

# Women in N. Y. March Against Vietnam War

By Janet Daniels

NEW YORK, May 7 — Over 500 chanting women marched through midtown New York today, demanding "Bring our men home from Vietnam now." After a rally at the U.S. armory on 33rd St., the women proceeded across 44th St., then up Broadway to 40th and over to the Port Authority bus terminal.

The line of march took the women through the shopping district, where they passed out thousands of leaflets. More leaflets were passed out at the bus terminal, many to servicemen and their families. Buses leave regularly from the terminal to Fort Dix.

The rally and march were sponsored by the Committee for the Women's Peace March. The committee is composed of women from over 60 antiwar and peace organizations. Ethel Bloch, chairman of the rally and a member of the Village View Committee to End the War, summed up the theme of the event in her opening remarks:

"We are women from different antiwar committees throughout the city," she said, "yet we are united on this one point. We want to bring our men home from Vietnam now!"

#### Guardsmen Listened

Watching the rally were guardsmen who listened from windows and fire escapes of the armory. They heard various speakers denounce the war and outline what citizens in the U.S. could do about it.

The large crowds through which the march passed were generally curious and friendly. Many took the leaflet, and some joined the march. The leaflet said in part: "Help us bring our men home from Vietnam now! The Vietnamese don't want U.S. troops in their country. The recent demonstrations in the cities of south Vietnam prove the opposition of the Vietnamese people to the genocidal war being fought on their land.... We are in sympathy with the women of Vietnam . . ."

"More American servicemen have died since January 1st of this year than in all of 1965! We do not want our husbands, sons, brothers, fathers and fellow Americans killed or wounded in a war that neither the Vietnamese nor the American people want."

The march was patterned after



Photo by Finer

"BRING OUR MEN HOME NOW!" Participants in New York Women's march against war in Vietnam as they marched in midtown Manhattan.

a similar women's march held last winter in Berkeley, Calif. The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee sent a message to the rally which read: "The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee salutes you in your efforts to oppose United States intervention in Vietnam and throughout the world. We feel that demonstrations of this nature are making it more and more difficult for the Johnson administration to conduct this war. Marches such as our women's march last

February and your march May 7 are enabling women throughout this country to play a more significant political role in the antiwar movement. Bring our men home now!"

The Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam also sent a message of support.

There was a small counter-demonstration of 10 ultra-rightists near the bus terminal, and three pathetic figures marched some distance

(Continued on Page 3)

# Sentiment for Viet Pullout Doubles

By Dick Roberts

MAY 10 — Growing numbers of Americans are taking the stand that the U.S. should get out of Vietnam now. This was apparent in the findings of the latest Louis Harris poll, published in the *New York Post*, May 9. According to the Harris poll, national support for Johnson's handling of the war has declined from 49 percent in March to 47 percent in April.

Among the majority of Americans who oppose the Democratic administration's war policy, those favoring immediate withdrawal increased significantly in the last month: Sixteen percent of those polled checked a statement indicating they thought the U.S. should never have been in Vietnam to begin with, it should stop bombing, and should withdraw now. That compared with eight percent favoring this position in March and seven percent in February.

This shows that there is a huge and growing reservoir of Americans totally opposed to the Vietnam war, and indicates an opposition to the war extending much

wider and deeper than this militant 16 percent.

It is the job of the organized antiwar movement to reach these people. The potential exists for drawing millions of people into active sympathy with the antiwar movement.

In Vietnam, meanwhile, the U.S. is pressing its war effort at full speed, though with little to show for the casualties. According to an on-the-spot analysis of the progress of the war from Washington's standpoint, "Allied forces are continuing to win major battles and a fair share of skirmishes.

"They are killing more enemy troops with each passing month. They are increasing the intensity of their air strikes on key North Vietnamese targets . . . But in that same period, according to American sources, the enemy managed to gain in strength." This was the opinion of *New York Times* correspondent R. W. Apple, Jr., printed in today's issue of that paper.

Not only has the force of the revolutionary fighters grown in numbers, Apple stated, but the U.S. has also failed to win signif-

icant areas of land from the National Liberation Front. "As of Feb. 28," Apple wrote, "the south Vietnamese government claimed to control only 10 percent of the total land area.

"In the six months ended March 31," he continued, "the percentage of the population the government claimed to control rose from 48 to 52."

#### Number of Missions

Just how intense the present level of U.S. bombing of north Vietnam has become is difficult to know because the Defense Department is no longer releasing the number of single-plane bombing attacks. The figure now being given is the number of "multi-plane missions" per day.

In the week ending May 9, the *New York Times* reported a total of 200 "multi-plane" missions against north Vietnam, with five planes downed and pilots of four of these listed as "missing." This was a low number of bombing attacks because bad weather prevented all flights on one day (May 4) and reduced to about a third the number of missions May 8.

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 30 - No. 20

Monday, May 16, 1966

Price 10c

# Ala. Rights Party Nominates Ticket

By John Benson

HAYNEVILLE, Ala. — Nearly 900 members of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (known as the Black Panther party) attended a mass meeting here on May 3 to nominate a full slate of candidates for county offices. The spirit of the meeting was reflected in the comment of one Lowndes woman: "We're making history today."

Holding such a meeting is one of the ways a new party can win a place on the ballot in Alabama. But one of the major battles for recognition of the new party was fought and won during the preceding week.

County officials refused to allow the meeting to be held on the courthouse lawn as scheduled.

Alabama law states that such meetings must be held "in or in the immediate vicinity of a public polling place." The courthouse is the only such polling place in Lowndes, all others being in either white stores or residences.

The determination of the people of Lowndes prevented this attempted denial of their rights by the racist officials from succeeding. Representatives of the Freedom Organization went to the sheriff and informed him of their plans to hold the meeting. However, he remained adamant, claiming he would be unable to protect the people attending it. The representatives of the new independent party told him they had planned the meeting and were going to hold it and left.

The Freedom Organization then sent a letter to the Department of Justice, explaining their intentions of holding the meeting and that it was completely legal. Unless they received a written interpretation from the local judge and the state attorney general that some other location satisfied the requirements of the law, they

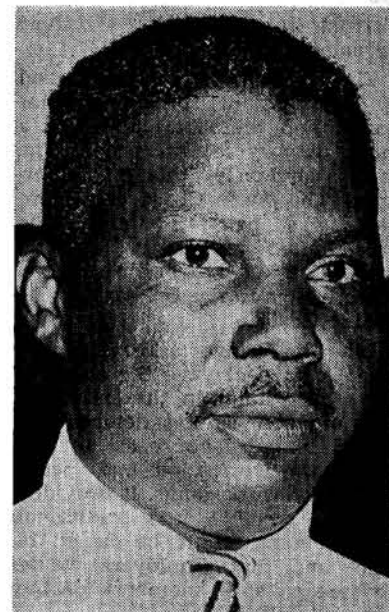


Photo by Harris

SIDNEY LOGAN, Jr., Black Panther candidate for sheriff.

would hold the meeting on the courthouse lawn. Since the local sheriff claimed he could not defend the meeting and the record of the FBI indicated they would not, the members of the Freedom Organization would bring their guns and defend the meeting themselves.

Seeing that the people of Lowndes were determined to hold their meeting, the Department of Justice arranged for it to be held at the First Baptist Church in Hayneville, one-half mile from the courthouse.

#### People Came Early

I arrived at the meeting place an hour and a half before it was scheduled to begin. Already several hundred people were there. Tables were set up to register people as members of the new party. Other tables were used for the voting, with separate ballots for each office. At 3:30 the mass meeting was formally called to order by John Hewlett, chairman of the Freedom Organization. After introducing the candidates, the voting began. Two hours later, after almost 900 votes had been cast, the polls were closed, and the process of counting the ballots and awaiting the results began.

While waiting for the announcement of the winners, who would

(Continued on Page 6)

## Antiwar Clevelanders Picket Humphrey

CLEVELAND, May 6 — A picket line of 120 greeted Vice President Hubert Humphrey, traveling salesman for U.S. aggression in Vietnam, as he whisked into the Sheraton Cleveland Hotel in Cleveland today. Humphrey was here to address a convention of mayors.

Organized by the Cleveland CEWV, the demonstrators carried signs demanding "Vietnam for the Vietnamese" and "Bring the Troops Home Now."

(Continued on Page 2)

# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The East Coast longshoremen of New York and New Jersey are following a long-standing tradition in striking against the terms of a recent contract negotiated between the AFL-CIO International Longshoremen's Association and the New York Shipping Association.

Protest by job action, walkouts, slowdowns, etc., have invariably slowed the signing of new contracts on the New York-New Jersey waterfront. Such spontaneous actions are a reflection of the deep and well-founded suspicion and distrust by the ranks of their bureaucratic leadership.

The recent contract was hailed by the capitalist press, the labor bosses and the labor skates as a major victory for the union. The ranks obviously thought otherwise. The East Coast longshore pact was patterned after the much-touted "mechanization and modernization" agreement engineered by Harry Bridges on the Pacific Coast.

Like the Bridges agreement, the East Coast pact gave the employers a free hand in the introduction of labor-saving devices designed to cut labor costs by reducing the work force and speeding up the work gangs. It provided that on April 1, the traditional 20-man gang would be cut to 18 men, and that employers would be free to shift members of the gang at will.

In exchange, all qualifying regular (registered) dockers were to receive a guarantee of a year's work, some minor fringe benefits and an improved pension system. The stevedore bosses immediately exercised their "prerogative" by reducing the number of men on the stringpiece (dock) from four to two men, shifting more men into the hold, in order to speed up the operation.

This set off a revolt which quickly spread from New Jersey to Manhattan and then to Brooklyn. So effective was the resistance of the ranks that one after another the shipowners caved, despite a court injunction and pressure from the union heads. The original gang distribution was restored, with four men on the dock.

An interesting sidelight is the tactic used by the dockers to beat the injunction. When the court injunction was issued against some New Jersey and New York Locals, the men returned to work and resorted to job action by slowing down until the shipowners were screaming bloody murder. Confronted by this tactic, the *New York Times* reports, the "employers finally submitted."

Faced with this rank-and-file revolt, the union leadership has requested that the shipping industry reconsider the new work

rules which sparked the "wildcat" walkouts.

On the Pacific Coast, the master mind of the "modernization and mechanization" agreement, Harry Bridges, is now involved in negotiations for a new agreement. According to press reports, J. Paul St. Sure, head of the Pacific Maritime Association, is balking at renewing the contract provision which requires the shipowners to contribute to the "M & M" fund to the tune of some \$5 million per year.

According to the contract, part of this sum was set aside in a special fund to guarantee the registered longshoremen a minimum of 35 hours per week throughout the year. It is reported that this fund, now totalling some \$13 million, has been untouched since there has been no problem providing the minimum 35 hours work for regular longshoremen.

The shipowners love the "M & M" contract since, as St. Sure noted, "the modernization pact had led to an increase of 39.6 percent in productivity on the West Coast waterfront. In the last five or six years," he added, "the volume of cargo handled had increased 40 percent with only 1 percent additional man-hours to handle it."

Having achieved the main purpose of breaking down union resistance to untrammelled automation and mechanization on the Pacific Coast, the shipowners are now balking at continuing their past contribution to the M & M fund. According to St. Sure, the employers' position is that, "we bought out certain restrictive work practices in the interest of efficiency and uninterrupted operation, and this was a one-time deal."

Automation has cut deeply into the status of the workers in the coal mining industry, which has also been hit by wildcat stoppages during current contract negotiations. For years the United Mine Workers policy has been based on the John L. Lewis dictum: Higher wages for fewer workers.

Employment in the coal mines has decreased by 75 percent since 1945, from 383,100 to 100,000 in 1965. At the same time, due to automation, mechanization and modernization, the tonnage a man can produce has tripled in the last 20 years. Therefore, with 283,000 fewer workers, production in 1965 has equalled that of 1945 and is steadily climbing. This is the net result of all the "M & M" schemes cited above.

—Tom Kerry

## N. Y. Forum to Hear About 'Harlem Six'

NEW YORK — A meeting on the case of the Harlem Six will be held here at the Militant Labor Forum at 873 Broadway on May 20. Truman Nelson, author of *The Torture of Mothers*, will speak. His book describes what happened to the six young men from Harlem who were brutally beaten and then framed for murder by the police.

Mrs. Mildred Thomas, mother of one of the Harlem Six, and Mrs. Sadie Chancy, aunt of another, will also speak briefly.

The six have been convicted of murder and are in prison awaiting their appeal. The Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience is aiding them in the legal fight and has engaged civil rights attorneys Gene Condon, Mary Kaufman, William Kunstler, and Conrad Lynn to conduct the appeal.

# Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

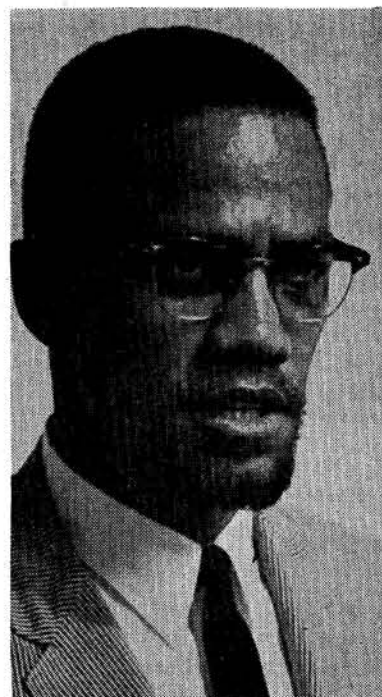
### INSTALLMENT 27

#### ADVICE TO A NONVIOLENT HECKLER

A nonviolence advocate indignantly asked Malcolm if he thought the three civil-rights workers murdered in Mississippi were cowards. He interrupted the answer several times. He said he had been to Mississippi. A woman shouted a challenge to Malcolm about going there. While the questioner grew more heated and antagonistic, Malcolm remained calm throughout his reply.

**Malcolm:** Sir, I have great respect and admiration for one who has the nerve to tie his own hands and then walk out and let a brute brutalize him. I have to respect him because he's doing something that I don't understand. What he's doing is beyond my power to even comprehend. It would be like putting handcuffs on me and putting me in the ring and telling me to fight Cassius Clay, or Sonny Liston, nonviolently. I don't think I could do it, and whoever could do it, you know — power to you...

All I suggest is, and I don't suggest it as condemnation of COFO or SNCC — I know too many of them, they're brave students, men



Malcolm X

and all that. All that I'm saying is — since your approach, as you say, is "tactical" — a tactical approach is designed to get certain results. It's designed to keep you alive. It's designed to bring you victory. Why, we just can't say victory has been brought about. We can't say that it is preserving life...

I'm not criticizing you or condemning you, but I'm questioning your tactics. I'm questioning your tactics. [Questioner speaks again].

No, no, if Schwerner could come back here and talk to you or, what's the black one's name? Let me tell you something. I was over in Africa and I read what they did to Chaney. They said that they beat that black one to death; they shot the other two, but they said they beat every bone and every bone was broken. Now you know what? I think people who tell our people to be nonviolent are almost agents of the Ku Klux Klan. I don't think 1965 will be a very nonviolent year. Your year was '64.

I'm going down to Mississippi myself, I've been invited to go on down there, and Alabama and some of those other places, and you know — I just don't see non-violence. [Questioner speaks again.] You can go with me. [Questioner speaks again, Chairman: "Can we have some order?"] I don't blame him — he's excited. I would be excited too. [Questioner continues.]

Now look here, brother, if you're going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, you should be nonviolent here too. I'll tell you why. It would be more "tactical" to be nonviolent with me than it would be to be nonviolent with the Klan. For a lot of reasons.

I don't want you to think I'm attacking COFO. I know James Forman, I saw John Lewis in Nairobi last summer, in Kenya, the land of the Mau Mau — he was over there in Zambia and other places. And they're all friends of mine.

#### Mau Mau Movement

As I said in my opening statement, I believe that the Mau Mau was one of the first and foremost of the liberation movements on the African continent. And in every instance on the African continent where the point was made, it took groups that were committed — committed to any means necessary to bring recognition and respect to their people. Whether it be on the African continent, or whether it be in Mississippi, Alabama, New York City, it takes groups of people, be they white or be they black, who are committed to any means necessary to preserve the lives and property of people when the law itself shows that it's incapable of doing its job.

In Brooklyn you have the Hasidic Jews who have formed vigilante committees. You have them in other parts of the country. No one thinks it's so wrong. Well, I say that all we need is a few. Only because of the type of oppression and tyranny and opposition we are confronted by, ours need to be invisible. You know what I mean by invisible — invisible. You never see them. You just feel them. Thank you. (Militant Labor Forum, Jan. 7, 1965)

### Socialist Education Fund

## Payments Catching Up

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Director

This week the fund total jumped by eight percent — which leaves us only 20 percent behind schedule. From previous experience, however, I am confident that the full \$21,000 will be paid, in full and on time!

Cities which are doing exceptionally well are Boston, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Cleveland, San Diego, Chicago, Detroit and Minneapolis — St. Paul. All of these groups are either ahead or on schedule.

The "general" also received a blood transfusion this week. Contributions came in from a friend in Santa Cruz, another in Red Bank, N. J. and three from readers in the New York area. We thank them all most sincerely.

One of the cleverest gimmicks Madison Avenue has come up with is the appeal for funds for "Radio Free Europe." They show a

pathetic child, behind a barbed wire fence and urge contributions because the Iron Curtain is not soundproof.

There is a Curtain which is almost soundproof however — the News Media Curtain which encloses all of us. Capitalist newspapers, the radio and TV, the magazines and the advertising industry all have one object — to keep the people from learning the real truth about what is going on in the world. Half-truths, outright lies and omissions are the rule, not the exception.

It is our job to break through this News Media Curtain. You can help by making as generous a contribution as possible to the Socialist Education Fund, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Let your "Truth Dollars" go to work breaking holes in the News Media Curtain.

### Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$1,200	\$1,051	88
St. Louis	150	131	87
Philadelphia	300	209	70
Cleveland	1,000	680	68
San Diego	200	137	68
Chicago	1,800	1,150	64
Detroit	1,400	874	60
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	574	57
San Francisco	900	445	49
New York	5,800	2,166	37
Allentown	175	55	32
Milwaukee	400	132	33
Newark	150	46	31
Oakland	900	250	28
Los Angeles	4,400	1,022	23
Denver	125	26	21
Seattle	500	0	0
General	600	263	44
Totals thru May 9	\$21,000	\$9,211	44

## Tribute Planned For Malcolm X

NEW YORK — A memorial tribute to Malcolm X will be held here on May 19, the anniversary of Malcolm X's birth. The tribute is sponsored by a long list of organizations headed by the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc. The OAAU has designated May 19 Malcolm X Day.

A pilgrimage to Malcolm X's grave at Ferncliff Cemetery will leave from the Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Ave., at 11 a.m.

There will be a program of activities at the Skyline Ballroom of the Hotel Theresa that evening, including entertainment, speakers, a youth program from 4 to 6 p.m., and dinner. The tribute itself will begin at 8 p.m.

### Weekly Calendar

#### CHICAGO

THE CIA. Speaker: Tony Hall. Fri., May 20, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

#### NEW YORK

THE TORTURE OF MOTHERS. The case of the Harlem Six. Speakers: Truman Nelson, author of the book on the case; Mrs. Mildred Thomas and Mrs. Sadie Chancy, mother and aunt respectively of two of the six framed-up young men. Fri., May 20, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18 St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

#### TWIN CITIES

SOCIALISM AND THE NEW RADICALS. Speakers: Doug Jenness, editor of the *Young Socialist*. Fri., May 20, 8:30 p.m. Rm. 204, 704 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

REACTION TO STUDENT VICTORY

# Mexican Gov't Witchhunt

(World Outlook) — Striking students at Mexico's big National Autonomous University appeared to have won a resounding victory when the university's Governing Council agreed April 28 to accept the resignations of the rector, the provisional rector and the dean of the Law School.

The 7,000 Law School students began the strike 43 days earlier, when the dean rejected demands for changes in study rules and other reforms. The students requested that he be dismissed. When the rector refused to comply, they demanded his resignation, too. On April 25, they stepped up their struggle by occupying buildings.

A delegation of students sought an interview with the rector April 26. They were met by his bodyguard and roughly handled. One of them received a fractured skull.

**Buildings Occupied**

Thereupon the law students took over many of the campus buildings, including the radio station. The government ringed the university with police and soldiers, but in face of groups of students armed with clubs and bicycle chains defending the university entrances, the armed forces did not breach the institution's autonomy.

During the occupation of the various buildings, the strike leaders issued warnings of possible provocations. The warnings were well founded. Rumors began circulating that the police had arrested some "reds" who were said to be at the bottom of the strike.

On the same day the papers reported the acceptance of the formal resignations of the main targets of the student strike, the press made it appear that a plot for a Communist take-over had been exposed in the very nick of time. The daily *El Porvenir* of Monterrey ran a screaming banner headline: "Communist Brains, Money and Hands in the Student Movement." The subhead said: "Eight Arrested and Have Confessed"; "A Trotskyist plot to Overthrow the Legal Order."

**"Aliens" Seized**

The lurid press stories were based on information released by the Department of Justice April 28. Three "aliens" had been picked up, all Argentinians. They were José Fernández, his wife Eduwiges Confronta de Fernández and the journalist Adolfo Gilly. Gilly is well known in radical circles for his reportage on the Cuban Revolution and the Guatemalan guerrilla movement.

The five Mexicans were Gildaro Islas, Ramón Vargas, Leocadio Zapata, Sergio Garcés, and Marta Vargas.

The authorities claimed the eight had "confessed" to the "plot."

The government charged they had set up an organization called the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the aims of which were:

- 1) To organize a National Political Bureau, regional committees and cells called "vehicles."
- 2) To hold meetings to win adherents.
- 3) To investigate economic, so-

## SWP Statement On Mexican Witchhunt

The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party sent the following message to the Mexican government on May 11:

The Socialist Workers Party vigorously condemns the attempt by the Mexican government to witchhunt and smear the strike of students of the National Autonomous University as part of a "communist plot."

The SWP demands the immediate release of those arrested, and the dropping of the frame-up charges against them.

cial and political conflicts in order to try to utilize them for the political aims of the group.

4) To create a situation by means of appropriate tactics propitious for their immediate and long-range aims. That is, to change the public order by means of "sedition, mobs or mutiny."

5) To change the form of government in other ways than those provided by the constitution.

The tactics of the plotters included distributing a newspaper, and passing out leaflets.

**Repudiate "Confessions"**

In a raid on the home of José Fernández, the Justice Department claimed to have found various political documents and resolutions, "false credentials" enabling members to pass for students or professors, birth certificates, and a suitcase crammed with 310,000 pesos (about \$25,000).

The defendants were turned over to Judge Eduardo MacGregor. This gave them the first opportunity to reply publicly to the charges.

All repudiated the "confessions" they had made to the police.

"They beat me and forced me to sign a confession," said the Argentine-born Fernández. He said he was a member of the "Trotskyist Workers Party in his own country, that he had lived in Mexico as a tourist since 1964, and had attended meetings of the Mexican group. He refused to answer further questions until he could consult with counsel, a right denied him so far.

His wife said they had not been given food during the days they had been held by the police. She said she did not know anything about her husband's activities. She had been forced to sign a confession because police told her if she didn't she and her husband would be deported.

**Denies Charge**

Adolfo Gilly said that he had known Fernández for some time but had never attended any meetings of the group in Mexico City. He had been in Guatemala, he said, in connection with articles he had written about that country.

As a journalist, he defended socialist ideas, but aside from that he had done nothing.

The five Mexicans, according to the newspaper *Excelsior*, said that they used pseudonyms to protect themselves and to avoid having their relatives called Communists. Gildardo Islas said that the aims of his party were to struggle for the establishment of a workers and peasants government to improve the standard of living of the masses.

As for the fabulous suitcase full of pesos, it was not mentioned in the account of the hearing that appeared in *Excelsior*. Apparently it slipped everyone's mind, including the judge's, to ask about it. Since the alleged infractions of

the law carry possible penalties of five years or more, the prisoners have been denied bail.

The group in question belongs to the "Posadas" tendency. This tendency, led by J. Posadas, is strongest in Uruguay where it frequently buys radio time. It split from the Fourth International in 1962 and set up its own "Fourth International" on the basis of an ultra-left sectarian program. It began with few members and has been steadily losing even them since it split from the Fourth International.

**Confusion on Identity**

Some confusion has arisen as to its precise identity, however, and it was attacked as "Trotskyist" by Fidel Castro last Jan. 15 because of its connection with the Guatemalan guerrilla movement.

Whatever one may think of the views of the group, however, it is absolutely necessary to rally to its defense against a witchhunting attack such as this one. The Mexican authorities obviously singled out the "Posadistas" as weakest and most isolated of all the groups expressing solidarity with the striking students. If the police can get away with an attack on the "Posadistas," they will feel free to pick off a stronger group. In any case, they hope with this effort to succeed in smearing the student demonstrations as inspired by a "red plot" in Mexico.

Protests should be immediately lodged with the Mexican government against this essay in the techniques made famous by the late Senator McCarthy.

## Get Your Ash Out of Here!

Lyndon B. Johnson is undoubtedly one of the most well-balanced presidents it has been the good fortune of the United States to have. His concern about tidying up the Vietnamese countryside by reducing the foliage, crops, thatched huts, villages and towns to ashes is balanced by his concern to keep ashes off the rugs of the White House.

The April 6 *Time Magazine* described in detail how Felix Belair of the *New York Times* was caught in flagrante delicto by the president in his "anti-ash campaign." *Time* told how the "offending ash rained onto the green carpet" from the correspondent's cigarette in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, and how, "mortified, Mr. Belair quickly followed it down, kneeling to scoop it up with his notebook."

**Belair's Version**

The May 12 *Times Talk*, the house organ put out by the *New York Times* for its employees, asked Mr. Belair for his version of this historic bit of memorabilia. The following is from Mr. Belair's account of what happened:

\* \* \*

Walking across the lobby to the White House press room my mind was a millrace of bon mots and retorts formidable. The least I might have said was, "It wouldn't have happened if you'd stayed next door where you belong," or "If you had to plunk down next to one of the working press could at least avoid bumping him in the process." But all I could do at the time was to mumble a four-letter expletive unfit for publication in a family journal.

Actually, I didn't know the Great Man had entered the room. White House "regulars" had somehow created the impression that his approach would be heralded by a blast from the heavenly trumpets. Although aware that something heavy had hit the deck a couple of chairs away, I was

# 2-Day Teach-In Draws Big Crowd in Cleveland

By Barbara Gregorich

CLEVELAND — On Friday and Saturday, April 29 and 30, the University Circle Teaching Committee of Cleveland, Ohio, held its first anniversary teach-in. Approximately 2,000 people attended the Friday night events to hear Norman Thomas speak on "War and Peace in Vietnam."

Thomas said that the war in Vietnam was not in the interests of the American people and that the United States was the first to break the Geneva Accords by sending the military into Vietnam.

Thomas said he was opposed to the war because it was helping up Communism in Asia.

The Friday events were climaxed by a Hyde Park Open Forum, where people gave their opinions on the war. The Open Forum lasted until 2:00 a.m.

Saturday morning began with a debate between Professor Howard Zinn of Boston University and Frank S. Meyer of the *National Review*. Meyer said that we have to view the fight in Vietnam as part of the international fight against Communism, although he wasn't sure that Vietnam was the best place to carry out this fight. There was even some doubt in his mind whether or not the Vietnamese really wanted us there!

Professor Zinn said that the United States, in his opinion, was no longer playing a game of dominoes. It wasn't even playing Russian Roulette. Zinn said that the U.S. was playing a game of Monopoly. He concluded by calling for

immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

On Saturday afternoon about 600 people attended a speech by Senator Gruening of Alaska.

Gruening compared Ho Chi Minh to Tito and said that the U.S. muffed its chance to have an independent Communist state like Yugoslavia by not supporting Ho Chi Minh. Gruening said that getting out on almost any basis would be preferable to what lies ahead.

After Senator Gruening's speech the Teach-in broke up into six large discussion groups. The largest of these was led by William Worthy on "Vietnam, the Great Society, and the Freedom Movement."

## ... Women March

(Continued from Page 1) in front of the women's march with "Smash Communism" signs.

Barbara Dane, the folksinger, opened the rally before the march with songs. There were some 700 at the rally, including men. A highlight of the rally was a short but very funny skit put on by the Bread and Puppet Theater, satirizing Johnson's pronouncements on the Great Society and the war.

Speakers at the rally included Barbara Deming, who was recently expelled from Saigon along with A.J. Muste and other pacifists; Ruth Gage Colby, a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Francis Goldin, chairman of the Metropolitan Council on Housing; Leslie Silberman of the Queens CEWV; Betty Dellinger; Catherine Miller of the *Catholic Worker*; Dorothy Pitman from Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam; Mary Hamilton Wesley, organizer for Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers Union; Esther Newill from Women Strike for Peace; and Dixie Bayo, secretary of the New York section of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence.

Caroline Jenness, secretary of the Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now, which initiated the march, said, "The first women's march against the war in Vietnam was held in Berkeley last February. Our successful march today will help spread the idea to other cities."

Beside the idea of a demonstration planned and carried out by women, demanding their men be brought home now, the action was novel in another respect. It was the first time in this city that participants in an antiwar action sought to make direct contact with the population in general on this scale. The results were encouraging.

## .. Viet Pullout

(Continued from Page 1) "Referring frequently to a transcript of Premier Ky's news conference," the *New York Times* wrote May 9, Rusk said "elections for a constituent assembly would take place about Sept. 15." That already involves a two-month postponement. "According to Mr. Rusk" the *Times* continued, "Premier Ky had simply predicted that it would be 1967 before all this could be finished. 'He didn't say what time in 1967,' Mr. Rusk observed."

However Washington proved to be unable to prevent the actual transcript of Ky's press conference from reaching the world. Although Saigon newspapers censored it, May 8, it had been carried live by — Voice of America. The actual transcript was:

"Q. No doubt that your government will be in office for at least another year? A. That's right. Why not?"



Lyndon B. Johnson

too busy keeping up with my notes on Secretary Orville Freeman's spiel about food for India to realize that I was actually in The Presence until I heard that familiar drawl. It sounded like this:

"Limmy git yall a ashtray. Ah kaint have yall dirtyin' up mah flow."

So I knew then that I had violated the latest addition to the list of cardinal sins as handed down by LBJ. The ash from my cigaret had already hit the carpet. He couldn't know that I had moved the ash tray in the row behind to a position at my elbow. So there was nothing to do but try to scrape up the ashes in the wad of papers I was using for notes.

They say the President seemed pleased at this, but whether this was because I tried to retrieve the ash or because he thought I was on one knee — I wouldn't know. I was really only squatting. But one of the "regulars" among the newsmen seemed to think otherwise. He stopped me in the press room to say: "You overdid it in there a little, didn't you! We don't really genuflect for the guy — much as he might like the idea."

**Malcolm X  
The Man and  
His Ideas**

By  
**George Breitman**

25 cents

**MERIT PUBLISHERS**  
5 East Third St.,  
New York, N. Y. 10003

# Castro on Socialist and Communist S

The following is part of Fidel Castro's May Day speech to the Cuban people. It was delivered in the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana.

Fidel had just finished explaining the vast changes the revolution has introduced into the lives of women. He said that one million women had joined the labor force since the revolution in many different capacities and explained the positive results of this for both the women and society as a whole. One consequence has been the growth of day nurseries to allow mothers to work, a program Cuba intends to expand.

If today, for example, all education is free; if there are approximately 150,000 young people and children in public boarding schools without paying a cent; if all medical services in the national hospitals are free; if a large part of our population no longer pays any rent since they have completed the five years of rent payment under the urban reform law; if more than 100,000 farmers have received deeds to their land without charge; if any person in our country who is destitute may obtain state help for the asking; if all these things are true, then why should we charge for day nurseries?

Of course, we have not yet attained communism, and at the beginning we believed that those services should be paid for. Nevertheless, experience has shown more and more the multiplying power of the work of the people, the multiplying creative power of the working people.

## 'Matter of Logic'

As a matter of logic, I repeat everything cannot be free, because this can only happen in a society which has reached the stage we conceive of as communism. But, of course, although formulas are talked about — socialist formulas and communist formulas — and it is said, according to the formulas, that in socialist society each gives according to his ability and receives according to his work, I ask myself what we should do in this stage, when we are building socialism, in the case of a family, for example, a woman who is left a widow, with seven children, whose ability to work is small, and who, receiving in accordance with her capacity, would never be able to feed and clothe those seven children.

Can the socialist state ignore the fate of that woman's seven children? Can they be permitted to grow up barefoot, with rickets, and undernourished, simply because we are going to apply the formula of paying this woman according to her capacity, forgetting her needs and hoping that communism will arrive so that we can apply the formula of needs? No, we cannot wait for it. The woman would be the loser, the children would be losers, and this would be cruel. But, in addition, society itself would be the loser. Since it is interested in producing healthy citizens and in providing all human beings with what they need in order to live decently, especially the children.

This shows, then, that no formula is always applicable to the letter, and that in general in polit-

ical and social matters formulas are always bad.

We believe that these problems of socialism and communism must be pondered, reflected upon, studied, analyzed and investigated a great deal.

It could be said that while industrial technique and science in general have developed at incredible pace, the social sciences remain undeveloped. We hear formulas and read manuals, but nothing teaches better than a revolution that, while we must appreciate and evaluate the importance of the experience of other peoples, each country must make an effort — not to copy — but to contribute to those undeveloped sciences: the political and social sciences.

We are developing our ideas. We understand that Marxist-Leninist thought requires unceasing development; we understand that some stagnation has taken place in this field and we even see that formulas that can, in our opinion, lead to deviation from the essence of Marxism-Leninism, are widely accepted.

Of course this Plaza of the Revolution is not a class in political economy, nor do I pretend to be an authority on these matters. Much more honestly, I should say that I consider myself an apprentice, a student interested in these problems.

On one occasion, when the Central Committee was organized, we said that we did not believe that communism could be built entirely independent of the construction of socialism, that communism and socialism should be constructed, in a certain sense, parallel with one another; and it can be an error, a great error, to invent a process and to say, "up to this point we are building socialism, and at this point we are building communism." Because obviously, among other things, in our eagerness to achieve socialist goals, we must not renounce or endanger the development and the formation of the communist man.

When I expressed this idea — not the pronouncement of a teacher, nor an apostle, not a professor, nor an authority on revolutionary theory, nor much less a kind of petty ideological pope — some were surprised, and more than a few readers of manuals were astonished.

## Need to Think

And we must not permit our thinking to stagnate, much less to rot. When we made these statements, we were simply asking certain questions, about which we must all meditate and which we must all study a great deal.

There are certain aspects of our own Cuba experience which teach us that this attitude may be very healthy — as our experience in making the agrarian reform in Cuba, for example.

We must say that our revolution suffered during its first years from diverse tendencies to copy, to be mechanical. We copied from one or another brother country and then that country we had copied from later changed that system because it didn't work. Imagine the consequences of such copying. Copying is always bad. To copy in life, to copy in the revolution, is

comparable to copying in an examination, and no one can graduate as a revolutionary by copying others.

But, fortunately, we did not copy in the matter of agrarian reform. And we will always consider that a very wise move, because it saved us from a great mistake. Different economic and political formulas are elaborated in different countries, and, logically, some peoples have more experience than others. And I repeat that we must not underestimate nor, much less, ignore experience. But just as we must guard against ignoring experience, we must also guard against mechanically copying formulas.

## Build Communism?

There is talk about the building of communism in some countries. Even more, when one country stated that it was ready to begin the building of communism, not a few Communist parties followed suit by repeating that communism was going to be built. Nevertheless, we modestly think that it is still to be considered and answered whether in a world divided between industrialized and underdeveloped countries, between countries with a high labor productivity and countries without any labor productivity whatsoever — any nation can undertake the building of communism in a single country, without productive forces and techniques being first developed in the rest of the underdeveloped countries of the world.

Because, while repeating once more that I consider myself no more than an apprentice in revolution, I believe that socialism can be built in a single country and that communism can be built to a certain degree. But communism, as a formula of absolute abundance, in the midst of an underdeveloped world, cannot be built in a single country, without running the risk, involuntarily and unintentionally, in future years, of



MASS RALLY. Scene at Havana's Plaza de la Revolution during one of the giant rallies held there.

immensely rich countries finding themselves trading and dealing with immensely poor countries. Some peoples in communism and other peoples in loincloths.

And we ask ourselves — we who wish the best for our people, who wish that not a single child in this country grow up without all the proteins and vitamins and mineral salts and generally indispensable foodstuffs, we who wish them all to receive a complete education, we ask ourselves whether, in the midst of a world full of misery, we will be able to think tomorrow only of ourselves, only and exclusively of ourselves, to live in super-abundance with our tens of thousands of agricultural engineers, teachers, with our super-developed technique.

How will we be able to live in that superabundance — resulting from communism based on abundance, our superabundance — while we see around us other peoples who, by not having had the opportunity or the good fortune to make a revolution in the epoch in which we are making ours, will, within ten years, be living in an even more miserable situation than they are living in today.

And I believe we should aspire to higher levels of food supply for our people, as well as education for our people, so that our citizens may develop both physically and mentally, and we should satisfy our needs for medical care and housing.

We do not need very much in

# Where Fidel Castro Goes W

By Harry Ring

In the section of his May Day speech which we have excerpted on this page, Fidel Castro seeks to cope with a number of key theoretical and political problems confronting a workers' state during the transition from capitalism to socialism. The specific aim he is trying to achieve — a more equitable distribution of income and social benefits — is worthy and correct. But in motivating this, he commits a number of theoretical errors.

Castro does so, I think, in reacting against what he sees as dogmatic aspects of Marxism. But the concepts which he sees as dogmatic and which he tries to break through are not Marxist concepts but a Stalinist perversion of them. It is because he accepts them as Marxist that Castro is led into confusion and error on certain points.

He correctly observes that problems of Marxist theory "must be pondered, reflected upon, studied, analyzed and investigated a great deal." This is, of course, undebatable. But the fact is that the particular problems that Fidel sees as needing such investigation and analysis, have already been subjected to considerable Marxist scrutiny by Marx, Engels and Lenin — and, more recently, by Leon Trotsky.

The pertinence of Trotsky's contribution in this field is indicated by the excerpt from his writing which also appears on this page. What Fidel assumes to be a "socialist norm" (albeit one he doesn't accept), Trotsky demonstrated 30 years ago to be nothing more than

a Stalinist revision of Marxism.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky all explained in various ways that in the period following the abolition of capitalism, the new society would have no choice but to continue the capitalist norms of extracting labor according to the bourgeois concept of "ability" and paying according to the quality and quantity of work, rather than according to need.

## Marx's View

In his classic work, *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx analyzed this problem and explained: "What we have to deal with . . . is a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges . . . these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society . . . In a higher phase of communist society when all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banner: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

It remained for Stalin to twist a bourgeois norm into a "socialist principle" — indeed a "principle" so glorious as to be incorporated into his "model" constitution. The greed of the privileged bureaucracy he represented made even more acute the social contradiction lodged in this reactionary bour-

geois norm. That's why he tried to convert a grim necessity into a "virtue."

Fidel, of course, is entirely correct in declaring that Cuba should make every effort to circumvent this "norm"; to see to it that the mother of seven should not be penalized because her work is of a lesser quantity than some more fortunate individual and her needs greater, and that a maximum of social services should be free. These are things that progressive forces fight for even under capitalism, no less in a society where capitalism has been abolished.

But, to repeat, to go in this direction does not require a re-evaluation of what is mistakenly assumed to be a "socialist" norm. It requires theoretical clarity on just what a socialist society is.

Marx wrote of initial and later stages of the communist society. In *State and Revolution*, Lenin expanded the views Marx expounded in the *Critique of the Gotha Program* and sought to refine the point by speaking of socialist and communist societies as the lower and higher stages of the new society. But even this first stage of transition from capitalism to communism was conceived of by Marx and Engels as an international social and economic order. They assumed that capitalism would be first abolished in the most advanced countries of Europe — France, England and Germany — and that the new socialist order would begin on an economic and technical level at least equal to capitalism. They never even conceived that economically backward Russia would be the scene of the

## THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-8414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

# Stages of Development

order to achieve this. I am sure that with our country's natural resources, plus work and the use of technique, it will not be long before we reach those levels. But from there on, we must not think that our duty is to strive so that each one of us may have his own automobile before first concerning ourselves about whether or not each family in those countries which are behind us owns at least a plow.

Our present duty as a poor, underdeveloped country, is to make the maximum effort to rid ourselves of poverty, misery and underdevelopment. But in the future, we must not think of great affluence while other peoples still need our help. We must begin now to educate our children in the idea that tomorrow, when all our pressing needs are supplied, our goal will be more than simple affluence. Our ideal is not wealth. Our principal ideal and our duty must be to help those peoples who were left behind.

Let us educate our people in this concept of our international duty, so that within ten years not one person in this country will say that he does not have more because we are helping someone else, but instead, so that we will have a type of man capable of thinking of other human beings, men who are willing to deprive themselves in order to give, instead of giving to themselves by depriving others . . .

## Internationalist Spirit

That is why we feel such deep satisfaction with the internationalist content that our workers gave to their International Day, so that Vietnam and the Dominican Republic have been the center of this impressive celebration. This shows that our Party is doing well and that it is educating our people in the profoundest meaning of international duty. And the idea that we are brothers, of the same flesh and blood as the other peo-

ples of the world, suffering the exploitation and aggression of the imperialists, continues to grow within the heart of each one of the sons of this country.

I expressed these thoughts because I saw the need to explain them. Of course, we have not arrived nor will we for some time, and we will delay still longer in reaching the highest levels of what we might call a communist way of life to the degree that the rest of the world falls behind in this march. And that therefore, everything cannot be given away without cost, although we do believe that those things which are essential to a human being — health, adequate nutrition, physical and mental education, cultural development, housing, all those things essential to man — must be provided as soon as possible from the resources of the whole society, with the goods that society produces. Thus we can say that within ten years we shall have sufficient school lunchrooms so that all the children of the country may eat without cost at school.

The shoes and clothing they receive, as well as toys, should not depend on whether the mother has ten children and can do little work, but rather on the needs of the child as a human being. The same applies to the health of the child and to housing. In the same way as in the case of children, so it should be with every person who, because of old age, is incapable of working. In ten years we should be able to say: this elderly person should not lack the necessities of life just because he is old and cannot work and because he belongs to a family of a worker with low earning capacity.

Why should an elderly person, who needs food and clothing, suffer because his son, on whom he depends, has a low earning capacity? And if we should apply the socialist formula in that particular case, the elderly person would starve.

In ten years we should be able to say that not only every worker who retires should receive a pension, but every man or woman in our country, because he or she is a human being and is too old to work, would also have the right to receive a pension from society, regardless of whether or not he or she has belonged to this or that sector of industry, but because of the greater worth of belonging to the human race, because of the greater worth of belonging to our society . . .

## Benefits for All

That is to say, that the nation's economically inactive population should be able to live in accordance with this inherently communist formula. If we incorporate the entire active population into the working class, if we are capable of organizing our human resources in such a way that the entire active population can be creative and productive, if we are able to provide a million women with work, and elevate the productivity of our work by means of technique, and if young people and students work a number of weeks in the year as part of their education, so that next year we can mobilize some 200,000 young people for six weeks during the springtime, the critical period in agriculture, this will practically assure the fulfillment of our goals in the field of agriculture.

If we can do all this, then in ten years' time we will not only be able to say that no worker will pay rent, but that all workers will be able to enjoy completely whatever they earn from their work. We will be able to apply the socialist formula to the worker; but to his children, his parents and to the old people, economically, we should apply the communist formula, thereby providing for them according to their needs and not according to the capacity of the family's wage-earner.

# Trotsky's Analysis Of Socialist Norms

[The formula, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," was analyzed by Leon Trotsky in his book, *The Revolution Betrayed*. The following discussion of the concept is excerpted from Chapter 10 of the book.

[The book offers a searching Marxist analysis of the rise and the social character of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. It is available in paperback for \$2.45 from Merit Publishers, Five East Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003.]

On the 11th of June, 1936, the Central Executive Committee approved the draft of a new Soviet constitution which, according to Stalin's declaration, repeated daily by the whole press, will be "the most democratic in the whole world"

The first section, entitled "Social Structure," concludes with these words: "In the Soviet Union, the principle of socialism is realized: *From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work.*" This inwardly contradictory, not to say nonsensical, formula has entered, believe it or not, from speeches and journalistic articles into the carefully deliberated text of the fundamental state law. It bears witness not only to a complete lowering of theoretical level in the lawgivers, but also to the lie with which, as a mirror of the ruling stratum, the new constitution is imbued.

## New Principle

It is not difficult to guess the origin of the new "principle." To characterize the Communist society, Marx employed the famous formula: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." The two parts of this formula are inseparable. "From each according to his abilities,"



Leon Trotsky

in the Communist, not the capitalist, sense, means: Work has now ceased to be an obligation, and has become an individual need; society has no further use for any compulsion. Only sick and abnormal persons will refuse to work.

## Real Meaning

Working "according to their ability" — that is, in accord with their physical and psychic powers, without any violence to themselves — the members of the commune will, thanks to a high technique, sufficiently fill up the stores of society so that society can generously endow each and all "according to their needs," without humiliating control. This two-sided but indivisible formula of communism thus assumes abundance, equality, an all-sided development of personality and a high cultural discipline.

The Soviet state in all its relations is far closer to a backward capitalism than to communism. It cannot yet even think of endowing each "according to his needs." But for this very reason it cannot permit its citizens to work "according to their abilities." It finds itself obliged to keep in force the system of piecework payment, the principle of which may be expressed thus: "Get out of everybody as much as you can, and give him in exchange as little as possible."

## Capitalist Norms

To be sure, nobody in the Soviet Union works above his "abilities" in the absolute sense of the word — that is, above his physical and psychic potential. But this is true also of capitalism. The most brutal as well as the most refined methods of exploitation run into limits set by nature. Even a mule under the whip works "according to his ability," but from that it does not follow that the whip is a social principle for mules. Wage labor does not cease even under the Soviet regime to wear the humiliating label of slavery. Payment "according to work" — in reality, payment to the advantage of "intellectual" at the expense of physical, and especially unskilled, work — is a source of injustice, oppression and compulsions for the majority, privileges and a "happy life" for the few.

Instead of frankly acknowledging that bourgeois norms of labor and distribution still prevail in the Soviet Union, the authors of the constitution have cut this integral Communist principle in two halves, postponed the second half to an indefinite future, declared the first half already realized, mechanically hitched on to it the capitalist norm of piecework payment, named the whole thing "principle of Socialism," and upon this falsification erected the structure of their constitution!

# Wrong on Questions of Marxist Theory

first socialist revolution. Lenin did see the prospect for socialist revolution in Russia, but he never called what emerged "socialism."

Nor did Marx and Lenin speak simply of socialist and communist societies. They pinpointed the class character of the states that would emerge from the abolition of capitalism as the "dictatorship of the proletariat." After the 1917 Revolution, Lenin described the new state not as socialist (except in the sense of the program and goal it adhered to), but as a "workers' state," and even added the qualification, "with bureaucratic deformations."

Again, it was Stalin who not only declared the Soviet state socialist but said that socialism had been "irrevocably achieved" in the USSR. He never succeeded in explaining however, why the state was growing ever more oppressive in a "socialist society" where, all

Marxists agreed, the state was supposed to begin "withering away." This revision of Marxism, too, is accepted as good coin by Castro even though he expresses the unassailable sentiment that socialism or communism should not be achieved in one country at the expense of others.

It remained for Trotsky, on the basis of the Soviet experience, to continue the refinement of the theory of the new state which Lenin offered in *State and Revolution*. He wrote in the *Revolution Betrayed*:

"If Marx called that society which was to be formed on the basis of a socialization of the productive forces of the most advanced capitalism of its epoch, the lowest stage of communism, then this designation obviously does not apply to the Soviet Union, which is still today considerably poorer in technique, culture and the good things of life than the capitalist countries. It would be truer, therefore, to name the present soviet regime in all its contradictoriness, not a socialist regime, but a preparatory regime transitional from capitalism to socialism."

Like Lenin, Trotsky called the USSR a workers' state. But on the basis of the destruction of Soviet democracy by the Stalinist bureaucracy, he added the qualification, a "bureaucratically degenerated workers' state."

The argument against the notion that socialism has been achieved in the Soviet Union (or any of the other countries where capitalism has been abolished), is not an idle terminological dispute,

If socialism, as a materialist concept, is to represent a higher stage of the development of the productive forces than capitalism, it is obviously false to characterize as socialist countries that have not yet achieved that level of development.

Further, to describe countries still trying to catch up with the advanced capitalist countries as examples of socialism is damaging to the socialist movement. Workers in the advanced capitalist countries can only respond: If that's socialism, who needs it? I've got more here.

## Justified Suspicion

Castro is wrong when he agrees that socialism has been achieved in a single country and when he concedes the possibility that even communism can be built in a single country. But he is altogether justified in his suspicion that the Soviet bureaucrats (and the Chinese) would be quite willing to see citizens of other workers' states without plows while they have automobiles. But the hard fact is that while enormous strides forward can be made with a planned, nationalized economy, the flowering of an economy of superabundance cannot be achieved in a world of hostile capitalist encirclement. Nor can the stage of the advent of socialism — marked by the beginning of the process of the withering away of the state — be achieved in such a situation either.

There is another reason why it is necessary to utilize precise, scientific terminology in determining the actual, present char-

acter of a state in transition from capitalism to socialism. While it is good that Castro favors Cuba pushing beyond the limits of the concept "to each according to his work," the fact remains that until the Cuban economy is at a far higher level than present, the dominant rule will remain the bourgeois norm of "to each according to his work."

Because of the obvious inequities that spring from this, and because of the social contradictions lodged within it, the state must necessarily intervene as a regulator of who is to get what for what amount of work. There is always the danger, as happened in the Soviet Union, of increased pressure for the state to intervene and regulate in behalf of a privileged minority that seeks to safeguard its privileges. Such problems already exist in Cuba, as testified to by Fidel himself in his recent attacks on high-living bureaucrats and others who enjoy special privileges.

Certainly it is wrong to mechanically copy other countries, particularly countries that have far less than perfect records. But Marxists study and learn from history and Marxism is itself in the final analysis, but the generalized expression of previous historical experience. The Cuban leadership will do well to study the Soviet experience and Trotsky's analysis of that experience if they are to achieve clarity on the issues posed in the Castro speech.

Another article will deal with the question of "socialism in one country" as it relates to the policy of "peaceful coexistence."



Karl Marx

## PRELIMINARY APPRAISAL

## 23rd Congress of CPSU

By Henri Vallin

Since the texts of the reports and speeches are still unavailable, it is too early to make a final appraisal of the 23rd congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU]. But the main aspects of the congress are quite clear. Doubtless the analysis will have to be filled in later, but this will involve only the secondary features of the congress.

The 23rd congress seems particularly "bleak" and "lackluster" in comparison with the three previous congresses with their sensational events, turns and settling of accounts. But contrary to Brezhnev's declaration that the lack of sensations at this congress testified to the "ceaselessly strengthened unity" of the central committee of the CPSU, it must have expressed the balancing of profound differences among the various tendencies in the Soviet bureaucracy. These differences threatened to flare into a public rift, if they were not previously arbitrated by the central committee, which met on the eve of the congress.

## Carefully Planned

The congress was therefore dominated by the aim of staging everything without a hitch, leaving nothing to chance. All of the speeches of the reporters and top leaders as well as those of the so-called representatives of the "rank and file," were perfectly orchestrated. Success in this was made possible by the collective fear of the bureaucracy that any "slip up" might touch off a conflict with unforeseeable consequences.

The two focal points around which internal differences in the bureaucracy revolved were unquestionably policies in the economic and ideological (attitude toward culture and the youth) fields.

Foreign observers, not only among the Western bourgeoisie but also in the Western Communist parties had anticipated various "sensational turns" in the two fields. On the one hand there was the possibility of extending "Libermanism" (the reforms inspired by Professor Liberman with respect to using profitability in individual enterprises as an essential criterion in fulfilling the plan) and on the other of condemning it. On the one hand, there was talk of a brutal offensive against the so-called "liberal" or "modern" writers and artists; and, on the other, of a comeback of the "de-Stalinizers."

Furthermore, there was no lack of portents in both areas before the congress.

## Economic Issues

In the economic field, the technocratic partisans of "realism" appear to have won their case for slowing down economic growth. The growth rates proposed by the new plan are less than those of the Khrushchev plans. Stress was placed on the effort to raise the standard of living of the workers on the kolkhozes and in the cities. Stress was similarly placed on the growth of productivity; that is, on the necessity to pass from an "extensive" to an "intensive" phase of industrialization, but without lending fresh importance to the Liberman reforms.

In the ideological field, one blow after another was struck — the Daniel-Sinyavsky trial; the laud-



Leonid Brezhnev

ing of Stalin's cultural czar Zhdanov in the press; the elimination of anti-Stalinist literary spokesmen Tvardovsky and Polevoy as delegates to the congress; and the alarming rumors of a "rehabilitation of Stalin" that gave foreign and domestic partisans of "de-Stalinization" cause to fear the worst.

Aside from the brutal attacks on the youth and on the "liberal" artists by the writer Sholokhov and Pavlov, the head of the Kom-somol, the congress did not end up by reverting to the worst aspects of Stalinism and Zhdanovism. This was doubtlessly due to a last-minute counterattack which came both from the vanguard of the intellectuals and from oppositionists in the Soviet Union itself and from several Western communist parties.

## Courageous Acts

In this connection there was the courageous attitude of the accused in the Daniel-Sinyavsky trial; the Kolokol movement in Leningrad, which was shielded by influential atomic scientists; the demonstration of old Bolsheviks in Red Square; the semi-official intervention of the Italian Communist Party which made it known that it would not support in any way whatever the possible "rehabilitation of Stalin."

The resultant of all these pressures, and of counterpressures emanating from certain currents in the bureaucracy, was precisely the absence of any decision in favor of one side or the other.

If such an analysis of the 23rd congress is correct, we must expect new convulsions within the Soviet bureaucracy before long, such as the manifestation of outright oppositionist sentiments among the vanguard Soviet youth on a widening scale.

The Soviet generation on the threshold of civic and political life today is the first generation which never knew the worst excesses of Stalinism. It is a generation which is not terrorized and which is not turned toward the past; on the contrary, it is chafing at the Kremlin's petty and bureaucratic attempts to regiment them.

The fear inspired in the bureaucrats by the youth can be judged by the complaints of Pavlov at the congress. He insisted on the necessity of taking the "army spirit" as the model upon which to more and more mold the ideology of today's Soviet youth.

In the realm of international policy, the congress was marked by the same lack of decisiveness as elsewhere.

On the eve of the conflict, a definitive rupture with China was expected. The Kremlin's accusations became more violent; while the attempt of the Chinese to create an underground "Polish Communist Party" opposed to the

official Khrushchevist Polish party — for the first time in a country where a Communist party is in power! — could only reflect a desire to complete the split.

However in the congress itself, Brezhnev's references to the Sino-Soviet conflict were astonishingly moderate, so moderate that some explained this new turn by his desire to hide differences on this question within the CPSU itself.

With respect to the question of the struggle against the American intervention in Vietnam, one got the impression at the beginning of the congress that the Soviet bureaucracy was thinking of getting away with merely sharpening its tone in Washington's direction — which was done by Kosygin, Gromyko and various military figures — and with emphasizing Chinese "sabotage" of aid to Vietnam.

But here again things did not turn out exactly as the Kremlin leaders had foreseen. The strong appeal made by Armando Hart, the delegate of the Communist Party of Cuba, to support the Vietnamese revolutionaries by extending the revolution internationally aroused the unconcealed hostility of the bureaucrats assembled in the Hall of Congresses.

## Soviet Suicide

In addition, it was learned — a week after the event! — that a young Soviet truck driver committed suicide, in the way of a Vietnamese monk, because his application to go to Vietnam as a volunteer had not been accepted. This incident undoubtedly shows that there is at least a current of opinion in the Soviet Union favoring much more energetic and effective aid for the Vietnamese Revolution than the trickle the bureaucracy has been willing to give up to now.

On this issue, too, the differences were suppressed at the 23rd congress. But they existed nonetheless, and they will come to the surface with one of the inevitable twists and turns in the international situation.

What the congress confirmed was that the "reformist climate," the hope that Soviet society would evolve by way of "reforms from above," which was prevalent among the principal layers of Soviet society in Khrushchev's time, is now coming to an end. Decisions like those made by the 23rd congress are not the kind to revive such hopes. Therein lies still another reason to expect that different currents of Soviet society will take the path of "action from below."

## Reporter Says He Saw Che Guevara

Paolo Senise, an Italian journalist, claimed in an article published in the weekly *Le Ore*, that he had succeeded in interviewing Ernesto "Che" Guevara in a hideout high in the Peruvian Andes. Senise became convinced that Guevara is in control of guerrilla warfare in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru.

Contact was made with Guevara's followers at Huancayo. Eight days later he was taken to see Guevara. The trip took two days.

On May 6, Javier Campos Montoya, chief of Peru's national police, told the press that the interview was a fake. His proof was the testimony of Marcello Ongania, another Italian journalist, who accompanied Senise to the guerrilla region. Ongania said he spent almost three days in Senise's company and that he had no time to interview Guevara in any hideout.

Senise said May 8 that photographs supporting his assertions would be published in the next issue of *Le Ore*.

## ... Freedom Party Slate

(Continued from Page 1)

be the party's candidates, people discussed who they thought would win the nominations and what would be done after winning in November. Some sang freedom songs, and others just sat in the shade, out of the hot sun.

Everyone was pleased with the meeting and enthusiastic about what they were doing. A frequent comment was, "We sure turned them out today."

People would proudly say that this was the first time they had voted. Shortly before the results were announced, one woman commented that the claim had always been made Negroes would not know what to do with the vote, and they would be confused by it. "But this meeting disproves that, the way it's been run and the interest all these people show." Several hundred people had waited over two hours to hear who would be their candidates for the November elections, and the first to vote had waited nearly four hours.

Finally at 7:30, Mr. Hewlett announced the results of "our own primary." As each of the party's candidates was introduced, he or she was greeted by applause.

## Full Slate

A complete slate for all the county officials to be elected this year was chosen: Sidney Logan, Jr., for sheriff; Mrs. Alice Moore for tax assessor; Frank Miles, Jr., for tax collector; Robert Logan for board of education position 3; John Hinson for board of education position 4; Mrs. Willie Mae Strickland for board of education position 5; and Emory Ross for coroner.

Everyone rallied behind the winning candidates. This was their party and these were their candidates.

For the people of Lowndes, the office of sheriff is the most important. He represents the power in the county. They nominated a 42-year-old World War II veteran for this position. Mr. Logan, presently a farmer, participated in the Montgomery bus boycott and was on the march from Selma to Montgomery last year. He said that he just started thinking about being sheriff when the deputy stood in the door when he went to register to vote.

All of the candidates are confident that their party will win. Mr. Logan said "I don't go out to lose."

At an earlier campaign meeting, Mrs. Alice Moore had said, "If you vote for me on May 3 for tax collector, you're going to have me."

## Felt Victory

The next evening the organizers of the new party felt their victory even more completely. So far, the only Negroes who have qualified to be on the ballot in November are the candidates of the Freedom Organizations which have nominated candidates in three counties (Dallas, Greene and Wilcox) in addition to Lowndes. They point out that the results of the Democratic primary show clearly the racist character of the party. Hopefully the Negroes would begin to leave the Democratic Party and join new independent parties.

Contrary to all the claims that the Freedom Organization was splitting the Negro vote, they showed how Negroes could have some power and win.

Because they wanted to show they did not want to split the Negro vote, some of the organizers decided not to nominate candidates in some of the Black Belt counties where they felt they would not be strong enough to wage an effective campaign. In Greene County, they nominated as independent candidates the same Negroes who had run in the Democratic primaries and lost. They wanted to demonstrate that split-

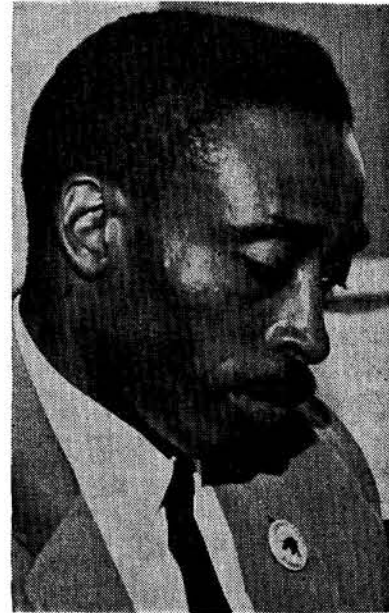


Photo by Harris

John Hewlett

ting the vote was not at issue. What was important was how to organize to win power. They felt that the results of the Democratic primaries and the strength of the Lowndes party would provide the example.

The results produced by the pro-Democratic Party Negro leaders were indeed poor. For weeks before the primaries, they had campaigned for liberal whites and over 50 Negroes running in the Democratic primaries. Martin Luther King had gone to Alabama only a week before the elections to urge a unified Negro vote for Richmond Flowers against Lurleen Wallace. Of all the Negroes in the primaries, only 18 even made the runoffs and most of these will probably lose May 31.

The racist character of the Democratic Party came out most clearly in two of the contests. In one, the unofficial returns gave a Negro attorney from Tuskegee a clear majority and the nomination for a seat in the Alabama House of Representatives. The next day, the official returns gave him almost 1,000 fewer votes and placed him in a runoff with one of his white opponents.

## Ballots Thrown Out

The race for Dallas County sheriff between incumbent James Clark and Selma Public Safety Director Wilson Baker has gotten national publicity. The county Democratic Executive Committee threw out the ballots from six predominately Negro polling places to prevent the ultra-segregationist Clark from losing. This is essentially the same thing the Democratic convention did to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in Atlantic City. The party is just deciding whose votes they will count.

The reaction of the pro-Democratic Party Negro leaders has been in effect an admission of the failure of their policy. Hosea Williams, of Martin Luther King's SCLC, has been reported to have said that Nov. 8 may be a good day for Negroes in Alabama to go fishing. However, King feels the Negro vote could be decisive in November. I heard him say on the radio here that it should not be ruled out that he would support Mrs. Wallace if there is some sign of a change or direct appeal for the Negro vote on her part.

The organizers of the Black Panther are clear that having Negro candidates in the Democratic Party does not mean that party represents them. Their attitude is, the party counts; the candidates are secondary.

Now the Freedom Organization has turned its attention to the November elections. In an effort to leave no grounds for ruling the candidates off the ballot, nominating petitions were filed for each candidate in addition to holding the mass meeting. Voter registration will of course continue.

## The Black Ghetto

By Robert Vernon

35 cents

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

# Letters From Our Readers

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

## Nailing a Smear

Newberg, Ore.

I know you are busy people but I am asking your indulgence in reading the enclosed newspaper clipping, hoping that perhaps you will feel inclined to comment on same or reproduce it as you did the letter to the *New York Times* by the federal judge, for which *The Militant* is to be commended.

I believe you are on the right track by giving your readers the insight of the thinking of some

individuals or organizations of the "non-left" who question our policy in Vietnam even though their solutions to the problem may be in contrast to the editorial policy of *The Militant* — that is, to bring our military forces home from Vietnam, to which this writer subscribes.

Dirk De Jonge

[The letter, from Robert J. Rumsey of the Portland American Friends Service Committee to the *Portland Oregonian*, said in part:

"You identify dissent as expressed in the demonstrations of recent days against the war in Vietnam as a distinguishing feature of life 'on this side of the Bamboo Curtain.' It is for the right to dissent, you imply, that we are fighting in Vietnam.

"You then blandly proceed to imply that the expression of dissent, through the Vietnam protest, paves the way for a Communist takeover . . .

"Such smear tactics hardly represent the course of responsible journalism. By using them you contribute significantly to a totalitarian-type mentality in our country which, in the name of anti-communism, seeks to stifle and destroy dissenting opinion . . .

"Recently the American Friends Service Committee . . . helped sponsor the Vietnam demonstration here. The next day there appeared on the window, door and sign of the AFSC office (located in a Quaker meeting-house) red-painted hammers and sickles . . .

"Such acts, and your editorial, while not to be equated, have in common the use of smear, in the one case by the use of paint, and in your case, less obvious but perhaps more dangerous and damaging, by innuendo . . ."]

## Latin American Committees

Long Branch, Calif.

I think it would be a good idea to start various movements in the countries of Latin America protesting U. S. intervention in their domestic policies. These movements could spread like the anti-war demonstrations and really push the Latin American countries toward much more progressively liberal governments than they had in the past.

This would prepare the ground for a completely new social order guaranteeing freedom, economic security and free education, etc., to the masses of these people.

I imagine that some of your correspondents or feature writers have contacts with leaders in these countries and so could initiate some such movement.

J. W.

## Seeks New View

Boulder, Col.

I have taken an interest in the socialist movement. It seems to me that the Socialist Labor Party is as conservative and unimaginative as the two main parties.

Everyone is either expounding

19th century *laissez faire*, capitalist ideas or 19th century old-hat Marxist ideas.

I'm looking for someone to say something that is progressive and 20th century, to say something that is positive and moving. If you think your paper is of this type then send me details of subscription.

M. P.

## Review of Novack Book

New York, N. Y.

There is one point about George Novack's *Existentialism versus Marxism* which it seems to me Arthur Maglin overlooks in his otherwise excellent review of the book, May 2. This is that Novack's book is more than an edited anthology of Marxist and Existentialist writings. It contains a Marxist polemic against Existentialism.

This is not to say that Novack's selection of writings is either unfair or unrepresentative. I think even the most partisan Existentialist would admit that Sartre particularly is well represented and fairly treated.

But Novack's two articles in the anthology, that is, his introduction to it, and the summary ar-

## Thought for the Week

"Vietnam War Problems — Allied Forces Are Winning Key Battles, But Enemy Continues to Gain Strength." — Headline in the May 10 *New York Times*.

title "Basic Differences between Existentialism and Marxism" are a sharp challenge to anyone who swears by the Sartrean banner.

To Novack, "Existentialism arises from a heightened awareness of the aimlessness, anonymity and anxiety impregnating the urban anthills upset by the convulsions of our times." It is a product of the decadence of the capitalist system. But it is not a forward looking philosophy capable of leading man in the struggle to change that system.

"Can the alienations of modern man be overcome?" Novack asks. "The Existentialists contend they cannot. Marxism replies that these characteristics of a barbarous past and exploitative present can be removed by revolutionizing outworn social structures . . . The material means for liberating mankind from the causes and consequences of alienation can be brought into existence only through the socialist revolution

which will concentrate economic, political and cultural power in the toiling majority."

Maglin notes that the New Left claims to absorb a workable combination of Existentialist and Marxist ideas. What they end up with, however, as Maglin points out, is "emphasis on a blind moral commitment no matter what the outcome. Planning ahead is scorned as being futile. The effort to assess the relation between theory and practical action is scorned in the name of anti-ideology."

In other words, they never come close to Marxism. They are thoroughly immersed in the cult of alienation.

But can they lead a revolution? And if so, how? How do the existentialists propose to end the very system which creates the "absurdity" they detest? That important question is implicit throughout *Existentialism versus Marxism*.

D. R.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

### SOVIET REVOKES STALIN'S CONFESSION TRIAL LAWS

— Stalin's decrees of 1934 and 1937, under which the Moscow Trials of the late 1930's were staged, have now been repealed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. These laws gave special powers to the secret police in dealing with alleged acts of sabotage, attempted terrorism and treason. They "established a special method of investigation and court consideration." In the Moscow Trials this spelled out as forced "confessions," denial of the right to appeal and summary executions within 24 hours of sentencing.

The action of April 19 is more than a mere repeal of Stalin's tyrannical laws. Taken together with other recent measures, it is in effect nothing less than the repudiation of the Moscow Trials as frame-ups and unspeakable blood-letting. — May 14, 1956.

## 20 Years Ago

### KOREAN LABOR PLEADS FOR AID AGAINST BRUTAL AMERICAN RULE

— The Korean Federation of Trade Unions has appealed to the CIO in the United States to aid it in throwing off the yoke of American Military Government, a regime which is conducting an anti-labor campaign under decrees "worse than the cruel laws of Japanese imperialism."

This appeal, signed by Chairman Hoa Sung Taik and Vice-Chairman Pak Se Young, arrived in the United States early this month after being smuggled out of Korea by a discharged army sergeant, Harold Zepelin. The protest was dispatched to the CIO in this way because the Korean union leaders feared that it would not be passed through the mails by the AMG censors.

First reported in the May 2 issue of the *Los Angeles Labor Herald*, the appeal was addressed to Philip Murray as president of the CIO, and asked for international labor solidarity in the face of assaults from the common foe — Wall Street imperialism . . .

A continuity of Japanese and American policies in Korea is revealed by this document, which reports: ". . . many of our union leaders and organizers (have been) imprisoned by American military police, usually as a result of the intrigues of the Korean foes of our labor movement, who strange to say, have found favor in the eyes of the American Military Government despite their past history of collaboration with the Japanese." — May 18, 1946.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Tribute** — Russell Baker of the *New York Times* offered this comment on the Navy project to train bomb-laden porpoises to ram enemy submarines: "That scientists should even contemplate turning them into weapon-carriers is a tribute to a certain human streak in their intellectual make-up. After all, man would not trust an ape to lug a machine gun about or try to equip a dog with dynamite. Guns and bombs have always been the exclusive province of man. They constitute one of the badges of humanity, and it is a proper tribute to the porpoise for a man to admit him to the lodge."

**Confounding the Enemy** — Sgt. Harold Powers, whose infantry company recently landed in Vietnam, says the men in his outfit may not want to be there, but they'll do all right in the fighting. One reason is that the sergeant, a Korean war vet, has taught the company bugler, Bob Richardson, what he says are Chinese bugle calls. "We know the North Vietnamese use bugles," Powers explained shrewdly, "and they probably use the same calls as the Chinese. When they charge us, Richardson will blow assembly. That ought to confuse them."

**And Rightly So** — A May 4 *New York Times* headline reported: "Ford Finds Peril in Social Unrest."

**Unimpressed** — Some of LBJ's best friends apparently were unimpressed by his advice to buy cheaper foods to combat price hikes. The President's Club (membership requirement: a \$1,000 or more contribution to the Demo-

cratic National Committee) threw its annual dinner for him in Texas last month. The *New York Times* reported: "After a cocktail party, members dined on croustade of seafood Antoine, prime Texas fillet mignon with truffle sauce, garden vegetables, mimosa salad and ice cream torte. They drank dry Riesling, California pinot noir and champagne."

**Decision-Makers** — The average man in the street simply isn't well enough informed to make important political decisions. That's why we have to leave things to the men in Washington. Like Senator Jacob Javits of New York, for instance. He appeared on a quiz show last week and while he didn't know who was the first secretary of defense under Truman, he answered like a flash when asked to name the wife of the old-time comic strip character, Chester Gump.

**News of the Week** — Frank Touhy, a keen-witted British journalist, recently did several articles from China for the *New York Times*. He relayed the information that the regime there is waging a massive campaign to convince the Chinese people that

the United States is hostile to their country. He says they are doing this so the Chinese people can have something to hate. He also unearthed another aberration. He reports: "I feel that the Chinese believe that the Vietcong are composed of south Vietnamese who are heroically liberating their country."

**Eye Sparkle** — The latest rage in facial make-up — according to one press agent — is diamond studded false eyelashes. Twelve of them total one karat and are available for a mere \$1,500.

**Free-Wheeling Florida Officials** — Florida purchasing director Ralph Siller doesn't understand the fuss about his traveling around in a "courtesy" car provided him by the Ford company, and billing the state a dime a mile for traveling even though he only pays for gas and oil. Meanwhile Haydon Burns, the governor, was revealed to have two pilots on the state payroll for the 17-passenger plane provided him by officials of the Wynn-Dixie supermarket chain. He said the pilots will be taken off the state payroll until he finishes campaigning for re-election.

—Harry Ring

## FOR NEW READERS

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

## THE MILITANT

873 Broadway  
New York, N. Y. 10003

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

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

## THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

\$1 a year (six issues)

Send your dollar to

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

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

## 'TOOL OR MAKER OF POLICY?'

# The Central Intelligence Agency

By Herman Porter

"CIA: Maker of Policy, or Tool?" is the title of the first of a series of large, front-page articles on the Central Intelligence Agency that the *New York Times* ran from April 25 through April 29. The title indicates the main question that concerned the *Times* when it decided to make its inquiry into the nature of the sinister agency.

The articles go into the question of the control and direction of the CIA and come to the conclusion that the spy outfit is carrying out official government policy. The CIA oversteps its authority only occasionally — as other parts of the government bureaucracy do — but does not act as a policy making body.

After a long, though incomplete, description of the CIA's activities — describing its major fiascos as well as its "successes" — the *Times* gives its conclusion in the final paragraphs of the series. First it quotes an authority with which it agrees:

"Those who believe that the United States Government on occasion resorts to force when it shouldn't," Richard Bissell, the CIA's former deputy director, once said, 'should in all fairness and justice direct their views to the question of national policy and not hide behind the criticism that whereas the President and Cabinet generally are enlightened people, there is an evil and ill-controlled agency which imports this sinister element.'"

Then the paper speaks in its own name: "The *New York Times*' study of the CIA suggests that it is not an invisible government but the real government of the United States upon which the responsibility must lie whenever the agency may be found 'out of control.' For if that responsibility is accepted, there can be no invisible government."

Questions have been raised about whether the CIA should be reorganized or whether Congress should have some kind of "control" over it.

There have also been proposals to reorganize the CIA and separate its two major functions: gathering intelligence on the basis of which government policy is decided; and the illegal, subversive operations its Division of Plans carries out. These are known in the jargon of the cloak-and-dagger boys as "dirty tricks" and "black" operations. This would at least keep the intelligence gathering agency from having a vested interest in some "plan."

Despite the widespread criticism, no such changes have been made, and for good reason. Even after the Bay of Pigs invasion, Kennedy rejected a proposal to separate the two functions.

Such a separation would make it much easier to control the agency, but it would make it more difficult to carry out the "dirty tricks." Presently the government claims that the main function of the CIA is to gather information. But it would be rather embarrassing to acknowledge that it had another agency — and it would turn out to be a very large and powerful one — whose sole function was to carry out "operations" like political assassinations, poisoning sugar Cuba shipped abroad, bribing foreign government officials, organizing counter-revolutions, arranging coups and invading foreign countries.

"As for the State Department taking over covert operations, the opponents ask, how could the department survive the inevitable exposure of some bit of political skulduggery in some other country when it is supposed to be the simon-pure vessel of the United States' diplomatic relations," the writers comment.

Most of the proposals for in-

*"As a congressman with two sons serving in the U.S. Navy, I am deeply concerned about how their lives are committed on behalf of this great nation . . . to give those lives in support of policies which I believe are wrong, where no vital interest of this country is involved, and where the people we are helping evidently do not want us, is the surest way to destroy all that we have sacrificed for over the years."* — Congressman George E. Brown (D-Calif.)

creased control of the CIA have revolved around the use of a congressional committee to oversee its work. But even these mild proposals for congressional "watchdogs" have gotten nowhere. The *Times* reports that: "The overwhelming consensus of those most knowledgeable about the CIA, now and in the past, does not support the idea that Congress should 'control' the CIA."

The article goes on to report the reasons given. One reason, which the *Times* titles "politics," is that those Congressmen on the committee would have "unparalleled opportunities to learn the secrets of the executive branch and of foreign policy, and to make political capital of mistakes or controversial policies." They give another reason called "ideology": "To report this kind of activity to Congress would be certain to set off public debate and recriminations and lay a whole new set of domestic political pressures on the agency."

### No Voice

To put it plainly, they want to make sure that the American people have no voice whatsoever in what the CIA does. If there were a congressional committee on the CIA like the Senate committee on foreign relations, news of CIA operations might leak out or be exposed by some senator.

The cry that the CIA is an "invisible government" which acts independently of the President is raised by those liberals and reformists who would like to convince people that the administration and Democratic Party they support are not responsible for the crimes of the CIA. They claim the militarists and right-wing elements in the Pentagon and CIA act independently of the administration.

The *Times*' study refutes this. "There are more liberal intellectuals per square inch at CIA than anywhere else in the government," said one State Department officer they cite.

The actions of the CIA are the clearest expression of the foreign policy of the ruling class. Though the government maintains the public pretense that it wishes to spread and protect "democracy," the actions of the CIA speak louder than all of the hot air generated in Washington.

Though it timidly raises the question at the end of the series: "Is the government of a proud and honorable people relying too much on 'black' operations, 'dirty tricks,' harsh and illicit acts in

the 'back alleys' of the world?" — the *Times* takes for granted that it is necessary for the U.S. government to carry out these crimes. A glance at some of the illegal activities of the CIA is enough to show why.

The CIA intervened in Iran in 1953 to overthrow a popular nationalist government because it passed a law nationalizing the oil industry. It organized an invasion of Guatemala in 1954 because American plantations were threatened with only a partial takeover if the mild agrarian reform that the government was pledged to was carried out. It invaded Cuba because of the nationalization of American business, and the other measures of the socialist revolution. It organized the overthrow of the legitimate government of the Congo headed by Lumumba and put its own hired puppets in power, supplied that "government" with an air force and an army of racist white mercenary killers, in order to protect and expand American control of the fabulously rich mineral wealth of the Congo.

Many of its illegal actions are not so directly tied to the investments of U.S. businessmen, but they are all connected with the broader efforts of the U.S. government to dominate the world in order to make it available for exploitation by U.S. imperialism.

The worst thing for capitalism is the extension of the socialist revolution, which eliminates the possibility of imperialist exploitation. And where this is threatened — as in Vietnam — the American government will go to barbarous extremes in an effort to prevent it.

The American ruling class is prepared to intervene in the most cynical and illegal way in other countries if it suits its purposes. So the CIA stages coups in colonial and semi-colonial countries for tactical advantages in its fight against the revolutionary forces, or to destroy a more independent capitalist government to substitute a more compliant puppet.

These operations are among the most important functions the government carries out for the ruling class. But they can hardly be acknowledged publicly either at home or abroad. That's where the CIA comes in.

Though there may be criticism of some of its specific actions, the capitalist class and its ideologists of the press are agreed that it carries out an essential function for them.

## N.Y. Rally to Hear About Saigon Visit From Muste, Stone

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — I. F. Stone and A. J. Muste, who made recent visits to Saigon, will report on what they saw there at a public meeting Monday evening, May 23.

The meeting will be held at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and 8th Ave., under the auspices of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee which organized the two recent massive marches here against the Vietnam war.

The theme of the meeting will be, "The Truth About Saigon That Nobody Has Heard."

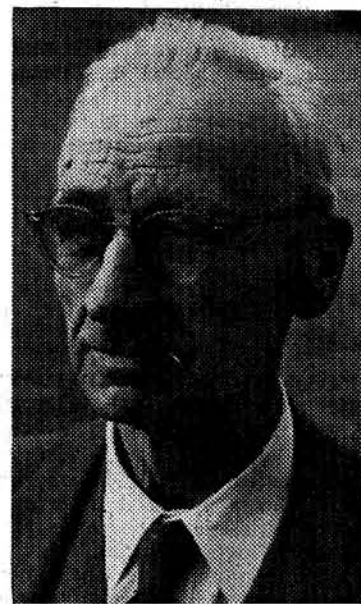
The meeting will also be a rally to announce and mobilize support for the next major united action by the Parade Committee against the war in Vietnam.

### Visited Saigon

Muste, the dean of the pacifist movement and chairman of the Parade Committee, led a group of six Americans who recently demonstrated in Saigon against the war. The group was expelled from the country by the military dictatorship.

Stone, the noted journalist and publisher of *I.F. Stone's Weekly*, just returned from a fact-finding trip to Saigon and other parts of Asia.

For further information the Parade Committee can be contacted at room 922, 5 Beekman Street. The phone number is 964-0070.



A. J. Muste

## Gemeinsamer Wunsch

H. Bidstrup



Cartoon in April 7 *Blinkfuer* of Hamburg, Germany. Ami means Yankee. Caption is "Universal Wish."

## 1,400 Hear Vietnam Read-In At Columbia U. in New York

By Toby Rice

NEW YORK — A very successful read-in, sponsored by the Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam and performed in part by the American Artists Against the War in Vietnam, was held at Columbia University on May 4. Speaking to a capacity audience of over 1,400, Conor Cruise O'Brien, specialist in African affairs who chaired the affair opened up with an analogy between the U.S. antiwar movement and the opposition in France during the Algerian war. He pointed out that "through actions like these" the opposition weakened the French war in Algeria.

The general tone was militant, several speakers calling for the withdrawal of American troops. Focusing attention on the criminal aspects of the war, Peter Weiss, playwright who authored "Marat/Sade," read excerpts from his play

about the Auschwitz Trials.

One of the highlights of the evening was when Robert Brustein, theater critic for the *New Republic* and head of the Yale drama department, read parts of an underground play from Berkeley — an adaptation of *Macbeth*, starring LBJ as MacBird, JFK as Duncan, and Bobby Kennedy as MacDuff. At one point, Kennedy (Duncan) wisely tells us "to work within the framework . . . Security makes cowards of us all . . . I fear to break; I'll work within to change."

Also performing were Viveca Lindfors, the actress; writer Truman Nelson, whose most recent book is *The Torture of Mothers*; Stanley Kunitz, Pulitzer prize-winning poet; and the Bread and Puppet Theater, who put on a biting satire of Johnson's State of the Union message.