a closer margin, the Conference voted to send a copy of the resolution to the NLF. It is predicted, however, that the Labour Party National Executive Committee, whose collaborationist position is being sharply criticized in the resolution, and who must approve the sending of the resolution to Vietnam, will bar its transmission.

But they cannot bar the knowledge that the militant Labour youth are rising to give their support to the Liberation fighters in Vietnam.



Through the Magnifying Glass

By John Moore

Amazing Exploits of Liberation Fighters (Yes, Virginia, There IS a Robin Hood)

Do you remember those tales of Robin Hood? He and his band helping the people, robbing the rich to give to the poor, being helped by the people, outwitting the sheriff, disguising themselves as beggars or friars and always escaping back to the wildwood?

Do you remember the time Will Stutely was captured by the sheriff and was going to be hung?

He is being taken to the gallows and then suddenly Robin Hood and his guerilla band mixed up with the crowd, looking like ordinary people, spring to the rescue. They attack. They free Will and they escape.

Could such things really be? Was there really a Robin Hood?

Yes, Virginia, there was. And better yet, there still is. In fact, there are thousands of them. They live in Vietnam.

Just the other day in a place called Quangtri, a city in the north part of South Vietnam, Robin and his men struck again.

In the jails of Quangtri hundreds of Vietnamese Will Stutelys were being held prisoner. Suddenly in the early morning of April 6, a band of liberation fighters attacked. With remarkable precision they struck several places at once: the city hall, the South Vietnamese military headquarters, the jail, and a U.S. military headquarters. And in a twinkling the sheriff's men were killed, captured, or scattered and the prisoners were freed from the jail and the band, the Vietnamese Robin Hoods, Little Johns and all were gone again into the forest among the people where neither Saigon forces nor U.S. forces are eager to follow.

But this was just one of a number of recent exploits of the remarkable Vietnamese Liberation Forces.

U.S. authorities are now trumpeting the claim that "Viet Cong morale is declining" and they cite figures that: "5,557 Viet Cong defected" in the last month. We do not know how accurately the U.S. authorities did their counting—or whom they counted. The daily bombing, napalming, and poisoning of food crops has forced many thousands of Vietnamese to move to stay alive. Many do move into U.S.-held areas. How many of these carry literature dropped by U.S. planes and how many of them could be considered "Viet Cong" we do not know. We do know, however, that facing the massive and indiscriminate fire power and ruthlessness of the U.S. forces, there must be much to "try men's souls" (as Tom Paine said of a hard period of the American Revolution). But we know also that great revolutionary movements like that of the Vietnamese call forth what seem to be superhuman achievements. We also see daily, even through the twisted U.S. press reports, that the Vietnamese guerillas are performing feats that equal and perhaps surpass anything in the present or past.

Bold Robin would surely, man that he was, tip his hat to these stout warriors.

Just a short time ago, a huge military convoy of heavy trucks was traveling up the coast a few miles from the heavily fortified U.S. Marine base at Quanggai to another Marine enclave protected by more thousands of U.S. military forces at Danang. There were 121 trucks and an armed force accompanying them to protect them along this stretch of Highway 1 between the two bases.

Suddenly all hell broke loose: mines blowing up vehicles, recoilless rifle shells exploding all along the convoy, and when it was over, at least 82 of the trucks were shot up. The "Viet Cong" escaped—apparently without losses.

The same day it was reported (New York Times, March 27) that: "American military sources in Saigon said the Viet Cong had ringed the capital with heavy rocket emplacements...."

Around Saigon, the Nottingham of Vietnam, the Liberation Forces have long been a threat, but a number of U.S. killer drives were supposed to have changed all that and the sheriff was supposed to be riding high.

Maybe some of his men really thought that was the way it was. Police of the U.S.-Saigon puppet government may have started to feel that they could now more freely indulge in their shoot-em, jail-em methods that, it seems, are dear to the hearts of police everywhere.

On the night of April 4 a group of people gathered near a police station five miles south of the center of Saigon. Some wore the green uniforms of the Saigon puppet army. A group drove up in three small buses. All of a sudden Little John gave a shout and hell broke loose here too. When it was over at least five cops would never do anything to anybody anymore and a dozen others were wounded. When the Liberation Forces withdrew, all Saigon policemen, as well as the sheriff, were a bit wiser.

In frantic desperation, the U.S. military brass has turned more and more to openly Nazi methods. Reports of the "Junction City" drive in War Zone C show a raging mad animal wiping out villages, people, animals, houses, and plant life when it cannot cope with the people's guerrilla army facing it—and then claiming the dead civilians are "Viet Cong."

These are undoubtedly "times that try men's souls," but as terrible as the mass killing of civilians is, it will only deepen and harden the fighting spirit of the Liberation Forces. This is the real and somber side that the Robin Hood tales don't tell.

Personal Attacks on Bertrand Russell Show Panic Over War Crimes Tribunal

By HENRY FLYNT

Recently, long attacks on Bertrand Russell and the War Crimes Tribunal he heads have appeared in the New York Times Magazine and in Look Magazine. They are "Bertrand Russell: Prosecutor, Judge and Jury," in the February 19 Times Magazine, by Bernard Levin; and "The Tragedy of Bertrand Russell," in the April 4 Look, by Flora Lewis.

These attacks were wholly inspired by the U.S. warmakers in an effort to discredit the Tribunal and whitewash the war crimes of U.S. big business.

(The Tribunal, which is to meet in Paris later this month, under the chairmanship of Jean Paul Sartre, will hear evidence of U.S. war crimes as did the Nuremberg Tribunal in the case of Nazi war crimes.)

These articles exemplify the very lowest level of journalism, in two ways.

They dismiss all of Russell's views, contentions, and arguments on Vietnam by simply branding them all as anti-American, and therefore obviously false. In other words, the articles assume that Russell's views are false without bothering to prove it.

Actually, Levin and Lewis have to ignore Russell's arguments, because some of his strongest arguments are the self-incriminating material published by the pro-war U.S. press on the U.S. role in Vietnam. Levin and Lewis simply cannot quote and answer this, because it is unanswerable. They cannot answer Russell's charges about the CIA, for example, because the New York Times itself has substantiated those charges.

Mostly, the articles are gratuitous personal abuse. Levin attacks Russell on his marriages:

"Russell calmly plays marble solitaire with his third wife, the former Patricia Helen Spence (he is now married a fourth time), during the furor over his appointment to a professorship at New York's City College in 1940. The appointment was revoked by the state Supreme Court on the ground he advocated free love and trial marriage."

Lewis attacks the appearance of Russell's neck ("But the beaked head was high on his scrawny neck, held taut as a lizard's"), and even the color and cut of his suit ("a suit of dull-green tweed that sagged on the delicate figure").

Of course, only a lizard with a dull green suit would have the temerity to brand the grey flannel-suited snake, Lyndon Johnson, a war criminal!

Every publisher of magazines such as Look knows where he can go to get a journalistic goon job done. All that is needed is a publisher with enough money, and a scribbler-prostitute with so

little self-respect that he will do the job.

That is why there were so many letters in the next issue (Feb. 26) of the Times Magazine from American professors, protesting the article. The professors might not have objected to a "serious" argument for negotiations in Vietnam; but they did object when a great mathematician was subjected to a journalistic smear job.

There are two reasons why these big magazines attack Russell, instead of simply ignoring him.

Russell is one of the great mathematicians, and it is the West which first recognized this. Despite the petty persecution to which Russell has been subjected, the West has on the whole recognized him as one of the greatest mathematicians. Thus, when Russell now condemns the ruling circles of the U.S. and Britain, they view it as a monumental defection, in which the prestige of one of their greatest thinkers is being turned against them.

But the most important reason why it is necessary for Look and the Times to verbally assassinate Russell is this:

Russell has taken a position which is in the interests of literally hundreds of millions of revolutionary people throughout the world. Behind Russell's contention that the U.S. is the aggressor in Vietnam stand the revolutionary peoples of French Somaliland, of Aden, of Bolivia, Thailand, China, the Black people of America, and on and on and on, even to the students of West Europe itself who protest U.S. aggressions, and to the anti-war masses of the United States.

To these literally millions of people, Russell's views on Vietnam are obviously true — and this, in the last analysis, is what makes Russell's stand a threat to America's rulers.

At age 94 Russell has thrown his entire personal fortune and every last ounce of energy into an uncompromising struggle against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Russell's selflessness in bringing upon himself the scorn and hatred of the bourgeoisie, for the sake of upholding the rights of the oppressed, has in itself inspired others to turn against the war. Of course Washington's hired pens have been prompted to the most vile slanders against him!

The final irony of the two attacks is that in spite of themselves they may help the Tribunal more than they hurt it. A growing number of Americans are beginning to suspect everything that comes from the U.S. Establishment. To reveal to these Americans that there is a major enterprise to try the U.S. government for war crimes, headed by Russell, and to do it in an article which even the least informed person can see is a hatchet job, may in the end increase the support for the Tribunal.