

*Black and White, Unite and Fight for a***WORKERS WORLD**

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TEN CENTS

In Defense of PKI ..... P. 2  
 Fighting the Draft ..... P. 3, 5  
 CIA Only Amateurs ..... P. 4  
 Elections in India ..... P. 6

## Negotiations or Withdrawal Which Way to Peace in Vietnam?

By Bertrand Russell

(From Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Bulletin No. 5. Reprinted by permission.)

Over many years I have tried to alert people to the aggressive nature of the war waged by the United States in Vietnam. Western propaganda had conditioned people to the view that any armed resistance to the Governments in power could only be subversion engineered by outside Communist powers. This rationale for Western puppet regimes in impoverished countries has affected

profoundly the anti-war movement itself....

At first it was said that the Diem Government was a legitimate Government threatened by rebellion. When American troops began to pour into the country they were designated as "advisors". When napalm was used against the countryside by U.S. pilots the fact was first denied and later said to be the responsibility of the Saigon Government. The New York Times wrote in a leader that U.S. "advisors" opposed the use of napalm but could do

Continued on Page 7



Protest in Herald Square, N.Y. Last Week. See Story Below.

## Protest Lynching in Natchez; Demand Re-Seating of Powell

NEW YORK, March 12—As thousands of shoppers out in force in the spring weather passed and hundreds stopped to watch, chanting demonstrators from Youth Against War & Fascism yesterday protested racist murder in Mississippi by marching in New York's Herald Square.

The demonstration was one of the most militant expressions of youthful demands for justice seen recently in the city.

Chanting, "UP WITH POWELL: DOWN WITH WALLACE!" and raising their placards in time with the chant, the 150 youths with a sprinkling of older people brought many of the thousands of passersby to a halt to watch and study what was going on.

Hundreds took leaflets and stood reading them and a considerable number of onlookers joined the picket line. Hecklers were almost non-existent. In one of the rare cases of vocal opposition, a spectator growled, "Communist!" at one of the marchers.

"Flattery will get you nowhere!" answered the young picketer to the amusement of others with him.

Leaflets distributed protested specifically the racist murder of Wharlest Jackson, a Black Civil Rights worker in Natchez, Mississippi who was killed by a bomb planted in his truck as he left work. Shortly before he had taken a job previously held by a white.

The leaflet called attention to the growing tide of racism shown also by the expulsion from Congress of Adam Clayton Powell and previous to that, the

racist campaign conducted in New York to abolish the Civilian Review Board.

Signs carried by the demonstrators told their story to the public: "Support the Black People of Natchez," "Stop Racist Murder," and "Protest Racist Murder in Natchez." Other signs said, "Maddox in; Powell out — Great Society," and "Keep the Faith, Baby!"

## The Issue Is Racism

### An Editorial

The issue of Adam Clayton Powell's seat in Congress is not Powell himself, as every person who has felt the lash of capitalist white supremacy well understands; the issue is racism. The issue is the right of the Black People to have their own representative in Congress.

The issue is not whether Powell is a revolutionary socialist liberation fighter. The issue is whether Powell represents Harlem and whether the racist U.S. Congress has a right to say he does not.

Powell is the legally elected representative overwhelmingly chosen by the people of Harlem -- with a plurality higher than Johnson's in the last election. And the white supremacists in the House haven't a shred of legal right to throw him out!

## RFK "Break" With LBJ Shows Masses Anti-War Feeling, Not Kennedy's

### Getting on Band Wagon of Popular Opposition RFK Will "Keep Us Out of War" Like Wilson Did

As Johnson pursues an ever more relentless course of expanding the war in Vietnam, Robert F. Kennedy "breaks" with him in a Senate speech early this month and "leaks" the news (undoubtedly true) that there was a violent scene between himself and Johnson at the White House on February 6, during which Johnson said, "In six months, all you doves will be destroyed" and "I never want to see you again."

Much as these two men are opposed to each other, they do not really differ on the broad objectives of the war. Their break may long outlast the war in Vietnam, but that will be for personal, factional, organizational reasons -- not differences of principle concerning war, peace and imperialism.

Kennedy only opposes Johnson on the conduct of the war, not its objectives. Kennedy is basically wooing the voters by voicing the popular opposition to the war, which he well understands is really that of the great majority, in spite of brainwashing newspapers and Gallup Polls.

That wise old adviser to the capitalist class, Walter Lippmann explained this with unusual bluntness (perhaps in an attempt to get Johnson to change his course) in his column of March 9:

"The Democratic opposition to

(Johnson's) course in Vietnam has reached a point where a politician who aspires to national leadership must align himself with that opposition."

"Robert Kennedy is not one who would choose to be a voice crying in the wilderness," says Lippmann. "Kennedy doesn't like wildernesses. He is not one of the breed of dissenters. His instincts and his appetites are to be where the real power is."

The fact that Johnson is reported to have told Kennedy, "I never want to see you again" means, if true, that Kennedy is now free of the organizational discipline of Johnson and the presently-constituted Democratic Party.

The fact that Johnson said "All you doves will be destroyed in six months," however, means that Johnson figures on making the war so big that imperialist "doves" like Kennedy will have to go along. Whether they will be "destroyed" by the likes of Johnson is another matter.

They will have more prestige among the masses in such a war's early stages, precisely because of their previous "opposition" to it and will be the ideal "war leaders" for imperialism, since they "hate war."

Robert Kennedy, like Woodrow Wilson, is a natural for his class.

## Bosses Had Just One Reason To Jail Hoffa: Their Profits

James Hoffa, the president of the largest and one of the most militant

labor unions in the country was clapped into jail last week, the victim of a 10-year campaign by the Justice Department to frame him up.

Much has been said, pro and con, about the leader of the 1.7 million member International Brotherhood of Teamsters who was locked in the Lewisburg Pa. federal penitentiary to start an eight-year sentence. But it should be clearly stated that Hoffa was jailed for one reason -- and one reason only. The corporation bosses wanted him there!

Hoffa was far from a revolutionary opponent of the capitalist class or its system of exploitation as a whole. But neither was he a member of the thoroughly petrified AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy.

The Teamsters' leader built up and maintained his support among the rank and file membership primarily by fighting to "bring home the bacon" rather than begging for handouts from the corporation owners. Under Hoffa's thoroughly pragmatic but militant leadership the Teamsters were known throughout the labor movement to

Continued on Page 2

Continued on Page 2

# WORKERS WORLD

Editorial office:

46 W. 21st Street, New York, N. Y.

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Manager: Dorothy Ballan

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## The Issue Is Racism

Continued From Page 1

But it has unseated Adam Clayton Powell, one of the few Representatives in this or any previous Congress whose constituents militantly support him.

Congress, of course, was under pressure -- racist pressure. Powell was tried by a racist Congressional jury and condemned by a racist Congressional majority. His long trial by newspaper, magazine, TV and radio was conducted in a racist atmosphere, with racist overtones by the writers and commentators.

Not only was he singled out for the political slaughter, he was victimized at precisely the same moment that the super-racist Lester Maddox became Governor of Georgia and the accused assassin of an NAACP leader announced his candidacy for Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi, while a new lynching took place in the same state.

The Congress that expelled Adam Powell did not even bother to "deplore" these events, much less investigate

or reverse them as it should have done. While all the Congressmen denied that they were racists or influenced by racism, every single racist extremist voted against Powell.

Clear as the issue is to the oppressed and the revolutionaries, many people less involved, under the barrage of the ruling class press, misunderstand it as they also misunderstood the issue in the vote on the New York Civilian Police Review Board last fall.

The tokenist, do-nothing Review Board was not the issue then, as Powell is not the issue now. The issue was racism then, as now. Every fascist, Birchite and bigot knows it. And every fighting Black militant and white progressive knows it and feels it in his bones.

There are those among the radical left who disagree with Workers World's support of Powell against the reaction. To them we pose this question:

If you saw a Black Man being lynched, would you ask his political principles before going to his defense?

## Which Side Are You On?

The false question now being raised by the liberal intellectuals whose organizations have been subverted by the CIA, runs like this: How best can a "free" society carry on the fight against Communism?

The CIA's answer is — "With unlimited funds secretly supplied by our agency" (which it gets from the U.S. taxpayers).

The liberals' answer is — "With our pure liberalism, adulterated here and there, perhaps, with Federal financing, open rather than secret and altogether free from any taint of the 'department of dirty tricks.'"

The liberals don't like to face the logic of their own position. They do not like to live with the reactionaries they hate in order to fight the Communism they fear. They do not like the idea of being agents of reaction. And they fondly tell themselves that their own "individual" intellectual output convinces the world's masses that imperialism is better for them than socialism. The CIA knows different.

The liberals never complained very much about the CIA's subversion and overthrow of progressive governments throughout the world and for the most part pretended that such things did not even exist. Like the genteel slave-owners of the South, who averted their eyes from the shame of the auction block, they would rather not think about it and even shudder at being too close to it.

This applies of course far more to the

big leaders than to, say, the rank and file students in the NSA. Many of the latter are genuinely horrified at the implications of the CIA manipulation of their organization.

To the honest intellectuals in the liberal bourgeois world still too young or too poor to identify themselves with the modern super-slave masters of imperialism, we can pose the question differently than to their elders: Not are you with the CIA on its methods, but are you with them on their goals?

The exploitation by U.S. big business of the half the world that lives on less than \$100 a year per person and goes to bed hungry every night — that is what the CIA stands for and that is what the U.S. Government stands for. The goal of one is to facilitate the domination of the other.

The question is: do you endorse this goal? If you are for the super-exploitation of the masses, if you are for the war against the colonial world, the neo-colonial and the socialist world — that is, the majority of the human race — then you are for the CIA and might as well take its dirty money.

But if you are against this exploitation and for the liberation of the oppressed peoples, then you should not only reject the aid of the CIA, but condemn and expose the role of the U.S. Government itself as the boss of the CIA and the executive committee of U.S. big business.

Putting the question still more simply: Which side are you on?

# In Defense of the PKI

A number of socialist and Communist leaders are busying themselves these days with the "lessons of Indonesia." But most of them are far more interested in making spiteful attacks on the Indonesian or Chinese Communists than in helping the masses learn how to make a revolution without a serious defeat or massacre.

Undoubtedly the PKI will find it necessary to review all the lessons from the experience (as it has indeed already begun to do). It is cadres of the PKI, as a matter of fact, who are by far the most serious about studying the lessons of Indonesia. And by and large it is they who should be seriously studied by the sideline critics.

Eager editorial writers with no experience in the class struggle have difficulty understanding this, as do political leaders with a tendency to conciliate with their own ruling class.

There are two basic criticisms of the PKI, neither of which is correct and both of which are motivated by malice. Interestingly enough, they are so opposite in their premises that they also tend

to cancel each other out.

One of these criticisms has it that the whole counter-revolutionary bloodbath was caused by the "ultra-leftism" of those who tried to make the first so-called "coup of September 30" and by the Mao leadership in China, which was supposed to have advised them to do it. This view comes from the pro-imperialist revisionists and is suspect on the face of it.

The other criticism is a more subtle one. It says that the whole defeat was due to the "opportunism" of the PKI — its failure to arm the workers, its alleged revisionist concepts on the peaceful road to power, its alleged dependence upon Sukarno, etc. This view comes from left social democrats as well as other "socialist" forces who are also pro-imperialist although in a different way than are the revisionists.

Aside from the Monday morning quarterback character of these criticisms, their exponents have a definite ax to grind with respect to the PKI or the Chinese Communist Party, especially the latter. They are motivated by hatred and their comments cannot be taken too seriously by genuine revolutionaries. Above all, the disposition of both these groups of critics to give a clean bill of health to U.S. imperialism in the fascist take-over is a dead give-away.

Up to now, the Indonesian Communist Party -- bloodied, hounded, gagged, jailed, massacred -- has had little opportunity to discuss the political or theoretical problems faced by the revolution in their country.

It is gratifying to report that the PKI is now able to speak for itself. It is publishing Indonesian Tribune in Albania. Volume 1, No. 1, appeared in November, 1966. And its leading article was the Statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PKI — datelined: Central Java, August, 1966.

It can be obtained from Indonesia Progresif, Kutia Postare 86, Tirana, Albania. Subscription price is \$3 per year.

We warmly hail Indonesian Tribune and wish it a long life, a short exile and a speedy return to Indonesia with the victory of the Indonesian revolution.

## THE SILENT SLAUGHTER

The role of the United States in the Indonesian massacre

Order from Youth Against War & Fascism,  
58 W. 25 St., N. Y., N. Y. — 45 cents

## Bosses Railroad Hoffa

Continued From Page 1

"close the gates" on a company as fast or faster than any other union and have a reputation for doggedly protecting gains won on the picket line. What is more, Hoffa has insisted on strong central control over the locals in order to keep the bosses from weakening the union by the widely used ruling class method of divide and rule. (The capitalists love central control over a union -- when their stooges are at the center.)

But the billionaires like their "bacon" too so the docile labor fakery of the Reuther and Meany variety (neither of whom ever said one word in Hoffa's defense) are called in as labor "advisors" for the exploiters while Hoffa is framed up and sent to prison.

In order to put him behind bars the bourgeoisie resorted to the crudest violations of their own laws. Their chief "liberal," Robert Kennedy, was the hatchet man assigned to get Hoffa and he personally presided over the FBI use of illegal wiretapping and perjuring stool pigeons to bring Hoffa down. And that bastion of liberal capitalist democracy, the Warren Supreme Court, triumphantly ratified the vile 10-year conspiracy to behead the Teamsters.

Of course, the most unfortunate aspect of the frame up, unfortunate both for the Teamsters and for the working class in general, is the legalistic manner in which Hoffa conducted his defense.

The real reason it took the bosses 10 years of endless legal maneuvering to get Hoffa was their fear that a more aggressive assault against a popular union leader would provoke a militant struggle among the rank and file.

But the limitations of Hoffa are the limitations of reformist trade unionism. Despite his potential for militancy, the hard-headed leader was seduced into an exclusive dependence upon the courts, which are run by the very bosses who were spending millions to give him a judicial lynching. Thus Hoffa forfeited his most important, and in the last resort, his only real weapons -- the power of the organized working class.

Be that as it may, all militants and progressive workers condemn this ruling class conspiracy against the labor movement.

## With Tears in His Eyes

Johnson's bombers hit the North Vietnam steel plant at Thainguyen last week. The plant had a capacity of 200,000 tons. Steel plants in the United States have a combined capacity of 160 million tons. The Vietnamese have built this plant only since independence, by socializing production.

On April 7, 1965, Johnson said in Baltimore:

"We have no desire to devastate that which the people of North Vietnam have built with toil and sacrifice."

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# Puerto Ricans Protest 50 Years Of U.S. Draft for Imperialist War

By PETER STORCH

NEW YORK, March 3— Fifty years ago, on March 2, 1917, Congress passed the infamous Jones Act, making U.S. citizenship compulsory for the people of Puerto Rico. The Jones Act also had a "rider" subjecting all Puerto Rican youth to the U.S. military draft.

In no less than 35 days, the blood of Puerto Rico's youth was being spilled for U.S. imperialism's war to "make the world safe for democracy." This most cruel imposition on a colonial people was enforced despite an earlier resolution passed unanimously by the House of Delegates (the sole popularly elected body in Puerto Rico at the time), rejecting U.S. citizenship.

In fifty years, the Jones Act has rarely ever been mentioned, and much less applauded. But on this 50th anniversary, a pro-colonial group in New York, with considerable support from Senators Javits and Kennedy, O. Roy Chalk (owner of Trans Caribbean and El Diario-La Prensa), and other "dignitaries", dared to celebrate the occasion. Puerto Ricans in New York of progressive and pro-independence feeling received the news both as an insult and a provocation to all Puerto Rican people.

The celebration, held at the Park-Sheraton Hotel last night, was met by a loud and militant picket line organized by the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI). The MPI also sent a determined delegation inside the meeting hall. As soon as the first U.S. colonial puppet began to speak, the MPI delegation rose to its

feet with a huge Puerto Rican flag held high, shouting, "viva Puerto Rico Libre!", "Jibaro, Si; Yankis, No!" (Puerto Ricans, Yes; Yankee Imperialists, No!), and "Puerto Rican Citizenship, Yes, American Citizenship, No!"

An extra large police detachment made its way to the MPI delegation and brutally assaulted the group, which included several women. After being

dragged to the lobby of the hotel, many of the partisan MPI members on the picket line rushed to the defense of their comrades, whereupon the police swung their clubs and drew blood from the head of one of the pickets (he was arrested and charged with 3rd degree assault), and arrested nine others.

The brutality of the police shocked many in the audience, and before the

first speaker could resume his talk, 90 per cent of the audience had left the hall. In a statement to the press today, Pedro Juan Rua, MPI spokesman, said:

"The MPI in New York condemns the police repression against the fighters for the independence of Puerto Rico. This was not an isolated event, but part of a campaign to suppress opposition to the colonial plebiscite."

The U.S. plans to hold a "plebiscite" in Puerto Rico this summer to give the colonial "commonwealth" status a legal facade. Not long ago, a dictator named Hitler also held similar plebiscites in nations he had conquered.



Jose Luis Santos of MPI, holding Puerto Rican flag as U. S. cop pushes him out of celebration of Puerto Rico's colonial subjection. Tito Mattei and Hiram Gonzalez are shown protesting Santos' arrest.

## Cambodia Calls On U.S. People To Oppose U.S. Aggression

### UN Delegate Praises WW for Publicizing Appeal

(Translated from French)

United Nations, N.Y.

Editor, Workers World.

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 23, 1967 with which was enclosed a copy of your paper "Workers World" of January 20, 1967.

May I take this occasion to give you in the name of the Royal Government, the Cambodian people, and for myself, our deepest thanks for having reserved a place in your paper for the communication of the Royal Government.

As you have made clear, Cambodia in spite of its policy of peace and neutrality, has been subjected to and continues to endure almost daily acts of aggression and provocation committed by the American-South Vietnamese armed forces. We must denounce the many hundreds of deaths and injuries already sustained by the peaceful inhabitants of our frontiers as well as the significant damage to property.

It must be underlined that these acts of aggression were committed deliberately by the American-South Vietnamese armed forces, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and of the principles of the UN Charter and international law. These aggressive acts have been verified in each case by the International Control Commission, an agency created by the 1954 Geneva Conference and comprised of representatives of India, Canada, and Poland, as well as representatives of the national and international press.

I am convinced that you will continue to give all your attention to this intolerable situation created by the aggression of the U.S.-South Vietnamese armed forces and to condemn these criminal acts committed against peaceful and neutral Cambodia.

I should like to send you with this letter several editions of the magazine Kambuja and Songkum where you will find important editorials by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Chief of State, which will give you a unified view of Cambodia.

In renewing our feeling of gratitude to you for your support, which constitutes for us a precious encouragement in the pursuit of our politics of peace and neutrality, I ask you Dear Sir to accept my highest regards.

(signed) Huot Sambath  
Permanent Representative of Cambodia to the United Nations

## Says Marcy Article Should Be Extended

Dear Editor:

... The analysis in "Behind the CIA exposure" in WW of March 3, '67, reaches a climax of penetrating to the course of development of the whole world socialist movement in the period after WW2 in a couple of superb paragraphs.

I think Sam Marcy is most deeply to be complimented for this. It shows the conception, the embryology, the whole ontology of the CP "lesser evil" line.

I have heard these things talked about

## Writer Appalled at Steinbeck's "Lovely, Pretty Planes"

Dear Editor:

Was there ever an act so foul that there wasn't some brute so blind as to defend it? I am moved to ask this question on reading Ellen Pierce's denunciation of John Steinbeck and his shameful and shocking defense of the depraved butchery in Vietnam. This butchery is so monstrous that the whole world watches in terrified horror.

I have just been reading "The Dirty War" by the French journalist Robert Guillain on Vietnam. Steinbeck writes like a moron of flying in the killer planes completely fascinated by their science. Robert Guillain tells us a little of what these planes do. He speaks of "particularly heavy losses among the civilian population" so that "several American journalists were utterly appalled" and one of them said to him "this war has turned us into pacifists." He describes how "many villages were systematically wiped out from the air and by gunfire, and very many villagers were killed."

In one area "all the villages were completely destroyed by napalm, bombs and artillery" and "there were innumerable indiscriminate bombardments and shooting incidents."

Again, "A convoy of sampans on the

river was machine-gunned because it was thought to be carrying rice; it was a peasant wedding, a procession of guests going by boat." Imagine this happening to your wedding here in America, Steinbeck!

"How can the pilot in his supersonic plane, coming from the other ends of the earth and completely ignorant of the country he is flying over, while equipped with formidably powerful weapons, distinguish for certain between friend and foe? Presuming any friends are left." Modern twentieth-century men with modern twentieth-century weapons and the mentality and sensitivity of cavemen, eh, Steinbeck? ...

Senator George McGovern visited Vietnam, as did Steinbeck. "I visited a hopelessly overcrowded civilian hospital with all its torn victims of war — children with their legs and arms torn from their bodies by the bombing attacks; old men, mothers and infants, blasted and burned by napalm jelly, some mutilated beyond recognition. I wondered then have I done my part as a Senator to prevent this from happening?" Nothing here about those nice shiny little planes. ...

William Pepper, Director of the Mercy College Children's Institute For Advanced Study, visited Vietnam, as did Steinbeck. In his article featured in "Ramparts" magazine for January 1967, William Pepper reports that the United States and its Hitler-loving Premier Ky have killed about two hundred thousand Vietnamese children in the last five years. Two hundred thousand! No wonder Robert Guillain exclaims that in official communiques "There is not a whisper of civilian casualties." Yet two hundred thousand slaughtered children! Nothing here about those lovely pretty little planes, eh, Steinbeck?

Gordon Caulfield  
Ft. Myers, Fla.

B. G., Great Neck, L.I.

# CIA Bribing Publishers Was Petty Stuff - Wall Street Bought Biggest Ones Long Ago!

By ELLEN PIERCE

Recent revelations show that the CIA was in the public relations business, too. It used Praeger publishers to issue books with the U.S. imperialist viewpoint.

The U.S. Information Agency also used part of its "book development" funds to contract authors to write new books (pro-U.S. naturally) which were published by private firms, according to Clayton Fritchey in the New York Post of Feb. 17, 1967.

Several newspapers rebuked the CIA and USIA for presenting commissioned propaganda works as "independent research."

But what none of the big business press mentions is that the financiers who own or control newspapers, magazines, publishing and broadcasting in the U.S. do exactly the same thing and on an infinitely bigger scale. The "wellsprings" of public information are poisoned with a lot more green stuff than even the CIA can spread around.

In just the past two or three weeks, several big deals have helped concentrate control of the written and spoken word in the hands of big firms, which use this control to further their ideological grip on the mass audience.

On March 2, the Newhouse newspaper chain bought the Cleveland Plain Dealer for \$50 million, boosting the chain's

total circulation to about 3.3 million.

Columbia Broadcasting System, one of the largest broadcasters, announced on March 1 its plans to acquire the publishing house of Holt, Rinehart & Winston in a \$275 million stock deal.

Also this month, Cowles Communications, publishers of Look and Family Circle magazines and owners of several newspapers, radio and TV stations, took over the Cambridge Book Company which puts out four million textbooks a year.

On March 5, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, with radio and TV stations in nine cities, published a 24-page color supplement to the New York Sunday Times.

Praising itself extravagantly, Westinghouse wrote:

"As metropolitan newspapers either disappeared or merged with competitors, the number of 'voices' in every major community was sharply and noticeably reduced. It became increasingly necessary for informed, responsible new 'voices' to speak out on a wide variety of subjects of interest to the citizenry...."

So the stations decided to broadcast editorials.

But Westinghouse can hardly be considered a "new voice" since it airs pro-imperialist, pro-war, sometimes open and sometimes subtle racist views just like the other branches of big

business-controlled media.

Last year, the Radio Corporation of America merged with Random House publishers. A merger between International Telephone and Telegraph and the American Broadcasting Company has been proposed by the two firms and approved by the Federal Communications Commission. But the Justice Department found that one a little too raw and is delaying the merger.

Another new phenomenon is the expansion of big industrial corporations into the publishing field.

"Educational publishing has attracted several major companies in recent years, especially since the Federal Government has made available substantial assistance to primary and secondary schools." (New York Times, March 2, 1967.) Books are bigger money than ever.

With a captive market of millions of students, the demand for textbooks is assured. And with publication of school books in the hands of such pillars of bourgeois society as Readers' Digest, Time Inc., General Electric, Litton Industries, Xerox, and IBM, the government which helps pay for the texts knows that the books will contain no heresy and will bear the imprimatur of the capitalist class.

Newspaper ownership is becoming more and more the exclusive domain

of large chains. In addition to the Newhouse chain mentioned above, there are Scripps-Howard with over 1.3 million readers in a dozen cities and Hearst which owns nine papers with a circulation of about two million plus Harper's Bazaar, House Beautiful, Cosmopolitan, Motor Boating and other magazines.

In many cities the morning and evening papers are owned by the same company. In Albany N.Y., you can read the Times-Union or the Knickerbocker News. Both are owned by Hearst. In Syracuse choose the Herald Journal or the Post Standard, it doesn't matter which, since Newhouse publishes both.

Further proof that big business has charge of publishing and broadcasting can be inferred from the huge costs involved.

ABC, the weakest of the big TV networks, is still strong enough to get loans of \$70 million from Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., \$25 million from ITT and \$27.5 million from several New York banks (all in one year!) to convert to color and to buy expensive movies.

Freedom of the press, like most of the freedoms supposedly guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, only applies to those with the millions of dollars to buy the press — whether they are from CIA, or RCA.

## A Footnote to an Obituary

# Henry R. Luce

## How to Succeed in the Publishing Business - (Talent Was Dandy and Wall St. Was Handy)

By MICHAEL MARGOLIES

When Henry R. Luce, the reactionary founder of Time magazine, died last month, you would have thought from the big business press coverage that he had been a cross between Socrates and an angel, who became a multi-millionaire through sheer hard work and spontaneous mass appreciation of his talents.

The minister at the funeral was widely quoted as calling him, "...an idealist who made his judgments with utter realism; a man with his roots in the world unseen who joyfully plunged into the arena of the world we know." The minister went on to say, "There was in him a surprising amount of the 'meekness' of those who 'inherit the earth.'"

Present at the funeral were such figures of "meekness" as Nelson Rockefeller, Laurance S. Rockefeller, David Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller 3rd, and Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff of R.C.A. — all of whom have inherited a large part of the earth. Also present were Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater. They all had good reason to be there!

At Luce's retirement in 1964, he had been editor-in-chief of all Time, Inc. publications — i.e., Time, Life, Fortune and Sports Illustrated. He had developed significant new techniques of magazine writing and editing and the newspapers held him up as an example of how one succeeds in the United States.

But the truth of the matter is that despite his admittedly great talents, Luce only reached the heights of fame and achievements — and financial rewards — that he did, because he served the interests of the big bourgeoisie,

and was on the inside track from the start.

He was not the "poor boy who made good." His parents were wealthy enough to send him to Hotchkiss and Yale. A close friend and benefactor of his family was Mrs. Cyrus H. McCormick of the International Harvester fortune family. At Yale he was close friends with Henry P. Davison, who with his own connections, was to become a partner of J.P. Morgan and Company.

As Time itself might put it (for somebody else), talent was dandy, but Morgan was quicker.

When Luce himself and his friend Britton Hadden (the only Luce associate mentioned at all in the popular press!) had become technically prepared to publish a magazine, they went about it quite simply. They appealed to the various members of the ruling class with whom they could make connections and explained how they would be faithful servants. In the original prospectus of Time, Luce was careful to appeal to the most reactionary sentiments.

The prospectus stated that Time had, "... a prejudice against the rising cost of government; faith in the things which money cannot buy, a respect for the old, particularly in manners." What the bourgeoisie liked best about his "respect for the old" was the thing that Newsweek, Times's chief competitor respectfully pointed out about Luce after the funeral:

"He was forthrightly and unashamedly an American imperialist — first, last and always."

The original \$86,000 for Time was financed by Henry P. Davison of J.P. Morgan and Company, Dwight W. Morrow of J.P. Morgan and Company, Harvey Firestone, E. Roland Harriman



Time-Life workers at memorial for Luce — on company time. Nelson Rockefeller mourned on N. Y. State taxpayers' time.

of railroad wealth, and various members of the Harkness family of Standard Oil wealth, among others. These backers also carefully helped Luce along for the first four years while Time was a financial failure.

Luce's main job was to expertly present the point of view of the sections of the ruling class that he was tied to, glorify its members, and make the masses feel that their rulers were far too superior for them to challenge. Luce was good at this.

An early issue of Time described one well known exploiter of the working class. In "... strode a tall, heavy man of magnificent carriage, instantly recognizable as John Pierpont Morgan. At his word reporters fied." Later, Time reminisced how newsmen "... told how, after a gentle suggestion from a bold photographer, the stikingly handsome Banker Morgan shifted to a more advantageous position.... Perhaps never had so great a banker appeared in so happy a light."

Just as ridiculous but just as calculated was Luce's adulation of General

Douglas MacArthur who wanted to A-bomb China during the Korean war. "You may not like him but he meets the test of greatness. He fills the living space around him. He cannot be trespassed upon, or toyed with, or subtracted from. Whatever ground he stands on, it is his."

Luce first published Fortune magazine in the depression year of 1930. In it, he called big business, "...the distinctive expression of the American genius." But despite his own growing wealth, his company was threatened with bankruptcy when Life was published in 1936. This was precisely because of Life's popularity!

The truth is that a big magazine never makes a profit on its price alone. It does so mainly through the paid advertising it receives. Life was immediately popular and printed so many extra copies that Time, Inc. started taking losses. Luce appealed to the big business advertisers to let him significantly increase the rates. They allowed this and Luce was probably saved from ruin. Even if he had all the talent in the world, the answer "No" might have made him a forgotten man by the next year.

Today, Time, Inc., like the rest of the big business press, is still controlled by Wall Street. The hard core of its board of directors has representatives of Chemical Bank New York Trust, General Dynamics, Continental Oil, the Rockefeller Foundation, New York Life Insurance Co., United Air Lines, etc. The \$70 million Time-Life building is jointly owned with the Rockefeller interests.

## Understatement of the Year

"YOKOSUKA, Japan, Mar. 6 (AP) — The U.S. nuclear-powered submarine Sculpin today left this big U.S. naval base 30 miles south of Tokyo. Except for a demonstration by 41,000 leftists Feb. 25, the Sculpin's visit was greeted without incident."

— Except for a revolution, nothing interfered with Western domination of China, either!



# A Black Militant Fights the Draft

"I'd rather fight here than there," said Edward Oquendo, a militant Black fighter, who was indicted in August, 1966, by a Federal Grand Jury for refusing to report for military induction.

Mr. Oquendo, who is free on his own recognizance pending trial, was speaking at an anti-draft meeting at Brooklyn College on March 8 when he made the above comment. He shared the platform with Pedro Rua, a member of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) and Key Martin, National Chairman of Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF). The meeting was sponsored by the Brooklyn College chapter of YAWF.

Mr. Oquendo, who has fought against racism both in the South and in his own community of Brooklyn, made it clear to the intensely interested crowd of Black and white students at the meeting that he is not alone in his determination to resist the U.S. draft. There were others beside himself he said, who would not fight "against a small colored nation many thousands of miles from American shores while on these very shores white supremacy runs rampant."

"I know of at least fifty-four Black youth who have cases in various legal stages against the draft, and this figure is small in comparison with the thousands we don't hear about who are resisting in their own way."



"GET 'EM YOUNG AND TENDER AND GIVE 'EM A GUN — THEY THINK IT'S LIKE TV."

## Soldiers Against War

Dear Friends:

The January 6th issue of Workers World was of particular interest to us, since it gave the full text of President Ho Chi Minh's New Year's address to the American people. We are with you in the fight for a Communist America.

Sincerely,

(Signed by three privates in a western army camp)

## Ho Inspires Troops

HANOI, February 15 (Hsinhua) — President Ho Chi Minh recently inspected a unit of the Vietnamese People's anti-aircraft and air forces and visited two agricultural cooperatives in Ha Bac and Ha Tay Provinces. He urged everybody to work hard in production and to increase fighting power so as to achieve still more successes this year.

On February 9, the President, braving the rain, inspected a unit of the People's anti-aircraft and air forces where he was warmly cheered by all the cadres and fighters. The President urged them to train diligently without let-up so as to shoot down more U.S. aircraft this year.

In the name of all the cadres and fighters, Major Tan Hang, hero of the People's Air Force, thanked the President for his solicitude and expressed the determination to carry out his call by developing revolutionary heroism and shooting down more planes.

General Hershey, National Director of U.S. Selective Service, recently confirmed this as a serious problem for the U.S. when he said, "If all draft cases now before the courts demanded jury trials, it would take fifteen years to clear them."

Edward Oquendo is one who has demanded a jury trial and in his legal brief prepared by Counsel Conrad Lynn and himself, he "made it plain that he could not conscientiously participate in the war crimes..." while, "he has observed in his own experiences the inhumanity of American authorities in his own country to the oppressed Black minority."

The brief further states, "Nor can there be any doubt that daily atrocities are being committed by U.S. government forces. The horrors are delivered to the living rooms of many millions of Americans every day through their television sets...."

The brief argues eloquently that these U.S. crimes are "crimes against peace and humanity" and are in violation of Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal that presided

over the Nuremburg trials.

The brief contrasts these crimes with "the noble New Year's message of Ho Chi Minh, Chief of State of North Vietnam: 'The Vietnamese and American people should have lived in peace and friendship — but the U.S. government has brazenly sent over 400,000 American troops along with thousands of aircraft and hundreds of warships to wage aggression against Vietnam.'"

Another speaker was Pedro Juan Rua, a member of MPI, who made it clear to the students how the struggle for Puerto Rican independence in the last 15 years has affected their feelings about the war in Vietnam.

"Puerto Rican youth are refusing to go into an army that is colonizing them. The MPI supports the National Liberation Front and the people of Vietnam because they are fighting for progress, independence and freedom."

Key Martin, national chairman of YAWF, compared U.S. actions in Vietnam to the war crimes committed in Nazi Germany during WW II.

# S. Viet Liberation Front Vows To Fight On Till Invasion Is Ended

The capitalist press has been recently filled with the most brazen public speculations as to when and under what conditions the Vietnamese people will surrender the struggle for liberation. Indeed, the current differences among the various capitalist groupings in the camp of U.S. imperialism all revolve around precisely that question—and none other.

In their endless efforts to sow confusion and demoralization among the forces for liberation and their sympathizers, and in order to confuse the American people in general, the bourgeois politicians and their propagandists have consistently played down or entirely ignored the oft-stated declarations of the Vietnamese people themselves to fight to the end for freedom from U.S. imperialist domination.

Therefore, we reprint below major excerpts from an official statement by the South Vietnam Front for National Liberation, released on February 28, 1967 firmly stating their determination "never to slacken their weapons so long as the shadow of a single U.S. aggressor still remains on the territory of their beloved Fatherland."

\*\*\*\*\*

After the failure of their schemes of dominating South Vietnam by means of the puppet administration and army and through the "special war," the U.S. imperialists have for over two years now, brazenly brought their expeditionary troops into South Vietnam to wage one of the fiercest aggressive wars ever known in history.

Condemned by the whole of progressive mankind, Lyndon Johnson and his like, while unceasingly clamouring about their "desire for peace," are in fact obstinately intensifying and extending the war of aggression in South Vietnam, creating a particularly serious situation in Vietnam, Indo-China, and Asia as a whole.

(There follows a detailed description of the escalation of U.S. forces in Vietnam, the expansion of the war throughout Indo-China, and the barbaric war crimes of Washington against the civilian population of both North and South Vietnam.)

At this juncture, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation deems it necessary to affirm solemnly once again the stand of resolute struggle of the 14 million people of South Vietnam as pointed out in the historic statement of March 22, 1965.

To fight against U.S. aggression for independence, democracy, peace, neu-

trality and ultimate reunification of the country is the South Vietnamese people's legitimate right and most glorious task towards their Fatherland. It is also their lofty obligation to other peoples in the world who are struggling for independence, freedom, peace, democracy and social progress.

Strong with the tradition of deep patriotism and monolithic unity, the people of South Vietnam, under the leadership of the South Vietnam Front for Liberation, have inflicted well-deserved blows on the enemy and won repeated, great victories.

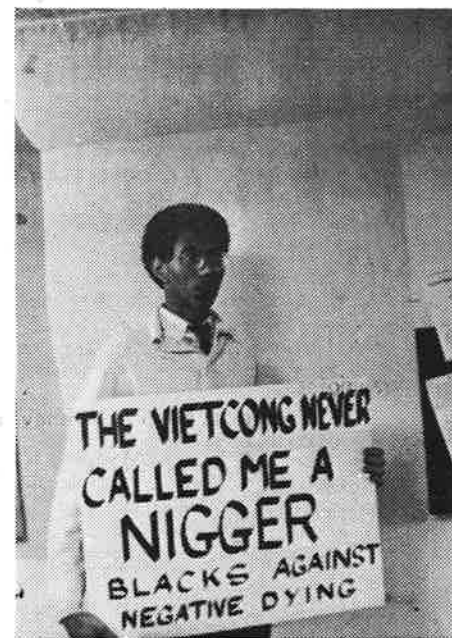
Over the past more than two years since U.S. troops were massively introduced into South Vietnam, the fight of the South Vietnam people against U.S. aggression has become extremely fierce; at the same time, the people's front against the U.S. aggressors and their agents has been consolidated and broadened more than ever, and has launched attack after attack on the enemy. The people's war has vigorously developed on all battlefields resulting in more than 120,000 G.I.'s, 270,000 puppet soldiers and 10,000 satellite troops put out of action. In particular, the number of G.I.'s annihilated in 1966 increased five times and more compared with 1965. In the North, our kinsfolk, animated by a deep hatred for the U.S. bandits, have shot down nearly 1,700 U.S. planes and captured numerous U.S. pilots....

The entire world is indignantly condemning the U.S. war of aggression. Broad sections of the American people are more and more resolutely opposed to the Johnson clique's die-hard policy of aggression. The flames of wrath kindled by the U.S. imperialists will definitely reduce to ashes the U.S. aggressors themselves.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation calls on all fellow-countrymen and members of the Liberation Armed Forces to close in their ranks and surge forward to defeat the second dry-season strategic offensive of the U.S. expeditionary troops and the puppets as well as any other scheme they might devise, so as to win still greater and more glorious victories.

Johnson and his like should know that any act of aggression of theirs will meet with deserved punishment!

The people of South Vietnam are deeply attached to peace; but they are resolved never to slacken their weapons so long as the shadow of a single U.S. aggressor still remains on the territory of their beloved Fatherland.



EDDIE OQUENDO

"Just as in the case of Nazi Germany, the truly brave are those who resist the crimes of the system, not those who cooperate and obey the 'law of the land' and go along with the crimes."

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation extends all-out support to the just stand and goodwill attitude of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Along with our kith-and-kin in the North, we are determined to fight to fully discharge our sacred duty, namely to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed toward national reunification.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation energetically denounces to world opinion the stubborn policy of aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their most barbarous crimes against the people of South Vietnam. It earnestly calls on the Governments and peoples of countries that love freedom, peace and justice, and all progressive organizations and personalities of the world to use all their influence and possibilities actively to stay the bloody hands of the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen, and to demand that the United States immediately stop its aggression in Vietnam, and definitively and unconditionally end its bombing and all other war acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, and let the South Vietnamese settle their internal affairs themselves in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people. It earnestly calls on them to give still more vigorous support, moral, political and material, to the South Vietnamese people's resistance war against U.S. aggression for national salvation, in order to bring the U.S. aggressors to total defeat.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation particularly appeals to the progressive people of the United States, for the sake of peace and justice and for the honour of the American people, to act still more energetically against the U.S. Government's unjust and inhuman war, and to check all its schemes to step up expansion of the war of aggression in Vietnam.

With rock-like confidence in the victory of their just cause and with the strong support of the people throughout the world, the National Front for Liberation and the people of South Vietnam are determined to carry on untiringly their fight in order to win back at any cost their sacred national rights and to contribute a worthy part to the common struggle of the world's people for peace and freedom.

## Take on GM Empire—and Reuther Too!

# 2,700 Defy Power of \$12 Billion

By VINCENT COPELAND

MARCH 9 — While UAW President Walter Reuther is posing as the great militant in opposition to George Meany (not a very difficult feat!), he is up to his old tricks disciplining militant local unions and talking big about the great social gains he's going to get in the next contract.

Yesterday he appointed Charles

## Strikebreaker Reuther Went to CIA for \$2 Million Slush Fund

Walter Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers, is known for his favoring the "liberal" wing of the U.S. State Department rather than the extreme right wing of it, with which his rival, George Meany, works so enthusiastically.

Reuther has often privately condemned Meany's close association with the CIA, as columnists like Drew Pearson report every so often.

But it seems that Reuther is just sore because the CIA doesn't help Reuther's brand of international subversion as much as Meany's!

Victor Riesel, who is quick as a weasel to support Reuther when he's breaking a strike -- as in Mansfield, Ohio -- came out the day before that strike with a column blasting Reuther for his hypocrisy on the above issue. (It's not that Riesel loves Reuther

Ballard director of UAW Region 231, as an "administrator" over the local (549) at GM's "Fisher Body" fabricating plant in Mansfield, Ohio. Ballard replaced the elected local leadership in a move to prevent the local from doing what it wanted to do: strike.

(Putting an administrator over the local union deprives it of all local initiative, autonomy, etc. and imposes

less; he just loves Meany more.)

Reuther, said Riesel, asked for \$2 million of CIA money in 1962 to finance an amalgamation of pro-Communist and anti-Communist unions in Italy. Reuther contacted Robert Kennedy, then Attorney General, who had connections with Reuther as well as the CIA. Kennedy was interested in the deal, called in Gen. Maxwell Taylor and others to confer with Reuther on it.

Meany got wind of what was going on, went to John F. Kennedy, the President, and killed the plan on the basis that "boring from within" a Communist-led union by anti-Communists was likely to create more Communists rather than less.

This, said Riesel, was part of the origin of the Meany-Reuther feud, as well as a cause of Meany's present opposition to Robert Kennedy.

the will of the conservative International leadership directly upon the workers.)

Taking on the Reuther leadership as well as the multi-billion dollar GM Corporation, the workers continued their strike today. Only 61 workers out of the 2,700 member local were reported to have crossed the picket line.

Both the company and the Reuther leadership are gunning for the fighting grievance committeeman, Frank Petty, who is accused of having caused this strike (from outside the plant) as well as the strike of a month ago, when GM threatened to lay off its whole 240,000 workers in reprisal against Local 549. Reuther had called the strike "illegal" at that time, too.

Petty was suspended last month when he led the wildcat walkout as GM put the pressure on by mailing layoff notices to the workers of 57 other plants. That quickie was sparked by GM's suspension of two maintenance men. Afterward, Petty and two of his associates were also suspended for their part in the strike.

Two days ago, a reliable report spread through the Mansfield plant that Petty was not suspended, but fired. This led to the second walkout.

After Reuther and the International Executive Board had intervened with the appointment of the administrator and an order to return to work, the lo-

cal union gathered in a huge and stormy meeting (reporters counted 1,700 in attendance out of the 2,700 membership) and voted unanimously to stay out of the plant.

In the wave of militancy which swept over the town of Mansfield, workers in a nearby rubber plant joined the auto workers, who defied a judge's injunction, on the picket line. (A while ago the auto workers had picketed the Swan Rubber Co. in Bucyrus, Ohio, when the rubber workers were slapped with a similar injunction against their picketing.)

Officials of the UAW are now beating the bushes throughout the country to get rank-and-file support for their scabby action in Mansfield. Their big argument: the GM contract negotiations are in the offing and the membership could use up all its militancy on these "small" grievances and exhaust itself.

Not mentioned is the fact that there were scores of local strikes after the last contract was signed in October, 1964, and after 200,000 GM workers had already been on strike for weeks to get the national agreement.

The theory of "keeping your powder dry" and "not shooting till you see the whites of their eyes" might have something to it, the fellows figure, if Reuther didn't get hypnotized when he looked in the bosses' eyes and if he didn't keep all the powder in the bank.

But it's exercise that makes the muscles strong and it's a readiness to fight on the plant level that makes the International Union a force in the negotiations. Reuther should know this better than anybody, but being a "statesman of labor" he'd rather forget it.

# India Elections Show Masses Are Fed Up Congress Party - Hunger Sparks Revolt

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

The fourth national elections in India are over and the Congress Party is a shambles. The party of the politically bankrupt Indian bourgeoisie has been swept from office in eight states, its party leaders were defeated, Communist candidates won dominant support among the masses in Kerala and West Bengal, Madras has been won by anti-Hindi nationalists and the Congress Party barely won a majority in the national parliament.

Although Indira Gandhi's government suffered massive setbacks, the results of last month's elections were only a dim reflection of the profound discontent among the millions of oppressed Indians who have suffered two devastating famines in the past year. The Congress Party's answer to national starvation has been to barter the country bit by bit to U.S. imperialism in return for a sporadic dole of subsistence food "aid." In return the masses have expressed a portion of their anger and desperation at the polls.

## WORSE THAN THEY FEARED!

With growing hunger, landlessness and unemployment among the masses, the Indian ruling class approached the elections fearfully. But the extent to which the people turned their backs on the party which has controlled India politically for two decades far surpassed even the most dire capitalist predictions.

The ruling party went into the elections with 364 out of 509 seats in the national parliament and dropped to 278 out of 521, leaving a bare majority of 17. But the setbacks in the national parliament hardly tell the story because the Congress Party had a tremendous financial and organizational advantage in the national campaign.

While the party of the "nation," as it has been hailed for twenty years, lost only 25 per cent of the parliament, 50 per cent, i.e., 8 out of 16 states threw the Congress out of office — including

Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan in the North, West Bengal and Orissa in the East and Kerala and Madras in the South. In the six states where the Congress state presidents ran, they were defeated.

In fact, with the exception of Prime Minister Gandhi herself, the entire national leadership of the Congress Party was defeated for re-election in their home districts.

## "KING-MAKERS" UN-KINGED

The three New Delhi "king makers" were all repudiated by the masses. Kumaraswami Kamaraj, the national leader of the Congress Party could not even get re-elected in his home district in Madras where he was the chief political boss. Atulya Gosh, the party treasurer and the Congress leader in West Bengal was also defeated. The third top leader of the New Delhi "syndicate" of industrialists, S.K. Patil, Railway Minister, and political ruler of Bombay was trounced in the elections.

But even more frightening to the Indian exploiting classes than the defeat of their party leadership was the simultaneous victories of the working class parties in Kerala and West Bengal.

## FROM GOV'T TO JAIL

## — AND BACK AGAIN

Kerala is the most literate and progressive state in India and has a highly class-conscious proletariat. From 1957 to 1959 the Communist Party was in control of the government until the "democrat," Nehru, dissolved the government, jailed the CP leadership and New Delhi took over the state. That was the first non-Congress Party government in a state of India and the last one — i.e., until last week.

Two weeks ago, the left wing CP, which has been identified with the Chinese Communist Party in the past, won 52 of the 61 seats for which it ran, in the Kerala state assembly and has the decisive support of the masses in the coalition government to be formed shortly. Of the 133 seats in the Kerala



India: the bowl is empty

assembly, the United Front opposition has 113 and the Congress Party has 9! Thus the constant references in the ruling class press to the Kerala "debacle."

## OTHER "DEBACLES"

But there was also another "debacle." This was in West Bengal, the most industrialized state in India, with 40 million people, in which the left-wing CP has the broadest mass support in the anti-Congress coalition, reflected in its 43 seats out of 148 United Front seats. The pro-Soviet CP has 16 seats and other working class parties hold smaller numbers.

In Tamil-speaking Madras the Dravidian Progressive Federation, which has stood for independence from the Hindi-speaking ruling class in New Delhi, won a clear majority on the primary program of reductions in rice prices. Madras, home state of Kamaraj, the Congress leader, in which the ruling party formerly had three quarters of the

seats, was thought to be an impregnable stronghold for New Delhi.

In Orissa and Rajasthan, two states dominated by maharajahs and feudal princes, the right-wing Swatantra and Jan Sangh parties have swept to victory. Prime Minister Gandhi could not even carry her home, state of Uttar Pradesh (also the home of Nehru and Shastri). A broad coalition of the left and the right has been formed in Bihar and Punjab to oust the Congress administration.

## FACTS OF LIFE IN INDIA

These are the parliamentary results of the social and economic facts of life. The Congress Party, up until now the dominant political instrument of the Indian capitalist class in alliance with the great landlords, cannot carry out the most basic function of any society — i.e. to insure the physical survival of its population.

In desperation the masses have turned sharply toward a search for solutions to the problems of food and shelter. Where the working class organizations have strength as in Kerala and Bengal, the masses have rushed to them in droves. Where reactionary organizations have a foothold the people gravitate towards their demagoguery and promises to solve the food problem.

## MASSES GET THE MESSAGE

After two decades of surviving on the false premises of socialist demagoguery, the party of Nehru, the party which under the cover of "democratic socialism," is run by industrialists and maharajahs, is now discredited throughout the whole country.

It is now inevitable that U.S. intrigue and intervention in Indian affairs will be stepped up to protect the swiftly growing stakes of U.S. big business in the sub-continent's economy and the hegemony of imperialism over Asia. This in turn, will most probably speed up and sharpen the mass resistance struggle and may even help it to break through its parliamentary restraints to take the road of revolution.





## Through the Magnifying Glass

By John Moore

### Why Johnny Can't Read - the Truth

"Johnny," says the teacher, "Please stand and read the next sentence aloud." Ten year old Johnny, pleased and honored to be called on to exhibit his reading skill, jumps to his feet, finds the place with his finger and then with his sneaker-clad feet at the position of attention, proudly reads this message to his classmates: "The struggle between communism and freedom is the principal problem in the world today." (Page 351 "The Story of American Freedom" published by Macmillan.)

This is only one propaganda passage from a currently used grade school "social studies" book which thousands or perhaps millions of Johnnies in New York City and across the country are fed by their big business-made textbooks.

While some teachers, in spite of their indoctrination by the ruling class, must veer away from such areas of outright lying when they think of the "freedom" of Mississippi or South Africa, Indonesia, or Vietnam it is part of the curriculum -- to be followed up with questions parroting back this American Legion line.

To buttress the words the book has a full double page spread entitled "Life in a Dictatorship" and "Life in a Democracy" which may well have been lifted from the illustrated version of the John Birch Blue Book (see cut).

When "Communism" is the subject, the soft sell that ordinarily characterizes the school propaganda becomes a very hard sell indeed.

In Operation Big Lie, the grossest lies in the true Goebbels tradition are presented to eager and credulous Johnny to convince him that "his" country is run by the good guys and that Communists are the bad guys. He is being prepared to do such things as fight in Vietnam or elsewhere.

### Operation Big Lie

Outlining the perfidious ways of Communists, this American version of Nazi-type education gives the line on Cuba:

"Another favorite method of the Communists is to move into a nation that is having a revolution. This happened in Cuba, where a revolution overthrew a dictator. Many Cubans supported the revolution because they thought it would bring freedom.... But they soon learned to their sorrow that they had exchanged a bad situation for a worse one under communism." (Page 353) The authors of this kind of lying are not embarrassed by the fact that even bourgeois sources have had to admit the strides forward that Cuba has made (in spite of the embargo by the U.S.) — they know Johnny won't get to read that.

The publisher of this book, the Macmillan Co., is a part of the Crowell-Collier publishing empire, a world-wide outfit that encompasses such things as encyclopedia publishing, a "broad range of educational texts," the Berlitz School of Languages, etc. Incidentally, the residence of Raymond C. Hagel, the president of Crowell-Collier, is at Minute Man Hill in Westport, Connecticut. "Your Country and Mine" (Ginn & Co.), an older text still used in New York City schools, was published during the height of the "Cold War" (1951) and some of its words reflect the witch-hunt hysteria talk of the times.

This is what your eleven-year-old son or daughter will read.

"The Soviet Union did not want us to help other nations. Its leaders would not cooperate with us and other nations to make plans for world peace and better understanding.... Americans knew what the Russian or Communist way was. The Russians ruled with an iron hand! The leaders took away all freedom. They made slaves of many people. The people were not allowed to think for themselves."

The paragraph then ends with this pious note: "Knowing these things has made us more and more thankful for our free America!"

What can you say in the face of hypocrisy like that? Yet day after day, Johnny is force-fed this stuff.

But as infuriating as this is, its effect is probably less than the insidious type of propaganda by suggestion and omission and distortion that characterizes the treatment of Afro-Americans in Johnny's textbooks.

### "Reading 'Riting and Racism"

By strange coincidence, all textbooks for U.S. kids have basically the same tale to tell about this history of Afro-Americans in the U.S.: Black People were slaves but happy and contented except for a few who happened to be owned by bad masters. When they were freed they didn't know how to govern themselves and bad Northerners took advantage of them and finally the abused and suffering white Southerners reasserted their control and put the South back in order again.

An article in the March Ebony, by Lerone Bennett, Jr., entitled "Reading, 'Riting and Racism" points out the emasculation effect on the generations of Afro-American Johnnies who are taught from textbooks that show a lily-white world where the only Blacks are servants -- except for the traditional picture and piece on George Washington Carver and/or Booker T. Washington.

While pressure from the Black struggle has forced textbook publishers to make a few changes, their changes are superficial and consist mainly of showing a few dark faces in group pictures.

A study for the American Council on Education turned up "with some surprise" the fact that all the textbooks studied had a "subordination policy" toward Afro-Americans.

In short, the Afro-American is treated as if he doesn't exist — except as a slave or a servant.

Says the author of the Ebony article: "White-oriented texts tend to inoculate white Americans with the virus of racism.... The effect on Black schoolchildren is devastatingly traumatic."

An outstanding Afro-American writer, Carter G. Woodson, (unknown to most whites because of just these policies we have indicated) showed with great clarity how U.S. education sets up Black People for the racist system:

"If you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his action. When you determine what a man shall think you do not have to concern yourself about what he will do. If you make a man feel that he is inferior, you do not have to compel inferior status, for he will seek it himself."

## -Russell on "Negotiations"

Continued From Page 1

no more than "advise" their allies in Saigon. The chemicals were at first denied and then said to be "defoliants" no more harmful than weed-killers. When the chemicals were revealed to be deadly to human life, indeed new compounds causing paralysis, convulsions, blindness and lingering death, the pretense ceased and captions began to appear such as this: "Smoking out the Vietcong: phosphorus, more deadly than gas" (Newsweek)....

At the time of the Bay of Tonkin, the U.S. claimed to have been "attacked" by a North Vietnamese patrol boat. Johnson had said "There is no intention to bomb the North." Shortly afterward sporadic bombing began; now the bombing exceeds tonnages used during World War II and the Korean War and approaches Hiroshima proportions; 3,000,000 pounds of bombs fall daily on Vietnam.

This is the essential background to any understanding of the choice before us with respect to Vietnam. Many in the peace movement think the Vietnamese unwise or unreasonably stubborn for refusing to negotiate with the United States. The prolongation of the war is made the responsibility of the Vietnamese on the ground that American forces can not be defeated and, therefore, only negotiations provide a solution. It is usually added that the "real interests" of the Vietnamese lie in accepting U.S. demands for talks.

Superficially, this argument may seem compelling to a peace movement for whom words such as "cease-fire", "compromise", "negotiations" and "peaceful settlement" have a familiar ring. When examined, however, the argument disintegrates.

To demand of the Vietnamese that they negotiate with the United States is to treat equally the victim and the attacker. This can be clearly seen if we ask ourselves whether such a demand to the Poles or Norwegians would have seemed just after the Nazi attack on their countries.

Quite apart from this basic issue: the right to self-determination, there is the history of the particular struggle in Vietnam. Negotiations already took place — in 1954. The Vietnamese had defeated French colonialism after nine years of bitter struggle during which eighty per cent of the French colonial war was financed by the United States. Because of their belief that the Geneva Agreements provided for fair elections, non-intervention on the part of foreign powers and eventual unification through mutual consent, the Vietnamese agreed to divide Vietnam into North and South.

Shortly afterwards, Eisenhower stated that anyone who knew anything about Vietnamese affairs knew that Ho

Chi Minh would receive at least four out of five votes in a fair election. The elections were obstructed and the United States set up a regime in the South under the control of American officers posing as advisors. They selected former police spies of the French occupation army who were hated and despised by the population. Ngo Dinh Diem, a wealthy Catholic landowner from the North, was installed in power. The elections agreed upon in the negotiated settlements of 1954 at Geneva were never held. U.S. officers and troops began to pour into South Vietnam in what came to be known as America's "secret war". Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese were killed. Over eight million people were placed in forced-labor camps characterized by barbed-wire, torture and starvation.

It should be abundantly clear that the very presence of the "United States" troops in Vietnam is the grossest violation of painfully negotiated agreements. To ask the Vietnamese now after twelve years of torment to negotiate about the violated negotiations



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while the violation continues is to insult them....

Words can be misleading. The peace movement through the advocacy of negotiations in Vietnam has harmed the cause it purports to promote. We must side with the Vietnamese who defend every value which the peace movement has espoused abstractly. The end of the war in Vietnam will depend on our capacity to speak and act clearly, alerting people to its origins and motive force. When people in Britain and America oppose Johnson effectively, then and only then will the war end.



Two Pages From an "Impartial" U.S. Schoolbook

# Social and Political Aspects of The Flight of Svetlana Alliluyeva

By SAM MARCY

Our epoch, which is already too well characterized by the monstrous use of open violence and secret diplomacy in international relations, is also characterized by the use of political cynicism to a degree unmatched by any other epoch.

For the more one tries to fathom the true character of the relations between Moscow and Washington the more one is struck by certain elements which our epoch has in common with that period known in history as the Renaissance.

For the Renaissance was not merely a cultural episode but was a historical transition period -- a transition from one social system of class rule and oppression to another -- from dying feudalism to the birth and development of bourgeois society.

The Renaissance gave birth not only to Leonardo and Galileo, but also to Thomas More and Machiavelli. The epoch which is known for its unprecedented outbursts of intellectual energy and boldness of thought is also the epoch which is characterized by disillusionment (Machiavelli) as well as great anticipation (Thomas More -- in his "Utopia").

As a transition period it was marked by a multitude of the most glaring social and political contradictions just like our own epoch. Their very acuteness attested to the existence of fundamental classes in combat -- using any and all means at their disposal in the struggle for political power and dominion over society.

## Cynicism in two epochs

The prevalence during this period of plots, counterplots, assassinations and conspiracy -- made cynicism the characteristic feature of the politics of the Renaissance. It was not for nothing that Machiavelli had written "The Prince." But Machiavelli, who spoke for the new and progressive class (the bourgeoisie), spoke especially for its reactionary power-politics rather than for its progressive humanistic aspects.

Our epoch, too, is an epoch of transition -- one that has the deepest and profoundest significance for the fate of all mankind. It is the transition from moribund capitalism to socialism. Unless this transition is made, humanity faces a throwback to barbarism.

Unhappily some of the forms of the struggle characteristic of the exploiting classes have been assumed by leaders who lay claim to represent the world-wide interests of Socialism.

## Tass statement on Alliluyeva

Take the conduct of the Soviet leaders in the case of Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter. Millions upon millions of people throughout the world, including those in the USSR, learned that she had left the Soviet Union. Whether this was a voluntary departure, a defection, or even an outright kidnapping, no one could confidently say. The only reports came from the capitalist press. What could motivate Svetlana Alliluyeva to flee the Soviet Union and seek a "haven" in the imperialist West? Millions looked to the Soviet leadership as the only source for a plausible explanation. After an inordinately long wait came this statement from Tass:

"In view of journalists' inquiries, Tass confirms that Stalin's daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva, is now abroad.

"Late in 1966, she was issued an exit visa to go from the Soviet Union to India to bury the ashes of her husband, an Indian citizen who died in the USSR.

"How long Svetlana Alliluyeva will stay abroad is her private affair." (New York Times, March 13, 1967)

Everything in the above statement reeks of Machiavellian cynicism, gross deceit and aristocratic contempt as well as fear of the masses. So Mlle. Alliluyeva's presence in the West is a private affair! Even the most obtuse and dull-witted of our species would wince at this. For whatever else Mlle. Alliluyeva's presence in the West is, it can not under any circumstances be regarded as a private affair. It has admittedly been the subject of consultation at the highest level of government by India, the U.S., Italy, and Switzerland. Mlle. Alliluyeva is alleged to have had her trip from New Delhi arranged in the company of a CIA agent! Is this a private affair of a Soviet citizen?

The fact that the Soviet leaders had to take refuge in such an obviously threadbare subterfuge is enough to condemn them. And whom does it deceive? Machiavellian diplomacy had at least the merit of deceiving the enemy. Is Washington deceived by it?

Or is it meant solely for the consumption of the masses?

The shame of it all is that the Tass statement is not a diplomatic communication to an imperialist government but a public declaration to the peoples of the world!

Svetlana Alliluyeva may in and of herself be unimportant but her sudden appearance in the arms of the West is enormously significant. For one thing, it makes a mockery of the official optimism which the Soviet leaders have been exuding regarding the internal situation in the USSR. Judging by the official pronouncements of the leaders, the foundations of Socialism should be so firmly established -- indeed the Soviet people are presumed to be already on the threshold of Communism -- that no one should need to seek haven, least of all in an imperialist country.

Even if we are deprived of the exact details or immediate circumstances motivating Mlle. Alliluyeva's flight -- by a curtain of silence that extends from Moscow to Washington -- it is all too clear that the incident is a mere symptom of a far deeper cause.

## Instability in governing summits of USSR

The Svetlana Alliluyeva incident points to weakness and political instability in the governing summits of the USSR. The weakness and instability does not lie in the lack of material resources in the country, in the disproportion between the productive forces and the material needs of the people of the country, or in the existence of the old, expropriated bourgeoisie. Nor can it be attributed in the main to the dangerous encirclement of the Soviet Union by the imperialists as was the case before. The source for the weakness is elsewhere.

The weakness lies in the slow but sure evolution of a socially privileged, powerful layer of Soviet society, which, having been catered to and cultivated by various means and methods all these many years, now has become more consolidated, more sure of itself, more brazen and open -- but nonetheless unstable and torn by acute inner contradictions.

It is this conglomerate, neo-bourgeois social stratum, which is the greatest danger to the social foundations of the October Revolution. It strikes out against the left and against the right. It seeks to safeguard itself against imperialism, while at the same time it collaborates with it by the most sordid deals and strikes against the revolutionary left.

The flight of Svetlana Alliluyeva brings to the surface yet another symptom of a deeply embedded disease which becomes all the more dangerous the more it is suppressed and driven underground. It is the so-called détente with the West, whose obverse side is collusion

against the revolutionary liberation movements of the world and the Peoples Republic of China.

The fact that the U.S. government through its kept press ostentatiously proclaimed that the CIA had arranged the flight cannot but confirm that the class antagonisms between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union, while temporarily suppressed on the surface, nevertheless exist and are at work.

The engineering of Alliluyeva's flight by the U.S. from India through Italy and to Switzerland in the company of the CIA is living proof of this.

It was an act of hostility that no amount of "nice words" afterwards by the State Department could cover up. Even the most credulous among the Soviet leaders could not possibly mistake the significance of such an act. The fact that the Soviet government thereafter annulled the prison term of Buel Ray Wortham (a CIA agent) almost at the same time that Svetlana Alliluyeva was given asylum in Switzerland, rather than in the U.S., is an indication of a deal to soften the blow to the prestige of the Soviet leadership.

## Why U. S. "makes nice" to Soviet leaders

The U.S. government is engaged in a long and tortuous maneuver in its relations with the USSR, but in a true Machiavellian spirit. Like no other administration since the birth of the Soviet Republic, the Johnson Administration is going out of its way to "make nice" to the Soviet leaders. No opportunity is let go in the relentless efforts of the U.S. government and its press to flatter the Soviet leaders and make them "look good" all in the name of "peace." Unhappily for the Soviet leaders, each time the Johnson Administration "makes nice" to them, it is in reality the kiss of death. For never were the Soviet leaders more in need of violent diatribes from the U.S. government and press to bolster their waning revolutionary prestige than now. More than anything else, the Soviet leaders need a coat of bright red paint to cover up their reactionary deeds.

Thus when the State Department announced that it had continued the suspension of the bombing of North Vietnam until after Premier Kosygin left London "out of respect for him," this commendation from the Johnson Administration did more to undercut the Soviet leaders among the revolutionary peoples than anything else. So while the U.S. government intimates that it didn't grant asylum to Alliluyeva in the U.S., but made sure she got it from Switzerland so as not to embarrass the Soviet leaders, such solicitude from the Johnson Administration neither hides the criminal character of U.S. subversion and espionage nor does it help the revolutionary reputation of the Soviet revisionists.

If the Alliluyeva episode is to serve any useful lesson at all insofar as relations between the U.S. and USSR are concerned, it is to remind all and sundry that the deep social antagonisms between imperialism and the Soviet Republic exist in spite of all surface manifestations of friendship.

## Machiavellian foreign policy of the U. S.

U.S. finance capital's Machiavellian foreign policy of overt friendship and covert subversion toward the USSR has its immediate cause in the reckless adventurism in Vietnam. More than anything else the U.S. ruling monopolies for whose benefit the war is fought need to keep the split between the Peoples Republic of China and the Soviet Union alive and deepening. Victory for them over the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people is unthinkable in the face of a unified Socialist bloc. Even the more adventurist, madder section of the bourgeoisie, which is hopelessly tied to the illusion of victory, must constantly assure the American people that the split between China and the USSR is "deep" and "permanent" and therefore the danger to the fortunes of U.S. aggression "is not great."

Imperialism, driven into a blind alley by its insatiable appetite for greater and greater conquest, is trapped on the Asian continent by its war of aggression against Vietnam. It has staked its fortune on the irremediability of the split between the two great Socialist countries and the temporary ebb of the proletarian and liberation movement of the world.

In the longer view of history, the reigning oligarchies of finance capital will be proven wrong on both counts. Their calculations have their origins not in objective evaluations of historical trends but in the blinding prejudice born out of the lust for private property and super-profit.

## Castro Hits Revisionist Ties With U.S. Latin Puppets

MARCH 13 — Fidel Castro yesterday attacked the Soviet leaders' collaboration with U.S. puppet governments in Latin America in the strongest criticism he has yet made of the Moscow revisionists.

Speaking at Havana University, Premier Castro said that the "cultural exchange" contacts between the Soviet Union and these governments actually helped to suppress the revolution throughout the entire South American continent.

He referred directly to the recent step-up in arrests and persecution of revolutionaries in Colombia. Colombian Communist Party leaders there were arrested and the Soviet news agency offices in Bogota were searched at the very moment Soviet trade officials were making a visit to the Colombian capital.

Undoubtedly the strongest influence behind this crack-down was that of Washington — particularly in the case of searching the news agency's offices. But Premier Castro is in a position to know as well as anyone — and much better than most — just what Soviet diplomacy is up to in Latin America.

The tragic irony of the whole situation is that no matter how much ground the revisionists give to Washington, there is always more for Washington to ask for. And the Soviet leaders are in the position of giving away their own best possession in the contest with the U.S.: the faith of the Latin revolutionaries in the land of October.