

Black and White, Unite and Fight for a WORKERS WORLD

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Behind CIA Exposure: What It Means and What It Doesn't Mean

By SAM MARCY

No lasting benefit will accrue to the American people from the exposure of some of the activities of the CIA unless we can at least pose the problem which is central to the many critical and complicated issues which it raises. Otherwise all the mass indignation and the bitter disenchantment of millions of people with "their" government as a result of the revelations will, like steam, slowly evaporate or more likely will be diverted into "safe" channels.

It was fear that the storm of protest over the exposure might go beyond the bounds of "safety," which forced Robert Kennedy to join President Johnson, and Senate Majority Leader Mansfield to join Richard Russell in a holy alliance to put the damper on any meaningful public inquiry about the CIA.

It wasn't just

Courageous journalism alone

It would be the height of political naivete to assume that the exposures were the result of mere courageous journalism such as exemplified by the article in Ramparts magazine or the unyielding attitude of individual leaders who defied the CIA. Such happy occurrences are indeed a welcome relief in the light of so many years of abject submissiveness and conformity to the demands of the capitalist establishment. Important as these signs of growing rebellion are, they are nevertheless merely surface manifestations of still deeper causes.

Unless we probe further, we shall find that in the end, the CIA revelations will be reduced to the status of a muck-raking episode in their effect on the minds of progressives, as so often has happened in similar cases in American history. All their deep significance will then surely be lost. Bourgeois ideology as a result will become stronger, rather than weaker. The crimes that will continue to be committed will be greater -- not lesser --

and the system as a whole will become more oppressive than ever.

A response to post-war Revolutionary tidal wave

The setting up of the CIA in 1947 came in response to a genuine tidal wave of world revolutionary development. It was plain that this tidal wave could cover the entire globe.

The special concern of the U.S. ruling class at that moment was the developing revolutionary situation in Western and Eastern Europe and the vigorous resurgence of militant political struggle in the U.S.

The U.S. ruling class at that historic moment was isolated abroad as well as at home, as it had never been before, with the possible exception of the early days of the Depression. Leading industrialists, bankers, their publicists and politicians felt the very destiny of capitalism was at stake together with their very survival as a ruling class.

For world domination

The stronger and more reactionary section of the ruling class, at the same time saw its destiny in imperialist world domination. It could only carry out its objectives by a counter-revolutionary offensive under the facade of democracy and "the open society" while at the same time resorting to greater use of terror and intimidation.

The CIA was the inevitable product. The form for it was established many years earlier. The skeleton had been in operation under the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in World War II.

CP failed in crisis; McCarthyism took over

With the failure of the Western CP
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HANOI: "U.S. WAR STEPS BLAST PEACE SWINDLE"

FEB. 27 -- U.S. mining of Vietnam's rivers and its artillery fire into North Vietnam exposes the "peace" talk and "negotiations" hints as a swindle, said Hanoi radio today.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam filed an immediate protest against the new widening of the war to the International Control Commission.

Meanwhile President Johnson said

the war had become more "far reaching" (because of his own escalation of it). "I am doing what is best calculated to win peace," said the belligerent commander-in-chief, who has now sent nearly half a million men to invade this small country.

Few people, including his own supporters, thought that Johnson believed his own words.

Natchez Murder Black People Demand Justice; Threaten Klan

MARCH 1 -- Wharles Jackson, civil rights leader, was killed in Natchez, Mississippi, two days ago by a bomb obviously planted by the KKK, because he dared to take a job in an almost all-white plant at higher-than-average pay -- "for a Negro."

Last night, 2,000 furious Afro-

Americans marched on the plant where Jackson worked "to let the Kluxers and the murderers know we are not afraid" -- in the words of Charles Evers, NAACP state secretary and brother of Medgar Evers, who was

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CIA Agents in AFL Clothing Labor Lieutenants of U.S. Billionaire Bosses

What Do They DO for That \$100 Million?

Subvert Foreign Labor Unions for Imperialism!

The sellout of hundreds of U.S. intellectuals to the CIA for a few hundred thousand dollars is tremendously important as a sign of the corruption in capitalist society (as is the sellout of many times this number to NASA, AEC, the IBM program, etc.).

But the objective effect of the CIA's purchase of the big labor union bureaucrats may be far more deadly to human progress.

Drew Pearson pointed out on February 24 that the million dollars of CIA money paid to the Newspaper Guild,

reported a few days earlier, was in fact only a tiny part of a much larger slush fund.

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

Considering the agency's estimated \$4 billion a year budget, this may or may not be true. Buying governments and paying off kings, dictators, and generals may come higher than the price of

labor's finky leaders. But this is really not the point.

The point is that U.S. imperialism, through the CIA, among other means, uses labor leaders to sabotage and subvert labor's own international struggle for emancipation. Neither strike-breaking cops, nor armies nor bombing planes are as insidious and often not as effective as the "enemy within."

Pearson lists some of the individuals and departments of the AFL-CIO who get the huge CIA funds, but he hardly even hints what it is they do with the money, how they back the most conservative and even reactionary union leaders in foreign countries as against

the progressive and militant ones, and help to overthrow governments distasteful to Washington, almost the same as the cloak and dagger department of the CIA does.

Pearson, like other reporters, notes that the recipients of CIA money include a number of big unions and he adds Jay Lovestone, "sometimes called Meany's minister of foreign affairs," together with Irving Brown, "Love-stone's No. 1 ambassador in Europe, who operates largely through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions." (ICFTU)

Lovestone is a renegade Communist now lined up with the ultra-right and the

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Plain Talk on Vietnam

"So long as the United States continues its forcible occupation of South Vietnam, it remains the aggressor, whether it bombs the North or not, whether it resumes bombing or suspends bombing, or stops bombing permanently."

So said an important article in the Feb. 20 issue of Jenmin Jih Pao, the leading Communist Party daily in Peking, People's China.

The exposure of the U. S. "peace" campaign could hardly be put more succinctly or more profoundly.

If the U. S. stays in South Vietnam, it is the aggressor and its war of imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people continues. This is the reality to which many in the anti-war movement are now closing their eyes--the rank and file, perhaps out of innocent motivations or wishful-thinking--but some of the leaders, out of conciliation with the imperialist liberals who want to dominate Vietnam as much as Johnson does, but with different methods, if possible.

Exposing the sinister maneuvers of the big powers over war and peace, Jenmin Jih Pao said further that the United States and the Soviet Union were trying to force the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam to abandon half the country -- South Vietnam -- in exchange for a cessation of U.S. bombing of the North. Kosygin's statements in London

last month proved that these charges were only too true.

It is bad enough that the Soviet leaders join in with this kind of campaign and thus compromise their own socialist country in these cynical maneuvers. What makes matters a good deal worse is that the Soviet leaders give a socialist cover to it all, and thus help to deceive many of the anti-war forces in the USA as well as in the Soviet Union. Still worse is the fact that the Soviet Government probably has the power to successfully force the DVR to do what the Chinese are talking about.

The advance guard of the oppressed and the anti-war fighters in the United States cannot perhaps at this time immediately overcome all these unfavorable things. But first the advance guard has the duty to learn what is right. Secondly, it has the duty to say what is right and fight for the slogan: Bring the U. S. Troops Home NOW!

No matter what the embattled Vietnamese are compelled by force to say or do the serious opponents of the war in the United States must all the more condemn the U. S. warmakers and utterly oppose every aspect of their war.

At one time, it may have been right on some occasions to fight against the war under more "moderate" slogans in the interest of greater unity among those just waking up to the events in Vietnam. But if that was ever true in the past, it is most emphatically not true today.

The Meaning of "Leverage"

When the imperialist warmakers talk "peace," it is, of course, necessary for them to step up their propaganda machine and turn out a heavier-than-usual smokescreen of confusion so the masses will think that somehow they really mean it.

But a few smart young men from Yale the other day inadvertently pulled away the smokescreen to reveal at least one of the important gear wheels in the war machine.

In opposing a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam during a con-

ference in Ithaca, N.Y., they explained that they wanted to stop the bombing, etc., but felt that the presence of U.S. troops "was a useful lever in negotiations."

A useful lever in negotiations. Yes, indeed! And that's just why Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Fulbright, Kennedy, and Wall Street are all united on not withdrawing U.S. troops, whatever they do about the bombing! "Prestige" and "face" and similar considerations are as nothing compared to "the useful lever in negotiations!"

Innocent workers and other honest opponents of the war might ask: why is such a lever required? Why can't peace be simply negotiated like a game or a picnic is planned--without holding a club over anybody?--without using any "levers"?

The answer is that the finance kings of the U.S. have certain demands to make of the Vietnamese--demands which the Yale boys, unlike more simple-minded opponents of the war, understand fairly well. The corporate rulers have sent an army to enforce those demands. And a cessation of bombing or a cease-fire would mean withdrawing these demands, unless the Army, the Air Force, etc., remained right there to enforce them again--as "useful levers," that is.

The Yale boys are really saying: "Let's stop the bombing, but only on condition that we win the war." And that's just about what the position of Kennedy, Fulbright and the liberal bourgeoisie adds up to, too.

DA Draws a Circle; Death Strikes Again JFK Assassination Query Stopped by Another "Suicide"

Of those more or less closely connected to the case of John F. Kennedy's assassination, no less than 18 have now died, usually suddenly or in strange circumstances.

No. 18, possibly the strangest of the deaths, was that of David W. Ferrie, who died less than a week after Jim Garrison, Louisiana Parish D.A., announced he was going to make arrests in connection with the President's death, and four days after Ferrie himself told reporters that he was being investigated.

Experts, including the coroner, say he died naturally. Garrison insists he committed suicide. Ferrie left what seems to be a suicide note.

(Hank Killam, husband of one of Jack Ruby's strippers, was alleged to have committed suicide, too. Two of these strippers died, one allegedly by hanging herself in jail.)

Mr. Garrison said in a formal statement: "The apparent suicide of David Ferrie ends the life of a man who in my judgment was one of history's most important individuals."

This newspaper contended in a special issue on November 26, 1963, that Kennedy was the victim of a right-wing plot and the assassination marked the end of real political stability for the capitalist system of this country.

There are now many signs that this is indeed the case. Not least of these is the series of books, editorials, comments, columns, exposes on the assassination and the suggestions that there be a new investigation.

Capping these developments is the sudden, rather theatrical, though not necessarily false, statement of the District Attorney of New Orleans. What evidence Mr. Garrison has may be tremendously important. And the arrests he makes may be very significant.

But it should be noted in advance that his hints about Cuban refugees and anti-Castro plotters (Ferrie was fanatically opposed to the Cuban revolution) are also well adapted to the purpose of getting Johnson and the U.S. right wing off the spot in time for the elections of 1968.

N.Y. City College Youth Tell Prexy To Take Off His CIA Cloak & Dagger

By J. MOORE

NEW YORK — In the wave of CIA-front exposures, the president of City College of New York has been exposed as a leading tool of the secret spy group, and a students' organization there has demanded his resignation.

Buell Gallagher, CCNY president, has been identified as a director of "The Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs," a pipeline for CIA money to student groups. Gallagher was also national and international chairman of "World University Service," one of the front groups which operates with CIA money.

Immediately following the exposure of Gallagher's role, the Youth Against War & Fascism chapter at City College issued a leaflet demanding his resignation.

Said the YAWF statement: "While Gallagher has presented himself as a great liberal over the years, we who have watched him closely know his true character....He has repeatedly attacked progressive groups as extremist. Last term he refused to lift the suspension of the 34 students who courageously drove the biological and chemical warfare recruiters off campus....He has allowed recruiting on campus for the

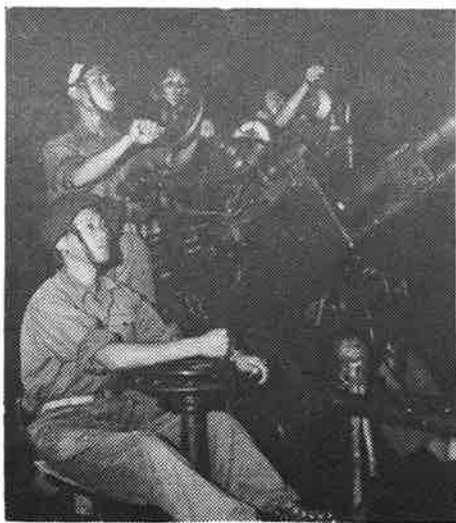
FBI and other intelligence groups. He has allowed recruiting on campus by the CIA and the Army Materiel Command."

"We refuse to have our college directed by a CIA front man."

The Feb. 21 Observation Post, the City College paper, headlined the news of Gallagher: "LINKED TO CIA FRONT." A driving editorial (headed, "An Obituary") pointed with scorn to Gallagher's pompous hypocrisy in denouncing of Communists "use of innocents as fronts" while he himself was a CIA "pawn," who used his role as a college president and now pretended he "had absolutely no knowledge whatever" of the CIA participation.

An Ad Hoc Committee to Investigate Gallagher has already been formed. The co-chairmen of the group are Alex Chernowitz, YAWF CCNY president, and Herb Bleish of Progressive Labor. The committee voted to ask Gallagher to come and answer questions.

When a delegation from the group visited his office to request his presence at a hearing, President Gallagher, slumped in padded seat, smoking a cigar, was evasive and avoided either agreeing to come or refusing to appear. He said he would issue a statement.



North Vietnam fighting back



A town the U.S. destroyed in December

Behind the CIA Exposure

Continued from Page 1

leadership to utilize the new crisis for its own class ends, that leadership finally became a victim of revisionist opportunist politics. Similar developments, of course, took place in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

At home the Communist, progressive and militant trade union movements were practically destroyed as effective forces. McCarthyism subsequently triumphed.

The maneuvers and full scale efforts by the Soviet leadership which formalized the capitulation of the Western CPs and the inauguration of neo-bourgeois reforms laid the basis for a retrenchment by the forces of reaction and a relaxation of some of its police measures.

Some of the CIA activities, as the Feb. 6. New York Times admits, could now be viewed as superfluous. This however, is only part of the reason for the exposure. The greater part lies in the ever-increasing anti-war resistance and bolder and more militant struggle by the Black people.

The fact that all this occurs at a time when the bourgeoisie is in the midst of a mad military adventure abroad, has frightened a section of the liberal bourgeoisie and has impelled it to resist some of the "excesses and unwarranted intrusion" — as they put it — of the CIA.

But reactionary and liberal alike, they are all agreed in principle on the necessity for the existence of the CIA as an instrument of reaction at home and government subversion abroad.

The modern state and its Hidden class character

The deeper problem, of course, is not the CIA as such. It is the problem of the modern state, its enormous and all-pervasive role in society and the magnitude of its colossal intervention — open no less than covert — in all fields of social life and human endeavor. It is the problem of the hidden class character of the state as a whole, as the instrument of the possessing class, of the exploiters against the exploited. The CIA is only one of a number of levers in the hands of the bourgeois state, which exercises overall domination and suppression in a multitude of ways and by a variety of means. It is not possible to consider the significance of the CIA revelations except in this framework.

A "super-government"?

All the more misleading is it to read in the lead editorial of The Worker of February 26, 1967, that the "CIA is the super-government of the U.S., above the Presidency, above the Congress, and above the judiciary."

Without desiring in the slightest degree to diminish the pernicious and hideous role of the CIA, it is necessary to say that such a characterization of it obscures rather than clarifies the problem. Aside from the effect it has of softening, even perhaps, of excusing the President, Congress, and the Judiciary, it throws out of focus the actual relationship which exists between them and such organs as the CIA, the FBI, and the Military Intelligence.

The CIA is by no means a "super-government," assuming that such a term has validity in Marxist sociology. The CIA under whatever name it may travel (or be reconstituted, as it very well may be), is a product of imperialist statecraft. It was born and fashioned by the very same class which dominates the Presidency, the Congress, the Judiciary, and the Military and Intelligence services. Through the use



Picketing the Indonesian Mission to the UN last fall. (See Page 6)

of an artful and ever-changing combination of these weapons in the armory of the capitalist state, the bourgeoisie is able to exert its will over society and enforce its class supremacy.

"The CIA, it is now clear to everyone," says The Worker in the same editorial, "has only one purpose, to overthrow the democratic system and replace it by a dictatorial regime."

The danger of a coup d'état is always possible, as the Kennedy assassination shows. The unstable character of the imperialist system and the insoluble contradictions arising from its mad and adventurist foreign policy are certainly good grounds for such a supposition.

Democracy, dictatorship And theoretical clarity

All the more necessary is it to maintain theoretical clarity on the character of the state. By deliberately inflating the antagonisms which exist between this or that organ of the capitalist state and by investing one with a "democratic" and the other with a dictatorial mission, The Worker falsifies the true character of the struggle. It lays the foundation for the support of the lesser-evil policy so dear to its heart and so disastrous to the cause of the working class struggle.

Faction fight WITHIN Ruling class dictatorship

It is true that there is constant warfare going on between the different branches of the bourgeois state, reflecting the internecine struggle of warring imperialist cliques and dynastic financial and industrial groupings. But the dispute is within the framework of the same class dictatorship and the issue is how best to exercise that dictatorship — how to dominate and exploit the people — and has nothing whatever to do with the preservation of "democratic rights" or the struggle against dictatorial methods. Only the working class, the oppressed Black people and their allies among the progressive people can carry out such a struggle.

If The Worker was as confident of its analysis as its rhetoric implies, one would think it would propose serious, resolute measures capable of meeting the danger it describes. On the contrary. To combat the behemoth, it summons forth a mouse.

Says The Worker: "The people have the right to demand of their elected representatives in Congress that they make a thorough investigation of the activities of the CIA. To guarantee that such a probe be objective, all members of Congress who have been involved in the work of the CIA — such as the

Armed Services Committee, Appropriations Committee, Ways and Means Committee — should be disqualified from serving on such an investigative committee."

"Super-govt." and Congress

To the imminent threat of "the overthrow of the democratic system" The Worker proposes — what? — A congressional investigation! Can anyone possibly believe that a "super-government, above the Presidency, above the Congress, above the Judiciary," as its own words describe it, will be amenable to the demands of a mere congressional committee?

Such a cook-book recipe in the struggle against a takeover by the "super-government" spells out nothing less than political prostration before the very behemoth which it seeks to combat.

But what do the CIA exposures actually signify? It is important that the question be formulated from a Marxist point of view. Do they herald a sharpening of class antagonisms as The Worker editorial implies, but badly distorts, or do they signify a softening of the general class antagonisms, as the New York Times-Walter Lippmann liberal school of imperialist apologetics claims?

Walter Lippmann And the "Big Thaw"

Walter Lippmann, in his syndicated column of February 21, explains the CIA relations as the development of "...the Big Thaw, which has been under way in Europe for several years, and has now reached America. The ice of the cold war is breaking up, and, as the climate is changing, the landscape is changing too. The older and more permanent features of the American scene are reappearing.

"That is why some of the more odious aspects of CIA activities are being exposed! Since tensions between the East and West are being relaxed, there is no need for some of the excesses practiced by the CIA and the more "permanent" (presumably democratic) features are reappearing."

Undoubtedly there is an element of truth in this analysis as there is in The Worker editorial. But taken separately or jointly, these commentaries add up to a gross deception.

Democracy is reappearing! The gestapo is disappearing! That is what they are saying. But nothing could be more illusory. Nothing could be more deceptive.

Relaxing on CIA because they Think they "have it made"

Lippmann bases himself on the total

abandonment of the perspective of proletarian revolution and the triumph of revisionist politics in both the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Western CPs as one key concession to Western imperialism. (The Worker dares not bring all this into its analysis.) Another no less serious concession is the neo-bourgeois restorationist trends both in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. A third is the growth of reformism and the corruption of class consciousness of the workers in Western Europe, America, and to a lesser extent in Japan.

The totality of these concessions, reckon Lippmann, Kennan and Co. and their school, is of a sufficient magnitude to reasonably satisfy the objectives of the bourgeoisie and stabilize its shaky system of exploitation. The guarantee for this is the presumed stability of the U.S.-USSR alliance. In the present world situation, they think they "have it made."

But history will prove Lippmann & Co. are wrong!

As always, Lippmann and his school, which represent the liberal bourgeoisie, are reckoning without their host.

First, the U.S.-USSR alliance has yet to be tested in the crucible of important events. Second, the growth and development of the revisionist social grouping in the USSR is a highly unstable phenomenon whose future even Lippmann will not guarantee. Third, the stability of capitalism in Europe, partly as the result of collusion between the Soviet leaders and the Western imperialists, has not ended the class antagonisms there, but merely transferred them to the world arena and shifted the struggle from the European continent to Asia. The brutal prosecution of the Vietnam War by the U.S. is a product of that shift.

What it proves is that the appetite of the Western imperialists has not been satisfied by the enormous concessions wrung from the Soviet leaders but has merely been whetted by them.

Growing anti-war forces

While a temporary retreat at home by the forces of witch-hunt and repression has been evident for some time now, it is more the product of the ever-growing resistance to the war in Vietnam and its economic hardships on the mass of the people especially the poorest — the Black people — than it is a conscious effort by the bourgeoisie to democratize its organs of suppression and intimidation. It may have been forced to lift the curtain on some of the CIA activities, but it has evidenced no desire to either dismantle or discredit its agency.

The veritable united front shown by Robert Kennedy and President Johnson on the one hand, and Senate Majority Leader Mansfield and Armed Services Chairman Richard Russell on the other, is a crystal-clear proof that the entire official bourgeois establishment stands squarely behind the CIA.

United front and class war

A similar united front should prevail in the efforts of the working class, the liberation forces, and progressive organizations generally. But the unity of objective should be based on the realities of class warfare as it is being fought all over the world today and not on the superstitious incantations of pacifist priests and deceitful capitalist politicians, who urge class conciliation instead of the prosecution of the class war to a successful conclusion.

"The Flag Follows the Dollar" - to Vietnam

Historian Rewrites History to Prove Warhawks Are Just Ordinary Nuts Instead of Money-Mad Imperialists

By VINCENT COPELAND

Henry Steele Commager, the well-known historian, appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 20 and in a vague and general sort of way opposed the war in Vietnam. But the basis for his position as he put it, was that:

"We do not have the resources, material, intellectual or moral to be at once an American power, a European power and an Asian power."

It might be good for the oppressed of Asia (although not, perhaps, for those of Europe and the Americas!) if the militarists were to listen to this advice and pull back ever so slightly from their course of mass murder to dominate Asia. But the anti-war masses have nothing to learn at Commager's feet and nothing to thank him for.

In fact, far more is to be learned about the subtleness and treachery of the ruling class by analyzing the testimony of one of its more willing servants than by cheering him as an "anti-war" spokesman.

Commager was headlined in the press as saying that the U.S. had overextended itself as a world power because of a "moralistic obsession" against Communism -- particularly in the Far East.

But he, as a historian, knows quite well that the U.S. financiers and their representatives in Washington have been scheming to take over the Far East, and in fact made many concrete political and military moves in that direction long before any Communist government or oriental Communist movement ever existed.

Japan, for example, was forcibly opened to U.S. trade by Commodore Perry's gunboats as early as 1854. The idea was also to take Taiwan and the Ryukyus (Okinawa, etc., which the U.S. finally occupied after WW II). But the British, even though preoccupied with forcing opium down the throat of an unwilling China (in two "opium wars"), would not let the U.S. poach that much on her imperial preserves at that time.

Mr. Commager's motives, he implied, were to shift the burden of "peace-keeping" -- that is, fighting counter-revolutionary wars to "stop the advance of Communism and other 'isms' we do not approve of" to the United Nations. "And if that organization is not strong enough to do the job," he said, "we should perhaps bend our major energies to giving her the necessary authority and the tools."

Let the UN carry out the imperialist aims of Wall Street; let the United States cover itself with the collective fig-leaf of imperialist "internationalism" when it suppresses the countries who want their freedom; let the Vietnam war itself be taken over by the UN like the Korean War was; and let the U.S. get off the "hot spot"! That is what this historian is trying to say.

But in order to give a liberal aura to the cynical thing he was proposing, the historian was compelled to rewrite a little history.

"We waged a war with Spain that nobody much wanted," he told the Senators, "and in a fit of absent-mindedness acquired Cuba and Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Hawaii. We fought a three-year war with the Filipinos which everybody has pretty well forgotten. But at the same time, we repudiated imperialism."

"Nobody much," but Theodore Roosevelt (who was made President for his services), the Morgan financial empire he represented, and the biggest capitalists in the United States wanted

the Spanish-American War!

True, they had to ram it through Congress. True, they had to whip up the masses with a "newspaper war," the stories of Richard Harding Davis and the politics of William Randolph Hearst. True, they had to blow up their own battleship, the Maine, which was sitting conveniently in Havana Harbor. (The Spanish needed an incident like that like they needed the proverbial hole in the head. And Spain conceded to all U.S. demands. But McKinley withheld this news from Congress until after war was declared.)

The Cuba that "nobody much wanted" was the "Pearl of the Antilles"



T. R. on the podium—"The empire that shifted from the Mediterranean will, in the lifetime of those now children . . . shift westward to the Pacific."

that had been an object of intrigue between the U.S. North and South for half a century before the Civil War. The North was then afraid that an annexation would create another state for the South. In the military exhaustion after the Civil War and the preoccupation with plundering the rest of the North American continent, the plutocracy let Cuba alone until they had time for it.

Commager knows this well, of course, and has probably written whole books about it.

The "absent-mindedness" (what an eloquently and not-too-subtly chauvinistic expression!) in acquiring the Philippines impelled Admiral Dewey to sail half way around the world and start the "three year war with the Filipinos, which nearly everyone has forgotten" -- everyone except the Filipinos. The Filipinos, by the way, fought another four years after the Second World War for a genuine independence to replace the "independence" halter the U.S. put around their necks on July 4, 1946.

Both the Philippines and Puerto Rico are tremendous military bases for the United States and even if they were not exploited economically at all (and they most definitely are!), they would be crucial to the domination of huge areas of the globe near them. And even Cuba, which finally did get its real freedom in the revolution of 1959 (after a formal but completely phony freedom in 1934) still is saddled with Guantanamo, one of the world's largest naval bases.

Commager knows quite well that these bases are used to protect the foreign business interests of the U.S. -- South and Central American in the case of Cuba and Puerto Rico -- and eastern Asia in the case of the Philippines.

The Philippines were already a major consideration in Theodore Roosevelt's maneuvers with the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. (He helped supply Japan with half its war budget, and then got guarantees of no Japanese interference with the Philippines for some time thereafter.)

And considering the bloody island-

hopping battles in which tens of thousands of GIs died in World War II in order to re-establish U.S. hegemony in the Philippines, Mr. Commager's "absent-minded" thesis might seem to rise from a lapse of his own memory rather than that of his masters!

"We are not very good at the dominion over palm and pine sort of thing," said Commager to the Senatorial servants of imperialism, most of whom had presided over the CIA overthrow of the Government of Guatemala in 1954 and the Government of Iran shortly afterward, the invasion of Lebanon with marines in 1958, the CIA invasion of Cuba in 1961, the bloody "rescue" operation in the Congo, 1964, the whirlwind invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 and a few others!

All the above-named are countries of "the palm." The "pine" area is pretty well covered with U.S. business interests and intrigues, too, and with

the exception of the socialist countries, pretty well dominated by the U.S.

But one could go on and on about this historian's peculiar view of history.

The important point is that the U.S. is in Vietnam for vital economic and political reasons (vital to Wall Street) that have absolutely nothing to do with a "moralistic obsession." That kind of obsession is only something they hire historians to whip up for their histories and teachers to drum into their students. The only kind of obsession the rulers of this country really have is an obsession for money. And this obsession, because of the nature of their economic system, must be satisfied. They must expand or die.

Right after the Spanish-American War they had \$500 million in foreign holdings. By 1913, as befits a world power which had thrown its weight around in the war "nobody much wanted," there was six times as much U.S. capital exploiting the semi-starved proletariat abroad -- \$3 billion. After the Second World War, which Commager says "did indeed have moral purposes," the U.S. foreign holdings zoomed up to \$19 billion in 1949 -- an amount far larger than the combined investments of all the other imperialist powers in that year.

Today the "book value" of U.S. foreign investments is about \$50 billion and the real value is estimated at around \$100 billion. This doesn't count scores of billions of U.S. loans and "aid" which tie foreign countries more closely to U.S. corporations so the latter can make investments easier, plush profits swifter, etc.

Were they to lose this \$100 billion, or any substantial part of it, they would be in a bigger crisis than most people imagine.

But "we repudiated imperialism," said Commager to his polite Senatorial audience. Obviously his words were meant to deceive the American people rather than to convince the imperialist Senators. He certainly did a job of diverting his television audience from beginning to understand why "we" are in Vietnam.

"We repudiated imperialism," says Commager. But if the essence of imperialism is the exploitation of the wealth and people of foreign countries -- and it is -- then the U.S. is by far the most imperialistic country that has ever existed.

"We" repudiated imperialism. But "we" built the biggest navy in the world, equipped with more firepower than has been used since the beginning of mankind's life on earth in order to protect \$100 billion that are owned by 4,200 U.S. corporations abroad, who in turn are managed, controlled or influenced by no more than two dozen big U.S. banks.

Not much of that \$100 billion is in Vietnam, to be sure (although the Chase Manhattan Bank opened its doors in Saigon a few months ago and the big boss, David Rockefeller thought it was important enough to go over there and preside over the opening of the new branch!).

On the one hand, the U.S. financiers need Vietnam as a receptacle for still more "investment." And on the other, they regard it and all of Southeast Asia as a strategic part of the defense of what they already have.

It was precisely over Vietnam -- part of "French Indo-China" at that time -- that the U.S. war with Japan started. The exact point at which U.S.-Japan negotiations broke down in December, 1941, was the question of Indo-China. This was the point where Secretary of State Hill indicated to Japanese Ambassador Kuruu: You can take the eastern part of China, yes; but Indo-China, no! (This has been documented by historian Charles A. Beard.)

Pearl Harbor came a week later.

After the war was over both the Japanese and the British were virtually ousted from the Far East, at least as effective competitors of U.S. big business. And so were the Dutch. All the enemies of U.S. imperialism have been cut down to size -- except the most fundamental enemy: the oppressed and exploited people themselves.

Mr. Commager, although a historian, might not be expected to remember (although he certainly agrees with it) the statement of a much less distinguished but somewhat more substantial figure than himself on November 12, 1946.

This was the statement of Leo P. Welch, then treasurer of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey -- one of the three or four mightiest corporations in the world. (It helps fuel the Navy, the bombing planes, the Army tanks -- and it has big interests in the Far East and wants more.)

Mr. Welch said:

"As the largest producer, the largest source of capital and the biggest contributor to the global mechanism, we must set the pace and assume the responsibility of the major stockholder in this corporation known as the world ... Nor is this for a given term of office. This is a permanent obligation."

The determination of Standard Oil and the U.S. Government to send American boys to Vietnam to die for them flows from the corporate creed of Mr. Welch and is concealed by Mr. Commager.

It should be added, of course, that when a historian as conservative and wily as Mr. Commager comes out for "peace," there must be something to it. But with all the evidence above, it should be clear just what kind of "peace" he has in mind, if he has any in mind at all.

Vietnam "Development"

Feb. 27-- David E. Lilienthal, former chairman of TVA and the Atomic Energy Commission, has 3-year contract to draft a long-term U.S. "development" plan for Vietnam. He's head of the Development and Revenue Corp. of N.Y.

CIA Role in Massacre of a Million Indonesians

**Carefully Hidden in Present Exposure,
A Few Leaks Hinted Truth Last Year**

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

The sudden gush of revelations about the nefarious dealings of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency which have jammed the capitalist news media recently, has created a deep stir of concern on a worldwide scale.

Every government in Asia, Africa and Latin America which is not already an outright U.S. puppet is currently combing through each and every U.S. news report to ferret out any evidence of CIA infiltration in its own country. Every mass organization, every labor union, every student and youth group in every corner of the globe, from Guinea to Cambodia, from Zambia to Chile, is now re-examining its affiliations, its donor organizations and even key individuals in the light of each new revelation about Washington's global espionage ring.

But of all the people who are devouring the U.S. press for information about CIA subversion, no one feels their task to be more pressing than the thousands of Indonesian exiles, who can no longer return to their fascist-ruled country for fear of imprisonment or death.

The one burning question which the survivors of the U.S.-backed counter-revolution urgently want to see exposed before the world is...HOW MANY MILLIONS DID THE CIA SPEND TO ENGINEER THE INDONESIAN MASSACRE?

How much did it cost to instigate the murder of a million people? What was the price tag for the Indonesian Council of Generals? What "channels" did the CIA use to "funnel" its funds to the reactionary generals and lower officers in Indonesia? Was it through the U.S. military technical "assistance" group which was denounced by Sukarno in early 1965? Were the military usurpers paid off through the Peace Corps, which was also banned later by the legal government? Were Washington's plans for genocide carried out by U.S. reporters, or by the USIA officials, or by officials in private film companies — all of whom were thrown out of Indonesia before Oct. 1, 1965 for their subversive activities.

Was U.S. businessman Andrew Gilchrist working for the CIA when he was caught red-handed with a letter dis-

cussing a U.S.-British plot to overthrow Sukarno with the help of "our army friends"? Was Hubert Humphrey's "friend" Adam Malik, now foreign minister of Indonesia (whose Murbha Party was banned by Sukarno as a CIA-front), one of the CIA's contact-men?

The "liberal" press has not even asked these questions, much less answered them, during the current "expose."

The present critics of the CIA have shown clearly, by their precise knowledge of amounts of funds, meeting places, the most obscure CIA-front groups, times, dates, etc., that they are privy to the most intimate details of the vast operations of the CIA.

Yet not one word has so far been heard about the role of Washington in the second most monstrous crime of genocide in this century — a disclosure which would put all other revelations in the shade and surely bring on the universal condemnation of the CIA and the United States Government which employs it.

In the light of the terrible victory of U.S. imperialism over 110 million people in Indonesia, all partisans of justice for the oppressed should demand to know what ever became of the charges broadcast by Colonel Untung over Radio Djakarta in the first hours of the coup d'etat, — charges that the CIA was plotting to take over the country.

Untung, who was a loyal supporter of Sukarno, tried to organize preventive action to stop the take-over. His first public act was to broadcast the news that he had a tape-recording of a secret military meeting of Sept. 21 which proved conclusively that the CIA had conspired with the present rulers of Indonesia to seize power on October 5. These charges were carried by the world press during the first hours of Untung's attempt to ward off the offensive by Nasution, Suharto and Co. — i.e. before the pro-U.S. junta turned the tide and decisively crushed the loyalist forces. The moment the generals were in and began to unleash the terrible counter-revolution, all talk of the CIA suddenly vanished from the capitalist press — a thorough conspiracy of silence was instituted and exists to this day.

Untung was sentenced to death by the fascist butchers in Djakarta and his present fate is unknown. But why were his charges, which were carried for two days by the world news media, suddenly suppressed by the entire capitalist propaganda machine? Where is the tape-recording of the general's meeting? Why, with all the uproar over the CIA, haven't the charges of murdering a million people at least been brought up for discussion?

With every variety of capitalist commentator suddenly becoming a super-sleuth counter-spy, why doesn't someone now recall the disclosures made by a New York Times staff of experts last April 27, when they reported, in a series dealing with the CIA, that:

"In Southeast Asia over the last decade, the CIA has been so active that the agency in some countries has been the principle arm of American policy. It is said, for instance, to have been so successful at infiltrating the top of the Indonesian government and army that the United States was reluctant to disrupt CIA covering operations by withdrawing aid and information programs in 1964 and 1965."

If his ruling class masters were so inclined, Max Frankel, Washington correspondent of the New York Times could certainly be informative about the CIA "cover operation" in Indonesia, simply by elaborating on his remarks of March 13, 1966. At that time Frankel wrote:

"The United States continued to retain excellent contacts with the top

military leaders (in Indonesia) even after Mr. Sukarno had renounced American aid and had begun to move against American information libraries, the Peace Corp and news correspondents."

And now would seem to be an opportune moment for Frankel to enlighten the public as to the concrete meaning of his comments of March 12.

"The Johnson Administration" wrote Frankel at the height of the massacre, "found it difficult today to hide its delight with the news from Indonesia, pointing to the the political demise (!) of President Sukarno and the Communists. After a long period of patient diplomacy, designed to help the army triumph over the Communists, officials were elated to find their expectations realized."

What "officials"? — CIA officials? What did they base their "expectations" upon? Was it on information from CIA agents who were so "successful at infiltrating the top of the Indonesian government and army" through their "covering operations"?

James Reston, were he not such an obsequious journalistic tool of Washington's policy makers, could serve as an excellent witness for the million killed and the 150,000 dying in prisons throughout Indonesia. Reston revealed his inside knowledge of

Continued on Next Page



Indonesian army on midnight raid during anti-Communist terror. Villagers were dragged out at gun-point to "finger" PKI members. Those who refused to inform were declared to be Communists and killed or imprisoned.

300,000 to 1 Million Already Slaughtered

U.S. Corporations Lining Up For Feast on Indonesia

The triumphal march of U.S. big business back into Indonesia has begun. Although Washington's unstable puppet generals are still desperately maneuvering to consolidate their fascist regime, nevertheless the U.S. billionaires are moving in to claim the spoils of their victory.

The triumph which eludes the U.S. monopolies in Vietnam, at a cost of over \$60 million a day, has apparently been won in Indonesia. For the paltry price of buying a "council of generals," U.S. finance capital has won the right to exploit the labor of 110 million people and to plunder the vast natural wealth of Indonesia.

A million workers, peasants and intellectuals have been butchered by the hirelings of the CIA, at least 150,000 are dying in prison and the corporate vultures are now rushing to devour the country.

The first among the thieves is the Rockefeller-controlled Caltex (Standard Oil of California and the Texaco Company). On Jan. 3 of this year the pro-U.S. genocidal clique of Suharto,

Nasution, Malik and Co. returned full ownership and control to Caltex of its 310,000 barrel-a-day operation in Sumatra. Caltex has also gotten a \$50 million contract to supply Jakarta with lubricating oil and gas despite the fact that the government owns its own refinery. Stimulated by the overwhelming generosity of the fascist usurpers, Caltex has decided to increase its investment in the Sumatran oil fields by \$10 million.

Stanvac (Esso and Mobil) was also handed back its 7,000 barrel-a-day Sumatran production facilities and the government has dropped previous demands that it be allowed to buy up the Stanvac refinery. National Cash Register and the Singer Co. will also be able to reclaim their holdings under the law of Dec. 12, 1966. Under the same law Goodyear Tire and Rubber took back its 54,000-acre rubber empire and U.S. Rubber has been encouraged to return, too.

Union Carbide's battery production plant was returned and the company is now planning to move into tungsten

mining. U.S. Steel is discussing a nickle mining operation in West Irian and Bethlehem Steel is "looking over" other mineral deposits.

Freeport Sulphur has signed an agreement to begin exploiting a huge copper deposit in West Irian and put as much as \$75 million into the project.

The Independent Indonesian-American Petroleum Company has been formed by a group of Rocky Mountain oil companies and now has the drilling rights on a 15,000-square mile offshore area. Conoco, Tenneco International and Union Oil are also discussing drilling rights and the president of Eastern Airlines was recently discussing joint operations with Washington's henchmen in Jakarta.

In order to create a "favorable environment" for the pirates on Wall Street, the illegal regime of Indonesian butchers passed a special law on foreign private investment on Dec. 27 of last year.

Among other things, the legal license

to plunder provided for 30-year rights to investment and land-use; full control by foreign companies of their investments — i.e., pricing, distribution, exporting, etc., without regard to the needs of Indonesia; up to five year exemptions on corporate taxes, shareholder's profit taxes and import taxes; complete freedom to send profits and capital back to the home office; and accelerated depreciation rights.

Ten days later, on Jan. 7, 1967, Adam Malik and the U.S. Charge d'Affaires signed a special law specifically guaranteeing all U.S. investors against loss due to "war, revolution or insurrection."

Thus the looting has started. Washington's Indonesian butchers are now turning the country over, lock stock and barrel to their imperialist masters. In Indonesia the U.S. has clearly revealed its true objectives in Vietnam — and all of Asia — the enslavement of the oppressed for the profit of big business in the United States.

Says Chinese CP to the Political Reaction: "Thus Far, and No Farther!"

Mao Didn't Wait for Thermidor

By SAM MARCY

Even if the cultural revolution should falter and temporarily come to a halt as a result of considerable resistance from the revisionist and rightist forces, it would still be a significant historical achievement.

For it is the first time, since the early days of the Great October Socialist Revolution, that the leadership of a socialist country picked up the threads of the Paris Commune and made an earnest effort not only to crush the old state machine, but to do away altogether with those elements of the bureaucratic apparatus of the old order. These are the elements which every socialist state to one extent or another has inherited from the past and in the course of trying to reconstruct society on a new basis, found necessary to utilize for immediate practical purposes. But as time passed, such societies were either unwilling or unable to cast them off. China's effort is all the more remarkable because of the tremendous struggle launched to carry this out by projecting the masses on to the political arena and attempting to awaken their creative initiative in completing the revolution.

In none of the socialist countries has there taken place that kind of clean sweep of what Marx called "the old rubbish." And wherever efforts were made to get rid of them, in the end, they cropped up again. By their nature and social make-up they act as the breeder and carrier of the reactionary left-overs of the old order.

It is in this light that the mighty social and political upheaval known as the cultural revolution should be viewed.

For what Mao Tse-tung and his collaborators are trying to do is nothing less than to make a truly heroic, and herculean effort to avoid the advance of Thermidor on the social soil of the Chinese Revolution.

Every great revolution in world history has up until now had its period of tempestuous surge forward which was followed by a decline and included a partial reaction. This was so in The Russian Revolution, The French Revolution, as well as The Cromwellian Revolution in 17th Century England. In each of these cases, there was a partial reaction in which reactionary groupings took over, but in none of these cases was there ever a restoration to the full previous status quo.

The French Revolution had its Thermidorian period of reaction which came on the heels of the Jacobin period. But feudalism was destroyed root and branch, and the Thermidorian period was a political reaction with limited regressive social and economic consequences. (It takes its name from the month of "thermidor" on the French Revolution's new calendar, the month during which Robespierre was killed by the reactionaries.) The old feudal system, as a social system, was destroyed and the new bourgeois system began to flourish. About the same happened with the earlier Cromwellian revolution, except that more substantial concessions were made to the old ruling class.

Whatever one may consider the starting point of Thermidor in the Soviet Union — whether it was under Stalin or Khrushchev — all revolutionary groups are agreed that a period of reaction ensued which is now in full bloom. But the difference between Thermidor on the social foundation (class foundation) of a proletarian revolution and the bourgeois revolution may turn out to be of a very fundamental character.

The bourgeois system of production, which is based upon market relations and the exploitation of wage labor by capital, can grow and develop spontaneously under a monarchy, under a Bonapartist dictatorship (even of the most reactionary totalitarian character), as well as under a relatively stable bourgeois democracy. In spite of the anarchy inherent in capitalist production, the capitalist system develops automatically — spontaneously, because of the market, and the political superstructure merely acts as an accelerator or a brake on its development, as the case may be. This is no small matter of concern, of course! But history has shown no instance whatsoever where a capitalist order of society was restored to the old feudal system.



Young workers at the Tsinan auto plant in Shantung making wall posters for cultural revolution. They stop production to do it. But their aim is to stop Thermidor, too!

It may be otherwise with the newly-established dictatorship of the proletariat, which has taken possession of the basic means of production. Once it has taken over the basic means of production it can scarcely develop at all except on the basis of conscious centralized planning. The social relationships can neither be stabilized nor developed, either in the economic or in the political sphere, without conscious planning. That is a basic difference between the bourgeois revolution and the proletarian revolution.

If a reaction takes place in a socialist — i.e., workers' — state, that is, if a Thermidorian reaction occurs on the foundation of a proletarian dictatorship, it is immensely more dangerous than in a bourgeois revolution. Thermidor in the French revolution went as far as it could, but the new bourgeois relations developed, the productive forces developed, commerce and industry flourished, the exploitation of the workers was accelerated, the productivity of labor heightened and science and industry began to make giant steps forward.

Thermidor on the basis of a socialist state (i.e., a workers' state) especially if the reaction sinks deeper and deeper roots, has the possibility of fully dissolving all the newly-established economic relations, newly-established by the proletarian dictatorship, unless it is stopped. While a full scale bourgeois restoration is a theoretical possibility, it is exceedingly improbable. However, only life will prove which will prevail.

Scarcely a day passes without there being some news of a further development of the so-called economic liberalization and decentralization methods in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Most ominous is the rapid development of the so-called new profit system for various establishments and the further extension of individual material incentives which undermine the class solidarity not only of the working people but the general population.

The continuing widening of the gulf between the privileges of the new social stratum and the general mass of the population is becoming so great and the method of material incentive so extensive that they pose the greatest danger to the public — socialized — ownership of the means of production. The Soviet leadership must bear full responsibility for the threatening danger to the social achievements of the October Revolution. It is their political and economic policies which continue and constantly enlarge this danger.

Undoubtedly Mao saw the development of Thermidor in the Soviet Union and its debilitating effects both in the economic field as well as in the arena of political life in general. All the more remarkable is the effort made to stop the engulfing Thermidor advance which has enveloped the bulk of the socialist countries. The lasting significance of the cultural revolution will not be in how far and deep it will eventually advance but in that it organized a tremendous army, which in effect made its watchword to the Thermidor:

"Thus far they've gone and no farther. They shall not pass!"

-CIA in Indonesia

Continued from Preceding Page

Indonesian events on June 19, 1966 in an article shamelessly entitled "A Gleam of Light in Asia."

"Washington is being careful not to claim credit," revealed Reston, "for the savage transformation of Indonesia ... to a defiantly anti-Communist policy...but this does not mean that Washington had nothing to do with it."

On the contrary, "...it is doubtful if the coup would ever have been attempted...without the clandestine aid it has received indirectly from here."

And who is the master of "clandestine aid" to every incipient counter-revolution on the globe? Hasn't the CIA's "clandestine aid" already been uncovered at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba, during the murder of Lumumba and the Stanleyville massacre in the Congo, in the overthrow of Mossadegh in Iran, of Arbenz in Guatemala, of Nkrumah in Ghana, etc., etc., etc.?

Weren't the Indonesian events of 1965-1966 just a successful version of the abortive attempt to take over Indonesia in 1958 by a U.S.-hired army of reactionaries operating with air cover from U.S. bases in the Philippines — a plot publicly known to have been organized by Allen Dulles and executed by the CIA?

The real truth is that the extraordinary conspiracy of silence about the Indonesian massacre — amid the torrent of disclosures about the CIA — can be attributed to one basic fact. Whatever differences there are among the financiers over what role the CIA should play in general, there is unanimous ruling class approval of the physical annihilation of the 5-million strong PKI and all its allied organizations of 20 million people. And there is positive jubilation among all sections of the capitalist class over the capture of Indonesia for super-exploitation by U.S. big business and the creation of a new satellite in the anti-China alliance.

The Wrong Salutation

John Steinbeck is writing vicious, anti-Communist letters to Newsday, which is owned by billionaire Harry Guggenheim. In his new-found role as literary prostitute for the U.S. ruling class, Steinbeck has turned his former talent to writing racist propaganda against the Asian people and attacks on the anti-war movement at home.

In memory of Guggenheim's late wife, Steinbeck addresses all his letters to "Dear Alicia," but what he really means is "Dear Harry."

-Natchez Murder

Continued from Page 1

murdered by a racist several years ago.

(Incidentally, the killer of Medgar Evers, Byron de la Beckwith, who was "investigated" and "tried" by a Southern racist court, was acquitted and is now running for Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi!)

The crowd was hot and ready for any kind of action.

Evers told plant guards: "If necessary, we'll go through those plant gates like a flood of water."

A woman in the crowd shouted: "You say the word and we'll go through them right now!"

Just a week before Wharles' murder, a crowd of civil rights demonstrators in nearby Birmingham, Alabama, gathered at City Hall to protest 10 Afro-Americans being shot by cops, sheriffs and deputies in the last 14 months. (During that period no whites had been shot while being arrested or "escaping" as Black people had.)

The number of "unsolved" murders of Afro-Americans in the area is far greater and only yesterday a new court action was begun in the case of the Klan lynching of three civil rights

NLF Cheer for Right Side

Captured NLF freedom fighters cheer for the Indians in the U.S. "western" movies they see.

Their sentiment for the Indians is so spontaneous and uncontrollable that Army Intelligence has even spotted a guerrilla who pretended to have become pro-U.S. by noting his reactions at such a movie. (He cried at the end of the picture, when the Indians lost.)

Recently an Army officer compared the whole Vietnam war to the Indian wars in the United States. The difference now, he said is that "the helicopter has taken the place of the horse."

There is another difference. This time, the Indians are going to win.

fighters in 1964 (Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman). The 19 assailants are well known to the police and have already been found "not guilty" on one charge.

The Black masses want action. And nobody believes that the Afro-American people are going to get justice in this country without a massive struggle against the ruling class.

Which Is Worse - Marijuana or Coca Cola & the CIA ?

The Poison Peddlers Abroad

The day after Christmas a New York paper shocked its readers with an extensive story about U.S. "beatniks" in faraway Tangier and even more remote Nepal.

It seems that hasheesh and the equivalent of marijuana are very available and extremely cheap in Tangier, while Nepal has become "the scene" where expatriate, disillusioned and alienated youth can gather.

The Moroccan police round them up in Tangier from time to time and the immigration authorities in Nepal are cracking down on them. Wealthier and more "normal" American tourists are complaining to their consuls about the "slovenliness," etc.

U.S. authorities seem ready to move against these unfortunate youths, perhaps on the ground that they are "ugly Americans," who create a "bad image" for the U.S. abroad.

But there are now 2.5 million Americans (other than tourists) living in foreign countries, including Nepal and Morocco. They are everywhere from Bangkok to Berlin. They are imbibing (and dispensing) infinitely more Coca Cola than marijuana. And their effect on the peoples of the world is far

more profoundly "ugly" than that of the would-be Buddhists from Greenwich Village.

At least 5,000 of this greatest "peacetime" invasion of all history are known to be CIA employees. These agents undoubtedly wear clean shirts and well-pressed suits. But their effect in a number of countries is somewhat more unsettling than that of a few bearded youths in Nepal.

Financing bloody coups d'etat, buying elections and intriguing on a scale that Metternich, Tallyrand and the Medici would never have believed possible, their "image" is only maintained by a favorable press and radio-TV, which are also bought by them.

The local police never round them up, as they do the harmless expatriates. They don't dare.

About 1 million of the locust-like invasion of the U.S. penetrated areas are servicemen, whose uniforms are also well pressed, and who are required to shave every day. In places like Vietnam they are also required to shoot, kill and mutilate people, including women, children and the aged.

Here, not the local police, but a whole nation is trying to eject them.

There are some 14,370 Peace Corpsmen who reputedly are very idealistic, work for relatively low wages and supposedly make a big hit with peoples of underdeveloped countries. Some of these, however, have been sent home as undesirable characters. And Guinea expelled the whole Peace Corps contingent from that country as an imperialist agency.

No country has done that with the beatniks as yet.

Newsweek of November 28 raises an alarm about the "golden ghettos" of U.S. citizens living abroad with their diaper services, milk deliveries, shopping centers, post exchanges, etc. The magazine justly criticizes the U.S. businessman at a party in Rome who said:

"We're the Americans. We have the greatest country in the world. Let the Italians learn English."

The most ignorant young refugee from the U.S. education factory would hardly say a thing like that.

Behind the invasion of 2.5 million willing and unwilling agents of imperialism (which hardly includes the poorer class of beatnik) are 4,200 U.S. corporations that control 14,000

foreign enterprises, whose "book value" is about \$50 billion. (Actual value is now estimated at nearly twice as much.)

These 4,200 corporations are in turn controlled by a much smaller number of companies, through mergers, interlocking directorates, etc., and an even smaller group of big banks mostly centered in New York.

Newsweek says this colossal American invasion "signifies a turnabout in the global relations of the world's most powerful people."

Such things as the Vietnam war are being conducted so this "turnabout" will stick.

The 4,200 corporations could do little without the million soldiers fighting for them and the million or so others working, spying and planning for them.

These corporations are not giving anything to the peoples of the countries they invade. They are taking from them. They are exploiting them. They are selling to them, and only injecting them with U.S. values in order to do so.

Granted that a few hundred bohemians, some of whom are drug-takers, do not help the culture of the countries they visit—at least they confine the administration of poisons to their own persons rather than to others.

A round-up of undesirables in Nepal, Tangier and a great many other places is in order and long past due.

The real undesirables, that is.

- Labor Lieutenants of the CIA

Continued from Page 1

right wing of the U.S. State Department, as is his boss, Meany.

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

But what do all these individuals and departments like the ICFTU, the AIFLD, and the African Labor Center, DO with the CIA money?

Perhaps one reason Pearson does not tell during this "time of troubles" for U.S. policy is that "some of these groups have done good work in combating Communist labor influences and in spreading free trade unionism." (!)

Back in 1964, the same Pearson coolly revealed that the 1963 British Guiana general strike against the leftist Cheddi Jagan government was "inspired by a combination of CIA money and British Intelligence." This may be part of what he now refers to as "good work."

Prime Minister Jagan charged at the time that \$1.2 million had been given to his opponents by U.S. sources. Sydney Lens wrote last July in the Nation that a union official in (now) Guyana named Pollidar, had told him that the strikers had received over \$700,000 in strike funds from "abroad." This may be more of the "good work."

Among the visitors to then British Guiana just previous to and during the general strike, were Andrew McClellan, head of the AFL-CIO Latin-American Affairs Committee; William Doherty, Jr. and Ernest Lee, top AFL-CIO bureaucrats; Pat Terrill of the United Steelworkers; William McCabe, special AFL-CIO representative; Eugene Meakins of the Newspaper Guild (the union first named as getting \$1 million in CIA funds); and Ben Segal of the Electrical Workers.

The general strike itself was not called to enforce economic demands, but to protest Jagan's legislation and was aimed at bringing down his government to make way for one more favorable to and dependent upon the United States.

Obviously this method of attacking Jagan's "Communism" was far superior to using U.S. gunboats or Green Beret commandos. The hand of U.S. big business was concealed in the well-lined glove of U.S. "labor" -- that is,

the labor bureaucracy. And even now that hand has not been revealed to the American people, least of all to American labor -- that is, the working people who pay Meany, Lovestone & Co.'s wages.

Guyana is only one case, albeit a classical one, of this Judas-style subversion. The biggest and most important in Latin America was Brazil.

The biggest agency for the spread of CIA funds (and other U.S. slush moneys, too) among Latin American sellout labor leaders is the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). This agency was set up in 1959 by Joseph Beirne of the CWA. Big business is openly in on it, contributing about 10 per cent of the publicly acknowledged expenses. The



I.L.A. Pres. Teddy Gleason finks behind the flag. Helps suppress Saigon dock workers in Viet "war effort."

AFL-CIO contributes another 10 per cent, which is undoubtedly CIA money, and the innocent-sounding Agency for International Development (AID) contributes the other 80 per cent.

When the elected government of Joao Goulart was overthrown in a military coup in 1964, the AIFLD played a key role. William Doherty, Jr., one of Meany's key henchmen, was quoted as saying that the Brazilian graduates of AIFLD's special "school" became "immediately involved in some of the clandestine operations of the revolution before it took place... Many of the trade union leaders—some of whom were actually trained in our institute—were involved in the revolution (i.e., counter-revolution) and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."

This was all carried out so professionally that the Brazilian masses knew hardly any more about it than the U.S. workers. A Brazilian dispatch to the New York Times a few days ago—February 22—said that the CIA scandal in the U.S. has "attracted little attention here."

AIFLD is active in almost every country in the Western Hemisphere. But in Africa, Irving Brown's African-American Labor Center is the principal subverter. And this is the agency through which many thousands of CIA dollars get to Africa, notably to Kenya, Nigeria and Ghana—with what success for the U.S. anti-labor billionaires may be judged by those who are familiar with these countries.

Before Nkrumah was overthrown, a Ghanaian paper complained about U.S. union influence and asked why the U.S. union leaders tell the African trade unions "to keep their noses out of politics? The fact is that the era of comparative class peace and conciliation in the metropolitan countries has been bought at the expense of grinding exploitation and bloody repression in the colonies."

But the AFL-CIO leaders were hell-bent on helping their imperialist bosses continue that "grinding exploitation and bloody repression in the colonies." And sure enough, Ghana is now back in the orbit of imperialism—having shifted from British overlordship to British-U.S. control, as befits the new relationship of forces.

The anti-labor labor leaders are moving in on Asia, too.

Irving Brown has made at least one special trip to South Vietnam, although



Philip Werdell, press liaison for NSA, on Feb. 17, accused the CIA of threatening "character assassination" to prevent NSA leaders from telling truth about funds.

the unsavory Thomas Gleason, long-shoremen's union leader, got much more publicity on his trip, because he openly showed the dock bosses how to speed up the workers and sabotage union conditions. Lovestone and Meany made a much-publicized trip to Japan last year to spread "Americanism" along with U.S. dollars to union leaders there. The idea in Japan was to weaken SOHYO, the militant and often anti-government union federation.

Walter Reuther, leader of the United Auto Workers, will now try to make the best of Meany's embarrassment without, perhaps, exposing him too much. Reuther wants an anti-Communist labor movement like Meany does. But Reuther is with the "left" wing of the State Department rather than the right. He is for "co-existence" etc., while the almost ultra-right Meany is against it.

Reuther wants the CIA out of the situation. He feels that the old heavy-handed methods won't work in the new conditions. He visualizes a social-democratic international labor federation based on only a minimum of U.S. bribery and a maximum of Reutherite demagoguery.

The U.S. working class, however, whom both Reuther and Meany are supposed to represent, have utterly no objective interest in either form of corruption of the international labor movement. The higher the pay in other countries, the better the working conditions, the more nearly the workers approach to a socialist society—the better it will be for the workers of the United States.

NY Youth Hit Repression Of Spanish Students, Workers

New York, Feb. 17th -- About 150 people demonstrated today at the New York office of the Spanish National Tourist Office at 5th Ave. near 48th Street protesting the brutal police repressions against students and workers by the Franco regime in Spain. The demonstration was sponsored by Youth Against War and Fascism.

The demonstrators were supporting the new movement of opposition to the fascist regime in Spain which has grown out of 30 years of silence, fear, and terror since the death of a million Spaniards fighting against Franco in the Civil War. They were also supporting demands for freedom from domination by the totalitarian government student organizations and from the government-controlled unions.

Thousands of students, inspired by the huge demonstrations of workers from whole plants for their own unions, have been beaten, hospitalized, and

jailed without bail for fighting for the basic democratic right to form their own organizations.

The demonstration here demanded the release of those jailed as well as those political prisoners who have been languishing in Franco's prisons for a longer time, some since the Civil War thirty years ago. The demonstrators carried signs and chanted the slogans: "Down with Fascism," "Free the Political Prisoners in Spain," "Abajo Franco, Viva la Libertad," and "Support Anti-Fascist Struggle in Spain." The demonstration lasted for an hour and a half in the bitter cold and was seen by tens of thousands of passersby.

Also on the demonstration were members of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia, the Puerto Rican pro-Independence movement here in New York, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade — Americans who fought against Franco 30 years ago — and others.



New Yorkers protesting Franco's savage repressions last week.

Refuse to Free Sobell; Still Hound the Rosenbergs

By FREDERICK MATTEGER

NEW YORK, Feb. 25 — Morton Sobell's appeal has been denied.

In a reinforcement of the big-lie which was used to convict him, U.S. District Judge Edward Weinfeld has written some 79 pages of they-lied-and-I'll-swear-to-it prose to justify the denial.

Time magazine (February 24) in its enthusiastic approval of the tale and decision, Goebbelized: "Overwhelming evidence sent Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to the electric chair as Soviet atomic spies..." and claimed that Sobell had helped Julius Rosenberg "badger a Navy Dept. engineer for classified anti-aircraft and fire control information."

This was in the face of a carefully documented book ("Invitation to an Inquest" by Walter and Miriam Schneir) which had torn the whole fabric of the big-lie apart, fiber by fiber, and showed that the "overwhelming evidence" was basically a frame-up. It did not deter these ruling class voices from repeating the same story line with arrogant assurance — though they avoided repeating the more absurd details which were used during the trial to feed the accompanying hysteria.

In the sentencing of the young Rosenbergs to death, the pre-judging Judge

Kaufman, acting to terrorize all progressives for the ruling class that owned him, had orated in the tone of the hysteria, blaming the Rosenbergs for the Russians having the atom bomb and for the Korean War, charging them with a plot to destroy America and various other crimes, which today sound believable only in comic books.

Stooge Kaufman then sentenced Sobell. But though he insisted that "There isn't any doubt about your guilt" even with the wildest hearsay "evidence" the government could only charge Sobell with talking to somebody about helping in "espionage." Still, on general principles, he gave Sobell 30 years.

Morton Sobell was sentenced on April 5, 1951. Since that time, his wife has fought a valiant struggle for his release. The present appeal, backed by the new evidence in the book, which was given considerable publicity not only by the left but also by a section of the ruling class which fears the growth of fascism, appeared to have some chance of success. That is, it appeared that Sobell might be released because of the "reasonable doubt" without being cleared or because he had served already some 16 years. But the decision of the ruling class judge has shown that with or without the hysteria of the "atom spy" period, he and his masters are going to support the lynching.



Brainwashing Johnny (Part 2)

"Today," the teacher announces to the class, "we will study about steel. And I'm going to pass out to each one of you this nice booklet — it looks just like a comic book doesn't it?"

Johnny and all the rest of the kids reach for it eagerly. Under the title STEEL is a red and gray streamlined train racing over a bridge under which a large ship is steaming. Above is an airliner.

In the story Jimmy and his dad are shown through a steel plant by Sis' boyfriend, Dan, who tells them all about it as he shows each phase of steelmaking. Better than a textbook with only words, thinks Johnny. Dan lectures how "we" (the company) produce steel.

The Good Steel Company

As Johnny and the class near the end of the book, Dan shows them a view of the huge machinery and says: "There it is — about four football fields long, Jimmy, a labor saver and a job creator. This is also one of the many reasons why steel is cheap — at the average price of only a few pennies per pound."

"Dad" chimes in helpfully, "Yes and I think I read somewhere recently that this kind of equipment helps the steel industry operate on a very narrow profit margin."

Johnny and his classmates have now learned about another of their benefactors — the good steel company.

The above is just one of many lessons from "teaching aids" supplied by big business — in this case the steel companies' "American Iron and Steel Institute" — to shape Johnny's thinking in grade schools across the country.

The Association of American Railroads, in another "comic book," ("Ride the High Iron") gives Johnny sixteen pages of a colored picture commercial for riding modern passenger trains.

That Courageous Pioneer - John D. Rockefeller

The American Petroleum Institute, speaking for the oil companies, tells Johnny about "Petroleum in our Modern Society." In this helpful bit of propaganda, Johnny is told how "...many people went into the oil business. In doing so, they blazed new trails, which always requires initiative and courage.... One of these pioneers was a young businessman in Cleveland, John D. Rockefeller."

Johnny is told how Rockefeller showed his initiative and pioneer spirit by forming a trust and how "Rockefeller companies introduced many efficient methods of operation, etc., etc."

Johnny is not told how Rockefeller formed the trust, how Rockefeller agents hired a worker in a rival company to blow up its refinery (Vacuum Oil in Buffalo), nor other methods by which Rockefeller and his henchmen took over much of the wealth of this country which rightfully belonged to the people — and how this wealth is today used against the welfare of the people.

But Johnny is told how teamsters who were losing their jobs to a pipeline, tried to destroy the pipeline and how armed guards had to protect it from them.

These artfully prepared booklets are a few in the flood of big business propaganda which pours into the schoolrooms free of charge. Catalogues are put out listing this free material and how to order it. But often it is sent into the schools unasked for, in bundles. School administrators distribute it.

A collection made in one school in a large industrial city revealed "teaching aids" from practically all areas of big business. Among them: Ford, GM, Goodyear Tire, Star-Kist Tuna, GE, Metropolitan Life Insurance, the National Dairy Council, Union Pacific, the American Iron and Steel Institute which includes Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Colorado Fuel and Iron, and the Hanna Furnace Corporation.

In addition to booklets, big business furnishes movies, filmstrips and special display gimmicks. The telephone company furthers its public relations by sending representatives with a portable set of phones for the teacher to use to show Johnny how. In many cities teachers are forced to take one period a week to collect Johnny's money for the savings bank. Johnny is lectured on the importance of this and given his share of bankers' propaganda on how a good citizen saves his money — in their bank.

Like a piece of malleable steel, Johnny, they hope, will be hammered into shape for their use. To encourage teachers to do their part, the bankers give them a little present — a pen set, a portfolio, or some other gimmick.

Prodding Johnny's Teacher

Teachers are also given other little prods to help them see it the right way. Some school systems have a special day when the schools are closed and teachers are required to visit a business firm where they are given a free meal and a propaganda program and a trip around the plant with the view from the companies' side.

The New York City teachers are presently being encouraged to attend a course given by the New York Times called "The New York Times Views the American Economy." It is held in the New York Times auditorium at 229 West 43rd Street. Backing the Times in this indoctrination course is something called the "New York City Council on Economic Education" — a name, undoubtedly, for a group of big businesses.

Another course, "Keeping Up With The Times" is also being given and this one "in cooperation with the Board of Education," according to the Times of February 14.

To get the teachers to come, they use the carrot. Both courses "are taken by teachers for credits leading to promotion or salary increases."

Yet, in spite of this flood of big business propaganda which permeates the entire school system of the country, let a labor union, a civil rights group, or a citizen's group which is speaking for working people ask to present their point of view to the students or the teachers and there will be great cries and gnashing of teeth by school authorities about the "problem" of presenting this material or viewpoint. It will be necessary to get the approval of higher authorities; it will be too controversial; it will not fit into the curriculum; it will have to be answered by an opposing point of view. ("After all, we must always present both sides of a question mustn't we?")