

as the specifics of opposition to the Vietnam war. Undoubtedly, the signatories are speaking for many Americans—indeed their statement was calculated to reverse their alienation from the electorate—but these are the Americans who *support* the war, not those who oppose it. Nor could this be otherwise with a statement approved by Secretary Rusk and Vice President Humphrey.

The fact that the 16 Senators acted out of hypocrisy does not excuse them; it substantiates their being hypocrites and (reluctant) warmongers. In their defense they would be likely to say that their re-election is important for the sake of peace efforts, but whatever kernel of truth there would be in such defense is outweighed by the phenomenon of dissenters upholding a system in which the propagation of ideas is merely a politician's gimmick for manipulating the electorate. In the choice between educating the public against the war and holding on to an office on Capitol Hill, education must take precedence. At least one reason of the present state of American politics, with its tragic global repercussions, is that too many men have been living by rationalizations that somehow always enable them to sacrifice principle in order to uphold it. When the chips are down, such men are divided neither by convictions nor by abhorrence of war; differences between fascists and anti-fascists and between war hawks and doves losing all consequence. The common denominator of personal hypocrisy manages to align them all—more or less harmoniously—in the line of least resistance.

For shame and scorn we mention Senators: Frank Church, John Sherman Cooper, George McGovern, J. W. Fulbright, Frank E. Moss, E. L. Bartlett, Lee Metcalf, Vance Hartke, Gaylord Nelson, Quentin Burdick, Joseph S. Clark, Stephen M. Young, Robert F. Kennedy, Mark O. Hatfield, Wayne Morse and Claiborne Pell.

No doves among the "doves."

Another of Hoover's Blackmails

J. Edgar Hoover, the man who has perfected the art of personal blackmail into a political power base, seems determined to take on any embryo of meaningful opposition in the United States. Among those singled out for the FBI director's special attention, venom and hidden threats are Mr. Stokely Carmichael and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The former is "guilty" of leading the Black Power movement, a movement which—subversively enough—considers the rights of Negroes to be literally and proudly theirs rather than thanked-for acts of handed-down generosity of admitted,

partly admitted, and unadmitted white supremacists. Dr. King has made himself a special target by openly joining the anti-Vietnam war movement. Particularly unforgivable is that both men identify the common roots of American racism and American imperialism.

Just about everyone in Washington is petrified at the thought of being Mr. Hoover's target. And for good reason. For inexhaustible is the combat imaginativeness of the FBI. Subtle hints made in public often hide elaborate schemes. When Mr. Hoover merely appears to be complaining that Mr. Carmichael's and Dr. King's expressed fears of ghetto riots might precipitate them—as he complains in the June FBI Law Bulletin—anyone knowledgeable in the ways of the FBI expects more physical manifestations of coercion. Previous clashes between the FBI director and Dr. King clearly suggest how low Mr. Hoover is willing to stoop to fight anyone not sharing his medieval social ideas. The eminent columnist, Marquis Childs, partly lifted the curtain hiding some of Hoover's mischief:

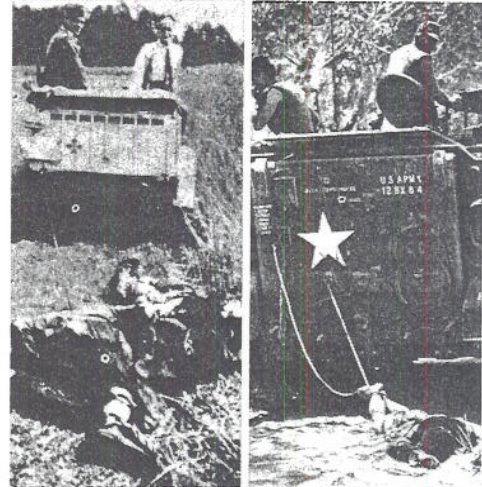
In the complex struggle is an element often discussed in private but never mentioned in public. This is a rumored FBI report on King's private life derived from an electronic device placed in a hotel room. . . . In December, 1964, J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI chief, denounced King as "the most notorious liar in the country." Shortly afterward King called at FBI headquarters to meet Hoover. He had little to say when he came out and the report circulated that he had been confronted with the hotel-room recording. . . . On the day that King and [Dr. Benjamin] Spock were to lead the massive anti-war demonstration in New York last month, the President let it be known at his Texas ranch that he was reading an FBI report on "anti-war activity." Among King's friends and followers were those convinced this was aimed at the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. (*The Washington Post*, May 12.)

A suggestion of the at least partial effectiveness of the Hoover blackmail is also provided:

In recent weeks King has been following a moderate line. At Louisville a demonstration promising to disrupt the Kentucky Derby was called off after one of King's followers announced that an "urgent telephone call" necessitated cancelling the planned march. Although it was denied that the call was threatening, again the rumor of pressure from Washington circulated. (*Ibid.*)

If it is true that Dr. King's positions on the civil rights struggle and the anti-war activities can be manipulated by someone as hostile to both as J. Edgar Hoover, then this becomes an all-important issue of both the civil rights and the peace movements. Then there are but two ways open to regain the leadership's independence and integrity: either Dr. King should free himself from susceptibility to blackmail by disclosing whatever it is that can be used to blackmail him and accepting due responsibility, or he should relinquish his leadership positions to men less susceptible to blackmail, whether by virtue of record or by virtue of greater personal courage. However much one can sympathize with a victim of blackmail—especially when it involves matters of bedroom privacy—it is intolerable that American dissenters should work under a hamstrung leadership.

Rep. Long's Treason and Treason Charge



Congressman Clarence D. Long of Maryland wants this publication investigated for treason. He has asked the Justice Department (and—believe it or not—the Post Office) to do the investigating; so he stated in the House of Representatives on May 8. Treason is alleged to have been committed when we published a photograph showing an American personnel carrier in Vietnam dragging behind it a "Vietcong" prisoner. Actually, we have carried that photo on two occasions: on the cover of our May 1966 issue, and on the cover of our May 1967 issue, where it was accompanied by a similar photograph of a Nazi jeep dragging a captured Polish partisan during World War II.

What actually disturbs Rep. Long's sensitivities is that "upon inquiring at the Departments of State and Defense" he "learned that the Vietcong shown in the photo was already dead. . ." As for this ingenious hearse service, Mr. Long has so much to say in its favor that one may expect him to adjust his will accordingly. Not only is it a measure against the miraculous combativeness even of dead "Vietcong" ("to guard against the Communist practice of booby trapping bodies left on the battlefield"), but it is also a religious ritual of sorts, somehow related to the Buddhist requirement of "prompt burial." It is even a particularly thoughtful method of honoring the dead in that at times "bodies are pulled away with a rope when they are badly decomposed."

Somehow the May 1966 credit line identifying the photograph's source as UPI and the photographer's name as that of the Pulitzer Prize winner Kyoichi Sawada left Rep. Long uninformed; after "inquiring" from the Department of State and Defense, he was not merely uninformed but misinformed. That the photograph's title, "Dusty Death," has not been authored by this publication but is the original UPI title, and that our captions faithfully synopsized the original UPI caption must have appeared irrelevant