

# Racist Oppression Ignited L.A. Ghetto

## THE MILITANT

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### Anti-Jim-Crow Outburst Hits Chicago's West Side

By Milton Tucker

CHICAGO, Aug. 15 — Hard on the heels of the Los Angeles outbreak, a section of this city's West Side Negro ghetto exploded this week with street fighting, call up of the National Guard and mass arrests (including that of the present reporter.)

The impetus for the Chicago eruption was the death of Miss Mae Williams, a Negro, in a freak accident Aug. 12. A hook-and-ladder fire truck, having no back driver — he was reportedly taking a shower! — sped around a corner in response to a fire alarm.

The back portion of the truck went briefly out of control, hit a street lamp post which struck Miss Williams in the head while she was standing on the corner talking with a friend and preparing to go to work in a nearby restaurant.

The all-white fire station, located on the corner of Wilcox and Pulaski in the heart of the black ghetto, had already come to symbolize many of the grievances Negroes feel towards the power structure that runs the city. The firemen's attitude was always "so what if your house is burning."

Miss Williams' death triggered demonstrations on Thursday and Friday, and by Friday night 24 persons had been reported injured when hundreds of cops were sent in to stop the demonstrations.

When I arrived on the scene Friday night, the first act of protest I witnessed was the destruction of a police car. First all the windows and top light were smashed. Next the motor was mangled. Then it was set afire. Now and then there were scattered shouts of approval.

#### How GIs in Saigon See Los Angeles

A New York Herald Tribune correspondent reported some comments of Negro GIs in Saigon about Los Angeles. One said: "How can you come over here and say to people, we're going to liberate you, when you got to go out in the streets and riot to liberate yourselves." Another added: "Lemuel Penn, what about him? He was a Lt. Colonel and he's coming home from camp in Georgia and the Ku Klux Klan shot him. Nobody do anything about it. They got us over here defending Georgia. Next thing you know, they'll have us fighting for South Africa."

The erupting area was rapidly being sealed off by the cops. This was causing a traffic jam. Some drivers came through the area hoping to avoid the jam. For the white drivers who did this, it proved to be a costly and sometimes bloody mistake. Cars occupied by whites were the target of stones, cans, bottles, and a variety of other missiles.

Two white men were driving through and sensed a trap. They attempted to get away but crashed their car into another car parked near the corner. The Negroes caught both of them and began beating them. I strongly feel the only thing that saved them was the shooting into the air by an off-duty black cop.

I witnessed a Negro youth accosted by a white cop. The cop asked him where he was going and the Negro replied, "Home." Next the cop wanted to know his age and see his identification. The Negro youth apologetically explained he had lost his wallet with his identification. The cop arrested him.

Another man had just come home from work and was getting out of his car. As he was getting out they asked him where he was going. "Home," he replied. They requested his identification, but as he began to get it, they told him he was going with them. And while shoving him into the car, they slammed the door on his hand, breaking two fingers.

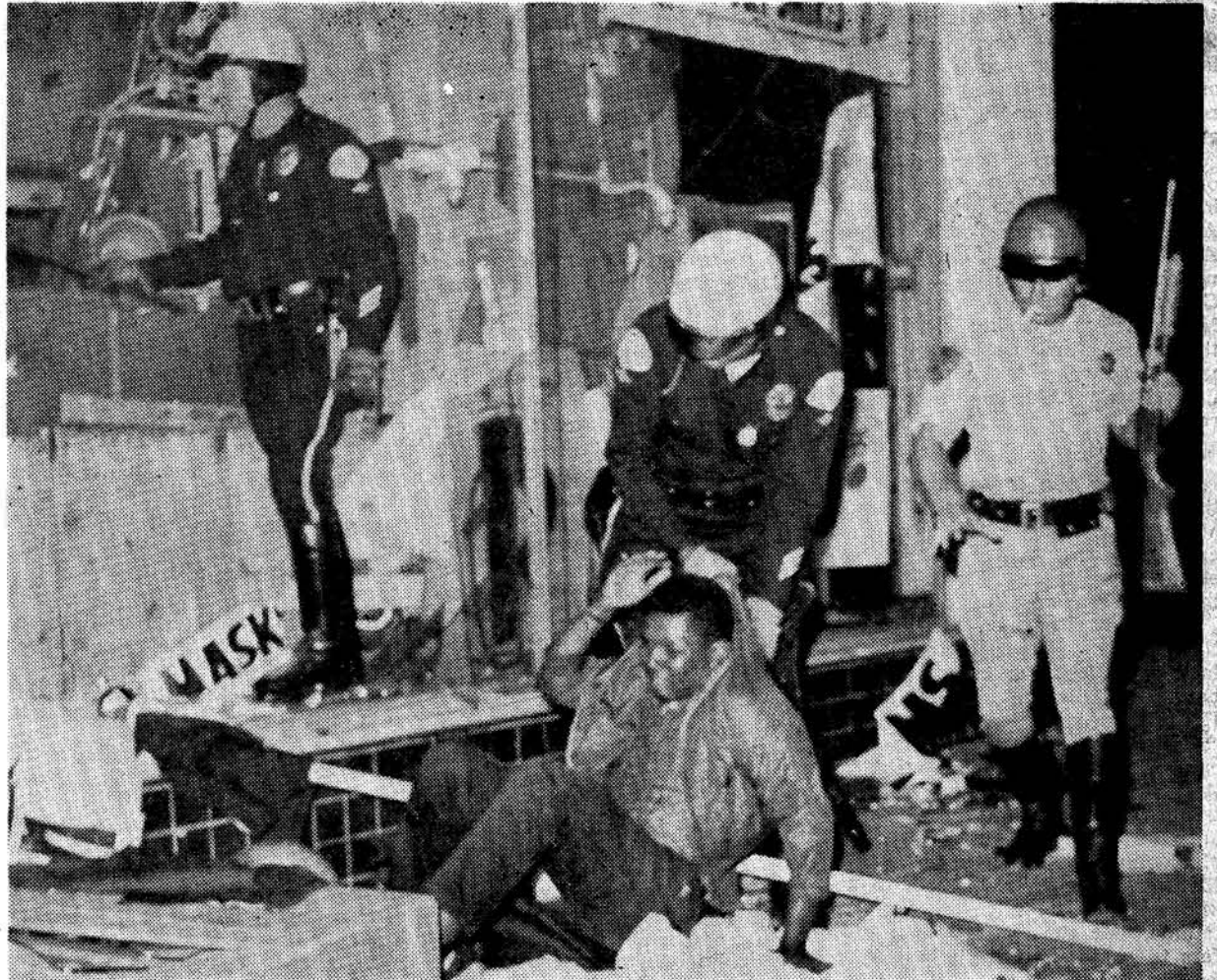
I was arrested when I was told to move and didn't do so quickly enough. (That's standard treatment for black people here.) In jail, we were held incommunicado. During a 15-hour period I received one sandwich and a cup of coffee. That was the average menu.

We were so crowded in the cell that the only real space was where we placed our feet. There were more than 90 men in an area that should accommodate half that number. There were two other similarly crowded cells on our floor, alone.

We still didn't know how many people had been arrested. I asked a Negro district attorney, Saturday afternoon, how many of us were in jail. "Oh, about fifteen hundred," he answered.

"Fifteen hundred!" I said. "I'm not talking about Los Angeles. I'm talking about Chicago."

He went on to say that more than three jails were full, and he may have been right. I had counted more than 150 on my floor alone, although the newspapers maintained that only 169 people were arrested for the entire three-day period!



**RACIST COPS AT WORK.** Los Angeles cops haul off resident of Watts area during outbreak there. City authorities met the outbreak in the way they have always dealt with the ghetto — with massive, brutal police repressions.

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 17 — The social explosion which rocked this city's black ghetto for nearly a week was elemental in its fury and revolutionary in its implications.

The biggest uprising of U.S. Negroes in the Twentieth Century, it was ignited by unendurable white racist oppression.

Touched off by the strong-arm methods of two cops arresting a

21-year-old youth on charges of alleged drunken driving, the outbreak was met by savage police repression. Of the 33 reported dead, 29 are black people, victims of trigger-happy cops and national guardsmen. So far, 3,352 residents of the ghetto have been jailed and are being held in punitively high bail.

The fires set off during the outbreak have left many Negroes homeless. Yet despite the losses and the bloody police attack there was a mixture of exultation in the rage that enveloped the ghetto. It was as though the social explosion had brought a great sense of release to a long pent-up people.

One participant told me: "The people have made up their minds — If I'm killed, so what. I have nothing to live for anyway. Nobody who lives here says stop what's going on. They've decided it's the only way we'll be listened to."

The mood of rebellion is expressed in the hipster slogan popularized in recent months by a local disc jockey, "Burn, baby, burn!"

Watts has the aspects of an oppressed colonial people in revolt. They are in rebellion against the forces that oppress them.

And the oppression is deep. It is a racial oppression that subjects black people to daily humiliation by racist-minded whites. It is the oppression of grinding poverty. The plight of the Los Angeles black community is summed up in a single statistic: They comprise only nine per cent of the population but are the recipients of 50 per cent of the starvation-level relief budget.

For them the symbols of oppression are the rent-gouging landlord, the chiseling shopkeeper and — above all — the foul-mouthed, racist cop, ever quick to reach for his billy club or gun.

The rebellion focused against  
(Continued on Page 3)

### Malcolm X Predicted Outbreaks Inevitable

Before his death, Malcolm X predicted social explosions in the black ghettos of America like the one in Los Angeles. He understood what a completely racist society we live in and how this was building up an irrepressible fury in the ghettos.

Speaking at the Militant Labor Forum in New York May 28, 1964 on the subject of the "Blood

Brothers," he declared:

"The same conditions that prevailed in Algeria that forced the people, the noble people of Algeria, to resort eventually to the terrorist-type tactics that were necessary to get the monkey off their backs, those same conditions prevail today in America in every Negro community . . .

"The next thing you'll see here in America — and please don't blame it on me when you see it — you will see the same things that have taken place among other people on this earth whose position was parallel to the 22 million Afro-Americans in this country . . .

"You'll see terrorism that will terrify you; and if you don't think you'll see it you're trying to blind yourself to the historic development of everything that's taking place on this earth today. You'll see other things.

"Why will you see them? Because . . . it's impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg. A chicken just doesn't have [it] within its system to produce a duck egg . . . The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system — this economic system, this political system, this system, period — it's impossible for this system as it stands to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country."



Malcolm X



# Why Isn't Daily Press Interested in Who Killed Malcolm X?

By George Breitman

DETROIT, Aug. 14 — In two previous articles I raised questions about the role of the New York police in the assassination of Malcolm X last Feb. 21, and about the indifference of the New York daily press. I am glad to see that I'm not the only one raising questions.

Nat Hentoff, who reviews the press for the New York *Village Voice*, notes in its July 15 issue that "there has been a curious lack of curiosity among the press as to the progress the police have made in investigating the murder and those who hired the guns."

Hentoff reports that a number of questions about the police handling of the case are asked by Alex Haley in his epilogue to *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, which is soon to be published by Grove Press. He also refers to Malcolm's "increasing doubts in the days before the assassination that if he were to be murdered, the (Black) Muslims would be responsible."

### Recent Silence

"Consider the huge press play the assassination received," Hentoff says. "Consider the total silence in recent months. Isn't any editor or reporter at least mildly interested in pursuing the story?"

Apparently not, so far as the New York dailies go. Their curious lack of curiosity and total silence have remained unchanged since Hentoff tried to prod them.

The only response I have seen came from the Harlem weekly, *Amsterdam News*, which printed an article by Les Matthews on July 31 under the title of "Malcolm X Murder Is Unsolved." Matthews recounts some well-known facts about the three men indicted for the murder, and offers the opinion that "it is doubtful if the court has a case against the three suspects."

But Matthews, unlike the reporters on the big daily papers, at least made inquiries at the office of the District Attorney, who is supposed to prosecute murderers. And he got some statements from the wives of two Black Muslims being held for the murder, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson.

Matthews was told that the grand jury indicted them, along with Talmadge Hayer, "after an investigation by Assistant D.A. Herbert Stein." A spokesman for District Attorney Frank Hogan told the *Amsterdam News* "that Stein is no longer connected with

the case and that no Assistant D.A. is currently assigned to it. No date has been set for the trial."

The impression left by Matthew's article is that the D.A.'s office no longer seems much concerned about solving the Malcolm X case, if it ever was. Which puts it in the same category as the police department.

Let us return to the role of the police.

Less than two hours after Malcolm was shot down on Feb. 21, top police officials handed down the line that the killing was the result of a feud between the Black Muslims and Malcolm's movement; that is, the killers were Black Muslims or their agents.

How could they have decided this so fast? How could they be so sure of it that they made no efforts to seek the killers in other quarters?

At the moment of their announcement, they had two men in custody as suspects. One was Talmadge Hayer and the other was an unidentified "second" man — both of whom had been rescued by the police from members of the crowd who thought they were part of the murder gang.

At that moment, the police said they had no evidence that Hayer was a Black Muslim or connected with them, and they have not produced any such evidence since that time. The police have never said the "second" man was a Black Muslim; in fact, they have never said anything about him; with their arrangement, he just disappeared from sight.

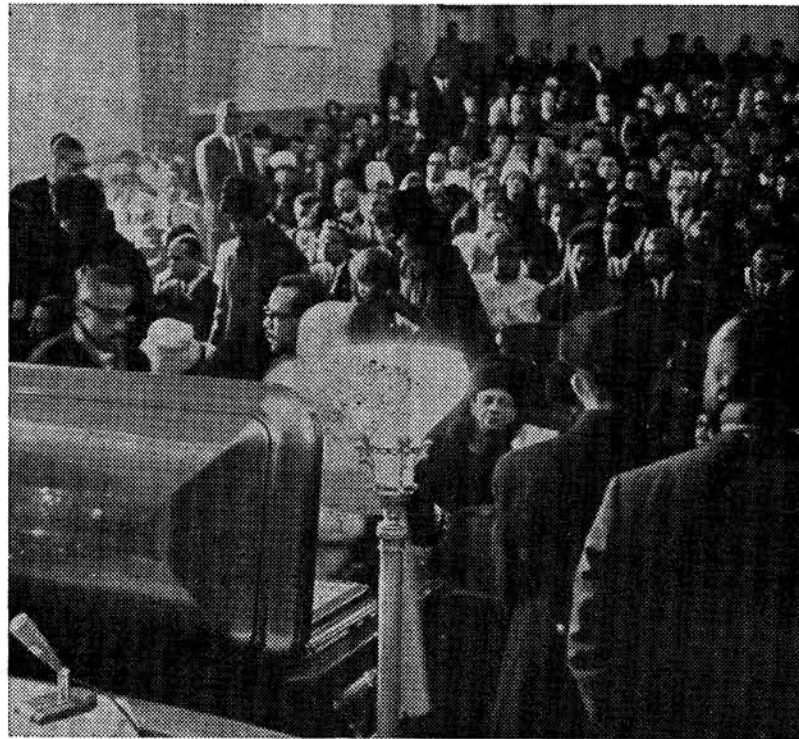
So what evidence did they have for pointing to the Black Muslims so conclusively that they never bothered to investigate any other possibilities?

### Many Possibilities

Malcolm had many enemies besides the Black Muslim leadership. An unbiased investigation would consider all the possibilities. To have made that kind of investigation, the police would have had to probe the activities of the FBI, the CIA and themselves — all of whom were hostile to Malcolm and not at all unhappy about his murder.

Could this be the reason why they chose to concentrate their investigation on the Black Muslims, and why after a few days they picked up two well-known Black Muslims and indicted them, along with Hayer, for the murder?

Butler and Johnson are well-known Black Muslims, I repeat. In January they and a third man



Scene at Malcolm X's funeral.

were arrested after an argument with an ex-Muslim, Benjamin Brown, that ended in the shooting of Brown. Butler and Johnson were out on bail on first-degree assault charges in that case at the time of the Malcolm murder.

Neither was arrested at the scene or the time of the Malcolm killing. Butler was arrested at his home five days later, on Feb. 26. Johnson was arrested at his home five days after that, on March 3.

The detective's affidavit on which Butler was arrested charged that he, "acting in concert with another previously arrested . . . did assault one Malcolm X Little with guns." The detective's affidavit against Johnson charged that he, "acting in concert with two other males previously arrested . . . did assault one Malcolm X Little with lethal weapons." The grand jury indictment on March 10 charged them and Hayer with willfully killing Malcolm "with a shotgun and pistols."

Now I don't know if Butler or Johnson had any connection with the murder of Malcolm. I don't know if they had anything to do with its planning. But the charges against them are not that they were connected, etc. The charges are quite specific — that they assaulted Malcolm with weapons, which would mean they had to be in the Audubon Ballroom. Those

charges I can only greet with considerable skepticism.

My skepticism is not based on the fact that their wives and friends testify they were both at home at the time of the murder. I have no way of judging the validity of the testimony of the wives and friends. My skepticism is based on something else.

As I said in my first article, people entering the Audubon on the afternoon of Feb. 21 were not searched, but they were closely scrutinized by Malcolm's assistants and guards.

I find it incredible that Butler and Johnson could have gotten into that meeting.

### Well Known Figures

They were well-known and leading figures in the New York mosque of the Black Muslims. This means that they were well-known to Malcolm's assistants, who had worked side by side with Butler and Johnson less than one year before the assassination.

If Hubert Humphrey was standing at the door to a Cabinet meeting and watching who entered, would Dean Rusk and Robert McNamara be able to walk past him without his knowing they were going in?

It is just as unlikely that Butler and Johnson could have got into the Audubon meeting without being recognized by Malcolm's assistants, and stopped.

Is it any wonder that half a year after the assassination the District Attorney's office considers the case against Butler and Johnson so weak that it doesn't even have an Assistant D.A. assigned to it any more?

There is another aspect of the case that cries out for investigation.

On Feb. 9, or 12 days before he

was killed, Malcolm arrived in France to speak at a meeting to which he had been invited. He had spoken in Paris the previous November without incident. But this time he was banned as "undesirable."

Malcolm assumed, and said, that the French authorities had excluded him because they feared and disliked his role in organizing Afro-Americans and African groups in Paris.

But I have heard — third-hand — that after the assassination Malcolm's associates expressed the belief that the reason for his being excluded was that the French government thought he might be assassinated on French soil, and did not want to bear the onus for such a scandal.

### A Rumor

I stress this is "third-hand"; it is unverified, a rumor. But it seems to me the kind of rumor that deserves serious follow-up. France does not often bar American citizens whose papers are in order, and it tolerates a considerable variety of political activity up to a certain point. Malcolm's assumption about the reason for his being banned could be wrong.

On the other hand, if the rumor is true, then further light might be cast on the identity of the killers by discovering why the French authorities believed Malcolm might be killed while in Paris; who gave them reason to believe it; if they were actually told that the Black Muslims have the resources to organize a murder in France, etc.

The French government might not cooperate with an investigation of such questions, and if it did cooperate its answers might not add anything to present knowledge about the murder. But as Nat Hentoff asked, "Isn't any editor or reporter at least mildly interested in pursuing the story?" And if not, why not?

(George Breitman's two previous articles on the Malcolm X murder case appeared in our July 12 and Aug. 9 issues.)

## LEAFLET TO MISS. NEGROES

# "This Is Not Your War"

By Dick Roberts

At the Assembly of Unrepresented People in Washington I talked with Joe Martin, one of the authors of the leaflet which was distributed in McComb, Miss., urging black people not to fight in Vietnam. The leaflet caused a press furor after it was reprinted in the newsletter of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Now 22, Joe has been active in the Mississippi freedom struggle for the past four years. He told me that part of the idea for

the leaflet came from veterans of the Korean war in McComb. "They told us," Joe said, "how when they had been fighting in Korea the Korean people had told them, 'Go home, black man, this is not your war.'"

"That's the feeling in the community today," Joe said. "It's not our war."

He added: "Then when John Shaw from McComb was killed in Vietnam, after being in the service only six months — and they were claiming he was trained in special guerrilla service — it really came home to us how the black man was being used."

Joe said they were going to Chicago and New York to introduce the leaflet all over. He gave me a copy of it. It reads:

"Here are five reasons why Negroes should not be in any war fighting for America:

"1. No Mississippi Negroes should be fighting in Vietnam for the white man's freedom until all the Negro people are free in Mississippi.

"2. Negro boys should not honor the draft here in Mississippi. Mothers should encourage their sons not to go.

"3. We will gain respect and dignity as a race only by forcing the United States government and the Mississippi government to come with guns, dogs and trucks to take our sons away to fight and be killed protecting Miss., Ala., Ga., and La.

"4. No one has a right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other colored people in Santo Domingo and Vietnam so that the white American can get richer. We will be looked upon as traitors by all the colored people of the world if the Negro people continue to fight and die without a cause.

"5. Last week a white soldier from New Jersey was discharged from the Army because he refused to fight in Vietnam. He went on a hunger strike. Negro boys can do the same thing. We can write and ask our sons if they know what they are fighting for. If he answers Freedom, tell him that's what we are fighting for here in Mississippi. And if he says Democracy, tell him the truth — we don't know anything about Communism, Socialism, and all that, but we do know that Negroes have caught hell here under this American Democracy."

## Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES  
THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his biweekly radio commentary, Tues., Aug. 31, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., Sept. 1, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK  
BEHIND THE LOS ANGELES GHETTO REVOLT. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, SWP candidate for mayor of New York. Fri., Aug. 27, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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# An L.A. Ghetto Resident's View of the Outbreak

By Ben Carpenter

[The following article was received from a resident of the Los Angeles ghetto where the outbreak took place. It was accompanied by a letter which said:

"I have written this report as a result of watching personally the end results of the frustrations that have been accumulating in Los Angeles with a rumbling the city has never known before. Even to be a bystander and witness the unrest, the anxiety and the restlessness is really a memory that will never be forgotten. I never realized that the point of no return would be reached with such chaotic results. But it is wise to realize that this was overdue, but what else would you expect from people who are confined in a prison with no escape and refuge from abuse?"

"I have taken the opportunity to write this, not from a reporter's viewpoint but as a member, a product of this environment, to let you know the personal outlook that is prevalent in Los Angeles. I hope that you see fit to publish this, even if you see fit to disagree with it in many respects, simply because I want to let someone know that DISCONTENT is a terrible, terrible thing—when you let it go too long unnoticed."]

The City of Los Angeles resembles the siege of Atlanta in some respects. Here we are in the twentieth century, trying desperately to keep from defeating ourselves and look what we have here. Outright civil disobedience among the citizens of a country that is fighting in Vietnam for the peace of yellow people and one that tries to spread good will and charity at home among the more unfortunate countries. And there is no peace among the black people who have been living in this land of the free and home of the brave for over 300 years.

### Cause of Discontent

Why is this? Why this raging discontent among the black people in Los Angeles? I wonder if all those liberal-minded thinkers and do-gooders will accept the burden of this question?

What is happening in this city is what happens in any period of change. It is forced because change is always forced. It has to be that way, otherwise there would be no change. I do not have to say that the founding fathers of this great land of liberty and pursuit of happiness went about changing things through revolution — and it was not a nonviolent revolution. No one has time to sing when he's

fighting. This same type of revolution went on in England, France, Ireland, Ethiopia, Africa, and it is going on in America.

It is time to stop trying to find alibis and try to get to the bottom of all this. What is it, why is it, and where does it end and for what results? We are living in a dynamic society and because of this we cannot expect 20,500,000 people just to sit by and let themselves be denied human rights. This is not right and it is not what modern man is going to let happen.

### Changes Wanted

Every society faces change, and it is not always peaceful because both sides want to prove that change can and cannot take place. The bloody events in the Los Angeles Negro ghetto is just an indication of what has taken place in our erratic system of "equality." So many people fail to admit this and close their eyes and mind to the reality that the black man is mad, mad, MAD — and he isn't fooling when he shouts "I want some changes made!"

In this country the poverty belt is mostly black, and it extends for miles and miles. Many millions of black people are strapped in this eternal belt of want. They are humiliated and treated like untouchables and they are constantly standing on the brink of self-destruction because the ghetto is frustrating. This is a problem, a social catastrophe that is creeping into decay and pulling democracy down to its knees. What is happening here is the culmination of a discontent that has erupted like a volcano spitting its rage out into the streets — like a boiling hot black hell fire that is destroying everything in its path.

Who is to blame? Yes, who is really to blame? Two weeks ago a young Negro woman was raped by a police officer while another officer acted as lookout. This eruption comes after many numerous brutalities that have built themselves up and up until they reached a pressure point and exploded. What do we have here but outright revolution — American against American. And it is a shame, because the men who had a chance to curtail this — yes, they had a chance to curtail this months ago — let it go by the way-side. And this is what you have — chaotic unrest and anarchy and anything else Americans hate to talk about. They could have stopped it. They are the ones to blame, not the leaderless rioters.

## WHY WATTS EXPLODED

# Interview with L.A. Rights Fighter

By Fred Halstead

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 15 — This afternoon I had an interview on the subject of the uprising in the black community here with Frank Greenwood, chairman of the Los Angeles Afro-American Cultural Association. Mr. Greenwood is the director of a touring group of actors and is founder of an Afro-American youth group called the Toussaint L'Ouverture drill club which, he says, is designed "to teach the kids drill and bearing and instill in them the pride and dignity of being black."

The interview took place in Mr. Greenwood's home on the west side of town, just within the curfew area established yesterday by the police and national guard. As I drove into the area, my car was stopped at a check point by helmeted policemen carrying shot-guns. They asked my destination, looked the car over, and waved me on.

This was not a central area of the outbursts, and I noticed only two stores with their fronts broken out — a hardware store and a radio shop.

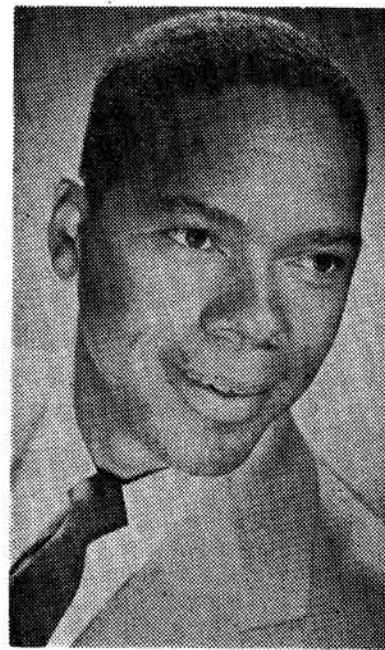
### Q. What's your opinion of Police Chief Parker?

A. He's obtuse. He's not only a racist but a stupid racist. This thing has been building up for at least 20 years, but Parker has never concerned himself with the causes. He's definitely not the man for the job.

### Q. What did cause the uprising?

A. Three hundred years of oppression of the black man in America — unemployment, police brutality, white supremacy, poor housing, over-all white oppression of the black man in America. It's not just local conditions, but general resentment at such things as the failure to bring freedom to the South while they send troops off to Vietnam. The cops are a target. They're on their good behavior around here today, you notice.

A black person on Central Avenue [a major area of the uprising] feels oppressed by most white people in America, with damn few exceptions. A white employer exploits him, the white labor unions discriminate against him. The white liberals are all talk. The whites who go into that community do so as exploiters. The white reporters speak from a racist point of view — for example, they blame this on the heat, as if they were dealing with wild animals. The schools teach white history. The black man, woman or child looks at TV and, with rare exceptions, sees Caucasians — the ads have all Caucasians. It's all those things.



Frank Greenwood

Even those, like me, who are a little better off — I don't work for whites; I have a good house — are fed up. I wanted to go swimming with a friend who lives in Torrance in an apartment house with a swimming pool. But he couldn't get permission. It would cause trouble, they told him, to have a Negro swim in a Torrance pool.

The black man on Central Avenue thinks in terms of black versus white, and it's based on living reality.

### Q. What about Rev. Martin L. King's statement that the riots are a great setback to the freedom movement and that the full force of the police and military should be used to suppress them?

A. I differ. This rising shows the deep-seated resentment which they have tried to say didn't exist. It's the Afro-American striking out in pain and anguish, a direct result of the poison of the poisonous society we live in. If the power structure hasn't got sense enough to get to the causes, I believe the whole society is in great danger. King's statement is farcical. Why didn't he advocate nonviolence of the police? How about them using "soul force" instead of bullets? They've killed over 20 of our people in these days. Dr. King is a most contradictory advocate of nonviolence. I wonder whose side he's on.

This whole outbreak shows the complete failure of the nonviolent movement, its failure to do anything for the people on Central Avenue — on all the Central Avenues.

### Q. The rising has been directed not only at the police, but also at stores. Why the looting, the burning?

A. The storekeepers, the Caucasians, the Jews — I'm not being anti-Semitic, just telling it like it is — the Uncle Toms, they cheat people, overcharge them, hook them on credit, refuse to rent the prime stores to black people in the community. I'm surprised it

didn't happen before this.

All the stores were not looted; the stores of blood brothers, of soul brothers, of those with a decent regard for the community — who don't take their money out — were not looted. The anger is directed at the most blatant grievances, the fact that the cops don't treat you like human beings and the fact that the Afro-American can't even control his own community. He suffers a superexploitation. He lives in a colony within America.

### Q. Who are the leaders of this uprising?

A. I thought at first there was no leadership at all. And there probably wasn't, at first. But judging from what happened, from the way stores have been selected, broken into, hit by bands which disappear before the cops come along and arrest the older people for looting, then burned after the goods are removed, it seems there is some systematic activity. But it's none of the known groups or leaders. The Black Muslims will make hay out of it, but they're not taking an active part. They are rather conservative except for talk, but they aren't doing anything.

### Q. What about the people being jailed?

A. There are a lot of people going to be sent to jail. They are martyrs to freedom. What whites don't understand is that the black people are fighting for liberation, like the Africans or the Vietnamese. They are ready to die.

### Q. What, in your opinion, is the general attitude of the Negro community toward the uprising, the looting, and so on?

A. Overwhelmingly favorable. There may be a few, mostly older people, preachers, and so on, who "deplore" it, but the great majority say "Hot damn, it's about time!" You see, nobody says anything about the 300 years the whites have been looting the blacks. If blacks looted this country for 100 years they couldn't make it up. It's like reparations. The country owes the blacks something and it'll have to pay. Absolutely. It'll either pay it socially, granting the demands of the black community, or they'll pay antisocially, facing one catastrophe after another. You heard the man they interviewed on TV — He said, "I'm not a criminal, I'm taking all I can because I'm poor." I say those people have a right to help themselves.

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## ... Racist Oppression Ignited L.A. Ghetto

(Continued from Page 1)  
"Whitey." But white is not simply a color. It is a symbol intimately associated with all of the insult, abuse and oppression suffered by the black.

And if whites are disturbed by the antiwhite character of the outbreak, let them consider the responsibility of white society. Lyndon Johnson's cynical demagoguery about a "Great Society" that gives nothing of significance to blacks does nothing to allay antiwhite feelings. Nor does the big talk and small performance of white liberals. And the disgraceful anti-Negro record of the white trade union officialdom has intensified antiwhite sentiment.

Chief Parker, who stands as the arch-symbol of white racism, cynically declared that the outbreak was the result of civil rights leaders "agitating" the people. Mayor Yorty rushed before the TV cameras to back up this malicious smear and to bolster Parker with the Bircher lie that the charges of police brutality are the product of a "Communist plot."

Is it any wonder that the eruption was so explosive, that it resembled guerrilla warfare so strikingly that one national guard official exclaimed: "It's like Vietnam!"

### Rights Leaders

The outbreak also made clear that the official civil rights leadership has no roots in the ghetto. They have no answers to the problems of the ghetto because they are committed to the maintenance of the capitalist status quo. And the problems of the ghetto can't be solved within that framework.

That's why the so-called "leaders" wind up in showdowns like this one on the side of the oppressor. Martin Luther King, who spends his time preaching to black people about the need for non-violence no matter what the provocation, rushes into print to endorse the use of force by the police and national guard. Nonviolence, it seems, is only for the oppressed, not the oppressor!

The Watts rebellion was unorganized, leaderless, spontaneous.

It had no formulated program. But the conditions that provoked the uprising remain and there will surely be new and even fiercer outbreaks. But they will not continue to be leaderless. Out of the fire of the struggles revolutionary leaders — like Malcolm X — will emerge to give the movement the necessary program and direction and to channelize the revolutionary energy of the black ghettos into an organized struggle to abolish racism and bring freedom, justice and equality for all.

LOS ANGELES — About 50 demonstrators picketed the central police station, demanding the police withdraw from Watts and that Chief Parker be removed. Participants included supporters of the Socialist Workers and Socialist Parties, the Young Socialist Alliance and DuBois Clubs. SWP spokesman Oscar Coover declared the people of Watts has been invaded the same way as the people of Vietnam and that "all police, all troops, should be withdrawn from the ghetto."

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# THE MILITANT

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## Leon Trotsky's Legacy

One quarter of a century ago, on August 21, 1940, Leon Trotsky died in Mexico, the victim of political assassination by an agent of Stalin. Those who were relieved at his death — the rulers of the capitalist countries and the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union, along with their ideological followers — must have expected that Trotsky would be forgotten long before now.

Trotsky's followers were few and his enemies, who were accomplished rewriters of history, numbered in the millions. Trotsky was slandered and his views distorted by the press of the "democratic" capitalist countries, as well as the Communist parties, before and after his assassination. Despite these obstacles, the views Trotsky fought for are more widely held throughout the world today than ever before. In recent years, more of his works have been published in this country than ever before. And this is only the beginning of a growing interest in his ideas.

Why is this so? Trotsky provided the only valid analysis and explanation of the major phenomena of recent world history. The most notable include the reasons for the victories of the socialist revolution in the colonial world, preceding its victory in the major capitalist countries, and the political degeneration of the Russian revolution which gave birth to Stalinism. Though these contributions of Trotsky to Marxist theory were made in the 1920's and 1930's, their relevance is only now being driven home to large numbers of people seeking to understand and change the world.

The Hungarian revolution, the Khrushchev revelations of the crimes of Stalin, and the Sino-Soviet dispute have sharply posed the question of the nature of Stalinism. Before these events only those who held Trotsky's views clearly saw Stalinism as the anti-thesis of Marxism and Leninism. While it is now commonly acknowledged that the Kremlin pursues a conservative, rather than a revolutionary, foreign policy, only Trotskyists realized and stated this until a few years ago.

Understanding that the Soviet rulers play a conservative role in world politics is only the beginning of understanding the nature of the Soviet-bloc countries. Despite the proliferation of "Kremlinologists," the principal source for a thoroughgoing, fundamental analysis of the nature of Soviet society is to be found in the works of Trotsky. The differences among China, the USSR, Cuba and Yugoslavia, reflected in the diverse positions of their leaderships, can be understood only on the basis of the analysis of the interrelations between the international revolutionary process and Soviet society presented in *The Revolution Betrayed* and other writings. The whole development of de-Stalinization and de-satellization — the forces fostering and retarding these processes — can similarly be understood only in this framework.

While many now have an inkling of the conservative role of the present Soviet government, few understand the role that Stalin played or the forces and circumstances that permitted the revolutionary regime of Lenin and Trotsky to be displaced by a regime representing the privileged layers of Soviet society. Here, again, young radicals will turn to Trotsky's works to understand the circumstances behind the bureaucratic strangulation of workers' democracy.

Trotsky is probably best known for his theory of permanent revolution. For new radicals, the Cuban revolution is the outstanding verification of that theory. Since the Cuban revolution even Washington has come to recognize — and combat — one of its main conclusions: that in the period of the decay of capitalism the struggle for land reform, democratic rights, and national independence in a colonial or semicolonial country tends to lead directly, without interruption, to a socialist revolution. Johnson's hasty occupation of the Dominican Republic was motivated by this possibility.

The victory of the colonial revolution in Cuba and its numerous setbacks elsewhere, as in Guatemala of 1954, demonstrated another major conclusion of the theory of permanent revolution: Only if the revolution is carried through to the socialist stage will real national independence, land reform, democratic rights, and economic and cultural progress be won.

The new generation of revolutionists in the colonial world and elsewhere who are reaching these conclusions through direct experiences are turning to Trotsky's writings to learn more about this profound theory. As they study his works, they will find illuminating analyses of every crucial problem of social change in this age of transition from capitalism to socialism.

**International Socialist Review, Fall 1965**

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### LEON TROTSKY ON LENIN'S FINAL STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

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# ... D. C. Anti-War Assembly

(Continued from Page 8)

legitimate murder. That's war; it's what's happening in Vietnam and in the deep South . . . The U.S. government is doing to the people of Vietnam what the government of Mississippi does to the people of Mississippi."

At a general meeting of the Assembly, before the workshop sessions, Parris outlined the purposes of the meeting: "This is only the beginning," he cautioned. "It's entirely open . . . Let's concentrate on what it is you want to do, and begin to learn about what others are doing. If this coordination happens, we'll feel justified."

The Vietnam workshop which resulted in the establishment of the Madison coordinating committee had not been preplanned. It developed when a number of people active in the antiwar movement around the country met the first night to discuss national coordination of meetings and demonstrations against the war Oct. 15-16.

Jerry Rubin, a leader of the Berkeley, Calif., Vietnam Day Committee, introduced the idea of nationally coordinated demonstrations in October, and discussed the activities and program of the Berkeley Committee. Civil rights demonstrations, the Free Speech Movement and a recent demonstration of more than 1,000 students to stop a U.S. troop train in Berkeley have confirmed the value of "imaginative direct action," Rubin said.

"But the students are not 'single issue' oriented," he added. "They oppose the system." What is now needed, he felt, is a "permanent radical organization . . . based on the principle of nonexclusion."

#### Permanent Organization

These concepts were expressed over and over again by other students active in the antiwar movement. "We're not interested in convincing the establishment to change their ways," Rick Wolfe from the New York Committee to End the War argued. "What we need is an alternative to the given political structure, an ongoing, firmly based organization, escalating the opposition. Let's change from the ad-hoc character to the permanent organization."

Dave Gilbert, one of the co-chairmen of the New York Committee, pointed out that there was no contradiction between ending the war as the most important single issue and building, over the long run, an independent third political party.

Rubin pointed out that regional congresses of unrepresented people, following on a smaller scale the pattern of the Washington Assembly, would be able to draw in and organize people from a community level interested in peace and civil rights. Berkeley is planning such a congress for Aug. 21.

The idea of regional congresses was widely accepted by those in the workshop, and from Rubin's suggestions followed the plan accepted by the Vietnam workshop designating Oct. 15 for local meetings and, where possible, congresses which themselves would work out plans for the Oct. 16 demonstrations.

Tentative plans were adopted for a national convention of antiwar committees to be held in Madison over the Thanksgiving holidays. As in all cases, however, emphasis was placed on developing programs and policies from the grass-roots level. Students unanimously agreed that the Madison steering committee should not be given any policy-making power, but limited its purpose to coordinating information and communications.

Parallel to the Vietnam workshop, a second unplanned workshop developed spontaneously to plan the activity for the final day of the Assembly. Here the question was posed of individual acts of conscience versus collective acts



Photo by Finer

**A VIEW OF U.S. POLICY.** Participant in artists' workshop at Assembly of Unrepresented People in Washington shows gathering an example of the kind of poster work that can help mobilize opposition to U.S. aggression abroad.

by the whole Assembly — a question that was still hotly debated in the Washington jails Monday evening.

The sentiment of the majority certainly leaned towards the collective act, and when final plans for a demonstration in front of the Capitol were prepared, Eric Weinberger, one of the coordinators of the Washington Assembly, asked participants to accept the discipline of the majority decision.

However, it was agreed that such decisions should not be binding on the entire Assembly. Thus, when 750 marched on the Capitol and were stopped by the cops and Lynd and Parris were arrested, about 350 sat down — knowing they would be jailed for doing so.

This sit-down served as the final session of the Assembly. It was conducted surrounded by hundreds of D.C. cops and a mass of police vans and buses to "evacuate" the delegates to jail. (It took seven hours.) And even here the spontaneous and democratic character of the Assembly prevailed.

#### Mass Arrest

The meeting began with the reading of the Declaration of Peace which had been prepared by the organizers of the Assembly. Then many different individuals and organizations read their own declarations. Often such individuals and spokesmen were arrested immediately after or while reading their declarations — and by 8 p.m. some 350 participants had been carried off to jail, the largest mass arrest in Washington history.

If participants in the Assembly had been previously unaware of the police brutality that is meted out to opponents of government policy, they learned it fast in the following few hours. Students were dragged into the wagons; those in buses were brutally clubbed when they tried to shout out the windows.

A number, including this reporter and one from the New York *Herald Tribune*, were locked in police wagons for several hours, during which the temperature inside rapidly rose to well over 100 degrees. Several people fainted as a result of the heat and lack of air.

One girl reported that the patrol wagon in which she was locked had been parked on a turnstile in the police station and rotated for an hour and a half, with a few interruptions when a cop opened the doors to yell inside, "Getting hot enough for you yet?"

The final workshops of the

Washington Assembly were held in the jails. Sentences were arbitrary and uneven. Dave Dellinger, one of the Assembly organizers who had been splashed in the face with red paint by Nazis (who themselves got off on \$10 forfeit of bail), was given a 45-day sentence.

One sweat-drenched participant remarked to a group in the cell, "At one point in the wagon I thought for the first time in my life that I was really going crazy, that this whole brutal, oppressive system we live in is crazy." Another answered, "Not me. For the first time we are being sane. We are working out the ways to change this system."

LOS ANGELES — A Congress of Unrepresented People was held here Aug. 6-8 in solidarity with the national Assembly of Unrepresented People held in Washington at the same time. Attendance at the sessions varied between 130 and 50 persons.

The final general assembly of the Congress passed a resolution on political action presented by 17 individuals active in the antiwar, civil rights, and socialist movements. It read in part as follows:

"The time has come for the voice of the unrepresented to be heard, from the councils of our cities to the halls of Congress in Washington, D. C. To that end we pledge to oppose any candidate for public office who supports the war in Vietnam. We will oppose any candidate who does not support the liberation struggle of the Negro people in this country. We will oppose any candidate who is tied to the twin parties of war and racism.

"We call for the formation of a party of the unrepresented people, a political alternative based on the Afro-Americans' struggle for freedom and on the struggle against war. Such an alternative, emerging from the freedom movements and from the people in the communities, would truly represent the interests of the majority."

BOSTON — About a hundred antiwar pickets marched in front of a downtown armed forces recruiting station on Aug. 9, Nagasaki Day. The protest, organized jointly by Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the May Second Committee, called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and an end to the war. A spokesman for the demonstrators said the picket line had been organized in sympathy with the Assembly of Unrepresented People held in Washington.



REPORT FROM CANADA

# Labor Party Holds Convention

TORONTO — Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, held its third federal convention here July 12-15. The presence of more than 800 delegates from Party units and trade union locals from all the major centers in the country confirmed that the NDP is firmly rooted in the trade union movement. Greetings were extended to the convention by both Claude Jodoin, head of the Canadian Labor Congress (AFL-CIO), and Roy Atkinson on behalf of the National Farmers Union.

Figures released at the convention charted the growing strength of the Party in the labor movement. After defeats in British Columbia and Saskatchewan, the Gallup poll now indicates an advance in popular support for the NDP and a decline in support for the capitalist Tory and Liberal parties.

The NDP was formed four years ago with the backing of the official Canadian trade union movement. It now has a membership

of more than 70,000; trade union affiliate members number 216,000 — in spite of laws in two provinces which outlaw trade union support to political parties. Other unions are prevented from affiliating because of bans on political action in their International constitutions.

The delegates met on the eve of a major escalation in Johnson's Vietnam war. T.C. Douglas, federal NDP leader, expressed the feelings of the majority of delegates when, in a major policy speech, he hit out against U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. He called for withdrawal of American troops and attacked the Canadian Liberal government for its subservience to the U.S. State Department policy.

The most publicized debates of the convention were on foreign affairs, particularly around resolutions condemning U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. The convention called for

the withdrawal of U.S. troops and endorsed Douglas' condemnation of the Canadian government for its subservient role. The convention had been bombarded with resolutions from Party clubs and locals calling for Canadian withdrawal from the NATO military alliance.

Ever since the 1961 Party founding convention, the left wing has campaigned against the leadership's support for NATO, winning strong support from the ranks and from several provincial sections. The leadership, however, managed to hold the convention to a mildly anti-U.S. foreign policy which avoided the main issue of support for the colonial revolution and emphasized Canadian support for the United Nations and the international police force concept.

During the convention, some 150 delegates marched on the American consulate to protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam. They were led by left-wing NDP Member of Parliament H. W. Herridge, who addressed the pickets from the consulate steps in defiance of consular authorities. The NDP leaders were noticeably absent from this demonstration, revealing their opposition to such rank-and-file means of protest.

The NDP leadership is comprised mainly of trade union functionaries and middle-class professionals. They exude a middle-class outlook and limit the party to a liberal program of parliamentary reforms within the structure of capitalism.

The main push for the demonstration came from the NDP left

**COMING FEATURE.** Our next issue will carry a report on the very important speech made by Fidel Castro on the 26th of July.

wing and the Party youth movement, the Young New Democrats. The left wing was organized into a nationwide Socialist Caucus which set out to counterpose a socialist alternative to the reformist outlook of the leadership.

Domestic problems confronting Canadian workers and farmers provoked numerous debates and posed a sharp cleavage between the reformist and socialist wings of the Party. The main debates centered around automation and unemployment, Confederation and Quebec nationalism, nationalization, and labor legislation.

The leadership confined the NDP to a right-wing outlook. Early in the convention the chairman refused to grant the Socialist Caucus status and outlawed the circulation of its material on the floor. In spite of such harassment, the Socialist Caucus emerged from the convention as an organized rank-and-file force whose program holds out a socialist perspective for the labor party.

The right-wing leadership of the Party was greatly alarmed by the impact of the Caucus. The August issue of *The Democrat*, official organ of the Ontario NDP, carried a full-page attack on the Caucus, accusing it of being "the most recent Trotskyite device to capture genuine New Democrats who seek profound and economic change." The article slanders the League for Socialist Action, a national grouping of Marxists and socialists who support the NDP, as conspiring to destroy the NDP.

Several left-wing members of the NDP have been expelled in the past four years for their association with the LSA. The Party leadership is engaging in a desperate attempt to re-create a witch-hunt atmosphere in order to minimize the growth of the Socialist Caucus. In their own negative and factional manner, the editors of *The Democrat* testify to the developing support for socialist ideas in the Party and to their fear that the ranks are moving towards acceptance of a socialist program for the labor party.

# ACLU Challenges Court Conviction Of SWP Campaigner in Flag Case



**GETTING TO BE A HABIT.** New York cop gives summons to Socialist Workers Party organizer Nat Weinstein last fall during SWP presidential campaign rally. The cop insisted the meeting was supposed to end at 10 p.m. even though the permit said it could go until 10:30. In this year's mayoralty campaign, the reason given for issuing a summons was that the flag wasn't displayed.

NEW YORK — The New York Civil Liberties Union has initiated a constitutional test of a city ordinance which the police used recently to harass a Socialist Workers Party election campaign street meeting. This ordinance requires street meetings to "display" American flags.

Nat Weinstein, SWP organizer in New York, was arrested June 5 during a street meeting for violation of the ordinance. Weinstein stated that the SWP usually displays the American flag but did not do so on that day to emphasize opposition to the brutal American foreign policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

He was found guilty on July 29 and fined \$25. Henry M. diSuviero, staff counsel for the union, stated he would appeal the decision in the Appellate Term of the State Supreme Court.

Meanwhile the SWP took a good-sized opening step towards securing a place on the New York ballot. On their first day of petitioning, Aug. 14, SWP members and supporters obtained more than 5,000 signatures on nominating

petitions. Although New York City law requires 7,500 signatures for independent nominations, the SWP plans to obtain 15,000 to reduce the possibility of crooked attempts by the major political parties to keep the party off the ballot.

In this effort, the New York SWP Campaign Committee has urged friends and supporters to help in petitioning and in raising funds to support the protest campaign against U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Contributions should be sent to the Campaign Committee headquarters at 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Hitting at the barrier of silence which NBC radio and TV had sought to impose on the SWP campaign, the New York Committee staged a surprise street meeting at NBC headquarters in Rockefeller Center, Aug. 16. Hedda Garza, SWP candidate for comptroller urged the audience to fight against press censorship of socialist candidates. An NBC news crew came down and an interview with Mrs. Garza was included in NBC's six o'clock news that night.

# A Canadian's Reaction To Stevenson's Death

[At the time of Adlai Stevenson's death, Canada's recently organized labor party, the New Democratic Party, was holding a federal convention. The convention proceedings were interrupted to announce Stevenson's death. One of the delegates, David Middleton, applauded the announcement. His action was given widespread coverage in the Canadian press which sought to exploit the incident to discredit the NDP. Middleton, twice an NDP candidate for the Canadian Parliament, then issued a statement explaining his action. The following is the text as it appeared in *Workers Vanguard*, a Canadian socialist monthly.]

\* \* \*

During the past week I have received considerable criticism because I applauded the death of Adlai Stevenson. In view of the widespread concern over this action, I would appreciate an opportunity to explain my feelings fully so that an honest judgment may be made.

The day of Mr. Stevenson's death had witnessed the climax of debate on foreign affairs (at the NDP convention). In preparation for this debate I had prepared an extensive paper on the colonial revolution and had dealt in particular detail with the war in Vietnam. During the morning I participated in the debate and all day these matters were foremost in my mind . . .

When Mr. Douglas interrupted the proceedings of the convention with the statement that he had something extremely serious and sad to announce, the worst pos-

sible situations came to my mind. I thought they had bombed Hanoi or China and I prayed that they had not used atomic weapons.

Mr. Douglas then announced that Mr. Stevenson had died. I cheered.

My reaction was an emotional one triggered by feelings close to the surface and for the next hours I was a victim of my emotions. I felt my own shame even as I felt the shock of the other delegates. I got up, walked to the nearest microphone and apologized.

The world is in a terrible situation. Who is responsible and why is a matter of opinion, but we are all responsible to try and understand, to try and do something.

I cannot judge Adlai Stevenson on what he might have thought privately or on what he might have said to a few friends over a luncheon table. I can only judge him on what he did openly and for all to see.

**U.S. Spokesman**

My memories of him are entwined with the murder of Patrice Lumumba, the bombing of Playa Giron, the rape of the Dominican Republic and the genocide in Vietnam. His role in the Congo may have been remote and obscure, he may have been misled at Playa Giron, he may have silently opposed the marines in the Dominican Republic, but there is no excuse for his actions on Vietnam. The crime is too great, the stench is too strong.

Adlai Stevenson was the world spokesman for the policy of the United States government. If his role was to justify and apologize for the actions of his government, then he did this job well. But when the crime is too great, it is my opinion that you have a prior duty to all of mankind to dissociate yourself from it and more, you must openly denounce and fight against it wherever and however you can.

There has been much mention of dignity and respect in the articles condemning me. I did not go to the U.S. consulate to pay my respects, and when we measure dignity we should think what dignity is afforded a child enveloped in the flames of napalm.

American policy is instrumental in stopping these people from fighting their way out of their despair. I denounce without reservation or apology its perpetrators and their apologists, whoever and wherever they may be, living or dead.



Adlai Stevenson

# Rutgers University Refuses To Fire Marxist Professor

Rutgers University refused to dismiss history professor Eugene Genovese, an avowed Marxist, who has joined thousands of faculty members and students throughout the country in outspoken opposition to Johnson's "dirty war" in Vietnam. Dr. Genovese declared at a teach-in last April: "I do not fear or regret the impending Vietcong victory in Vietnam. I welcome it."

Demands for his dismissal have come from Wayne Dumont, Jr., Republican candidate for governor of New Jersey, and various ultraright and veterans' organizations. Nine of the 11-member Board of Governors, meeting Aug. 7 before 50 students and faculty members, resisted the campaign for his ouster on the grounds that Genovese had not abused academic freedom or violated professional ethics. Dr. Genovese was granted associate professorship and tenure by the university last month.

In the 1950's three members of the Rutgers faculty were fired for invoking the Fifth Amendment. The refusal of New Jersey Governor Hughes and the Rutgers Board of Governors to promote

the witch-hunt against him appears to confirm Dr. Genovese's opinion, expressed in an interview with *The Militant* last month, that the university atmosphere has changed since the McCarthy era.

A *New York Times* editorial Aug. 9 contained this comment on the case: "These judgments (of the Board of Governors) should put an end to the matter. If Mr. Dumont does not respect or understand these principles, he has no business being governor of New Jersey. McCarthyism is a dead horse."

NEWARK — The continuing attacks on Dr. Eugene Genovese were assailed by Ruth Shiminsky, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey. She branded the right-wing campaign against Genovese as a McCarthy-like witch hunt and declared that his belief that the victory of the Vietnamese guerrillas is preferable to foreign domination "reflects a growing view of American citizens that the unprovoked and undeclared U.S. war in Vietnam is a violation of that country's sovereignty" and should be halted.



## FREEDOM FIGHTERS

## Karl Marx—Titan of Our Era

Perhaps the most successful freedom fighter of all time was Karl Marx who was born in 1818 and died in 1883. Nothing less than the liberation of all mankind from the exploitation of man by man was the goal of Marx's work. He put that struggle on a scientific basis for the first time, providing the oppressed everywhere with the most practical and powerful guides to revolutionary thought and action ever devised.

There have been no end of attempts by all kinds of apologists for special privilege to refute Marx, to bury his ideas, to suppress them, or to reduce them to meaningless rote and ritual. But his ideas and methods of thought are made for revolution and wherever basic social change is on the order of the day, freedom fighters turn to the teachings of Karl Marx and his program of international socialism, as they are doing in Africa, Asia and Latin America today.

We reprint here the farewell speech at Marx's grave in 1883 by his intimate co-worker, Friedrich Engels.

## By Friedrich Engels

On the afternoon of the 14th of March at a quarter to three, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. Left alone for less than two minutes, when we entered we found him sleeping peacefully in his chair—but forever.

It is impossible to measure the loss which the fighting European and American proletariat and historical science has lost with the death of this man. Soon enough we shall feel the breach which has been opened by the death of this tremendous spirit.

As Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so



Karl Marx

Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history: the simple fact, previously hidden under ideological growths, that human beings must first of all eat, drink, shelter and clothe themselves before they can turn their attention to politics, science, art and religion; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of life and thereby the given stage of economic development of a people or of a period forms the basis on which the state institutions, the legal principles, the art and even the religious ideas of the people in question have developed and out of which they must be explained, instead of exactly the contrary, as was previously attempted.

But not only this, Marx discovered the special law of development of the present-day capitalist mode of production and of the bourgeois system of society which it has produced. With the discovery of surplus-value, light was suddenly shed on the darkness in which all other economists, both bourgeois and socialist, had lost themselves.

Two such discoveries would have been enough for any life. Fortunate indeed is he to whom it is given to make even one. On every single field which Marx investigated, and there were many and on none of them were his investigations superficial, he made independent discoveries, even in the field of mathematics.

That was the man of science, but that was by no means the whole man. For Marx, science was a creative historic and revolutionary force. Great as was his pleasure at a new discovery on this

or that field of theoretical science, a discovery perhaps whose practical consequences were not visible, it was still greater at a new discovery which immediately affected industrial development, historical development as a whole in a revolutionary fashion. For instance, he closely followed the development of the discoveries on the field of electrical science and toward the end the work of Marc Deprez.

For Marx was above all a revolutionary, and his great aim in life was to co-operate in this or that fashion in the overthrow of capitalist society and the state institutions which it has created, to co-operate in the emancipation of the modern proletariat, to whom he was the first to give a consciousness of its class position and its class needs, a knowledge of the conditions necessary for its emancipation.

In this struggle he was in his element, and he fought with a passion, tenacity and success granted to few. The first *Rheinische Zeitung* (Rhine-land Newspaper) in 1842, the *Vorwarts* in Paris in 1844, the *Brusseler Deutsche Zeitung* in 1847, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from 1848 to 1849, the *New York Tribune* from 1852 to 1861 — and then a wealth of polemical writings, the organizational work in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally the great International Workingmen's Association (the First International) to crown it all. In truth, that alone would have been a life's work to be proud of if its author had done nothing else.

And therefore Marx was the best-hated and most-slandered man of his age. Governments, both absolutist and republican, both conservative and extreme-democratic, vied with each other in a campaign of vilification against him. He brushed it all to one side like cobwebs, ignored them and answered only when compelled to do so. And he died respected, loved and mourned by millions of revolutionary workers — from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America — and I make bold to say that although he had many opponents, he had hardly a personal enemy.

His name will live through the centuries and so also will his work.

## Publication Date Set for Novack Book On Origins of Materialist Philosophy

NEW YORK—George Novack's new book *The Origins of Materialism* will be published here Oct. 1 by Merit Publishers. Written from a Marxist viewpoint, it is a study of the first phase of the development of materialist philosophy—its origins among the Greeks and its evolution in the world of antiquity.

A leading U.S. socialist scholar, Novack has been more widely known under his pen name of William F. Warde. A long-time contributor to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*, his writings include *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*, *The Law of Uneven and Combined Development*, and *The Long View of History*.

He was a literary collaborator of the late C. Wright Mills and recently edited with Isaac Deutscher an anthology of Leon Trotsky's writing, *The Age of Permanent Revolution*.

Early in 1966 Dell Publishers will bring out an anthology under Novack's editorship entitled *Existentialism and Marxism: Conflicting Views on Humanism*.

*The Origins of Materialism* is a 300-page, hard cover book and will sell for \$6.95. It is now being offered at a special prepublication

price of \$5.00. Orders may be placed with Merit Publishers at Five East Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003, but must be post-marked prior to the Oct. 1 publishing date.



George Novack

## Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and Marxism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

**Why do socialists maintain that capitalism is no longer a viable social and economic system and is now in a period of bankruptcy and decay?**

An answer to this question was given by James P. Cannon, one of the founders of the Socialist Workers Party, during the 1941 Minneapolis trial of 18 SWP and union leaders under the thought-control Smith Act. Cannon, then national secretary and now national chairman of the SWP, testified from the witness stand:

"Capitalism is a state of society that did not always exist. Like preceding social systems, it went through a period of gestation in the womb of the old feudal society. It grew and developed as against feudal society, eventually overthrew it by revolutionary means, raised the productivity of mankind to undreamed of heights . . .

"Capitalism operates by certain internal laws which were analyzed and laid bare for the first time by Karl Marx in his great works, first in the *Communist Manifesto* and then in *Capital*.

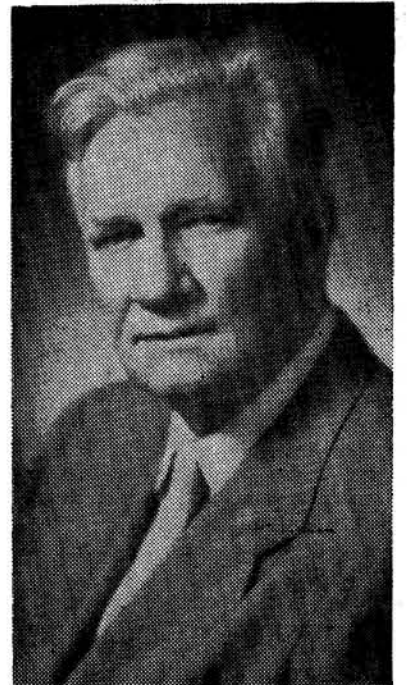
"Now, the two internal laws of capitalism which are making inevitable its decline and its replacement by socialism are these:

"One, the private ownership of the means of production and the employment of wage labor at wages less than the value of the product produced by the wage laborer. This creates a surplus which the capitalist proprietor has to sell in the market. It is obvious that the wage worker, who receives for his labor less than the total value of his product, can be a customer only for that amount of the value that he receives in the form of wages. The balance is surplus value, as Marx explained it, for which the capitalist must find a market.

"The more capitalism expands within a given country, the more productive becomes the labor of the worker, the greater is this surplus, which cannot find a market because the great mass of the people who produce the wealth do not receive enough wages to buy it. And that leads capitalism into periodic crises of what they call overproduction, or as some popular agitators call it underconsumption, but the scientific term is overproduction.

"Capitalism from its very inception, for more than a hundred years, pretty nearly two hundred years, has gone through such crises. Now, in the past, capitalism could solve these crises eventually by finding new markets, new fields of investment, new fields of exploitation, and as long as capitalism could find new areas for the investment of capital and the sale of goods, the capitalist system could extricate itself from this cyclical crisis which occurred about every ten years, and go on to new heights of production. But every time capitalism experienced a new boom, and began to develop some new territory, it narrowed down the world. Because every place that capitalism penetrated, its laws followed it like a shadow, and the new field of exploitation began to become also surfeited with a surplus.

"For example, the United States, which was a great reservoir for the assimilation of surplus products of Europe and gave European capitalism a breathing spell, has itself developed in the course of 150 years to the point where it produces an enormous surplus and has to fight Europe for a market in which to sell it. So this tremendous contradiction between the private ownership of industry and wage labor presents



James P. Cannon

capitalism more and more with an insoluble crisis. This is one law of capitalism.

"The second law is the conflict between the development of the productive forces and the national barriers in which they are confined under capitalism. Every country operating on a capitalist basis produces a surplus which it is unable to sell in its domestic market for the reasons I have given you before.

"What, then, is the next step? The capitalists must find a foreign market. They must find a foreign market in which to sell their surplus and a foreign field in which to invest their surplus capital. The difficulty confronting capitalism is that the world doesn't get any bigger. It retained the same size, while every modern capitalist nation was developing its productive forces far beyond its own domestic capacity to consume. Or to sell at a profit. This led to the tremendous explosion of the World War in 1914. The World War of 1914 was, in our theory and our doctrine, the signal that the capitalist world had come to a bankrupt crisis."

(From *Socialism on Trial*, the official court record of James P. Cannon's testimony in the famous Minneapolis "sedition" trial.)

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## Karl Marx And America

"Christianity was imported into the United States along with logarithms, Shakespeare's poetry, notions on the rights of man and the citizens, and certain other not unimportant products of human thought. Today Marxism stands in the same category.

"America developed economically not in accordance with the principles of Jefferson, but in accordance with the ideas of Marx. There is as little offense to national self-esteem in acknowledging that as in recognizing that America turns around the sun in accordance with the laws of Newton. The more Marx is ignored in the United States, the more compelling become his teachings now. *Capital* offers a faultless diagnosis of the malady and an irreplaceable prognosis.

"America will in a few jumps catch up with Europe and outdistance it. Progressive technique and a progressive social structure will pave their own way in the sphere of doctrine. The best theoreticians of Marxism will appear on American soil. Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers." — Leon Trotsky in the introduction to the U.S. edition of *The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx*.

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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.]

## Solidarity with L.A. Ghetto

Chester, Pa.

We would appreciate your publishing this open letter to Lyndon B. Johnson to give a truer indica-

tion of how we in the ghetto felt about Los Angeles than our so-called "leaders" were willing to give to the American people.

The Chester Congress of Racial Equality deplors the use of thousands of armed soldiers in Los Angeles, Calif., as an act of undeclared war against the Negro population there.

We do not usually condone the use of violence to express the just protest of oppressed, poverty-stricken Negro citizens.

However, there is something more important at stake in Los Angeles than the nonviolent method. What is at stake in Los Angeles is the right of Afro-Americans to share in the wealth and abundance of our country. In Los Angeles, just as in almost all of America, Negroes have been denied that right. Negroes are the victims of unemployment and poverty that cause riots.

National Guardsmen have marched on the Negro as though he (the Negro) were the evildoer. All of us recognize that the real evil is the malevolence and indifference of white Americans. How can you ask Negro men to fight side by side in Vietnam with the forces that draw bayonets on Negro women and children in Los Angeles?

We urge immediate withdrawal of troops from the disturbed area and demand the enactment of real solutions, such as jobs, better schools, decent housing, and freedom from police brutality for all Negro citizens.

Donald W. Jackson,  
Chairman,  
Congress of Racial Equality

it is our duty to repay her. If she takes the bail out from City Hall, she will automatically come up for trial in five days. We all know that the trial will not be just, and she will be sent to the county farm. We are trying to raise money so this won't happen to her.

Freedom!

Otis Brown, Jr.  
SNCC Project Director

## Campaign Suggestion

Fremont, Calif.

Just saw last evening in the San Francisco Examiner a small article relating that a Socialist Workers Party spokesman was arrested at a street meeting "because he hadn't prominently displayed an American flag." The article also stated that the American Civil Liberties Union was defending the spokesman on the basis of the "attempt to abridge free speech."

It seems to me that we should make every effort to aid the defense by complying with this law, for the balance of the electoral campaign, in the following way:

A large truck should be rented with a huge American flag draped over it. On the truck bed should be dummy corpses in a heap — one marked Cuba, several Hiroshima Bomb Victims, also Dominican Republic, Panama, Congo, Guatemala, Turkey, and all other areas being invaded and/or militarily controlled by the power structure who demands that its symbol of oppression be honored. Hanging from the pole of the flag by a rope should be a symbol of the American Negro. In the cen-

ter of this a tableau, taken from a picture recently published in the major newspapers, of the very young and dead Vietnamese mother with her four children crying in confusion and hunger. Weighing or holding up the flag should be a canister marked "Napalm Jelly" — beside it another marked "Nausea Gas." Surrounding these figures should be figures of Mississippi sheriffs and policemen with cattle prods in their hands.

A speaker with sound equipment should pose the question to all within earshot of just who is responsible for the subversion of respect for the American flag and American country in the world today. It seems to me that the trial itself would be an excellent podium from which to pose this question.

If the forces of terror, subversion and torture now couched in the American power structure are successful, it will be the American people as a whole who are their next victims. As in the "German battle against subversion" led by Hitler, that persecution will not be limited to racial or political minorities but wielded at large.

Concerned Friend

## An Oversight

New York, N.Y.

In your "Questions and Answers About Socialism" column of June 28, I noticed an oversight. While Harry Ring correctly took to task the Communist Party, Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Party for failing to cooperate with the Socialist Workers Party on independent political action, he neglected to mention the Progressive

Labor Party. This is an oversight because PLP is an activist group and, as such, is far worthier of attention than the SLP, to say the least. I think PLP should also be criticized for failing to cooperate with the SWP in electoral action.

I hope *The Militant* will be reporting at length on the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and the Deacons movement. To me this is real news. If a southern Freedom Labor Union establishes itself, this could be as important as the birth of the CIO. I hope *The Militant* will keep up its good work and do what it can to mobilize northern support for the MFLU.

George Payne

## Police Review Board

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Your paper is excellent. Continue your courageous, uncompromising struggle for Justice, Brotherhood, Peace, Culture and Prosperity.

I have only one minor criticism to make. In your issue of June 28, it is stated in an article on page 8: "So far, De Berry is the only candidate in the mayoralty race to back the demand of the civil rights and civil liberties forces for the establishment of a civilian review board." On June 21, Rep. William Fitts Ryan, on radio station WCBS, expressed support for Councilman Weiss' bill for an independent civilian review board. He said that no agency "could be prosecutor, judge and jury" and that it would be fair to have representatives of minority groups on the board.

Again, many thanks for your fine paper; keep up the good work.  
Z.K.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**ASSAIL PENTAGON FOR WITCH HUNT AGAINST DRAFTEES** — Two events have focused public attention on the U.S. Armed Forces' McCarthyite policy of smearing its enlisted men with discharges other than honorable for their alleged ideas or associations prior to inductions.

One was the dramatic case of Eugene W. Landy that has shocked the entire country. Landy was second highest student in the graduating class at the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, Long Island. On the eve of graduation Landy was informed by Navy officials that he was being denied the reserve Navy Commission he had earned because his mother had once belonged to the Communist Party.

The second event was a sweeping expose, backed up by 110 case histories, of the U.S. Army's refusal of honorable discharges to draftees, not for anything they had done while in the army but for "forbidden" political ideas or associations before they were drafted. These charges were presented to Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker by Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas and Rowland Watts, both representing the Workers Defense League, and Kenneth Birkhead, national director of the American Veterans Committee. — Aug. 15, 1955.

## 20 Years Ago

**FRENCH IMPERIALISTS FEAR FOR INDO-CHINA COLONY** — Japan's surrender, coming sooner than they expected, has caused considerable uneasiness among the colonial bandits of French imperialism who have been dreaming of recovering their colony of Indo-China, snatched from them by the Japanese imperialists in 1941-42.

They fear that Indo-China will fall either into the hands of the Anglo-American imperialist "liberators," or, worse still, the Indo-Chinese people.

The latter fear is uppermost. According to a Paris dispatch to the New York *Herald-Tribune* on Aug. 10, "French officials feel there is a danger, if the Japanese there (Indo-China) capitulate, that some political group or other may seize control." They hope they may be able to return there quickly, but they lack shipping, and the distance from France is great.

The masses of Indo-China have fought the Japanese imperialists as previously they battled for their liberation from the French colonial despots. They certainly will not be content to exchange the new gang of slavedrivers for the old. They will fight for their independence. The French bandits know this. That is why they are disturbed. That is why, as the Paris dispatch asserts, they are anxious to move in their troops and administrators as quickly as possible. — Aug. 18, 1945.

## Appeal from Mississippi

P.O. Box 30  
Indianola, Miss.

In the fall there are going to be countywide elections. We tried to put Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer [of Ruleville, Sunflower County] on the ballot for the office of Circuit Clerk. We thought we had enough signatures but some were disqualified and we were told we needed 11 more. Now we are trying to get the election held up for 90 days, through an injunction. This election is like the Congressional Challenge — we are trying to prove that the local officials were put in office illegally.

Here in Indianola we are putting up three candidates for the offices of mayor and aldermen. Either today or tomorrow we get their names on the ballot. To support these people and Mrs. Hamer, we planned a new mass voter registration drive. It should have begun already but we just don't have the money for cars and subsistence.

We hope to start building the Freedom School in four weeks because the lawyer told us that he is sure we can get a permit to rebuild. We are not going to build in the old place but are finding somewhere else within the city limits.

Mary Williams, who lives in Indianola, was arrested and hit last year when the police tried to break up a mass meeting after the Freedom School was burned the first time in October 1964. She paid \$100 bail. Now she has been out of a job for three months and this week she came to the Freedom House asking if she could get the bail money back because she was hungry. We borrowed \$20 and gave it to her, promising to try to get the other \$80. We feel

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Happy Solution** — We are impressed with Seagram's display of civic responsibility in providing gin for the fountains in Tiffany's window as a means of coping with New York's water shortage. And we heartily agree with the distilling company's advice against using gin to wash cars or sprinkle lawns. That would truly be an extravagant waste. However, if the threatened total depletion of New York's water supply becomes a reality, why shouldn't Seagram replenish the reservoirs? Instead of fluoride, a small quantity of vermouth could be added. We appreciate that those with a penchant for vodka martinis wouldn't be happy with this solution, but in times of crisis we all have to learn to make do.

**Our Biggest Problem** — Abe Fortas, the new member of the Supreme Court, says: "I could never subscribe to the theory that because a man is poor the scales of justice should be weighed in his favor." However, Mr. Fortas does believe poor people should not be denied the right to counsel.

**Contest** — Several readers have sent us the clipping reporting that President Johnson greeted a group of college students as "fellow revolutionaries," and said he had been a revolutionary all his life, fighting bigotry, poverty and injustice. In most cases comments were included with the clipping. For our part, we are at a loss for comment on this, being reminded of what comedian Buddy Hackett said when a TV interviewer asked him if the present crop of polit-

icians were a good source of humorous material. Hackett replied in the negative, commenting: "Who could outdo these guys?" "Besides," he added, "they scare me." Anyway, the one who submits the best comment will get a handsome color photo of the president.

**City Planners** — New York opened its campaign to cope with the current water shortage by reducing its staff of leak-detection personnel from 84 to 50. Officials said the move was made for reasons of economy. It will save the city \$150,000 a year.

**Comforting News** — The Navy plans to produce for its aviators a new type of fluid-shielded goggles capable of cutting off instantly the light from an atomic bomb explosion.

**Sober Warning** — Mrs. Fred J. Tooze, militant leader of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, feels that the fatal flaw in Johnson's so-called antipoverty drive is that it's being run by a bunch of gashounds. She told the Union's annual convention that "our na-

tional leaders hold a whiskey glass in one hand while dispensing public aid with the other." If only the aid flowed as freely as the whiskey, things might look better for the poor.

**The Master Race** — A dispatch from Johannesburg, South Africa, tells about a manual, "Your Bantu Servant and You," published for the white employers of that city's 70,000 black servants. In addition to a discussion of the latter's "feeding habits," how to give orders ("very few servants are able to follow, remember and carry out a series of instructions in the correct order, or at all, for that matter"), female employers are advised "above all" never to appear in front of a male Bantu "in any state of undress." Dealing with hours of work (the Bantu should not "be expected to put in more than a 65-hour week"), the manual further advises, "It must be remembered that domestic servants are human..." What the Herrenvolk need now is a pamphlet to convince the world that they're human.

—Harry Ring

## Thought for the Week

"If the war goes on and on, the little girl in pink pajamas who grins and wrinkles her noes when she asks for five piastres will soon grow into a prostitute. The current crop of newsboys will be peddling pornography. The young men who are outgrowing their shoeshine kits will turn to pimping." — Jack Langguth describing Saigon today in the Aug. 8 New York Times.

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# U.S. Commits Savage Atrocities Against People of South Vietnam

By David Herman

AUG. 16 — U.S. troops in Vietnam are committing atrocities against civilians: burning villages; murdering women, children, and old people; killing the water buffalo the farmers depend on; and destroying crops.

CBS correspondent Morley Safer reported one incident Aug. 3. He saw U.S. marines burn down the village of Camne near Danang, ignoring pleas of the villagers to be allowed to remove their belongings. The marines destroyed the village using rockets, grenades, flame throwers, machine guns, and set some fires with cigarette lighters after they received a single burst of fire from an unidentified direction.

Mourning world revulsion induced a U.S. military spokesman in Saigon to make public combat rules for American troops that supposedly cover the situation. "Marines do not burn houses or villages unless those houses or villages are fortified," he told newsmen. The great majority of Vietnamese villages are fortified to some degree, remarked a reporter, to protect the villagers against bombing and artillery shells. "I know it," responded the military spokesman.

The reason for the atrocities by the marines is not difficult to discover. They are frustrated by a deadly but invisible foe. One unit at Danang is reported to have suffered 10 percent casualties already yet hardly ever saw a guerrilla.

The American troops are an army of occupation. The guerrillas have the active support of the people and, when necessary, simply blend among them. The most powerful army cannot cope with this kind of warfare and is driven to commit savage atrocities against the people they seek to repress. This was true of the French army in Algeria and is true of every imperialist army of occupation. They torture prisoners to get information about the guerrillas, and they murder people *en masse* in an effort to put down the opposition. No other road is open to American troops in Vietnam except withdrawal from that country.

The burning of villages has been defended by Secretary of the Navy Paul H. Nitze. "Where neither United States nor Vietnamese forces can maintain continuous occupancy, it is necessary to destroy those facilities which have been developed by the Vietcong for their purposes," he said.

What Nitze did not point out is that the National Liberation Front governs more than half the country and has the support of most of the population in Saigon.

## Gov't Explains Why Ky Loves Hitler

The Saigon government issued an official explanation Aug. 6 of why current dictator Nguyen Cao Ky told newsmen that Hitler is his one and only hero. The government statement does not go to the Hitler dictator, warmonger and Nazi, but rather to the leader who, in the 1930's, by sheer energy and dynamism, was able to build the unity of Germany."

We assume this means that Hitler was O.K. as long as he stuck to killing workers and Jews.



dominated areas. Since almost every village provides food, shelter, and recruits for the guerrillas, U.S. policy, stated plainly by Nitze, justifies the bombing and burning of most of South Vietnam.

And that is just what American planes are doing. Stepped up air raids on the areas held by the Front are driving the peasants from these areas by the hundreds of thousands into Saigon-held territory. U.S. strategists are getting worried about the "refugee problem." They fear the hostility of the refugees.

Meanwhile the New York *Herald Tribune* reported Aug. 8 that the Johnson administration rejected a proposal for peace talks last fall that the North Vietnam government accepted without conditions.

## DOMINICAN EXPOSE

# U.S. Puppet Butchers Civilians

By Alex Harte

The shocking story of the mass murder of civilians by Dominican junta chief Antonio Imbert, in U.S.-occupied Santo Domingo, was revealed by Washington correspondent Drew Pearson in two articles, Aug. 13 and 15. Pearson obtained the text of an unpublished report by a special OAS commission which was sent to Santo Domingo to investigate charges of mass executions.

According to Pearson the commission, which included three distinguished criminologists, "dug up some of the bodies and arrived at the inescapable conclusion that there had been mass murders and that most of the population had been too terrorized to testify."

"The commission," he continues, "was not able to arrive at the number killed, though one prison, under Gen. Imbert's supervision, once containing 3,000 now has been reduced to 500." Pearson quoted the following sentences from the OAS report:

"Members of the police, in some cases of the armed forces, proceeded to arrest civilians. They were

conducted without much control to a military or police post. "Systematically they were conducted on the road to La Victoria [prison] from the capital, in movements sometimes before midnight, but never completed their itinerary.

"More common was the selection of Yuca bridge as a site for the night executions. There came there several vehicles with prisoners, some with their hands and arms tied behind their backs. They were taken down and shot with volleys from rifles and machine guns, some of whose cartridges were collected on the site . . . The bodies remained on the ground or were carried away by the river.

### More Light

Further light was shed on the attitude of the U.S. government toward the war in Vietnam when it was reported Aug. 11 that Ambassador Lodge told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the United States would keep its troops in South Vietnam even if the Saigon government requested their withdrawal. Though Lodge later denied the statement, the two major news services, UPI and AP, and the *Times* insisted that their

### Commands Heard

"The neighbors heard the arrival of the vehicles, the unloading, commands given in low voices, the report of shots, and how the vehicles returned in the direction of Santo Domingo. Some told that in some cases the executions were announced and orders given that the victims be left unburied. All the victims were civilians."

sources for the report were reliable.

Johnson added his denial, saying that he and Lodge agreed that the U.S. would not remain in Vietnam if its help were not "wanted and requested." Johnson has nothing to fear on this score. If the Saigon puppet government were to request U.S. withdrawal, the CIA would take care of those generals in short order. Johnson would recognize a new puppet regime that said U.S. troops should remain.

The National Liberation Front responded to the American escalation of the war by issuing a call Aug. 7 for direct aid from North Vietnam and the governments and peoples of friendly countries, and for Americans to oppose the war.

Pearson reports that one of the victims was a Canadian Catholic priest, Father James Arthur MacKinnon, who was killed because he protested the mass arrests in a sermon from his pulpit. "There has been considerable indignation in the United States," Pearson comments, "over the fact that Bishop James Walsh was long detained in Red China, and that Cardinal Mindszenty and Cardinal Stepinac were not permitted to return to their church positions in Hungary and Yugoslavia.

"They, however, were not killed. Father MacKinnon was killed in a Western country under a dictator whom the United States had hand-picked and who has been kept in office only through the support of American Marines plus millions in U.S. food and aid."

Such Hitler-like atrocities may be only the beginning, so long as the U.S. continues to prop up this Dominican butcher. Withdrawal of U.S. troops from Santo Domingo would prevent further horrible murders by these two-bit Hitlers whose entire power rests on the support of U.S. guns and dollars.

## U.S. Opponents Of Vietnam War Meet in Capital

By Dick Roberts

The Assembly of Unrepresented People, held in Washington, D.C., Aug. 6-9, marked an important new step in the building of a national movement to oppose U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Bringing together more than 2,000 people from antiwar and civil rights movements throughout the country, the Assembly culminated in a combination sitdown-meeting in front of the Capitol, where strong-arm Washington cops arrested 350 participants.

A National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, with headquarters in Madison, Wis., was established by representatives of antiwar committees from 17 areas in the country.

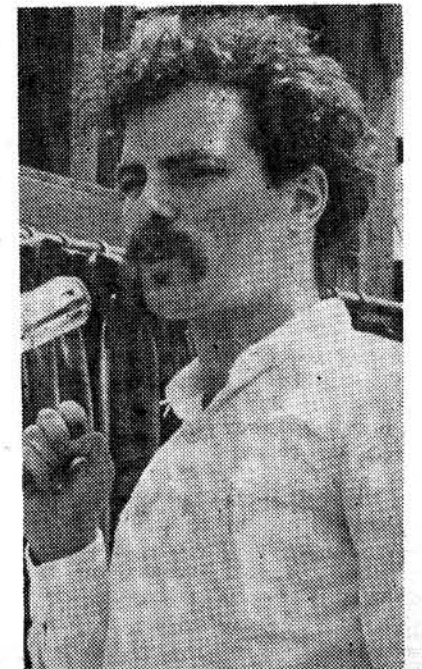
This action expressed in part two ideas which emerged as central for those attending the Assembly:

Would it be possible to give national cohesion to all the different groups which in one way or another oppose the present policies — both domestic and foreign — of the United States government? And, what specific tactics on a local and national scale can be applied to further the opposition to Washington's policies?

Speaking at the first session, Prof. Staughton Lynd, an organizer of the Assembly, expressed these feelings dramatically. "As a country," he stated, "we haven't learned anything from what happened 20 years ago. Those 200,000 deaths of the people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki were in vain . . . There are people who say we [in the antiwar movement] are extreme. Our crime is that we have done so little."

Robert Parris, a founding leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, explained what he believed the antiwar movement could learn from the southern Freedom movement: "Negroes know something different about this country: It lies."

"The murder of Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman doesn't symbolize a haphazard murder," Parris continued. "It symbolizes (Continued on Page 4)



Jerry Rubin