

# THE MILITANT

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## Militant Will Offer Reports from Cuba

DEC. 23 — Harry Ring, senior staff writer for *The Militant*, arrived in Havana, Cuba, last night to begin a seven-week tour of the revolutionary island. His reports will begin appearing shortly, affording *Militant* readers the opportunity for a perceptive first-hand view of the developing revolution.

Harry Ring will be in Havana to cover the important Jan. 2 celebration of the anniversary of the revolution. He will remain there for the international cultural congress being held in Havana Jan. 4-11, which is expected to attract intellectual figures from all over the world.

He will then travel throughout the island, visiting special projects, schools, factories, nurseries, hospitals, rural towns, etc., and speak with the ordinary people about the accomplishments, plans, and problems of the revolution.

As a special offer to new readers, a one-dollar introductory subscription to *The Militant* bought in the next seven weeks will include Harry Ring's complete series from Cuba and a free issue of the November-December 1967 *International Socialist Review*. This issue of the ISR contains the declaration issued by the OLAS conference held in Havana last summer, Fidel Castro's closing speech to the conference, and an evaluation of the OLAS conference by Joseph Hansen, editor of *World Outlook*.

Use the coupon on Page 7.



Harry Ring

Photo by Shannon

## Berkeley Plans War Referendum

By Tony Camejo

BERKELEY, Calif. — On Dec. 21 the Student Mobilization Committee submitted petitions, signed by more than 6,500 registered voters, to the Berkeley City Council, demanding that a special election be called for a vote on the war in Vietnam.

Patterned on the referendum that was on the ballot in San Francisco in November, the petition read:

"The people of Berkeley do resolve as follows: That there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

The petition campaign was initiated after the city council had rejected two requests to place the proposition on the ballot. In spite of the evident desire of Berkeley citizens to express their views on the war through a referendum, the city attorney had declared that the council could not legally authorize such an election, because the war in Vietnam is "out of the jurisdiction of a municipality."

The petition campaign here began to pick up steam after the California State Supreme Court overruled a similar view by the San Francisco city attorney and put "Proposition P" on last November's ballot there. Campaigners got well over the 5,400 signatures required for a special election, with the bulk of the petitions coming in since November.

### Submit Petitions

The petitions were presented to the city clerk by Carl Frank of the Student Mobilization Committee. The following day the intrepid city attorney ruled them invalid due to a technicality in format. The SMC has declared that it "will immediately seek legal action to force the council to accept the will of the people."

In the recent San Francisco election 30 percent voted for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, with 18 percent abstaining. Only 52 percent opposed immediate withdrawal, but they were not necessarily in favor of the war.

The SMC held a well-attended



THEY PAY FOR WASHINGTON'S WAR. Wounded GIs being helped along by their buddies in South Vietnam. GIs and Vietnamese people bear brunt of immoral and unjust war.

## U.S. Faces 4th Year Of Vietnam Deadlock

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Dec. 26 — The new year will mark the fourth year of major U.S. troop commitment to Vietnam. U.S. forces are scheduled to rise to 525,000, and there are over 800,000 soldiers in the Saigon and "allied" armies.

America has lost over 15,000 men killed and over 100,000 wounded. South Vietnamese civilian casualties exceed 100,000 per year. More bombs have been dropped on Vietnam than in all of Europe during the second world war. There are over one million refugees in disease-ridden hovels surrounding the major cities.

What has it all accomplished? The Johnson administration is making every effort to convince the American public it is crushing the South Vietnamese revolution. At the end of last month, Gen. Westmoreland was brought to Washington to explain that within two years the U.S. could begin gradually withdrawing troops, with Washington's objectives nearly accomplished.

Westmoreland cited as evidence of Washington's headway that "enemy armed strength" had declined from 285,000 in late 1966 to 242,000. He said "recruitment" to the National Liberation Front was declining and that the NLF controls only 2.5 million out of a population of 17.2 million — a decline of 1.5 million since 1965.

In the month since the U.S. commanding officer made these assertions, every one of them has been shown to be false.

The main underpinning of the Pentagon argument came apart in a leak from "government analysts" to the *New York Times*, Dec. 19. These sources estimated "enemy military and political manpower" at from 418,000 to 483,000, much higher than the figure reported in 1966.

They explained that Westmoreland had left out "two categories" in his report, "the Vietcong political apparatus, now estimated at 75,000 to 85,000, and the local self-defense militia, now tentatively estimated at 120,000 to 150,000."

The two categories Westmoreland omitted include "hard-core Vietcong political leaders, hamlet organizers, tax collectors and propagandists . . . guerrilla forces organized in village platoons and squads . . . part-time Vietcong, including women and youths."

The government sources had a somewhat different appraisal of U.S. prospects from Westmoreland: "In terms of destroying the enemy's structure of power, we are farther away from our goal than we thought we were last year. The more we find out, the worse it looks. It looks worse than a year ago."

A second damaging reply to Westmoreland came from the pages of the *New York Times* three days later, Dec. 23. This was a lengthy article on the "pacification" of the Mekong Delta by Vietnam correspondent R. W. Apple, Jr.

### Mekong Delta

The Delta region includes some six million of the 17 million population of South Vietnam. "Despite the Government's figures showing that it controls 60 percent of the population — figures regarded as fantasy by those who work in the paddies," Apple writes, "the Vietcong still dominate the area."

Even if the Saigon regime's figure, indicating 40 percent NLF control of the Delta, were taken as correct, it would refute Westmoreland's contention. Forty percent of 6 million is almost 2.5 million — the figure Westmoreland gave for NLF control in all of South Vietnam.

But that is far from the case (Continued on Page 2)

press conference on the steps of Berkeley City Hall when they submitted their petitions. The participants pointed to the nearby example across the Bay, saying that "The tide of public opinion continues to move against the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. We hope that, by placing the issue squarely before the voters of Berkeley, we can further stimulate the climate of debate, and reaffirm the right of the people to discuss and decide major policy questions that affect their lives."

"The Student Mobilization Committee will seek to build a large, thoroughgoing, educational campaign against the war." The SMC spokesmen said they aimed to convince the people of Berkeley that "it is in the best interests of both the American and Vietnamese peoples that the U.S. troops be withdrawn from Vietnam."

Present at the submitting of the petitions were Ed Farley, chairman of the San Francisco Citizens for a Yes Vote on Proposition P; Prof. Nielandt of the Community for New Politics; Carl

Frank of the SMC; and Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party.



Carl Frank

In This Issue:

**James Forman  
Speaks to  
Black Youth  
Conference**

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Attention is focused in New York City on the negotiations for a new contract between the city-owned subway and bus lines and the two transport workers unions, especially in view of the tremendous demonstration these workers gave two years ago in defense of their class interests.

The contract which settled that strike expires on Jan. 1, 1968, at 5 a.m. Negotiations between the Transport Workers Union, the Amalgamated Transit Union (bus drivers) and the city-appointed mediations panel have been going on since October, with no visible signs of an agreement. In fact, the three basic demands — a 30 percent increase in wages, a 30-hour workweek, and the right of workers to retire at half pension after 20 years of service — have not even been formally discussed as yet. Both sides have agreed to round-the-clock negotiations beginning Dec. 26.

But a complication has arisen. The State Public Relations Employees Relations Board, set up under the Taylor (RAT) Act, has announced that it will intervene in the situation. Since neither union "recognizes" either the Taylor Act or the board it created, Matthew Guinan, TWA president, has stated that he and his committee will meet informally with the board chairman, but will not deal with the board formally.

And to make the situation even more interesting, the N.Y. City Taxicab Drivers Union has announced that unless its newly won contract is signed very soon it will go on strike on New Year's Day. The cab drivers won a \$15-a-week increase which is being held up until the cab companies can get a rate increase through the city council.

A bill to improve living conditions of migrant farm workers in New Jersey was squeezed through during the last moments of the life of a lame-duck legislature. The old, outgoing legislature was Democrat-controlled. The new one is under the control of the Republicans.

The new bill requires that all of the state's 1,700 migrant camps be certified by state inspectors before they can be opened next spring. The bill increases the living space to 70 square feet for

each adult migrant, with an additional 50 square feet for each additional occupant of a dwelling. According to a newspaper account, "stringent health safeguards and fire prevention safeguards" will also be imposed on the angry growers.

Farming interests (factory farms) in New Jersey fought bitterly against the bill.

On Dec. 19 the New Jersey State Supreme Court upheld the criminal convictions and heavy fines imposed on a number of teachers after teachers' strikes in Newark and Woodbridge a year ago. The teachers had been fined \$1,000 each and put under one year's probation.

Dr. Frederick L. Hipp, executive secretary of the N.J. Education Association, said the ruling "hasn't changed a thing . . . it merely underscores the need for a new law that would compel boards of education to negotiate 'in good faith' with teacher organizations."

The Education Association represents 58,000 New Jersey teachers.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics announced on Dec. 22 that prices rose by .3 percent during November, bringing the total price increase for living costs up 2.8 percent over a year ago. The main increases were in the cost of apparel, health care, recreation, gasoline, and consumer services.

The bureau also warned of further rises in wholesale prices of industrial commodities, a "key barometer of inflationary pressures."

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has been on strike against the Giumarra Vineyards Corporation of Edison, Calif., since Aug. 3. The grape workers are demanding a minimum of \$1.90 per hour, a union shop contract with grievance and seniority provisions, medical insurance, paid vacations and rest periods.

The Giumarra corporation is the largest grower of fresh table grapes in the country, with annual sales amounting to \$12 million, plus federal government subsidies of almost a quarter of a million dollars. They adamantly refuse to pay more than \$1.40 an hour and have attempted to defeat the union by using scabs and with an anti-picketing injunction. Since farm workers are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act, the company can use any method it chooses without fear of legal reprisals (for whatever those amount to!).

The union is now retaliating by calling for a national boycott against Giumarra grapes — sending representatives to every major U.S. and Canadian city to solicit support from the labor movement. The other grape growers have jumped to the assistance of Giumarra by "lending" their labels to confuse the boycott.

—Marvel Scholl

## Johnson Sneaks A Visit to Rome

President Johnson was so afraid of antiwar demonstrators in Italy that he had two White House helicopters transported to Rome so that he could sneak in and out of the city without being seen by the Italian public.

The Dec. 26 *New York Post* described the reassembling of the presidential helicopters in Rome as "a logistics miracle," although it was reported that the President was "furious" because he had to wait for an extra 10 minutes while the miracle was accomplished.

# ...U.S. Deadlock in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

according to Apple. He could find only one district in one out of 11 provinces in the Delta region which had been successfully "pacified" — the Batri district of Kienhoa province.

In the Donnnon district of the same province "Vietcong penetration . . . extends into every aspect of life. Donnnon has 37 hamlets of which the Government wholly or partly controls six. It has 42,000 people of whom the Government controls 6,000.

"It is simultaneously and paradoxically the most heavily Vietcong district in the province, the most heavily Roman Catholic district in the province and the most peaceful district in the province."

That is a paradox for the Pentagon to figure out.

Apple's findings hardly square with Westmoreland's alleged opinion of NLF strength. They diverge even farther from his contention that the U.S. could begin to pull back its troops in two years with the revolutionaries essentially defeated.

### 1975 Reasonable Date

"The consensus of informed officials, speaking privately, remains cautious. They believe that one cannot hope for the pacification of the populated areas before 1971. Col. Tran Ngoc Chau, one of the ablest officers in the South Vietnamese Army, thinks 1975 is a reasonable guess."

Apple concludes his article with a quotation from a one-time colonel in the French colonial armies: "The delta is an immense pile of rice. To make yourself master of it, you have to conquer each grain, one after the other. It takes time."

Further issue with the Pentagon-administration line on Vietnam was taken by the Jan. 1 issue of *Newsweek* magazine in a special series of articles entitled "How Goes the War?"

*Newsweek* attempts to strike a balance between "the Dr. Spocks who argue with stentorian certitude that the U.S. is doing nothing right in Vietnam" and General Westmoreland's civilian deputy, Robert Komer, "who declares: 'I see not a single unfavorable trend.'" Komer's "boundless optimism" does not seem defensible.

"As yet, U.S. efforts to translate military victories into political progress in South Vietnam have met with only the most limited



Wounded Marine

success. And the prospects that this crucial leap will be accomplished in the near future do not seem bright . . .

"Overall, then, the answer to the question of how the Vietnamese war is going appears to be this: the U.S. position in South Vietnam is a good deal stronger than it was a year ago, but the position of the Communists is not crucially weaker.

"What this suggests is that, unless the U.S. decides to settle for considerably less than its avowed goal — a strong, non-Communist South Vietnam — the war seems likely to prove a protracted one."

In less couched language, the *Newsweek* conclusion would be not far different from that of the *New York Times* correspondents. Both of these prowar publications have scores of reporters on the

battlefield. Both feel that the war will be "protracted" at best.

When *Newsweek* states "the U.S. position is a good deal stronger" this year, it means there are more U.S. troops. The outright military defeat for Saigon that would certainly have ensued if Johnson had not rushed to Diem's support in 1965 is unlikely today.

U.S. forces are firmly entrenched in certain regions; the U.S. has constructed 10 huge naval bases and dozens of airfields; it is not likely these could be militarily defeated by the revolutionary guerrillas in the near future.

On the other hand, however, is the question of U.S. troops actually moving out of these zones of control to defeat the revolutionaries and occupy the rest of the land. That is what Johnson and Westmoreland promise to do and that is what very few actual observers of the battlefield — outside of administration circles — believe to be possible in the near future, if at all.

## Socialist Campaigning At New York Colleges

By Barbara Shalit

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers presidential ticket — Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice-President — has found its way onto a number of campuses in the metropolitan area here as a result of a recent "trail-blaze" conducted by two campaign supporters, Bob Horn and myself. During the two weeks before Christmas we visited 14 colleges and high schools, distributing literature and discussing our ideas with the antiwar activists and black militants at each school.

Everywhere we went students were interested in the campaign and in socialism. At Bronx Community College, for example, we met some antiwar activists. They began asking questions ranging from "What next for the antiwar movement?" to "How can socialism come about in America?"

The discussion that followed lasted over two hours. Afterwards several students became endorsers of the socialist ticket, and took stacks of literature to distribute. Several others said they wished to read some of our literature and

become more familiar with our ideas.

The following day, Bob was able to speak to members of the black power group on campus, called Simba. They, too, were interested in the campaign, and made arrangements for Paul Boutelle to speak on campus.

We had several opportunities to address the meetings of campus SDS groups, antiwar committees or DuBois Clubs. We would tell them a bit about the campaign and about the candidates, and a lively discussion always followed, sometimes lasting for an hour or so after the meeting had ended. At each meeting we went to, the group expressed an interest in hearing the candidates speak. Several of these groups have already invited Paul Boutelle to speak, since he will be in New York in January.

Thus far, campuses we have visited include Brooklyn College, Pratt Institute, New York University, Hunter College, Cooper Union, and Bronx, Manhattan and New York City Community Colleges, as well as several high schools.

## Fidel Castro's Tribute to Che Guevara

Text of address to Havana memorial meeting

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## Prices Leap In November

The Great Society's war-primed inflation took another leap forward in November, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Consumer prices jumped .3 percent and wholesale prices jumped a whopping .5 percent.

In the first quarter of 1968, according to Arnold Chase, deputy commissioner of labor statistics, wholesale prices could rise as much as 1.5 percent — meaning a gigantic 6 percent rise for the whole year if that trend were to continue.

Such increases in wholesale prices are inevitably "passed on" to retail prices, often many months later. Consequently the big rise in wholesale prices last month means that the two-year inflation in consumer prices is likely to go on for many months to come — and possibly at an even faster pace.

The .3 percent November jump in the consumer price index brings the level up 2.8 percent for the year. From October of 1966 through last October, average weekly earnings in manufacturing industries rose less than 2 percent.

**It's Not the Best****Medical Care in the United States**

By Marvel Scholl

It may come as a shock and a surprise to some people to learn that citizens of the United States do not have the best health care in the world.

During the past few years there has been a great deal of publicity on the growing crisis in American medicine, and a resulting degeneration of health standards.

However, none of the learned men who have been writing on this crisis has dared to draw the logical conclusions from all the horrifying facts and figures they present. They all hint, some vaguely, others more openly, that "something has to be done." But when they come to the door marked "socialized or nationalized medicine" they all refuse to open it, and scurry back to conformity.

Before examining this whole subject, let us first define "health." The First Principles of the World Health Organization (UN) put it succinctly: "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."

Using that definition as a criterion, where does the United States, the richest and most powerful country in the world, stand?

**Two Standards**

There are two basic scales upon which a nation's health standards are measured: infant mortality and longevity. Both of these statistical measuring rods reflect social and economic conditions affecting health — housing, education, nutrition, sanitation, medical services, income levels, political and labor organizations, etc.

The United States stands 14th on the infant mortality scale — just ahead of a poor country like Ireland, way below Great Britain, which has improved from its ratio of 34 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1948 (before the National Health Service Act) to 19.9 in 1964.

The U.S. has an infant mortality rate (babies who die before they are one year old) of 24.8 for every 1,000 live births. Instead of improving, that figure has remained static over several years. And in ghetto areas like Harlem in New York the rate is 44 dead babies for every 1,000 live births.

Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and England, all capitalist countries with one form or another of nationalized health service, stand at the top of the world scale in saving their babies' lives.

In most of the workers states the infant death rate is still far too high, but each year sees improvement. It must be kept in mind that in China, Russia, and Cuba, pre-revolutionary regimes had made almost no health care available to the common citizens.

A good example of what can be done under forced march is Cuba. Before 1959 the death rate of infants was unknown except



**POOR HIT HARDEST.** Medical care is especially bad in black ghettos.

among the bourgeoisie. Births and deaths were not even registered in the rural area. Most peasants and workers rarely saw a doctor. Yet by 1964 the previously astronomical — though unknown — infant mortality rate had dropped to 38.4 per 1,000 live births, putting Cuba ahead of Harlem.

It must be also kept in mind that while the people of the Eastern European workers states have fared slightly better, Russia, China and Cuba all had two major hurdles to leap before they could even begin to improve health standards.

Most practicing doctors and teachers in medical schools belonged to the upper middle class or the aristocracy and once the revolutions had been carried through, these professionals fled their countries as fast as they could get out. So the first major project was the education of a whole new medical and paramedical professional staff.

Elementary sanitation in the rural areas, and even in the working class districts in the cities, was almost nonexistent. Sewage and garbage disposal, drainage ditches, inside plumbing, clean piped water into homes, the eradication of both the social insects (fleas and lice) and other disease-carrying insects and rodents — all these problems had to be conquered before any real beginning to a meaningful health program could be undertaken. All of the contagious, epidemic diseases which breed under unsanitary conditions were rampant — typhus, typhoid, malaria, tuberculosis, smallpox.

It is not then for Americans to point a finger of scorn at these workers states which, except for Russia where remarkable achievements have been made, are still climbing out of the medical dark ages. It is rather for us to hang

our heads in shame that in this modern, industrialized nation, with its "affluent society," we still allow ourselves to live in social and medical anarchy.

The second scale upon which a nation's health standards are judged is longevity. Once again this nation takes its place, not at the top, but somewhere below the middle of the world thermometer. The United States stands 21st for males, 10th for females.

There are two additional facts even more alarming. Longevity for nonwhites, always about five years behind whites, is falling at almost the same ratio as that section of the population is increasing.

And according to Martin Gross, in his book *The Doctors*, the average life expectancy for all Americans is dropping. He quotes figures from the latest releases of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Life expectancy stood at its peak of 70.2 in 1961 (this figure is a composite of all categories generally separated (male, female, white and nonwhite). In 1962 that figure dropped to 70 and then again sank to 69.8 in 1963. Surviving life expectancy for a white male aged 65 has decreased since 1952.

**Increased Life Span**

Actually all these figures, ratios, etc., prove once again that "figures can't lie but liars sure can figure." For instance:

According to the 1967 *World Almanac*, there has been an increase in American life span of almost 23 years since 1900. Both the American Medical Association and the pharmaceutical industry claim credit for this life span increase. However, even within the AMA there is disagreement on this question. The New England Medical Association, a real maverick within the AMA, gives credit for the increase to the general rise in the standard of living and the eradication of communicable diseases.

Martin Gross, in his latest book, *The Doctors*, sums the numbers game up as follows: "Mathematically, the saving of an infant during childbirth or a three year old from diphtheria adds years to a longevity table but not to a surviving adult's life."

While it is true that increased medical know-how and life-saving equipment have done their share to increase our life span, it is important to keep in mind that "the general rise in living standards" can be credited to the American working class in its fight to obtain and maintain those standards.

But despite our much-vaunted high standard of living, the medical crisis in the country continues to deepen. And that decline in health standards in the richest country in the world will continue so long as we have medicine for profit, medical care as a privilege, not as a basic human right.

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Monday, January 1, 1968

**Phila. Upholds Injunction Against Black Militants**

By Stanley Vaughn

PHILADELPHIA — The two weeks which followed the Nov. 17 high school demonstration in the so-called City of Brotherly Love have opened the eyes of many citizens, both black and white. Courtroom injustice and racial hatred were exposed to the public when a packed courtroom heard Judge Alexander Barbieri rule that the injunction placed on Walter Palmer of the Black Peoples Unity Movement (BPUM) and William Mathis, Chairman of Philadelphia CORE, should stand.

The injunction was placed on Mathis and Palmer, along with two others, after the Nov. 17 incident at the Board of Education building where scores of high school students were attacked and brutally beaten by policemen while staging a peaceful demonstration. The School Board had obtained the injunction, which prohibited the four men from "demonstrating or inciting persons to demonstrate" on or near school property.

Racism exposed itself in courtroom 253 when defense attorney Cecil B. Moore was prevented

from showing photographs to the court that would have proven that the demonstration was a peaceful one. Moore's objections to various irrelevant questions asked of witnesses on the stand by prosecuting attorney David Berger were overruled by Judge Barbieri each time. But when similar interrogations were carried on by the defense and Berger disapproved, his objections were sustained most of the time.

A court clerk also showed his hatred when he refused to retrieve a chair for one of the key witnesses after Moore requested it. Tempers rose between the judge, the court clerk and Moore.

Many people jumped up with depressed and angry looks after the court was adjourned, while a minister yelled out, "We'll never get justice in here, never!"

This experience with trying to achieve justice and a fair trial in a Philadelphia courtroom has become an educational one for many people, black and white, who never before witnessed prejudice, hate, injustice and unconstitutional procedures.

**It Wasn't in the News — Loss of Hill 875**

An ironic footnote can be added to the history of the battle for Hill 875, which cost American soldiers over 1,000 casualties and raged for nearly a week in the latter part of November (see Dec. 4 *Militant*). The following brief *Agence France-Presse* dispatch was discovered by I. F. Stone in the Dec. 4 *London Times*:

"Dakto, South Vietnam, Dec. 3—Hill 875, which was captured 10 days ago, after a 5-day battle that cost 158 American lives, has already been abandoned. U.S. parachute troops who had been guarding the peak about four miles from Cambodia have returned to Dakto after blowing up the massive bunkers and fortifications on and around the summit.

"No explanation has been given for the withdrawal. Of all the numbered ridges which earned fleeting fame during last month's big battles, only Hill 1338 remains in American or South Vietnamese hands.

"The others have been abandoned after attempts to destroy the bunkers which protected them. . . ."

Stone states in his Dec. 18 *Weekly*, "We saw the same dispatch in the Paris *Le Figaro* but in no U.S. wire service or newspaper, not even the *New York Times* which subscribes to the French press service.

"Why is this news withheld from the U.S. public? So it cannot ask why so many lives were spent on taking hills the enemy can now reoccupy? If they aren't worth holding, why were they worth capturing? What happens to the fable they were of such strategic significance they had to be taken at any price?"

A number of good questions —

and so far the only answer seems to be the one an anonymous infantry officer gave the *Wall Street Journal*: [The valley] doesn't have any strategic value. Neither does the hill."

**Staughton Lynd Wins Ruling On Travel Ban**

An important victory for freedom of travel was won this Dec. 20 when the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that the State Department could not enforce its travel restrictions by refusing to issue passports to persons who travel to certain "off limits" countries. The ruling came out of an appeal brought by Staughton Lynd, anti-war activist and former professor at Yale University, who had his passport revoked after he visited Hanoi in 1966.

A peculiar aspect of the decision was that it specifically stipulated that while present federal statutes do not give the State Department the right to control a person's travel, it can say where that person may or may not take his passport. Thus the State Department can require a person to leave his passport in an "approved" country while he ventures into a restricted area.

Despite the ruling, the right to travel is still in great danger because the Johnson administration is already pressing Congress to pass a bill making it a crime punishable by a year in jail and a \$1,000 fine to travel to banned countries like Cuba, China, or North Vietnam.

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# 'Our Exploitation Result

[The following is the text of the keynote speech delivered by SNCC International Affairs Director James Forman at the Western Region Black Youth Conference held in Los Angeles Nov. 23.]

Tomorrow morning in the seminar on racism, apartheid and colonialism, we will discuss the white something from which arises the black thing. This means that we will not go into a detailed discussion of the economic forces and the industrial-military complex that make it necessary for us to have a theme such as we have.

The only correct way to discuss those words is from a historical context. Too often we look at an event, a situation, a slogan, a life history, a rebellion, a revolution, and assume that its present characteristics have always been its past.

For instance, in Vietnam we see a heroic struggle occurring where the Vietnamese people are using revolutionary armed force to repel their aggressors. Sometimes we fail to understand that the South Vietnamese had a policy of self-defense for at least four years — from 1955 to 1960 — before they engaged in offensive armed struggle to liberate their country from the repression of the Diem regime and its United States backers.

When the student movement started in February, 1960, many of the activists thought they had begun the black revolution. Many of us failed to understand the historical conditions which produced us and the actions we were taking against segregation in this country, especially in the Deep South.

## History of Resistance

While it is beyond the limits of my time to go into a long discussion of the history of our people, it is absolutely essential to see our history as one of resistance. Our ancestors began to resist the enforced slavery long before they left the shores of Africa. Those of our brothers who sold their kinship into slavery found that there was resistance in the interior of Africa. The captured African did not voluntarily go to the shores of Africa and willingly board the slave ships that brought our forefathers to this alien land. They resisted in Africa. They resisted the moment they were wrenched from the shores of Africa.

They resisted on the high seas.

They resisted in Virginia, Texas, Mississippi, South Carolina, wherever they were forced to work as slaves building the so-called great white civilization of the United States and the Western world.

We resist today!

We must continue at every step of the ladder of our liberation to view those previous rungs as battles for which we fought, as battles for which we paid dearly in our blood, sacrifice and toil, as battles which we could not win unless those below were willing to resist, dead though they may be, unknown, unsung, many of those



James Forman

names no one knew. But they resisted, and they died in the liberation struggle.

Those of us who live are obligated to keep the unknown martyrs before our consciousness and to dedicate ourselves to more resistance until there are no more rungs of resistance, no more ladders of resistance, but only the ravines, the fields, the mountains, the inner cities and streets of revolution.

The opposite of resistance is accommodation. It is certainly true today that many of our people are accommodating themselves to the system of capitalism in which we live. Personally, I do not view much of the history of our people as accommodation. There may have been a few who accommodated themselves to slavery, a few informers here and there. Even during the period of Reconstruction, throughout the twentieth century, in the efforts of the Niagara movement, the Garvey movement, and most of the actions of the civil rights movement must be seen from my viewpoint, the history of a people who were and are resisting a form of neo-slavery that existed after the so-called Emancipation Proclamation.

## The Masses

It is true that much of the visible leadership in the past has often been characterized as accommodating leadership, but I am not discussing just the visible leadership. Leaving aside judgments on certain visible symbols of leadership, I am talking about the masses of our people. The masses of black people have never accommodated themselves to the United States.

And it is among the masses that our youth must work.

Only from the masses of black people will there come revolutionary leadership, a leadership that will not accommodate itself, that will continue to resist as our ancestors resisted, a leadership that will not mind dying for independence and freedom, not only of blacks but for all oppressed.

For those of us who consider ourselves freedom fighters, it is imperative that we view our history in this manner, a history of resistance, not of accommodation. It is imperative that we realize that our culture and our people have been able to resist, to survive, and to make it possible for us to

deal more death blows to our oppressors.

Why have I devoted so much time to interpreting our history as one of resistance? There are several reasons. First, I assume all of us have certain factual knowledge of our history and those of us who do not will soon acquire that. But I am convinced that many of us have not interpreted those facts correctly. Certainly my interpretation is open to debate, a debate in which I am prepared to engage — and defend.

## Damages Cause

Secondly, I am convinced that a faulty interpretation of our history is often damaging to our cause. For instance, Johnny Wilson, a member of SNCC, recently attended a conference in Czechoslovakia where there were many representatives of the National Liberation Front and the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam. The Vietnamese there assembled, people who are fighting and dying daily by the hundreds for their freedom, asked the American representatives to sing the song, "We Shall Overcome." They stated that they had sung the song often, for it gave them inspiration and much hope.

One of the brothers from Newark attending the conference, who may or may not have participated actively in the rebellion, jumped up and said: "No. We don't sing that song. The people who sang that song were crazy. They were nonviolent and we ain't." The Vietnamese were stunned. They are not crazy for singing it and I do not think all of us who sang it were crazy. People do not sing it today for many reasons. But the brother from Newark was only in Prague because there was a historical relationship between his presence there and the manner in which he got there. I am well aware that my presence here is due to many factors, but if it had not been for the people who sang "We Shall Overcome," there is no question in my mind that I would not be here today.

To view our history as one of resistance is to recognize more clearly the colonial relationship that we have with the United States. Traditionally, when one thinks of colonialism, images of foreign powers occupying another land and subjecting its people are

the kinds of mental pictures we frame.

But our own colonial status is unique in that we are the descendants of people enslaved and transplanted into a colonial status. The rhetoric, the false claims, the meaningless phrases — all these try to tell us that we are citizens, we are Americans. I will not dwell on the absurdity of that, for we all know too well that the internal rebellions in this country, led by Watts, would not occur if in fact that was the case.

The serious conditions in which we find ourselves as a people demand that we begin talking more of the colonized and the colonizer. If we begin to use those terms more and to describe their inner workings, especially the economic base on which colonialism is founded and the industrial-military complex of Western countries which sustain it, we shall definitely advance the cause of our liberation. Any colonized people are exploited people. But all exploited people are not colonized. That is to say, we can have in certain situations, as we do in many countries around the world, people exploited because of their class positions in society.

## White Colonizers

Within the United States there are many exploited whites, but they are not colonized. In most instances they form a part of the colonizing class. That is to say, we have in certain situations, as we do in many countries around the world, people exploited because of their class positions in society. When Fanon says we must stretch a Marxist analysis when we look at colonial situations, he is referring to this condition, even though he didn't explain it. My contribution to theory.

Unless my historical understanding is incorrect, the colonial relationships since the fifteenth century have all involved white Europeans and their American white descendants colonizing the darker people of the world. Therefore race is intimately involved in the colonizing experience. My own experience in various situations with my brothers and sisters has led me to conclude that it is necessary to view ourselves in these terms, the colonized and the colonizer, if we are not to fall into the trap of seeing the cause of our problems as merely skin causes, black skin versus white skin. A purely skin analysis of the cause and continuing responsibility for our condition is not only theoretically incorrect, but because it is theoretically incorrect, it will lead to some serious mistakes in programming.

When we view our colonial situation in the United States, it is easy, it is emotionally satisfying at times, and it may be the first step in nationalism, which we must promote, to view the cause as one solely of skin. But if our analysis remains there, and if we do not work to broaden our understanding, we are headed for a trick, a frustrating pit of despair.

A purely skin analysis, for instance, makes it very difficult to guard against reactionary nationalism. For instance, Dr. Hasting Banda of Malawi would undoubtedly and without question tell you that he is an African nationalist. A man with black skin, yet he visits Taiwan, tells us the United States is right for fighting in Vietnam, and is willing to open diplomatic relations with South Africa.

There is an aspect of our colonial experience, however, which we often fail to examine, to look at, to determine its meaning for today and tomorrow, and which may help to shed light on the skin analysis. Hence too often we overlook that our enslavement involved a duality — an alliance by some

of our African ancestors with white slavers. The ruling classes of many African territories and nations, the African victors in many skirmishes and wars with other Africans, cooperated with the white ruling classes and their merchants to get us to this country. This examination should in no way imply that I do not place the greatest burden upon Western civilization for our enslavement, but I do not think it does much good to overlook that many Africans were willing to make a profit off our bodies.

Today, in many instances, we see similar situations — exploitation of blacks by blacks, especially in parts of Africa, and I could call a list of countries, and here in the United States. This exploitation has its own historical roots and any effective programming which we will do in the future must be aware of this current fact, from its historical and class basis. A more profound analysis of this problem, the cooperation of the ruling class Africans with the slaving white merchants, has been made by a young historian, Walter Rodney, whom we met in Tanzania.

Brothers and Sisters, bold analysis of the last six or seven paragraphs of this paper places into sharp focus three ways of looking at the fundamental causes of our problems: One, we can take the position that says we are exploited solely because of our skin color. This I call the skin analysis. Two, we can take a second position that says our exploitation is solely due to our class position in this society. This I call the exclusive class analysis. We can take a third position that says that our exploitation results both from class positions as well as from our race. Given all that I said, it is obvious that I hold to the third position.

## Marxism

The absolute necessity for me to raise this as a discussion item arises from my own experience within the movement. Once during a discussion with one of my brothers, I used the word "Marxian." He jumped up and pounded on the table and yelled: "But, motherfucker, Marx was not a black. He was not black, do you hear! He was a white writer."

Just recently we have come through some painful discussions in the New York area and we have seen some very deep tensions in the black community resulting from conflicts on this issue. And this is very important, because one brother was kidnapped, based on this issue, and three other brothers had to go get him, and they almost got killed in the process of doing it, so that the situation is very pressing on my consciousness. For instance, the March on the Pentagon was advertised in the *Inner City Voice*, a revolutionary journal that started in Detroit after the rebellion. This journal called upon blacks to join the confrontation at the Pentagon.

In the meantime, there had been all sorts of discussion among some black militants on the East Coast about what should be the relationship of black people to the March. The brothers and sisters from Detroit did not know about these conflicts and therefore came to Washington to participate in the demonstration. They wanted the National Liberation Front, so they said, to know that there were blacks opposed to the war and who were ready to confront the war makers.

However, at the March they were torn asunder because there were brothers and sisters who began to say: "Black people are not relating to that thing. That's a white thing." And one so-called spokesman for a Black Power Committee said: "Black people are interested in their communities."

GRIN AND BEAR IT BY LICHY



# ts from Class and Race'



**BLACK CONTINGENT.** At Oct. 21 march on Pentagon, black section was organized by Inner City Voice, a Detroit newspaper.

And I'm still quoting him. "The whites started this war, so let them end it. We're tired of marching. We're headed for a black thing and that thing don't include marching on the Pentagon. We're concerned... about the cutbacks in the Poverty Program. We want jobs and better communities."

Within SNCC today we are discussing revolutionary Black Power as opposed to reactionary Black Power, for we have seen instance after instance where conservative forces have tried to explain away or excuse the revolutionary aspect of Black Power. But an understanding of what is meant by revolutionary Black Power hinges on how one sees the fundamental causes of our condition today. Resulting from this analysis will flow many things and many decisions and many ways of solving our problem.

## The Dispossessed

Within the concept of the colonized, we must begin to speak more of the dispossessed, those who do not have. This is important, for it determines where alliances are made. The dispossessed unite with the dispossessed. It must be clearly understood that the nature of the colonial experience is that racism is inherent in all its manifestations, even though the dispossessed unite with the dispossessed or even if the exploiters who are responsible for the colonizing are kicked out, the legacy of racism and remnants of the colonial experience remain and must be uprooted. The Chinese are saying in part through their cultural revolution that, even though one eliminates the structural forms of capitalism, there are capitalistic ideas and thoughts that still remain and must be combated.

As Chairman H. Rap Brown stated to the Black Caucus at the National Conference on New Politics, the dispossessed in the United States are the people of African descent, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican Americans, and many poor whites. We are the vanguard of that group because of our historical oppression and the racism inherent in it. Whether we will live up to our historical role and lead forward that revolution remains to be seen.

It is our job to go forth from this conference, using whatever means necessary to liberate ourselves and other oppressed people — not only in the United States but throughout the world. In order to do this we must wage an unrelenting struggle against racism and exploitation of man. We must work, not for ourselves but for the unborn generations that will carry humanity and our people to new heights, to a world without racism,

to a world of no more resistance but only a community of concern. For this world we must be prepared to fight and to die. And we must believe that we will win. We must believe that our fight and our deaths are not in vain.

How do we organize and what do we organize. One year ago, within SNCC, we called for the formation of all-inclusive political units, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. We have called for the formation of the Freedom Organizations. You can choose any name so long as it is an independent political organization that will service the needs, the total needs, of the people. These organizations must build within themselves committees to deal with the economic, political, social, cultural, educational, and welfare needs of the people. They must have youth organizations, and it is up to us, those of us with the commitment to total change, with energy and time to go to the masses and organize them to do this work.

## Need of Organizing

One may well speak of revolution, but unless there is day-to-day, block-to-block, city-to-city, and nationwide organizing, there can be no fundamental changes in our lives. Those of us who consider ourselves politically hip, those of us who feel we have a consciousness, those of us who are prepared to take care of business, must recognize that unless there is mass participation by black people in efforts to bring about revolution, then that revolution will not occur, no matter how long we talk about it. Rhetoric is not a substitute for work.

In fact, Brothers and Sisters, I do not mean to sound pretentious or presumptuous, or to degrade anyone's effort, but the reality is that there are so few people willing to do work among the masses of the people. That is why this conference is very important and we should all thank the organizers, for they have been willing to work, willing to mimeograph, to arrange meetings, to stay up late in order to organize. Blueprints for revolution have been around for a long time. And every one that I have read has stressed the importance of active political organization. And in fact, man, you got to work in order to do any of that.

We are distributing at this conference a pamphlet prepared for a programmatic workshop of SNCC, entitled "Don't Shut Me Out, or How To Become a Good Political Organizer," selling for 50 cents. The pamphlet is not perfect, nothing is. But there are some valuable suggestions in that pamphlet that may help you in your work. I repeat, and I speak out of experi-

ence. There is much to do and few to do it. We must work, work, work.

And as we work in the inner cities and in the rural areas, we must be prepared to guard against the sabotaging of our work, the infiltration of our cadres by the FBI and the CIA and local police agents. We must not allow the McClellan Committee, the Eastland Committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee to isolate SNCC, to destroy the Panthers, to arrest and imprison other militants because the man is afraid of RAM. We have to build visible defense committees and link all the militants in some confederation, so that it will be more difficult to isolate and destroy any of us. Inner city newspapers must be established to provide alternative methods of communication, for all of us know that the man is not going to print anything but negative news of our movement.

Finally, we must protect our brothers and sisters, and even as I say this there are some brothers in jail about whom there is not much active concern because we have allowed our own internal contradictions to divide us. This brother may not have done that the way some brothers would have done it. Therefore he is left isolated. And to the degree that this occurs, all of us stand to be destroyed.

Granted that the forward thrust of the movement cannot be stopped, it can be halted and set back. Time and energy, the two most important assets we have, can be uselessly spent if we are not immediately responsive to a crisis or even to take legal action in behalf of brothers that are arrested.

## Eliminate Class Bias

This last point cannot be overstressed, for the man is picking up brothers all over the country, and sometimes there is no response to their arrest. This is not the case with respect to visible symbols of leadership — Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown, and so forth and so on, and maybe even myself. It must also be true for the man behind the mimeograph sheet or the one who is taking care of business. In other words, we have to work to eliminate the class bias that is often apparent in many of our organizations and efforts.

And now, Brothers and Sisters, I must depart from the written script. I had some other notes but they are not here. As I said, I am very tired and I have had to read this paper because I do not trust myself, my ability to be very coherent without leaning on the paper.

I repeat it is very important that we begin to write down our thoughts. We must get away from the oral tradition. It is extremely hard to pass on to future generations ideas and information if it is all in the oral tradition.

For six years as I served as the Executive Secretary I would make speeches and none of them would be written. That means that if something had happened to me, if I had been annihilated in battle, then whatever ideas I may have had would not have been transmitted, for they would have been lost. That is the problem with the period of Reconstruction in our history. There were many strong black cats who were sheriffs and who were other lawmakers, but there is not much, if anything, written by them, nothing that we can read — and many of them could write. But as a people, we have the oral tradition, and they employed that; but for the future generation we must write. We must write from our own experience, for only we have all the insights into what we mean.

However, now I want to discuss... five points, or several

things that we must do to counteract possible reactions and attempts to destroy us by the man. The first thing we must do is to stop all this loose talk, to keep our mouths shut. Because cats are sitting around doing loose talk and the man is gathering information and intelligence. The man is piecing together all this loose talk and making up conspiracy charges and what have you. This very well may have been what happened in New York, because there were police informers involved in the charges. I don't know, but certainly they were framed.

I know this is what happened with the Statue of Liberty case, because Policeman Woods was the man who conceived the idea, pushed the brothers into it by making them feel guilty because they weren't militant enough, arranged for the dynamite, took a brother to pick it up, and then testified against them in court. The result was they served three and one-half years, and Woods is still free. That is a fact and you'd better read about the Statue of Liberty case before you go out every night talking about the revolution with any and everyone.

The second thing deals with these research programs. I have been gathering some intelligence on them and I have discovered in one city, Detroit, that three researchers with some money talked to over 250 brothers who discussed details of the rebellion, plans and stages for future activity. The researchers have taken the material back to the foundation. What do you think that it has done with it? Obviously the man has it. This has happened all over this country. Immediately, during, and after the rebellion, you see brothers talking to television cameras, saying what they're going to do soon as the National Guard pulls out. They are just selling wolf tickets and giving out information on themselves.

The man has an intelligence file

on everybody. And he has gotten that information in part because we have been running off at the mouths, cooperating with some research project about a rebellion. You don't make a rebellion and describe it until after it's all over.

The third question deals with rumor-mongering. For the last two or three weeks, I've gotten telephone calls with people saying that this person or that person is "the man," and when I check it out, there doesn't seem to be much basis in fact for the kinds of rumors that are spreading. Such evidence as "this chick looks funny" or "she talks funny." I am not saying that there are no informers. There are enough FBI and CIA agents, even in this room, that we don't know about. We do not need to make the situation worse by spreading rumors that have no foundation based on facts and reality. One must check out these things before fingering a person.

What is the danger of rumor-spreading? The danger is that the man uses this as a divisive technique. He puts the finger on cats. He wants to create suspicion, he wants to divide and conquer, he wants to put the finger on cats by spreading ill-founded rumors. This has happened all over Africa. Liberation fighters have had to combat suspicions placed on them by the fingers of the man. And if we give in to this type of rumor-mongering, we are contributing to that type of activity.

The fourth thing is the negative press, which we've talked about. We cannot expect favorable coverage of our activities. We must have our own papers.

The fifth thing, which is extremely important, deals with splitting activities. As Brother Snelling said, "Everybody's black." Blackness is granted; it may not be sufficient, but certainly it is granted. But the reality is that the man is wearing Afros today, he is wearing dashikis. You dig it?

(Continued on Page 6)

## Che Guevara Speaks

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# REVIEWS and REPORTS

**DEM** by William Melvin Kelley. Doubleday, 1967, 210 pp., \$3.95.

This is not a book about a Democrat by an Irishman, but a novel about white people ("lemme tellya how dem folks live") and their prejudices against black people, written by a talented young Afro-American and dedicated to "the black people in (not of) America."

The lives dem folks live in this book are irrational, socially use-

less, insecure, fearful and filled with fantasy. Hardly the thing into which self-respecting people would want to be integrated. But this is a novel, not a tract. It tells the story of Mitchell Pierce, a middle-class white who writes TV commercials, and what happens when his wife gives birth to twins, one white and one black. (The doctor explains that it is probably a case of superfecundation, resulting from two separate intercourses with men of different color.) The satire is bitter, the style shifts from realism to surrealism and back, and the reader can see, long before he is finished with this short book, that he is in the presence of both an artist and an acute social critic.

This is Kelley's fourth book. As correspondent of the *Saturday Evening Post*, he attended the trial last year of three men charged with the murder of Malcolm X. The magazine reportedly refused to print the long article he submitted. It's not hard to see why if you read *Dem*.

—G.B.

## Antiwar Film on TV

NEW YORK — "Profile of a Peace Parade," a documentary film of the Aug. 6, 1966, Hiroshima Day antiwar march in New York, will be shown on educational television throughout the country this month. It will be shown here Jan. 1 at 9 p.m. and Jan. 2 at 11 p.m. on channel 13. The film, produced and directed by David Loeb Weiss, is being distributed by National Educational Television.

# Black Liberation Notes

The organizers of the boycott by black athletes of the 1968 Olympics have drawn up a list of demands which must be met before they will call off the boycott action. The demands include: 1) Reinstatement of Muhammad Ali as world boxing champ; 2) No competition between the United States teams and the "lily-white" teams of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia; 3) An end to discrimination against black people and Jews by the New York Athletic Club; 4) Appointment of an additional Afro-American coach to the U.S. Olympic team; 5) Appointment of a black person to the U.S. Olympic Committee and; 6) Resignation or ouster of Avery Brundage, the president of the International Olympic Committee.

The sixth demand for the resignation of Brundage was announced at a recent news conference, where boycott organizer Dr. Harry Edwards reportedly called Brundage a "devout anti-Semitic and anti-Negro personality." Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, author Louis Lomax, and SCLC President Martin Luther King were also present at the press conference, and came out in support of the boycott.

The American Civil Liberties Union has come in on the case of Muhammad Ali. ACLU lawyers are now appealing Ali's June 20 conviction for refusing induction into the army before the Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals. The appeal is being fought on

the grounds that in Kentucky, where Ali's draft status was originally handled, only 0.2 percent of the 641 Selective Service Board members are black. Black people make up 7.1 percent of the state's population.

On Dec. 12 six narcotics detectives were arrested on charges of selling drugs in the New York area. Shortly after, a rally was held in Harlem to discuss what can be done about police corruption in the black community. Speakers pointed out that police "do not give a damn" about protecting black people and the claim was made that "more graft is paid in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant than anywhere in the United States."

Approximately 500 people attended the rally, which was called by Neighborhood Board No. 3 in Harlem.

The most significant thing about the meeting was the suggestion of one of the speakers that the Harlem community organize its own patrols to police the ghetto. If such patrols were actually controlled and run by the community, they could not only help get rid of the crime resulting from police corruption, but they could replace the occupation army of city cops which now oppresses the black community.

Such community-based patrols have grown up during revolutions in the colonial world. For example, the National Liberation Front in Algeria took responsibility for fighting the pimps and racketeers who made money off the backs of the poor in the Arab sections of Algiers.

Three-fourths of the white policemen who patrol the black community have "prejudiced attitudes," according to Prof. Albert Reiss, a sociologist at the University of Michigan who has done a study of racism among white cops in Boston, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. The results of the study were made public during Reiss's testimony before the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders on Dec. 21.

Reiss told the committee that half of all the police officers in "high crime areas" showed extreme prejudice. By "extreme prejudice" he meant the tendency on the part of officers to describe black people "in terms of the animal kingdom" or in other "extreme" fashions.

According to the Dec. 16 *Baltimore Afro-American*, Rev. Wood of Boston told the following story at a hearing of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: "One [black] family had called the police because of an incident in the area. They waited 10 minutes, 15 minutes, 20 minutes, and there was no response."

"Then someone was smart enough to think of calling the police saying, 'get out here quick, there is a black beating up a white.' The police were there in two minutes."

—Elizabeth Barnes



From Al Mussawar (Cairo)

# ...Forman's Speech at L.A. Conference

(Continued from Page 5)

He's wearing them! I've seen them in the crowds. When we were in Philadelphia on the so-called dynamite frame-up case, a cop, of whom we were suspicious and had not seen for three weeks, came around in a dashiki and a turban, identifying with the masses. The brothers easily identify with me because I'm wearing a buba; the other brother is over there clean and taking care of business. See, we're in a trick. We have to watch out for this kind of activity because it is happening all over. That is why the man has so much intelligence in Harlem, because he has gone in there on that kind of basis and he's doing it everywhere else, and we have to watch out.

The kidnapping in Washington

was supposed to have happened because the brother wasn't black enough, and some of the same people involved in the kidnapping put out a newsletter charging that there was an internal Communist conspiracy to kill black people at the demonstration at the Pentagon. It was admitted in the newsletter that there had been conversations with the police department, admitting there had been discussions about how this organization could keep down a rebellion in D.C. Also in the newsletter, there were words to the effect that Robert Williams, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, were associating with governments that bring greater repression on black people in the United States. And yet this organization called itself the Black Man's Volunteer Liberation Army.

## Splitting Tactics

I am not even saying that those who put out that newsletter were the man. Maybe they didn't put it out, but they didn't disown it. It is obvious, however, that the effect was the same. The Black Community in Washington was terrorized. They did not know what was going to happen that day. Certainly they did not want to be involved in gun fights between blacks. When we fight like this among ourselves, only the man stands to gain. He got his peace and quiet in Washington at our expense. Black people were split and we must realize that blackness is going to be used more and more as a splitting tactic.

## Will Use Any Means

Remember, this government will use any means to control the upsurge of insurrectional activity coming from the inner city, and we must not help him. This happened here at this conference. Those cats out there were trying to terrorize this conference. They had said they were going to do that. But they were stopped. When we have to fight among ourselves, we don't have time to deal with the man. We just do not have the time to fight among ourselves. The masses get bewildered, and they are not willing to go out on the streets if they feel they have to fight with brothers. It is difficult enough to get any of us out on the streets.

It's bad enough to have to deal with a hunky. Nobody wants to shoot a brother. In Washington the people who went to see about the newsletter and other matters did not want to shoot those cats. As a matter of fact, it is my contention that the man was waiting for them to start something.

There is no better help we can give to the man than to fight among ourselves. In Washington, it was a perfect setup. If the brothers had mounted their stairs to take care of business, they could have easily been blown away.

## Distribute Information

So we must understand, Brothers and Sisters, that this is going to happen time and time again. Situations where we will be unnecessarily provoked will occur.

Brothers and Sisters, I am going to close. But I want to emphasize that we have brought a lot of information in papers to this conference, and we urge you to go back to your campuses and get this material distributed. Get your student activities office to stencil this material, and you can pass it out. Do you realize that most books don't sell over 10,000 copies? When we mimeograph 15,000 copies of something, we are beating Random House. What difference does it make if it is not copyrighted? We must get out of this Western value that something has to be copyrighted and printed by one of the New York publishing houses before it has value.

## Keep Mimeographing It

The point is that we want the material read. Now you are hip enough to get all these Afro-American organizations started on your campuses. And I know not many of you on the West Coast go to all-black schools. There aren't any. So you ought to be hip enough to get those mimeograph machines rolling and copy this material. If you do this, we can have a distribution of 100,000 copies of the material printed and distributed in a month. We talk about alternative methods of communication. Well, we can do something with this material. If you don't like it, give it to somebody else to read and ask them to mimeograph it.

It is imperative that we do this,

but to do it we have got to work. I am old and I know that, but I also know that most cats are shucking and jiving. They simply do not want to do any work. They do not want to do any work. They want to sit down and talk about how black I am and how bad the man is, but they will not even get up and raise a quarter for a black organization.

Now I ain't going into no cultural-historical analysis of that. It ain't nothing but out and out laziness.

## Importance of Future

Finally, we must be concerned about the future. It is a trap to think in terms of our lives. Do you think that if those North Vietnamese soldiers were worried about their lives, they would put up the fight that they do at Dak To hill? If you are worried about your life, it means that you are trying to protect your life. And if you are too worried, you are expressing again individualism. You are not concerned with the future. When you are not worried about your life and you are concerned about the future, concerned about all the unborn Huey Newtons, all the unborn Emmett Tills and Charles Mack Parkers and Sammy Youngs and Ruby Doris Robinsons, and when you are concerned about your own children — then you are ready to take care of business. And you ain't got no business having any children if you ain't gonna fight for their freedom.

Thank you.

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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.]

## Landlords

North Bergen, N.J.

The letter in the Dec. 18 issue from "D.A." in Newark interested me, and, like you, I disagree.

The landlord of the apartment house where I lived for 14 years in Manhattan (upper west side) was fined several times, put in the workhouse at least twice, if I remember correctly, and his citizenship was finally threatened by the law-enforcement people — all because of abuses and delinquencies. He was notorious for not paying the people who made repairs on the property. He lived in the same building as I did, his wife wore expensive clothes, and his son was being sent to an expensive institution. At least one article about him and his punishment appeared in a New York newspaper.

I lived in an apartment in New Jersey which was directly over the furnace that heated the entire apartment building. In less than one year the furnace blew up four times, breaking windows, filling the apartment with oily soot, and, the fourth time (after which I moved) flames were seen by the superintendent creeping through a narrow space between wall and protective metal ceiling cover, and if the firemen had not arrived when they did the flames would have ignited, through that narrow passageway, the tinder-dry floor boards of my apartment.

I asked a lawyer if I could have my rent reduced, since I had already spent a good deal of money on essential improvements because the landlady had refused to do so, and the lawyer said there could be a rent reduction only if the furnace explosions had caused Bodily Injury Or Death, because the laws were all in favor of landlords.

T.H.

P.S.:

Thank you for your article about meat in the Dec. 18 issue. I am going to suggest to Senators and Congressmen and the President that a new, improved meat bill, like that of Senator Mondale of Minnesota be passed to replace the Montoya compromise bill.

## A Congratulation

Los Angeles, Calif.

I find your paper very informative. As a black man who has been cautious about what is written by white people I would like to congratulate you on your objective reporting concerning the struggle against the oppressor.

M.D.

## U.S. War Crimes

Chicago, Ill.

It behooves every American, progressive or otherwise, to read as many publications as possible regarding the horrible and genocidal slaughter in Vietnam.

The fact that the Bertrand Russell Tribunal has indicted the U.S. for the same war crimes of which Nazis in Germany were guilty during World War II should cause much concern among thinking Americans.

How much longer will this be allowed to continue? The entire nation of Germany was condemned in the eyes of the world. Now the eyes of the world are upon us!

Strangely, many Americans who scoffed at the protestations of innocence by Germans, are now silent about our country's war crimes!

Is a war crime only a war crime if committed by a German? A Japanese?

May the continuous demonstrations against war, draft, Dow, succeed in bringing the senseless and barbaric war in Vietnam to an end.

Nellie De Schaaf

## Refreshing

Philadelphia, Pa.

Wanted you to know what a relief it is to read your paper each issue; a refreshing breather from all the capitalist mass media's muck.

## Alabama SNCC

Selma, Ala.

We in Alabama SNCC are in immediate and serious financial

straits. We are calling upon our Brothers and Sisters to respond as generously and as quickly as possible to this appeal for funds.

This financial crisis we believe grows out of the immoral conditions which infected our society and the clear sharpening of contradictions facing all of us.

We are in the process of having our first Antidraft conference and tribunal, which will be free to everyone, because if we charge anything we might miss those who are too poor to pay to get in and these are the ones we are trying to reach.

We are also working on long range plan for the summer which will consist of Liberation Schools and centers throughout the state.

We are still working diligently on the 1968 election, both national and local.

We are convinced that we have your support and that you will respond to our appeal today.

Bill Payne

Central Office Director  
Alabama Student Nonviolent  
Coordinating Committee  
P.O. Box 572  
Selma, Ala.

## Churches and Socialism

Midlothian, Md.

Why do the churches accuse the Communists of being ungodly? It all started in Russia in the early 1900s. The people of Russia at that time were exploited so that they had to work from daybreak until it was too dark to see to work in the evening. And they

only got enough wages to just barely exist. Then the workers organized under what later became known as a Communist government.

Then they rose up in revolution against the capitalists of Russia. The poor people and working class were by all means determined to liberate themselves at any cost from their masters. And the bloody battle swept the whole of Russia.

There were so many preachers and priests who came out in their sermons against the workers in their struggle. They turned their pulpits into places of political propaganda, by exhorting the workers to bear poverty and oppression with humility and patience. So anyone can plainly see how the poor mortals of workers felt against the churches.

The more the workers struggled, the bolder the clergymen came out against the workers' struggle, until it angered the workers so they fought back at the clergymen and churches. And the outcome of it was a lot of the churchmen and clergymen got killed.

So it was only some hypocrites they destroyed. Those workers were angry and shedding their life's blood to win a survival, and

the churches paying lip service to the capitalists against them. And that is why some churches today preach Communism is ungodly.

Is Communism doing any wrong to the churches here today? No they are not. But we have a large number of so-called preachers of righteousness and so-called Christians here in the U.S. today that are using their churches and pulpits to preach capitalist propaganda. They are persecuting the poor struggling people here in the U.S. and Vietnam and Latin America and other countries where people are struggling against capitalism for survival.

That is why Communism doesn't have any part in the churches and religions. Just what would the Jesus these so-called Christians preach about say if he was standing by them in body, as he stood on the shores of Galilee.

I am not condemning Christian preachers or Christians. I am condemning the ones that say we should go down and "liberate" Castro. I class them as would-be murderers. I thank God that Castro emancipated Cuba from under Batista and the U.S. dictatorship.

William Cecil  
Midlothian, Md. 21543

## Thought for the Week

"The [Saigon] Government's influence [in the Mekong Delta] extends precisely to those points where a Government soldier puts his boot on the ground." — American "adviser" in Cantho, as quoted by R. W. Apple Jr., New York Times, Dec. 23.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Real Reciprocity** — In a TV interview broadcast while he was en route to Australia, the "President of all the people" repeated his oft-stated position that he would not stop bombing North Vietnam until he had evidence that the North Vietnamese would reciprocate. Reliable sources in Hanoi have informed this department that, as evidence of reciprocity, an immediate halt in the bombing of New York and Washington will take place.

**Delicate Lawmakers** — The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is inquiring into the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incidents "to clear up uncertainties" about "reported encounters" between U.S. destroyers and North Vietnamese torpedo boats. According to John W. Finney of the New York Times, the committee members "have been hesitant in expressing doubts since the effect would be to challenge, if not impugn, the integrity of the Presidency in the middle of a war." This delicacy of feeling could more fittingly be applied to the victims of the bombings of North Vietnam — bombings for which the suspect incidents furnished the pretext.

**Uniqueness Guaranteed** — We apologize to those of our readers who depend on us for Christmas shopping hints for being a little late with this. But we have just learned, through the Wall Street Journal, that there is such a thing as the gift that is really different — so different that it is guaranteed to be the only one of its kind extant. Abercrombie & Fitch, for instance, had a 15-pound, solid silver statue of an ibex for \$2,000. And Steuben Glass offered something called "The Myth of Adonis," a volley-ball-sized crystal and gold casket, for \$28,500. A little expensive, perhaps, but as the lady who bought a similar one-of-a-kind trifle for her husband remarked, "How many ties or slippers can a man wear?"

**Strategic Location** — The American fort in Caimon, district capital of the Mekong Delta province of Donnnon, was the only American compound not attacked during a National Liberation Front offensive on Oct. 25. Major Walter R. Bishop explained by noting that the post is next to a Catholic boys' school and that "the bulk of the students are the sons of Vietcong."

**Objective Conditions** — A special dispatch to the New York Times from Athens reports that King Constantine of Greece chose Dec. 13 for his attempted coup because he "is said to feel 13 is his lucky number."

**His Wish Fulfilled** — The 16-year-old son of a Bridgeport, Conn., judge is out on bail on charges of stealing a bunch of hi-fi equipment from a parked car. His dad

made headlines back in '64 by ordering the arrest of about 16 Darien parents, some quite prominent socially, of youths involved in a teen-age drinking scandal. "There," said the perspicacious judge at that time, "is where the guilt lies. I wish I had the power to get at every parent who is guilty."

**How About Lungs?** — It seems that the textile industry has known for years now that air pollution causes considerable fading of color in many fabrics. And their thoughtful researchers have been hard at work devising dyes and finishes to protect our clothing and our home furnishings from the assault of gasoline fumes and engine exhaust. We hate to sound ungrateful, but we sure would feel a lot happier if they would devise something to protect lungs.

—Ruth Porter

## Weekly Calendar

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

### LOS ANGELES

THE DOW NAPALM PROTEST AND THE MOVEMENT AGAINST POLITICAL SUSPENSIONS. Speakers to include students arrested at Cal State, L.A., Friday, Jan. 5, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East 4th Street. Donation \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

ISAAC DEUTSCHER: A POLITICAL APPRECIATION. Speaker: Prof. Melvin Leiman, an authority on the works and ideas of Deutscher. Fri., Jan. 5, 8:00 p.m. (note new time) 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## The Case For an Independent Black Political Party

In the January-February issue of the International Socialist Review. The resolution of the 1967 convention of the Socialist Workers Party on independent black political action.

This issue also includes reports and resolutions on the 1968 presidential campaign, the international situation and the American antiwar movement.

- ☐ Please send me the new ISR for 50¢.
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## New Readers

If you would like to be sure of receiving every issue containing Harry Ring's special on-the-spot series from Cuba, order an introductory four-month subscription now. In addition, you will receive FREE a copy of the November-December 1967 issue of the International Socialist Review containing Fidel Castro's speech at the OLAS conference held in Cuba last summer, and the general declaration issued by OLAS. Send this coupon and \$1 to

## THE MILITANT

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## Halstead and Boutelle Launch National Tour

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and Paul Boutelle, the party's candidate for Vice President, are beginning nationwide speaking tours this month. The socialist candidates will stump the United States in three and a half months of campaigning.

Both candidates plan to hit

### '...And There's The One About'

Bob Hope found something very curious on the Vietnam circuit this Christmas. All set to whoop it up for the war, he came prepared with a bag full of gags against the antiwar movement. But nobody laughed.

One of the hawkish funny man's helpers even complained, "You'd think jibes at demonstrators and draft-card burners would get big yuks, but they didn't from the Marines at Danang."

Hope, who is a solid backer of LBJ's policy in Vietnam, found himself laughing alone when he declaimed: "I bring you news from the land of liberty. It's still there — even if you have to cross a picket line to enjoy it." The GIs weren't buying any and the attempt to whip up hostility toward the antiwar movement fell flat. This Christmas Bob Hope turned out to be the biggest yuk in Vietnam.

numerous college campuses in cities, speak at meetings of antiwar and black power activists, and hold public forums.

Fred Halstead will speak in 24 cities, beginning in Madison, Wis., Jan. 5 and winding up in Berkeley May 2. He will spend the month of March on an extended swing through the South that will include New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La.; Houston and Austin, Tex.; Norman, Okla., and Atlanta, Ga. Halstead will be in Canada early in April where he will speak in Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto.

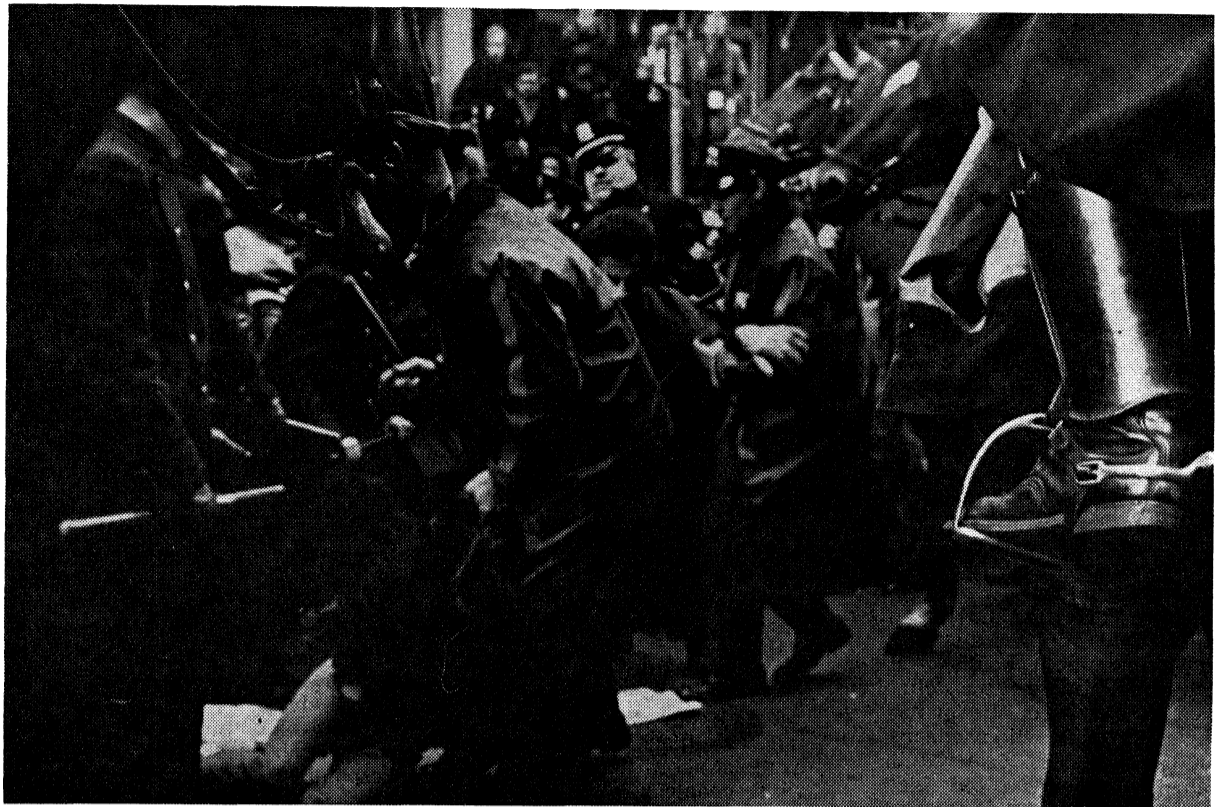
Meetings are planned for Paul Boutelle in 18 cities in the U.S. and three in Canada, including Vancouver, where he will speak in mid-February.

Boutelle will address the Seventh National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, to be held in Detroit the first week of February.

During the campaign tour Paul Boutelle will be speaking on the topic "Nationalism, Socialism and the '68 Elections." His tour will conclude in Cleveland in mid-April.

Posters, brochures, stickers, and other campaign material and literature are available from the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

If you would like the candidates to speak at a meeting in your city, write to the campaign committee for further information on their tour schedules.



**VIOLATION OF BILL OF RIGHTS.** New York police attack antiwar demonstration during Stop the Draft Week, Dec. 8. Here demonstrator is dragged by hair as cops wade into crowd. Photographs and depositions documenting suppression of right to protest were gathered by Parade Committee.

## New York Police Brutality Antiwar Movement Target

By Ed Smith

**NEW YORK** — More than 700 demonstrators turned out at City Hall Dec. 21 to protest the Vietnam war and the brutal treatment Mayor Lindsay's police force gave antiwar protesters during "Stop the Draft Week." The demonstration was sponsored by the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

Every day of "Stop the Draft Week," Dec. 4-8, and in a demonstration against Dean Rusk Nov. 14, the New York police force used violent and intimidating tactics to prevent peaceful demonstrations against the war.

These included herding protesters into small pens surrounded by barricades; charging demonstrators with "flying wedges" of club-swinging cops; charging them with mounted police; assaults and arrests by plainclothes police — some of whom acted as agitators and provocateurs; and massive arrests without previous warning.

In between "Stop the Draft Week" and the Dec. 21 demonstration, a squabble erupted between the Policemen's Benevolent Association and City Hall in which the PBA accused Mayor Lindsay of "interfering in police affairs." This same organization was the

one which campaigned against a civilian police review board in 1966.

The rhubarb had the effect of persuading some people that the mayor didn't actually control the police force and wasn't responsible for its criminal brutality against the demonstrators. They lost sight of the fact that City Hall appoints and directs the top administration of the police force, just as Johnson directs the national armed forces.

In the campaign to build the City Hall protest, the New York Parade Committee set the record straight.

First of all, the Parade Committee collected over 30 signed statements by participants in the demonstrations, testifying to the beatings, arrests and other forms of harassment they had received during the protests.

"I saw police charging at the demonstrators," wrote Stephen Merkatz. "Police on horses were also charging the crowds. Strange as it may seem I also was witness to demonstrators being shoved to the ground by men wearing small green buttons on their jackets who refused to show identification."

Walter Schneir, the author of the well-known study of the Rosenberg case, stated, "I saw and heard a young man of about 20 tell a number of policemen who were shoving him that if he had committed any crime he wanted to be arrested."

"Instead, the policemen literally pulled him along the street and, when we reached the next corner, a number of them, within the sight of myself and others, beat and kicked him."

Professor Francis Randall declared, "Three long-haired youths, in particular, were repeatedly and — I must say with all due restraint — viciously clubbed by policemen while lying on the ground as a result of earlier blows. I received four club blows from different sides and one kick from a horse behind me."

A United Nations staff worker wrote the Parade Committee about the police violence that he and others had viewed from the 36th floor of the Secretariat building. For days prior to the City Hall

demonstration, both the Police Department and the Mayor's office gave the Parade Committee a run-around as it attempted to gain permission for a rally in front of City Hall. Finally, two days before the protest, the committee was flatly refused permission to meet on the City Hall grounds.

On Wednesday, Dec. 20, the Parade Committee held a press conference, attended by most of the major newspapers and wire services, in which it blamed Mayor Lindsay for refusing to grant the permit and for the brutality of the previous weeks. Photos and films of the police assaults were shown and several demonstrators testified.

In addition, the press conference was attended by Alex Rosenberg, a Democratic Party district leader, and Alan Levine of the New York Civil Liberties Union, both of whom strongly supported the Parade Committee position.

"Police not only have been brutal," Rosenberg stated, "but their attitude is an indication that they appear to have set themselves up as a paramilitary group attempting to impose their own beliefs on the people of New York City. The Mayor either lost control of the situation, or is guilty of allowing such a thing to happen."

Levine said the refusal to grant the permit "is a denial of the most pristine First Amendment rights to go to the center of government to request a redress of grievances. The police have arrogated to themselves the right to determine how and where citizens can peacefully protest."

The Parade Committee declared it would conduct the City Hall picket whether or not permits were granted by the Mayor. At six o'clock Wednesday evening, the Mayor's office capitulated and granted the permission for the protest.

Speakers at the City Hall rally included Rosenberg and Levine; Dr. William Rothman, a representative of the New York Medical Committee to End the War in Vietnam; and Jerome Kretschmer, a Democratic Assemblyman. Almost half of the participants in the rally were New York high school students.

## Over 1,000 Protest Napalm In L.A. Dow Demonstration

By Della Rossa

**LOS ANGELES**—About a thousand demonstrators converged on nearby Torrance Dec. 17, to protest both the war and Dow Chemical Company's gruesome contribution to it. The Dow plant in Torrance manufactures napalm.

Demonstrators marched through the streets and rallied near the Torrance City Hall to hear Edward Keating, former publisher of *Ramparts* magazine; Peter Camejo, an antiwar leader and Socialist Workers Party spokesman at the University of California at Berkeley; and Larry Sherman, Democratic Party peace candidate.

The demonstrators, marching under a bright sun, looked like a gay sea of pink and blue, the effect of the colored balloons carried by most of them. Printed on each balloon was "Peace In Vietnam Now."

There was some singing and some chanting but few placards. A Santa Claus who calmly in-

structed the demonstrators beamed from the back of the truck leading the march. The Santa Claus was Jerry Palmer, a much-arrested antiwar activist based at the University of California at Los Angeles.

As the demonstrators were assembling before the march, they were taunted by a band of youths, some of them wearing Young Americans for Freedom buttons. The monitors quickly formed a line with locked arms to hold off a possible attack by the hecklers. This disciplined response set a tone of confidence in the monitors throughout the march.

The original group of heckling right-wingers at the assembly point was then approached by five or six young men identified as members of the American Nazi Party. Then, for reasons unknown to the demonstrators, a fight broke out between the two right-wing groups. At one point, two big men from each group slugged each other repeatedly.



Photo by Shannon

**HIT POLICE SUPPRESSION.** Demonstration at New York's City Hall on Dec. 21.