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FIGHTERS FOR PEACE. Angered Women Strike for Peace demonstrators advance on locked Pentagon door which they pounded until it opened. They demanded end of Vietnam slaughter.

Women for Peace Take Off Gloves

By Esther Fisher

On Wednesday, Feb. 15, nearly 4,000 women from 35 states, most of them from New York, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, converged on Washington to take part in a day of "peace lobbying" sponsored by Women Strike for Peace. The day's program included a demonstration at the Pentagon, a planned meeting with Senators Jacob Javits and Robert Kennedy of New York, and lobbying with individual congressmen.

The women marched to the Pentagon in a slow and dignified manner, and were halted by WSP leaders opposite the building. They were told Pentagon officials had refused to meet with their representatives, and were asked to remove the demonstration to a more distant spot.

However, the ladies, who had a predominantly well-dressed and respectable appearance, seemed unwilling to move. In fact, the group slowly surged forward, holding signs saying, "No Appropriations for Burning Villages," "Stop the Bombing," "Stop the War," and one saying "War Is the Ugliest Thing I Ever Saw." Many of the signs bore pictures of Vietnamese napalm victims.

The bemused expressions of Pentagon brass standing in front of them on the steps enraged many women, and they started chanting, "End the war in Vietnam, bring the troops home now!" Although the leaders of the demonstration repeatedly called for silence and

at one point requested the women to fall to their knees, the women responded by asking why the men from the Pentagon, who are responsible for the killing in Vietnam, shouldn't go to their knees.

The chanting grew to shouting, the demonstrators advanced on the Pentagon, and the sneering officials on the steps withdrew inside the building and locked the doors. As the crowd yelled for McNamara, and shouted, "Shame! Shame!" and, "Murderers!" they advanced to the locked doors. Women pounded the doors with their hands, and one took off her high-heeled shoe and banged the door with it, finally succeeding in leaving a mark.

What was planned as a quiet vigil turned into a massive expression of outrage, which was ended after one-and-a-half hours only when six women were admitted to speak to Pentagon officials, and others reluctantly and gradually left for the buses.

At the end of the demonstration, a black woman calling herself the "Queen Mother of her Non-represented People" addressed the crowd, declaring that black men should not fight in a racist war in Vietnam. Several employees gathered to hear her speak.

Women who spoke unofficially to some of the Pentagon employees reported they encountered sympathy. Two men drove groups of women who missed the buses to

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Domestic Subversion By CIA Springs from "Anti-Communism"

By Lew Jones

[The author is national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.]

FEB. 20 — The *Ramparts* magazine exposure of the Central Intelligence Agency's conspiracy to subvert the National Student Association has revealed the extent to which democratic rights have been trampled on by the ruling class in this country. Under the banner of "anti-communism," the capitalist government not only engages in wars, coups, intrigue and murder abroad, but seeks to subvert and control ostensibly democratic organizations at home for its own ends.

Following the *Ramparts* disclosures, it was revealed that the government's subversive arm extends into a large number of organizations. The CIA has spent millions of dollars infiltrating television and radio stations, trade unions, educational, research, liberal and even "socialist" organizations.

Ruling Class Worried

The exposure of this Big Brother surveillance and manipulation evoked unusual consternation among the ruling class and its spokesmen. President Johnson immediately appointed a three-man commission to "look into the matter," as if he hadn't known what was going on all along. The *New York Times* commented:

"If ever the American people in general began to suspect the CIA, rightly or wrongly, of influencing and possibly manipulating domestic affairs, the effect on American life could be profound. The public might take a different view of its newspapers, police, courts, schools, and other institutions. The integrity of foundations, charities, unions, businesses—even the electoral process itself—might be brought into question. The whole political atmosphere could change."

The National Student Association was founded in 1947. It is an affiliation of student governments from over 300 colleges and universities. The ordinary students themselves are not members of NSA and have no voice in its policies.

NSA has taken liberal stands on issues ranging from campus reform to the war in Vietnam. It is this very image of the NSA as a liberal group which has made it such an effective tool for the CIA abroad.

The NSA has always been active in international student affairs, has several overseas representatives and a towering budget.

The *Ramparts* article describes how the student group was used to spread anti-communist propaganda, gather intelligence information, and combat "pro-communist" student organizations.

The knowledge of this CIA domination was limited to a few of-

ficers of the NSA until last week. Lesser officials, and student government representatives who supposedly control the NSA (let alone the mass of American students) were kept in the dark for over a decade.

CIA ties to NSA were first made in the period of the cold war and McCarthyism. The current NSA officers revealed last week that it was the NSA which approached the CIA for financial aid. The link was negotiated in 1952 by William Densor, then president of NSA. (Densor is now United States aid

perience of a former NSA president, Phil Sherburne. In an effort to advance exchange programs, Sherburne decided to meet with student leaders in the Soviet Union after a trip to another country. He sent a cable to the Soviet Union asking for such a meeting. The CIA got wind of the plan and admonished him for doing such a thing without first consulting the CIA.

At the 1962 Helsinki Youth Festival, the CIA used the NSA to organize its intervention. Secretly organized by the Independent Research Service—a CIA front presided over by the '63 NSA president, Dennis Shaul—a delegation of over 100 Americans including many officers and ex-officers of the NSA, disrupted the festival.

Ramparts states: "The travel expenses of all the delegates were fully paid for [by the IRS] and the bill was footed as well for a jazz group, an exhibition of famous American painters, and a daily newspaper printed in five languages, all of which accompanied the delegates."

The CIA conspiracy to subvert American students goes beyond the NSA. The *New York Times* reported that the CIA is busy buying American students abroad to spy. Marvin W. Makinen, arrested for spying in the Soviet Union in 1961, was apparently a CIA part-time agent—at last that is what his fellow student-spies in West Ger-

many think. This practice is quite widespread. Students are paid \$50 to \$100 a month to "gather information" in their spare time. It is reported that many students, although they did not like what they were doing, were forced to do the work to obtain living expenses.

The CIA does not limit its control of NSA to overseas activities, but interferes with and watches over the domestic political activities of the organization as well. Dennis Shaul, the CIA-NSA organizer of the Helsinki intervention, put it this way: "I would continue to accept CIA funds because we were as influential in

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director in Peru.) Since that time the CIA has put up an average of \$200,000 a year, or 25 percent of the association's budget. Between October, 1965, and October, 1966, the NSA received \$292,753.60—over 30 percent of its budget—from just one CIA source.

Money was passed to the NSA through a series of tax-exempt foundations. It was first given to a CIA front foundation, which in turn gave it to a "legitimate" foundation, which finally passed the money to the NSA.

The money was used mainly to finance the foreign activities of the NSA, according to *Ramparts*. CIA control of the student group in this area is illustrated by the ex-

Secret Police Chief Heads Peking's 'Paris Commune'

(World Outlook) — An official notice, signed by the Red Guards of School Five and posted Feb. 11, announced that Hsieh Fu-chih has been named director of Peking's new Commune. Hsieh Fu-chih is the Minister of Security of the People's Republic of China.

The appointment of the head of the country's secret political police to head the new organization indicates how little reliance is to be placed in the Maoist propaganda that one of the aims of the "cultural revolution" is to institute "extensive democracy" modeled on the democracy that made the Paris Commune of 1871 legendary in the history of the international socialist movement.

But even this is not all. On Feb. 12, notices were posted in Peking announcing that a military commission has been placed in charge of controlling everything connected with public security. The security forces in turn have been reorganized into a "revolutionary police" which have been placed under the direction of Mao Lu-

shan, a figure emerging into the limelight for the first time.

According to Reuters, the headquarters of the police and a number of police stations in Peking have been placed under the guard of contingents of the army. All these measures were approved by the Military Commission of the Central Committee, which constitutes the supreme command of the army, and bears the official seal of the Ministry of Public Security headed by Hsieh Fu-chih.

In a parallel move, reported in Tokyo on the basis of wall posters that appeared in Peking Feb. 13, Kang Sheng was placed in charge of a Committee of Orientation for the Cultural Revolution.

The job of this committee, apparently, is to screen the central bodies of the party and the government for possible deviationists. Its connection with the Committee of the Cultural Revolution headed by Chen Po-ta, which was functioning under the control of the party's Central Committee, remains unclarified.

It Loses In Translation

During Joan Baez' recent television appearance in Tokyo, her Japanese translator left out all reference to Vietnam in translating her strongly antiwar comments. He charged afterwards that he had been ordered to do so by an American intelligence agent, presumably from the CIA.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

New two-year contracts have been reached between the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and major oil companies. The union, representing 60,000 workers at 40 companies, made job security its key demand. It asked a prohibition of layoffs during the term of the new contract and guarantees against cuts in pay for workers demoted because of fast-growing automation of oil refineries.

Negotiations were conducted company by company and, except at Sinclair, plant by plant. A settlement reached at one Gulf refinery was used by the union to set terms it would accept at other plants.

On job security, Gulf agreed to cancellation of the contract if it lays off any regular employees, leaving it up to the union to strike over the issue. Most companies went along with this provision, except that Sinclair and Mobil agreed only to an unchallenged right to strike over layoffs, insisting that the rest of the contract remain in effect.

Most companies accepted in principle the Gulf formula concerning pay for workers demoted because of automation. At Gulf an employee so demoted will continue at his higher rate of pay for at least 18 weeks, plus one additional week for each year of service if he has more than 15 years of company service. In a variation at Sinclair, where OCAW has its sole company-wide contract, workers subject to demotion may exercise interplant transfer rights. Contracts at Standard leave the issue open. Mobil agreed orally that in event of heavy layoffs it will augment pensions of men who take early retirement.

Workers in the industry will get an average wage increase of 15 cents an hour, retroactive to Jan. 1, and an additional 15 cents an hour on Jan. 1, 1968. The previous average wage was about \$3.55 an hour. The new contract also includes added fringe benefits.

Contract negotiations in the railroad industry offer a glaring example of the harm done to workers when they are split up into a maze of craft unions and — as though that weren't bad enough — the unions are headed by bureaucratic misleaders.

Last fall new contract demands were presented by craft unions representing a total of 700,000 railway employees. Wage demands varied, some unions asking raises of as much as 18 to 20 percent. Most of the unions also called for a cost-of-living escalator clause.

The railroad companies piously declared fidelity to Johnson's "guideposts" and rejected the demands as "exorbitant." They offered a five percent wage hike spread across 17 months.

After jockeying around some, the bureaucrats heading the Brotherhood of Trainmen pushed through a contract settlement on the companies' terms. It covers 145,000 trainmen and provides an across-the-board wage increase of five percent, retroactive to Aug.

12, 1966, and effective to Jan. 1, 1968. Since it covers a 17-month period, the increase is only about 3.5 percent a year. The companies and the government hailed this capitulatory settlement as a "pattern" for other union contracts on the railroads.

Next the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, representing 34,000 workers, settled on terms similar to those accepted by the BRT. Then the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks signed a contract, covering 152,000 employees, which upped the ante slightly: they got a five percent raise for a one-year period, retroactive to last Jan. 1. Four unions, acting for a total of 150,000 telegraphers, station agents, section hands and dining car employees, accepted a five percent wage increase this year and 2.5 percent next year, with a wage reopener that may become effective July 1, 1968.

The Switchmen's Union rejected such terms and the union president has been empowered to set a strike date. At present, he says, there are "no plans to do so"; instead he has asked for government mediation.

Strike action has been posed by only six unions of railway shopmen encompassing 150,000 machinists, electricians, sheet metal workers, carmen, boilermakers and oilers. In their case Johnson quickly invoked the Railway Labor Act to postpone any strike for 60 days and the union bureaucrats then agreed to a 15-day extension of the ban to April 12. The shopcrafts are demanding a 20 percent raise in pay, an escalator clause and a shorter work week. They say the companies' wage offer would mean for workers "lower real earnings before the end of 1967 than they had at the end of 1966."

Women workers at the Dubuque Packing Co. in Dubuque, Iowa, have won a fight against sex discrimination in employment. They had sued in federal court for abolition of separate male and female seniority lists that reserved some jobs exclusively for men and others for women. The practice resulted in layoffs for women while men with less seniority kept their jobs.

Negotiations followed in which the company's contract with the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's union was amended to include a new job classification system. It opens up 195 new jobs to women for the first time in that plant. In return the women dropped their lawsuit.

A move to repeal Wyoming's anti-union "Right-to-Work" law has passed the state House of Representatives by a vote of 34 to 27. The measure next comes before the state Senate.

The median pay for full-time working women in this country in 1965 was \$3,823. For men, it was \$6,375. (*Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 24, 1967.)

THE RIFT WITH GEORGE MEANY

Does Reuther Sniff a New Trend?

By George Breitman

In attempting to understand Walter Reuther's current maneuvers with the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, it is useful to bear in mind that Reuther owes his eminence in the labor movement not to any dedication to principle but to an exceptional talent for sniffing out what is around the corner and then adjusting his moves to take advantage of changing conditions, trends and moods. (When I speak of Reuther here, I mean the bureaucratic machine in command of the United Auto Workers.)

During the 1930s, when the predominant mood among workers was radical, Reuther was radical too, within limits. For a time he was willing to collaborate with the Communist Party, especially while the CP was accepted as an ally in the White House and the top circles of the young CIO. But as soon as the CP fell into disfavor with Roosevelt and the Rooseveltians in the CIO leadership, Reuther became a rabid anti-communist.

Toward the end of World War II, when the auto workers became restive and dissatisfied with the top UAW leadership, Reuther, who had been part of that leadership, differentiated himself from it sufficiently to appear as an alternative, and thus won the UAW presidency in 1946.

With the end of the war and the start of the cold war, Reuther tested the wind again and rode to the presidency of the CIO on the anti-communist tide. In the 1950s, when the election of Eisenhower signaled an era of apathy and conformism inside as well as outside the labor movement, Reuther completed the housebreaking of the UAW and promoted the merger (more properly, the "submerger") of the CIO into the present AFL-CIO.

High Batting Average

I don't mean to suggest that Reuther has *always* been able to correctly gauge coming trends. But he has a high batting average in this area, and it is this above all that accounts for his success as an opportunist.

Now, it seems to me, Reuther sees the possibility of recently emerging trends becoming stronger and creating a more radical situation in this country generally. His present dispute with Meany and the AFL-CIO executive council indicates that he expects a broad movement to the left in the near future. He therefore wants to disassociate himself from the discredited AFL-CIO mossbacks so that he may be in a position to influence the expected movement toward the left (that is, keep it from going too far, keep it within a framework acceptable to capitalism).

In the present decade black people have begun to struggle at a qualitatively higher level than ever before, under new leaders and new slogans, and above all in a spirit of growing independence. Reuther's influence among them has declined sharply since the days of the 1963 march on Washington.

An important segment of the young generation has begun to turn away from capitalism since the Cuban revolution. Most of them are as hostile to Reuther as to Meany or any other AFL-CIO leader.

An antiwar movement involving hundreds of thousands of people has arisen and held together for the last two years. Its main body sees little reason to differentiate Reuther from Meany.

Intellectuals, who used to be sympathetic toward the labor movement, are now alienated from it, including many who had joined Reuther in supporting Johnson as recently as 1964.

My point is not that a mass radicalization has already occurred, or that it is certain to occur in the



FORECAST. As in past situation depicted by this Laura Grey cartoon, auto workers may be getting ready to demand that part of swollen corporation profits go toward meeting their rising living costs. Bureaucrats of Walter Reuther's type try to anticipate such trends so they can ride them out and control them.

immediate period ahead. Rather, it is that Reuther thinks it may occur. That is why he is trying to clear his skirts of complicity with the mossbacks. He is preparing a new "image" or "stance" so that when or if a mass radicalization occurs, he will be able to do something about it, instead of being isolated on the sidelines along with Meany and Co.

Another factor, perhaps of even greater weight in Reuther's considerations, is the changing composition of the UAW itself.

It has been a long time since the UAW bureaucracy had to worry about a serious threat from the ranks of the union. Opposition never entirely died in the 1950s, but it was never large enough or serious enough to challenge the leadership. One section was easily corrupted and silenced by the offer of staff jobs, or the hope of them. The more radical oppositionists became isolated during the Korean war and the McCarthyite period; most of them came to see no possibility of rallying an effective opposition and gave up trying to organize one. Age also took its toll among older oppositionists, who withdrew from what seemed like a hopeless task and decided to wait out their pensions. In the UAW the mystique of Reuther's invincibility became as strong as the general proposition that you can't fight City Hall, and functioned in the same way, as a conservative dead-weight.

Young Membership

But there has been a big turnover in membership during recent years. Tens of thousands of old-timers have retired or died, and have been replaced by young people. The 1961-66 boom brought new members into the union, most of them young. It is reported that 60 percent of the delegates at the national convention last year had never been at a convention before; that half of the union's membership have five years' seniority or less; and that a quarter have been members no more than three years. Thus the composition of the UAW is becoming like that of the population as a whole, where nearly half are 25 years old, or younger.

This is a different generation than one Reuther was able to defeat and handcuff in the 1950s with the aid of the McCarthyite witchhunt atmosphere. A majority of the present UAW members, especially the young ones, did not undergo that demoralizing exper-

ience. They are free of the sense of defeatism and hopelessness that overwhelmed most of the radicals in the 1950s. They are not as concerned as middle-aged or older workers with hanging on for pensions — 30 or 40 years from now.

Like College Students

It would be a mistake, in estimating the potential of these new young workers, to think of them as *fundamentally* different from college students, among whom some radicalization has already occurred. There is often no hard-and-fast separation between the workers and the students — many of them come from the same families, the same high schools or the same neighborhoods. Young workers are not at all immune to influences that have radicalized some students — both face the problem of the draft, for example, and have common intense interest in Vietnam.

Reuther is said to be worried about the young workers in the UAW — their lack of knowledge about the origins of the union, the nature of unionism, etc. But it is likely that he is even more worried about his machine's relative lack of influence and control over them, about the fact that they have not been housebroken, and about the possibility that they may be less defeatist about opposing the bureaucracy or even organizing against it.

A new "stance" or "image" may therefore be seen by Reuther as a protective measure needed inside as well as outside the UAW. It is usually easier for a bureaucracy to cope with a rebellious membership, or to keep it from becoming actively rebellious, if it can pose as "radical" itself.

If the above speculations are well-founded, they should be a source of encouragement and optimism for genuine radicals. Not because Reuther is becoming a radical — if that were the case, he and his lieutenants would be resigning from the posts they hold on various commissions and boards of the capitalist government and in the capitalist Democratic Party, instead of merely from their posts in the AFL-CIO. But because Reuther fears there will be a general radicalization, and it seems that there are rational grounds for this fear.

"The capitalist class knows no country and no race, and any 'God' suits it so that 'God' approves of the exploitation of the worker."—Daniel DeLeon.

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Monday, February 27, 1967

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE DOCTORS, by Martin L. Gross, Random House, 570 pp., \$6.95.

Few people who read this book will be able to approach it "objectively." The layman, the patient, will be able to relate his own experiences to much of the material presented; the doctors resent the book for the effective way it has destroyed the sanctified image of the profession.

Martin Gross spent three years in research, traveled thousands of miles, interviewed doctors and laymen, investigated every phase of the medical world. His book is one that *should* be read by every thinking person — including those who hold the vaunted title of Doctor.

Gross indicts the whole profession, with the exception of those medics who have been brave enough to fight the American Medical Association and engage in pre-paid team practice, and the few dedicated men and women who are healers, not get-rich-quick artists.

Gross blames the current state of the profession on its trade association, the American Medical Ass'n. He devotes most of this chapter, however, to the role of this octopus in the medical educational system — with the first two years spent on "pure" theory without any contact with the humans upon whom they hope to practice.

Training Poor

In all university faculty circles today, tenure depends on how much a professor publishes, not on class-room time. Thus personal contact between the student and the teacher is lessening at an alarming degree, with many courses taught by tape-recordings. When the student enters his last two years and is assigned as a "medical clerk" to ward duty in a teaching hospital, he is used mainly in jimmy-higgins work — laboratory examinations of blood and urine, taking patients to and from operating rooms, etc. His rounds with teaching physicians, his lectures, his training in observation of patients, history taking, are left largely to residents who give of their own time to perform these tasks.

The orientation of young doctors today is toward specialization where money is the motivating force. Since most students come from the upper-middle class, this orientation is already built in. The AMA carefully screens all applicants, controls the size of classes, the tuition costs. Scholarship students are thus easily denied medical education since most scholarships pay for only the tuition and books necessary. The average cost to the student of a four year medical education, including living costs, is \$13,000.

Experiments on Humans

One of the most horrifying chapters in this book is on experimentation with hapless patients as guinea pigs. If this section were not so well documented it would be hard to believe. For instance, in a large general hospital in Cleveland, a nursery full of new born babies was used to test out conflicting theories about how the dread Hospital Staphylococcus infection is spread.

He cites the planting of cancer cells in chronic patients "who are going to die anyway," the use of the mentally ill and of retarded children to test new drugs not in any way connected with their illnesses, and the double biopsies performed on alcoholics picked up on city streets. His charges make New York State Senator Thaler's indictments against New York

City's 21 municipal hospitals sound reasonable indeed.

Gross presents a complicated, though logical plan for the reorganization of the whole profession and its functioning. But it will take socialism to lift the octopus of profit-making, the motivating force behind both our capitalist system and the AMA, off the backs of the people, and to close the ever-widening gap between the wondrous new medical discoveries and the people who need them.

—Marvel Scholl

MALCOLM X ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY, edited with an introduction by George Breitman. International Socialist Review, March-April, 1967. 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. 50¢.

An important speech by Malcolm X on Afro-American history has been published for the first time in the March-April issue of the *International Socialist Review*. The speech was delivered at the Audubon ballroom in New York, Jan. 24, 1965 — a little less than a month before Malcolm was gunned down in the same hall.

This talk was intended by Malcolm to be the first part of a three-part presentation of the proposed program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. In it, Malcolm discusses the importance of black people knowing their own history and he outlines the high points of the history itself.

In the second talk, which Malcolm gave on Jan. 31, he discussed the present problems confronting Afro-Americans. But the third talk — the actual proposal of a program — was never delivered.

In "Afro-American History," Malcolm X consistently speaks at the height of his revolutionary brilliance and wit. He unfolds a five-thousand-year history of black people, from the African civilizations to their degradation at the hands of the American slavery. Each stage of this history contains valuable lessons, and Malcolm draws these out in relation to the present.

What Happened to Us?

Perhaps the pivotal question Malcolm asks in this talk is "if we were at such a level then, what happened to us to get us where we are now? If we had such a high culture, such a high civilization, what happened to get us where we are now?"

And the main answer Malcolm develops lies in the two-fold nature of white oppression: brutality and hypocrisy, killing and lying. Malcolm illustrates both in discussing African civilizations and the development of American slavery.

In both examples, the most significant chapters of each have been obliterated from the white version of history. The great triumphs of black African civilizations become the Hollywood spectacles with white Cleopatras and white Hannibals.

The great accomplishments, the "science and learning that existed in the universities on the African continent," are concealed. "The white man is such a liar, he doesn't want it to be known that the black man was so far ahead of him in science," Malcolm explains.

"Now this isn't racist talk, when I say he's a liar. I'm talking about those who are responsible for this false concept of the African image, and that is most of them. If I said all of them, they'd call me a racist."

"I can't say all of them, but most of them, those in power, that told lies deliberately and scien-

tifically to distort the image of Africa in order to mold a better picture and image of Europe — you can see the crime that they committed once you begin to delve into the African continent today and find its real position in science and civilization in times gone by."

Comparable treatment was given to American slavery. Its essential link, the actual *making of slaves*, the breaking of a civilized African into a whipped plantation slave, is something the "Negro History Week" version of history omits.

"They used to take a black woman who would be pregnant and tie her up by her toes," Malcolm gives as one of his examples, "let her be hanging head down, and they would take a knife and cut her stomach open, let that black unborn child fall out, and then stomp its head in the ground. . . ."

"I'll cite you books all night long, where they write themselves on what they did to you and me. And have got the nerve to say we teach hate because we're talking about what they did. Why, they're lucky, really, they're lucky, they're fortunate."

Do It Ourselves

It comes down to this, Malcolm summarizes, in the final section of the speech:

"Any man who will know the level of civilization that we started out on, and came from, any man who knows the criminal deeds that were done to us by his people to bring us to the level that we've been on for the past three hundred years, knows he is so deceptive, so deceitful, so criminally deceitful, that it is almost beyond his nature or desire to come up with anything meaningful that will undo what has been done to us over the past three hundred years.

"It is absolutely necessary — anything that is done for us, has to be done by us."

There is, of course, much more to Malcolm's "Afro-American History" speech — which takes up 48 pages of the magazine — than can be touched on in a review. The magazine also includes the question and answer period which followed the speech and a brief introduction by George Breitman, the editor of *Malcolm X Speaks*.

The essential thing is that "Afro-American History" brings out in the most forceful manner a cornerstone of Malcolm X's revolutionary program. "Afro-American History" is required reading for revolutionaries.

—Dick Roberts

More Students Oppose War

When the Spring Mobilization Committee decided to call a national mobilization against the Vietnam war April 15, it anticipated that sentiment against the war would continue to grow and this would make it possible to mount the biggest antiwar action yet.

Events are confirming the validity of that estimate. The most recent expression of the spreading and deepening of antiwar sentiment is seen in the National Student Conference held at Cornell University. The conference was organized by student government officials from various campuses. In line with their cautiously liberal outlook, they decided to arbitrarily exclude what they deemed to be "left-wing" groups from the parley. Students for a Democratic Society, for example, was barred from participating.

Yet despite the absence of avowed opponents of the war, a resolution was adopted by the conference Feb. 19, 51 to 42, calling on the Johnson administration to stop the bombing, initiate a cease-fire, withdraw its troops and recognize the National Liberation Front as "a major bargaining agent" in a settlement of the war.

Considering the composition of the gathering, this constitutes quite a militant stand and obviously reflects broad campus sentiment.

Nine delegates who support the Vietnam war staged a walk-out charging the conference had been packed by "extreme leftists." Apart from demonstrating the futility of the policy of exclusion as a means of avoiding red-baiting, the charge by the nine simply points up the fact that now far more than leftists are vigorously opposed to the war.

Those who are building the April 15 mobilization in New York and San Francisco have every basis for anticipating a big, militant demonstration. All that's needed is for everyone to put his shoulder to the wheel in preparing it.

A Smear of War Crimes Tribunal

The impending threat of an investigation into the Vietnam crimes of Johnson, McNamara and Rusk is apparently producing extreme anxiety in Washington. This is the only conclusion we can draw from the main article of the Feb. 19 *New York Times Magazine* entitled "Bertrand Russell: Prosecutor, Judge and Jury" under the authorship of one Bernard Levin.

According to the biographical footnote, Levin's authority for producing this diatribe rests in the fact that he is a regular contributor to the conservative London *Daily Mail*, and along with at least two other British authors, he supports the U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Levin tells us that Russell is a dottering old fanatic, though not senile, and he is under the misguided tutelage of the fanatical ex-patriate American, Ralph Schoenman. We've heard it before — for instance, in the editorial columns of the *New York Times*.

But repetition does not improve the slander.

Washington's invasion of Vietnam; its use of every kind of the most modern weapons of murder, from napalm and fragmentation bombs to gas and chemical warfare; its daily saturation bombing of the Vietnamese countryside on a greater scale than any air attack in any previous war; its genocidal murder of south Vietnamese peasants — these constitute high war crimes, and the Russell group can only be applauded for its effort to bring these crimes to the attention of mankind.

... Women's Demonstration

(Continued from Page 1)

their destinations, although they said they were fearful of losing their jobs.

The women split into delegations after the demonstration. More than 2,000 attended a rally in a nearby church, where they listened to several speakers, including Mrs. Joe Griffith, recently returned from Hanoi. The mother of a boy who died in Vietnam received a standing ovation when she urged other mothers to work for peace. In summation, Cora Weiss, chairman of the meeting, declared that next time WSP should storm the doors of the White House.

Meanwhile, a large delegation from New York heard Senator Javits tell them the U.S. "has not, and never will" use toxic gases in Vietnam, that he could not take the time to discuss napalm bombing, and that his audience was

living in a "dream world." Senator Kennedy, who was scheduled to appear, sent a representative in his place. The audience expressed anger that Kennedy, who trips all over the world, would not meet with his own constituents.

More Militant

Smaller groups of women then met with their own congressmen to express their antiwar convictions and urge the congressmen to vote down appropriations for the Vietnam war.

The day's action indicated that the majority of the women were far more eager for a militant confrontation with the war-hawks than were WSP leaders. These leaders, by attempting to tone down the militancy of the membership, seemed to be lagging behind the sentiments not only of WSPers, but also of a large segment of the public.

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... Revelations on CIA Subversion

(Continued from Page 1)
decision making as they were."

The facts show that even this admission of a fifty-fifty division of control over NSA policy isn't quite the case, not when it comes to important questions. CIA intervention in the deliberations of NSA are described by Michael Wood, former fund raiser for the NSA and the person who revealed the whole mess to *Ramparts*.

Wood relates in the *New York Times* that at the NSA congress in Madison, Wisc. in 1965, the CIA was active and effective. "In that year," Wood said, "Vietnam was debated very bitterly for nine hours. The agents were very anxious, first of all, that no absolute position be taken, and concerned that no permanent cessation of bombing position be taken."

The congress finally voted to call for negotiations for cessation of bombing providing some show of willingness to negotiate came from the north Vietnamese. This line, practically identical with Johnson's, was approved by the CIA watchdogs.

At another time, the CIA was able to squash an attempt to provide for the election of NSA foreign delegates—a procedure which would have cramped the cloak-and-dagger outfit's ability to appoint spies to these positions.

NSA officers were recruited to the CIA in a Kafkaesque manner. When a new officer was elected—and the CIA helped groom them—he was called aside by a former officer and told that there was information he should know in order to better run the NSA. But in order to find out this informa-



FIRST SCOOP. Cover of April 1966 *Ramparts* which broke story on CIA use of Michigan State University project.

tion, he would have to undergo a security check. Once this was completed, the newly elected democratic representative of the American students signed a statement promising not to reveal the activities of the CIA—under pain of a possible 20-year prison term. The statement also made the officer an employe of the CIA.

Sam Brown, 23, chairman of the NSA national supervisory board council remarked, "The fantastic pressures these people were under were simply incomprehensible to me until the last 72 hours. The agony of these people who were trapped and were unable to break this relationship is awful."

But there were fringe benefits.

The CIA arranged draft deferments for every officer and staff member of NSA. When the Vietnam war increased draft calls, the NSA leaders remained untouched, even though they were formally classified I-A.

Agents for the CIA in NSA received, as well, "scholarships" for study abroad. They received grants from foundations, ostensibly for study, but which actually enabled them to function as CIA agents in foreign countries under the guise of NSA representatives. These representatives were usually former or soon-to-become NSA officers.

Overseas representatives were never elected by NSA congresses and their activity is little known to delegates to those congresses. *Ramparts* describes these representatives: "Despite its liberal rhetoric, NSAers abroad seemed more like professional diplomats than students; there was something tough and secretive about them . . ."

Liberals Responsible

The subversion of the NSA was begun under the Truman administration and continued under Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. Each president, each attorney general and leading congressmen were aware of the situation and approved of it. The whole operation was carried out by both parties. A liberal administration initiated the conspiracy just as it initiated the cold war.

The liberal NSA was part and parcel of the conspiracy from the beginning. This was so because the fundamental tenet of liberalism is support to and defense of capitalism, and opposition to the world

socialist revolution. This is the essence of "anti-communism," and is the basis upon which the CIA-NSA relationship began and was carried on.

The State Department and press have, in fact, used this argument to justify the CIA—or some other government agency—giving funds to the NSA. The *Times* says that the relationship was necessary "to offset the influence in international student circles of heavily financed and controlled communist student groups."

"The subsidy was made 'covert,' the *Times* quotes an official, "because it was decided public disclosure of government financing would have opened the door to communist attacks" that the organization was "an instrument of the United States government."

In other words, the NSA was manipulated to combat "communism," and the subversion was made covert so that it could not be charged that the NSA was being manipulated.

The organizations which have been listed as receiving CIA funds are almost all liberal. They include: The International Union of

Young Christian Democrats, the National Federation of Canadian University Students, United States Youth Council, the Young Women's Christian Association, as well as a number of unions.

One of the most scandalous of the exposures is that the International Union of Socialist Youth was listed as a recipient of CIA money. The IUSY is the official youth group of the Socialist and Labor (Second) International. The Young Peoples Socialist League is a voting affiliate of the IUSY. The IUSY has been active in the past in organizing opposition to affairs like the Helsinki Youth Festival. What did it use its CIA money for? What relationship does the YPSL have to these activities?

This is perhaps the clearest example of how the premise of anti-communism, which is the guiding ideology of the YPSL and its parent Socialist Party, leads inevitably into the camp of the capitalists and their most vicious and reactionary agents.

The poison of anti-communism must be eliminated from the student movement and every youth group which claims to stand for democracy.

Students at Columbia U Fight CIA Recruitment

NEW YORK, Feb. 20 — The culmination of a dramatic confrontation between the students and administration of Columbia University was reached today as 150 students marched to demand that they be allowed to attend a kangaroo court hearing for 16 of their fellow students. The 16 had staged a sit-in against the CIA on Feb. 8.

The sit-in was carried out by members of Columbia SDS and succeeded in trapping two CIA agents for over four hours in an office where they were trying to recruit degree candidates. While the sit-in was going on, about 50 members of SDS and other campus organizations were picketing outside, displaying a large banner reading, "Sign Up Here for War Crimes."

As a result of the protest, the 16 students were sent letters from the school requiring them to attend a phony hearing which was to advise President Grayson Kirk as to whether or not the students had violated any university rules by interfering with the normal functioning of the university, and refusing to reveal their identity to an official of the institution as required.

Defense Committee

The students who sat-in formed an "Ad Hoc Defense Committee for Those Who Sat-In Against the CIA." Among those groups supporting the defense were SDS, the Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam, Columbia Young Socialist Alliance, the Columbia U. Student Council, and an ad hoc faculty group.

A large rally was held on campus today. Among those who spoke were Leslie Silberman, an independent peace candidate for Congress from Queens in last November's elections; Allen Krebs, of the Free School of N.Y.; Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of CORE; Russel Stetler, national secretary of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; Peter Seidman, chairman of the Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam; and several of the students who sat-in.

The stated policy of Grayson Kirk is that Columbia must be an "impartial" institution which can allow all legitimate business and government agencies the right to

recruit. This statement prompted one campus journal, *The Gadfly*, to remark that since the CIA only used its information for one government, and since the National Liberation Front was not able to recruit on campus, President Kirk had developed a new conception of "neutral."

In line with his supposed policy of impartiality, President Kirk has established a new kind of impartial hearing for the sit-in students. A panel of advisors, all of whom he appointed, and one of whom belongs to the NSA, an organization financed in part by the CIA, will be empowered to make a "recommendation" which he may or may not accept.

The sole witness at the hearings so far for the university's side has been the Director of University Placement and Career Planning, who claimed that the only criterion Columbia would use in rejecting the application of a group for the use of Columbia recruiting facilities would be if it presented "a problem of ethics." The witness claimed that to his knowledge, none of the activities of the CIA fell under this category.

When one of the representatives of the student sit-inners tried to introduce evidence from the *New York Times* to enlighten the witness as to the true nature of the CIA, the hearing chairman, a professor of law at Columbia Law School, ruled that this evidence was inadmissible because it was "hearsay."

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DANGER SIGNAL FOR LABOR

The CIA Infiltration of Unions

By Harry Ring

Union members have little reason to take comfort from George Meany's denial that the AFL-CIO has taken money from the CIA. Nor is there any reason to give credibility to his assertion that he disapproves of unions taking such money from the cloak-and-dagger outfit. Meany's statement can best be described in CIA jargon — a cover story.

It has been a matter of scandal for a good 15 years that Meany's foreign policy adviser, Jay Lovestone, has collaborated actively with the CIA in its policy of subverting so-called communist-led unions abroad. These charges were documented, among others, by Sidney Lens in *The Nation* of July 5, 1965. Even if Meany could establish that Lovestone rendered his services for free this would hardly alter the substance of the matter.

The assertions that the AFL-CIO-dominated International Confederation of Free Trade Unions ("Free"), the American Newspaper Guild and the Retail Clerks

International Association officers simply accepted funds from the CIA to subsidize normal union activity abroad is the most sickening kind of hypocrisy. In the days when union leaders saw their role as that of fighting to improve the lot of the workers they represented, they also regarded international activity as that of aiding fellow workers in other lands in their struggles against employers and governments that acted on behalf of employers. The CIA-directed activity has been the very opposite.

For example, James Wechsler, an editor of the *New York Post*, flatly asserted Feb. 16 that one of Jay Lovestone's "institutes" actively helped to train Brazilian unionists to participate in the military coup against the Goulart government. Wechsler adds by way of parenthetical apology that this was done "only to discover two years later that an alleged leftist but constitutional government had been replaced by an oppressive tyranny of the right."

Wechsler Stupid?

Even if it were conceivable that Wechsler is really stupid enough to believe this, it is doubtful that anyone would claim that Jay Lovestone is. An old ex-communist whose politics are somewhat to the right of Johnson and Goldwater, he makes his living lining up support for reactionaries under the guise of "combatting communism."

The intervention of union officials on behalf of right-wing, anti-union forces abroad is shocking enough. But equally important is the role that the CIA must necessarily play in the internal affairs of those unions into which it has gained entree.

And there can be no question that once this cutthroat gang gets union officials into its clutches it is not going to remain aloof from the internal affairs of the unions involved. If CIA agents and union

bureaucrats can gang up on "communist" unionists abroad, what earthly reason is there to assume they won't do the same thing at home? Let us hope no one would argue that they would be inhibited from doing so on grounds of morality.

The fact of CIA intervention in internal union affairs is attested to by Wechsler. In the same Feb. 16 column he wrote that a probe of relations between union officials and the CIA "would also disclose at least one sensational case of quiet CIA intervention in an election in an AFL-CIO union. When the 'CIA man' won, the union's staff and budget rose and its international activity suddenly increased in Latin America and the Middle East."

Nor should it be assumed that the CIA has not had its hand in inter-union rivalries. The National Education Association, for example, is one of the outfits whose leaders have been disclosed as being on the CIA gravy train. This quasi-company union has been a principal lever used against the organization drives of the American Federation of Teachers.

When the top union brass of this country lined up in support of the cold war against "communism" they split and seriously weakened the union movement. At the same time, by the very political logic of their stand, they opened the door to the invidious CIA intervention which is now being partially exposed.

The exposures offer one more good reason why the union ranks must clean out the present officialdom and replace it with a leadership dedicated to the principles of militant, independent, democratic unionism. If this is not done, the unions face the very real danger of ultimately being reduced to mere creatures of an antilabor government and such monstrous agencies of that government as the CIA.

GIs and the Fight Against War

By Mary-Alice Waters

Introduction
By Fred Halstead

25 cents

Young Socialist

P.O. Box 471
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A READER'S VIEW

Criticizes Cuba Assessment

Iowa City, Iowa
There are several things in the article "Castro's Interview with Playboy" by Harry Ring (in the Jan. 2 *Militant*) which deserve an extended analysis: I was disappointed that Ring did not bring them up and examine them himself. I am afraid this is in line with an attitude he (and *The Militant* in general) share with many other American radicals today: a far too uncritical acceptance of the Cuban revolutionary leadership and its ideological formulae. And I am afraid this unwillingness to see shortcomings in the revolution, or in the person of the Maximum Leader, tends to lead Ring, with others, into accepting things in Cuba which he would find unhealthy (and all too revealing) in the other socialist countries.

In regard to the "shortcomings" of the government-directed press in Cuba: Ring writes that Castro "attributed (these shortcomings) to the fact that Cuba remains in a state of siege in relation to the U.S. which continually confronts it with the threat of a new invasion." Granted. But the point is, as I understand it, that all the deformations in the socialist countries have originated with questions of national security, and certainly not the ill-will of the leadership. This has very little to do with the effects such deformations have had in impeding the deepening and flowering of the revolutionary socialist society.

Outside Pressure

To argue by analogy: the "cultural revolution" in China is also a response to outside pressure, especially as regards the threat of American escalation of the Vietnamese war into China. Still Ring is highly critical of many things in China (as am I), as indeed he should be. All historical accidents in the analogy granted: isn't this still a case of a double standard?

Even more fundamentally, in regard to Castro's published estimation of the revolutionary potential of the U.S. working class (and by extension, it appears, the working classes of the rest of the developed western capitalist countries as well), Ring correctly points out Fidel's serious misunderstanding of Marxist theory on this point. Yet in Ring's very next paragraph he writes that "although Fidel may be muddled about the revolutionary prospects within the U.S., he points unerringly to the profound problem confronting U.S. imperialism on a world scale." And what is this correct prognosis Castro offers? Fidel



Fidel Castro

told his interviewer that:

"Before long the United States will find itself required to over-extend its forces in order to fight interventionist wars of a universally-hated nature against the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and in Latin America. It will find itself increasingly alone, isolated and repudiated by world opinion. The revolutionary movement will break out sooner or later in all oppressed and exploited countries . . . the United States will inevitably lose the fight against the revolutionary movement anyway, simply because objective social and historical conditions extraordinarily favor the struggles of the underdeveloped people."

Yet clearly, is this not simply the other side of the coin of his misinterpretation of the potential for socialist revolution in the developed capitalist countries? Are these not two components of the same argument — a symmetrical compensation, as it were, of his underestimation of proletarian revolution in the highly-industrialized nations?

One could put the analysis in an almost syllogistic form: Castro expects and hopes for a revolutionary socio-economic transformation on a world scale in order to take the pressure off the Cuban revolution and to secure some necessary allies; indeed, as Ring points out, "for Fidel this prognosis is a serious one and Cuba's course is pegged to it." For the sake of the continued existence of socialist Cuba, one hopes it isn't pegged too strongly to it. For, to create a revolutionary situation, certain conditions with sufficient potency are essential. And there is no estimate, either in Castro's observations or Ring's reaction, to indicate that the above-mentioned exploited "third world" countries can, will or even have the strength to carry out this favorable prognosis. This sounds to me very much like a joint effort in "ultra-left" wish-fulfillment.

Correct Outlook?

It is really extraordinary that Ring could seriously consider this a "correct prognosis." The capitalist countries are now and will for many years remain stronger than the socialist block. This means each "emerging" country will have to face one-by-one and by themselves, the combined power of this imperialist complex. This is a result of their uneven economic development, and they will reach revolutionary situations at different times; periods perhaps separated by decades. This fact effectively forestalls the likelihood of a great block of the "third world" countries rising in revolutionary struggle in the manner projected by Castro above.

Two examples: Revolutionary Cuba has been unable to spark an anti-imperialist war in Latin America. And the Russian Bolshevik leadership hoped that the

working classes in Europe would break the isolation the ruling classes had enforced against them: They made similar projections about the likelihood of a "universal" revolutionary situation. But objective historical development overruled their wishes.

I do not say these things to be defeatist, nor am I; quite the opposite. But the main task confronting American radicals is to make the revolution *here*. We cannot wait for someone "out there" to do our work for us. An over-concentration on outside efforts, I am afraid, will lead toward a feeling of passivity, of quiescence, *here*.

Castro's statement has the pathetic effect similar to that of whistling one's way past a graveyard. Such remarks are clearly in the same tradition of witch-hunting epithets thundering about Mao's China. Reading Castro's observations shortly after a personal study, *via* Deutscher, of the Soviet Union in the early 1920s, one develops an eerie feeling of *déjà vu*, the recognition of one's isolation in a bitter and hostile world. This apocalyptic hope should not be confused with revolutionary theory. Ring does himself and his paper no credit in pretending that it is.

Dave Cunningham

P.S. If you print this, would you please include my street address — 617 North Johnson, Iowa City, Iowa 52240. I'm sure there are several readers of your paper in the vicinity, and I'd like to give us a chance to communicate if they would like to write to me.

D. C.

In Reply

Space difficulties make it necessary for me to limit my reply to a few brief comments.

I agree completely with, and would heavily underline Cunningham's point that "... the main task confronting American radicals is to make the revolution *here*." This was the basic point of my criticism of Castro's view. There can be no enduring defeat for capitalism as a world system until such defeats are inflicted by the workers in the advanced countries, particularly in the U.S.

Colonial Revolution

Nevertheless, Cunningham is, in my opinion, unduly pessimistic about revolutionary prospects in the colonial world. True, there have been recent major setbacks (e.g., Brazil, Algeria, Ghana and, most devastating, Indonesia) but the social contradictions of the colonial world continue to deepen and the movement has not been crushed. The most dramatic example of the kind of opposition that can be mounted against imperialism is being offered by the revolutionary people of Vietnam. There is no reason to assume that their struggle must remain isolated. And the antiwar movement in this country is a good demonstration of how such struggles have their social impact in the U.S.

The question of the bureaucratic degeneration in the Soviet Union and the problem of the absence of a structured workers' democracy in Cuba requires extended treatment. Let me simply say here that the Soviet degeneration did not automatically develop out of the capitalist encirclement. This did provide the basis for the rise to power under Stalin of a brutal, politically conservative bureaucracy. But this bureaucracy was concerned with defending its own privileges, not the workers' conquests. Regardless of short comings (and we have not hesitated to point to them), the central leaders in Cuba, and the Cuban masses, have demonstrated in practice a desire to avoid that kind of development.

Harry Ring

Senators Take Dim View Of Proposed Ethics Bill

By Ed Smith

The big publicity that has taken up page after page in the newspapers about the congressional investigation of Adam Clayton Powell had one salutary side effect, at least from the viewpoint of the senators. The Senate managed to attract practically no attention at all when it defeated two bills pertaining to its own "ethics."

These were two legislative amendments sponsored by Senator Clark, (D.-Pa.), turned down Feb. 8 and 9, respectively. The first amendment would require senators and their assistants to make their means of financial support a matter of public record; the second would prohibit senators and their assistants from doing business with lobbyists and from accepting gifts worth more than \$100 from lobbyists.

Interestingly enough, the main argument senators used against Clark's amendments was the fact that the so-called "ethics committee" was at this time in the process of "investigating" one of its other members, Senator Dodd of Connecticut.

If they passed a law about Senate ethics at the same time the "ethics committee" was "investigating" Dodd, so the argument went, then they would be interfering with a "fair investigation" of the well-known Democrat from West Hartford. And so, they contended, the only "fair" thing to do would be to table Clark's motions until after the "investigation" of Dodd was completed.

And how long would this take? "I have deep sympathy with the problem that confronts them in connection with the onerous duties which they have undertaken," Clark stated, "but despite everything they have said, the basic fact remains that the Bobby Baker case broke on October 10, 1963. Today is February 8, 1967, and the Senate of the United States has not taken one single step, other than the appointment of the [ethics] committee . . ."

When he was asked why he had picked \$100 as the maximum present senators and their helpers should accept, Clark responded, "I think — and I say this seriously — that it takes more than \$100 to bribe a senator."

Clark cited one example of campaign contribution to the Democratic State committee that has

not been given recent publicity. Three individuals in 1952, he noted, Richard J. Reynolds, David Schulte and Marshall Field, had contributed \$410,110.45 to the committee.

"After the election was over they applied to the Treasury Department for a ruling that these be marked off as bad debts on the basis that there was no money in the Democratic campaign treasury . . . A favorable ruling was approved by the Treasury Department within 24 hours from the time that the application was post-marked . . . which was an all-time record for action in the Department."

The Treasury agreed that the contributions could be written off as bad debts, meaning that the Democratic Party got the money, and the millionaire contributors deducted it from their taxes.

Likes Stennis' Outlook

Senator Dodd, whose name figured largely in the debate, was himself quite silent during most of the discussion. He did however take the floor on one occasion to applaud Mississippi Dixiecrat Stennis. (Stennis, chairman of the committee investigating Dodd, has attempted to shift attention onto the fact that obtaining evidence against Dodd "was a clear case of burglary and a conspiracy to commit burglary.")

Another argument against Clark's motions should be mentioned: In forcing senators to reveal their financial transactions, argued Senator Scott (R.-Pa.), "The disclosure of an individual senator's 'poverty,' should that be the case, would certainly often subject a senator, it seems to me, to greater pressures than would otherwise be the case."

In Clark's case, Scott's point might contain a germ of truth. Clark submitted his own financial records to show it could be done. He listed stocks, bonds and bank accounts worth well over \$1,000,000 an annual income of above \$100,000.

When Clark's amendments were tabled, the number of senators who didn't vote was more than enough to pass the amendments had these senators voted with Clark. Among those in the "not voting" category were Fulbright, Gruening, Mansfield and Morse.

Western Spring Mobilization Offers Condolences on Muste

SAN FRANCISCO — The first meeting of the West Coast Steering Committee of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam was held here on Feb. 13. More than 70 people attending heard a report from West Coast Chairman Edward Keating on the death of Rev. A. J. Muste, national chairman of the Spring Mobilization. Keating expressed the determination of the Spring Mobilization Committee to carry on Muste's work and build the April 15 mobilization into a living memorial to Muste and the beginning of a mass movement to end the war in Vietnam.

Message

In a letter sent to friends and sponsors, the West Coast Steering Committee stated:

"At the time of his death the Rev. Muste was hard at work on his latest and biggest project, the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. It was his hope that April 15 would see the birth of a new peace movement with massive marches in New York and San Francisco. The staff of the Spring Mobilization Committee feels that the most fitting memorial to Rev. Muste would be a

successful Spring Mobilization. To that purpose we have pledged ourselves to redouble our efforts to build the Spring Mobilization and to build a movement which can end the war in Vietnam."

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IN REPLY TO PL (III)

What Is the Soviet Union?

By Barry Sheppard

The Progressive Labor Party recently issued a statement that the Soviet Union has reverted to capitalism. In the Feb. 6 *Militant* I discussed the fallacies in this position.

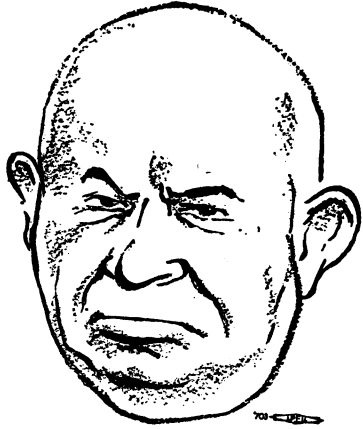
But the question remains: What is the nature of the Soviet Union if it cannot be correctly defined as capitalist?

All those educated in the school of Stalin contend that a socialist society was established in Russia under his regime. The Communist Party continues to maintain that socialism exists there, while PL now says that the USSR has slid peacefully back to capitalism.

In reality, the Soviet Union has gone beyond capitalism but is still far from having reached socialism. Even to approach socialism, a society would have to possess greater productive power, higher living and cultural standards, and more freedom than the most advanced capitalist nations. The Soviet Union, despite all its impressive achievements, has not yet come near that point.

Enormous differences remain between city and country; there are two major classes, the workers and the peasantry; there is no workers' democracy; and the level of production and available consumer goods remains below that in the U.S. The existence of a parasitic bureaucracy is both a refutation of the claim that socialism exists in the Soviet Union and an obstacle on the path to socialism which will have to be removed before socialism can be established.

Having gone beyond capitalism, but not having reached socialism, the USSR is a transitional social



Khrushchev

formation called a workers state. This state in between capitalism and socialism contains highly contradictory features.

In the Feb. 6 article I discussed why the elimination of private ownership of the means of production coupled with the existence of the nationalized and planned economy and the monopoly of foreign trade, differentiates the Soviet Union from capitalism and gives it a proletarian class character. While these relations of production are the fundamental determinants of the class character of Soviet society, we must also examine the relations of distribution.

Even a socialist revolution in the United States, the most advanced capitalism in the world, could not immediately guarantee the satisfaction of all human needs. That can only be accomplished through the final victory of workers power and the creation of a classless society on a world scale,

on the basis of a level of productivity much superior to the present level. For a time, a workers state in the U.S. will be compelled to spur production, and to use, with various changes and mitigations, the method of labor payment worked out by capitalism: "To each according to his work."

As Engels explained in *Anti-Duhring*: "Each new mode of production or form of exchange is in the beginning fettered not only by the old forms and the political institutions corresponding to them, but also by the old mode of distribution. It is obliged to engage in a long struggle to obtain the mode of distribution corresponding to it."

The old methods of distribution — the payment of labor according to work and the selling of commodities — are inescapable in the first stages of the socialist revolution. A workers state can only gradually replace the principle of payment according to the work performed with the principle of socialist distribution: "to each according to his needs."

The more backward the economy a workers and peasants revolution inherits from the past, the harder it will be to overcome the old inequitable methods of distribution.

Harsh Conditions

The young Soviet republic was crippled by all the backwardness of Czarism. The world war and civil war depleted already exhausted resources, shattered industry and led to famine. Under such circumstances, even after economic conditions improved in the 1920s, the state had to strictly enforce the bourgeois norms of distribution. From the beginning, the Soviet state took on a dual character: socialist insofar as it defended social property in the means of production; bourgeois, insofar as the distribution of life's goods was carried out under bourgeois norms.

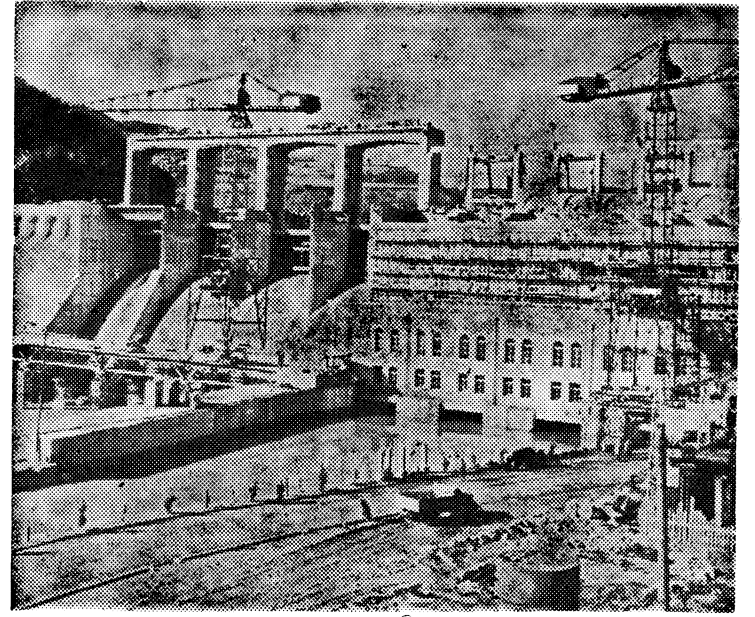
The early Soviet state was highly democratic in structure. It was based upon the direct, representative democracy of the soviets, or councils, which began as agencies of the workers, soldiers and peasants in the revolutionary struggle, and then became the organs of the new workers state. But under the harsh conditions the Soviet masses faced, the state suffered from what Lenin called bureaucratic deformations.

As the arbiters over distribution, Soviet officials were able to provide themselves with goods and privileges which were not available to the masses. These were small privileges, at first. But office-holders began to develop a material interest in clinging to their positions. Since soviet democracy implied mass control over bureaucrats, the developing stratum of office-holders resented and subverted these representative institutions.

Counted on Aid

The Bolsheviks counted on the victory of the revolution in one or more of the advanced countries to come to the aid of the beleaguered and impoverished Soviet Union. Such aid would have eased the material situation and countered the forces enhancing the power of the bureaucracy. But revolutions elsewhere either did not materialize or were defeated where they did.

Lenin advocated the strengthening of workers democracy as a counter to bureaucracy, and spent the last years of his life attempting to combat its growth. In more favorable circumstances, and certainly in any industrialized country, at a more advanced stage of the world revolution, workers democracy would be able to contain and eventually eliminate bureaucracy. But the working class was a small minority in Soviet society and had seen the



SOCIAL PROGRESS. Soviet hydroelectric power station. Despite terrible obstacles imposed by bureaucracy, planned Soviet economy made possible enormous strides in developing one of world's most underdeveloped countries into second most powerful.

best of its fighters cut down in the civil war. These factors, together with the isolation of the revolution and the low standard of living of the masses, helped to dispirit the workers and aided the bureaucrats in their subversion of soviet democracy.

The bureaucracy found its chief spokesman and leader in the person of Stalin. Given the above objective conditions, Stalin was able to lead the growing bureaucracy to power, through corruption and purges of the Bolshevik Party (which, since it contained the most politically advanced workers, was the strongest opposition to the bureaucracy) and the soviets. The result of this political counter-revolution was the crushing of the soviets and the rise to full power of the bureaucratic caste.

The principle of "to each according to his work" is inherently unequal, since it rewards according to unequal output. In addition, the bureaucracy, as arbiter over distribution, could define how much work was worth. Thus their "work" became very valuable indeed. Having won political supremacy, the bureaucracy was able to amass more and more privileges. The gap between workers and bureaucrats widened.

The bureaucracy developed into a caste separate and apart from the workers. The existence of this parasitic, self-seeking, privileged caste makes the Soviet state a far cry from a healthy workers state (let alone socialism). To indicate its deformed nature, Marxists call it a bureaucratically degenerated workers state.

Reactionary Role

The bureaucracy views all problems from the narrow standpoint of its special interests. It is a fundamentally conservative formation which desires to maintain its position, privileges and power and keep things generally as they are. In international relations it aspires to make peace with imperialism, in the vain hope that the imperialists will let the Soviet Union alone.

In return for a promise of live and let live, the bureaucrats are ready to use their influence in the world communist movement to sell out revolutions. Having lost all faith in the world revolution, the bureaucracy transformed the world's Communist parties into docile appendages of its foreign policy — pressure groups seeking alliances with "good" capitalists. This policy was first projected by Stalin in the doctrine of "socialism in one country." The same policy is now called "peaceful coexistence."

The reactionary role of the bureaucracy in defending and extending inequality and repressing democracy within the Soviet Union and retarding and betraying the struggle for the world revolution, does not mean, however, that it is capitalist. The bureaucracy's own privileges flow from its position in the nationalized and

planned economy which it is obliged to defend and develop, poorly and in its own way.

To call the Soviet Union capitalist because of the many crimes committed by the bureaucracy would be like saying the AFL-CIO is no longer a workers' organization because its leaders uphold capitalism, support the war in Vietnam, don't offer the workers proper leadership, and vote themselves enormous salaries. In fact the unions remain workers' organizations in spite of the bureaucrats. The job ahead of the workers is to build a new, class struggle leadership which can throw the bureaucrats out, democratize the unions and make them effective instruments to combat big business.

Similarly, the job before the Soviet workers is to throw out the Soviet bureaucrats, re-institute soviet democracy, and in the process build a new, class-struggle leadership in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky.

Marx and Lenin

It is instructive to note that, in detailing the crimes of the Soviet leaders, Progressive Labor, which follows Stalin and Mao, does not mention the lack of workers democracy. To Marx and Lenin, workers democracy was the very life breath and life blood of the socialist movement whether it was preparing for power or had won it.

The re-institution of soviet democracy, now possible on a higher plane than in the early Soviet republic thanks to the successes of planned economy, will restore the workers state in Russia to health. The struggle against bureaucratic domination will center around this demand which expresses the deepest needs and interests of the Soviet workers.

Progressive Labor's analysis, then, defaults on two major aspects of the Soviet Union. First, by incorrectly labelling the Soviet Union capitalist, it calls into question the necessity of defending the first workers state from imperialist attack. Second, PL presents false and misleading conceptions on how the Soviet masses can return the Soviet Union to the path of Lenin.

The American Way of Life

Harmonious Museum Projects

Recently we reported the brilliant plan of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington to help bring together various strata of American life. The Institute plans to transplant and reassemble a model slum so that middle-class suburbanite visitors to the museum will have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with an aspect of American life that has possibly escaped them.

Now Congress is being asked to appropriate \$40 million for what we consider to be the perfect companion exhibit to the Smithsonian's model slum. Under consideration are plans for a Military Museum Park along the Potomac.

The park would not have the full authenticity of the museum's slum, but efforts would be made to convey an air of realism. Visitors would be able to see, for example, a World War I trench, but the barbed wire entanglements would have barbs made of rubber.

It would be possible for visitors to enter the trenches and pillboxes and there would be a toy railroad with uniformed park guides to explain the finer details of the art of warfare as our nation has developed it.

There is, however, a missing ingredient in both projects — people. It seems to me that the model slum would convey its full flavor if it were to include model slum dwellers. Similarly the Military Museum Park would certainly be improved by the addition of soldiers.

The problem, of course, would be to staff the two projects. The answer is clear. Make it part of the War on Poverty. The Office of

Economic Opportunity could easily recruit economically deprived people too young, too old, or too infirm to seek regular low paying jobs. For, let's say, a dollar an hour, such people should be happy to reside in a model slum with such a distinguished address as the Smithsonian Institute.

In the course of time, with nothing else to do, these museum slum dwellers would multiply and the housing — and payroll problem — could become acute. At that point, the excess could be reassigned to duty at the Military Museum Park.

Naturally, there would be problems. Inevitably there would be some model slum dwellers who would try to avoid being assigned to outdoor work at the park. Those who failed to see the need for carrying on the War on Poverty on all fronts could simply be drafted for duty at the park.

The relationship between the two museums could be the subject of edifying lectures by the uniformed guides. (With model slum dwellers inhabiting the slum, such guides would clearly be needed there too.) The guides could explain the beneficial role of the Military Museum Park in coping with the problem of overpopulation at the model slum.

And, on special occasions, there could be an inspirational address by the commanding officer of the War on Poverty. Lyndon Johnson could tell the anti-poverty warriors and visitors alike how the coordinated projects represent the realization of his most cherished dream.

—Herman Chauka

The Black Panther Party

Speech by John Hulett — Interview with Stokely Carmichael — Report from Lowndes County

25 cents

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

China Visitor

Burnaby, B.C., Canada
I have been reading the Jan. 23 issue of *The Militant* on the special article on China. It contains much truth; also some untruths from my point of view.

I have been fortunate to have had over six weeks residence and travel in China in the summer of 1966. I had had continuous correspondence with several Chinese, and a few Canadians, English and Americans in China for 16 years, and I thought that I knew a lot about China. But in a six-week visit, with almost continuous talking with members of the Chinese Cultural Association, I found that these people are very highly educated. They know more about America than most Americans do. I traveled over 4,000 miles on car and railway, and over 2,000 miles by air, and came to the conclusion that the Great Leap Forward was a great success, and not a miserable failure as is published in America by all left wing newspapers.

The people in America know nothing of the problems that confronted the Communists of China. At the time of the Revolution, there were hundreds of millions of people that were starving, homeless and almost naked. The railways had almost come to a complete breakdown. Most of the men in the army were without shoes or arms or ammunition.

Of the 360 scarce materials needed to start, everything was barred by all the western countries from sale or entry into China. Even when a business group in Canada received an order for \$1 million worth for Ford cars, Canadian Ford was willing to supply them but the U.S. State Department stopped the Canadian firm from sending the cars.

Then Russia ordered all experts to leave China, and nearly 600 projects came to a halt. The Chinese government was faced with

a terrible situation of complete breakdown. It became necessary for thousands of men and women to get busy and work without pay for years to bring the country out of complete chaos.

Today there is an electric power grid from north to south China; there are excellent air lines in all directions; also excellent radio stations and TV in all the large cities. There is plenty of food for everyone. There are no ragged children. They have medicare.

I must discount almost every thing that the capitalist press prints, as there are many writers, ghost and otherwise, that make a good living deceiving even the left wing — so badly that they copy items out of the daily newspapers — and that adds to the confusion in the minds of most people in America, so that they end up by not reading anything.

A.B.

Press Double Think

Washington, D.C.
When one reads such "double-think" as that quoted below from a news story printed in the *Washington Post*, Feb. 12, it makes one realize how amazing it is that there are as many sane people in this country as there are.

"... U.S. officials here and in Washington reported with considerable detail that north Vietnam was moving supplies close to south Vietnam during the Tet holiday cease-fire — evidence, they said, that the enemy is not genuinely interested in a de-escalation of the war." At the same time Air Force officials reported, "that U.S. planes, not counting truck and ship movements, carried 7,042 tons of supplies and more than 17,000 men during the first three days of the cease-fire," including a "one-day record of 2,762 tons..." When a State Department official was asked how the "enemies" re-supply missions differ from ours, he replied that theirs were, "clear evidence of their intent to continue their aggression, while the United States was committed to combat aggression."

The conclusions that I draw from this "clear evidence" are altogether different.

Donald W. Slaughter

USSR and Nuclear Ban

Los Angeles, Calif.

The *Los Angeles Times* of Dec. 9, 1966 reported the United States and the Soviet Union's agreement on a treaty that bars nuclear arms and other weapons in space, and free access to the moon.

According to the *Times*, President Johnson immediately hailed the draft treaty as an important step towards peace. President Johnson was also quoted as saying it is the most important arms control development since the limited test-ban treaty of 1963.

May we ask what good is it to ban nuclear arms in space and on the moon when the United States has enough nuclear bombs to destroy the world several times over?

Like the test-ban treaty of 1963, this treaty too is a fraud, and obviously intended to isolate China.

China repeatedly pledged never to be the first to use nuclear weapons and appealed to the other nuclear powers to pledge the same and to call a world summit conference to ban all nuclear bombs and destroy all stockpiles; all of which the United States refused.

It is equally important to point out the Soviet leaders' close collaboration with the Johnson administration in this fraud intended to cover up United States continuous increase in armaments of mass destruction and so create the

Thought for the Week

"We have not yet been able to convince the people that we are any different than the French, Japanese or other oppressors." — From a U.S. Marine survey in south Vietnam.

image of President Johnson as a man of peace.

The Soviet leaders have degenerated to such depths that unity within the socialist camp on all major issues, primarily the war in Vietnam is inconceivable.

Albert Stein

Ky in Australia

Sydney, Australia

You may be interested in hearing why the Ky demonstrations did not reach the pitch of those against Johnson. First, there was boycotting of the demonstrations by some groups because of ideological in-fighting. The police were really right up to the demonstrators breaking up knots of people before they could form, keeping all Ky's routes secret and publishing misleading and erroneous information. Demonstrators who paddled out on surfboards near middle harbour were savagely beaten with oars and knocked into those notorious shark-infested waters. One could only be thankful that there were so many police launches about that the sharks preferred to remain cowed on the bottom. W....., a friend, reported from

Canberra that riot barricades were placed around Parliament House. These barricades were of a type that could not be forced and used against the police as we had done for LBJ. The police knowing that the demonstrators would try to get through the barricades had left a few small breaks of about four feet so that they could catch the leaders as they forced through. When W..... and others came through these breaks they were attacked by armed police who used not only their fists but clubs and boots to pacify the insurgents. W..... retreated to keep his beauty for another day but a good few were captured, taken behind Parliament House and beaten with a savagery new to even the thugs of the Australian police forces.

A Sydney Activist

A Renewal

Detroit, Mich.

I am enclosing \$3 for a one-year renewal to my subscription. Reading your paper for the past year, I have come to depend on it for a more truthful account of the news than our local daily papers offer.

S. B.

It Was Reported in the Press

Q and A — A six-year-old on the Art Linkletter Houseparty program was asked what he would do if he were president. He replied: "Sit on the pot and think about what to do."

Heave-Ho! — San Francisco *Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen reports that the Secret Service is investigating a graduate student at the University of California at Davis for having written on the outside of an envelope he mailed to Washington: "Johnson's war in Vietnam makes America puke." According to Caen, a Secret Service agent said this could be construed as a threat on the president's life. "If enough people puked on the president," the agent reportedly advised the student, "it could kill him."

It'll Be a Tight Squeeze — Edwin Newman commented on NBC-TV: "Spring will soon be in the air. At least it will be in the air competing for a place alongside the sulphur dioxide."

Reach for a Grapefruit — Florida's new governor, Claude Kirk, who is using a privately financed gumshoe outfit as a secret state police, also has brains in his administration. At a recent meeting of the state's hotel and restaurant industry, Kirk demanded a more conscious promotion of Florida's citrus products. His commissioner of agriculture then piped up that perhaps since grapefruit had once caught on as a diet fad maybe it could be put over as a substitute for smoking.

The Payoff — Commenting on the Rockefeller contributions to "respectable" civil rights groups, Stokely Carmichael commented: "The Rockefeller empire controls the Chase Manhattan Bank which controls South Africa, which steals money from black people so he can give money to you so you will keep your mouth shut."

An Apology — An angry reader, who seems to have a complex about smoking, stormed into our office and charged that the Thought for the Week about the Lorillard Tobacco Company's record profits was an unwarranted in-

trusion of a "personal prejudice" of some staff member about smoking. We certainly didn't intend to upset anyone. The item was really intended for those of our readers who play the market.

Adventure Film — For \$500, Julie Motz, a New York photographer, will follow you around for two days, filming your everyday life at work, home and play. He'll then boil it down to a 20-minute color documentary.

Not "It," "Ist" — A TV campaign for Savon Clair's Facial Care Soap will strive to convert young women into "complexionites" — that is, people who are concerned about their complexion.

CIA spied on NSA, too — "Officers of NSA were constantly spied on, they were spying on other people, and their phones, rooms and cars were likely to be bugged," said Ricki Radlow, junior at Radcliffe and NSA supervisory board member.

Plenty of Room — All of this propaganda about a housing shortage was exposed when only eight people expressed interest in an offer for a 34-room house on 470 acres in New Jersey for an even \$2 million.

On Whom? — "U.S. Will Reduce Missile Arsenal by Dropping Titan." — Headline in the *New York Times*.

Fighting Inflation — One group of workers weren't intimidated into accepting Johnson's wage guideline restraints. A *Wall Street Journal* survey showed that salaries of bank officers rose 5.9 percent last year, bringing average annual pay to \$11,700.

Definition — "To be a leader, you firstly got to make a heap of personal sacrifices. And secondly, you've got to pick the right person to sacrifice." — Elbi Jay's granddaddy, according to Arthur Hoppe of the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

—Harry Ring

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.

BOSTON

ANOTHER SUEZ? — The Nationalization of the Katanga Copper Mines in the Congo. Speaker: Prof. Edouard Bustin of the Center for African Studies at Boston U. Fri., March 3, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

THE IMPACT OF VIETNAM ON WORLD POLITICS. Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Young Socialist*. Fri., March 3, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75 cents. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

ART AND PROPAGANDA — A Discussion of Peter Weiss. Speaker: Evelyn Sell. Fri., March 3, 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 4, 2:30 p.m. 2112 North Wilmington Ave., Compton. Ausp. School of International Socialism.

MARXIST COMMENTARY. A Biweekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., March 6, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Thurs., March 9, 12:45 p.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

NEW YORK

JOHN HULETT, chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Party (Black Panther Party), will speak on *The Black Panther Looks to '68*. Fri., March 3, 8:30 p.m. Schermerhorn Hall at Columbia University, B'way and 116 St. This will be first talk of weekend **EAST COAST SOCIALIST CONFERENCE**. Other talks will be:

VIETNAM AND WORLD POLITICS. Speaker: Dick Roberts, managing editor of the *International Socialist Review*. Sat., March 4, 10:30 a.m. Harkness Theater (Butler Library) at Columbia.

A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X. Speaker: Elizabeth Barnes, national secretary, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 4, 1:30 p.m. Harkness Theater.

WHICH ROAD TO POLITICAL POWER? Speaker: Barry Sheppard, managing editor of *The Militant*. Sat., March 4, 3:30 p.m. Harkness Theater.

RADICAL YOUTH AND THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Lew Jones, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, Sunday, March 5, 11:00 a.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.).

PARTY, Sat. night, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway.

Conference sponsored by the Columbia University Young Socialist Alliance.

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
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HOW OSSIE DAVIS SAW HIM

A Tribute to Malcolm X

[As part of our coverage of the impact of Malcolm X two years after his death, we reprint here excerpts from a speech given in New York last November by Ossie Davis. Davis's remarks were made at a meeting of the Alexander Defense Committee, where Franz J. T. Lee, a South African freedom fighter, was the main speaker.]

I thank you. Thank you ladies and gentlemen. I came here tonight because I wanted to meet and hear Franz Lee, and it's been an educational and stimulating experience, Mr. Lee, to sit and listen to you bring to us some of the impact of the truth about what happens in South Africa and the hint of the greater truth that what happens in South Africa also happens and will happen, and, indeed, must happen, in other places of the world.



Malcolm X

I won't take too much of your time, but I'd like to discuss, briefly, some of the things in a recent historical perspective, that are happening — the aim of which will be the ultimate joining hands across the sea and across the world, of those people who are kindred in oppression, in poverty, in color, and, most of all, in spirit of resistance to oppression wherever it is found.

I had the good fortune to be acquainted with a young man who was growing in a great hurry at the time of his death. I refer to the man commonly known as Malcolm X. Malcolm had a tremendously greedy mind for knowledge and he fared upon whatever sources were available to him. And like most of us, even more than most of us, he was able to digest what was good and true, and regurgitate and throw out what was bad and false. So that at the end of his days, he had long since abandoned racism and race hate; he had ceased to identify everybody who didn't look like him as blue-eyed devils; and had begun to more correctly identify the source of oppression which not only kept him down here, and the blacks in Africa, but the Asiatic masses and the whites in this country also.

Malcolm had begun to see that the economic backbone that you spoke so eloquently of, was being used to beat everybody in the world to death who got in the way of our economic expansion.

In Africa

When he went to Africa and spoke personally to the heads of all the African states he could meet, his object was to establish a community of interest between the blacks in Africa and the blacks in the United States. He went to the Organization of African Unity, and got them to pass a resolution condemning our own version of apartheid, which we call segregation. He was also at work at that time in trying to form a legal basis to bring our case before the United Nations.

Now, as you know, in our country, we treat our problem as a civil rights problem, which means that it can properly fall under the aegis of the national state in which it occurs, but it's not the business of anybody else in the world. Well, Malcolm had found out that perhaps we should make it a human rights problem and go to the United Nations and proceed to embarrass our mother country.

Succinctly, his intention was a simple one — he was trying to form a black consciousness on both sides of the ocean which would perform in the following way: So that if a black toe was stepped on in the United States a black mouth in Africa would say "ouch, get off my toe." And, vice versa, if a black toe was stepped on in the Congo, a black mouth in

Harlem would say "ouch, get off my toe."

This was the point of his development at the time of his death, and, I assure you, he had created quite a great deal of consternation, not only in our country, but in some of the foreign capitals of the world. Malcolm left. Now we have another demon to castigate, who seems to be speaking some of the same language, a young man called Stokely Carmichael.

Carmichael says basically the same things that Malcolm was talking about, and the fact that SNCC, the organization which he represents, has come out and taken a very strong stand against American involvement in south Vietnam has made him persona non grata.

Unity

But what Stokely is talking about and what Malcolm had come to sense was that there is a unity of oppression, and the oppressor in each case was one and the same institution; and that the only intelligent thing to do to get rid of that institution was to attack it collectively — by which he meant all the people who reacted to that oppression should band their forces together and fight against it.

Those in South Africa, those in south Mississippi, those in south Vietnam, those hungry masses in Africa and Asia, those hungry masses in Watts, those hungry masses in London, those hungry masses all over the world who are beginning to feel in their vital innards that truth that the rich are getting richer but at the expense of the poor who are getting poorer.

The added insult of this fact: That it seems that the poor are the ones who are also colored and that the rich are the ones who are also white. Now, in order to avoid a confrontation on the line of color, which is incorrect, wrong and false, we must make clear that the confrontation has to come on the basis of class and economic distinctions.

And so, Mr. Lee, you come to us tonight from your country, which is my country, my country even in guilt, because I participate in the crime of General Motors and of my country, but in a deeper sense, from my oppressed brothers, oppressed not only in the sense that their color has marked them, but that their economic tragedy is also the economic tragedy confronting me. Now, we are invited in my country, those of us who after some degree made it, to participate in the goodies of the Great Society, to become in fact — if we so choose — honorary white men.

We know about our investments in South Africa and we know that those who make billions in South

Africa will protect those billions against anybody, even freedom loving blacks or freedom loving whites, as long as their investments are protected; we know about that. I'm talking now about those minor criminals, who have settled for a mess of pottage, who have sold out already, those who do not see the wider unity of the oppressed peoples of the world.

But let me assure you that history has a way of teaching harsh lessons and those men and those women who can more quickly, or most quickly, learn the lessons of history, are thereby more fitted to survive. We learn harsh lessons in our country, in your country, and in what's happening in our name and in the name of democracy in south Vietnam. It is my wish, my prayer, and my hope, my ultimate assurance that those lessons are not lost on those of us who are here tonight, and more importantly, those of us who are not here tonight.

The Truth

There is a time when men become attuned only to the ideas concerned with their best interests and with the ultimate realities of their existence; and when they are so attuned to the truth, no other noise, no other distraction can take their attention away.

We are sometimes as a pack of dogs chasing a rabbit and we have lost the scent, and we go all over the place until finally we find the scent, and then all of us gather around the chase of that rabbit once again. Or to close with a more poetic image, let us say that we are like flowers who have been crushed under a rock, and because of the shortage of sunlight we are pale, we are not green; we are bent to the earth. But once that rock is removed, it is in the nature of that flower to automatically turn its face towards the sun.

The truth of our situation is approaching over the horizon. The sun of our redemption is rising, and we, oppressed peoples of all the world, economically oppressed, politically oppressed, socially oppressed, and most of all, once again spiritually oppressed, that sun is rising, and the time approaches when we have but to lift our faces and our heads to that sunlight to drink in the truth, because I still believe, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Thank you.

"Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will."—Frederick Douglass.

Joseph Johnson Seeks Relief From U. S. Deportation Threat

MINNEAPOLIS — Joseph Johnson, Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, whom the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is trying to deport, continued to fight for his civil rights at his ninth hearing Feb. 16. Johnson made application to the INS to grant him a stay of deportation and right of permanent residency in the United States. This application would serve as a "cushion factor" to prevent precipitant action by the INS in the event of an adverse decision. Whether or not this application is granted, Johnson is continuing the legal battle to retain his constitutional rights as a native-born U.S. citizen.

A prerequisite for the granting of the application is seven years' continuous residence in the United States prior to the date of application and good moral character during that time. Three character witnesses, Rev. Vincent L. Hawkinson, Professor Heinrich Flei-

Calif. Teachers Union: Get Out of Vietnam!

[The following resolution was passed by the state convention of the California Federation of Teachers, on Dec. 12, 1966 in Santa Barbara.]

WHEREAS, The present course of American foreign policy is contrary to the higher aspirations of emerging nations seeking democratic elections and self-governing institutions, and

WHEREAS, The United States has intervened in support of successive dictatorial regimes which deny the right of self-determination to the people of Vietnam, and

WHEREAS, The massive military escalation of the war in Vietnam has been transformed from a civil war to a war by the United States against the Vietnamese people, resulting in their indiscriminate slaughter as well as slaughter of American and Vietnamese fighting men, earning for our country the condemnation of world opinion, and

WHEREAS, We as teachers are concerned both with the impact of this brutalizing war on the minds of American children and on the atmosphere of free inquiry necessary for the pursuit of knowledge, and

WHEREAS, We as citizens and teachers see the mounting expense of this war results in the abandonment of necessary progressive domestic programs, especially those dealing with the welfare and education of America's poor, we recommend the following statement of policy to be reaffirmed.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention oppose the present Johnson administration policy in Vietnam. That we seek a United States withdrawal of military forces from Vietnam and end all military aid to Vietnam. Furthermore, we call for an immediate end to all bombing of north and south Vietnam.

Educational Parley Is Held By Midwest Young Socialists

CHICAGO — In spite of seriously curtailed out-of-town participation when heavy snow forced a two week postponement, the Chicago Midwest Socialist Conference drew 112 participants. The conference, jointly sponsored by the Chicago Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance took place Feb. 10-12, and brought people from Champaign-Urbana, Madison, the Twin Cities, and Detroit, as well as Chicago.

Frank Lovell, Michigan Chairman of the SWP and long-time trade unionist, led off Friday night with the first of a two-part talk on trade unions today and the effect of the war in Vietnam on the unions.

The Saturday session began with brief area reports from each of the cities mentioned, and Canada. In the late afternoon Lovell concluded his talk. Saturday evening Jack Barnes, New York organizer for the SWP, discussed some ultra-

left criticisms of revolutionary socialist politics. Barnes also commented, with frequent humor, on Progressive Labor's new position that the Soviet Union is a capitalist state and SDS's abstentionist tactics towards the antiwar movement.

The final speaker, Sunday morning, was Regula Modlich, a Canadian just back from a three-week stay in Cuba. Color slides were used to supplement her politically informative talk on current Cuban development.

New York SWP Sets Lectures

NEW YORK — The Marxist Lecture Series, held at 873 Broadway on Monday nights begins its second series on March 6 at 8 p.m. Under the title of "Current Problems of Marxism" it will deal with the main economic and social problems being debated in the socialist movement. Speakers will include: Dick Roberts, managing editor of the *International Socialist Review*; Barry Sheppard, managing editor of *The Militant*; Joseph Hansen, its editor; Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and Clifton DeBerry, SWP 1964 presidential candidate.

NEW YORK

A. J. Muste Memorial Meeting

Sunday 3 p.m. March 12
(changed from Feb. 26)

Village Theater
2nd Ave. and 6th St.

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