

Black GIs Still Bearing Brunt Of U.S. War Toll in Vietnam

THE MILITANT

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Demand Amnesty For Hugo Blanco

NEW YORK, Nov. 22 — Demonstrators attempted to present petitions today to the Peruvian Mission to the United Nations, demanding amnesty for Hugo Blanco, jailed Peruvian peasant leader now facing the threat of execution. Outside the Mission, supporters of justice for Blanco picketed in behalf of the amnesty demand and distributed leaflets to passers-by explaining the purpose of their demonstration.

The petitions were brought to the Peruvian Mission by leaders of the recently-founded U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. The committee circulated the petitions and organized the picket line. The petitions were brought by John Gerassi, Felix McGowan and Paul Sweezy.

The petitions were not received by the Mission, and will be mailed to it.

McGowan, executive secretary of the Latin American aid committee, is a former Maryknoll priest who served as a missionary in Latin America and is intimately familiar with the oppression there.

John Gerassi, vice chairman of the committee, is the author of *The Great Fear in Latin America* and former Latin American editor for *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Paul Sweezy, co-chairman with Dave Dellinger of the committee, is co-editor of *Monthly Review* and has traveled extensively in Latin America.

Hugo Blanco, a revolutionary Marxist, became a legendary figure in Peru after organizing the fiercely oppressed, landless peasants in the remote Cuzco region of the country. The peasants established a militant union that

fought with the battle cry, *Tierra o Muerte! Land or Death!*

Blanco was captured by the Peruvian government a little over three years ago, when severe illness compelled him to come down from the mountains to seek medical treatment. Along with 28 others, he was charged with murder. The charge was based on the death of three rural policemen who died during an attack on Blanco and his supporters.

After being held incommunicado for three years, Blanco was tried this fall. Although neither he nor any of his supporters had any relationship to the military, they were tried by a military tribunal. The trial was held in a remote area of the country, making it very difficult to organize an adequate defense.

The Peruvian rulers mistakenly assumed that after holding Blanco and his companions for three long years and then trying them in a remote area of the country, the trial would attract little notice. This was not the case. The trial attracted wide publicity in the country's major dailies, and there was much support expressed for the defendants. In the town of Taena, where the trial was held, peasants crowded into the courtroom each day to witness the proceedings.

It had been originally reported that the prosecutor would seek the death penalty. In the face of public reaction, he asked for a 25-year sentence and the military tribunal imposed this savage penalty.

When the conviction was appealed, however, the prosecutor reversed his stand and asked the Supreme Court of Military Justice, which reviewed the case, to impose the death penalty. The Court, whose rulings are final under recently-amended Peruvian law, considered the case Nov. 7-12 and its decision is expected momentarily.

Despite the repressive atmosphere in the country, sectors of Peru's labor and student movements have expressed their opposition to the frame-up of Blanco and his comrades. The case has also won the support of prominent figures in many countries.

Every voice of protest will be of help in the fight to save Blanco's life. Such protests should be addressed to Presidente Fernando Belaúnde Terry, Lima, Peru, and to the Consejo Supremo de Justicia, Lima, Peru.

Contributions to aid the work of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA Justice Comm.) should be sent to P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001.



Felix McGowan

By Dick Roberts

How many U.S. soldiers in Vietnam are black? Are more Negroes drafted into the armed forces than whites proportional to the population? Do black and white soldiers get the same kinds of assignments on the battlefield? It is very difficult to get straight answers to these important questions from Washington — particularly since the militant wing of the civil-rights movement has been waging a campaign against the drafting of black soldiers for Vietnam.

In July, the Pentagon released figures for 1961-65. These were printed under the name of the deputy assistant secretary of defense, and released in the *Congressional Record* for July 18, p. 15233. Here is how they reported the percentages of Negro enlisted men as of Dec. 31, 1965:

Army	13.9
Navy	5.8
Marine Corps	9.0
Air Force	10.7

The percentages of Negro fatalities in Vietnam, from 1961-1965 broke down as follows:

Army	22.1
Navy	5.8
Marine Corps	12.0
Air Force	no fatalities

In the army and marine corps, which do the ground fighting in Vietnam, black deaths were much higher than the proportional number of Negroes enlisted. That could only mean one thing, and the obvious conclusions were immediately voiced by the opponents of the war: Afro-Americans do more fighting and more dying. (The reason why they weren't being killed in the air force is because only officers fly planes.)

Conceal Truth

Although the government has so far been careful not to release comparable figures for 1966, this does not mean that the government has been silent on the question. It has tried to conceal the truth about the role of the black GI by taking up an entirely different question, loaded with racist implications, and giving it a lot of publicity.

This is the question about passing the draft test. On the front page of the Oct. 2 *New York*

Times, we read the following headlines: "67.5 Percent of Negroes Fail Draft Test." The article claimed that "two-thirds of the 18-year-old Negroes who took armed forces qualification tests in an 180-month period failed them on mental grounds."

The implication of this argument — besides the implication that Negroes are not as smart as whites — is that there are more whites in the army proportional to population. Actually, it proves no such thing.

In the first place, these figures don't tell anything about how many Negroes and how many whites take the tests, so as far as the question of the actual composition of white and black draftees is concerned, the *New York Times* doesn't give a hint. What the data published in this article really proves, if anyone had any questions on that score, is the low level of Negro education, especially in the South.

Bad Education

It was the failure rate of Negroes taking the test in the South that made for such a low national average as is clear from the one figure for Southern states the *New York Times* gives. In South Carolina, the failure rate was 85.6 per cent. That means that more than four out of five black students in South Carolina schools do not get national average high-school equivalent education.

There is another question which these figures entirely overlook, and that is the question of volunteers vs. draftees. Many young Afro-Americans volunteer for the armed services, figuring that they'll get drafted anyway if they don't, and it's one way of getting a job in a country where the national unemployment for Negro teenagers is over 25 percent.

According to the *U.S. News and World Report* for Nov. 14, seven out of eight men fighting in Vietnam are volunteers. The fact is supposed to prove that the war is "fair" and "poor boys" aren't being sent there against their wishes. Does it prove that? Or does it prove that the job prospects for non-college educated teenagers is incredibly bad — in other words, precisely the fact that



Negro soldier in Vietnam

poor youth are bearing the brunt of the war?

U.S. News and World Report concedes that "it is true that the Army, which is taking most casualties in Vietnam is about 30 percent draftees." On the question of Negro soldiers, the magazine makes a surprising revelation, considering the point it is trying to prove:

"Pentagon officials flatly deny a charge by Negro leaders that 40 percent of men in combat in Vietnam are Negro. Overall, they say, Negroes comprise 12.5 percent of U.S. fighting men in Vietnam, 20 percent of the combat arms of the Army there and elsewhere." (Emphasis added.)

Well, 20 percent is double the total proportion of Negroes in the population of this country. And since the army is taking the brunt of the casualties, more black men are getting killed. If 20 percent of the army is composed of Afro-Americans, then, we hold it completely proven that black men are doing much more than their share of the fighting and dying.

Another recent admission of the same thing is made in a Nov. 12 article in the *New York Post* entitled "The Negro GI: A Two-Front War." "It is impossible, ac-

(Continued on Page 3)

Ultra-Lefts Beat Up British Socialist

LONDON — An attempt to revive the methods made notorious by Stalinism in the thirties appears to be underway in England. This time it is being done by the leadership of the Socialist Labour League, an ultra-left sectarian organization that makes the fraudulent claim of being "Trotskyists."

The latest incident was the brutal beating of Ernest Tate, an internationally-known Trotskyist who has been active in London in the work of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell. He is the manager of Pioneer Book Service, the major supplier of Trotskyist literature in England.

Ernest Tate was distributing literature in front of a meeting sponsored by the Socialist Labour League at Caxton Hall, Nov. 17. The items he was selling included the *International Socialist Review* and a pamphlet, Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International.

Six young toughs jumped Tate, smashing his glasses and bringing him down to the pavement. In commando fashion, they continued to kick him, aiming at his genitals,

kidneys and head, until pulled off by horrified spectators. Tate had to be hospitalized.

Witnesses stated that they recognized the assailants as members of the Socialist Labour League. Thomas Gerard Healy, the general secretary of the organization, appeared to be supervising the action personally.

Not Since Thirties

Nothing like this has been seen in the radical movement in England since the thirties, when Stalinists physically assaulted Trotskyists to prevent them from speaking their views and selling their newspapers. In those days, the Stalinists tried to rationalize their gangster attacks by slandering the Trotskyists as counterrevolutionaries.

The attempt to revive Stalinist methods was preceded by comparable slander in the Healyite press aimed at prejudicing members of the Socialist Labour League so as to prevent them from reading material such as that provided by the Socialist Workers Party and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

A particular target has been

the pamphlet Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International, which includes a series of documents exposing the dictatorial methods employed by Healy in running the Socialist Labour League.

In denouncing the pamphlet in the Aug. 20 *Newsletter*, organ of the SLL, the Political Committee of the Socialist Labour League included the following open threat: "We shall not hesitate to deal appropriately with the handful of United Secretariat agents who hawk it around the cynical fake-left in England."

The news of the shameful and cowardly attack spread swiftly in left circles in London. Messages began coming in very quickly from many politically-left circles and trade unions. A conference is being called at an early date to consider what steps can be taken to block any further development of such cancerous methods threatening the democratic rights of all radicals.

(See letter of protest sent by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the National Committee of the Socialist Labour League on page 3.)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Among the most significant developments in the labor movement today is what has happened to the nation's professional nurses. These men and women in white, wearing their coveted RN pins and their school caps, had considered themselves above the working class, especially above using the strike as a weapon for economic security. The American Nurses Association and most of its state chapters, are almost as reactionary as the American Medical Association. Membership within the ANA is obligatory for registered nurses working in hospitals or on registry call in most cities.

In 1950 the national association (ANA) passed a no-strike resolution. At that time the RN was still among the higher paid workers. By 1966, inflation, and static wage rates, plus increasingly adverse working conditions had reached the point of no return.

The wave of action began in New York City when 3,000 registered nurses working in the 21 municipal hospitals, tendered their resignations as of May 24 unless wage increases were granted, and working conditions vastly improved. The city didn't believe they meant it, but four days after they all left their posts it saw the light. Wage increases were granted, but working conditions are still under discussion.

Then the Public Health Nurses and clinic doctors walked out, and the non-medical employes in four voluntary hospitals hit the bricks. All three categories won partial demands.

News of the New York nurses' success spread like wild-fire through the country. It leap-frogged first clear across the country to the whole West Coast. Nurses all the way from San Diego to Seattle made their demands, tendered their resignations, and when nothing happened, left their jobs. And the various government health bodies got the message.

Then came Chicago. The nurses at the Cook County Hospital, the second largest general hospital in the world, took a good look at their own chapter of the ANA, the Illinois Nurses Association and didn't like what they saw. So the fight began there. Soon, the INA also felt the pressure and took up the cudgels. Demands for increased salaries, better working conditions, were presented both to the School of Nursing (University of Illinois) which controls hiring and management of the hospital, and to the Board of County Commissioners. Negotiations went on sporadically but nothing happened.

The Cook County Nurses had rejected the resignation tactic; adopted a slogan for their campaign which paraphrases a TV cigarette commercial — "We'd rather fight than quit"; and won the heart and support of that big, old windy city.

They printed brochures which told their story, distributed them to patients and visitors. On payday, all RNs appeared with black crepe ribbons flowing down from their pins. They draped the payroll booth with black crepe. Then they conducted a lunch-in. All off-duty nurses suddenly appeared to help serve the patients' trays and to feed the helpless. Both dramatic events had full TV, radio and newspaper coverage.

By Sept. 9, when negotiations had gotten nowhere, the nurses voted to adopt the resignations technique. On Sept. 14 the School of Nursing Board and the County Commissioners came to terms.

The Cook County nurses had broken Johnson's "guide lines" to smithereens! They won \$100 a month in salary increases, the largest wage increase won by anybody in a long time.

But more than that, they had won a degree of job control. From now on, all policy-making Nursing School committees will have working registered nurses as members. Meanwhile, two other things have happened: New York City has signed a 2½-year contract with the State, County and Municipal Employees Union granting a wage increase of \$600 a year; a training program to upgrade nurses aides; and other fringe benefits.

But — in Chicago, a joint AFL-CIO-Teamsters organizing drive is on to bring unionization to the more than 60,000 hospital employes in that city and its suburbs. And they are going to include nurses in their organizing efforts.

In California, the California Nurses Association has rejected the no-strike policy of the ANA. Other chapters all over the country are doing the same thing.

Now the national body is "re-evaluating" its 1950 proposal. Nationally, the nurses are in a fighting mood. They have set \$6,500 as their 1966-67 wage goal. The ANA has seen the handwriting on the wall. It knows now that it must either fight for its members' economic security, against the employers, or go down the drain as the national bargaining agent.

This is definitely the case because the nurses have learned that a strike is a strike no matter what name you give it — "resignations" or "continuous meetings" or what have you. And they know now that their much-vaunted "professionalism" is a fake and a fraud. As workers, they recognize the necessity of a strong organization with a strong program. They are also coming to recognize that, as workers, they must be prepared to use the strike weapon when needed to defend their interests.

—Marvel Scholl

U.S. Plans for Vietnam

"Pacification" of the Delta?

By Dick Roberts

Where and how is Johnson going to strike next in Vietnam? That question is being raised by opponents of the war all over the world who have become all too familiar with Washington's pattern of escalation. There was one immediate obstacle in Johnson's path: the U.S. elections. With these "out of the way," Democrats feel free to get on with the war plans agreed upon in Manila. The only question is, when and where?

The most likely arena of expansion appears to be the "de-militarized zone" which divides Vietnam. Not only has there been a major build-up of U.S. forces in that area, but there have been increased saturation-bombing raids, and the off-shore U.S. naval fleet began shelling the coast immediately north of the zone Nov. 2, the day Johnson returned from his Far East tour.

Mekong Delta

A less-talked about, but according to the *Wall Street Journal*, an equally likely zone of escalation, is the Mekong Delta. This is the rice-growing region south of Saigon, occupied by nearly 40 percent of south Vietnam's population, which has been under virtual National Liberation Front rule from the early period of revolution. It has been the frequent target of U.S. bombing, but it has not been an arena in which the Pentagon has felt safe to launch the "search and destroy" operations conducted in the central and northern regions. The *Wall Street Journal's* opinion on this subject was expressed in a Nov. 10 article written from Saigon by *Journal* staff reporter, Selwyn Feinstein.

"Now that Washington is no longer preoccupied with American political campaigning," Feinstein writes, "it is going to have to decide what to do about a fat sheaf of 'contingency' plans, drawn up by Gen. William C. Westmoreland and his staff, that call for a major new entanglement of American combat units in the Vietnam war. These plans would send U.S. fighting forces plunging into the marshy, rice-rich, Vietcong-infested Mekong River Delta . . ."

Although the final "go-ahead" has not been received from Washington, according to Feinstein, preparatory steps for a Mekong Delta invasion are already underway: "The U.S. Army is busily constructing a base big enough to handle a brigade (roughly 5,000 men) at the provincial capital of My Tho, along one of the Mekong's

Publish French Edition Of 'Malcolm X Speaks'

PARIS — *Le Pouvoir Noir* [Black Power] is the title of a recently-published French translation of *Malcolm X Speaks*. Its appearance on Oct. 21 was hailed at a meeting sponsored by the publisher, François Maspero. More than 500 persons packed the hall. The main speakers were Claude Julien, who wrote the preface for the French edition of the book, and Daniel Guerin, who provided the preface for the French edition of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (recently released by Editions Bernard Grasset).

The speakers reviewed some of the highlights of Malcolm's life and presented a general picture of the development of his ideas. They praised both books highly and said they were necessary reading if one wished to understand the racial problem in the U.S., the feelings of the black people and the different approaches towards solving the problem.

All the speakers agreed that the assassination of Malcolm X had not only deprived the black people in the U.S. of probably their most dynamic and honest leader, but also removed from the scene a leader with international stature.

A Depth Study Of 'Pacification'

The pacification program of the U.S. military in Vietnam is not an invention of the Johnson administration. Its roots go back to the French imperialist attack on Vietnam itself over 60 years ago. Will 19th century ideas work in 1966? This is the question posed by *Militant* editor Joseph Hansen in "The Case Against Pacification," Fall 1966 *International Socialist Review*. Single copies 50 cents. 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

main tributaries, about 35 miles south of Saigon. Meanwhile, a U.S. Army battalion is operating on the edge of the Delta, halfway between Saigon and My Tho in Long An province, and its performance, in the words of one U.S. official, 'is being closely watched.'"

Nevertheless, Feinstein holds, there are reasons for continued reservation on the part of the Pentagon about the likely success of a full-scale attack on the Mekong region. The argument against it is significant, because it does not concern the Mekong Delta region alone, but the whole U.S. strategy in Vietnam.

At issue is not so much the question of invading the region, as of holding it after the advancing troops have moved on to new arenas of combat. In Washington parlance, this concept is often referred to as "pacification" and, to put it another way, the question now being raised by some generals in respect to attacking the Mekong Delta is: If pacification is going badly elsewhere in Vietnam how likely is it to succeed in the most securely held of all NLF territory?

On paper, the strategy of pacification can be summarized in a few sentences. The July 9 *Economist* states: "While the regular government forces pursue the main units of the enemy elsewhere, the police field force, backed by the regional and local armed forces, will carry out mopping-up operations against the corresponding local Vietcong elements who have been left behind by the sweep. The police will operate in groups of battalion strength based on district towns . . . The field force must on no account move on until it is certainly safe for ordinary police to take over — until the village copper has a better than a good chance of survival."

In practice, it has not worked out. *The Economist* suggested one reason at the time: "The police field force now stands at a little over 3,000 men . . . Sadly, an embarrassing number of the national police in the north joined

up with the rebels. Little more than a thousand police have yet been allocated to a village police work (south Vietnam has 2,560 villages and 13,650 hamlets) against the 1970 target of 20,000."

A more devastating appraisal was provided two months later by *New York Times* reporter Neil Sheehan: "Once a battle has ended, the American and south Vietnamese troops withdraw. The theoretical follow-up by south Vietnamese territorial forces, police and administrators to pacify the region does not materialize except in a very limited number of instances, and the Vietcong guerrillas and their north Vietnamese allies move in again. The Americans eventually return, and the same region is thus fought over repeatedly." (Oct. 9.)

After almost two years of bloody campaigning, countless thousands of deaths, horrendous bombing, it is little to say for the "war effort" that the same region is thus fought over — repeatedly.

According to the *Wall Street Journal's* Feinstein, the situation is reinforcing a significantly modified conception of pacification in Washington:

"Even as U.S. and Saigon planners talk of handing more and more of this effort over to the south Vietnamese army, while U.S. troops concentrate on battling the enemy's 'main force' units, an on-the-spot check of 'pacification' progress finds performance spotty at best. The ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) is only occasionally effective in providing and maintaining security for villagers on its own. Partly for this reason, follow-up efforts of the Saigon government to win the allegiance of the populace are more often than not inept or non-existent.

"The clear conclusion: 'Pacification' works best when local security is reinforced, at least in the early stages, by the presence of U.S. (or in one notable case, Korean) combat troops." (Emphasis added.)

If "pacification" is to work in the Mekong Delta, or anywhere in Vietnam for that matter, a significant section of the military now feels that the second holding stage must also be conducted by U.S. troops. The implications for this position are clear enough in terms of the gigantic escalation of troop commitment that would be required. It "could drastically alter the rosy projections offered by Defense Secretary McNamara just before Election Day, of a marked decline in the rate of the U.S. troop build-up," Feinstein adds.

The First 10 Years Of American Communism Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

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Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

SALT OF THE EARTH. A movie about the struggles of Mexican-American miners. Fri., Dec. 2, 8:30 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Hall 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

CRIME OF SILENCE: The Catholic Church, its responsibilities in World War II and Vietnam. Speaker: Prof. Gordon Zahn, Loyola University. Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 50 cents A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA TODAY? Speaker: Lynn Henderson, contributor to *The Militant*. Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

A SOCIALIST VIEW IN SUPPORT OF BLACK POWER. Speaker: Elizabeth Barnes, national secretary Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 26, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance.

NEW YORK

LITERATURE AND SOCIAL CRISIS. Speaker: Emile Capouya, writer and literary critic. Fri., Dec. 2, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

A SOCIALIST VIEW OF BLACK POWER. Speaker: Elizabeth Barnes national secretary Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. 1733 Waller St. A usp. Young Socialist Alliance.

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... Black GIs Bear Brunt

(Continued from Page 1)
 cording to military officials here," the article states, "to know precisely how many Negroes are serving in direct combat units . . . Nevertheless, the Pentagon estimates that Negroes make up roughly 50,000 to 70,000 of the 335,000 troops now in Vietnam."

That figure would place the percentage between 15 and 20, not just for the army, or for combat, but for the whole ground forces. We may be absolutely sure that whatever the percentage is in the armed forces as a whole, it is higher in the army, and higher still, on the front lines.

The Post published some typical comments of black GIs on the battle lines. "It seems more like 50 percent to me," says Pfc. Michael Fludd of 188 St. Nicholas Ave., assigned to preparing bodies for burial shipment from the U.S. mortuary at Tan Son Hut airfield.

"Fludd is a Negro," the *New York Post* reminds us, "and perhaps exaggerates his resentment, as does Sp/5 Clarence Brown, 24, a blood bank technician at the Army's 3d Field Hospital. 'For the past six months,' Brown says, 'it seems like half of the intensive care injuries coming in here are either Negro or Spanish or Puerto Rican.

"You," he says, stabbing his index finger at a white reporter, 'sent us here to fight and win your war. And when we win the war, we'll have to go back and face all the ridiculous nonsense that you started 200 years ago.'"

A wounded black infantryman, also quoted in the *New York Post* article, stated: "When I get back, I won't be asking for respect any longer — I'll be demanding it."

"And while the law (of competition) may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department. We accept and welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment, the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few, and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the future progress of the race." — industrialist **Andrew Carnegie**

"You have got to unite in the same labor union and in the same political party and *strike and vote together*, and the hour you do that, the world is yours." — **Eugene Victor Debs**.

SWP Assails Beating Of British Socialist

[The following letter was sent Nov. 21 to the national committee of the Socialist Labour League in England by the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party. For more information and further documents, see story on page 1, and the next issue of *World Outlook* (P.O. Box 635, New York, N.Y. 10010; 50¢).]

National Committee
 Socialist Labour League

Dear Comrades,

We call your attention to an exceedingly grave occurrence that will forever disgrace the Socialist Labour League unless you undertake the most rapid and energetic action.

On Nov. 17, Ernest Tate, an internationally-known Trotskyist who has been active in furthering the work of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell, was set upon by a gang at the entrance of your public meeting on that date at Caxton Hall. He was seriously beaten by six young toughs and had to be hospitalized.

All the evidence shows that these assailants were not would-be fascists attracted to your meeting, but members of your organization, and that they were acting under the direct personal supervision of your general secretary, Thomas Gerard Healy.

The six who overpowered Comrade Tate and kicked him in the head, kidneys and genitals used this way of preventing him from selling literature to people entering the hall.

This literature included copies of the *International Socialist Review* and a pamphlet, *Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International*.

We ask you to do four things:

- 1) To at once place your general secretary on trial for sponsoring such methods. The least that can be said of the employment of physical violence in this way is that it is reminiscent of the tactics employed by the Stalinists against their political opponents in the workers movement, particularly against Trotskyists, in the worst period of the thirties.
- 2) To publicly and forthrightly condemn these hoodlum tactics sponsored by your general secretary against a member of a workers organization holding different political views from yours.
- 3) To expel all those involved for engaging in an act that dishonors the labor and socialist movement.
- 4) To immediately assure all workers organizations in Britain through a prominently placed notice in your journal, *The Newsletter*, that you have undertaken measures to prevent any repetition of such criminal assaults on workers holding political views differing from your own and that you will guarantee protection of the democratic right of all opponent groups to offer their literature at the entrance to your meetings.

Fraternally,
**National Committee
 Socialist Workers Party
 Farrell Dobbs
 National Secretary**

A GI Describes Vietnam Horror

[The following comments were made by Pfc. Robert Taylor, as printed in a dispatch from **Dau Tieng, Vietnam**, by *New York Post* correspondent **Barry Cunningham**. Pfc. Taylor had just been through a bloody battle near the **Cambodian border**.]

"This place does something to your mind," he began. "People at home don't realize what Vietnam is like. You can't explain it in a letter. People wouldn't believe a human being could go through this kind of torture."

"For four hours, we were carrying guys bleeding to death on stretchers. In the dark, we were holding hands with the next guy in front. My best friend, Thomas Cartonia, just dropped in front of me. I was still holding his hand. But I couldn't see him till it got daylight."

"People at home pick up a paper and they see 'light' casualties. It's always 'light' casualties. If our casualties got any lighter, we wouldn't have had a company any longer."

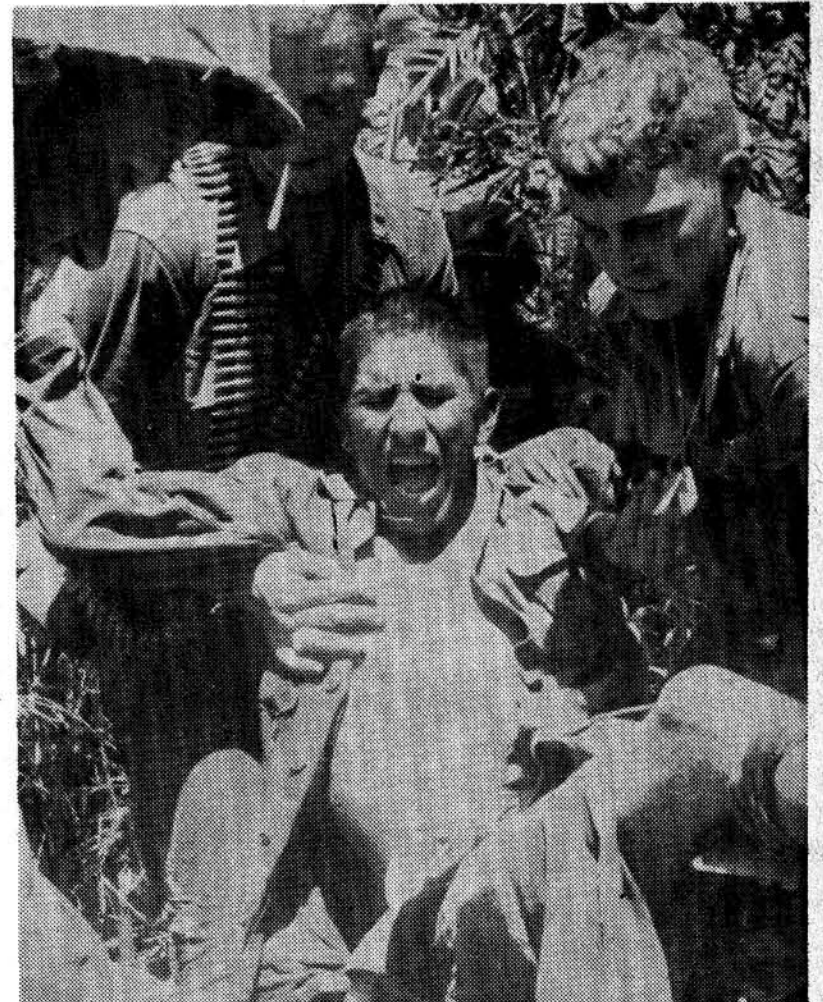
"Screaming for Medics"

"One of our people got half his head chopped off. We didn't have a stretcher. It took us two hours to carry him out on a poncho. I couldn't stand it. We'd slip in the mud and drop him. The weeds were brushing against his head. All you could hear were guys around us screaming for medics."

"My family wonders why I stopped writing. Last week, I got a letter. Did I see the President in Vietnam? All I could do was laugh. There wasn't a soldier out here that even knew Johnson had been here."

"How are the restaurants?" somebody else wrote me. You see? People don't realize this place is inhuman. You can't explain it in a letter."

"A guy jumps in a foxhole with you. You know each other's life history in half an hour. But you don't have time to keep track of guy's names over here. You no sooner make friends with someone over here and he's dead. Some-



SCREAM OF PAIN. Wounded U.S. soldier is carried by buddies. There have been tens of thousands of U.S. casualties in Vietnam war already. Johnson's plans for war will mean death and mutilation for hundreds of thousands of U.S. men — all for a war which benefits only the rich.

body replaces him.

"I have sergeants who were in Korea. They say Korea wasn't nearly as bad as this place . . ."

"That whole day and night went by like something you read out of a book. There were guys with holes in them big enough to put a fist through. They were still shooting. Wounded helping wounded. I just couldn't take it any more."

"For four months, we've been living in foxholes. Rain pours down on you every night. Half the people are sick most of the time. Guys you've known for seven or eight months drop dead in front of your eyes."

"Every time I get to thinking I'm going to make it through, somebody reminds me I've got eight more months left in Vietnam."

HAVE YOU READ —

"Healy 'Reconstructs' The Fourth International"

The response of the Political Committee of the Socialist Labour League to this pamphlet was to issue the following public notice: "We shall not hesitate to deal appropriately with the handful of United Secretariat agents who hawk it around the cynical fake-left in England."

Ernest Tate, a well-known Trotskyist and manager of Pioneer Book Service in London, decided to hawk the pamphlet despite the threat. On November 17, while hawking it in front of a meeting of the Socialist Labour League, he was set upon by six young hoodlums and badly beaten. Obviously, the PC of the SLL meant what they said in their public warning.

Why is Healy so anxious to prevent the rank and file of his organization from reading this collection of documents which includes letters he himself wrote and signed?

Perhaps James Robertson of the *Spartacist* came up with the right answer when he wrote: "The truth is that the SLL is left gasping in the face of the documents. It can only bluster, threaten, conceal and tragically itself cross the class line by threatening to call the cops."

Perhaps for Healy the moment of truth came when he read the report by Pioneer Book Service: "Sales of the pamphlet are very brisk."

Without running the obvious risk of buying a copy in front of an SLL meeting, you can get this devastating — often highly amusing — 40-page exposure of what really went on at a recent international conference sponsored by the SLL, by simply sending 35 cents to the Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 31 - No. 43 345 Monday, November 28, 1966

Unionists Take Vietnam Stand

The antiwar movement should be encouraged by the action of 250 union officials in the New York-New Jersey area criticizing the national AFL-CIO leadership for supporting the Johnson administration's policies in Vietnam.

The unionists who sought to disassociate themselves from the reactionary, jingoistic policies of the top AFL-CIO brass are members of the recently organized Trade Union Division of SANE. They are officers and staff members of 31 unions in the areas. They issued their statement of criticism Nov. 17 after the executive council of the AFL-CIO voted unanimously to reiterate its support of U.S. foreign policy and to commend Johnson's course in Vietnam.

The SANE supporters indicated they had been encouraged to speak out by Walter Reuther's refusal to attend the executive council meeting. The Auto Workers had previously criticized the AFL-CIO council stand as "intemperate, hysterical, jingoistic and unworthy of a policy statement of a free trade-union movement."

Among those speaking for the SANE resolution was Edward Grey, a regional officer of the UAW.

The statement itself fell far short of what is required. It was limited to calling for a de-escalation of the war rather than for an immediate end to U.S. aggression and the withdrawal of U.S. forces, which is what simple justice and meaningful opposition to the war requires.

Yet despite the timidity of the union officials involved, their stand is positive in that it helps to facilitate the expression of antiwar views within the union movement and participation by unionists in the various actions of the antiwar movement.

Finally, it confirms there is opposition to the war among rank-and-file unionists. As that opposition develops, the movement to end the war will gain real power.

The Minutemen Case

In the past year or two, there have been a series of attacks upon antiwar and socialist groups in the United States. After each of these attacks, a wide spectrum of figures in the civil rights, civil liberties, antiwar and socialist movements have charged that they were the work of ultra-right terrorists, inflamed by the anti-communist hysteria fostered by the ruling circles in this country.

The recent exposure of the Minutemen in New York, and the trial of Minutemen leader Robert DePugh, provide convincing evidence that organized, incipient fascist terrorists — possibly the Minutemen themselves — are indeed behind many of the attacks. The New York Minutemen were planning to blow up or fire-bomb four interracial or left-wing camps when they were arrested. They were caught with a huge arsenal, ranging from machine guns to bazookas, hand grenades to Molotov cocktails. Bombs of the type used against the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party headquarters were found.

To date, the police have been "unable" — even though they have agents in all the rightist groups — to solve the bombings of the DuBois Clubs headquarters in San Francisco, the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee headquarters or the CP and SWP headquarters in New York. It is clear that no confidence can be placed in the capitalist government to provide protection from the Minutemen and similar terrorists. Just imagine how the press and government would have reacted to the disclosure of a left-wing arsenal one hundredth the size of the Minutemen's — and compare this to the kid-gloves treatment afforded this gang of racist and anti-communist hoodlums!

It will be necessary at all times and circumstances for the movement to look to its own resources for defense from the attacks of such terrorists.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver, Colo. 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4963 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin

Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 982-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 848-3992. Open 2 to 7 p.m. Monday thru Friday; Saturday 12 to 5 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412, Phila., Pa. 19101.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St., San Diego, Calif. 92113.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party, LA 2-4325.

Declaration of Fourth International:

Escalate Defense of Vietnam

[The following appeal to revolutionary militants and workers of all countries was issued Oct. 3 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

During the past 20 months, the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, has repeatedly called attention to the incalculable consequences that could arise if the escalation of the imperialist aggression in Vietnam did not meet with a sufficiently energetic rejoinder to stop it short and cause it to fall back.

Today the Fourth International again appeals to you in face of the threat that a new step will soon be taken in the imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese revolution.

The first aim of the imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese revolution was to prevent a quick victory of the National Liberation Front, which at the time seemed inevitable within a short period. Despite their heroism, unparalleled in recent history, the Vietnamese revolutionists are no longer on the verge of overturning the rotten regime of Marshal Ky, the admirer of Hitler, whom the colossal military power of the United States has undertaken to maintain in Saigon at any price.

The imperialist aggression aimed secondly at preventing a rapid extension of the colonial revolution in Southeast Asia as a whole. Although courageous revolutionists have unleashed an anti-imperialist struggle in Thailand and have resumed combat in the Philippines, this aim, too, has largely been attained. The revolution suffered a very heavy defeat in Indonesia and ceased widening in this part of the world, a consequence, at least partially, of the imperialist aggression.

Aim to Intimidate

The third aim of the imperialist aggression was to intimidate the colonial revolution on a world scale. By intervening on a massive scale in the Vietnamese civil war, American imperialism served warning, particularly to the revolutionists of the entire world: if they place the capitalist system in danger anywhere in the world, Washington has arrogated the right to intervene and pour torrents of fire down on them.

It cannot be said that the revolutionists have let themselves be intimidated. The masses, their vanguard organizations and courageous groups of guerrillas are pursuing the anti-imperialist struggle on a more or less vast scale and with variable results in a number of countries in the world, from Mozambique to Guatemala and from Colombia to Southern Arabia.

But the fact that American imperialism was able to intervene in Vietnam with impunity, and has been able to continually increase its counterrevolutionary intervention at no higher cost than a moderate inflation and a growing opposition against the war among its own people and in international public opinion, has unquestionably contributed to emboldening and strengthening the reactionaries, the military caste and the oligarchical camarillas of all stripes.

The fourth aim of the imperialist aggression was to prepare a step by step "roll back" of the workers states in Asia. The strengthening of these states is considered to be a mortal threat to the imperialist empire in the Pacific, even to the survival of capitalism throughout Asia. Hence the direct military attack against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Hence the increasing preparations for war against the People's Republic of China.

Washington is acting in this in accordance with a method whose logic is obvious from the view-

International Action Is Urged

Along with the statement printed on this page, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International appealed to antiwar forces to organize bigger mass mobilizations and street demonstrations to answer Johnson's escalation.

The United Secretariat also repeated its position that the Soviet Union and China should increase their aid to Vietnam and should form a united front to help the Vietnamese revolution repel the U.S. attack, in spite of their ideological differences. Differences can continue to be debated, the United Secretariat said, but they should not stand in the way of providing effective aid to Vietnam.

The appeal also demanded that the Kremlin affirm that it would support without reservation the Peoples Republic of China in the event of aggression by the U.S.

point of the class interests of Big Capital. Washington is not deliberately choosing the road to a nuclear world war. Such a decision, a last resort, would be taken only when all seemed lost. Washington will not even deliberately take the road to an armed conflict against the collective might of the workers states. It seeks to advance step by step, reducing and then overcoming one by one the obstacles in the way of re-establishing its domination throughout Asia. It is ready to retreat if suddenly confronted with energetic countermeasures. But so long as energetic countermeasures are not taken, the Pentagon is inclined to see no reason for not seeking first to liquidate the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, then to bomb out of existence the industrial centers of China, above all her nuclear centers.

The heads of the Soviet bureaucracy seek to justify their criminal passivity in face of the imperialist aggression, invoking the necessity of "safeguarding the peace." These arguments are false. History has shown many times that to back down in face of an aggressor does not appease his hunger, but on the contrary only sharpens it. By delaying energetic countermeasures that could have stopped the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the Kremlin objectively facilitated extension of the war against both Vietnam and the Chinese revolution. At the same time it facilitated a relative weakening of the fighting Vietnamese masses. This could end in enabling imperialism to obtain through diplomatic means what it could not obtain in the field.

United Front

The heads of the Chinese bureaucracy refused to set up the united front which is so necessary for all the workers states in aiding the Vietnamese revolution, alleging that it is impossible to unite with "revisionist accomplices of imperialism" and that revolutionary victory in each country is essentially the concern of the people of that country. Behind these false arguments lies the understandable desire of the Peking leaders to delay an imperialist aggression against their country. But far from achieving this aim, Peking's stubborn refusal to place the so-called "allies of imperialism" against the wall by proposing concrete measures to them for amplifying the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia made it more difficult to help the Vietnamese revolution, in effect encouraging imperialism in its preparations for aggression against China.

The balance sheet speaks eloquently, moreover, on the ineffectiveness of the policies touted in both Moscow and Peking. The purely verbal countermeasures, material aid measured out with an eyedropper, have not at all prevented American imperialism from taking one step after another in escalating the war up to now. After having submitted south Vietnam to fire and sword; after having poisoned trees and

rivers and massacred the inhabitants; after having begun with impunity to bomb the sovereign state of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and extending the bombings to the big urban centers of Hanoi and Haiphong, Washington is openly preparing, in full sight of the world, the next stage of "escalation." After the November elections in the United States, Washington is preparing to land troops in north Vietnamese territory, to invade the territory of Laos and Cambodia, to bomb the dikes protecting the rice paddies of the Tonkin plain. At the same time, the repeated violations of Chinese air space, the bombing of Chinese villages "by error," the numerous attacks against Chinese vessels, add up to provocations and test runs to determine just how far things can be carried with impunity.

Fight Escalation

It is vital for the future of socialism, for the revolution and mankind as a whole, for the working masses and the workers states to react vigorously and in time against this escalation which threatens to hurl humanity into a nuclear holocaust. If imperialism is not stopped now, it will continue the escalation, it will attack China. The USSR itself will end up, first isolated, then threatened and attacked; and the inescapable rejoinder will occur under such conditions that the most terrible means risk being employed by both sides. Quick and energetic countermeasures by the workers states constitute the only means of stopping the aggression at a time when the threat of nuclear war is not yet actually before us.

During recent months, others have independently reached similar conclusions. Fidel Castro called for the workers states to back Vietnam with all their military might. Progressive figures like Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre called on the USSR and China to send large numbers of MIGs and missiles to Vietnam, and to answer the imperialist escalation with a counterescalation. The Communist Party of North Korea called for sending large numbers of volunteers from all the workers states to south Vietnam.

All these different voices express one and the same indignation over the passivity which those, claiming to be for socialism, display in face of the crimes imperialism is committing daily against the Vietnamese revolution. All these different voices express the same anguish, the anguish of seeing this passivity encourage the escalation up to the point of no return — when a nuclear world war becomes inevitable.

Time is growing short. Act before it is too late. What is involved is the fate of the Vietnamese revolution, the fate of the Chinese revolution, the fate of all the revolutions in the world, the fate of all of humanity!

United Secretariat of the Fourth International

Rep. Powell Cancels Black Power Parley

Adam Clayton Powell, Democratic congressman from Harlem, announced recently that he is cancelling a Thanksgiving weekend conference on black power. The conference had originally been scheduled for Oct. 15 by a preliminary conference organized by Powell, held Sept. 3. On Oct. 9, Powell attacked Stokely Carmichael, of SNCC, who has been prominently associated with black power. Then the Oct. 15 conference was postponed. Powell said he is withdrawing as the "sole convener" of any conference on black power, and suggested that a national committee be set up to call a conference in the spring.

The Militant has received a more complete account of the Sept. 3 conference, issued from Washington, than we printed in our Sept. 13 issue. We are reprinting this account for the information of our readers:

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The first Plenary Session of the Planning Conference for the National Conference on Black Power was held on Sat., Sept. 3, 1966, at 1:00 p.m. in Room 2175 in the Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. Representative Adam Clayton Powell, as National Convener, presided.



Adam Clayton Powell

Commissions

In attendance at the Conference were 169 persons from 37 cities, 18 states and the District of Columbia, representing 64 organizations.

At 2:00 p.m. the plenary session dissolved into three commissions:

Definitions: Mr. Lincoln Lynch of New York City, Chairman.

Goals: Dr. Adelaide Cromwell Hill of Boston, Chairman.

Guidelines: Attorney Cecil Moore of Philadelphia, Chairman.

The commission on definitions evolved the following definition of black power: Black power is the means for black people to make changes in society to achieve self-determination, self-respect and self-defense, i.e., "black strength" to serve the needs of black people.

Goals

The commission on goals listed the following goals of black power:

1. Communicate with the black masses.
2. Mobilize the total black community, i.e., all groups and classes therein.
3. Stress the need for human-rights bills.
4. Fight for self-determination within the black community.
5. Eliminate all "Uncle Toms" as leaders of the black community.
6. Re-structure public education to serve the needs of the black community.
7. Determine which is more politically feasible for advancement of black power, capitalism or socialism.
8. Continue the re-vitalization of all questions of identity, history of black people, who they are, where they came from and where they are going.
9. Attain full manhood rights for Negro males.
10. Beware of division among the exponents of black power.
11. Strengthen economic power within the black community.
12. Retain property rights and the use of the land free from archaic laws in the black community.
13. Make every black man and black woman a black voter.

The commission on guidelines reported the following programs of action for black power:

1. Undertake direct action to infiltrate major political parties or create a third black party.
2. Initiate a comprehensive program of voter education, including

qualifications of candidates as well as mechanics of voting.

3. Retire certain elected officials who have not represented the black community.

4. Determine whether there can be a black independent third party working within framework of existing parties, as long as goals are the same.

5. Develop a comprehensive program of consumer education, including economic boycotts, credit education, etc.

6. Create available capital to finance black businesses.

7. Create non-profit corporations to utilize federal funds for massive programs, i.e., housing complexes.

8. Convince middle-class Negroes and white businesses to invest in Negro businesses.

9. Hire more qualified teachers. The three commissions reconvened at 4:00 p.m. for a second plenary session.

All three commissions' recommendations were voted on unanimously.

Minority Report

A dissident report endorsed by 21 members was issued which declared, in summary:

1. We need to have a more revolutionary program instead of just a conference.
2. We reserve the right of self-defense. We do not support unconditional nonviolence.
3. We advocate cultural development in terms of re-establishing our cultural nation.
4. We advocate independent black political action.

The Conference members voted to hold the full national conference on black power in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 15-16.

Members of the continuation committee appointed by Chairman Powell were the following: Mr. Omar Ahmed, New York City; Mr. Ron Karenga, Los Angeles; Mrs. Jewell Mazique, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Isaiah Robinson, New York City; Dr. Nathan Wright, Newark, N.J.; and Mr. Chuck Stone, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Julius Hobson of Washington, D.C., was appointed Chairman of the arrangements committee.

The plenary session adjourned at 7:00 p.m.

After the continuation committee members have conferred by telephone in the next few days, the delegates will receive more specific information on the coming black power conference.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE FREE WORLD COLOSSUS: A Critique of American Foreign Policy in the Cold War, by David Horowitz. Hill and Wang, 451 pp., \$6.95; paper, \$2.45.

The United States emerged from World War II as the world's most powerful industrial and military power. The United States itself had been untouched by the war, and it alone possessed the atomic bomb. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, emerged from World War II in an extremely weakened condition. President Kennedy described the extent of Soviet war losses in his American University speech on June 10, 1963:

"And no nation in the history of battle ever suffered more than the Soviet Union in the second world war. At least 20,000,000 lost their lives. Countless millions of homes and families were burned or sacked. A third of the nation's territory, including two-thirds of its industrial base, was turned into a wasteland — a loss equivalent to the destruction of this country east of Chicago."

Cold War

With this as the setting, the cold war began. Which side is responsible for the initiation and maintenance of the cold war? David Horowitz in *The Free World Colossus* argues that the history of the cold war has been the history of Soviet responses to an American foreign policy of containment, "liberation" and rollback. He examines the cold war from the death of Roosevelt to the death of Kennedy in a penetrating and perceptive manner.

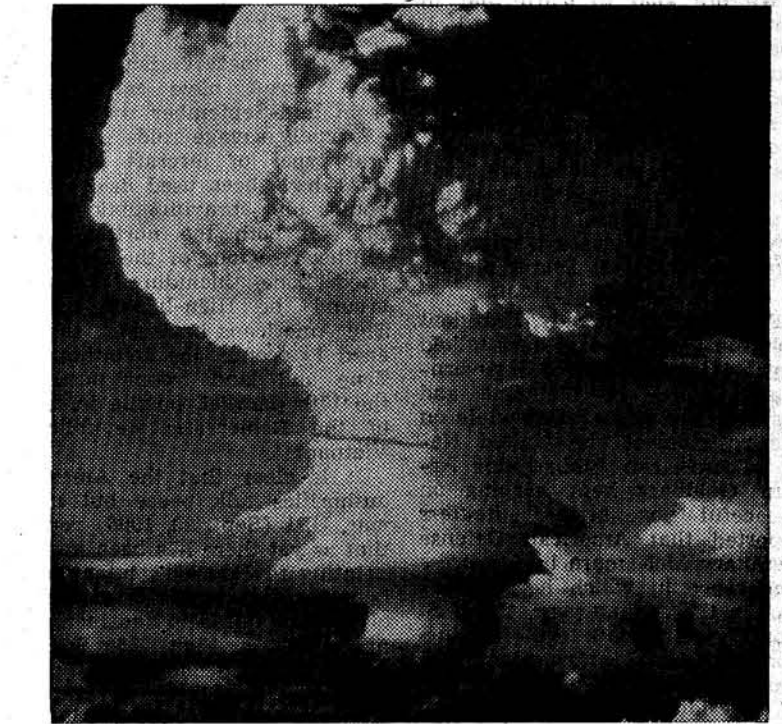
Horowitz analyzes American foreign policy in the cold war and its rationale, and does an excellent job of exposing the myth of a valiant American government trying to save the world from aggression by the Soviet Union. However, he never examines why the United States took a belligerent attitude towards the Soviet Union after World War II.

Horowitz does do an excellent job of examining the real nature of American foreign policy. For example, the official U.S. government version of the cold war pictures the Soviet Union as being unwilling to negotiate outstanding differences with the United States.

U.S. Initiative

He writes, "It should first be noted that it was President Truman and not Marshal Stalin who, in November, 1945, unilaterally terminated the meetings of the Big Three and thus initiated a ten-year period when there was no meeting between U.S. and Soviet heads of State. It was, moreover, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson who, in 1950, vetoed the proposal for a top-level conference between Truman and Stalin which had been advanced by Churchill and others at a time when the Soviet dictator had indicated his willingness to participate."

Horowitz says that more crucial than the multiplication of this sort of incident was the fundamental premise on which U.S. cold-war policy was based in the early years. This premise was a disbelief in the possibility of a settlement of the issues of conflict in the cold war. This premise can be seen in the proclamation of the Truman doctrine. It can also be seen in George Kennan's widely-known "Mr. X" article in 1947. This is the article that first gave justification for the cold-war foreign policy. Kennan was then the Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department and one of the



major architects of American cold-war strategy.

Contrary to Kennan and Truman, however, the Soviet government was more than willing to negotiate an agreement with the United States. Stalin gave concessions to the Western powers on questions concerning Eastern Europe, although the Soviet Union was the sole military power in this area as a result of having been the only power to sweep the Nazis out of it. He did not even try to get any concessions from the West on questions concerning Western Europe.

Stalin went so far as to prevent Eastern Europe from developing along socialist lines until the cold war was well under way. This was another gesture to the West to prove his willingness to reach an agreement.

One of the more dramatic instances of the Soviet Union's willingness to negotiate came on May 10, 1955, when the USSR agreed to the American plan for disarmament. Instead of signing an agreement, the United States called for a recess in the talks. The first summit meeting was held in July, and there President Eisenhower suddenly proposed his "open skies" plan to permit the two powers to conduct aerial inspections of each other's territory. Horowitz writes:

"Bold Plan"

"Eisenhower's proposal was indeed a 'bold' plan: it was a wholesale retreat from the inspection proposals already agreed to (which were much more far-reaching and significant), and most importantly, from the program for general and complete disarmament which was to have accompanied the controls. Instead of agreement which would have liquidated the nuclear threat, the arms race and the cold war, the U.S. was asking the Soviet Union to exchange one of its most important military assets (secrecy) for information which it essentially had, and to do this without the prospect of a program of disarmament which would liquidate the SAC bases by which it was encircled."

In other words, the Soviet Union agreed to negotiate disarmament on U.S. terms, conceding its own position, and the United States, instead of going on to conclude the agreement, changed its position to make it unacceptable to the Soviet government.

At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union did indeed conclude a number of agreements with the West at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. For a while, it looked as if an

agreement between the U.S. and USSR was possible. The Soviet Union proceeded to use its influence to scuttle revolutions and preserve the status quo. Horowitz points out that:

"In the mid-1920s, Stalin's thesis of 'socialism in one country' became the dogma of the revolution and the guiding principle of Soviet foreign policy, down through the end of World War II. Indeed, the wartime alliance was predicated on this concept. In the words of Isaac Deutscher, 'Soviet self-containment was the very premise of joint allied policy, written into the paragraphs and clauses of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam Agreements.' The agreements divided spheres of influence between the allies, allotting all of Eastern and much of Central Europe to Russia, while at the same time stipulating that this was to be the sphere of influence of Russia, not of Communism."

Opposed to Revolution

Horowitz continues a bit later, "Stalin had become convinced in the inter-war period that the revolutionary potentials of foreign Communism were nil. Accordingly, he did what he could to discourage the Communist parties from making bids for power and from jeopardizing his relations with his wartime allies."

In this book, the role of mass movements, internal politics and economic factors is subordinated to an examination of foreign policy as such. That is, the causes of the differing foreign policies of the U.S. and USSR are never analyzed. A certain amount of distortion in the content of Horowitz' analyses results from this one-sided approach.

Nevertheless, *The Free World Colossus* is invaluable as a source book for understanding the real nature of the cold war.

—Arthur Maglin

Books, Pamphlets On Vietnam

Merit Publishers
5 East Third St.
New York, N. Y. 10003

AN APPEAL FROM VIETNAM

An Open Letter to U.S. Women

[The following Open Letter to American Women was received from the Vietnam Women's Union in Hanoi.]

We are glad to learn that in early November, the American peace movement will organize a nationwide drive to demand an end to the war in Vietnam, and jobs and democratic rights to the people of the United States. We warmly hail you, and take advantage of this opportunity to inform you of some events which have happened in our country, so that you can get a clearer picture of the situation in Vietnam.

As you know already, President Johnson has in recent days talked repeatedly about the "U.S. government's policy in Vietnam" and his "will for peace." But while on the rostrum of the United Nations, American Ambassador Arthur Goldberg kept harping on "peaceful negotiations," Reuters reported that American Defense Secretary McNamara held a press conference in which he declared that in the coming year, the U.S. would give a boost to the production of fighter-bomber planes for use in the Vietnam war. On Sept. 23, President Johnson met with state governors to discuss an increase of "at least ten billion dollars" to the current year's war appropriations for Vietnam (A.P., Sept. 23).

The truth is that, following the dry season campaign (November 1965 to March 1966), the American government has introduced 40,000 more GIs into south Vietnam, bringing the total of American forces there to 310,000 in late September, and plans to bring it to 400,000 or more in the coming months. At present, American fighting forces in south Vietnam include five divisions and four brigades, that is, nearly one-third of the entire U.S. infantry and marine corps.

In the past six months, American troops have carried out hundreds of raids, savagely massacring civilians, most of them women and children. Wanton artillery shellings have been conducted on villages and hamlets . . .

Besides bombs and shells, the use of toxic chemicals has been intensified. More than five million litres of those have been spread over 210,000 hectares of fields and orchards in south Vietnam in the period from early this

year up to now. The *New York Times* (Sept. 9, 1966) admits that toxic chemical spraying has been increased three times in south Vietnam.

Concerning north Vietnam, and speaking only of the present American "peace" drive, American aircraft have carried out, from mid-September up to now, extremely savage raids . . . Several types of aircraft including B52s, have been used in dropping bombs and spraying toxic chemicals on both the northern and southern regions of the Demilitarized Zone, including the area around the Hiên-lu'ong bridge. The Americans have even threatened to occupy the Demilitarized Zone and land troops north of the 17th parallel, on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

It is clear that the American authorities talk peace but make war. UPI (Sept. 20, 1966) reports that as yet there has been no sign pointing to Johnson's intention of bringing any change to his policy of military build-up and increased pressure. On Sept. 26, Senator Wayne Morse declared that whenever the American government put forward a proposal, this was accompanied by new war plans.

Indeed, the American authorities' noisy propaganda about their "peace goodwill" is only a smoke-screen aimed at deceiving world public opinion and soothing the American people's protests, in hopes of winning more votes in the forthcoming elections.

Slander

They have also been trying to turn white into black, slandering north Vietnam as "aggressor" and arguing that their sending of troops to south Vietnam is only aimed at ending this "aggression" (!). In reply to this perfidious slander, Senator Gruening has stated (Aug. 26, 1966) that the Americans are the aggressors in Vietnam, and that the Americans have been invited there only by themselves. Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has also said (Sept. 20, 1966) that American policy in Vietnam and Asia is setting up new forms of "colonialism."

The American government is the aggressor; Vietnam is the victim of this aggression. This is crystal clear and does not call for

lengthy discussion. Our national independence being threatened in such a serious way by the American government's aggressive policy, you will certainly understand, you who have a tradition of struggle for independence and freedom, that the only way open to our people is to brace our energies to fight and win. The American people's struggle against the British rulers 190 years ago, although full of hardships, ended in glorious victory. In like manner, our just struggle will certainly end in victory. In fact, we have been winning ever greater victories.

Victories

In south Vietnam, following their great successes of the dry season (110,000 enemy troops annihilated, among them 40,000 American troops), the southern army and people have won 21 more big victories in Tri-thiên, the Tây-nguyên Highlands, the plain regions of Trung-bô and Nam-bô, completely annihilating 21 enemy battalions and regiments, among them seven U.S. battalions and three squadrons of U.S. tanks and armored vehicles. In the first eight months of 1966, in the region of Cu-chi alone (Gladinh province), they put out of action 12,000 American troops, destroyed 592 military vehicles and 174 aircraft.

The puppet army and administration, on which the Americans rely, have been shaken to their foundation and are on the way to complete disintegration. According to the American press itself, 15,000 puppet troops desert every month. Mutinies have repeatedly broken out. Scores of mass demonstrations have been staged, in which the people demanded democratic rights, the overthrow of the Thieu-Ky clique and the withdrawal of American troops.

In north Vietnam, the army and people have calmly stood up to American pirate aircraft and, with all the weapons in their hands, have dealt them stunning blows in defense of the airspace of our beloved fatherland. To date, 1,500 American aircraft have been brought down. *Newsweek* (Aug. 22, 1966) has had to admit that American aircraft flying over north Vietnam have been running against a veritable "wall of lead."

In spite of fierce fighting conditions, our people have stuck to their fields, factories, communica-



AGAINST KY. Demonstrators last May gave notice to world that people of south Vietnamese cities, along with north Vietnamese people and south Vietnamese peasants, are against U.S.-supported dictator and U.S. war in Vietnam.

tion lines to ensure our country's economic and defense potential. The *Christian Science Monitor* has admitted that not only did the Americans fail to reap the results they had expected from their wanton bombings of north Vietnam, but they have also been duly punished, and that in spite of aerial war escalation in north Vietnam, the Americans have not impaired in the least the defense potential of the country.

Indeed, the more savage and cruel American war escalation becomes, the deeper the hatred felt by the 31 million Vietnamese in both north and south Vietnam will grow, and the greater their resolve.

American People

Our people nurture no ill feeling for the American people. Our only wish is to ensure the independence, freedom and territorial integrity of our country, so that we can work in peace to build a happy life for ourselves and our children. It is because the American government has sent troops to commit aggression against our country that we have been forced to fight back in self-defense. If the American government really wants peace, let it withdraw its troops from south Vietnam, dismantle its military bases there, stop its bombing of north Vietnam, refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people. Then, peace will immediately return to our country. President Johnson need not go a long way to look for it.

The American government has sent troops to Vietnam: let it withdraw them from there. As evident and as simple as that! But the American authorities have tried to turn things upside down. They demand that the Vietnamese people, the victims of aggression, should stop their struggle for national salvation first; then, and only then, they, who are the aggressors, will withdraw their own troops. Isn't this tantamount to compelling our people to lay down their arms and surrender? If you were in our place, you would certainly refuse to comply with such a demand. Our entire people have taken this oath: "Rather death than slavery." Whatever hardships and sacrifices we may have to endure, however longer we may have to fight on, we are determined not to give way, for we know that a return to servitude would mean one hundred, one thousand times more hardships and sacrifices.

Dear friends, in their hearts, all Vietnamese, young and old, make a clear distinction between the American aggressive clique, those men who have inflicted so many sufferings and so much mourning

on us, and the American people, our true friends. You yourselves are victims of this "dirty war." The Johnson administration's plan to spend an additional \$15 billion on the war in Vietnam, on top of the \$25 billion already appropriated, has fostered inflation, caused cutbacks on education, health and social spendings, and badly affected the American economy and the life of the American people . . .

We value highly all positive actions of the American people and women aimed at ending the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam. We understand that it is never the wish of American mothers and wives to turn Vietnamese women and children into widows and orphans; likewise, it is never the wish of Vietnamese mothers and wives to see your husbands and sons leaving the United States in good health and returning there in tragic coffins.

For the sake of our two peoples' common interests, we call on you to engage in still more vigorous struggle — oppose the sending of American troops to Vietnam; demand that the GIs now in Vietnam be sent home; oppose the manufacture and transport of weapons bound for Vietnam; demand that the American government should withdraw American troops and put an end to its war of aggression against Vietnam, so that the people of our two countries may live in peace and build a happy life for our families and children.

With cordial greetings,

HA GIANG
For the Standing Committee
of the Central Committee of
Vietnam Women's Union

World Events

Invitation

A thinly-veiled invitation for greater U.S. military intervention in Guatemala to crush peasant rebellion was contained in a *New York World Journal Tribune* dispatch from Guatemala City, Nov. 12. "The guerrillas are 'an invisible enemy, and against an invisible enemy, it is always difficult to fight,' Vice President Clemente Marroquin Rojas wrote recently," according to the *World Journal Tribune*.

"But I confess my suspicion [the vice president continued] that the Guatemalan army does not want to fight. The United States should intervene if the Guatemalan army can't handle this . . . If Guatemala goes Communist, the other small countries near us will go also."

Alliance at Work

The U.S. already has a military foothold in Guatemala, according to the Nov. 13 *World Journal Tribune* dispatch: "Last April, Gen. Robert W. Porter, Jr., chief of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that U.S. Army engineers were engaged in a 'civic action' program of public works in the border area where Honduran

and Guatemalan troops have been conducting joint anti-guerrilla probes."

It is notable that even the *World Journal Tribune* feels compelled to put quotation marks around "civic action." The role of U.S. "advisers" is too well known.

Popular War

A Gallup Poll for U.S. "allies" in Europe shows that in France: 68 percent favor U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam; 8 percent favor continuing at the present level; 9 percent favor increasing attacks; and 19 percent gave no opinion. In West Germany, the results were: 51 percent for withdrawal; 19 percent for the present level; 15 percent for increasing attacks; and 15 percent, no opinion.

In Great Britain, 42 percent favor withdrawal; 17 percent favor carrying on at the present level; 16 percent, increasing attacks; and 25 percent, no opinion.

Argentine Politics

Further steps have been taken in the consolidation of the one-party military dictatorship in Argentina, according to a Nov. 15 *Reuters* dispatch. Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía has confiscated the assets of

all political parties and has dissolved the electoral courts. Onganía took power in the June 29 military coup ousting President Arturo U. Illia.

Political parties had already been disbanded, virtually all forms of political activity had been outlawed and it was illegal to form new parties. The decree dissolving electoral courts declares that since there are no elections or political parties, the courts are obsolete.

Seven Car Family

"TOKYO (UPI) — The 'Made in Japan' limousine being built for Emperor Hirohito for \$30,000 will have a part stamped 'Made in USA' under its shiny black hood. The Nissan Auto Company is suffering more than a little loss of face . . . because it has to use an American-made automatic clutch in the 'Nissan Prince Royal,' the limousine it is assembling for the Royal Family. . . .

"If the Hirohito household does not like the new Prince Royal, it can leave it in the garage and use one of its three Rolls-Royces, its Cadillac, its Mercedes-Benz, or its Daimler."

—Ed Smith

WATTS
AND
HARLEM

The Rising Revolt
In the Black Ghetos

by Robert Vernon
and George Novack

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Abortion Problem

San Francisco, Calif.
The largest single cause of maternal death is criminal abortion, a Los Angeles legal research attorney reported to the American Public Health Association in San Francisco this week.

Ruth Roemer, a specialist in public health law at the University of California at Los Angeles said that abortions won't be curbed until new laws recognize that social factors as well as medical ones are grounds for "therapeutic abortions." Abortions account for nearly one-third of the maternal deaths in California, and one-fifth of all maternal deaths in America.

Criminal abortions, plus the desperate measures women use on themselves to end unwanted pregnancy, kill 5,000 to 10,000 women in America every year. At least 350,000 women suffer serious complications from abortions; and there are probably a million to two million illegal abortions performed in America annually.

American states have some of the most rigid abortion laws in the world. The current campaign to liberalize laws like California's stress the need for accepting medical reasons in therapeutic abortions — the dangers of birth defects, the consequences of rape or incest, for example.

Mrs. Roemer, vice president of the California Committee on Therapeutic Abortion, argued that social problems such as living conditions, economic responsibilities and the number of children in a family should also enter the list of legal grounds for abortion. "The law should make abundantly clear that health is defined to include physical, mental and social well-being."

The toll of criminal abortions is by far the lowest where, like Scandinavia, social factors are weighed in the legal balance. The same should hold true in America, Mrs. Roemer declared.

Vilma Sanchez

For 'Discard'

Springfield, Ohio

Having recently returned from a year's work in the black ghetto of west Oakland, Calif., I am frankly appalled at the political complacency here in America's cultural hinterland. The contradiction of world containment grows in absurdity with every day of continued bombing. Frustrated high school students in Oakland attack teachers for not taking them seriously, Franz Fanon tells his grim tale of a hungry world waiting in shaded alleys — and our university library sees fit to mark its *Militant* subscription for "discard."

Anxious about this kind of intellectual myopia — particularly at a campus which prides itself upon wider boundaries for opinion — I see no other course than to enclose a contribution for another trial *Militant* subscription, this time to the student reading room. Certainly there is room amid the full-color glorification of this sordid war in *Life's* brutalizing-popcult-agitprop-gut level-hate-pander-pix

for the one thing that the *Militant* is best at offering: the hopeful if infrequent voice of youth chanting religiously for the peace they have never really known.

D.B.

War Hysteria

Providence, Ky.

The other day I received a letter postmarked Louisville, Ky. On opening it I found a clipping of a letter I had written to the Louisville *Courier Journal* protesting the war. On the clipping was type-written: "Anybody against our boys should be shot."

This is all part of the same war fever that caused the death of Leo Bernard and the bombing of the SWP office in New York.

Unless we counteract such hysteria — and soon — we are in for the same fate which met Germany in the early '30s.

Richard Chiun

Criticizes Forum

New York, N. Y.

Last Saturday, I went to the Free (University) School Forum, held on the subject: "In the Wake of the Elections."

While waiting for the forum to begin, I looked around the meeting room and to my astonishment, I saw in the center of the wall, a red Chinese scroll and two English strips with the inscription: "Death to the American Aggressors! We Hate America!" I shrugged my shoulders: If this slogan represents indeed a crude Chinese propa-

Thought for the Week

The Vietnamese . . . troops have finally figured out how to fight a guerrilla war without really trying, while at the same time getting some extra walking-around money. They pad the rosters. This means that in places like the Mekong Delta, there are phantom battalions lying around in thin air, while American money is doled out to their commanders . . . In one such case, now under investigation, a Vietnamese commander padded his strength by 30 percent and pocketed the difference." — Pete Hamill in the Nov. 21 *New York Post*.

ganda, why should it be presented to the American public? Does such a slogan contribute to convince Americans about the criminality of the war in Vietnam or does it serve only to satisfy the childish desire of some ultra-left sectarians to tease their fellow citizens?

But the real shock started with the unfolding of the forum. The first speaker, Allen Krebs, the director of the Free School, evaluated the outcome of the elections as a giant step toward the further fascistization of America. The next speaker, also from the staff of the Free School (L. Liggio), disagreed with this opinion because — according to his understanding — America is already a fascist state!

James Weinstein, the independent socialist candidate in the 19th district, tried in vain to bring some sanity into the discussion, pointing to the fact that fascism operates when the parliamentary system doesn't work, which is not the case in America. He was answered by M.S. Arnoni, that there is no parliament in America. Mr.

Arnoni, in support of this thesis that the difference between liberalism and fascism is very vague and relative, cited the phenomenon that Franco's Spain introduced some social reforms which would be condemned as "socialistic" in America.

It was petrifying to listen to such complete lack of comprehension of the nature of fascism and failing to understand the distinction between capitalist democracy and fascism, reminiscent of the old Stalinist disastrous "theory" in pre-Hitler Germany.

Mr. Arnoni ridiculed Weinstein for his electoral campaign, trying to show that it doesn't matter whether a socialist candidate wins in running for Congress or even for the White House, because the real power is elsewhere.

I left the forum in disgust — with one proof more that the bad shape of the American Left is not only the result of unfavorable outside conditions, but also of the ineptitude of its confused "teachers."

A. Binder

Reach GIs in Ohio

Yellow Springs, Ohio

Forty-two people marched and leafleted on Nov. 5 in Fairborn, Ohio, site of Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, in spite of freezing temperatures, sleet and snow. The marchers, largely from nearby Antioch College, distributed a leaflet giving the facts on the Fort Hood Three case, after marching through Fairborn to the main gate of WPAFB. Slogans included "Free the Fort Hood 3"; "Free GI Political Prisoners"; and "Bring the Troops Home Now."

In spite of elaborate security precautions at the base, some leaflets reached enlisted men.

On Tuesday, Nov. 9, leaflets were passed out at polls in Dayton, Ohio, stressing effects of the war on Americans and Vietnamese and pointing out that the only way to vote against the war was to abstain from voting, as both parties on the ballot support the war.

Patti Wadsworth

Idea for Cartoon

Lexington, Mass.

The plaintive tone with which U.S. military leaders declare their desire to "negotiate" with their Vietnamese victims if those victims will first stop "being aggressive," suggests a subject for an effective cartoon:

A shabby, determined-looking Negro, bloody and battered, struggling to his feet before a brutal giant armed with a spiked club. They are surrounded by a group of men who look as though they would like to protest, but don't quite dare. The giant is appealing to them: "I don't want to hit him, but he keeps on getting up!"

The artist could easily identify the two principal characters as VIETNAM and the UNITED STATES. The onlookers are the rest of the capitalist world.

The civil rights implications are obvious and appropriate.

Michael W. Morrison

Takes Dim View

New York, N.Y.

You may be interested in the following letter which I received from Eric Hass, editor of the *Weekly People*:

"Dear Sir: I am returning the poetry you submitted for publication in the *Weekly People*, herewith. I have just read an advertisement in the *National Guardian* in which your name is listed among those who support the candidate for Governor of New York of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party. Your endorsement of this anti-Marxist outfit makes you non persona grata [sic] with the Marxian Socialist Labor Party. Yours for bona fide socialism."

Antoni Gronowicz

It Was Reported in the Press

Doing Nicely — All is not utter despair for ex-Gov. Brown of California. He retires on a state pension of \$21,528 a year for life, plus cost-of-living increases.

That Explains That — A Nov. 17 *New York Times* story from Mississippi reported that Roy Wilkins of the NAACP was surprisingly well received by white officials during a tour of Mississippi. In Canton, scene of violent racist outbreaks, the mayor attended a rally for Wilkins and joined in singing "We Shall Overcome." Later in the story it explained: "At several places where he spoke, Mr. Wilkins lashed out at 'black power' . . ."

Premature — The U.S. Navy denied an Oakland *Tribune* story that an Air Force bomber accidentally dropped a hydrogen bomb in Puerto Rican waters last August. The Navy said the bomb was just a practice one without nuclear material. It had been intended for the Island of Vieques, a Puerto Rican island taken over by the U.S. military, but had fallen "prematurely."

Takes Off — Enrique Gomez, the sole survivor when his boat sank en route from Cuba to Miami, walked out of a Miami hospital and vanished into thin air, according to authorities. Gomez was illegally ferrying 42 Cubans to Miami when Hurricane Inez hit. All 42 passengers and three crew members perished. A veteran "refugee runner," Gomez collected a reported \$1,000 a head for his service. Officials said his disappearance stymies a slated probe.

Tough-Situation Dep't — Jack Strauss, president of Macy's, is disappointed because customer service isn't all it could be. He says the problem "boils down to a matter of attitude of the sales person . . . not enough people seem to derive satisfaction from serving the customer." This is particularly astonishing since many of the sales people get a good dollar

and a half an hour for doing so.

Hear, Hear! — A letter to the St. Petersburg *Times* commented on a reprint of a *New York Times* column by James Reston in which Reston said that Johnson wanted peace in Vietnam but the problem was the Russians and Chinese didn't believe it. The letter writer said, "I don't believe it either. The size of our investments in Southeast Asia, seaports, airfields, warehouses, branch banks, etc., indicate that we are there to stay and exploit economically as we do in Latin America. And President Johnson's front-page, Texas-style pleas for peace are just as phony as everything else he told us about Vietnam."

Think You've Heard Everything? — We hope Martin Luther King isn't upset, but according to UPI, Dr. Sterling Brown, president of the National Conference of

Christians and Jews, opined that "the civil-rights movement was faltering because it had put its faith in naked power, and had neglected the technique of brotherhood."

The Florida Way — The Dade County public defender announced in Miami that from now on poor people who use his service will owe for it. A recent Supreme Court ruling requires that free legal defense be provided indigents in criminal cases. From now on, in Dade County, a fee will be set for such defense and if the defendant later comes into money, legal proceedings will be instituted to collect. He said some cases could run into thousands of dollars.

Utilitarian — Tiffany's offers a set of earrings with detachable emerald pendants. An even \$64,000.

—Harry Ring

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N.Y. Times Slanders War Crimes Tribunal

A smear campaign to discredit the International War Crimes Tribunal being organized by Bertrand Russell was launched by the *New York Times* in its main editorial column, Nov. 21. "The grotesque plan for an 'International War Crimes Tribunal' to 'try' President Johnson for his Vietnam policies," the *New York Times* states, "is running into heavy weather as it deserves."

The reference is to the fact that four of the African leaders who had been sponsors of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation have withdrawn — undoubtedly under heavy pressure from Washington. The *New York Times* quotes one of these to "prove" that the Tribunal is resorting to "trickery and dishonesty."

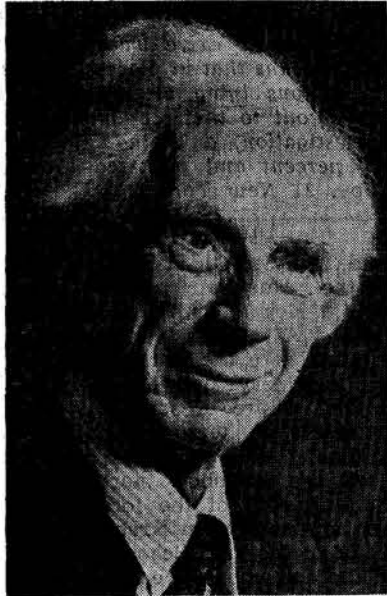
"The men promoting this travesty in the name of Lord Russell have already convicted the United States in documents issued at a London press conference," the *New York Times* declares. "It is the rankst hypocrisy to pretend that a 'Tribunal' chosen by such men could deliver an 'impartial judgment.'"

"Propaganda"

"Such a 'Tribunal' will be treated for what it is — a propaganda demonstration. It will have no standing at law and no respectable antecedent, however much its sponsors liken it to the Nuremberg trials of Nazi leaders or the Dewey Commission on Stalin's purge trials in the mid-nineteen-thirties."

In order to make this slander stick, the *New York Times* assiduously avoids mentioning any of the noted international authors, scholars and politicians who are taking part in the Tribunal investigation. These include Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Isaac Deutscher and Lázaro Cárdenas.

Instead, they imply the Tribunal consists of Lord Russell, who is "being used for other people's pur-



Bertrand Russell

poses," and "the fanatical anti-American, Ralph Schoneman," the secretary of the Russell Foundation, who is making Russell into "a mere stooge of a bitter propagandist." Russell, according to the *New York Times*, was "led on" to read a statement at the recent Tribunal press conference, and "led away without taking questions."

It is only because the American press as a whole, and the *New York Times* notably, have been servilely following Washington's command to keep silent on the War Crimes Tribunal, that the *New York Times* could conceivably attempt to portray Lord Russell as a dottering old stooge, and the supporters of the Tribunal as fanatics.

Russell Answers

It is absolutely true that the War Crimes Tribunal has already "taken sides" on the question of the U.S. barbarism in Vietnam — and so have the serious humanitarian masses of the world. The position could not have been put more eloquently than by Bertrand Russell himself in a letter to Philip Toynbee on the question published in the Oct. 21 *New Statesman*:

"Why should we equivocate about the monstrous injustice involved in the U.S. crime against a small people?" Russell asks. "Why should the Jews, shovelled into gas chambers, suffer also the disgraceful moral ambivalence of those who sought justification for Nazi barbarism?"

Not Two Sides

"There are not two sides in Vietnam. José Martí said: 'He who witnesses a crime in silence, commits it.' 'We,' said Eichmann, 'only provide the lorries.' Martí and Eichmann man the barricades of a moral divide, and between them such even as Mr. Philip Toynbee must choose. Vietnam is an acid test for this generation of Western intellectuals."

This stand will in no way impair the ability of the Tribunal to make a solemn inquiry into the Vietnam war, and establish the facts about that war. The *New York Times*, if it is really worried that the Tribunal will be "one-sided," should urge the U.S. government to accept the Tribunal's invitation to send representatives to the Tribunal to present the government's "side."

"It is demonstrable that many of the obstacles to change which have been attributed to human nature are in fact due to the inertia of institutions and to the voluntary desire of powerful classes to maintain the existing status." —John Dewey.

Cleveland Authorities Seek To Frame-Up Black Militants

By Eric Reinthaler

CLEVELAND — The Cuyahoga County Grand Jury returned indictments against eight Negro youths Nov. 16 on charges ranging from assault to firebombing. Several of those indicted have been prominently associated with the J"FK (Jomo Freedom Kenyatta) House, a neighborhood youth center organized by black militants.

Among the eight is Harlell Jones, a J"FK House leader who had been fired from his job as a city employe earlier this year. Jones had been before an earlier County Grand Jury immediately after the Hough area ghetto outbreak in July. That Grand Jury failed to return any indictments, but did issue a whitewash report absolving the city administration and police from any responsibility for the Hough outbreak. Instead, the County Grand Jury attempted to blame "outside agitators" for the ghetto uprising.

Also Indicted

Another Negro indicted was Philip Morris, also one of the youth leaders of the J"FK group.

Immediately after the earlier Grand Jury whitewash report, local civil-rights organizations, spearheaded by CORE, organized a "citizens grand jury" to hold public hearings on conditions and problems in Hough. Jones and a number of others associated with J"FK activities testified before this citizens group and detailed police misconduct before and dur-



ing the Hough events. Last month, the citizens grand jury released their report on Hough, challenging the County Grand Jury whitewash, detailing conditions of ghetto life in Hough and placing the responsibility in large measure on the city administration and the police department.

Each of the eight indicted that have been arrested to date have had bond set at \$8,000.00. So far, Harlell Jones is the only one who has been released on bond because of difficulty in securing bail-bond funds. Jones is represented by Attorneys Rodney Coleman and Harold Weinstein. Coleman, a Negro lawyer, has represented defendants in various local-civil-rights cases in the past in behalf of CORE, NAACP and other

groups. Weinstein is one of a number from Cleveland's civil-liberties community who protested the closing of the J"FK center by the city health department this summer.

Shortly after his release on bond Thursday, Jones stated: "The power structure is trying to make me a scapegoat because I've been talking publicly all over Cleveland, in and out of the ghetto, about Hough problems and who is responsible for them. This arrest has only encouraged me to try to explain to more and more people that this system with its newspapers, police and courts, is trying to do a job on myself and other black militants. The press, through its headline scare tactics, is putting us in the position of being guilty until proven innocent. Just this week, 12 years after the newspapers here in Cleveland 'convicted' Sam Sheppard of murder, Dr. Sam was finally found innocent. People are getting fed up with trials by newspaper."

Election Leaflets

Jones pointed out that on election day, he and several of the others arrested together with over 100 black youth picketed at various polling places and distributed leaflets urging voters not to support "power structure" and "Uncle Tom" candidates.

"While in the county jail," Jones added, "I met six black youths, all of whom were jailed for refusing to go to Vietnam. Black men don't want to fight in Vietnam. They don't want to fight a white man's war."

The press hysteria around the indictments was added to by a departure from usual arrest procedures after the return of an indictment. The arrest of Jones, at his present place of employment, was made personally by the chief of the Cleveland police department subversive squad, Sgt. John Ungvary.

U.S. 'Advisers' in Thailand Playing Stepped-Up Role

Participation of U.S. military "advisers" in anti-guerrilla combat in Thailand is escalating in a way that is strikingly similar to the development of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

A Nov. 19 AP dispatch from Bangkok, Thailand, revealed that U.S. helicopters and "advisers" are helping the Thai government battle a "Communist-led" guerrilla force. Of course, as was the case in Vietnam, the report hastily adds that the "advisers" are helping "without getting involved in actual fighting."

Based on anonymous "reliable information," the AP dispatch said that American support for the Thai government forces has been going on for some time and that Americans are in the field as battalion "advisers." "Advisers" sometimes go along with government forces seeking out guerrillas in the country's northeast region.

The unnamed "informants" also disclosed that American-piloted helicopters are air-lifting Thai counter-insurgency forces into battle.

Tricky Reds

"When we have beaten the Army of north Vietnam and the main-force battalions of the Viet Cong, we have simply won the opportunity to get at the heart of the matter, which is more than 150,000 terrorist guerrillas highly organized throughout the country and looking exactly like civilians." Henry Cabot Lodge, Nov. 21, 1966.

It had previously been reported that U.S. "advisers" are also training Thai government forces.

During Johnson's Southeast Asian tour, the Thai monarchy organized a splendid reception for him. In return, it was announced that U.S. military aid to Thailand would be increased by a whopping 50 percent.

Expressing the growing fear that Thailand may become another Vietnam, *New York Post* correspondent Pete Hamill wrote from Bangkok, Oct. 29:

"The U.S. now has 32,000 fighting men in Thailand, which is 9,000 more than we had in south Vietnam in January, 1965. Some 80 percent of all the bombing of north Vietnam and the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos comes from six Thai bases. We have Special Forces men here training the Thais in guerrilla warfare. We are building a giant \$500,000,000 sea-air base at Sattahip with a landing strip that will accommodate B-52s. We have already poured more than a billion dollars in economic and military aid into the country, and are donating more at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year."

Another way in which Thailand may fit into Johnson's pattern of escalation in Southeast Asia was pointed to by Mohammed Hasenein Heikel, influential editor of the Cairo *El Abram*, and confidant of President Nasser. He declared on Oct. 28 that he had received information that the U.S. is making "nuclear preparations" in Thailand. This, he said, is ostensibly aimed at "detering" the People's Republic of China from offering more vigorous backing to the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

U.S. Army Service Rejected by Many Puerto Rican Youth

Declarations of opposition to being drafted for service in the U.S. armed forces and being sent to Vietnam are piling up in Puerto Rico.

The Oct. 30 issue of *Claridad*, the weekly publication of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, listed the names of more than 600 who have signed a statement that they will not serve in the "armed forces of the United States under any circumstances."

Through this action, the statement said, the signers expressed their repudiation of "the tyrannical law of compulsory military service, which, as part of the colonial subjugation of our country, North American imperialism imposes on Puerto Rican youth."

"We affirm in addition," continues the statement, "our solidarity with and support for the heroic struggle which the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam is waging for national independence, neutrality, peace and national sovereignty."

"As evidence of our determination, we are ready to face all the consequences, sustained by the knowledge that our stand is completely principled and morally justified."

Claridad reports that many others are adding their signatures.

Liberation Fight In Mozambique Gains Ground

The guerrilla fighters struggling against Portuguese imperialism in Mozambique report that they have made considerable gains in the past two years.

Since September, 1964, FRELIMO [Frente de Libertação de Moçambique — Mozambique Liberation Front] has extended its activities from a few districts until they now cover two provinces and parts of two others. From barely "a couple of hundred well-trained, poorly-equipped guerrillas," the organization declares, the fighting force has grown "to more than 7,000 well-trained, thoroughly politicized and fairly well-equipped freedom fighters."

The semi-liberated areas include a population of more than 800,000 Mozambicans. In the conduct of affairs pertaining to government, they now recognize FRELIMO instead of the Portuguese officials.

When the struggle began, "FRELIMO's main preoccupation was to train its many thousands of militants in clandestine political work" and to establish military units in as many parts of Mozambique as possible. Today, the organization "must also worry about the day-to-day affairs of the civilian population, especially in liberated areas of the country, where hundreds of thousands of the African people look to the organization for all services normally provided by a government."