

Johnson's New Escalation: Is He Preparing to Invade N. Vietnam?

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 31 - No. 10

Monday, March 6, 1967

Price 10¢

Murder in Natchez

An Editorial

The Ku Klux Klan has taken another victim in Natchez, Miss. Wharlest Jackson, former treasurer of the Natchez NAACP, was killed when a bomb exploded in his truck as he was leaving his job at the Armstrong Cork plant Feb. 27.

Jackson had just been promoted to a paint mixing job previously done only by whites. Two years ago, George Metcalf, local president of the NAACP, was crippled by a bomb explosion in his car as he was leaving the Armstrong plant where he is also employed. The plant has been notorious for its concentration of Klansmen.

Charles Evers, NAACP state field secretary, said that Jackson's death made a total of 41 killings of Negroes in the state since his brother Medgar was gunned down three years ago.

The FBI announced it is probing Jackson's death but indicated that since there are so many Klansmen in the area it will be hard to do anything. This attitude is, of course, in sharp contrast with that taken by the federal government in Vietnam where it unhesitatingly pours in hundreds of thousands of men and billions of dollars to allegedly preserve "freedom." The black people of Mississippi will do well to look to their own resources for defense against the Klan.

CIA Is Pawn, Not 'Supergovernment'

By Harry Ring

The revelations about the CIA subverting the NSA and other U.S. groups has struck a new blow at the U.S. propaganda myth of a "democratic" government leading the "free world" in a struggle against "totalitarian" communism.

For years, the U.S. propaganda machine has presented the picture of "the enemy" as a sinister group of conspirators whose world-wide network of specially trained, well-heeled agents have taken on the job of subverting legitimate organizations throughout the world. These agents, utterly without morality, specialize in capturing such organizations by recruiting conscious fellow travelers and woolly-minded dupes capable of helping to convert their organization into a front for spying, overthrowing governments, etc.

The present revelations, of course, strongly suggest that this is a rather accurate description of how the CIA operates at home and abroad.

While these revelations shed a great deal of light on the true nature of U.S. domestic and foreign policy, the reaction of many liberal-minded individuals is to see it as something different than it really is. Many liberals hold to the view that the manifold problems confronting the U.S. today — war, racism, reaction, etc. — are the product of a right-wing drive that is somehow in contradiction to the policies of the duly elected government.

Many see the CIA as the prin-

cipal and most dangerous expression of this independent, ever more powerful right-wing force. They view it as a government within the government — a sinister force that is subverting, among other things, the government itself. It is often described as a cold-war Frankenstein's monster now far more powerful than those who created it.

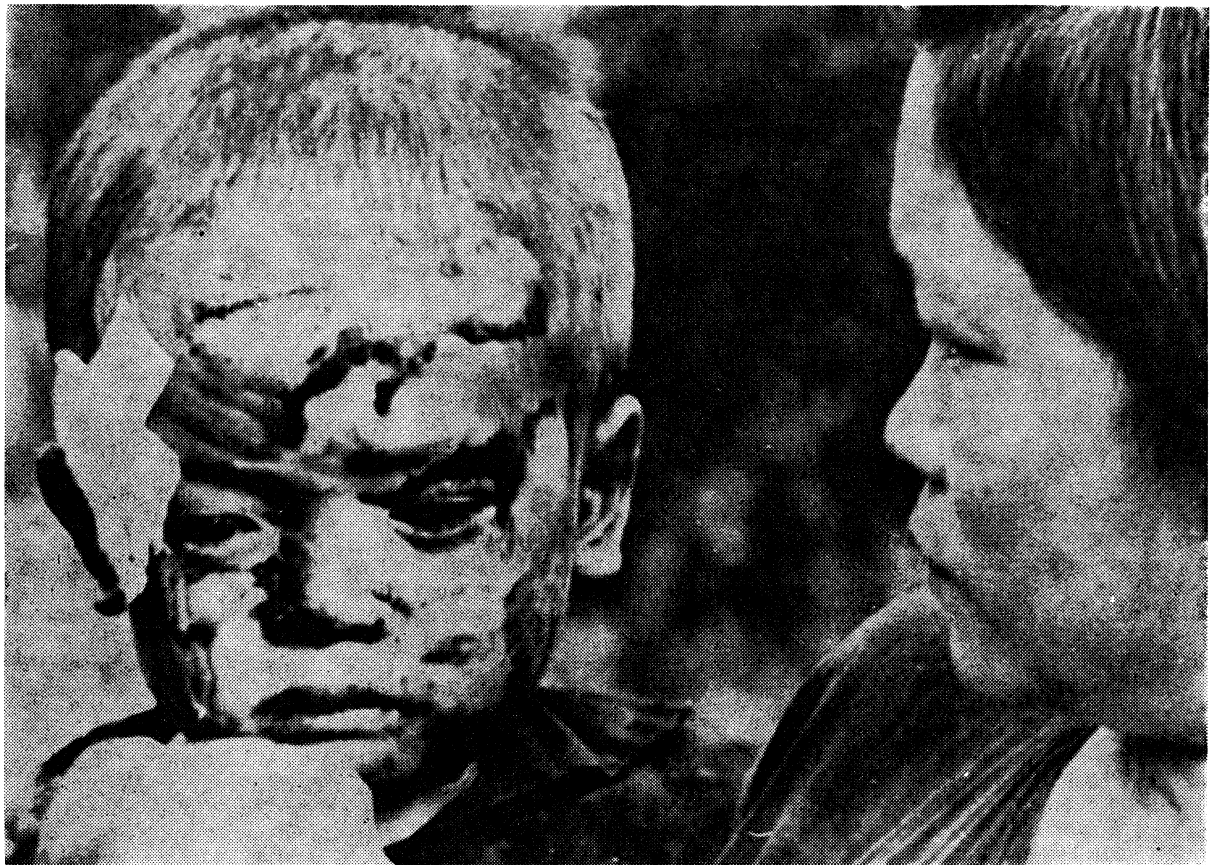
There is some truth in the concept that such witchhunt, cold war instruments as the CIA do tend to develop a certain independent strength and can at times be a problem for those who created them. But the essential analysis is a false one that fails to take into account the real structure of American politics and those who shape and control those politics.

It is, however, not only liberals who expound the view that the CIA is an invisible government independent of, and different from the visible, elected government. For example, *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party, carried a front-page editorial Feb. 26 which declared:

"When one clears away the slime of corruption . . . it becomes obvious that the CIA is the super government of the U.S., above the presidency, above the Congress, above the judiciary."

The editorial adds: "The CIA . . . has only one purpose, to overthrow the democratic system and replace it by a dictatorial regime, whose objective is to rule the

(Continued on Page 5)



CHILD VICTIM. Shrapnel wounded this little Vietnamese. Johnson is escalating war another step, which will mean many more innocent victims.

By Ed Smith

FEB. 28 — Washington has escalated the Vietnam war this week in a series of steps which the *New York Times* editorially compares to the February escalation of two years ago, when Johnson ordered the bombing of north Vietnam for the first time and blamed it on an alleged attack on the U.S. base in Pleiku.

The only significant difference in this escalation, according to the *New York Times* editors, is that Johnson offered "no excuse for 'retaliation.'" These were the major steps of Washington's new escalation:

- Feb. 23, U.S. troops began the largest offensive operation of the war, code-named Junction City. More than 25,000 soldiers were committed. Air-support on the first day of the battle brought the total number of sorties for that day in south Vietnam to 575, the highest yet flown.

- Feb. 24, U.S. artillery in south Vietnam opened fire on north Vietnam for the first time. The Pentagon would find no difficulty

in arguing that there is little difference between shelling north Vietnam from the south and actually invading it.

- Feb. 25, carrier-based bombers from the U.S. Navy rocketed two north Vietnamese power plants for the first time in five months. Sorties against north Vietnam are being flown on new high levels.

- Feb. 26, U.S. naval cruisers shelled north Vietnam from within several hundred yards of the beach, violating the international three-mile limit. These bombardments were the first "directed against logistic targets in north Vietnam" according to official statements.

- Feb. 27, Washington's bombers began dropping mines into north Vietnamese rivers for the first time. Such "experimentation" could pave the way for mining the port of Haiphong, long a contingency in the Pentagon escalation blueprints. (In January, Harrison Salisbury warned that this step might provoke Hanoi to appeal for direct assistance in the defense of

Vietnam from China and other workers states.)

Were these dangerous steps towards continental war in Asia accompanied by words of explanation from the White House? On the contrary, they were climaxed by a press conference in Washington Feb. 27 in which Lyndon Johnson denied that an escalation had taken place.

"I would say that there is some activity taking place that we would not say has been normal through the past week," Johnson conceded, "particularly the truce period." On the other hand, Johnson continued, "I think you could, if you searched, find some comparable action here and there, some similar actions."

With this auspicious opening answer in the conference, Johnson's further answers descended from the absurd to the ridiculous. "I wouldn't want to put my credibility in doubt," Johnson asserted, "by saying it never had happened before and then have somebody do a little research and

(Continued on Page 3)

Unions Back Peace March

Two West Coast Labor bodies have endorsed the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. They are the Northern California District Council of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union and the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO.

The Spring Mobilization Committee, a broad coalition of peace forces, is organizing a massive national demonstration against the Vietnam war April 15, with people from the western part of the country mobilizing in San Francisco and people from the eastern part massing in New York. A giant march and rally will be held in each city.

The Northern California ILWU will recommend to its affiliated locals that they endorse and participate in the April 15 march. The affiliated locals have a membership of 20,000.

The Santa Clara County Labor Council, just south of San Francisco, voted to participate in the

San Francisco action after hearing Rev. James Bevel, national director of the Spring Mobilization. Three council delegates — from the Retail Store Employees, the Teachers Union and Building Service Employees — will serve as representatives to the Spring Mobilization steering committee in San Francisco.

Marshall Axelrod

Meanwhile it was announced that Marshall Axelrod, president of the California State Federation of Teachers, had become a sponsor of the Spring Mobilization. (Last Dec. 29 the California Federation of Teachers had adopted a resolution calling for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. See last week's *Militant* for text.)

These union actions and other related developments indicate the prospects for winning much more significant union participation in the April 15 action than in any previous demonstration against the Vietnam war.

Three successful regional con-

ferences have been held by the trade union division of SANE, and participants were urged to initiate a discussion within their unions on the issue of the war. This process has begun to take place.

In New York, *The 65er*, publication of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, reported that members of District 65's Peace Action Committee are organizing a series of Friday evening discussions for members on the war. It is also issuing a monthly series of fact sheets on the war. The article in *The 65er* is by Al Evanoff, an official of the union who is a member of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 and president of the Negro-American Labor Council, recently became a vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee.



At its February meeting the AFL-CIO Executive Council voted to continue unconditional support of Johnson's policy in the Vietnam war. Similar backing was given to the administration's line on civil rights and general social issues. When asked whether the federation would support Johnson for re-election in 1968, George Meany told reporters, "I'll endorse him right now."

Under mounting pressure from the rank and file, the bureaucrats of the Executive Council felt compelled to differentiate themselves from White House attempts to hold down wages. They called for pay increases to protect buying power, escalator clauses in union contracts and a \$2 minimum wage. Lip service was also given to proposed efforts to seek reduction of the work week to 35 hours.

No direct answer was made to Walter Reuther's criticisms of the Meany regime in the federation. An official statement on the subject said in a key passage, "The officers and members of the Executive Council declare the complete readiness of the AFL-CIO to receive, consider, debate and act upon any complaint, charge, proposal or program . . . if and when properly offered through the appropriate channels of the AFL-CIO constitution."

The Feb. 21 *Wall Street Journal* quoted a Meany aide as saying, "Walter wants George to declare him co-president." Meany himself reportedly told a Feb. 24 press conference that Reuther was "a disruptive influence whose presence hurt the productivity of council meetings."

Reuther's resignation from the Executive Council was accepted by the body and William Pollock of the Textile Workers was designated to replace him. A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters tried unsuccessfully to have the vacancy filled by a Negro unionist, Frederick O'Neal of Actors Equity.

Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union expressed fear to reporters that the haste used in filling Reuther's seat "might cause a split in the labor movement." In an apparent effort to counteract such criticism, Meany said he hoped that Reuther would return to the Executive Council and that the UAW would stay in the AFL-CIO.

Meantime, on the eve of the Executive Council meeting, officers of 55 UAW locals, representing 60,000 members in the Chicago area, adopted a resolution favoring a break from the AFL-CIO central body in the area and the formation of a UAW council.

* * *

A seven day strike of 2,650 UAW members against General Motors at Mansfield, Ohio, was called off Feb. 22. It began over disciplinary layoffs of a crane operator and a crane hooker, who refused to move

some dies ordered transported to another GM plant for testing.

Local union officers called a plant-wide walkout in solidarity with the two disciplined workers. They said the dies were normally tested at the Mansfield plant and objected that 95 jobs had recently been lost through such transfers of work out of the plant. Basically, they appeared to be challenging GM's policy of ignoring the union and arrogating to itself all power of decision over work schedules, allocation and distribution of work among different plants, and production schedules.

GM reacted by suspending 18 more men from their jobs on charges of "active leadership of an illegal walkout" and "violence during the strike." The corporation also got a local court order against picketing and "violence" and "illegal activities." It refused to negotiate during the strike and laid off some 175,000 at other plants, claiming parts shortages were caused by the Mansfield walkout.

UAW president Walter Reuther intervened with a telegram ordering the strikers back to their jobs, echoing GM's denunciation of the stoppage as "illegal." Leonard Woodcock, director of UAW affairs at GM, obviously fearful that the walkout might be extended, sent a wire to all local unions in his department branding the Mansfield action "unauthorized" and a "violation" of the union's contract with GM.

The Mansfield local ignored the back-to-work order and voted to continue the strike. Reuther then summoned the local's officers to International headquarters and threatened to take over the local if his orders were not obeyed. At that point the membership yielded to the threat and voted to return to work. It was then announced that International representatives will sit in on local talks with GM over the disciplinary layoffs and the job issue that touched off the dispute.

Although only a local episode at one GM plant, the Mansfield action throws some light on the over-all situation as the UAW nears general re-negotiation of its contracts in the auto industry. The event reflects growing militancy in the UAW ranks and arrogance on the part of the corporations, with Reuther showing fear of the corporations and a dictatorial attitude toward the union membership.

* * *

Leeches seeking to feed on the labor movement, or to cynically use it for nefarious ends, were prominent hangers-on at the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla. Cabinet members came to line up support for Johnson's policies. Lawyers were there to drum up clients. Special pleaders came to milk the unions. Bankers and brokers sought business from pension and welfare funds. The First National City Bank of New York held a cocktail party for the union bureaucrats.

Fomented Strikes in Br. Guiana

How CIA Used Labor Fronts

A favorite theme of anti-strike propagandists used to be the cartoon of the bearded outside agitator who organized and spurred the duped strikers on. We don't know if the CIA agents who organized strikes against the government of Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana had beards, but otherwise they certainly fit the description. What is particular shocking, however, is that these agents carried on their reactionary work under cover of an American trade union.

The *New York Times* reported Feb. 24 that unnamed labor sources had informed it that the CIA, working to overthrow the Jagan government, operated through the international affairs department of the State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO. The report said the union's international affairs department had actually been directly operated by two CIA agents and others were employed by it with the funds that were funneled into the union from 1959 through May of 1964.

The relationship between the union and CIA was reportedly severed in 1964 by Jerry Wurf, former New York leader of the union, who was elected head of the federation at that time. He disbanded the international affairs department. None of this was made public, however, until after the current revelations about the CIA's role in the unions began breaking.

From the outset, the U.S. was determined to bring down the Jagan government in the former British colony now known as Guyana. To this end they supported the opposition party led by the present, pro-U.S. premier, Forbes Burnham. Burnham built

his opposition to Jagan by fomenting racial division in Guyana between blacks and those of East Indian descent.

The *Times* said CIA agents helped pro-Burnham union officials organize and maintain strikes in 1962 and 1963. They provided the striking unions with money and medical supplies for those of their members injured during the rioting that erupted during the strikes.

One of the CIA agents actually served as a member of the bargaining committee that met with Jagan. He was unmasked and barred from the country, but reportedly made his way back in illegally several times.

Top union officials reportedly did not know at first that the foundation funds coming into their international department were CIA money. But when they learned the fact they not only continued to accept the money but put CIA operatives in charge of the union international office.

Other Revelations

The scandalous revelation about the State, County and Municipal officials comes on the heels of the exposures about the Newspaper Guild, the Retail Clerks Association and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions doing the CIA's dirty work abroad and accepting CIA funds.

Meanwhile, syndicated columnist Drew Pearson charged Feb. 24 that the truth about union subversion by the CIA had only begun to emerge. He said the disclosure about the \$1 million paid out to the Newspaper Guild "gave the public a look at only the above-water part of the AFL-CIO iceberg."

N. Y. Welfare Workers Gain

By Howard Shepp

NEW YORK — The Social Service Employees Union has won an important victory from the city on the issue of contract enforcement. The victory came on Feb. 14 as the result of a work stoppage at the Non-Residence Welfare Center. This action was initiated because of excess case-loads at the center.

The agreement requires the city to hire 600 new caseworkers a month until there are enough workers in the department so limits on caseloads set down in the contract are not exceeded. The victory was made possible by the solid backing the Non-Residence center workers received from the rest of the union, as well as from Local 371, American Federation of State, Municipal and County Employees, AFL-CIO.

The conflict originated at the Non-Residence Welfare Center on Jan. 30. The contract between the city and the union guarantees a maximum of 40 cases for each caseworker at Non-Residence, but the average caseload there had risen to 60.

"The Pool"

In addition to the 50 percent overload, there were also 1,500 cases, called "the pool," which were rejected by caseworkers four months earlier in a previous work action, as excess cases. These cases were being serviced by only three caseworkers, less than 20 percent of the reserve staff called for by the contract.

The caseworkers had been pointing out constantly that with their high caseloads and excessive paperwork it was impossible for them to provide welfare recipients with adequate clothing, furniture, and other essential services. While the city agreed in words with this, they had done nothing to alleviate conditions in the center.

On Feb. 2, eight caseworkers refused to accept extra cases assigned to them. Although no action was actually required on these cases until Feb. 6, the eight workers were immediately suspended. Six more workers were suspended the following day for the same reason.

At an emergency meeting Feb. 3, the caseworkers at the center voted unanimously to hold an immediate work stoppage until the suspensions were rescinded, and significant improvements were made in working conditions.

The stoppage had the support of the local delegates of Local 371, State, County and Municipal Workers, AFL-CIO, which bargains for the clerks and supervisors in the department. Local 371 delegates told their members not to do any work normally done by a caseworker. All the supervisors at the welfare center signed a petition indicating they would not do such work.

SSEU delegates from the Non-Residence center negotiated through Feb. 7 with the city, but were not offered any significant concession except for the city's tentative agreement to rescind the suspensions of the 14 workers. The city refused to pay the caseworkers for the days of the stoppage.

Late that day, the city broke off negotiations, and stated that it considered the workers to be on strike, even though they were at their desks ready to work according to the conditions of their contract.

On Feb. 9, 250 caseworkers at Non-Residence were locked out of their center. They were told that the city considered them to be on strike, and 40 cops prevented any worker from going to his desk. All supervisors and clerks in the center were required to wear pink emergency identification cards, and had to ask permis-

"The rest of the CIA money paid to organized labor," Pearson wrote, "estimated at around \$100,000,000 a year, is probably the biggest fund dished out by Central Intelligence to anyone."

According to Pearson, the CIA subsidy goes mainly through Jay Lovestone, Meany's foreign affairs adviser; the International Oil Workers Union (which dispensed funds in Indonesia); the Food and Restaurant Workers Secretariat; Irving Brown, Lovestone's chief lieutenant; the American Institute for Free Labor Development; the African-American Labor Center and the Inter-American Labor Organization (ORIT).

Pearson said: "Lovestone takes orders from Cord Meyer of the CIA. No CIA money for labor is spent without Lovestone's approval, and few labor attaches are appointed to American embassies abroad without his OK."

Members of the Newspaper Guild at the *New York Daily News* have demanded that the union officers account to the membership for their sordid cooperation with the CIA and employees at the *New York Times* have also reportedly registered a protest.

Pete Hamill, columnist for the *New York Post*, wrote Feb. 21 that Arthur Rosenstock, president of the Guild, "should be thrown out, along with every single member of his executive board."

After blasting those in complicity with the CIA for violation of elementary union principles, Hamill concluded:

"And tonight all of us should take a moment and lift a glass to the memory of Heywood Broun. [Founder of the News Guild.] Wherever he is, he must be looking for a quiet place to throw up."

sion of the cops to leave their desks, even to go to the washroom. A petition Thursday signed by 90 percent of the supervisors protested these conditions and likened them to those in Nazi Germany.

At a city-wide membership meeting that night, the union voted 900-3 for a city-wide work stoppage Feb. 14 if the issues weren't yet settled. The membership of the union felt it was essential to support the workers at Non-Residence, and they also understood that caseloads as specified in the contract are exceeded at almost every welfare center. The next day, Local 371 repeated that no supervisors or clerks should do any work done by caseworkers.

Explained Stand

Caseworkers from Non-Residence, understanding the crucial necessity of mobilizing city-wide support for the work stoppage, went to 25 other welfare centers throughout the city, to explain at meetings and to individual caseworkers the importance of the Non-Residence work stoppage. The response was sympathetic at every welfare center, most of which had problems similar to Non-Residence.

On Sunday, Feb. 12, however, negotiations resumed, and an agreement was reached and ratified by the union membership two days later. In addition to agreeing to hire 600 new caseworkers, the city agreed to add 30 new workers immediately at Non-Residence, and grant various easements until the contract was met. Caseworkers at Non-Residence would not, however, be paid for the days they were unable to work.

The settlement is an example of the type of victory that can be won if the two unions in the welfare department cooperate with each other.

If you enjoy reading *The Militant* and are interested in what the young socialist movement is thinking and doing, you will want to subscribe to America's leading young socialist magazine

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

\$1 a year (six issues)

Send your dollar to

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

Name.....
Street.....Zip.....
City.....State.....

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 31 - No. 10

345

Monday, March 6, 1967



Photo by Eli Finer

ANTIWAR VETS. On Washington's birthday, Veterans and Reservists group dressed in Revolutionary War uniforms, held demonstration in New York. Here, scene shows British Redcoat captured by American revolutionary.

...Johnson's Escalation

(Continued from Page 1)

find that on occasion something had happened that was at least comparable.

"But I think it is fair to say that this is action over and above what has been taking place over the last few weeks. Certainly it is more far-reaching."

A lead! The White House press corps pressed for more details: "Would you say, sir," one reporter asked, "could you characterize it as just keeping the pressure on? You have spoken of that kind of approach."

But this stalwart representative of the public press was admonished. "I would say we don't need to label it, really," the President replied. And he instructively

added, "I think what we would want to conclude, really is that our military and civilian leaders are doing what they believe is best to do to protect the safety, the lives of our men there, and to try to bring about a halt to the war and the aggression..."

Same Line

And so forth. From one informationless answer to the next, it was the same line, which is hard enough to believe even when you see it in print: "Each day the big road we follow is a search for peace. Everything we do is in that direction."

There was one statement, however, towards the end of the conference, that is worth reprinting for the insight it sheds on the process of decision making in Washington:

"If I will try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. That is generally the way I approach these suggestions that I have from day to day. I think they are indispensable to the democratic form of government..."

"The present is a time for struggle; the future is ours."
—Che Guevara.

Casualties Higher

Combat deaths of American soldiers in Vietnam were 172 for the week ending Feb. 18 according to the New York Times. This brings total recorded casualties to 9,049 killed, 43,536 wounded. The average casualty rate is now close to 1,000 per week.

Spring Mobilization News

The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam will hold giant marches in New York and San Francisco April 15. The Student Mobilization Committee will hold a national campus Vietnam Week April 8-15, culminating with participation in the April 15 demonstrations. This column is devoted to news and information about these events and related antiwar developments. News from your area is welcomed.

Edward Keating, crusading *Ramparts* publisher and West Coast chairman of the Spring Mobilization, spoke before an audience of 200 Denver peace and civil rights activists on Feb. 22. There were members of the local Stop the War Committee, civil rights leaders and SNCC activists and local high school and college students. Keating urged a united effort by all groupings, regardless of differing views, to achieve a maximum turnout for April 15.

A Spring Mobilization Coordinating Center has been set up for Southern California at 555 No. Western Ave., Los Angeles, 90004. Phone (213) 467-3882.

On Feb. 25, 125 students from high schools and nearly every college in the Philadelphia area met at Temple University to discuss plans for the Spring Mobilization. They heard a report by Linda Dannenberg of the national Student Mobilization Committee and then divided into workshops.

Earlier in the week, more than 50 antiwar activists established the Philadelphia Spring Mobilization Committee, which will coordinate publicity and charter buses and trains to New York for April 15. Representatives at the organizing conference included: Bill Mathis, chairman of CORE; members of the Young Militants; a United Electrical Workers (ind.) organizer; representatives of Women Strike for Peace, SANE, Friends Peace Committee, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Temple U SDS, U of Penn Vietnam Week Committee, CNVA, Sholem Aleichem Club and YSA.

A Vietnam Week Committee was established at the University of Pennsylvania at a meeting initiated by an advertisement calling for campus antiwar action April 8-15 culminating in the mobilization in New York. The ad in the undergraduate *Daily Pennsylvanian* was signed by Student Government Vice President Chip Block, Senior Class President and

General Hits Viet War

Gen. David M. Shoup, the former commander of the Marine Corps, blasted the Vietnam war in a strongly isolationist speech at Pierce College, Los Angeles, last May. Shoup declared:

"I believe that if we had and would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-crooked fingers out of the business of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people, they will arrive at a solution of their own. I don't think the whole of Southeast Asia, as related to the present and future safety and freedom of people in this country, is worth the life or limb of a single American."

Inter-Fraternity Council Vice President Jerry Rifkin, Chief Justice of the Student Supreme Court H. Michael Neiditch, Tutorial Board Chairman Rick Baron, Community Involvement Council Chairman Tom Perloff, National Student Association Campus Representative Nina DiMartini, Americans for Democratic Action chairman David Lawrence and leaders of the University Committee to End the War in Vietnam, SDS and YSA.

The Australian Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament will hold a demonstration against the Vietnam war in Sydney on April 16 in response to the call of the Spring Mobilization Committee for acts of international solidarity with its April 15 demonstration.

A stir was created at Wayne State University in Detroit when Dr. Richard Wagner, vice chairman of the Student-Faculty Council demanded that Chuck Larson, chairman of the council, either resign that post or resign from the Detroit Student Mobilization Committee. Larson plans to chair the campus War Crimes Hearing during Vietnam Week. Larson, who is chairman of the continuations committee of the Detroit Student Mobilization Committee, replied that he has a perfect right to participate in the Mobilization as long as he doesn't present himself as representing the Student-Faculty Council, which he is not doing.

The antiwar movement is moving into the deep South. A march in memory of the burned children of Vietnam was slated to be held in Jackson, Miss., under the auspices of the Jackson Ad Hoc Committee to End the War in Vietnam, P.O. Box 3255, Jackson, Miss. 39207. Participants are reported from Tougaloo, Millsaps and Mississippi Colleges. There was leafletting at Negro and white churches.

Nearly 60 young people attended a meeting of the New York Student Mobilization Committee on Feb. 26 at which plans were mapped for activity to build Vietnam Week and the April 15 parade. Some 25 colleges and several high schools were represented. The meeting was held at the headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee, 29 Park Row.

The Feb. 23 *Boston University News* addressed an open letter to

House Speaker McCormack branding the Vietnam war a "high crime" and calling for the impeachment of President Johnson.

The Connecticut *Peace Newsletter* announces that buses will be going from Hartford and other areas in central and northern Connecticut areas to the April 15 march in New York. For further information contact the *Newsletter*, P.O. Box 2251, West Hartford, Conn., or phone Paul Basch, 232-1216.

The New York artists who organized the extremely effective Angry Arts Week against the War in Vietnam have agreed enthusiastically to support the April 15 Mobilization. They have established Angry Arts for Life and Against the War in Vietnam to organize their participation in the preparations and in the actual march. (A group from Julliard School of Music is reportedly considering organization of a marching band for the parade.) Angry Arts may be contacted at the Greenwich Village Peace Center, 224 W. 4th St., New York.

Those in the Dayton area seeking information on the Spring Mobilization and the Student Mobilization may contact the Dayton Area Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 221 Xenia Ave., Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Phone (513) 767-2421 or 372-7944.

New England and National CNVA have slated a walk for peace from Boston to the Pentagon. The walk will start in the latter part of March and the participants plan to arrive in New York April 15 to join the big march and then proceed to Washington.

The Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the University of Minnesota CEWW sponsored a one-day conference to plan for April 8-15 campus Vietnam Week and the April 15 Mobilization. There were 79 people registered at the conference from: Students for Liberal Action, Twin Cities Area Peace Council, YSA, American Friends Service Committee, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, SWP, and Carleton, Macalester, Gustavus Adolphus colleges and Wisconsin State University.

There were addresses by Prof. Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University, a vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization; and Profs. George Jones and Mulford Sibley of the U of Minnesota.

There were workshops on the draft, community organizing, campus organizing, the civil rights and union movements and one on the strategy of the peace movement. A coordinating committee was set up with representatives from the participating organizations, with Prof. Sibley as chairman.

More than 300 high school students were reported planning a March 5 parley in Los Angeles to plan for student participation in the April 15 San Francisco march. Suzi Montauk, a leader of the high school Students Movement Against the War was slated to address the gathering.

A Correction

Last week we reported that left wing groups were excluded from a National Student Conference held at Cornell University. Steve Press, vice chairman of the Columbia University Student Council, and a delegate to the conference, explained that while invitations were sent only to representatives of student governments, those who were in addition, members of SDS, YSA, etc. were not excluded and were in fact present.

He also reports that the conference voted to endorse the April 15 Mobilization.

HIS IDEAS KEEP SPREADING

The Impact of Malcolm X

By Elizabeth Barnes

The memorial meetings for Malcolm X held recently in many cities reflect the impact which Malcolm's life and ideas are having on black militants today. Many of the speakers not only paid tribute to Malcolm, but discussed the relevance of his ideas for the struggles ahead.

Today the ideas of Malcolm X are more widely known and accepted than they were even a year ago. Significantly, there were more memorial meetings held this year than last, and the meetings tended to attract larger audiences.

After Malcolm's death a conscious effort was made to undermine the influence of his revolutionary ideas. The government, the press, and the Uncle Toms conjured up a false image of Malcolm as a racist madman in the hopes that people would not take him seriously.

A typical example of this was the statement made by Carl Rowan, Negro director of the U.S. Information Agency, at the time of Malcolm's death. In complaining about the outcry in Africa over the murder of Malcolm X, he said that he could not understand all the fuss about an "ex-convict, ex-dope peddler who became a racial fanatic."

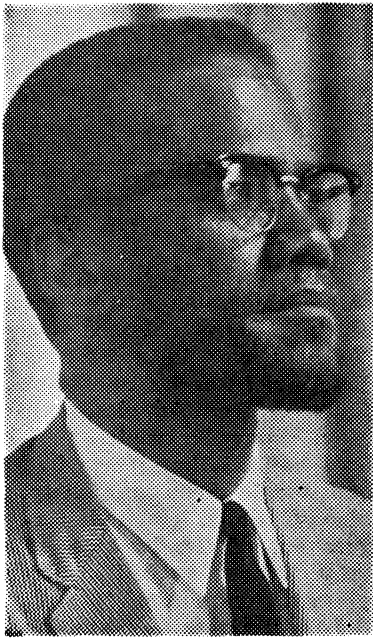
But the attempts to make Malcolm X a forgotten figure were not successful. In the first place, despite the slanderous coverage of Malcolm in the press, he had widespread support among black people who heard him speak while he was alive. Secondly, Malcolm X's ideas were preserved after his death in books and pamphlets which have been widely circulated. The *Autobiography of Malcolm X* and *Malcolm X Speaks* have been sold on newsstands and bookstores from one end of the country to the other.

Force of Ideas

Through these books and by word of mouth, Malcolm's ideas have become known in established civil rights organizations such as SNCC and CORE, as well as in the ranks of independent black radicals and black nationalists. They have even had an impact on white revolutionaries and white students newly radicalized around the Vietnam war.

In the February 1967 *Ramparts*, Eldridge Cleaver wrote about how the ideas of Malcolm are influencing black people in the prisons. He says that while the most popular radical ideas among black prisoners used to be those of Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims, "What black inmates now look to with rising hopes is the cry for black power and an elaboration of its details in the name of Malcolm X."

At a memorial meeting one year ago — on the first anniversary of Malcolm X's assassination — George Breitman, editor of *Malcolm X Speaks*, outlined how Malcolm's ideas were already beginning to gain widespread acceptance. He



Malcolm X

said, "Malcolm is dead and the movement he wanted to build has not grown or prospered organizationally. But many of their ideas — black leadership, black power, building a base in the ghetto, control of the ghetto, self-defense, racial pride and solidarity, identification with the colonial revolution and Africa, independent black political action — these and other concepts, which were considered the unique attributes of black nationalism and Malcolm X two years ago, are now generally accepted in the black community, or they are not argued about, or at the very least they are given lip service even by civil rights organizations that repudiated and denounced them not long ago."

The biggest qualitative step forward in this process came with the rise of the black power concept and the national discussion which took place after last summer's march through Mississippi. This discussion, which is still going on today, is in fact a discussion of the validity of the ideas of Malcolm X.

The black power slogan expresses an idea which was central to Malcolm's thinking. He believed that black people should rely on their own organized power, not on that of the ruling class, to win their freedom.

Uncompromising Struggle

The attitude of uncompromising struggle which Malcolm X represented has been adopted by organizations whose perspective is to put these ideas into action. In a speech on Jan. 24, 1965, a month before his death, Malcolm reiterated his belief that nationalists should become involved in the struggle. He said, "And you actually do the whole thing a disservice by not getting involved, because what you do is create a vacuum, into which steps Uncle Tom . . . I spent twelve years doing this in the Black Muslim movement, condemning everybody walking, and at no time were we

permitted to get involved to show a better way. Okay, I say, let's get involved. Let's get involved all the way. Let's don't get involved in a compromise way."

At the same time Malcolm X was trying to shed the sectarianism of the Muslims and become more active in the struggle, the activists in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were going through certain experiences which eventually led SNCC to adopt many of Malcolm's views.

SNCC helped to set up the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in 1964, which attempted to get its delegates seated both at the national Democratic Party convention in Atlantic City and later in Congress in place of the "regular" Mississippi delegates and congressmen who were seated as a result of discriminatory and illegal election procedures. These attempts were rebuffed by the Democratic Party politicians and by such liberal Negro leaders as Bayard Rustin. This experience with the liberal section of the ruling class and its Negro spokesman — along with other experiences such as the Johnson-Goldwater election — led SNCC to question the policy of reliance on the ruling class and its two parties to gain freedom.

Opposed Johnson

Malcolm X's unequivocal opposition to Kennedy and Johnson and the two major parties thus began to make more and more sense to individuals in SNCC. Malcolm was one of the few black radicals who staunchly refused to support Johnson as the lesser evil to Goldwater. He made it clear that both candidates represented the "enemy" — one in the form of a wolf, the other a fox.

SNCC put Malcolm's ideas into practice when they aided in the formation of the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama in the latter part of 1965. The Black Panther Party is an organization of the black people of Lowndes County, independent of the Democratic Party on both a local and national level.

SNCC was also following in Malcolm's footsteps when it became the first black organization to issue a formal proclamation against the Vietnam war. Malcolm was against the Vietnam war from the beginning and he considered the Vietnamese freedom fighters to be part of the world revolution of dark skinned peoples which he identified with. In the past year the Vietnam war has brought increasing numbers of black radicals to Malcolm's view that the struggle is international in scope, against a world-wide exploitative capitalist system.

Stokely Carmichael's recent visit to Puerto Rico and his perspective for cooperation with the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement are indications that SNCC is taking steps in the direction of Malcolm's international perspective.

CORE Positions

During 1964 and 1965 CORE, in trying to arrive at a program to reach the black masses, came out for self-defense, black power, and opposition to the Vietnam war.

The most significant aspect of the development of a whole new layer of black radicals is that some of them are beginning to agree with the clearly revolutionary content of the ideas of Malcolm X. They see a revolutionary perspective for the United States — with black people playing a vanguard role. At a memorial meeting for Malcolm at the Militant Labor Forum in New York, Tom Howard of Harlem CORE pointed out that those who control another man's property are not going to give it up easily. He said, "You are going to have to take it. You are going to have to fight a revolution."

Many Memorial Meetings Pay Tribute to Malcolm X

FEB. 27 — Last Tuesday marked the second anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. During the week memorial meetings were held from one end of the country to the other for the black revolutionary. As one speaker in New York was to comment, "They wanted Malcolm dead, discredited and forgotten — but they have failed." By all accounts there were more meetings with larger attendance than on the first anniversary of Malcolm's death a year ago.

The Militant Labor Forum sponsored a meeting Friday, Feb. 24, where more than 120 people heard Tom Howard of Harlem CORE; John Wilson, SNCC field secretary; and Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

DeBerry summed up Malcolm's contribution to today's struggle:

"The young black revolutionaries on the scene today are the inheritors of the contribution of Malcolm X: the need for black people to lead black people; the right of black people to defend themselves against racist attack; and the ideas of black power, which were put forward by Malcolm X. Malcolm exposed the ruling Republican and Democratic parties. He showed that you can't be for capitalism and be for freedom."

DeBerry emphasized that "Black power means independent black political action. Black people have no political representation. We must change this, as they are doing in Lowndes County."

John Wilson commented that "It is imperative that we affirm the right to fight for our rights rather than the right to die for them . . ."

"White people like to talk about how Malcolm's message changed after his trip to the East. That's wrong. Malcolm never changed."

He went on to say that "At the



Eldridge Cleaver

Militant Labor Forum. He described the impact of the ideas of Malcolm X on black militants all over the country: "Now I went on a tour a few weeks ago with Stokely Carmichael. We hit several states, several cities. And this is not just happening in California. This is happening all over the country. When you talk to black people, it's just like talking to one man. . . . The focus is Malcolm X, because Malcolm X has transformed the psychology of black people . . . he has shown them that it is better to fight than to be a slave. . . . And the only people who need fear this or become disturbed about this are the people with evil intentions, the people who, by either commission or omission, are perpetuating the conditions under which black people live today."

The memorial meeting, held at San Francisco's Hall of Flowers, attracted 150 people who braved heavy rains to hear Cleaver and Robert Himmel, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, who gave a socialist view of Malcolm X.

Himmel described the role of the Socialist Workers Party in helping to spread the ideas of Malcolm X by publishing his speeches and publicizing the meetings of his Organization of Afro-American Unity. But, said Himmel, "We sought not simply to offer ideas for him and for the movement that he represented — although he always welcomed such ideas. We sought also to learn from him and to emulate his example and his personal qualities and to instill these qualities in the ranks of our own members, black and white, as a model for Americans honestly concerned with doing something to make a better world. He helped inspire a whole layer of young people. . . . Now he won't be easily replaced."

"There's no point in trying to underestimate the loss to the entire world revolutionary movement, black, white, and yellow. . . . But as we have done up till now, as we will continue to do in the future, we'll work harder, all of us, to fill the gap, to build the movement that needs to be built to create a revolutionary change, to bring into being the kind of world that Malcolm X struggled for, the kind of world for which he gave his life."

Three other memorials were held in New York. On Sunday, Feb. 19, a meeting was held at Faith Temple in Harlem, the scene of Malcolm's funeral. Speakers included Bishop Alvin A. Childs; John Hendrick Clarke, associate editor of *Freedomways*; K. A. Tawfig, an Islamic student who recently returned from Egypt; and Clifford Brown, former co-chairman of Mt. Vernon and New Ro-



Clifton DeBerry

time Malcolm attacked the civil rights groups it was necessary. Now the civil rights groups have accepted his philosophy and it is our job to make all other philosophies irrelevant."

In a moving speech, Tom Howard described Malcolm as "The director of the revolution we are about to become involved in. . . . Unhindered, he could have taken over the weak-watered civil rights movement and welded it into a revolution that would have destroyed this country — and remade it." Howard concluded by saying, "The power structure can afford to compromise — we can't. We mean business. We can't afford to lose. . . . They can't kill all the Malaysians."

In San Francisco, Eldridge Cleaver was the featured speaker at a memorial meeting held by

JUST PUBLISHED

The Last Year of Malcolm X:
The Evolution of a Revolutionary

By GEORGE BREITMAN

Presenting new information and fully documenting each point, this book traces the development of America's most significant black leader into a revolutionary internationalist.

cloth \$4.50

paper \$1.95

MERIT PUBLISHERS
5 East 3rd St.
New York, N. Y. 10003

Meetings Around Nation ... CIA Not a Superpower

Memory of Malcolm X

chelle CORE. About 300 people attended, including Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow.

Brown touched a responsive chord in the audience when he said, "I didn't wear black today because I don't believe that memorials are necessarily a place of mourning. We should best be mournful of those Negroes that have not yet 'changed their minds' about accepting oppression."

Charles Kenyatta, a former associate of Malcolm X, and William Epton of the Progressive Labor Party addressed a meeting at the Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church on Tuesday night. The meeting was chaired by Paul Boutelle of the Socialist Workers Party.

Epton pointed to the importance of Malcolm X in "internationalizing the struggle of black people in the United States against American imperialism."

Kenyatta called on Afro-Americans to take their freedom "by any means necessary."

A tape of one of Malcolm's speeches followed the presentations. Afterward, Malcolm's sister, Ella Collins, thanked the audience for coming together in memory of her brother.

On Wednesday, Feb. 22, 200 people marched from the Audubon Ballroom at Broadway and 165th Street where Malcolm was killed, to Harlem Square at 125th and Seventh Avenue. There Ella Collins and Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC, spoke. Carmichael said that "Black men will have to make their own heroes."

A sculptured bust of Malcolm was unveiled during the ceremonies and remained on display for most of the day.

A day earlier, in Berkeley, Eldridge Cleaver appeared at a rally at Berkeley High School sponsored by the Socialist Campaign Committee. Also speaking were Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for mayor of Berkeley, and members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, a new group which has been formed in Oakland.

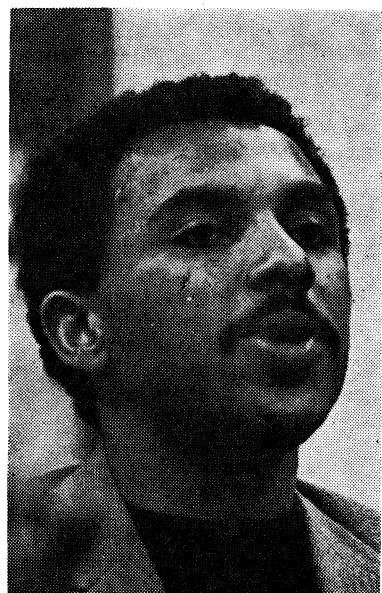
Another Bay Area meeting held Feb. 24 in Hunter's Point, scene of last fall's San Francisco "riot," culminated in a march by 75 members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. The march ended at the spot where young Mathew Johnson was shot by a policeman in the incident which has been held responsible for triggering the "riot."

Eldridge Cleaver had appeared during the week on radio programs on KPFA-FM and on KCBS's Harv Morgan Show, a call-in program.

In Boston, the Militant Labor Forum held a memorial meeting on Feb. 17, where Paul Boutelle spoke on the meaning of Malcolm X to the struggle for freedom today. A tape of one of Malcolm's speeches was played.

The same night a meeting was sponsored in Chicago by the Friday Night Socialist Forum. Speakers who paid tribute to Malcolm included Monroe Sharpe of Chicago SNCC; H. Brent Davis, a member of the American Humanist Association and the ACLU; James Turner, of the Afro-Student Association and former organizer of the OAAU; Herman Porter, writer for the *Militant*; Edward Heisler, representing the Young Socialist Alliance; and Walter Bell, from the Amistad Society, an Afro-American history group.

In Detroit, the Friday Night Socialist Forum heard Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr., chairman of the Inner City Organizing Committee; Derrick Morrison, YSA; David Wesley, Detroit SNCC; and Dudley Randall, co-editor of *For Malcolm: Poems on the Life and Death of Malcolm X*. The meeting was chaired by attorney Milton Henry.



John Wilson

During the week a black leadership conference was held in Los Angeles which paid tribute to Malcolm X. Among those speaking at the conference were Stokely Carmichael; Milton Henry, director of Forum 46 in Detroit; Ron Karenga, director of U.S.; Abdul Karim, publisher of *Black Dialogue*; and former SNCC worker Jimmy Garrett of San Francisco.

In opening the Militant Labor Forum memorial meeting in San Francisco, Robert Himmel pointed out:

"While bullets could kill Malcolm X the man, they couldn't kill the ideas he developed and expressed. The racist rulers of this country tried to destroy Malcolm X by slander while he was still alive . . . None of the calculated campaign of slander that was conducted during his lifetime undermined the authority that Malcolm X was able to build up as a spokesman for the oppressed black people of the United States. And so they destroyed him physically. They shot him down in cold blood."

"Since his death some two years ago, they found that they have had to continue with the campaign of twisting and distorting. They've used all the tricks in the book. They've even tried to turn Malcolm X into a white liberal. But they have still failed. All of this simply goes to prove the old maxim that I'm sure you've all heard: that there is no power on earth greater than an idea whose time has come."

(Continued from Page 1)
American people as the agent of Wall Street."

And, we are informed, the CIA is "not only spreading its tentacles throughout the entire fabric of American society, but it is seeking to capture the open government of the U.S. . ."

While this may seem, at first glance, like a rather militant denunciation of Wall Street and its "agent," it actually serves to divert attention away from (and to at least partially exonerate) Wall Street's real political agent, the government in Washington, currently headed by Johnson's Democratic administration.

Certainly the responsible political leaders of the country do not regard the CIA as some secret force that is challenging their authority and power. This was spelled out by Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach in his Feb. 23 report to President Johnson. Katzenbach, former attorney general, declared:

"When the Central Intelligence Agency lent financial support to the work of certain American private organizations, it did not act on its own initiative but in accordance with national policy established by the National Security Council in 1952 through 1954. Throughout it acted with the approval of interdepartmental review committees, including the Secretaries of State and Defense or their representatives. These policies, have, therefore, been in effect under four presidents."

Voluntary confirmation of this was offered by Robert Kennedy. The CIA, he insisted, should not "take the rap" for merely doing what it was told. Top figures in both parties agreed and there was not a murmur of dissent in these circles. Nor can it be reasonably argued that these politicians are simply under such strong CIA pressure that they dare not speak out. Regardless of other failings, they are jealous of their powers and privileges. If they really had been under duress from the CIA

the present revelations would have offered them an excellent opportunity to get the cloak-and-dagger outfit off their back. But the top figures in both parties responded with a resounding NO to any idea of even probing some of the activities of the CIA.

The reason for this is that despite any surface appearance to the contrary, the CIA is merely one instrument of U.S. policy and it has done nothing of consequence that is not in full harmony with U.S. policy. True the CIA is, as *The Worker* declares, "spreading its tentacles throughout American society." But this is, as Katzenbach explains, top government policy, not a CIA aberration.

The role of the CIA becomes perfectly understandable when its activities are related to the policy those activities are designed to promote.

The CIA was formed in 1947, coincident with the unleashing of the cold war. The way had been paved for this during World War II. While the U.S., under the guise of combatting fascism, was seeking to eliminate its Japanese and German imperialist rivals from the scene, it was already preparing for the day when it could proceed with the next stage of its march toward world domination. This was, and remains, the rolling back of the colonial revolution in Africa and Asia, and the containment and eventual destruction of the Soviet Union.

The U.S. has suffered some serious setbacks in its efforts to realize that goal — the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the elimination of capitalism in Eastern Europe, the successes of the colonial revolution, the remarkable industrial and military development of the USSR. It has also scored temporary victories — the stabilization of capitalism in Western Europe, the recent blows to the colonial revolution on three continents.

One of the problems of carrying out U.S. policy is that it is totally reactionary and based upon

the biggest lie in history. Such a policy demands the services, among other things, of such an instrument as the CIA. When a government allies itself with such totalitarian butchers as Franco and Salazar, when it seeks to frame up and crush any movement toward independence — no matter how small — as a "communist menace," it must have, in addition to its armed might and diplomatic and propaganda agencies, a covert force capable of carrying out the very dirtiest of the operations called for by such a policy. For example, if the U.S. were really interested in making the Congo safe for democracy and not naked imperialist power, it wouldn't need a CIA to provide Cuban counter-revolutionary exiles to bomb the Congolese freedom fighters.

It is precisely because Wall Street's policy — as carried out by the "open government" — is so utterly reactionary that it must use such odious instruments as the CIA. Every operation of the CIA — in Guatemala, Iran, Cuba, Brazil, British Guiana, and a host of others — have all been in accord with established U.S. policy, the policy of containing any move toward independence from imperialism.

It is necessary to point these things out because otherwise the real value of the exposure of the CIA can be lost. The principal lesson to be drawn from that exposure is that both major parties use the CIA as an instrument of their reactionary, bi-partisan foreign policy.

Some liberals are genuinely confused on this question. Others, like *The Worker*, who advance the false idea of a "government-within-a-government" have a reason for doing so. It is because of their policy of supporting liberal Democrats that they strain hard to avoid drawing the real lesson. By pointing with horror to the threat of an allegedly imminent coup, they hope to make their "lesser evil" support of the Democrats more plausible and palatable.

The Worker does a terrible disservice to the radical cause when it calls on Congress, as it does in the above mentioned editorial, to "make a thorough investigation of the CIA." Such a demand is designed to divert attention from the criminal complicity of the Congress — and every other branch of government — in the crimes of the CIA.

It might be added that it is the height of political stupidity to even suggest the possibility of an "objective probe" by Congress. It's a bit like asking a racketeer to probe one of his hired goons who had the misfortune to get caught while on an assignment to work someone over in an alley.

Young Indians Demand: 'We Want Red Power!'

By Arthur Maglin

A new spirit of militant nationalism is developing among the 600,000 American Indians, and its leaders are mostly young. This new spirit is reflected in the words of Vine Deloria, the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, who has borrowed a concept from the black power movement to coin the phrase "red power":

"When we say 'red power' we mean the right to run our reservations the way we see fit. We'd like to participate in American life our way. The mood of the Indian is — and I think it's going to increase this next year — that we're simply going to withdraw from everything if we can't run things our own way."

"We're not supposed to go to a bureaucrat for approval to lease land or to develop a road or to give an Indian a quarter of an acre for housing," the young leader said on the NBC Frank McGee Report, Feb. 7. "We're not supposed to do that. Those treaties are clear that within the reservation this is the land of the Sioux nation, or the Iroquois nation or the Apache nation and we're supposed to be able to run it inside."

A Feb. 18 dispatch to the *New York Times* gives the following indication of the mood of the younger Indians:

"In a private conversation, a young militant spoke angrily.

"They're mostly old men on the councils now," he said. "They keep listening and they know

they're getting a bad deal. But they keep thinking maybe this time will be different, maybe things will get better."

"And a lot of them are Uncle Tomahawks, tribal politicians. But five or ten years from now if something doesn't happen, a lot of these young guys coming along are going to grab guns and start shooting people, and that's not the way to do it, either."



ONE AMERICAN'S HOME. This tarpaper shack on a reservation in Minnesota is typical of the way the government compels its Indian "wards" to live.



Tom Howard

In Reply to Barry Goldwater

The CIA and the Socialist Party

By Dick Roberts

With the revelation of CIA support to liberal organizations like the National Student Association, tendencies and spokesmen of the far right are tripping over themselves in demanding an on-the-spot investigation. The Young Americans for Freedom, for instance, wants to know "why [the CIA] has subsidized a left-wing group with consistently radical positions."

Barry Goldwater not only wants to know this, but he wants to know "why didn't they spread this money around?" Why, asks Goldwater, did they give money to "Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader," and not to the "Young Republicans?"

Goldwater overstates the case. It is well known that the CIA has turned to the rabble of the extreme right to perform its Washington-dictated tasks on a number of occasions. Agitating Iranian rightists against Mossadegh, overthrowing the Arbenz government in Guatemala, the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the bombing of Congolese villages are cases which could be cited.

But it also appears to be the case that the "Institute of International Labor Research," of which Norman Thomas was once chairman, was a recipient of CIA funds. And the activities of this kind of organization clearly do not fall under the same category as Cuban counter-revolutionary terrorism. Here, however, Goldwater misses the point.

The CIA's job is not limited to planning and financing military coups and right-wing forces. This is only one means to an end. The end is safeguarding the international capitalist system, and the

"On Dec. 1, the government of President Rómulo Betancourt was vindicated. The candidate of his Democratic Action Party, Raúl Leoni, was elected president . . . The results . . . were a repudiation of the extremists of the Communist and Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) parties, which for a year and a half have been engaging in terroristic activities and seeking to launch a guerrilla war." (Front page article in the Dec. 27, 1963, New America, organ of American "Socialist" Party.)

evidence points to the fact that the "Institute of International Labor Research" was engaged in precisely that task.

Norman Thomas described the background of this organization in an interview with *New York Times* correspondent Steven Roberts, reported in the Feb. 22 issue of that newspaper. Thomas did not deny CIA support to the agency; his only claim was that he didn't realize the source of the agency's support.

Thomas defended the program, according to Roberts, "under which Latin-American politicians of the democratic left were trained largely at the expense of the CIA . . . Mr. Thomas said the institute was the 'brainchild' of Sacha Volman, a naturalized citizen from Rumania who had once worked for Radio Free Europe . . .

"Volman came to the conclusion that nothing was being done successfully in Latin America to find an alternative to the Communists

or the military oligarchies,' Mr. Thomas said." The school was originally set up in Costa Rica, and then moved to the Dominican Republic.

"Many American senators, representatives and educators lectured in Costa Rica and later in the Dominican Republic," one of Norman Thomas' advisers told Roberts. "We were teaching people how to run a country." The faculty also included Juan Bosch, later president of the Dominican Republic, and the institute was moved there when Bosch came to power in 1963.

In order to understand why the CIA might have been interested in such an organization, and particularly in the career of Juan Bosch, it is necessary to recall the events in the Dominican Republic at the time it was being "studied" by the "Institute of International Labor Research." All the necessary information is supplied by *New America*, the newspaper of Thomas' Socialist Party, the U.S. branch of the international social democracy.

The social democracy is an anti-communist "socialist" organization, which includes Willy Brandt's German Social Democratic Party and other mass parties in Europe. In Latin America, it supports such figures as Juan Bosch and Venezuelan President Leoni.

Dominican Crisis

The assassination of Rafael Trujillo in 1961 set the stage in the Dominican Republic for a sharp confrontation of forces which might have resulted in the emergence of a revolutionary government under the leadership of the newly formed June 14 Movement. Alarmed by this possibility the social democrats searched for an alternative anticommunist leadership which they could help and support.

Their first candidate was Joaquin Balaguer, the vice-president under Trujillo who came to power with Trujillo's death. For the first six months of Balaguer's regime, however, Balaguer was openly tolerant of the Trujillo dynasty and, in fact, allowed Trujillo's son Rafael Trujillo, Jr. to remain in command of the armed forces.

The preservation of direct Trujillo-family power threatened to provoke a revolution. Washington sensed the danger and demanded that Balaguer oust Trujillo, or else face direct U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic. With Pentagon guns staring him in the face, Balaguer gave in and removed Trujillo from power.

The event was celebrated on the front page of the Dec. 8, 1961 *New America* with the headline: "Dominican Left Wins First Victory." The article was written by Socialist Party National Committee member Robert J. Alexander — the same "socialist" who in the midst of the October 1962 U.S. blockade of Cuba praised Kennedy's missile brinkmanship as an example of "moderation" in dealing with the Soviet Union.

Was Alexander aware that Balaguer's ouster of the younger Trujillo had been prompted by Washington in order to save Dominican capitalism? He seems to have been. He boasted about it:

"Relations between the Dominican Republic and the United States," Alexander wrote, "have undoubtedly been improved by recent events . . . Serious questions are raised by the use of the apparent threat of military force by the United States at the height of the Dominican crisis. However, to this writer, at least, the significant thing . . . was the fact that this country took a decisive position on the side of the democratic alternative to a right-wing, totalitarian dictatorship."

It is unnecessary to trace the Socialist Party's position on all the subsequent events in the stormy aftermath of Balaguer's move. Balaguer resigned to pave the way



POLL WATCHER. Well-armed Marine in Santo Domingo during U.S. occupation. Norman Thomas whitewashed phony election held under auspices of such troops.

for popular elections in 1962 which brought Juan Bosch to power, and Bosch was overthrown by Trujillist forces in 1963, less than a year later.

Throughout, the Socialist Party's position remained firm: It backed Juan Bosch as the so-called democratic alternative to "communism" down the line and in page after page of *New America*. And this is the same role the social democracy plays in one country after another in Latin America.

In Venezuela, the social democrats support the Betancourt-Leoni regime which has outlawed all radical opposition and has conducted a Washington-supported counter-guerrilla warfare against Venezuelan peasant revolutionaries since 1961.

This is not to say that the SP and the CIA have identical policies in every given situation. The recent elections in the Dominican Republic are a case in point. It will be recalled that following the U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo which crushed the constitutional uprising of Bosch's followers, elections were held between Bosch and Balaguer — during the period of U.S. occupation.

Election Cover

Here it would seem likely that the CIA preferred Balaguer while the SP supported Bosch. But that is not the crucial point. What was crucial was that in either case capitalism would be maintained in the Dominican Republic and the SP's support of Bosch provided a democratic cover for the elections.

Throughout the election period, Norman Thomas was an avid Bosch supporter and six weeks before election day Thomas led a committee to the Dominican Republic to "oversee" the elections. This was done, *New America* stated April 22, "in the belief that the refocusing of major public attention on the Dominican Republic will in itself do much to prevent abuses of the democratic process."

Norman Thomas did not say one word about the fact that the whole election was an abuse of the democratic process. He did not call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the Dominican Republic to allow a true process of self-determination for that nation.

On the contrary, when elections finally took place, *New America* whitewashed the defeat of their own man! In a front page article it stated "By now it is widely accepted — even by Juan Bosch himself — that the elections held on June 1st . . . produced a more or less authentic victory for candidate Joaquin Balaguer and his right-of-center Reformist Party."

And what lessons did *New America* draw from five years of its disastrous campaigning for the ill-fated Bosch? None whatsoever. This article ended with the same old mournful appeal that "the

United States, which bears so much of the responsibility for Balaguer's victory, must also use its influence to see that a climate in which civil liberties and the rights of political opposition are firmly upheld and maintained throughout Balaguer's term of office." (June 15, 1966) In other words, the SP wants U.S. imperialism to rule its colonies "democratically."

New America could not come right out and say what was obvious to observers — that Norman Thomas also bore "much of the responsibility for Balaguer's victory." But significantly enough they saw fit to reprint in the same issue of their paper an editorial by *New York Post* columnist Murray Kempton who did state the point: "Norman Thomas' Victory" was the title of Kempton's editorial.

"Norman Thomas," Kempton wrote June 7, "has returned from the Dominican Republic having as he always does, lost another election and having, as he always does, improved it immensely by his presence." (Emphasis added.) Here, Kempton hit the nail on the head.

The Socialist Party's support for such bourgeois election frauds as this one in the Dominican Republic lends credence to U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. Washington is so hated in these countries that it couldn't function in the open if it wanted to.

So the CIA must find covers for promoting Washington's politics that don't appear to be connected with the White House, the only proviso being guaranteed anti-communism. What better cover could it find than the American Socialist Party?

It is possible Norman Thomas was telling the truth when he said he was unaware of CIA support. But that is beside the point. The point is, Bosch, Thomas and the CIA have one basic thing in common: anticommunism.

A Veteran Socialist Dies

George Saul, a native American radical and one of the founders of the United Auto Workers Union, died at his home in Fraser, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit, on Jan. 21, after a long illness. He was one of a special band of men who participated in the great strike struggles of the turbulent decades of the 1920s and '30s.

He was born in Nebraska, in 1897, when the great American fortunes were being made at the expense of immigrant workers and prairie farmers. He knew the hardships of workers and farmers in this country at the turn of the century. When still a child, his family moved to Colorado where he grew up and went to school. George graduated from the University of Denver, a student of economics.

He went with his generation to fight in the First World War and there he learned first hand the awful crime of war and sought to discover its cause.

In the post-war period Saul became involved in strike actions in Colorado. He was strongly influenced by the tradition of the IWW which was alive and virile in the West then, and he tried consciously to carry that tradition forward throughout his lifetime. Consequently he joined the Communist Party in its early days.

He had a deep sense of loyalty and was devoted to the victims of class battles, many of which he participated in. He helped to organize the International Labor Defense in Denver and through his work in this field and his activity as a union organizer he most naturally identified himself with the Cannon-Foster wing of the leadership in the young Communist Party.

As a representative of the International Labor Defense he helped to organize the Sacco-Vanzetti defense and rallied support for their cause.

One of the most trying and disillusioning experiences in the early days for George Saul were the problems that developed within the Communist Party at the time of the Gastonia, North Carolina, textile strike of 1929. George was one of the leaders of that strike in Gastonia, but he said he began to get the feeling there that many important decisions affecting the strike were not made in Gastonia.

Soon after the Gastonia strike George left the Communist Party to become an active member of the Communist League of America, the Trotskyist organization of that time. He remained to help found the Workers Party of America when the CLA fused with the American Workers Party led by A. J. Muste, but left in 1935 with Hugo Oehler when he thought the Trotskyists were attempting to dissolve the party by seeking to enter the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas.

Organized Workers

George Saul was convinced that the working class of this country needs, more than anything else, an independent party organized and led by workers themselves. He sought to organize such a party by direct appeal to the industrial workers. He moved to Detroit for that purpose in 1934.

During the whole period of the great sit-down strikes in Detroit and Flint in 1936-37, George Saul was on organizer of workers. He organized picket lines, lead demonstrations, fought the police, and preached the doctrine of independent political action.

Even though he disassociated himself from the Trotskyist movement in this country and was not one of the founders of the Socialist Workers Party, he always considered himself a Trotskyist and in the final period of his life was drawn to the activities of the Socialist Workers Party and sought to help it in every way he could.

**New Edition
E. V. DEBS**

**The Socialist Movement
of His Time**

-Its Meaning for Today

By JAMES P. CANNON

35 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS

**5 East 3rd St.
New York, N. Y. 10003**

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.]

Pittsburgh Valentine

Pittsburgh, Pa.
The Pittsburgh police gave a premature Valentine gift to the left in the form of a monster pot (Marrywhana) raid on the night of Friday, Feb. 10, that netted a total of 55 arrestees. The bust took place at a reception for Dave Dellinger, following a report on his trip to north and south Vietnam delivered earlier at the University of Pittsburgh.

Charged with possession of the dread narcotic was Frank Goldsmith, a research associate with the Steelworkers Union and a figure in the local Committee to End the War in Vietnam. It was at his apartment that the reception for Dellinger was being held. (Dellinger himself had left moments before the fuzz arrived.) He was also accused of running a disorderly house and contributing to the delinquency of minors.

The adults were given a wrist-slapping fine of \$10 for the put-up charge of VDH (visiting a disorderly house). The minors were subject to the same fine plus an additional \$25 for consuming alcoholic beverages. Doubtless the heat felt that the arrestees would be glad to escape so lightly and therefore let the matter drop.

Surprise! Better than 45 people turned up to plead innocent at the Feb. 16 hearing. Witnesses testified that the party was not disorderly but sedate — "boring," one witness called it. None of the fuzz's testimony managed to establish that any minors had been consuming alcohol at the party, and that charge was ultimately thrown out.

It also emerged that the arrestees were searched by the police without being charged with a crime; prevented from making telephone calls to counsel; and foreign students were treated to a bit of gracious American hospitality by the officers, who called them "gooks" and informed them that they could go back from whence they came.

The rationale for the bust of course was the Marrywhana that Goldsmith was supposed to have secreted in his apartment. Much to the chagrin of the heat, the crime lab report demonstrated that pot it was not. Though the police were amazingly reticent to explain what

it was they had confiscated that night, irreverent speculators suggested that they had made off with a quantity of — Tetley's Tea!

Having arrested Goldsmith, a charge had to be found. And so it was. He was charged with and convicted of possession of a "dangerous drug": Ornade, a prescription cold remedy.

For this heinous offense he was made to post an appeal bond of \$1,000. The charge against him of corrupting the morals of minors was thrown out, but Goldsmith paid for this bit of largesse with a \$50 fine for operating a disorderly house.

A brief meeting afterward showed the criminals to be in good spirits and planning an appeal.

F.H.

Black Political Power

Los Angeles, Calif.
Thank you for publishing in full Floyd B. McKissick's moving call to black America to meet in convention to create a black national political structure. It had to come — at last! — and with the clarity of genius to shape history to humanity's most urgent needs.

The call for "an apparatus, not a (political) party" can provide the means for a united Negro people to deal effectively on basic human demands with the ruling class powers of the United States.

McKissick's proposal fills the vacuum created by the growing realization of the reality that the Republican and Democratic parties are but two arms of ruling class political trickery. The proposal arises from the urgent necessity for black power by the most exploited, the most oppressed, the most slandered and libeled — the Negro People who have been rejected by the racist U.S. Congress of Unrepresentatives.

This rejection has forced the Negro people to look to themselves for their own salvation, through their own "people's apparatus" (forms yet to be determined) controlled, financed, and led by black America.

Such an "apparatus" to express the needs and will of a united Negro people will emblazon the way for all Americans genuinely interested in their country to follow. All with claims of human interest should welcome and support it.

That will be black power on its way to lead the American people out of the present stench of U.S. fascist rule in Vietnam and gangster-assassin rule at home.

E.L.

[The national office of CORE has announced the postponement

of the conference on black national political structures. A series of regional conferences are projected for this spring with a national convention tentatively slated for sometime in the fall. — EDITOR]

Games People Play

Cleveland, Ohio
In accordance with our position of opposing every expression of pro-war sentiment, the Western Reserve University Committee to End the War in Vietnam sent a copy of the enclosed letter to a local, campus-area bookstore protesting its sale of the two "games," "Vietnam" and "Nuclear War." If the merchants do not comply with our demands we are considering a school-wide campaign to focus attention on their callous behavior.

We think people enraged by these games will be interested in our letter and will similarly express their opposition to the sale of these games in their own areas.

Cathy Perkus

For the WRU CEWV

["Nuclear War" is described in an ad as: "The game to end all games and the world too! Features intercontinental ballistic missiles, supersonic bombers, anti-missiles, nuclear warheads, propaganda, top secret espionage, germ warfare, beatnik pacifist, etc. . . ." "Vietnam" features: ". . . air strikes, coups, monsoons, ambushes, infiltration, political instability, world opinion, etc."]

Thought for the Week

"A Chicago toy manufacturer received a patent this week for a toy bomb that ticks and makes an exploding sound. The timer is wound by turning a simulated fuse. Patent 3,304,650 . . . says the time bomb is particularly useful in a game called 'Hot Potato.' Children form a circle and pass around a potato to the accompaniment of music. When the music stops the player holding the potato is out. Music will not be necessary with the bomb." — The Feb. 26 New York Times.

'Soviet Life' on Trotsky

Indianapolis, Ind.

The recent (March) issue of *Soviet Life* magazine, written for the edification of American readers, took up the subject of Leon Trotsky with relation to the New Economic Policy of the 1920s.

The author does tend toward restoring Trotsky to his rightful place in Soviet history at one point: "During the war and the period of foreign intervention Trotsky had been chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council and had played a far from unimportant role." A bit of an understatement about the organizer of the October insurrection and first leader of the Red Army!

Then the article goes on to completely distort Trotsky's attitude vis-a-vis the NEP, but in a somewhat restrained manner.

Slowly, in typical bureaucratic style, the heirs to the Stalin school of historical falsification are forced to approach more realist-

ically the history of the first workers state and one of its foremost leaders. The cause of revolutionary Marxism can only benefit from this delayed but inevitable process.

Ralph Levitt

Washington and Lincoln

Long Beach, Calif.

Gov. Reagan asked state employees to work Washington's Birthday without compensation.

Lincoln stated among many other things that could be classed as revolutionary that "the common man is entitled to the full worth of his labor" and that this in itself "is a worthy aim of government." He also said it was the right of the people to amend constitutionally or to overthrow reactionary governments. Yet these men are extolled and paraded before the people as symbols of rank conservatism. Wasn't Washington a rebel and radical and revolutionist in the eyes of George III?

J.W.

It Was Reported in the Press

Our Secret — "Why do we have a gross national product of \$780 billion? Because — unlike the Indians in the copper mines of Peru — advertising has created the warmth and desire that sent this great and blessed nation forward." — Senator Everett Dirksen to the Advertising Federation of America.

Didn't Have Blue Cross? — The following Associated Press dispatch from Macon, Ga., is reprinted as it appeared in its entirety in the Feb. 24 *New York Times*: "When 40-year-old William B. Greene, a prisoner, told jailers he had swallowed a teaspoon, a pocket knife and a razor blade, he was taken to a hospital. X-rays confirmed his story. But he was sent back to jail when doctors found that surgery would be unnecessary."

Mystery Man — The Japanese who acted as Joan Baez's interpreter and falsely translated her antiwar statements during her tour there, says he was pressured to do so by an American named "Jack Cooper." The U.S. Embassy in Tokyo denied having such an employee. Now, we suppose, all those paranoids will immediately assume it was a CIA agent.

Deliberate Speed? — We are indebted to the *New Yorker* for the following item from the *Boston Traveler*: "WASHINGTON — President Johnson conferred today with Edward W. Brooke, new Republican senator from Massachusetts, for about four minutes. Press secretary George Christian said the two men talked about 'virtually every subject ranging from national security to their mutual interest in advancing all the people in the country.'"

Sees No Beef — Florida prison authorities are checking out reports that large quantities of food have disappeared from prison warehouses. However, Louis Wainwright, prison director, said it didn't seem logical to assume significant amounts of food had been diverted since the cost of feeding a prisoner in Florida is less than 19 cents a meal.

Penny-Pinchers — An article in the San Francisco *Examiner* was devoted to how wealthy women pinch pennies (Mrs. Adlai Stevenson III saves shop bags so she won't have to buy garbage bags, etc.) But we think there's more human interest in how their husbands exercise the same quaint trait. One example was indicated when workers in the New York liquor industry won an arbitration ruling setting aside a company requirement that women workers punch in and out when going to the toilet.

The Southern Way — Mrs. Roy Hodges, of Montgomery, Ala., whose husband is "in the cattle business with stockyards from here to Texas," explained to *New York Times* food editor Graig Claiborne that Montgomery "is an overgrown small town and we're very informal." An informal dinner at the Hodges' "frequently begins with pickled shrimp. The pièce montée is a 70-pound standing rib roast . . . there is a huge raw

vegetable platter with a Roquefort dip, whole hams, various cakes and, to quench the thirst, three bars." But what really intrigued us is the news that the Hodges are lowering the floor of their home two feet because Mr. Hodges comes from New Orleans and like tall ceilings.

With Missiles? — Maybe the private jet plane will be replaced as a status symbol. A boat show at Hamburg included a one-man submarine capable of remaining 150 feet under water for six or eight hours. Only \$4,250, F.O.B. West Germany.

Most Likely Story of the Week — After extensive discussions were held in Washington, Premier Ky announced in Saigon that he had decided to give up his planned visit to the U.S. (It might well have coincided with the April 15 Mobilization against the war.) With a straight face, the tin-horn puppet-dictator said he decided to stay at home to assure a free and fair election in south Vietnam.

Weekly Calendar of Events

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.

CHICAGO

THE CIA: A POLITICAL ANALYSIS. Speaker: Edward Heisler. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75¢. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

DR. OTTO NATHAN speaks on Einstein and "Why War?" Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

MALCOLM X ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE DYNAMICS OF AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY. Instructor: Max Goldman. Sat., March 11, 2:30 p.m. 2112 North Wilmington Ave., Compton. Ausp. School of International Socialism.

NEW YORK

STUDENTS AND POLITICAL POWER. A symposium with Matthew Berkelhamer, co-chairman, N.Y. DuBois Clubs;

Sue Eanet, director, N.Y. SDS; Will Reissner, exec. comm., N.Y. YSA. Fri., March 10, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MARXIST LECTURE SERIES. Is Marxist Economics Valid Today? Speaker: Dick Roberts. Mon., March 6, 8 p.m. Colonial and Independence Struggles—Their role in the fight for socialism. Speaker: Gus Horowitz. Mon., March 13, 8 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Fee 50¢ per talk; \$3. for nine-talk series. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

PHILADELPHIA

CIVIL WAR IN CHINA? A Marxist analysis of the "Cultural Revolution." Speaker: Barry Sheppard, managing editor, *The Militant*. Sun., March 12, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad and Vine. Contrib. \$1. Students, 75¢. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

THE IMPACT OF VIETNAM ON WORLD POLITICS. Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters, editor, *Young Socialist*. Fri., March 10, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

FOR NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

THE MILITANT

873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

Name _____
Street _____ Zip _____
City _____ State _____

Socialist Antiwar Nominee Runs for L.A. School Board

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in Los Angeles are endorsing the campaign of William E. Hathaway for Board of Education office No. 7.

"When we talk about education we are talking about preparing our youth for the future. But what is their future? Every senior boy in high school today has the immediate prospect of facing death and inflicting death in Vietnam," Hathaway said in a "campaigning for socialism" column in the *Los Angeles Free Press*. The column has been made possible by campaign contributions, and the Hathaway Campaign Committee is appealing for funds to continue it.

"School administrators," Hathaway said, "must also make their plans with the impact of war frustrating them at every turn. Reagan's attack on the University of California budget is motivated by war-induced inflation and rising taxes . . . Everywhere the war cuts across all hopes for a free, quality education for our children."

Hathaway calls for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. "Instead of using huge funds for war and destruction, these monies should be used for better schools and more teachers," he says in his campaign platform.



William Hathaway

Speaking before Local 1021 of the American Federation of Teachers on Feb. 15, Hathaway endorsed the stand of the California Federation of Teachers in calling for a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Their resolution is a model for other unions, Hathaway told the teachers.

A "truth squad," which includes a group of high school students, has been accompanying Hathaway

on speaking engagements to distribute campaign literature.

Hathaway, 31, is a native of Los Angeles and works as a warehouseman while attending L.A. City College at night. He is chairman of the Los Angeles Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

In his platform, Hathaway calls for campus control of the campus. "Students and faculty should have control of both the administration and the curricula of their campuses, with no interference from state administrations."

Noting that in the black ghetto areas fifth grade students are not able to read well enough to understand their texts, Hathaway comments, "The poor quality of education in Los Angeles is a reflection of the quality of our society."

Hathaway calls for self-determination of education in the ghettos. "Minorities in the school system should be given the determining voice on education in their areas. Texts by Afro-Americans should be used," and the history of Afro-Americans taught accurately, he says.

Imperialist Wars

"Both imperialist wars and poor education are products of capitalist society. The twin political arms of this oppressive capitalist system are the Republican and Democratic parties," Hathaway says, explaining his call for a break with the capitalist parties. He calls for a labor party, independent black political action, and stands for socialism.

Hathaway will confront his liberal opponents in the election at the Militant Labor Forum on March 3, 8:30 p.m. Dr. Frank Lindenfeld, candidate of the Conference of New Politics, and Daniel Troy, Socialist Party candidate, will speak with Hathaway on the question of "Vietnam and the School Board Elections." The forum will take place at 1702 E. Fourth St.

For more information on campaign activities, contact the Hathaway Campaign Committee at 1702 E. Fourth St.

Afro-Americans Oppose Service

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Two 21-year-old Afro-Americans are challenging the right of the U.S. government to draft blacks into the army, on the grounds that black people are colonial subjects. They will go on trial here before federal Judge Jesse W. Curtis on Feb. 27. They maintain that since they don't have the rights of a citizen they do not have the duties of a citizen.

The two men, Norman Earl Richmond and Karl Von Key, will face criminal charges of failure to report for induction. Their case began last June 16 when the Self-Determination Committee, headed by Robert L. Brock, filed a suit in their behalf. They were arrested by FBI agents on Nov. 18 but released on their own recognizance.

Key and Richmond maintain that their ancestors were brought to this country as slaves and had no choice in becoming citizens. Even after chattel slavery was abolished in this country, the blacks of the following generations were never, in fact, granted citizenship, the two men contend. They say this is borne out by the need for special civil rights laws for Afro-Americans through which they can get some of the rights of citizens.



Photo by Helena Hermes

SOCIALIST CANDIDATE. Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for Mayor of Berkeley, speaks to crowd of Berkeley High School students.

Camejo in Speech About Malcolm X

BERKELEY — Nearly 300 black and white Berkeley High School students attended a Malcolm X memorial street meeting organized by the Socialist Campaign Committee on Feb. 21. The meeting was held at noon at the Civic Park, across from the high school.

The outdoor rally was held in defiance of police attempts to thwart it. The police had told Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, that he could use neither the park nor sound equipment, and implied that failure to comply with this order would constitute a violation of the law. "Camejo called the bluff and won," said the *Berkeley Citizen*.

The first speaker was Eldridge Cleaver, chairman of the Bay Area Afro-American Unity Steering Committee and a staff writer for *Ramparts*. "They thought by murdering Malcolm they could kill his ideas, but they live on. Our being here today proves this," Cleaver said.

Alex Papillion of the Oakland Black Panther Party for Self Defense said that the next step "is to go out into the black community and organize for our needs."

One of the purposes of the rally, Camejo said, was "to introduce high-school students for the first time" to men like Cleaver and members of the Oakland Black Panther Party "who believe in the ideas of Malcolm X."

Explained Socialism

Camejo discussed what socialism is, "just in case some of you may have heard the word." He explained, "working people make the wealth, they should own it."

Camejo had gone before the city council and proposed that the council support the idea of making Feb. 21 a national holiday in honor of Malcolm X. The proposal was turned down.

Pointing out to the high school students that Afro-Americans have no holiday, he told them to take the rest of the day off. "Go ahead, take it. Don't go back to school this afternoon — it's your holiday!" Some 60 students stayed to listen to a tape recording of a speech by Malcolm X.

That night, the Chamber of Commerce had held a "candlelight dinner" to which all candidates had been invited. As Camejo pointed out, it had been arranged that "the left wing candidates would provide entertainment while everyone else ate," and the SWP candidates boycotted the meeting.

Ted Dennis, a black worker at the Fremont General Motors plant, delivered a statement on behalf of the Socialist Campaign Committee to the assembled businessmen.

"The State of California is an example where businessmen are getting filthy rich from the war in Vietnam," he said, "from the bodies of our young Berkeley boys, from the destruction of the Vietnamese people's country, from this illegal, immoral and unjust war. Maybe some of them are sitting here tonight . . ."

Detroit Meeting Held for Blanco

By Neil Bronson

DETROIT, Feb. 23 — Some 125 students and Detroit residents attended a meeting here tonight which went on record demanding the end of the death threat against Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco and his release from prison.

Sponsored by the Wayne State University Artists' Society and the U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners, the benefit was to include readings by new poets from Latin America; a talk by Young Socialist Alliance member Jan Garrett on the revolutionary activity, arrest and trial of Blanco; and a showing of a film on the Venezuelan guerrilla movement.

Because of weather conditions, Argentine poets Oscar Mascotta and Halma Perry and Peruvian poet Leandro Katz who had been scheduled were unable to get to Detroit. Local poet Allen Van Newkirk, of the Artists' Society, read excerpts from the work of Javier Heraud, a young guerrilla fighter killed in Peru a few years ago.

Garrett outlined Hugo Blanco's experiences in Argentina and in Peru and described the development of the peasant union movement organized by Blanco; he discussed the illegal character of the military trial of the young leader and the impressive international campaign to save Blanco's life.

The gathering passed a resolution in support of Blanco. A Peruvian student now studying law in the U.S. who had known Hugo in his early youth attended the meeting and afterwards gave his hearty thanks for the Detroit solidarity meeting.

Gov't Controlled Press? —CIA in Book Business

By Les Evans

We have recently learned that book publishing is another field where the fine hand of the government subversion agencies has been detected. Possibly it is an inward yearning for artistic self-expression and literary creation that drives secret police operations like the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Information Agency to write books. Be that as it may, we discover that many of the recent productions of supposedly private publishing houses were commissioned, edited and paid for secretly by one or another government agency.

Reed Harris, director of the USIA Information Center Service, testifying before the House Appropriations Committee commented on these books: "We control the things from the very idea down to the final edited manuscript." This is in spite of the supposed illegality of the USIA or the CIA operating within U.S. borders.

The Feb. 5, *World Journal Tribune* "Book Week" comments that these are books "which the USIA admits would never have

been written without government support and would not have been released by a commercial publishing house without subsidization — either because they were unworthy of publication or they were unmarketable."

Sixteen books were supported or generated by the USIA in 1965, including *The Ladder Dictionary* by John R. Shaw, *The Sword and the Plow* by Ralph Slater, *President Kennedy in Africa* by Robert Marshall, and *The Truth About the Dominican Republic* by Jay Mallin.

The following revealing interchange took place in a recent congressional quizzing of USIA director, Leonard Marks, on the agency's "Book Development program":

"Q.: I assume you are distributing them [USIA sponsored books] overseas, for lack of a better word, for propaganda purposes.

"Marks: Yes, definitely; to tell a story.

"Q.: Is it being sold in the United States for propaganda purposes?

"Marks: No."

Five of the sixteen USIA created titles in 1965 were published by Frederick A. Praeger who has admitted publishing books secretly, prepared by the CIA. Praeger's company has recently been bought by the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

The *World Journal Tribune* article describes the mechanism by which books about the government are pre-censored by government watchdogs:

"A government agency keeps information essential to the writing of a given book under a security classification. The agency then contacts a writer and agrees to lift the classification in exchange for the right to edit the entire book — not just the portions that touch on the previously classified material."

NEW YORK

A Tribute to A. J. Muste

Sunday 3 p.m. March 12

(changed from Feb. 26)

Village Theater
2nd Ave. and 6th St.

Sponsors: CNVA, FOR, WRL,
Liberation Magazine