

*Black and White, Unite and Fight for a***WORKERS WORLD**

VOL. 9, No. 3

FEBRUARY 3, 1967

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# Revolution vs. Restoration

## China's Internal Struggle

### Part 2

## Dual Power

By SAM MARCY

During the course of every genuine popular revolutionary upheaval, there ensues a temporary period of widespread political confusion and bewilderment, when literally millions are preoccupied with the issue of "who is in authority." When this happens, it is an indubitable sign that elements of the old authority are being broken down or shattered and a new authority is in the process of emerging. Such a period is invariably accompanied by high political tension and bitter conflict. It is a distinct sign of deep social crisis and indicates that the hitherto stable equilibrium of hostile and competing social classes has either been gravely disturbed or is on the verge of being destroyed.

The political form that has characterized such a crisis in previous historical epochs of revolutionary upheavals is known as dual power — a transitional period which must inevitably lead to the definitive victory of one power center or the other — that is, either to the further development and stabilization of the new authority or, as the case may be, toward restoration of the old.

In any event, it is a period marked by extraordinary conflicts of exceptional sharpness and intensity, dislocation of the social order, sometimes utter chaos. And by the very nature of this period, it can only be of a relatively short duration.

Such a situation prevails today in the People's Republic of China. "Certain people in authority — those that are taking the capitalist road" are being unceremoniously removed by large masses of militant revolutionary young people whose authority to do these things is being challenged by others, whose authority in turn, was hitherto unchallenged.

### Red Guards rooted in working class

The elements of dual power in China, while still in the process of formation, have nevertheless emerged clearly enough to be positively identified. On the one hand there is the existence of the Red Guards, a mighty, several million-fold organization of youth, drawing from the student, proletarian and poor peasant masses. It is not an artificially created or artificially fostered organization as the ruling class press at the beginning tried to make us believe.

More recent reports from imperialist sources make clear the validity and authenticity of the Red Guard organization. Such, for instance, are the dispatches from Bill Baggs (distributed by Associated Press, January 21 and 22, 1967, carried in the Miami News and New York Post) which stress the spontaneous beginnings of the Red Guards. And the testimony of Minoru Amori, a Japanese correspondent, who in his efforts to probe the identity of the Red Guards during his stay in China, reported in the January 28, 1967, New Republic that he found the Red Guards consisted mainly of "the offspring of revolutionary leaders — those killed in the early struggle, poor agrarian families and industrial workers. This convinced me that the 'cultural revolution' is a real proletarian revolution."

Alongside of the Red Guards there have sprouted up in response to the call of Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee, innumerable organizations and committees in all fields of social life, and they are spreading rapidly throughout the country. These are in turn buttressed by the PLA (People's Liberation Army).

### The army is revolutionary

A great deal of wild speculation has arisen in the capitalist press about the loyalty of the PLA. The

army in any society is the reflection of the class relations in that society. The PLA has always been a profoundly dedicated and revolutionary army. There is no solid basis for believing that this has changed. The abolition of rank during the tenure of Defense Minister Lin Piao must have done much to strengthen the ties between the rank and file and the leading military cadres and between the army generally and the mass of the people.

The Red Guards, the various new committees, the PLA, and the party rank and file are in turn supported, encouraged, and led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Defense Minister Lin Piao and the Central Committee. These constitute the revolutionary elements in the equation of dual power.

### The hopes of the bourgeoisie

On the other side of the equation are the now world-famous "handful of persons within the party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." Who are they?

We believe them to be a substantial section of the party apparatus and officials of high as well as low rank who are exercising a vast amount of political authority. They in turn reflect the aspirations and strength of what has been called, for want of a better name, the "managerial class" — a conglomerate privileged grouping constituting the new officialdom — the social grouping on which the bourgeoisie, their agents and allies the world over bank their hopes for a return to power in China. This is the reactionary element in the equation of dual power.

### How Rusk chooses sides

Secretary of State Dean Rusk declared on January 26th "that neither he nor Mao could make out what was going on in China today." Aside from the gratuitous inclusion of Chairman Mao's name, Rusk's remark is extremely revealing. "While not knowing what is going on in China" he, nevertheless, has a firm position in the struggle. He is one hundred per cent against Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his revolutionary government and would welcome practically any other regime as an alternative. This is not merely the attitude of an individual representative of the bourgeoisie. It is universally true of the entire ruling class. For them, the situation may not be clear but their class attitude to the protagonists in the arena of struggle is absolutely beyond question.

Would that many progressives who "cannot make out what is going on in China today" would also take a parallel attitude but in the opposite class direction!

Dual power has appeared as a characteristic of all the great social revolutions of the modern era. This is as true of the great October Socialist Revolution as it was true of the bourgeois revolution in Eighteenth Century France and Seventeenth Century Britain. The appearance of the Red Guards in the current Chinese revolution is a Twentieth Century proletarian version of the "sans culottes" of the French Bourgeois Revolution and the "Ironsides" army of the Cromwellian Revolution.

### The howls of the ruling class

The wrath which the contemporary ruling classes and their revisionist and social democratic allies have heaped on the heads of the brave and dedicated youth in the Red Guards recalls the abuse poured out by the arrogant representatives of the ancien regime on the sans culottes and the howls of righteous indignation

of the representatives of the decadent British aristocracy against the Cromwellian army.

To this very day, the bourgeois historians deliberately confuse and bewilder the readers by the distortions and in many cases outright falsifications of the true character of their very own revolutions which brought them to power. Should anyone then be surprised by the hysteria raised against the cultural revolution — a revolution which aims to raze to the ground the last vestiges of bourgeois authority as well as ideology?

### "To rebel is justified"

That the present stage of the Chinese Revolution is characterized by the emergence of dual power, that dual power exists, is clearly shown by the widespread use by the leadership of the revolution of the exhortative maxim: "In the last analysis all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: 'To rebel is justified.'" For what other reason would a government leader employ a maxim which preaches rebellion against his own government if it were not for the existence of dual power, a condition which denotes the existence in the state structure of two basically incompatible political groups — one espousing "the revolutionary proletarian line" and the other "taking the capitalist road"?

### The new phenomenon

The current revolution in China has revealed a totally new phenomenon, a phenomenon that has not appeared in any of the socialist countries in the contemporary epoch, except for the early stages of the October Socialist Revolution. What is the new phenomenon? It is a conscious effort by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party — Chairman Mao and Defense Minister Lin Piao — to project the popular masses onto the political arena and to induce them by their own efforts and creative initiative to radically reconstruct the fabric of Chinese society along the "lines of the principles of the Paris Commune."

This is one of the key, if not the key element of contention in the struggle. The Paris Commune has always been regarded as the model for a genuine proletarian dictatorship, ever since Lenin wrote his celebrated book, State and Revolution. Excluded in this concept, of course, is the mechanical transfer of the peculiarly local or national features of the Commune. What is regarded as the quintessence of the Paris Commune type of State is the thoroughly democratic and genuinely revolutionary control by the popular masses over the machinery of the state — by the workers and peasants as against the privileged officialdom. A thought long ago forgotten by the leaders of other socialist countries!

### Word and deed

But it has always been recognized in official pronouncements in all the socialist countries. And in one form or another the overthrow of the old social order was based on the recognition of the historical validity and relevancy of the Paris Commune as a model for the new socialist regimes. However, the gap between word and deed has over the years become all too apparent and the degeneration which has set in is in no small part due to an abandonment of any effort to follow the prototype of proletarian dictatorship — the Paris Commune.

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# WORKERS WORLD

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46 W. 21st Street, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: AL 5-0352

Editor: Vincent Copeland  
Manager: Dorothy Ballan

Vol. 9, No. 3 — February 3, 1967

Published Twice Monthly



## Why the Demonstration at UN?

An approach to the UN is first of all, in this case, an endorsement of U Thant's "compromise" peace. It is a diversion of mass protest against the war in the direction of U Thant-Goldberg-Johnson politics to settle the war on imperialist terms.

It is true that many have the illusion that the UN is a "symbol of the world's peoples" instead of the U.S.-manipulated, bribed, bullied and intimidated assemblage of governments that it really is. And many people genuinely against the war might see nothing wrong in going to the UN, since their understanding is so limited.

The Vietnam protest demonstration scheduled for April 15 in New York poses some problems for revolutionary opponents of the war.

The Spring Mobilization Committee (against the war) plans the demonstration in the form of a march to the UN, "as a symbol of the world's people."

The Vietnamese themselves have rejected the interference of the UN and the "peace plan" of U Thant, its General Secretary. And even if they were compelled to accept something they didn't want, under pressure of bombs, it would be utterly wrong for the anti-war movement in this country to endorse it.

But to reinforce their illusions by initiating such an action is to strike a deadly blow against the anti-war movement. Ludicrous, "pacifist," and full of the milk of human kindness as such a performance may appear on its surface, (with balloons, flowers, etc.) it is in reality a serious political move in the direction of conciliation with the warmakers.

The leaders of the Spring Mobilization Committee understand this to one extent or another, even if the masses they hope to lead do not. They are chiming in with the liberal bourgeois drive for a "compromise" peace and they do not wish to "isolate" themselves from bourgeois support or draw too much fire from the bourgeois hawks.

The demonstration itself will not be deprived of all progressive content because of the conciliation of the leaders, however. The masses who take part in it will be largely composed of people who are honestly — that is, completely — opposed to the war and want the U.S. to get out of Vietnam at once.

These people must be talked to and helped to go in the direction they really want to go. The "respectable," patriotic, half-hearted opponents of imperialist war should not be allowed to go unchallenged in their deception of the anti-war masses.

## Puppet With a Purpose

# Swimming and Boating With Premier Ky

By V. GREY

"When I look around your harbor at people boating and swimming in the sunshine, I wish so badly it could be like this at home."

It was Premier Nguyen Cao Ky talking, on his visit to Australia last week. It was such a beautiful sentiment that the New York Times made it the quotation of the day on January 24.

Only two years ago, Premier Ky made another statement. He said that his "only hero" was Adolph Hitler.

One can imagine Adolf looking out on the desolation of Auschwitz or getting the latest dispatches on the capacity of the ovens at Dachau, wiping away his tears and remembering his boyhood at the old swimming hole.

"How nice it would be," the harried dictator must have mused, "if only people were reasonable. I have to take such drastic measures to convince them to be fascists. And all I ever wanted was for them to go boating and swimming in the sunshine."

"I try so hard for peace," he probably whispered and he sighed as he ordered another 30,000 cremations, "It's a shame what I have to do to get it."

Hitler wept like anything when he killed all those German Communists. They were his own people after all — the gentiles, anyway. "I know these boys are all idealists, like me," he said. "It hurts me more than it does them." He wept uncontrollably when

the SS shot them.

Likewise, Ky. Never believe that this natural-born leader of men is lacking in a heart. He well knows that the NLF fighters are opposed to the ruthless landlords just like he is, and they want a better life for the poor people just like he does. He sighs and groans all night because of the bloodshed.

"Oh somewhere children are swimming and somewhere people boat," he often cries with a breaking heart when he sees U.S. planes bombing some more rebellious villages five miles outside of Saigon. "When will it all be over?"

He looks sadly at his private U.S.-manufactured swimming pool and dreams of the day he can invite peasants to a swimming party in the sunshine.

Simple pleasures seem to pall on him. And as he enters his U.S.-built mansion, he wonders how many swimming pools could have been built with the war money in better times. He takes the cocktail from his servant's hands and muses about his destiny.

Secretly, the general would like to play the violin while his people go boating and swimming. He looks wistfully at his fingers still somewhat marred from the brass knuckles of his younger days. "Do you think they will grasp the strings well enough?" he asks with an unaffected pathos.

He looks forward to peaceful evenings

## How the Cops Defend Good Citizens From 10-Year-Old Girl in Chicago

By J. MOORE

Chicago police on January 7 shot and killed a 10 year old girl. She was black. Police said she was a looter.

Delores Miller was an elementary school student. She lived in the ghetto section of Chicago where kids' fathers and mothers can't get jobs and have to live on the subsistence bareness of welfare or work for low pay that hardly pays the rent and the food bill.

If you're a kid like Delores Miller you're lucky to have warm clothes and parents with steady enough jobs to assure you of hot meals.

Your schoolroom is probably in an old building and it is surely crowded. When you get up in the morning in your cold, dingy, crowded apartment to get ready for school, and you see snow outside, you look to see if you can find some warm stockings and shoes without holes and you hope there is milk in the refrigerator for putting on some cereal — if there is any cereal.

But with all the snow you may find that the usually crowded schoolyard is empty and that there won't be any of the old propaganda today about how you should be a "good citizen" and do what the boss people tell you when they steal your labor cheap and rob you blind.

Delores is only ten and doesn't work for them yet but she sees it all around her and she knows already that the "good citizen" story is a lie.

Last week, when a huge snowstorm blew into Chicago it filled all the streets, blocked all the traffic, and closed the schools. It even stopped the

cops' cars from coming and cruising around to watch you and the rest of the people to see that you behave as "good citizens," and to club you down if you revolt as the people of this section did last summer.

Last week when the snow blocked the cops' cars, the people poured out of their bleak apartments and Delores and other kids went with them as they went to the stores filled with rich things you usually can't afford and knocked the doors down and took things: milk, sugar-coated cereal, meat. And from other stores people grabbed warm clothes, overshoes, fancy dress clothes. From a stalled truck they took new television sets to watch all the shiny programs that the store merchants and others use to huckster their goods.

But then the cops came. Though regular traffic was still blocked, large numbers of cops were sent to stop this breakdown of the bourgeois rules, this looting of the legal looters.

Delores was in a group that was invading a store. Police, seeing the people, rushed up firing. Most of the people ran. Delores Miller tried to run, but the shots cut her down and she died bleeding in the snow.

The snow is cleared out of the Chicago streets now. The school that Delores went to is open again. They're cleaning out her desk in the crowded classroom. It will make room for another student who can use her books.

And all the kids will be taken to the school auditorium to hear another program about being a "good citizen."

## Auto Magnate Draws Rosy Picture; Auto Workers Draw Layoff Slips

"What's good for General Motors is good for the country." But is it good for the workers?

Ask any one of the two thousand workers that were laid off this week at three of the General Motors plants. The layoff slips read indefinite and as one young G.M. worker from the engine plant in Tarrytown, N.Y. said "It's the we'll call you, don't call us kind of layoff."

But ask Frederick Donner, Chairman of General Motors and he'll tell you as he told U.S. News and World Report last Dec. 12. "There is every reason to anticipate that 1967 will be another good year for the motor veh-

icle industry." (While one of the top paid executives in the world was painting this rosy picture, General Motors and Chrysler announced production cutbacks that involved the layoff of five thousand production workers.)

Following in the footsteps of G.M., Chrysler informed around fourteen thousand workers this week they will be out on the streets. The company will shut down three of its seven assembly plants for a week with a fourth closing for two weeks.

Car sales in the first twenty days of this year totalled 361,389.

It figures. What's good for General Motors is not good for the workers.

with his beautiful wife accompanying him at the piano as they play "Home, Sweet Home" for Cabot Lodge and Lyndon Johnson. Perhaps they'll invite Dave Rockefeller, too. He's their friend at Chase Manhattan, the Little Bank Around the Corner.

Softly, as the sun sets over Saigon,

the misunderstood patriot sorrowfully waves the big U.S. bombers on to the North and wonders when the NLF will let him arrange the national swimming and boating party.

It's a life he never chose, in a world he never made.





# Why Do Soldiers Fight?

## (And Why Do Preachers and Columnists Lie?)

### An Analysis of the Propaganda of Two Cold War Warriors

By GEN. HUGH B. HESTER (RET.)

To The Editor:

The evangelist, Billy Graham, according to the Associated Press December 30th, 1966, after an eight-day visit to South Vietnam, four days of which he was the guest of the U.S. Military Commander, stated that "Our forces there are probably the most dedicated and motivated group of soldiers we've ever sent into battle..."

Interestingly, he also added that his host, General Westmoreland, was a "combination of Eisenhower and MacArthur" and "a coming man in this country."

**NOTE:** The writer served in the regular U.S. Army for more than 30 years; participated in both World Wars; was decorated for gallantry in action the French and U.S. governments in WWI. And he was awarded the United States Distinguished Service Medal and the French Legion of Honor for services in WWII. Since retirement, 1951, he has done graduate work in International Relations at the University of Pennsylvania and has written and lectured extensively on international relations. He is co-author of "On The Brink", a Lyle Stuart publication.

Columnist Roscoe Drummond, in his most recent article from Washington DC, began by stating "In Vietnam today Americans are fighting more bravely, more comradely, more capably, more knowingly and more fiercely than any U.S. combat force in history."

For many, no doubt, the statements of these two widely known Americans will settle the debate as to the rightness and wisdom of Johnson's war on the Vietnamese people. Otherwise, how could the American military forces be so "dedicated" and fight so "bravely" and "fiercely"?

Every competent student of religious history knows, of course, that men and women, when adequately conditioned, can become as "dedicated" in performing deeds of evil as in performing deeds of good. The whole history of the heresy and witch-hunts proclaims this fact. And every competent student of the history of combat knows that men, when similarly conditioned, will also fight "bravely" and "fiercely", whatever the cause.

Many of the Americans in Vietnam have noted these same qualities in the fighting forces of the National Liber-

ation Front, called the Viet Cong, and have expressed the wish that the Saigon Vietnamese had more of these qualities. And I have yet to meet an American who fought the Nazi Germans and fascist Japanese who would not attribute to them similar qualities of bravery, dedication and fierceness.

I do not know whether the above statements of Messrs. Drummond and Graham are justified or not. Many veterans will, of course, challenge them. If they are justified, however, the explanation is quite simple: more effective propaganda conditioning. The military establishment has spent more money and effort on conditioning its fighting men to hate the "enemy" since the Korean War than in all the previous history of this country. The size of the propaganda program is simply incredible.

There are, however, serious mis-statements, I believe, by evangelist Graham as reported in his interview with the Associated Press, such as the statement that the Chinese leaders would be willing to lose 300 million people in a nuclear war because they would still have 400 million left. The Chinese leaders have repeatedly denied

this report and have attributed the statement to some of their enemies in Yugoslavia.

I am confident also that the Evangelist is misinformed when he states the nuclear advances in China "have everybody on the inside of every government in the world disturbed..." Informed and concerned people everywhere are disturbed all right, but mostly about what the biggest nuclear power is going to do with its enormous nuclear stockpile.

In this connection, the brilliant historian, the distinguished international relations scholar and Woodrow Wilson Professor at Williams College, Mass., Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, wrote in his year-end message to close friends. "The U.S.A. is now the most feared and hated nation on the planet and a menace to the peace of all mankind."

And Mr. Graham's reported statement that the Chinese are "out to dominate the world" is such an exaggeration as to challenge the credibility of any informed person. Every informed student of international affairs knows that the U.S. government is the only government even remotely capable of world domination and most of the honest ones fear the present Washington Administration may entertain such ambitions. A careful study of the record gives support to this fear.

Hugh B. Hester  
Brigadier General  
U.S. Army (Ret.)



Citizens of Shanghai looking at posters on Nanking Street. Posters say: "Long live Cultural Revolution!" "Long Live Chinese People!" and "Long Live Great Chinese Communist Party!"



Liberation Army men in Peking at a rally for Cultural Revolution.

## China Struggle

Continued from Page 1

The Paris Commune type of state, it can now be seen more clearly than ever before, and must be categorically restated, is the real answer to the rule of the neo-bourgeois restorationist stratum which has grown up in the socialist countries.

### "Principles of Paris Commune"

It is thus refreshing and highly gratifying to read in an editorial in Renmin Ribao, December 26th (reprinted in Peking Review #1) that: "A system of general elections must be instituted in accordance with the principles of the Paris Commune. Full deliberations and repeated discussions must be carried out by the masses and the election conducted in a serious way. The members can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses at any time."

Furthermore: "The masses of workers have the right to set up every kind of revolutionary organization," and these organizations are "urged not to set up a bureaucratic apparatus or acquire a mass of equipment which divorce them from the masses."

Finally: "Members of these organizations must not be appointed from above nor should there be behind

the scenes manipulations."

### A healthy antidote

There are those who assert that all this should be regarded as just another programmatic document — that it is a mere declaration of intention.

There is no reason whatsoever why full faith and credence should not be given to the pronouncements or the revolutionary leadership of the Chinese people in the context of the present historical circumstances. The possibility for making them a living reality seems highly favorable and in any case such efforts are a healthy antidote to the regressive social tendencies in other socialist countries.

One of the striking features of the crisis in China is the character of the inner party struggle. Why has the struggle been conducted in the Party against unnamed persons and groups? And why has it turned from what originally appeared to be a Party discussion of fundamental questions of policy into what is now called "an all-around test of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and its agents in our Party"? (Renmin Ribao and Hongqi, January 1, 1967, reprinted in Peking Review #1)

### Political discussion and class conflict

Certainly it would be preferable to have an open, leisurely discussion of fundamental policy in the party and in the public organs of the party on the basis of

minority and majority, and to embody the essential differences in resolutions subject to further discussions and a vote by a party congress. However, serious party discussions are not just mere discussions. Party controversies over serious issues generally reflect the influence and interest of the classes in society.

Basic class interests, however, cannot be resolved by minority and majority resolution even in the most revolutionary party. Classes generally do not permit the fate of their role in society to be determined by parliamentary mechanisms or even by validly constituted political organisms. The leaders of the proletarian revolution in China certainly could not permit the fate of their revolution and the destiny of China to be determined on that basis.

However, it should be noted that Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Defense Minister Lin Biao represent the Central Committee of the Party and that it was the validly constituted plenary session of the Central Committee in August which passed the momentous decision on the cultural revolution.

Whatever decisions this body has taken are binding under the Party's constitution, pending convocation of a Party congress. If the class struggle has broken out into the open in the meantime, then the only recourse is to prosecute the struggle on behalf of the revolutionary line of the proletariat to a victorious conclusion.



# Racism and the White Worker

## Two Steelworkers Give Their Views

### Says "Advanced" Leaders Fear "Backward" Whites, Can't Fight for Equality

To the Editor of the New York Times:  
Your column "New Trouble in Labor's house" in the Jan. 1 News of the Week was of more than passing interest to me. I have been a member of the United Steelworkers Union for almost 24 years. To a liberal union member Walter Reuther's complaints have a great deal of merit.

I can attest to the lack of social vision, to the fact that most labor unions would like to forget civil rights, especially the Negro's, and that the unions are not attracting young people or liberals.

The troubles with most unions start at the bottom and work their way to the top. The rank and file members of a labor organization are not college graduates. Many of them do not even hold high school diplomas. This by itself would not be fatal, but union members seem to be among those people who cease to study once they leave school.

As for civil rights, American workers are members of the lower middle class with every middle-class prejudice, only more so, the worst being racial prejudice. They are not inclined to give their fellow workers a helping hand, especially if they happen to be Negroes. They feel that any small success the Black Man might achieve is at their expense. There exists quiet but intense bitterness between white and Negro workers, both members of the same union.

The politicians among union members who become top-echelon leaders might possibly realize the danger of racial prejudice on their way up the union ladder, and might perhaps like to remedy the situation. But it is probable that if they attempted to teach something about civil rights to their members they would find themselves leaders without followers.

Union membership is becoming smaller with each generation. Certainly fewer liberals or better-educated youngsters show much interest in labor unions. Education in the social sciences is one answer for stopping the decline. But education is a long continuing process and the question is, do the unions have that much time?

Henry Nordin  
Member, Local 2609  
United Steelworkers of America  
Baltimore, Jan. 2, 1967

The letters from two steel workers we print on this page deal with a subject that is of burning importance, but is seldom discussed intelligently by progressives today. The subject, of course, is racism among white workers.

According to middle class liberalism, the white workers are not only the most backward, but also the most hopeless section of the U.S. population when it comes to the question of racial equality in the plant, not to speak of Black Freedom, generally.

Henry Nordin of Local 2609 of

the United Steelworkers, AFL-CIO, wrote to the New York Times on January 9, describing the situation prevailing in the steel union, as he sees it.

We reprint that letter here.

And we have asked Milton Neidenberg of Local 2604 of the same union, who spent 15 years in the Strip Mill of Bethlehem Steel's Lackawanna plant, to answer Mr. Nordin. Mr. Neidenberg left the plant a year ago, but we think our readers will agree that his experiences and opinions are up-to-the-minute contributions to the struggle.

### Shows Black-White Solidarity in Struggle And Role of Bureaucrats

I read with great interest the remarks of Brother Nordin in respect to the general decline in the union movement today. I share with him his frustration and concern over race prejudice among whites on the job.

Many times I have thrown up my hands in disgust at the way white workers look at the crimes and the gross injustices carried on against the Black People. Many times I have tried to counter their attack on the revolts in the ghettos with a description of the conditions that lead to these revolts.

And many times I have helplessly watched their impatient stares as I tried to explain what unemployment means to Black family men and women who wish to give their children the same opportunities as white kids, and what it means to be deprived of the most elementary democratic rights.

But what is lacking is not "social vision" and what is required is not education of the university type. What is lacking is class feeling. What is required is class solidarity.

I raise this not just to differ over the reasons why this appalling situation exists, but to make the very important point that white workers, now backward and bigoted, can be changed by the class struggle.

The white workers may have all the prejudices of the middle class and more, as he says. But as long as their lives are tied to plant production, grinding out profits and goods for the big corporations, the bosses will create conditions for struggle and with them the potential for the white worker to

change his attitudes toward his Black brother.

I would like to illustrate this with an experience.

A few years ago in the Bethlehem Steel Co. plant in Lackawanna, New York, near Buffalo, a wave of wildcat strikes was going on from one end of the sprawling 3 mile-long plant to the other. The men were dropping their gloves and walking out of the plant whenever the company violated the contract or "past practice."

We found this action, or the threat of such action, resulted in grievances being more quickly resolved (and in our favor) than they would have been if we wrote up a grievance which would gather dust and take a year even to negotiate.

Then the company decided to crack down. They wanted to introduce new machinery into most operations, which meant in many cases, cutting work crews. They began in the coke ovens, cutting crews and doubling up the workload on the remaining men on certain operations. Black workers predominated in the coke ovens, with the hot, dirty and dangerous work here. They retaliated with a wildcat, all three shifts solid.

The blast furnace department was down next, also operated by a majority of Black workers. After a few days, the rest of the Lackawanna plant was crippled. The 36 open hearths were running out of pig iron.

The company fired four of the Black rank and file leaders, while the United Steelworkers International led by District Director Joe Molony provided no leadership and played it cool.

The coke oven and blast furnace men set up their picket lines and appealed to the open hearth men (majority white) and the thousands of white workers throughout the plant. The open hearth workers were receiving the same cutting of work crews and increase of work loads. All through the 17,000 man plant the talk rumbled in the furnaces and mills and repair shops — should we support the coke oven and blast furnace men?

Through their own experiences, they knew the justice of the Black workers' walkout in the coke ovens and blast furnace. This became primary and drowned out for the moment their prejudices. Working class solidarity took over. Picket lines were set up at the open hearth gates. The vital heart of the steel mill had stopped throbbing, and the rest of the plant was down by the end of the week.

The workers, laid off because of the cutoff of materials from the three vital departments, were in general sympathetic. Black and white manned the picket lines.

The wildcat was getting stronger and the Bethlehem management was getting frenzied by the second week, and tried to start a back to work movement among the whites in the open hearth. It failed.

But what the company couldn't do, the USW International did.

District Four director Joe Molony (now Vice President of the USW of America) and his top aide, Julien Bruce, threatened by management with legal suits and injunctions and fearful of a major revolt on their hands, called a mass meeting of Locals 2601 and 2603, made up predominantly of coke oven, blast furnace and open hearth men. Thousands turned out for the meeting and many of them that spilled out into the street surrounding the union hall were men from the other parts of the plant.

Molony, a smooth, sweet-talking operator, took the floor after it became clear that Bruce couldn't break the determination of the men. Using the familiar pattern of the trade union officials he began by identifying and sympathizing with the men.

"Men, your grievances are just... I would do the same thing... but (AND THE BUT WAS BIG) we've got a contract to live up to... We've got a grievance procedure... We'll fight the company on this all the way... but you've got to go back to work... the strike is illegal..."

The men booed and the Black leaders grabbed the mike, repeated the issues and expressed their determination to stay out. White workers spoke up in support, listened, cheered and applauded with their black brothers. Molony knew he had lost the meeting and adjourned it.

Molony didn't applaud the class solidarity of black and white. He didn't encourage the deep class feeling that was arising among the whites for their black brothers.

Molony and the leaders sure "didn't teach the dangers of racial prejudice." But this was not because "they would find themselves leaders without followers." It was almost the direct opposite. In truth the white workers would have rallied around an attack on racial prejudice because at that juncture they could clearly see that racism could be (and was) used as a strike-breaking tactic.

Nor did the International give a nickel or a nickel's worth of support. Their plan was to let the men wear themselves out without financial help while they and the company probed for the backward, the weak, and the racists to begin the back-to-work movement. Then Molony conferred with Pittsburgh (USW headquarters) and the president of the union, then David J. MacDonald (a lifetime member of the NAACP, by the way) sent a telegram, carried in the press, radio, and TV, ordering the men back to work, with a not-so-veiled threat that those men who stayed out would receive no support from the union if the strike continued.

The strike was ended. And the Black leaders' discharges were "commuted" to suspensions.

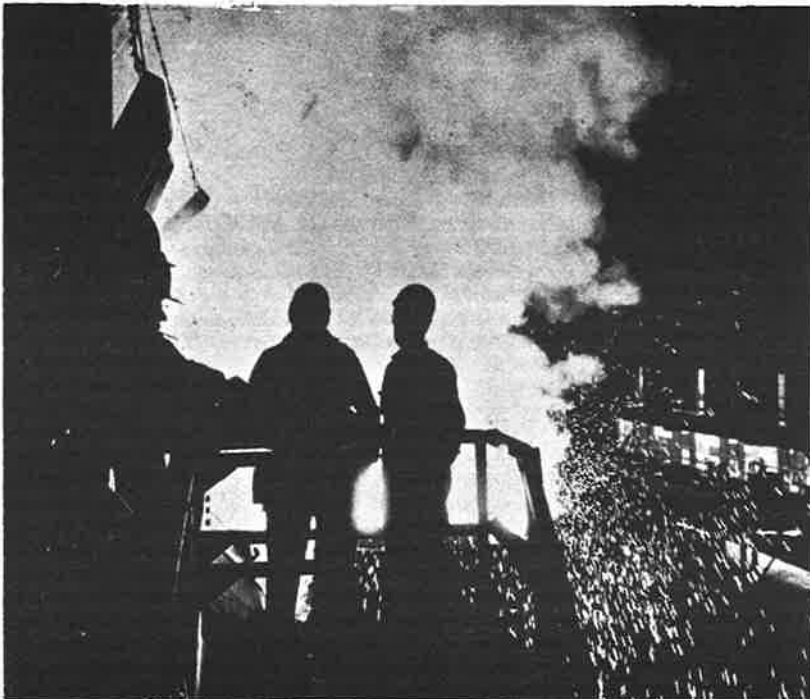
The lesson of that strike is that the potential for black and white unity lies in the class struggle. White workers can learn in hours and days who their allies are and who their enemies are.

It is the union leaders who are exposed in such situations. Their words about civil rights are empty and hollow. They are the ones who identify with the middle class. With their salaries and expense accounts (topped by \$60,000-plus for the USW president)

They are the ones who sit in grievance meetings and chat with the executives.

In one arbitration meeting I sat in, Art Jardin, International Representative of Local 2604 put his arm around the superintendent, Anderson, and said "How ya doing Andy, been on the golf course lately?" And with this went a long conversation, while the men from the plant awaiting their grievances to be arbitrated, squirmed uncomfortably.

Continued on Page 8



# Carmichael in San Juan: 'Your Struggle and Ours - Same Enemy'

By PETER STORCH

SAN JUAN, P.R., Jan. 27—Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of SNCC and a member of the International War Crimes Tribunal, brought the common anti-colonial struggles of the Puerto Rican and Afro-American peoples closer together with his visit here in Puerto Rico. Carmichael arrived on January 24 at the invitation of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI) and the Pro-Independence University Federation (FUPI). First on his schedule was a visit to the tomb of Albizu Campos, the great revolutionary Nationalist of Puerto Rico.

Later, at a TV interview, Carmichael demanded an interpreter to translate

## Stokely's Speech In San Juan

Statement By Stokely Carmichael (Translated from Spanish as released from SNCC)

"Brothers of Puerto Rico: I hardly know the Spanish language, but I would like to say a few words in your language. To affirm and cultivate one's own language is a necessary step in the struggle for liberation and self-determination.

"I appreciate the invitation extended to me by the people of Puerto Rico through the Movement For Independence and the University Federation For Independence. I bring you the warmest greetings of solidarity from my organization — the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee — and the Afro-American people in their struggle for liberation and Black Power.

"We feel that there is a close relationship between our struggle for Black Power and your struggle for independence. Black Power means for us liberation from oppression by the racist white power structure of the United States. It means that we will control our own Afro-American communities. That we will direct our own affairs. That we will have power in the political and economic arenas. In the same way, independence for you means to direct and control your own lives and the wealth of your country, now controlled by a foreign power — the United States — and its Uncle Toms here. Our people are a colony within the United States; you are a colony

his remarks into Spanish and was refused permission by the TV station. He then declared that the interview would be granted, but under protest, and that he considered it an insult to the Puerto Rican people to prohibit his remarks to be translated into the native language of the island. Carmichael then read a prepared statement in Spanish (printed here in full) before the interview began.

The following afternoon, Carmichael headed a march against the military draft sponsored by the FUPI and the Youth of the MPI. Over 500 demonstrators marched through the streets of San Juan towards the U.S. base, Fort Brooke, shouting "Puerto Rico Si, Yankis No!". A small group of reactionary pro-statehood and counter-revolutionary Cuban exiles tried to



Stokely Carmichael speaking at MPI headquarters in New York. At left is Pedro Juan Rua, secretary of the local organization.

outside the United States.

"Brothers, we see our struggle linked to the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against foreign oppression, particularly by the United States. We all have the same enemy. For this reason, we strongly support your just struggle for independence. For this reason we support all peoples who are struggling for self-determination.

"The Vietnamese people are today suffering in a brutal war. To conduct that war, the American Army takes advantage of the Afro-American masses. It uses them to fight our own brothers. It tells us that we are going to fight for a so-called 'democracy'

but we know the hypocrisy of that claim. We know, in our flesh and in our blood what 'American democracy' means. For this reason we are absolutely opposed — I repeat, absolutely — to the drafting of young Afro-Americans and the drafting of young Puerto Ricans and of young people of any nationality who are oppressed like us. If we are to fight, we will fight — but in our own country, to liberate our people.

"Brothers of Puerto Rico, let us unite to achieve our goals. The forces of oppression, although very powerful, are only a minority compared to the power which all the oppressed of the world can wield. We shall destroy those forces. Let's go!"

publisher of the Los Angeles Times, who also has connections with Security-First National Bank, and Mrs. Catherine Hearst, wife of Randolph Hearst, president of the Hearst Publishing Company.

In continuing his attack, Reagan is attempting to institute big tuition fees and a cut in the University budget. Even without tuition, the costs of attending are extremely high—they include living expenses, books, fees, etc. The imposition of tuition would be particularly harsh against oppressed Afro-American and working class youth who wish to attend the University. (Even now less than 25 per cent of all college freshmen come from families earning less than \$10,000 a year. Nearly 75 per cent come from families in the \$14,000 plus bracket.)

Reagan's closest supporters are said to be demanding that he fire the teaching assistants, members of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 1750, who participated in the militant student strike of early December.

In addition, after the appointment of a new University President, Reagan is expected to go ahead with a witch-hunt of the Berkeley campus headed by the multi-millionaire former CIA boss, John McCone.

The Kerr firing sparked widespread anger and opposition throughout Cali-

disrupt the march, but a determined defense guard successfully repelled the attack.

Later in the evening, Carmichael spoke in the University's theater to an overflow audience of 2,000 on "Black Power and the Anti-Colonial Struggle". The next day Carmichael spoke at the college in Mayaguez to a record crowd of 800 students.

Carmichael concluded his trip by signing a ten-point joint action pact between SNCC, MPI, and FUPI which called for concrete activities against the common enemy of the Puerto Rican and Afro-American peoples, U. S. imperialism.

## Twice Sentenced To Die, Still Fights Rape Charge

LYNCHBURG, VA. — Public opinion is rising against continuing efforts by the state of Virginia to execute 22 year-old Thomas Wansley for rape.

Corporation Court Judge Raymond O. Cundiff has set March 14 for Wansley's retrial on a charge of raping a white woman in 1962.

His retrial on a related robbery charge and a second rape charge are set for the same date. However, Cundiff has a motion under study to dismiss the second rape charge, on the grounds that it was not heard in four successive terms of court.

Wansley, a Black man, has been in jail and prison more than four years, including 18 months on death row awaiting a date with the electric chair. He was sentenced to die twice in 1963, on charges of raping Miss Annie Lee Carter, then 59, and a woman of Japanese descent, Mrs. Kyoko Fleshman. He was also given a 20-year prison term for the robbery charge.

Wansley was arrested shortly after Lynchburg Afro-Americans became involved in the struggle for equality — in sit-ins and demonstrations. His supporters feel that one purpose of the arrest was to intimidate local Black people and stop them from protesting denial of their civil rights.

Carter Glass III, general manager of the two local papers, was called to testify. He was forced to admit that he got files on Wansley's attorney, William Kunstler of New York, directly from the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

Stories referring to Kunstler as one "linked with Communist-front organizations" have been appearing in both papers ever since he entered the case in early 1963.

Rep. William Tuck of Virginia is vice-chairman of HUAC. He is currently overseeing preparations for HUAC's upcoming investigation of outbreaks in the ghettos of large cities.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky., is supporting and publicizing the case.

fornia as well as the rest of the country. (Clark Kerr, himself, did not long challenge the firing. He left the \$45,000 post to become chairman of a Carnegie Foundation commission on education. His new salary has not yet been announced.)

On January 23, thousands of students marched in protest at the University of California at Los Angeles. On January 24, at least 2,500 students attended a protest rally at Berkeley. The AFL-CIO California Federation of Teachers in Los Angeles is proposing a statewide march on Sacramento to "resist Governor Reagan's attack on public education." The faculty at Berkeley is demanding a role in choosing the next President. There has also been some talk of a possible student strike.

The ruling class of California has opened up a campaign to crush the militant student movements and turn the campuses into little police states. But they are worried about the opposition that may arise.

There will be quite a bit for them to worry about.

## Hits Anti-War Movement

# Rightist, Pro-War Reagan Attacks Berkeley First

By MICHAEL MARGOLIES

Ronald Reagan, the new right-wing Governor of California, has begun his term of office by launching an attack against the student body of the University of California. His first step was the sudden and secretly prepared firing of the President of the University, Clark Kerr, on January 20.

Reagan did not act because Kerr is a radical or even much of a liberal. Kerr, in fact, had often attempted to curtail student rights and had the police use force against student demonstrations on several occasions.

Reagan did it as the first move of a plan to attack the anti-war movement, the trade union movement, and the Black People. He plans to push anti-labor strike-breaking legislation. He will try to throw thousands off welfare or force them to work at starvation wages in competition with union wages. And he will try to use more open violence against the Black People.

On the University's campuses, the ruling class in California will not tolerate left-wing thought, let alone militant organization. It considered Kerr too "permissive."

Kerr, who was strongly disliked by many students, was not reactionary enough for the right-wing sentiments of the ruling class that put Reagan into office. He did not crack down hard enough. He did not "keep order" well enough. The California rulers became especially frenzied after Berkeley's week long anti-war student strike in early December.

The firing was officially done through the Board of Regents (of which Reagan is now a member). This step was almost a direct act of the ruling class itself.

Among the Board who voted with Reagan were John E. Canaday, vice-president of Lockheed Aircraft, Edwin Pauley, president of Pauley Petroleum, Mrs. Dorothy Chandler, wife of the



# Ruby's Last Letters Hint It Was Johnson!

**Repeatedly  
Refers to  
Fascist Plot**

## They Say His Letters Are Crazy ; Why Don't They Prove It by Printing Them?

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

On January 3, 1967 Jack Ruby died as a result of cancer — or was it pneumonia, or was it a blood clot, or was it from the gas which he told his lawyers was being leaked into his cell? At any rate Ruby did die — and his demise was accomplished with consummate timing and against overwhelming odds.

Ruby was one of the most thoroughly examined and closely guarded individuals in U.S. history and yet he surreptitiously managed to develop advanced cases of two very serious diseases — simultaneously and “undetected”! — right under the very noses of his Dallas jailers. He died just one month after he was discovered to be ill.

### THE TIMING WAS REMARKABLE!

If the circumstances of Ruby's death were mysterious, the timing was just as remarkable. Ruby died shortly after a court ruling which ordered his retrial and the new trial was to take place at the very moment when the question of the Kennedy assassination was breaking out into the open again. If he had lived, Ruby would have testified just at the time that the Warren Commission whitewash was becoming so discredited in the popular mind that elements of the ruling class were demanding that a more convincing cover-up be devised.

What would Ruby have said if he had survived his Dallas imprisonment?

The answer to this question is of the most vital significance in view of the momentous events which have transpired since the advent of the Johnson Administration — i.e. the dispatch of half a million U.S. troops to Southeast Asia, the relentless march of U.S. imperialism to the very borders of China, the offensive of the CIA in

Indonesia and Africa, the unleashing of the National Guard and the police to wage a campaign of terror in the streets against the Afro-American people in every major city in the U.S. and, in general, the sharp turn to the right by the whole capitalist class in every sphere of social and political life.

The key to what Ruby would have said had he ever been allowed to get back on the witness stand is contained in numerous letters which he smuggled out of the Dallas jail and which have been almost totally blacked out by the capitalist press.

### A “REICHSTAG FIRE,” HE SAID

Ruby's testimony repeatedly describes the Dallas events as a conspiracy by fascist forces to kill President Kennedy and frame up Cuba and the Soviet Union, a conspiracy to have another “Reichstag Fire” (his own words), in which Johnson himself was implicated.

Of the letters which Ruby tried to get through to the public, at least seven have found their way to Charles Hamilton Autographs, Inc. of New York and their authenticity is vouched for by the company. The following text is taken from extracts reprinted in a Hamilton brochure for the purpose of advertising the sale of the letters. This indictment by Ruby is the clearest one reprinted in the brochure but the editors make it clear that the theme of the fascist conspiracy runs throughout the letters.

In ten page letter written in pencil Ruby urged:

“Remember they had the president killed and now with me in the picture, they'll make it look as though Castro and the Russians had it done. Anyone in their right mind would know that the Russians or Castro would never do

something like that... It would only create worse hostilities... remember the only one who had all to gain was Johnson himself. Figure that out. And about Oswald who has been a drifter all his life suddenly decides to go to work in the book binding bldg. weeks before Kennedy himself knew he was coming to Dallas... Where did Oswald get the information that far in advance...”

In an extract from another letter, described by the Hamilton brochure as pin-pointing Lyndon Johnson as a “tool of a Fascist conspiracy,” Ruby tells the details of the plot.

### “I WALKED INTO A TRAP!”

“...they found some very clever means and ways to trick me and which will be used later as evidence to show the American people that I was part of a (left wing) conspiracy in the assassination of the president and I was used to silence Oswald (an alleged member of the Fair Play For Cuba Committee). I walked into a trap the moment I walked down that ramp Sunday morning...”

Then, according to the Hamilton brochure, “There follows a lengthy account of his visit to Cuba, where he took four pistols to friends... and how prison guards... trapped him into a statement that he had run guns to Cuba.”

“They played me for all I was worth,” continues the Ruby excerpt. “The two attorneys I had Phil Burleson and Joe Tonahil, they were sent in like a team to pretend they were there to defend me.... What a stupid fool I turned out to be, played right into the hands of the most sadistic ruthless animals the world has ever known.... They planted their man Johnson and nursed him along and found an easier way of taking over the country.”

In still another letter Ruby again refers to the conspiracy to link him to Castro (a conspiracy still being

carried on by the Daily News, Richard Russell, Henry J. Taylor and other assorted elements of the ultra-right). The letter was given to a fellow prisoner about to be released from jail.

“You must believe what I am about to write... the people here want everyone to think I am crazy... don't believe the Warren Report, that was only put out to... throw the Americans and all the European country's off guard. They have found a means to frame me by deception, etc...” Ruby, according to the brochure, then “proceeds with a long, detailed explanation of the plan of a guard named Stevenson to implicate him in a supposed plot to run guns to Castro's Cuba, through a ‘doctored’ statement.”

Thus the testimony by the only individual whose involvement in the Kennedy assassination cannot be covered up by the big business propaganda machine, points directly to a fascist plot in Dallas.

### “INSANITY” CONVENIENT AS HIS DEATH

These letters, with only minor and insignificant exceptions, have never seen the light of day in the ruling class press. Instead the bourgeoisie, in an attempt to cover up its own fascist wing (and thus pave the way for fascism to triumph), has flooded the world with reams of “evidence” that Ruby was “insane”, “incoherent”, etc.

Well if Ruby was “insane” why didn't the ruling class publish the above-quoted so-called “ravings” in order to prove it?

Why? Because in truth, Ruby's version of the right-wing plot is probably closer to the actual facts than all the dissenting bourgeois theories and certainly closer than all the tons of whitewash which have been published so far.

## “Support War or Let India Starve”!

## India Premier Reveals How U.S. Pressured Her



Starving woman in Bihar. There are 80 million like her.

Last week Prime Minister Indira Gandhi publicly admitted that U.S. imperialism withheld food “aid” to starvation ridden India in order to blackmail New Delhi into lining up with Washington's foreign policy.

According to the New York Times of January 23 Mrs. Gandhi told a large election meeting in Nagpur that:

“The Americans told us that we must stop our trade with Cuba and North Vietnam if we wanted food from them.”

Mrs. Gandhi was referring to the recent delay in U.S. wheat shipments by

President Johnson when the worst drought in living memory struck 120 million people in the northeastern states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

At that time Washington delayed the signing of a new food “aid” agreement with India for several months in order to extort concessions for U.S. oil and fertilizer companies and to force the Indian government to defy mass sentiment at home by publicly endorsing U.S. aggression in Vietnam. (See Workers World, Jan. 6.)

Mme. Gandhi's public revelation

## You've Got to Cough Up \$14 Billion For the Big Bankers This Year!

When you pay your taxes this year, a very large percentage of your money will be paid over to the bankers — almost 14 cents of every dollar, in fact.

Because of the increase in the National Debt (which is now \$330 billion) and because of the increase in interest rates, the amount of interest has risen in the last dozen years from about \$7 billion to this year's enormous \$14 billion interest payment.

about the callous blackmail policy of the Johnson Administration was made under the pressure of mass condemnation of her for selling out to the State Department. Coming in the midst of the campaign for the February national elections, her anti-U.S. demagoguery was calculated to remove some of the stigma of being “under the dictation of Wall Street.”

But in almost the same breath that she exposed the international extortion by the U.S., the Prime Minister of 500 million people backhandedly admitted New Delhi's abject capitulation. “Our position” stated Mme. Gandhi, “was that we had already stopped trade with North Vietnam since 1962 . . . Our fear then was that anything we exported to North Vietnam might find its way to China.” (1)

“As regards Cuba . . . we told them that we had been exporting jute to Cuba for a long time. Then they said ‘All right but don't send them any arms.’ This we were not doing anyway.”

Thus, the Prime Minister admitted that the only way that the Indian ruling class could qualify for U.S. food shipments while tens of millions of people were face to face with starvation, was to prove its allegiance to Wall Street's anti-communist foreign policy.

The creditors who claim and collect this money are chiefly the giant financial octopi headed by the biggest banks: Chase-Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty Trust, National City, Bank of America.

This \$14 billion hunk (which if broken down would be \$70 for each person in the country) is the biggest item in the budget next to military expenditure.

This gift to the rich is seven times as much as spent on the entire “war on poverty”!

It could buy 25 new outdoor swimming pools each for New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles and Detroit at a cost of \$50,000 apiece. And 10 of the same apiece for Buffalo, Cleveland, Baltimore, St. Louis, Atlanta, New Orleans, Birmingham, San Francisco and a dozen other cities as well. Add to that, three such pools for each of a thousand small towns throughout the country.

And on top of this, there could be the same number of free dance halls for teen-agers at a cost of \$100,000 apiece along with a five-piece band paid full-time wages to work there every night.

And there would be enough left over to give a one-thousand dollar a year scholarship to every single high school graduate who otherwise would not be able to go to college.

Or it could pay — in one year — for 7,000 new public schools at a cost of a million dollars apiece and have enough left over to pay the salaries of 50 teachers for each one of those schools at \$7,000 each.

But why go on? That money belongs to the bankers, not to us. And everybody knows that you've got to pay the bank before you take care of your own children!



# War, Peace and Ambiguous Slogans

## "Stop the Bombing," Yes! - But as Part of General U.S. Withdrawal, Not a War Maneuver!

By V. GREY

Millions of American people want to stop the war in Vietnam. And they want to stop it in the most effective way they can. They want to bring the GIs home to the USA and let the Vietnamese people run their own country.

They are seldom permitted to vote on this question and they are seldom even petitioned or polled on it. But all the honest opponents of the war among the masses feel just about this way.

Of late, however, there has been an enormous step-up in the demand to "Stop the Bombing" of North Vietnam. Now, certainly no friend of Vietnam would object to a stoppage of the monstrous bombing of that country. But different people mean different things by this slogan.

For example, there have been a series of full page ads in the New York Times, signed by a total of 6,000 college and university professors. The ads say just one thing: "Mr. President: STOP THE BOMBING."

No doubt the vast majority of the signers object to the U.S. invasion of Vietnam altogether and would welcome an immediate withdrawal of the type the British made famous at Yorktown in 1781. By a demand to Stop the Bombing, they mean: Stop the mass murder and stop the war.

But the actual political meaning of the ad itself is another matter.

A story in the Jan. 22 New York Times describes in detail the position of those who sponsored the ad and collected the signatures. In an interview, these professors tried to assure the public that to Stop the Bombing would serve the best interest of the "nation." And they expressed hopes that the Republican statesmen would agree to Stop the Bombing if the Democrats did not!

Dr. Luria of M.I.T., the Secretary-Treasurer of the Ad Hoc Faculty Com-

mittee on Vietnam, as it is called, also made the following statement:

"No one can dispute that we (he means the U.S.) are definitely ahead . . . We can take this one step (to stop the bombing - ed.) and make negotiations possible. Then, if world opinion is not successful in bringing about negotiations, we can still win by military means if necessary."

Being under a great deal of pressure, it is possible that Prof. Luria might not himself have been fully aware of the terrible implications of his own statement, at the moment he made it. But he could not have made it unless

he viewed the demand to Stop the Bombing in a very different light than the demand to stop the war.

The professor could not have made it much clearer that a "cease-bombing" can be a war maneuver as well as a move for peace. Of course, he prefers peace to war. But neither he nor his colleagues in the committee mentioned that the U.S. has no right to be in Vietnam and should withdraw from there.

Of course every friend of Vietnam's freedom wants to stop the bombing. But the fact is that the "Stop the Bombing" slogan has become the political property of those who are seeking a negotiated peace with Hanoi on just slightly less onerous terms than is Johnson. Where Johnson demands an unconditional surrender from the Viet-

namese, the others ask for a conditional surrender. Johnson himself could also take the latter position if he became convinced that an all-out U.S. victory was impossible. Johnson, too, might agree to "Stop the Bombing" - but without stopping the troop build-up, the base construction and the military occupation of South Vietnam.

The heart of the actual struggle in Vietnam was, before the U.S. came in, and still is today, the fight of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam to oust the handful of U.S. puppets from Saigon and run their own country. It should be recalled that the U.S. began bombing the North supposedly to prevent it from aiding the revolution in the South, and can use its bombing program as a bargaining factor in the conflict.

And it must be emphasized that the campaign to stop the bombing generally stops at the border of South Vietnam and only refers to the bombing of the North.

The only stop-the-war program that has real meaning under these circumstances, and as a matter of fact, the only one that will surely stop the bombing, is contained in the slogans: Withdraw Now, Bring the Troops Home Now, etc.

But this program and these slogans are carefully avoided even by some well-meaning professors who would like to see the war ended. The Rhodes Scholars, only the other day called on Johnson to Stop the Bombing and specifically said: "We realize . . . that nothing could be gained by a sudden unconditional abandonment of our responsibilities in Vietnam."

In reality, the Stop the Bombing advocates have only chimed in with the line of the liberal bourgeoisie, who say: "We can't win by bombing the North; it only stiffens their will." (This was the essence of several of Harrison Salisbury's dispatches in last year's Christmas holidays.)

The slogan for all serious and consistent opponents of the war should simply be: Withdraw all U.S. Troops Now.

And this includes withdrawing ships, planes and the dismantling of bases, because it means bringing home the people who man them.



A corner of Tu Ky hamlet, Hoang Liet, North Vietnam, after the U. S. bombing on December 2, 1966.

# John Steinbeck: a Vulture Among the Hawks

By ELLEN PIERCE

John Steinbeck's public career as a hawk — perhaps "vulture" is more like it — began last summer with an exchange of letters between him and Soviet poet Yevtushenko. It would appear that nobody in the Soviet Union knew anything about Steinbeck, because on July 7, Literaturnaya Gazeta published Yevtushenko's letter urging Steinbeck to speak out against the war, especially the bombing of the North.

Answering on July 11, Steinbeck (calling the poet "Genya," to show affection) chided Yevtushenko for not condemning the USSR and China. According to the American author, those countries were responsible for the war.

"I beg you to use your very considerable influence," Steinbeck wrote back, "to stop (the USSR from) sending the murderous merchandise through North Vietnam to be used against the South..."

"I will devote every resource I have to persuade my Government to withdraw troops and weapons from the South, leaving only money and help for rebuilding. And...if you could accomplish your part, my part would follow immediately and automatically."

In November, during a tour in the U.S., Yevtushenko met and warmly greeted Steinbeck. The writers said that despite the differences in politics there were strong literary bonds between them.

In December, Steinbeck left for South Vietnam to "seek the truth" about the war, he said, adding that he too wanted

peace. He mused that it would be nice for Yevtushenko to come and see the war with his own eyes so as not to be duped by Communist propaganda on Vietnam.

Newsday, a Long Island paper owned by the Guggenheim family, has carried Steinbeck's columns from Vietnam under the title of "Letters to Alicia." Alicia, a Guggenheim friend of Steinbeck, has been dead three years.

Newsday is now published by Bill Moyers, formerly Press Secretary to chief warhawk, Lyndon Johnson. And the letters, although directed to Alicia, in heaven, were opened by Bill, in Long Island.

One letter begins like this: "Alicia, I wish I could tell you about these pilots. They make me sick with envy. They ride their vehicles the way a man controls a fine, well-trained quarter horse. They weave along stream beds, rise like swallows to clear trees, they turn and twist and dip like swifts in the evening."

(Remember how Mussolini's son-in-law paid homage to the "beauty" of fascist war during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia?)

"I watch their hands and their feet on the controls, the delicacy of the coordination reminds me of the sure and seeming slow hands of Casals on the cello. They are truly musician's hands and they play their controls like music and they dance them like ballerinas and they make me jealous because I want so much to do it...I must take my longing out in admiration and the joy of seeing it." (News-

day, Jan. 7, 1967)

Indeed Mussolini Jr. is crude compared to this poet of genocide.

But there is no poetry in Steinbeck's foul mouthed slander of anti-war protesters.

"...The shiver of shame I sometimes feel at home when I see the Vietnicks, dirty clothes, dirty minds, sour smelling wastelings and their ill-favored and barren pad-mates. Their shuffling drag-ass protests that they are conscience-bound not to kill people are a little silly. They're not in danger of that. Hell, they couldn't hit anybody. I think their main concern is that a one-armed, half-blind, 12-year-old V.C. could knock them off with a bunch of ripe bananas." (Newsday, Jan. 7, 1967)

Steinbeck's slanders of the NLF are simply unprintable.

The social and economic chaos in U.S.-occupied areas -- prostitution, beggary, soaring inflation, blackmarketeering -- is described this way by Steinbeck...

"Private enterprise lurks near the surface in the Vietnamese. Given the incentive of troops, business sprouts like mushrooms; laundries, bars, little stores that sell a staggering variety of things." (Newsday, Jan. 7)

Steinbeck's column of Jan. 19 told about the use of dogs by the U.S. in Vietnam. It was accompanied by a picture of a soldier comforting a guard dog wounded by guerrillas. "The dog survived" assures the caption. (On Newsday's front page that morning was

a big picture of blindfolded Vietnamese prisoners tied together and being led by an American. Its caption was "Stringing 'Em Along." And there were no assuring comments about the prisoners' fate.)

Needless to say, the military were happy to have Steinbeck in Vietnam. They let his son John, serving in the Army, be Steinbeck's escort on the tour. They provided air transport to any place he wanted to see (providing it was in U.S.-occupied territory, of course).

Flying by helicopter with the 23rd Artillery group, he was given the honor of firing a round from 105mm howitzers. He didn't say at what.

"But my military and murdering instincts were not the reasons for this trip," he wrote in the Dec. 31 column. Steinbeck was flying to see the opening of "Gadsen Village" (nothing more than a glorified concentration camp.) This "village" was built for 30 refugee families. Not one of the families had a living adult male. The money to build it came from the people of Gadsen, Alabama. One can imagine which people.

The man who wrote "Grapes of Wrath", a book for the poor and oppressed, has long been dead.

If Yevtushenko and the Soviet literary circles and Government had been unaware of his demise, the Letters to Alicia finally told them the news. Last month Komsomolskaya Pravda (the Youth paper) called him "accessory to a crime."





## Through the Magnifying Glass

By John Moore

### Lidice and Bensuc

Lidice and Bensuc are two small towns some 7000 miles apart. They have a lot in common. Though their climates are different, their people are different and their languages are different, they share a similar fate.

Both were wiped out by an enraged imperialism. One, twenty-five years ago. One, three weeks ago.

It was on the morning of June 9, 1942, when the people of Lidice awoke to find Nazi troops surrounding their village. No one was allowed to leave. A woman and a twelve year old boy were shot when they tried. The other inhabitants were rounded up, imprisoned and later taken away to their deaths.

In mid-1942 German armies held vast territories, still advanced, but they were in trouble. Supplies were growing short; communication lines were long, and the world, instead of bending to their will, was mobilizing against them.

### 1942 — Hitler Demands Victory

Hitler was demanding victory. The generals were frantically trying to fulfill his demands.

Then on May 29, 1942, just next door to Nazi-controlled Deutschland itself, in long-since conquered Czechoslovakia, Czech guerillas shot the deputy boss of the Gestapo, Reinhard Heydrich. He lived a week; but on June 4, the world was finally rid of his obscene presence.

The Nazi bosses raged — and began a frenzy of killing.

That was why Nazi troops surrounded Lidice on June 9 and imprisoned and killed the villagers. The men of the village over sixteen — 172 of them — were shot the next day. Some of the women were taken to Prague and killed; most of the others died in the Ravensbrueck concentration camp. The small children of Lidice were sent to Germany to be raised as Germans with no knowledge of where they came from.

Lidice was dynamited, then leveled.

At that time, German imperialism was exploding over into all Europe. Today, U.S. imperialism is exploding into all the world — particularly in Southeast Asia. Today, U.S. imperialism is raging at a people who resist its domination and exploitation.

That was why people 30 miles north of Saigon in Bensuc awoke January 8 to find U.S. troops surrounding their village.

As the troops closed in, a loudspeaker in a helicopter overhead announced: "Attention, people of Bensuc! You are surrounded... Do not run away or you will be shot..." and 41 villagers were shot as they tried to get away.

The inhabitants of Bensuc were ordered to go into the schoolhouse by the officers of the 600 soldiers who had been landed by helicopter.

In the schoolhouse, 100 men were separated and taken away as "Vietcong suspects." Eleven others were "judged on the spot to be Vietcong."

The rest of the 3,800 inhabitants of Bensuc were taken to what was called a "refugee settlement" — a concentration camp. The town was leveled by bulldozers.

### 1967 — Johnson Demands Victory

There are 400,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam now at the disposal of U.S. generals. Johnson is demanding victory as he faces world opposition and opposition at home. But U.S. brass have been unable to defend even Saigon from harassing attacks, and unable to quell the revolutionary forces in an area only a few miles north of the capital. U.S. writers have nicknamed the 25-square-mile area, the tip of which is only 10 miles north of Saigon, the "Iron Triangle."

Time and time again armored masses of U.S. soldiers have been sent to punch their way through or clear this area. They have failed and they have suffered serious losses not truthfully reported in the U.S.

The raging response of the U.S. generals is now to attempt to destroy the whole area of which Bensuc is a part.

Coupled with the wiping out of Bensuc, the U.S. military sent 50 bulldozers to level a 370-acre forest at the southeastern tip of the "Iron Triangle," and, chortled Time magazine on January 27:

"Last week Operation Cedar Falls continued to scythe through the enemy's longtime nests in the Iron Triangle 20 miles north of Saigon — razing villages and transplanting their civilian populations, bulldozing and burning away houses, fruit trees, rubber plantations, rice granaries and tropical thicket."

Continued Time in its joyful upbeat prose:

"In its largest operation of the war, employing 16,000 infantrymen (other reports said 30,000), the U.S. was selectively applying a new strategy: a purposeful policy of scorched earth, not only to chase the enemy from his nests but to make those nests permanently uninhabitable."

Once the area is cleared of all civilians and the "nests" are "scorched," it will be what is called "a free bombing zone."

And this is only a beginning.

According to Time: "... the U.S. intends to spend much of 1967 scorching the enemy's earth all over Vietnam."

### A New Diabolical Experiment

In a diabolical experiment that would make Hitler green with envy, U.S. planes recently dropped chemical defoliants on another area controlled by the NLF (Zone D) and then after these had dried the foliage to a combustible brown, B-52's dropped "magnesium incendiary bombs." The intent: to start the kind of inferno which would destroy all life — vegetable or animal as well as human — in this part of people's Vietnam.

— The same country that U.S. propaganda still claims it is "defending."

Yet in spite of the savagery and awesome magnitude of these attacks, the incredibly brave people of Vietnam are not cowed — and do not intend to be. They have, against these same tremendous odds, won battle after battle.

And if the U.S. military, with all its viciousness and its bombs can be held in check this long by the people of one small but revolutionary country, what chance do U.S. Nazis have in the face of the revolutionary tide, when it rises in the rest of the world?

None!

### French Have Not Barred Tribunal

## War Crimes Hearings Still to be in Paris

By H. FLINT

Contrary to "news leaks" from Washington and "news stories" in many papers throughout the United States, the French Government has so far refused to ban the International War Crimes Tribunal — even though the U.S. Government has openly pressured the French to do so. The Bulletin of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation set the record straight on French policy in its January 15 issue.

"Every effort has been made to discredit the Tribunal by suggesting that it has been banned from France, where popular and official opposition to American policy in Vietnam is known to be very strong. The French denials of the Washington news leaks have been consistently omitted from press accounts in this country. The New York Times has consistently refused to print corrections or letters to the editor regarding the official French policy toward the Tribunal. Their failure to print the facts in this matter leaves no doubt as to their intentions," says the Bulletin.

In another action taken to harass the Tribunal, the State Department notified Russell Stetler, the Tribunal's Deputy General Secretary, with headquarters in New York, that his passport was revoked as a result of the trip to Hanoi which he made with Ralph Schoenman to arrange for the Tribunal's investigating missions.

The State Department acted just as the U.S. Supreme Court ruled for the defendants in a number of significant freedom-of-travel cases.

The Bulletin commented on the progress of the Tribunal and the harassment of Ralph Schoenman as follows:

"We stress that the work of the Tribunal is progressing smoothly and according to schedule. Plans for the public sessions have been agreed upon, and the necessary technical arrangements are in hand. The harassment of Ralph Schoenman is an acknowledgment of the seriousness with which the U.S. Government regards the Tribunal. That it should expect to damage the effectiveness of the Tribunal by removing one figure reflects, however, its profound misunderstanding of the nature, scope, and present development of our activities."

"The administrative work of the Tribunal is now in the hands of an established team, with offices in several countries. No conceivable action by the U.S. Government against any individual can halt the preparation now in progress for a Tribunal destined to arouse the conscience of mankind."

The War Crimes Tribunal will meet in France this coming spring to hear the evidence concerning the Nazi-like crimes of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Its hearings will be somewhat similar to the Nuremberg Trials, except that it will not be equipped with an army and prisons to enforce its judgments.

Further information may be obtained from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 342 W. 84 St., New York, N.Y. 10024.

## -Steelworker's Reply

Continued from Page 4.

fortably in the luxurious surroundings of the company's office.

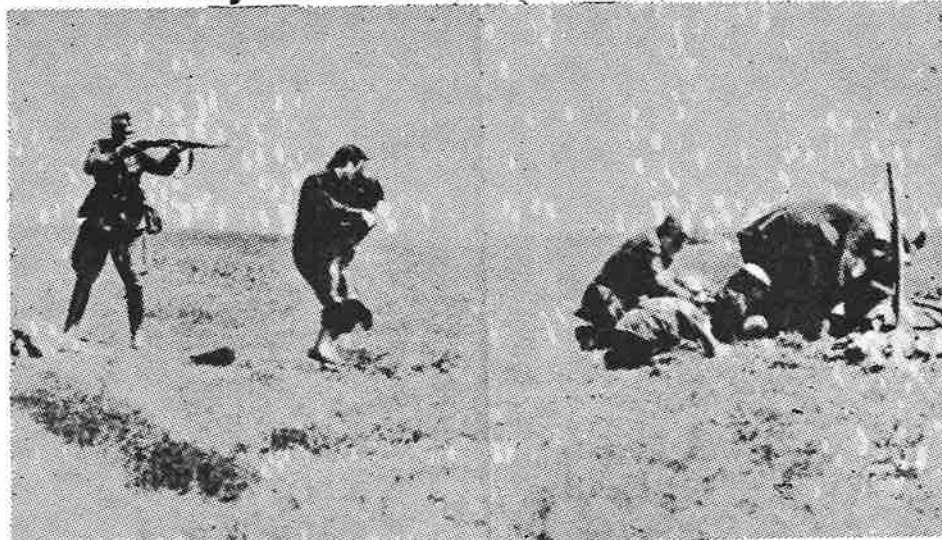
Your description, Brother Nordin, of the steel plant today is all too true. But a strong potential for class solidarity exists in the very nature of the steel plant.

And 1967, when millions of workers restless under the attack of the

corporation may hit the bricks again, could well be the beginning of what you and I have spent years of our lives in the plant looking for: the class feeling of the white workers for their Black brothers, growing out of facing of their common enemy and their common needs.

Milton Neidenberg  
Member, Lackawanna Local 2604  
United Steelworkers of America  
New York, Jan. 28, 1967

### This Really Isn't as Efficient as U.S. in Vietnam!



Nazis finishing their work at Lidice, 1942.

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