

# THE MILITANT

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## Struggle to Save Blanco Continues

Peruvian supporters of Hugo Blanco are making heroic efforts to save the life of the imprisoned peasant leader.

In Lima, radio and television have sought to remain completely silent about Blanco, who was sentenced to 25 years in prison for his activity in organizing landless peasants and who now faces possible execution. In order to break through the curtain of silence around the case, a crowd of women blocked traffic directly in front of Channel 5 television station on Arequipa Avenue.

The demonstration was a big success, the narrow street being so completely choked that nothing could get through for some time. The demonstration won a report on Channel 5, but the press remained silent.

On the occasion of Blanco's birthday, a group of women succeeded in visiting him at El Frontón prison. They brought food and presents for him. They also brought guitars and serenaded him. The prison inmates were reported deeply moved by the demonstration.

Meanwhile, these actions were reported in various countries on behalf of Blanco whose 25-year sentence is now being reviewed by a military tribunal which is also weighing a prosecution request to change the sentence to death.

• In Paris, 31 prominent architects sent a telegram to Peru urging amnesty for Blanco.

• Ten Latin American workers at UNESCO sent a telegram to President Belaunde Terry appealing to him to act on behalf of Blanco.

• In Greece, representatives of the United Union tendency, the newspaper *O Logos Mas* (Our World), *Marxistiko Deltio* (Marxist Bulletin), the magazine, *The Intellectual*, the Committee for Peace and the Committee for Aid to the People of Vietnam sent a letter to Belaunde Terry demanding amnesty for Blanco and his comrades. The letter was signed by professors, students, unionists and intellectuals.

• In France, 70 Peruvian citizens residing in Paris cabled Be-

launde Terry demanding amnesty. A similar telegram was sent by 32 Latin American artists, writers and poets living in Paris. Telegrams were also sent by the French Committee for Solidarity with the People of Latin America, the French Committee for Solidarity with the Victims of Repressions in Peru, and the International League for the Rights of Man.

• In Sweden, the government scheduled a ceremony at the university town of Uppsala where a royal princess was to officiate in granting \$75,000 to build a school in Peru. But because of the widespread agitation on behalf of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian ambassador was afraid to show up for the check. He sent an underling. This unfortunate person was met by a huge street demonstration carrying banners that read, "Freedom for Hugo Blanco!" The students shouted "fascist" at the Peruvian diplomat. The newspapers published candid photos of the unlucky princess. She was on the run, with students close behind, shouting in favor of Hugo Blanco.

From Paris, the text of remarks on behalf of Blanco by Jean-Paul Sartre have been reported. Sartre was the principal speaker at a huge meeting Nov. 28 on behalf of the War Crimes Tribunal. In his expression of solidarity with Blanco, Sartre said:

"The struggle of the Vietnamese people is the main combat being carried on today against American imperialism. It is not the only one. In Peru, the former student and great peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, is threatened with being shot any day.

"His crime: to have unionized the most poverty-stricken rural areas of the country for the first time. Unionized and educated, the peasants began to recuperate the land which the big landowners had stolen from them; and began demanding a better standard of living. Their movement ran up against the 'democracy' of the military — violence.

"Hundreds of peasants were massacred, and in the struggle, three policemen were killed. It is for the death of these puppets that Blanco must now 'pay' . . ."



FREE HUGO BLANCO. On Nov. 24, the militant Federación de Construcción Civil union held a street demonstration in Lima demanding amnesty for the revolutionary peasant leader. Speaking is Rolando Riega, defense secretary of the Federación de Pescadores, whose strike is paralyzing the fish industry.

# LBJ's Viet Formula: Bomb, Strafe Hanoi; Offer to Talk 'Peace'

By Dick Roberts

DEC. 20 — Washington made another phony Christmas "peace offer" at the United Nations yesterday. U.S. Ambassador Goldberg instructed Secretary General Thant to "bring about the necessary discussions which could lead to . . . a cease-fire." But Goldberg's note expressed absolutely no change in Washington's policies towards the war. It boils down to the totally unacceptable position that if Hanoi agrees to negotiate, Washington might cease fire.

This has been justifiably rejected by Hanoi before and it will be again. Washington is the aggressor in Vietnam and has no right to dictate terms to anyone. And even though north Vietnam is being battered by U.S. bombing attacks day after day, Hanoi courageously refuses to negotiate in the name of the south Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

It is hard enough to believe Johnson after his record of the previous two Christmases. In the Democratic Party's 1964 election "peace campaign" swindle, one of the slogans was "the troops will be home by Christmas." Then Christmas came only to find Johnson turning down peace efforts and preparing for the major escalations of the war which occurred the following February and March: first the bombing of north Vietnam; and then the sending of combat Marines to south Vietnam.

In the Christmas period of 1965, Johnson launched his notorious "peace offensive." But as everyone now realizes, this was nothing else but a smokescreen to cover heavy troop reinforcements and preparations for the gigantic escalation of the ground war which soon followed. As a matter of fact, 1,400 new American troops arrived in Vietnam yesterday, the day of the UN offer, bringing the total U.S. troop strength there over the 370,000 mark.

But what makes this particular Christmas offer doubly hard to



Photo by Finer

SOLID GRIP. A.J. Muste shakes hand of well-wisher as cops lead him off during Dec. 15 protest against U.S. bombing of Hanoi. Muste, chairman of Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and 52 other antiwar activists were arrested for staging demonstrations in defiance of regulation at central New York induction center. Some hundred others picketed in front of building.

stomach is the fact that it follows by only six days the horrendous escalation of the war involved in the U.S. bombings of Hanoi population centers, Dec. 13 and 14. The Johnson administration's arrogant contempt for human life and human intelligence appears to have reached new heights.

That a major escalation was intended, and that it was part of the "contingency" plans long studied in the U.S. ruling circles, was clearly established Dec. 17. The admission came in the form of an article in the *New York Times* by the well-known mouthpiece of the Pentagon, Hanson W. Baldwin.

"Without public announcement," Baldwin stated, "the military pressure upon north Vietnam is being

slowly increased. Targets of key importance — very close to Hanoi, the north Vietnamese capital — have been bombed for the first time recently . . . These had long been on the target list approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but had not been approved by higher authority until recently."

Which means in so many words: Johnson was perfectly aware of the orders to bomb workers' homes in Hanoi — he gave them. It confirms the reports in the international press originally denied in Washington. According to *New York Times* correspondent R. W. Apple, Jr., writing from Saigon, Dec. 14:

"A Western traveler who saw yesterday's American air raids (Continued on Page 4)

## McKissick at Detroit Ghetto Rally

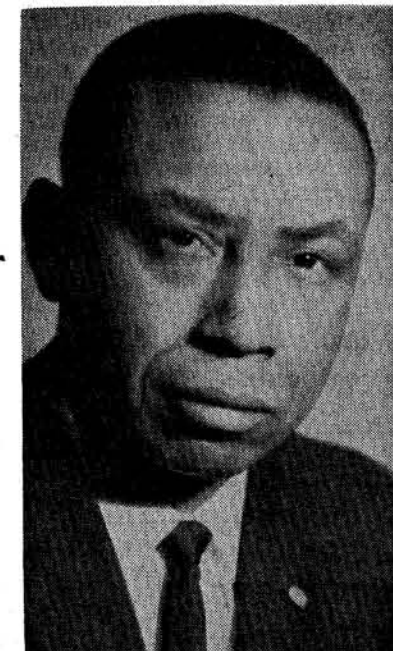
By Derrick Morrison

DETROIT — Over 600 black people jammed into Central United Church of Christ here on Dec. 11 to listen to Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The meeting was sponsored by the Inner City Organizing Committee (ICOC) and Detroit CORE.

"1966 is a very historic year," McKissick said, "It is the year when the Negro became a black man; when he said, 'No longer will I let you give me citizenship by degrees.'" Answering those critics of black power who call it a mere slogan, he said, "Black power is a slogan, a philosophy and a program. Everybody has a slogan — Pepsi Cola, Ivory Soap. The purpose of a slogan is to identify, to attract, to draw attention. As a philosophy, it is a method of thinking.

"These words, black power, cause a tremendous amount of resentment because everybody knows Negroes don't have power. It draws the line between those who are for you and those who are against you. The black man is America's conscience. Black power pricks that conscience. The white man has all the power. When black people take power,

they have got to get 10 percent of the white power. Whites resent black power also because they recognize the Golden Rule: 'If the niggers get power, they will do to us what we have always been doing to them.'"



Floyd McKissick

McKissick then ran down the recent history of the civil rights movement. "For the last 10 years, integration has been the goal of the struggle. Every conceivable 'in' was used to attain that goal. You could integrate the town houses, Holiday Inns, Howard Johnson's, etc., but you could only get into these places if you had money. Then we went to capitalist society's headquarters, Washington, D.C., to picnic. That was the end of the struggle for integration. After the struggle, every employer had their Negro, which was just tokenism. As long as you fight to be integrated into capitalist society and the Man controls the society, he can decide the tempo of your struggle.

"The Man says 'As long as I control the mines, factories and the land, I can set up the standards of beauty. As long as they spend time trying to do something that they can't, i.e., become white, they'll die frustrated and never get in.'

"The integration struggle was just for 10 percent of the black population, the Negro middle class, but even they haven't been absorbed. They've been telling you to get an education and all your problems will be solved. But, (Continued on Page 3)



Johnson has again invoked the Taft-Hartley Act against a striking union. This time he is assaulting 2,100 members of the United Steelworkers at the Kokomo, Ind., plant of Union Carbide.

The dispute is over negotiation of new contracts. Union demands include higher pay, added fringe benefits and improved health and safety standards.

On the workers' side, the demand is for coordinated bargaining — on a multi-union, multi-plant basis — for common union goals.

When the previous contracts began to expire, the company opened hostilities last July by locking out some 1,200 members of the Oil Workers at Alloy, West Va.

Toward the end of November, the company imported strikebreakers to reopen its plant at Ashtabula, Ohio, where about 850 members of the United Steelworkers have walked out.

Now Johnson has joined in the strikebreaking assault by using the Taft-Hartley Act against workers at the Kokomo plant.

The striking unions have called for a boycott of Union Carbide products. These include Prestone antifreeze, Eveready batteries, Bakelite, Glad Bags, and Englander mattresses and beds.

On Dec. 14 members of the United Steelworkers struck Kaiser Steel at Fontana, Calif. The shutdown was called by the local

union's grievance committee when company officials refused to talk about a number of old grievances.

According to the Dec. 15 Los Angeles Times: "The wildcat strike came as a surprise to the steel industry, as Kaiser and the union are partners in a unique formula plan for sharing profits.

The local's executive board passed a resolution citing an arbitration clause in the contract and ordering the workers back to their jobs.

"If all 6,000 members of this union stick together," the chairman of the grievance committee told the meeting, "they'll talk to us."

A "wildcat" strike erupted Dec. 13 at the American Machine and Foundry plant in Garden City, Long Island, which makes steel casings for bombs.

After the 11 p.m. lunch break, night shift workers refused to resume work in a protest over unsettled grievances.

UAW officials said the stoppage is "not authorized."

A settlement has been reached in a 58-day strike of 1,100 UAW members at General Electric's Carbonyl plant in Detroit, Mich.

The other issue involved what the union described as a demand by GE "for the discharge of two men, with 12 and 15 years seniority, who," the company says, "were engaged in a picket line argument."

As an alibi for settling on that basis, a Reutherite "statesman" argued that the change will enable the two men to collect unemployment insurance and put them in a better position to get new jobs.

"A recent study conducted at the University of California at Los Angeles confirms what most of us have long known — that textbooks used by high school students give a distorted and unfavorable view of unions."

# Fight Against Price Gougers Gets Aid from Seattle Unions

By Doris Lewis

SEATTLE — The Women for Lower Prices of the Puget Sound area has begun to approach trade unions, demanding support for its fight against high prices.

Pointing out that "the members of our organization are married to the members of your organizations," Mrs. Leonard stated that "we got together because no one else was doing the job — not the government, not big business, and even the unions haven't done enough.

"We've gone in the hole since my husband's last raise," Mrs. Schell added. "We're caught in an inflationary spiral and we're on the losing end."

### Open the Books

The women are stressing their demand that the supermarkets open their books to the public. A leaflet being distributed by the WFLP points out that "these chain markets own their own dairies, plants, factories, bakeries, warehouses and distribution centers.

The women are calling for the elimination of frills, advertising gimmicks, games and costly displays and celebrities from the stores.

Response from the unions has been good. On a divided vote, the King County Labor Council voted to support the supermarket boy-

cott. A vote of endorsement also came from Local 2 of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union after the women spoke before a special membership meeting on Dec. 8.

After grilling six representatives of the WFLP for seven hours on Nov. 26, the Legislative Council's Committee on Commerce, Industry, Trade and Professions voted to recommend a full-scale investigation of rising food and meat prices to the State Legislature when it convenes in Olympia, Wash., in January.

Meetings have also been set up with District 751 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, which has jurisdiction over Boeing workers, and Local 6 of the Building Service Employees Union.

The WFLP is also attempting to establish ties with similar groups across the nation. As one woman put it, "A & P is a national chain. We better organize nationally to fight it."

### Inflation Pace Setters

The Dec. 1 Wall Street Journal lists the following items among those whose prices have climbed most sharply since December 1965: auto registration, 10.3 percent; hospital charges, 9.9 percent; mortgage interest, 9.0 percent; local transit fares, 9.0 percent; movie admission, 7.7 percent and doctors' fees, 6.6 percent.

"Despite all seeming wranglings, sometimes even wars, among them the capitalist class is international, and presents a united front against the working class."

# Socialist Workers Vote in New York Finally Reported

NEW YORK — Official state returns have been issued for the Nov. 8 elections. The Socialist Workers ticket was credited with the following votes: Judy White for governor and Richard Garza for Lt. governor, 12,506 votes; Ralph Levitt for controller, 14,609; Paul Boutelle for attorney general, 12,333.

The Socialist Labor ticket was credited with these votes: Milton Herder and Doris Ballantyne for governor and Lt. governor, 12,730; John Emanuel, for controller, 11,177 votes. The SLP did not nominate a candidate for attorney general.

An interesting aspect of the vote is the difference in the returns for New York City and the rest of the state. In the city, where both the SWP and SLP did the bulk of their campaigning and received most of their radio and TV time, the SWP gubernatorial candidate polled 8,952 votes as against 4,238 for the SLP.

This pretty much confirms, as was evident throughout the campaign, that in the city the SWP had the support of the bulk of the radical-minded voters.

In the rest of the state, where neither party reached significant numbers of voters and where the SLP had the advantageous ballot position, the SLP was the recipient of the general socialist and protest vote.

# Terrence Hallinan Wins Fight in Calif. To Practice Law

A victory for civil liberties was won in California on Dec. 16 when Terrence Hallinan, antiwar activist and founding member of the DuBois Clubs, was admitted to the California bar by a decision of the State Supreme Court.

In a 6-1 vote, the court overturned a previous decision of the Committee of Bar Examiners which excluded Hallinan from the law profession because he "lacked good moral character."

In its written opinion, the higher court said that participation in demonstrations should not make a person unfit for the profession of law. The one dissenting judge singled out for attack Hallinan's participation in acts of civil disobedience in support of the civil rights struggle.

THE WEEKLY CALENDAR, previously found on this page, will now appear on page 7.

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## SOCIALIST FUND

# Just 2 Weeks to Go!

By Marvel Scholl Fund Director

As this column is turned in for issue of The Militant, datelined Dec. 26 (our deadline is always one week early) there are just exactly two weeks to go to collect the \$18,000 Party Building Fund.

Mary Jane, the fund director

for Denver which came in at 104 percent, promises at least \$12 more immediately.

One good friend, A.F.F. of Jersey City, N.J., sent in \$5 with a letter you will find in the Letters From Our Readers column.

Time is flying by. If you have not already done so, please use the coupon at the bottom of the page for your contribution to the fund.

## Fund Scoreboard

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists contributions from various cities like Minneapolis-St. Paul, Denver, Allentown, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Oakland-Berkeley, St. Louis, Detroit, New York, Milwaukee, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, Los Angeles, Newark, Philadelphia, General.

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**How Finky Can You Get?**

**British Sectarian Seeks Court Aid**

By Joseph Hansen

In a previous issue (Nov. 28), *The Militant* reported the beating that was inflicted on Ernest Tate at the entrance of a meeting held under the auspices of the Socialist Labour League at Caxton Hall in London Nov. 17. *The Militant* published in addition the text of a letter addressed by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the National Committee of the Socialist Labour League, protesting the use of physical violence against other tendencies in the labor movement and suggesting that the National Committee of the SLL should at once place its national secretary, Thomas Gerard Healy, on trial, condemn such hoodlum tactics and expel from the ranks of the SLL all those involved in this ugly incident so reminiscent of the hooligan tactics employed by the Stalinists in their worst days.

The SWP also asked the SLL to assure all workers organizations in Britain that it had undertaken measures to prevent any repetition of the use of such tactics against workers exercising their democratic right to distribute socialist literature at the entrance of SLL meetings.

Instead of responding to this letter in a principled way, the SLL has chosen to take a different course. Their decision is to initiate legal proceedings against Ernest Tate that could end with him hauled into a bourgeois court for condemnation before a bourgeois judge!

The excuse seized on for this legal action is a letter which Ernest Tate circulated to the labor press and labor organizations describing how he was assaulted and charging the national secretary of the SLL with responsibility for what happened.

As Ernest Tate saw it, Healy, after going into the hall, reappeared at the entrance where Tate was offering for sale a socialist pamphlet (*Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International*) critical of the SLL, particularly its anti-democratic practices. The national secretary of the SLL appeared to give an indication. A gang of his followers thereupon set upon Tate. They beat him severely, breaking his glasses and knocking him to the ground. After he was down, they continued their work, kicking him in the head, kidneys and genitals. The victim had to be hospitalized.

Was Healy personally responsible? He claims to have an alibi. It is not one, however, that he appears overly proud of. He is not in a hurry to offer it to the labor movement. It is the kind of alibi, it seems, that goes best in a bourgeois court where a

**SWP Leader Convicted In Detroit Frame-Up**

Frank Lovell, the 53-year-old state chairman of the Michigan Socialist Workers Party, was convicted in a police frame-up charge for allegedly assaulting a right-winger during an antiwar rally in Detroit, Aug. 6. The rightist is 32-year-old Donald Lobsinger, chairman of the ultra-right Detroit organization, Breakthrough.

After a three-day trial, Lovell was found guilty of simple assault on Lobsinger even though the Breakthrough group had attacked the antiwar rally. Lobsinger admitted under cross-examination that he had been a police informant in the past, and had attended numerous leftist meetings and provided Detroit police with information on who attended and what was said.

The misdemeanor carries a maximum sentence of 90 days in jail or up to a \$100 fine. Lovell is due to be sentenced Dec. 21.



Thomas Gerard Healy

shyster lawyer can appeal to a bourgeois judge's appreciation of a fine legal point.

Upon learning of this new breach of proletarian morality, the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party addressed another letter to the National Committee of the SLL, pointing out the grave implications of resorting to the institutions of the class enemy. The full text of this letter has been published in the Dec. 23 issue of *World Outlook*. (A copy of the issue, which contains related correspondence, can be obtained by sending fifty cents to Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York 10010.)

**Healy's Lawyers**

With regard to Healy's alibi, the solicitors hired by him say that Tate's letter "describes a disturbance on the pavement outside Caxton Hall, where a meeting was being held at which our client was a speaker. The letter states that Mr. Healy indicated to his followers that the writer of the letter should be removed from the front of the hall and that he was assaulted by supporters of the Socialist Labour League. We are instructed that this is inaccurate. Mr. Healy, in fact, asked a steward to clear the pavement in front of the entrance to the Hall in order to allow passengers alighting from coaches to enter the Hall without being obstructed."

On the basis of this threatening move to drag them into the muck of the bourgeois courts, two labor papers, *Peace News* and *The Socialist Leader*, which had printed Comrade Tate's letter, issued retractions and paid the 21 guineas (\$29.40) in costs demanded by the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League.

**Wants to Muzzle Tate**

In addition, Healy is trying to silence Tate. His solicitors wrote the socialist who dared to offer a critical pamphlet in front of an SLL meeting: "We understand that you have circulated copies of a letter to, inter alios, the editors of various political publications referring to our client and the Socialist Labour League and containing similar allegations. We must request that you refrain from circulating such letters and circulars to political offices and magazines."

The solicitors hired by Healy state that if Tate fails to comply, they have been "instructed" by their client "to apply for an injunction to restrain you from distributing letters, circulars, or any other publication containing references which are defamatory of our client and the Socialist Labour League."

Even that is not all. The great legal brain of the SLL is seeking to bring down a curtain of silence internationally on the beat-

ing inflicted on Ernest Tate in front of a meeting sponsored by the SLL. "We must warn you," continues the solicitors' letter, "that you are liable, as distributor of any publication whether published in this country or abroad which contains similar defamatory allegations."

And, just to conform to the usual pattern observed by the bourgeois press in such matters, Healy's newspaper, *The Newsletter*, has said not a word up to now about the beating and the involvement of the SLL in such a scandalous and reprehensible tactic.

**Commendable Silence**

This silence, so commendable from the bourgeois point of view, has even been maintained with respect to the Nov. 21 letter from the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. The Dec. 3 issue of *The Newsletter* carried a single sentence averring that it was saying nothing "for legal reasons."

From this, readers of *The Newsletter* might get the impression that suit was being brought in a bourgeois court against Healy and not the other way around!

We marvel at the extraordinary lengths an authority on bourgeois jurisprudence is prepared to go in upholding the majesty of the law — particularly where it involves the ancient right of lords and ladies to descend from coaches and enter public meetings without the cries of a hawk of socialist literature offending their ears.

However, another fine point in bourgeois law and jurisprudence has now arisen. Is it defamatory to the national secretary of the SLL and injurious to his well-known reputation to say that he resorted to the services of the class enemy in trying to further injure and silence a socialist who was beaten in front of an SLL meeting?

**Class Sympathies**

The charge of resorting to the class enemy is even graver than the charge of indulging in hooliganism, for it directly indicates where the true class sympathies of the man lie.

Will Healy rush to his solicitors with instructions to seek retractions, indemnities and injunctions against this charge? We doubt it. It is scarcely possible that even such a renowned expert in bourgeois court procedures and shyster lawsuits will be able to figure out how to drag a socialist into court for charging him with resorting to the bourgeois courts.

Meanwhile Ernest Tate is fighting the case. He is circularizing the labor press and labor organizations with information about the latest developments. And so that the court of working-class opinion can judge the merits of the case, he is quoting the paragraphs in his original letter which Healy has singled out as the basis for a suit under bourgeois law and is also quoting the texts of the solicitors' letters providing the official alibi offered on Healy's instructions.

To fight the case and defend his democratic rights, which also happen to involve the democratic rights of every socialist in Britain, Ernest Tate is appealing for funds, since he is in no position to assume an outlay such as is often involved in a bourgeois court.

Pending formation of a defense committee, funds can be sent to him in care of Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London, E.1.

A final puzzler for the great legal brain of the SLL — is there any angle under bourgeois law whereby you might sue a socialist for setting up a defense committee and appealing for funds when his democratic rights are under attack in the bourgeois courts?

**... McKissick in Detroit**



Rev. Albert Cleage

(Continued from Page 1)

in one of the most non-discriminatory areas, the university, a Negro Ph.D. gets \$4000 less than a white Ph.D. So the answer is not education. They also tell you to get a job, but in one place where Negroes were hired, they just moved those whites up the ladder who had the same job experience as the Negroes. So the answer is not getting a job. The answer is that we have to abolish racism. White people have to be educated to the idea that I am a man."

McKissick wound up his talk by saying, "Only place you got equality is on the battlefield, in death. They talk about nonviolence to us, but wage one of the most ruthless wars in history in Vietnam. The Man tries to say that what's happening in Vietnam is separate from what is happening here. But who is responsible for sending black youth to Vietnam, who is responsible for the fact that we make up 30-40 percent of the fighting force in Vietnam? The people in Washington. They are the same people who keep black Rhodesians down. You can't separate the situation here from the situation in the colonial world."

**Other Speakers**

Before McKissick spoke, five others took the rostrum. The central theme of the rally seemed to be the internationalization of the struggle by black people in this country for black power. The African and Vietnam revolutions were singled out to get this idea across.

Ken Cockrel, vice-president of ICOC and a Wayne State University senior in the law school, started off the meeting by denouncing the war in Vietnam in order to introduce ICOC's Draft Defense Committee. The Defense Committee is composed primarily of lawyers, and its purpose is to defend black youth who refuse to be drafted into Uncle Sam's global police force.

He also mentioned that ICOC is attempting to set up an Inner City Parents and Students organization to deal with the problems of education in the black community, and that the Police-Community Relations Committee of ICOC was demanding that a black man be chosen to fill the vacancy of prosecutor for Wayne County since black people constitute the overwhelming majority of victims of police brutality.

Attorney Milton Henry was the next speaker. He said: "The lack of power has been the essence of the Negroes' position in America." This lack of power, he pointed out, was the cause of Negroes being sold out by their so-called friends during Reconstruction. He then introduced Dr. Is Mi El Amer Iban, an Egyptian doctor in Islam from Cairo who talked with the late Malcolm X when he was in Cairo. After talking about Malcolm's visit to the Organization of African States and praising the black power movement, he said,

"There is no difference in what is going on here and what is going on there [Africa]. The white man had better start worrying about our friendship rather than us his; the diamonds are on our land, the gold is on our land, and the uranium is on our land."

Al Harrison, chairman of the Afro-American Unity Movement, was the next person to take the rostrum. In relation to an incident a couple of weeks back where a black youth was arrested for stealing a coat from department store and killing a man who tried to stop him, Harrison said: "The Man has got no right to call nobody a thief, murderer, or rapist. He should be taken before the World Court and tried for genocide."

On the Democratic Party, Harrison said: "The Johnson Administration is Democratic, and any Negro who says he is a Democrat is a fool. Our allies are not in the Democratic or Republicans parties. Our allies are anywhere black people are being exploited." On South Africa, Harrison said, "The diamonds you got on your finger were gotten off the sweat and blood of black South Africans."

**Black Power**

As a prelude to his fund-raising appeal for CORE, Rev. Albert B. Cleage, president of ICOC, gave a short talk on black power. Remarking about a meeting of local Uncle Toms on black power, he said, "The Toms were against black power because they said white folks won't let you have power. Well, nobody lets anybody have power, you have to take power. If all white people are together and believe in the same thing, then we wouldn't get power. But white people are not together. Black people the world over are coming together on the basis of being exploited. The white man is not the same today as he was five years ago. The white man is falling apart."

"Oswald Spengler wrote a book about the decline of the West. He stated that when a civilization starts falling apart, it cannot stop the process. The civilization in which we live is falling apart. Vietnam is where American civilization is committing hari-kari. No people except a sick people could act the way America is acting in Vietnam. Committing atrocities is the policy of the United States. Only a civilization begging for complete death could be responsible for Vietnam. The white man is dying on the inside." The collection raised \$580.

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# THE MILITANT

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## 1984 Keeps Getting Closer

The dispute between J. Edgar Hoover and Robert F. Kennedy about which of them was responsible for tapping people's phones has served to indicate how close we have come to 1984. Their respective revelations about each other, and generally available information, make clear that electronic snooping has become a major government activity. In addition to the widespread illegal tapping of telephones, there are the electronic "bugging" devices which are apparently as widely used, if not more so.

The shocking invasion of constitutionally guaranteed rights of privacy which all citizens are supposed to enjoy has been cynically practiced for a long time by the federal government, with state and local authorities following suit. And, naturally, private gumshoes have not been at all reluctant to follow official example.

In 1934, the Federal Communications Act made phone tapping a crime. Since then, the Justice Department has twisted the meaning of the law to evade it. This practice was given a further boost in 1940 when that sterling liberal, Franklin Roosevelt, issued a secret executive order authorizing taps in cases of "national security." This sweeping, virtually undefinable proviso was recently re-authorized by that equally sterling liberal, Lyndon Johnson.

Meanwhile, electronic bugging has been legally limited only by the laws of trespass which are violated in their installation. The courts have upheld as legal taps secured from outside the wall of a person's home! The advance in electronics, of course, greatly facilitates such practices.

However, a number of cases have emerged recently where convictions were obtained by clearly illegal acts of bugging by the Justice Department. Kennedy and Hoover seem to be anxious to place the blame on each other for this. Both have presented a good case.

## ...U.S. Bombing of Hanoi

(Continued from Page 1)  
near Hanoi said today that one section of the city proper had been heavily damaged." Apple continued that "An almost identical account was supplied by Jacques Maolic, the Hanoi correspondent of the French Press Agency . . .

"He said a residential area near the approach to the Paul Domer Bridge, which carries the road to the rallyard across the river, had been 'devastated.' After touring the section, he described a vista of crushed facades, roofless houses and littered streets. The area was sealed off for several hours after the strike, Mr. Maolic said, to facilitate rescue efforts."

The Paris daily *Le Monde* ridiculed the denials coming from Washington. Perhaps the U.S. pilots had made a mistake? "A scarcely satisfying explanation," *Le Monde* commented Dec. 15. "The Red River is large enough and visible enough so that it is impossible to confuse the right and left banks."

The Hanoi radio charged, according to Apple, "That American fighter-bombers had bombed and strafed 'several quarters' in and near Hanoi, killing women and children." *Le Monde* placed the figure of casualties in the hundreds.

But you would never have

### Tricontinental: Protest Hanoi Bombing

According to a New York Times dispatch, Radio Havana announced Dec. 17 that the Tricontinental Asian, African, Latin American Solidarity Organization, with headquarters in Havana, called on its affiliates throughout the world to demonstrate in front of U.S. embassies in protest against the bombing of Hanoi.

known any of this to listen to the various administration explanations cooked up in Washington to deny the drastic steps. At the State Department, for instance, the version was that it was all a matter of semantics. Robert J. McCloskey, the official spokesman, told reporters Dec. 14 that only "military targets" had been hit.

He was asked if these targets were "located within the city limits of Hanoi?" McCloskey answered, "I don't know what the city limits are." When asked directly, "Have we bombed Hanoi?" McCloskey became philosophical. "We have not," he replied. "What do you mean by 'Hanoi'?"

#### "Speculation"

Perhaps the most cynical version of the U.S. atrocities came in the form of a "speculation" by "military men" in Saigon that the "damage to civilian areas of metropolitan Hanoi had been caused by anti-aircraft fire and surface-to-air missiles fired by the north Vietnamese as shells fell back to earth."

Even the talk about a holiday cease-fire has become an established part of the Johnson administration's demagogic pattern of escalation.

The *New York Times*, which advocates a slowed-down war and some sort of peace move on the part of Washington, responded to the new escalation with one of its strongest editorial attacks on the White House: "The twists and turns of the Johnson administration as the war in Vietnam widens have never been better shown than in the confusion — if not deception — over the bombing of Hanoi . . .

"Let New Yorkers ponder whether their city was bombed if a five-mile circle drawn around Times Square was left untouched but targets just outside were hit . . . Bombing within a hair's breadth of Hanoi has a special meaning, and its impact is going to be worldwide."

### THE MURDER OF MALCOLM X. By Eric Norden. The Realist. New York. 35 cents.

The February issue of *The Realist* features an important article by Eric Norden which assembles the main facts thus far available about the killing of Malcolm X. It also gives a resumé of the evolution of Malcolm's political thinking. No one who is interested in Malcolm X will want to miss it.

Norden, who wrote the very fine pamphlet on U.S. atrocities in Vietnam, was a reporter at the Malcolm X murder trial. After the trial, he did extensive research on the entire case, resulting in the present article.

He has collated in this article all of the information surrounding the killing that was previously available, plus additional facts that are new, at least to this reader.

Norden makes a persuasive case that Thomas Johnson and Norman Butler, the two known Muslims who were convicted of the murder, were framed-up.

He also shows that the third defendant, Talmadge Hayer, against whom there was definitive proof and who confessed during the trial and exonerated his co-defendants, could well have named those behind the killing if either the prosecution or the court-assigned defense attorneys had troubled to elicit the information.

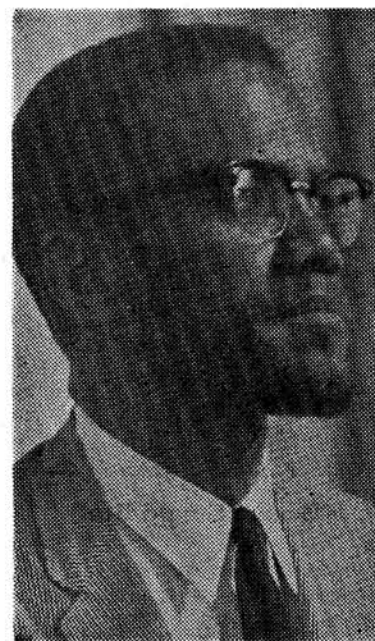
Norden makes it clear that it is the white rulers of this country who had every reason to want Malcolm dead and who profited greatly from his murder.

—Harry Ring

### KENNEDY CAMPAIGNING: The System and the Style as Practiced by Senator Edward Kennedy by Murray B. Levin. Beacon Press. 313 pp. \$5.95.

This is an intensive study of the "new" style of bourgeois political campaigning in which "projecting the right image" is far more important than having anything worthwhile to say on political issues.

The "image" requires that the candidate have an attractive TV personality plus money. Lots of



Malcolm X

money. Without it, the campaign won't be able to employ the necessary Madison Avenue-type smoothies who specialize in the projecting of images.

As his case in point, Levin uses Edward Kennedy's 1962 campaign for Senator from Massachusetts. This makes his book interesting from another angle — that of how the Kennedy family goes about its political wheeling and dealing in the pursuit of high public office. Thus, Levin's book gives some insight into how Robert F. Kennedy suddenly became the star attraction of the so-called "Bobby boom."

Murray Levin certainly leaves much to be desired as a political analyst. In this, he stands no higher than most of the practitioners of bourgeois political science. However, *Kennedy Campaigning* contains a wealth of information.

—Arthur Maglin

### THE MARTYRDOM OF JEWISH PHYSICIANS IN POLAND. Studies by Dr. Leon Wulman and Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum. Research and Documentation by Dr. Leopold Lazarowitz and Dr. Simon Malowist. Edited by

Louis Falstein. Published by Medical Alliance-Association of Jewish Physicians From Poland by Exposition Press. Illustrated. 500 pp. \$10.00.

The history of Jewish physicians in Poland extends almost to the birth of the Polish state. One of the first descriptions of life in that country (963-965) belongs to Dr. Ibrahim-Ibn-Jacob, special representative of the Calif of Córdoba, who stayed for sometime in Poland treating nobility. Years later, from Spain, Italy and Germany other Jewish physicians were arriving and settling in Warsaw, Cracow, Lwow, Wilno, Poznan and other cities.

This book, divided into three parts, give the reader an abundance of well-organized material on all aspects of the lives of Jewish doctors in towns and cities through the ages. Part one entitled "A History of Jewish Physicians in Poland" is written by Dr. Leon Wulman and has three subdivisions: "From Earliest Times to World War II," "Outstanding Jewish Physicians During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," and "Jewish Medical Institutions and the Role of Jewish Physicians in Their Development."

Part two, "Nazi Role in Poland and the Jewish Medical Professions" written by Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum brings to full view the tragedy of the extermination of the Jewish population in that country together with the complete destruction of the medical profession and medical institutions. It is difficult in a short review to describe Nazi cruelty, but the author who spent many years on the investigation of Nazis in his native country, is probably the best equipped man to deal with such subjects as life in a ghetto, starvation, Nazi doctors experiments in freezing the human body, wound infections, transplant surgery and poison gas experiments.

The third and final part of this huge book is written and documented by Dr. Leopold Lazarowitz and Dr. Simon Malowist and gives 2,500 biographical sketches of Jewish physicians killed by the Nazis.

—Antoni Gronowicz

## World Events

### Green Berets

Green Berets are definitely operating in Guatemala, according to *Chicago Daily News* correspondents Georgie Ann Geyer and Henry Gill, who visited the Guatemalan Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) guerrilla front in early December. This confirms the evidence that U.S. armed forces have infiltrated into Guatemala, reported in the *World Events* column, Nov. 28.

The CDN reporters do not estimate the total strength of U.S. counter-insurgency forces, but it could be over 1,000: "The guerrillas told us that more than 1,000 U.S. Green Berets are already in Guatemala. Their presence was confirmed to us by one Guatemalan police official. We cannot confirm the numbers, but we did see several Green Berets on the streets of the capital."

### Impoverished Land

CDN correspondents Geyer and Gill report that the FAR is "well-organized" and "growing." "Cesar Montes' peasant-worker-student movement," Geyer writes, "is flourishing, nurtured by the staggering problems. Eighty percent of the rural children get little or

no schooling. Eight of every 10 Guatemalans never learn to read or write.

"In a climate where everything around grows, only one in three gets enough to eat. Four out of six babies die in infancy. While most countries are at least edging forward, Guatemala is slipping backwards — economically, politically, socially. In 1950, 70 percent of the people lived on a subsistence level; by 1963, the figure was 73 percent.

"From 1950 to 1964, while the gross national product increased, the per capita income of the rural population (about 70 percent of the people) dropped from \$87 to \$83." (The Geyer-Gill report was carried in the Dec. 13 *New York Post*.)

### Venezuelan Turn

In rapid succession, the "liberal democratic" government of Venezuelan president Raul Leoni has suspended the Venezuelan peoples' constitutional rights; militarily occupied the Central University in Caracas, arresting hundreds of students; and seized what it describes as the "university bureau" of the Venezuelan Communist Party.

The sweeping abrogation of constitutional rights, undertaken Dec. 13, includes: empowering the police to arrest without warrant; empowering them to hold suspects without bail for an indefinite period of time; and empowering them to enter the quarters of suspected persons without judicial permission.

In addition, it includes an indefinite suspension of freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. The Leoni government further established mail censorship and empowered itself to rule by decree.

### University Seized

Leoni's troops swept on the Central University campus the day after virtual martial law was established. According to a Dec. 15 AP dispatch, about 2,500 troops were involved. They were initially opposed by some armed students, according to the dispatch, but rapidly crushed these students and arrested hundreds. A student arsenal was reported to have been discovered. However, according to the same AP dispatch, authorities barred newsmen from the area.

—Ed Smith

**Black Power vs. Reformism**

# Carmichael-Rustin Debate

By Barry Sheppard

NEW YORK — The tone was friendly but the confrontation of views sharp when Bayard Rustin, champion of coalitionism with the Democratic Party, met Stokely Carmichael, militant advocate of black power, in a debate at Hunter College here on Dec. 14. The debate was sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy, an offshoot of the reformist Socialist Party, which Rustin is associated with.

Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, outlined his views on black power. He told the packed audience that integration is irrelevant, in the sense that the goals associated with the integration movement do not meet the needs of the black masses. In practice, he said, integration has meant the assimilation a few middle-class Negroes into the "mainstream of American life," without changing the conditions of life for the people in the ghetto.

SNCC, struggled in the South, Carmichael explained, not to "win the right to sit next to Sheriff Jim Clark, but to render him impotent" over the lives of black people.

The basic problem, he said, was the existence of a racist system and institutions in the U.S. Racism is not an individual problem — whites become racist in their thinking as a result of the racist institutions which surround them.

Explaining the difference between individual acts of racism and institutionalized racism, he pointed to the bombing of four little Negro girls in Birmingham in 1963 as an example of an individual racist act, which most whites in the country deplored. "But every year, 500 black babies die in Birmingham," as a result of the systematic, institutionalized racism of white society as a whole against the black community. This systematic oppression of the Negro people is accepted, he said.

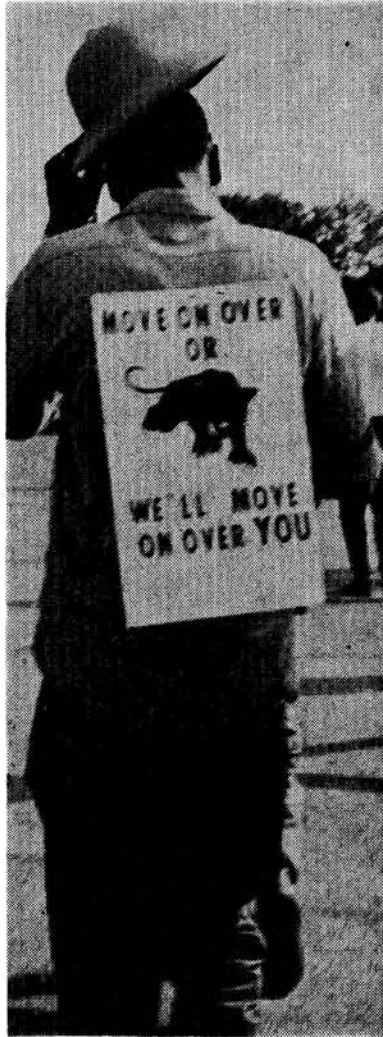
**Powerless**

Carmichael asserted that the black community is powerless. The white society controls the black community, even to the extent of owning the businesses, buildings and land where the blacks live. Carmichael compared the situation of the black community to that of the colonial countries. "The black community is a victim of white imperialism and white colonialism," he said.

He criticized the older civil rights organizations for failing to organize the ghetto, and instead acting as a liason between the black community and the white community. They appealed to the consciences of whites, he said, to change conditions.

Leaders should "stop pandering to the fears of the white middle class," Carmichael said, "and return to the ghetto." The black community "should not be abolished — colonial domination must be abolished!" To achieve this, the ghetto masses need a leadership responsible to them, and need to win power and control over their own communities.

Rustin countered what he



**MISS. PICKET.** Black power slogan hit headlines during Miss. march following shooting of James Meredith.

demagogically called a "revolutionary" program to the ideas of black power. He was evidently concerned to appear as militant as Carmichael, and sprinkled his remarks with phrases like "fundamental economic change" and "what we need is a re-distribution of wealth." The basic factor, he said, "is not to organize the Negro community. It is that society must be prepared to make a revolutionary change."

Rustin did not discuss his advocacy of nonviolence against the concepts of self-defense now espoused by SNCC and CORE, nor did he directly attack black power as he has done recently (see last week's *Militant*). Instead, he implied that black power was nothing more than a "psychological term" lacking in any substance or real program for Negroes.

He then got down to brass tacks and spelled out his "revolutionary" program. He is for full employment, he said. He wants a \$2 minimum wage. There should be a guaranteed annual income for those who can't work, and a guaranteed annual wage for those who can. These proposals, he said, are summed up in the Freedom Budget being put forward by A. Philip Randolph and others.

While demands that the federal government increase the minimum wage to \$2 an hour are perfectly good in and of themselves, Rustin uses them for reactionary purposes. When the advocates of black power (who also generally support such reforms as an increased minimum wage), put forward a program for basic change, Rustin counterposes his program of reform demands. He does so as a way of diverting support from black power. Further, his idea of winning such reforms is by getting into the Democratic Party and subordinating the basic demands of black people to a coalition with liberal white politicians.

It was amazing to witness Rustin discuss this request for reforms, addressed to the capitalist government, as a proposal for "revolution."

The Freedom Budget proposals, Rustin explained, are for all peo-

ple, not just Negroes. "If we can get them [the white capitalist government — B.S.] moving on the 67 percent of the poor who are white, we [black people] also may get something."

Carmichael answered by explaining that SNCC's program was reflected in the building of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and later the Lowndes County Freedom Party (Black-Panther Party). He agreed with Rustin that the problems are economic in nature. But the way to control or change the economy, he said, was to win political power. He illustrated this with a description of what the Black Panther could do if it won.

**Opposite Approach**

This exchange illustrates the opposite strategies of Rustin and the other supporters of the Freedom Budget and the advocates of black power. Rustin appeals to the government in Washington for reforms (and a \$2 minimum wage is hardly earth-shaking) which "may" help Negroes if Washington sees fit to implement them. Carmichael, on the other hand, looks to organizing the power of the black masses to change their conditions.

Rustin accused Carmichael of proposing a "no-win" strategy. Since Negroes are a minority, they are doomed to powerlessness unless they make coalitions with others, he said.

Carmichael answered that black power means, first of all, black control of the black community, not over society as a whole. Second, Negroes are situated in a strategic position, in the heart of the big cities, as a result of segregation. This would give strategic importance to black power within the society as a whole.

He said that what was wrong with many past coalitions Negroes have participated in was that Negro aims were subordinated or betrayed by whites who had a dominant position in the coalition. Independent black organization would help correct this, he said, and actually would facilitate the establishment of coalitions around specific issues.

But those who propose coalition politics now, Carmichael explained, generally want Negroes to coalesce with the "white Establishment on the basis of what is good for the U.S., not on the basis of what is good for Negroes."

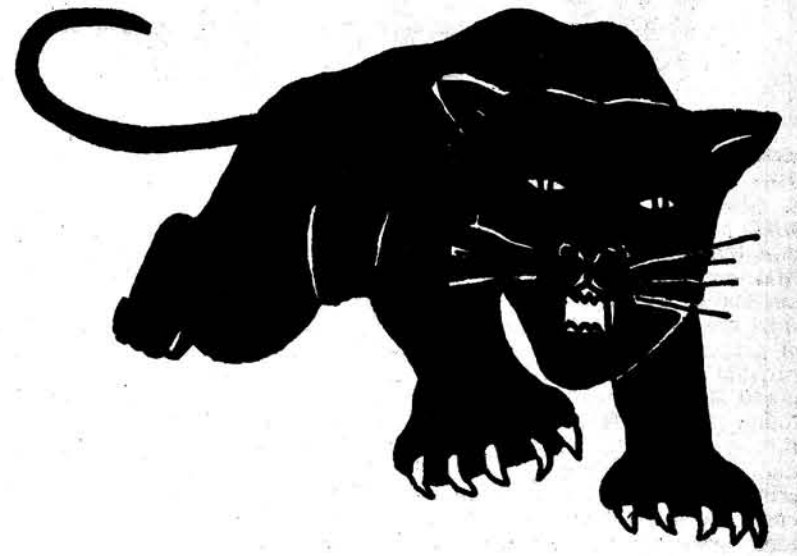
"The coalitionists," he said, "are coalescing with people who are for the war in Vietnam!" He said that the Freedom Budget's tacit support of the war in Vietnam is what led SNCC to withdraw from sponsoring it.

**The Enemy**

Carmichael said that the enemy of the Negro people was the Democratic Party in the South and the big city machines in the North. (He also attacked those "little machines" staffed by Negroes in the ghettos, which, he said, do not represent the black masses.) And, he attacked the national Democratic Party and Johnson, recalling the incident of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the 1964 Democratic convention.

Rustin charged that even if an independent black party won control in four or five counties in the South, it would be forced to "cooperate with whatever political party was in Washington." This, I take it, was intended as an argument in favor of supporting "whatever political party was in Washington." (Rustin did not mention the Democratic Party; his position that Negroes should support it was couched in generalities.)

Shifting his ground somewhat, Rustin then said that perhaps an independent party had some jus-



**SYMBOL.** Black Panther is symbol of Lowndes County, Ala., Freedom Party which won ballot status first time out in Nov. 8 election.

tification in the South, but not in the North where "channels" are open for Negroes to "participate in political life."

Carmichael answered by denying that the South was fundamentally different from the rest of the country. "Mississippi is the USA," he said. "The power of the South rests in Washington. This country is racist from top to bottom, from left to right."

**Rustin and Johnson**

Someone in the audience asked Rustin if he thought the people had been wrong to vote for Johnson in 1964. (Earlier Rustin had made the incredible statement that the defeat of the civilian review board in New York's elections was not primarily the result of racism, but of the fact that "whenever you put a question up to the people for vote, they vote wrong.")

Rustin answered by defending his support of Johnson in 1964. He was supporting sanity against insanity, he said. Many in the audience apparently hold a different view of Johnson, because Rustin's remarks were greeted with hisses, although the predominately white audience in general seemed to support militant statements from either Rustin or Carmichael.

Later, Rustin said that it was "easy to take the position that

both political parties stink. But, what we must do is choose the lesser evil."

Carmichael received a big hand when he answered this point by saying, "It's about time we stopped voting for evil men!"

It became more and more clear as the debate went on that the real question dividing the two was coalitionism with the Democratic Party. Rustin is a conscious coalitionist, who wants to keep the black masses tied to the Democratic Party. The black power tendency, on the other hand, is moving in the direction of a break with Democratic Party politics.

Carmichael's position as he put it forward in this debate, is that in the South, the Democratic Party is the enemy and independent political action the answer. Concerning the North he is more vague, although he expresses opposition to the national Democratic Party. He left the door open, in his concluding remarks, to the possibility that the independent organization of the black masses might pressure the two major parties into reforming themselves.

This question of the Democratic Party will continue to be debated and discussed between the advocates and adversaries of black power, and within the black power movement itself.

## O. E. Moscoso, Dominican Patriot, Dies in New York

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Dr. Octavio E. Moscoso, long-time fighter for Dominican independence, died here Dec. 13 after a protracted illness. He was 77.

For nearly two years, as the result of glaucoma, he was blind. Yet, with the aid of several devoted friends, he continued to live in his own apartment and maintained his deep interest in political affairs.

Dr. Moscoso was from a leading Dominican family. His father, Juan Elias Moscoso, had been a Dominican Supreme Court justice and, later, secretary of state.

Dr. Moscoso came here in his youth to complete his education at Columbia University. He first obtained a medical degree and then went on to a Ph.D. in Spanish literature. He was an unusually cultured man, with a particular deep and extensive appreciation of music.

**Politics Primary**

For many years, Dr. Moscoso was editor of a Spanish-language edition of *Vogue* magazine. But his primary interest and activity was always politics.

Prior to the advent of Trujillo to power, Dr. Moscoso served the Dominican government in various capacities. He was nominated by the Dominican union movement as its representative to the early International Labor Organization, then an agency of the League of Nations.

From the outset in 1916, Dr.

Moscoso opposed the U.S. occupation of his country. Within weeks after Trujillo came to power, he was tried in *absentia* by the dictator and sentenced to 30 years imprisonment, forcing him to live in exile.

Throughout, Dr. Moscoso played a prominent role in the Dominican exile movement and was a militant opponent of the Trujillo dictatorship and its U.S. sponsors.

An early partisan of the Cuban Revolution, Dr. Moscoso's political thinking evolved apace as the revolution deepened. From a Dominican nationalist he developed, in his 70s, into a revolutionary socialist. He became a sympathizer of the Socialist Workers Party and was a devoted supporter of *The Militant*.

He was widely known in Latin American political circles and had a special interest in Latin American affairs. One of the particular frustrations of his last months of total confinement was his inability to participate in the recently formed U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners. He was encouraged by the formation of the committee and followed its activity with the greatest interest.

Dr. Moscoso was a gracious, dignified gentleman of the old school. But the most striking and attractive things about him was a revolutionary optimism and enthusiasm that is usually associated with youth.

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# Watts Interviews on Vietnam

[The following article was submitted to *The Militant* by Jeanne Riha of Santa Barbara, Calif. It is based on interviews she had with people in Watts. She says that the survey she took in Watts "did not originate as a war poll but rather as an attempt to measure the potential for a coalition of peace and civil rights forces to provide one major link in the proposed New Politics." She said she found that "the New Politics coalition — about which almost no one had heard anything — aroused some skeptical interest. In many cases the interest deepened as the idea was discussed more. The cynicism in Watts toward politics and politicians was only a shade less profound than the hostility to the war."]

By Jeanne Riha

A Gallup poll, released in September, reported that the proportion of Negroes in support of President Johnson's policies in Vietnam surpassed that of whites, 48 percent to 42 percent, respectively.

Who the pollsters spoke to, in what Negro communities, was not made clear. Had they wandered into Watts, torn by riots in 1965, and into the areas of heavy riot damage adjacent to Watts, they might have been forced to scale down their measurements.

A four-day personal survey conducted in October among 116 Negroes of Watts and areas just north and west of it showed 21 percent in support of the war, 62 percent opposed and 16 percent undecided.

In Watts alone, where 85 of the interviews were conducted, support was down slightly to 20 percent, opposition up to 64 percent, and the undecided stood at 15 percent.

This sampling of opinion on the street and door-to-door was not intended to be "scientifically" balanced by economic or age groupings. Especially in Watts it leaned heavily toward young men of draft age and men in their 30s and 40s. It touched only occasionally on local businessmen, some of whose shops went up in flames precisely because rioters considered them interlopers or parasites on the Negro community.

## Small Businessmen

The percentage of Negro support for the war probably could have been bolstered by concentrating on service station dealers or Coca Cola route salesmen with an economic stake in the established system. But even this was not inevitably true: A laundry manager with two sons in Vietnam, himself a World War II veteran, was among the fiercest critics of the war, feeling that his wartime sacrifices had been betrayed by discrimination, and the middle-aged manager of a car wash expressed a typical view that the Vietnamese people should be free to settle their problems while the American people tended to their own.

Time after time these statements recurred: Will someone tell me why we're there? What do we want from Vietnam?

Or, if the person accepted the official explanation that the U.S. was helping the Vietnamese peo-

ple, opinions went as follows: Let's clean up the home front first, and then go over and help other people. We have enough problems to solve at home. If we take care of cleaning up the mess at home, we won't have time for Vietnam. We don't have any freedom here; why fight for it abroad? Every day I'm fighting a war here. Negroes will go abroad to fight for freedom, as they did in every war past, and on return still will be deprived of their rightful freedoms at home.

It would be a mistake to consider these as untypical expressions of alienation. Instead they were voiced over and over again by young and many older men, and by young women whose husbands faced the draft. A handful of persons maintained that Negroes benefit from equalitarian conditions in the armed forces, and a very few asserted that this war was the Negro's chance to prove himself to white society, but these were distinct minority sentiments. At this end of the spectrum, two militantly pro-war Negroes argued for escalation, chiefly through more intense bombing. Those endorsing the war included reluctant adherents, pre-draft teenagers, and women willing to trust the President or majority opinion. As a bloc, the supporters were not so much in favor of the war as the foes were opposed.

## Let Him Finish It

An 18-year-old youth at a bus stop had time to explode as follows before the bus arrived: "The real thing about the war is that it's unnecessary. Why should the Negro go out there and knock our brains out for the white man and when we come back we can't even find a job? The white man started this mess; let him finish it. Me, I'm not going over there and fight for nobody."

On the lawn of pleasant Will Rogers Memorial Park on a Sunday afternoon, a 21-year-old serviceman, back from 14 months in Vietnam, said that if he were doing it over again, he would go to jail rather than fight. Even in the supposedly integrated war, there was white prejudice against the Negro soldier, he maintained, and "a few race riots." In a battle that resulted in heavy American losses, he related, the one Negro commander was the only one replaced. He and most other young men declined to minimize the communist "threat" to south Vietnam — they were quite willing to grant that an American withdrawal would result in communist victory — but this serviceman still maintained: "Let them fight it out for themselves a while — let them see what they can do."

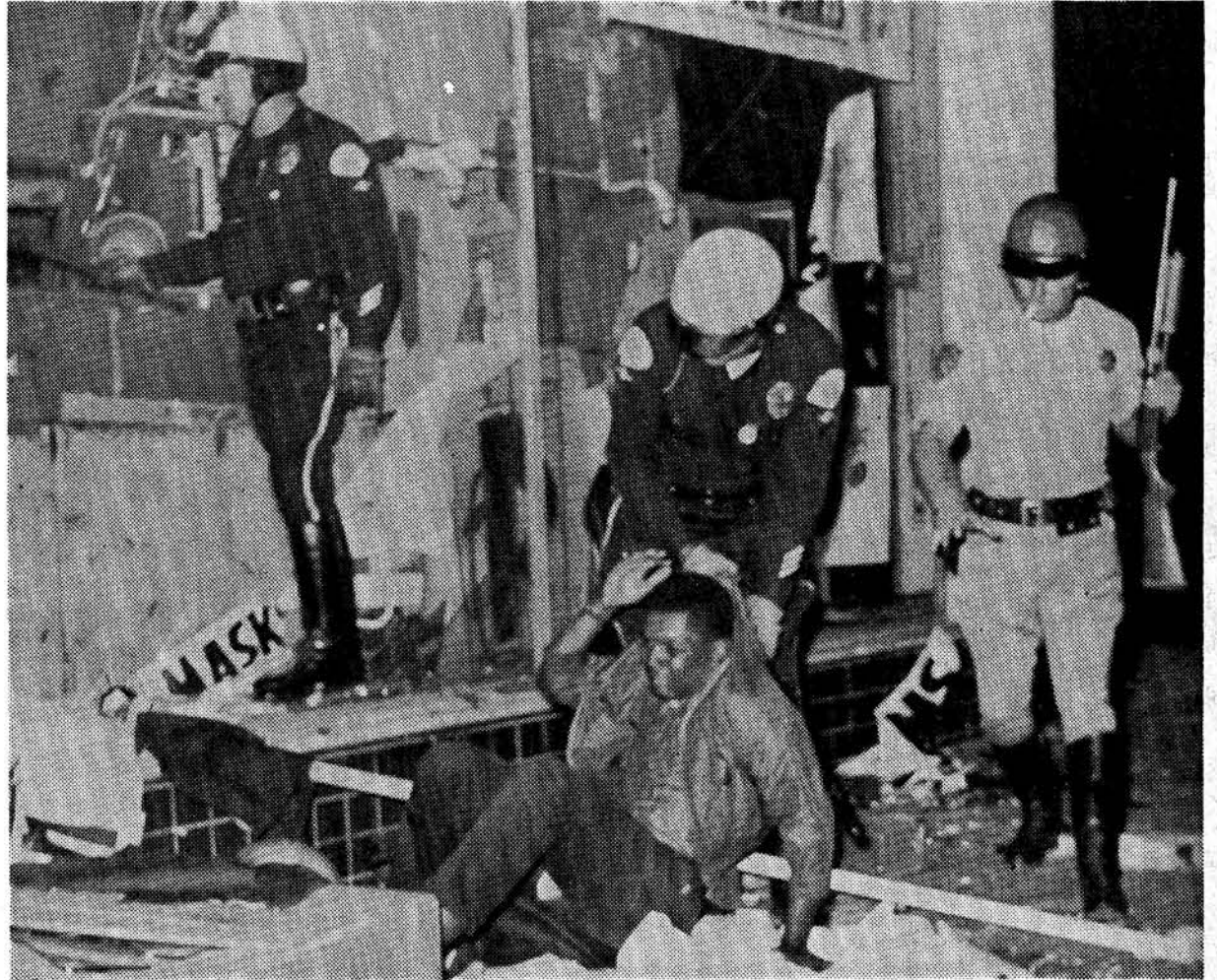
## No Business There

A middle-aged woman, who had just seen President Johnson in a televised Washington press conference, noted: "He said, 'If the others pull out, we'll pull out.' We haven't got any business there in the first place."

A prospective draftee, 19, a grave young man hanging around a shoe shine stand on 103rd street, remarked: "I'm 1-A now. They're trying to get me. I don't want to be drafted. I don't see any sense in the war. We are fighting for freedom here now. Why should we go over there?"

"We should get out — we don't need anything in Vietnam," he asserted. "Freedom and peace is above all."

To claim — as do some Negro and white liberals and radicals — that war and peace concerns are too remote from the Negro's bread-and-butter problems to interest him, is to overlook this intrusion of the Vietnam war on the Negro's life. "It's a concern to the Negro because he is there," said a succinct 19-year-old. While this concern is closest to the draft-age man, it also ripples out into a broader community awareness that the Negro race is bearing



**TASTE OF U.S. 'FREEDOM.'** Watts resident being worked over by cops during outbreak there. Brutal treatment and oppression is not likely to convince Watts residents that U.S. is concerned with freedom in Vietnam or anywhere else.

what many Negroes consider a disproportionate burden of this war, in numbers drafted and killed. (*I. F. Stone's Weekly* of Oct. 24 cites a *New York Times* dispatch of Oct. 16 saying that 23.5% of all Army enlisted men killed in Vietnam in 1965 were Negroes, more than twice the ratio of Negroes to total population.)

A Campton college student, 18, and a Korean war veteran in his 30s, both of whom endorsed the war, joined its critics in charging that an unfair burden for the war rests on the Negro youth who cannot get into college.

"Just because you're not in college, you shouldn't have to go before the firing squad," said the veteran. The student, who was quite willing to scale down domestic spending in order to finance the war, nevertheless called the college deferment system unfair; he felt that college students should share the war burden more directly, at least by assignment to command posts. Another college student, 27, who opposed the war, charged that the "socially-deprived people are fighting this war."

## Cannon Fodder

These temperate criticisms pale before the outrage of some of the potential war fodder. Sometimes they expressed wrath, sometimes bitter resignation, sometimes a wry humor. An 18-year-old commented caustically that whites consider Negroes admirably suited for front line hand-to-hand combat because aren't Negroes, after all, the traditional toughs, the gang material, the street fighters?

Resentful as he and his companions were of this attitude, yet they shared a certain acrid resignation. "There's nothing we can do — that's up to the federal government," he said. In his case, and that of many other war foes, the resignation was not one of acceptance but of helplessness: They feel themselves underdogs in a war they oppose, yet they have no recourse. This is a kind of colonial war in which the black man, as a subject, is forced into fighting for the white man's cause.

One of the most articulate spokesmen of this viewpoint was a man of 21 who was waiting to be called into a war that he fiercely opposed, a war in which an 18-year-old friend died two weeks

before. The friend had been killed, ironically, in the demilitarized zone. "This war is ridiculous," he kept repeating. "There isn't any reason for it . . . This war doesn't make any sense." Lodged in his back was a bullet he had got "on the street," but when he went for his physical examination, he had been told callously, "Don't worry about it. You already know how a bullet feels."

He was one of those Negroes — not a considerable number — who expressed a kinship with the Vietnamese people. And in this area (Central avenue around 90th street) the people "in the ghetto" share a "black relationship" with the Vietnamese, he claimed. Many in the area, he said, follow some Muslim beliefs and think of the Vietnamese as "their Asiatic brothers."

## Civil War

"Why tear up their country? You can straighten out your own, and it needs a lot of straightening out." This war should be the exclusive fight of the Vietnamese people, he insisted.

"You know, we handled our own civil war. This is more or less a civil war. I don't think we should even intervene. I know we're trying to stop communism, but communism is more or less a religious thing. You aren't just going to go over and tell them they're not going to be communist . . . I think they should handle it themselves. Let the best man win — but not us."

A sense of black solidarity, formal or informal, seemed to reduce the helplessness. A man of 22, who described himself as a black nationalist, announced that he was unwilling to fight for B. F. Goodrich or U.S. Rubber and said he had so informed his draft officials. He had told them the Emancipation Proclamation only set him free but did not make him a citizen. As a noncitizen, he had no obligation to fight the war in Vietnam. So far he hasn't been called.

"The black people refuse to go. They are tired of fighting the white man's battles," he said.

Another young man chatting with a well-dressed young woman outside a bank, and looking like the model of an Ivy League college student, had similar black na-

tionalist leanings. He held that, far from joining whites in a political coalition, Negroes should get out of "white man's politics" and set up their own economic enclaves and eventually their own territorial state.

The girl protested that unity and not separation was the proper goal of Negroes since all groups were part of the United States.

"It's not separation because the Negro is already separated from the white man," he argued. "He's just waking up to it now."

## Unjust War

The United States should not be in Vietnam, he maintained, nor should the Negro: "He really is not a citizen." The war itself is unjust, he added. "The United States claims Vietnam is the enemy, but Vietnam didn't attack the United States. The United States invaded Vietnam."

These views, which might so readily be ascribed simply to disgruntled radical youth, were repeated often enough by older Negroes to make it clear that the generational gap, while it exists, may be less potent than racial cohesion. A little later, in an interview at Manchester avenue and San Pedro street, a man of 35 voiced the same negation of citizenship.

Oriental states seem to have "a different feeling" toward their citizens, he speculated in discussing Vietnam. "For anyone brought up in their country, it is their country. The black man here — he's just been here all his life but it's not his country."

He commented, "The young adult is more bitter than the older one. They learned quicker than we did. This automatically made them more bitter."

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# 350 Trade Union Members Attend Parley on Viet War

## Canadian Socialist Slate Condemns Vietnam War

By Herman Porter

CHICAGO, Dec. 18 — A very successful Trade Unionists' Conference to Seek Peaceful Alternatives was held here yesterday at McCormick Place. More than 350 unionists, most of them lower ranking trade union officials, attended. The all-day meeting was sponsored by the recently organized Chicago Trade Union Division of SANE.

The conference represents an important and encouraging step toward the growth of a movement against the war in Vietnam in the unions. It was announced that similar conferences are planned in Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles and elsewhere.

Murray H. Finley, manager, Chicago-Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, chaired the conference. In his opening remarks he pointed to the impressive turnout in view of the fact that the conference had been called less than four weeks before. He summarized what are apparently some of the main ideas of the organizers of the meeting: The war in Vietnam can lead to an atomic holocaust, he declared. He referred to the labor movement's tradition of dissent, and pointed out that while opposition to the war is being expressed in the Senate, within the intellectual community and elsewhere, there is no such "dialogue" taking place within the trade union movement.

### Dialogue

While the conference was intended to initiate such a dialogue within the trade union movement, it was also clear from the discussion that many want to show those outside the unions that the official position of the AFL-CIO in support of the war does not represent the unanimous position of the labor movement.

Frank Rosenblum, general secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, gave the opening address and made many of the points that were stressed in the discussion groups later. He said that the United States is interfering in a civil war in Vietnam. This point was made by many speakers and not challenged. Rosenblum characterized the war as "immoral" and as "one of the most brutal wars in history."

"We could withdraw from Vietnam without serious embarrassment," he said, and was applauded.

The conference was then divided into three parallel discussion groups, each led by a chairman and three panelists. After brief presentations by the panelists the floor was thrown open to the audience. The morning panels covered: the historical background of the war,



Frank Rosenblum

the U.S. in other parts of the world, and the dangers of escalation and nuclear war. The afternoon panels covered: Vietnam and domestic problems, Vietnam and civil rights, and Vietnam and the political climate.

Several points were made repeatedly from the floor and by some of the panelists. The need to bring the issue of the war into the unions and educate the membership about the war was stressed. The need to pressure the top union officials to change their position on the war was made in each discussion group.

Several people asked that the conference decide on some action that they could organize around in their unions. No new action was decided on, but it was suggested repeatedly that people circulate the literature that was already available about the war in their locals and talk to fellow union members about the war. The calling of this conference in Chicago had opened the door for discussions in many union locals it was pointed out.

The need to hold similar conferences in many other cities, and eventually a national conference, was stressed by several speakers, as well as by the chairman in his summary.

It was generally agreed that the war in Vietnam would mean "guns — not butter" for the American workers. Some made the point that the war would lead to greater attacks by the government on the unions. The need for a labor party was raised from the floor by several in the discussion groups.

### Racist War

The racist character of the war in Vietnam was pointed out several times, and the need to fight racism at home in order to work effectively for peace was referred to.

A. J. Muste, chairman of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, was introduced at the lunch and reference made to his record as a fighter for peace and labor. He gave the invocation.

Emil Mazey, international secretary-treasurer, United Automobile Workers, who was scheduled as a featured speaker, did not appear but sent a telegram. Patrick Gorman, international secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, was unable to attend. Sanford Gottlieb, political action director, SANE, substituted as a luncheon speaker, along with the scheduled Congressman John Conyers, Jr., (D-Mich.), a former UAW official.

There were sizable contingents of officials from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Amalgamat-

ed Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen, the United Automobile Workers and the United Steelworkers. Ralph Helstein, president, United Packinghouse Workers, gave the last speech of the afternoon.

The final point of the conference was the adoption of a statement of purpose for the Chicago Trade Union Division of SANE. The proposed statement was adopted without opposition or discussion. It reads in part as follows:

"We believe it is increasingly clear that the simple solution to the Vietnam war offered again and again — 'victory through escalation' — cannot succeed, and can only intensify the suffering of the people of Vietnam. It is clear also that negotiations must take place among all those involved in this conflict.

"We shall therefore urge steps, such as a cessation to bombing, to help bring about such negotiations, rather than further escalation of the conflict. . . . And we plan to carry the discussion of these and other issues of peace and war to our trade-union brothers, to the members of our unions, and to all our fellow Americans."

### Catholic Magazine Urges Withdrawal from Vietnam

*Commonweal*, a lay Roman Catholic weekly, has come out in an editorial for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. It states that "despite the almost certain good intentions of those doing it," the war in Vietnam is "a crime and a sin."

"The disproportion between ends and means," the magazine states, "has grown so extreme . . . that the Christian cannot consider the Vietnam war merely a mistaken government measure to be amended eventually but tolerated meanwhile."

It continues, "The evil outweighs the good. This is an unjust war. The United States should get out."

### Clear Canadian in 'Statue of Liberty' Case

Significant new light may have been thrown on the police provocation that led to the imprisonment of three black nationalists in New York in the sensational "Statue of Liberty" case last year. In Montreal, according to a scanty Associated Press dispatch, a woman who was charged with being involved in the so-called bomb plot was found not guilty, Dec. 16.

According to the AP story, the judge who cleared her said there were "contradictions" in the prosecution's case which affected "to some degree" the credibility of Raymond Wood, the New York police agent responsible for the entrapment of those prosecuted.

### Sensational Story

The case began in February of last year with sensational police handouts to the press about the arrest of a group of black "terrorists" and a French Canadian accomplice who had been arrested just in time to prevent them from blowing up the Statue of Liberty, the Washington Monument and the Liberty Bell.

The "evidence" in the case consisted of a small amount of dynamite allegedly brought down from Canada and the story of a single witness, Raymond Wood, who was revealed to be a police undercover agent.

After being tried and convicted

TORONTO — Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, has now, according to the latest Gallup poll, the support of 26 percent of the electorate — equal to that of the official capitalist opposition party, the Progressive Conservative Party. But it is continuing to leave the important arena of municipal politics to the practitioners of the Liberal-Tory shell game.

In the center of its strength in the country, Toronto, it failed to present a slate in the Dec. 5 elections and it is presenting only a partial one in the Dec. 14 elections in Vancouver, British Columbia, where it has been the official provincial opposition for decades.

The Toronto branch of the League for Socialist Action boldly stepped into the gap there by running its organizer, Arthur Young, for Board of Control. The *Young Socialist Forum*, Canada's most widely-read publication of the student left, entered its editor, John Riddell, in the Board of Education contest in one of the central wards. Both candidates were backed by the *Workers Vanguard*, which is edited by Ross Dowson, the executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action.

In Vancouver, Jean Rands, another editor of the *Young Socialist Forum*, was endorsed by the youth magazine and the League for Socialist Action as a candidate for mayor.

### Toronto Results

In the Toronto contest, Arthur Young polled some 10,000 votes. This compares with 88,036 votes cast for the highest of the four candidates who won.

In Vancouver, the campaign waged by 21-year-old Jean Rands has aroused widespread interest. Her two opponents are both millionaires.

Columnist Bud Elsie of the Vancouver daily *Province* commented: "It is odd, perhaps, that she is a better speaker than either Mayor Rathle or Alderman Tom Campbell. But it is what she says, not how she says it, that they are more likely to remember."

A similar comment about Ar-

thur Young was made in Toronto by the *Globe and Mail* which grudgingly admitted that he "delivers in terms of oratorical style some of the best speeches in the present campaign."

In urging a vote for the three youthful candidates, the League for Socialist Action declared in a leaflet, of which 60,000 copies were distributed: "A clear identity of the city administration with the antiwar movement in Canada could lead to the end of Canadian collusion in this dirty war and strengthen the forces in the U.S. urging withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam."

### 8 CCNY Students Suspended for Sit-In Action

NEW YORK — Thirty-four students at the City College of New York have been suspended from classes for eight days for their participation in a sit-in on Dec. 8.

The sit-in was held at the college placement offices where the U.S. Army Materiel Command was attempting to recruit students. The 150 sit-inners managed to drive the Army off the campus.

An advertisement placed by Students for a Democratic Society in the Dec. 16 issue of the campus newspaper, *Observation Post*, said in part: "The administration claims we are denying the rights of those who wish to work for the USAMC. We say that these chemical killers act only in the interests of that minority in this country which profits by depriving the Vietnamese people of their rights to self-determination. The administration's role in this is clear; they are collaborating with, protecting, and defending those who wage a war of genocide against the Vietnamese people. *Nobody has a right to conduct such a war.*"

So far, over 800 students have signed a "declaration of responsibility," stating that they wish to be held equally responsible for the Dec. 8 sit-in.

a police plant and provocateur in CORE. He had also wormed his way into the New York Freedom Now Party.

The woman now acquitted in Montreal, Michele Saunier, had been charged with helping to obtain the dynamite for the four arrested in New York. The judge said the evidence against her was purely circumstantial and failed to convince him.

### Why Pork Chops Cost Like They Do

Does it set you thinking when you walk into a supermarket and see center cut pork chops selling from anywhere between 79 cents to \$1.09 a pound? Maybe those "higher labor costs" really are pushing prices up? Well, consider this.

Swift & Co., the nation's top meat supplier, reports that in 1966 its total sales increased only 7.7 percent. But profits for the same period shot up by a thumping 20 percent. Or, in short, the company tripled its profit at your expense.

### 16 N.Y. Minutemen Indicted In Arson 'Conspiracy' Plot

A grand jury in Queens, New York, indicted 15 alleged members of Minutemen of the 19 who were arrested Oct. 30. The indictments, handed down Dec. 14, ranged from unlawful possession of firearms to conspiracy to commit arson. The four members who were not indicted were released because of a "jurisdictional situation" in their cases.

Whatever that means, it was apparently by agreement between Queens District Attorney Nat H. Hentel, the prosecutor, and New York State Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz. The agreement was made at a high-level meeting between top law officers Dec. 13 re-

ported in the *New York Times*.

It is to be noted that none of those indicted were charged with actual arson, although at the time of their arrest it was revealed that plans were underway for an attack on New Jersey Camp Midvale where dangerous gas bombs had been planted. All of the indicted men pleaded not guilty.

Furthermore no more information has been revealed on the ties between the Minutemen organization and the New York state police which had been indicated earlier. At least three New York state troopers were said to have been active members of the terrorist outfit.