

The Wallace Tide Will Be Turned — But Not by Supporting Humphrey or Nixon!

The racist George Wallace can and will be defeated in his fascist drive for totalitarian power over the working masses of this country.

The workers, students and especially the Black people will defeat him. And they will defeat him by their struggles against the system which he is making such an all-out attempt to rescue — that is, by their strikes, demonstrations and rebellions.

No fascist was ever really defeated at the ballot box, because the ballot box is loaded in his favor whenever the social crisis grows as sharp as it is today. Moreover, that he will get a minority of the ballots is not the point. The point is that he is now backed by a more powerful section of the ruling class than before and is being introduced by it to the threshold of power.

The labor bureaucrats, taking their cue from the liberal imperialists (who may not yet be ready for Wallace), and suddenly aware that Wallace may "take votes away" from their favorite imperialist liberal, Humphrey, have now

begun to sound the alarm bells about Wallace.

Correctly labeling Wallace as a lying demagogue and exposing his anti-labor record, they call for the racist would-be dictator's defeat at the polls — by saying, "A vote for Wallace is a vote for Nixon!"

As between Nixon and Humphrey, there is no significant difference — less, in fact, than the minimal difference there has usually been between Republicans and Democrats.

Road of Struggle

The road to Wallace's defeat lies not through voting for Humphrey, but through big struggles, class battles and the rising rebellions of the Black people. Whatever election combinations may be permissible or possible in dealing with fascists like Wallace, those combinations are not feasible in the 1968 election.

The reactionary Nixon and the war-salesman Humphrey still represent "constitutional" capitalism, it is true as opposed to the outright fascism of Wallace. But they and their ruling class

backers have already so whipped up the drive to the right that they have virtually created the social climate for Wallace.

So much so, in fact, that Wallace now has the ideological initiative among the ruling class candidates, and they must answer him, rather than vice versa.

Far more important than the actual number of votes the Alabama fascist gets is the fact that his support is supposed to come from the "little" people (white "little" people, that is) and from allegedly large numbers of white workers — "union workers," as the anti-labor newswriters gloatingly tell it.

The fact itself is bad enough, to the extent it is true. But the fact that progressives, not to mention would-be revolutionaries, can become demoralized by it is still worse.

Battles by Proxy

The ruling class never fights its own battles. It uses scabs to defeat those workers who strike against it. It uses racist thugs and murderous cops to shoot down those Black people who

rebel against it. And it uses fascist mobs to beat down the whole working class, black and white, and marshal the masses for war.

These fascist mobs are being rallied by Wallace right now.

Let us repeat again: the ruling class never fights its own battles. Gone are the days when the ruling feudal knights killed each other off. The modern rulers always get somebody else to do their dirty work.

And now a large portion of them have hired George Wallace, who in turn has the job of mobilizing racist, brain-washed mobs of people into a fascist drive, of which an election campaign is only the propaganda side, important as the election is for "legitimizing" him and making him a "major candidate" for the role of Caesar.

Racism, Like Hitler

It should be no surprise that at this critical moment the desperate, fascist wing of the ruling class should utilize the weapon that all sections of the ruling class have forged for over 350

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After Two Months, With Scores Dead— Mexican Students Fight Back Fearlessly Despite Gov't Repression, Mounting Deaths

SEPT. 24 — Mexican students fought an all-night battle using bullets, gasoline bombs and barricades made out of buses after riot police fired point blank into a crowd attending an anti-government rally in Mexico City.

More than fifteen students were killed, many more wounded and hundreds arrested, including leaders, as the struggle against the repression of the Diaz Ordaz government entered into its third month.

Student heroism reached new heights as the government sent the army to occupy the huge vocational school complex in the northern section of the city. Armored cars and patrol wagons guarded school buildings as the school was put under siege. The National University was occupied last week, touching off even greater protests than those which caused the occupation in the first place. It was the first time in 40 years that the army set foot on campus.

The latest atrocities against the students began outside the National Polytechnic Institute when several thousand students gathered in the streets for an anti-government rally. The police fired into the unarmed crowd. The students, seasoned by two months of battle against the army and the hated Grenadiers (Mexico City's Tactical Patrol Force), were ready and they answered back.

"For the first time," read a New York Times dispatch of Sept. 24, "the students, most of them of high school age, used firearms on a large scale... students fired on police from school buildings and from nearby houses."

Gasoline bombs were a principal weapon of the Mexican youth, just like the Black youth in the U.S. Only a block away from one of the schools occupied by the army, teenagers were stopping cars and asking for contributions of gasoline. "For the people of Mexico" the youths implored the motorists.

The students also seized a gasoline tanker truck, according to an Associated Press dispatch of the same day, during what was described as the fiercest fighting "since the revolutionary days of the 1920's." The students hurled the molotov cocktails at buses commandeered by the



Mexican military police hit student in stomach during battle at vocational school Grenadiers.

The students were fearless in the face of unprecedented terror and mounting casualties.

"An official at a hospital near the vocational school complex said the figure of 15 known dead was less than the actual death toll because students were seen hauling away some bodies," according to the AP.

The purpose of the students in seizing their own dead was to counter government lies about student casualties. (Until today the government has not admitted to any student deaths, although the students claim scores were killed.) The police and the army incinerate student corpses.

"When the first student fell, police called on the others to surrender. But

the students shouted back: 'Now we can prove that we have one dead,' and they would haul away their fallen comrades.

The violent fury of the Diaz Ordaz government against the students grows more intense each day as the scheduled date, Oct. 12, for the opening of the Olympics approaches. But the Mexican guardians of \$1 billion in U.S. investments who keep the workers and peasants in slavery in the name of the revolution are facing a youth movement which has proven that it is ready to die in the streets "for the people of Mexico" much as the July 26 Movement was ready to die for the people of Cuba in the 50's. And just as in Cuba under Batista, the crisis of Diaz Ordaz in Mexico is the crisis of his U.S. masters.

Puerto Rico Throng Hails Anti-Yankee Resistance Raids

AIR SPECIAL FROM LARES

LARES, Puerto Rico, Sept. 23 — The independentist forces of Puerto Rico forged a united giant commemoration here today for the centennial of the "Grito de Lares" (literally, the "Cry of Lares") of 1868 with a huge march and mass rally that included more than 20,000 pro-Independence enthusiasts, as well as workers and students of the town of Lares.

The Republic of Lares was declared on Sept. 23, 1868, under the banner of a red flag, by Puerto Ricans struggling to oust the Spanish colonialists from the country. Although unsuccessful, the short-lived Republic has been the single greatest inspiration for the independence movements against both the Spanish and Yankee imperialists. (The U.S. overlords replaced the Spanish in 1898.)

The centennial celebration was organized by a committee consisting of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (PN), the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI), the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP) and the Puerto Rican Independentist Party (PIP).

The last is a reformist and electoral party whose leadership had refused to participate in the historic celebration, but at the last minute gave in to great rank-and-file pressure, especially from its youth.

Among the featured speakers were Juan Mari Bras of the MPI, Jose Marciano of the LSP, and Jacinto Perez of the PN. Mr. Marciano told the thousands upon thousands of listeners:

"The struggle for independence, which is a specific form of the class struggle, represents as well for us the struggle for socialism. No one is more conscious of this necessity of national unity for the good of the fight for independence than the Puerto Rican Socialist League.... But we know that unity, for it to be real and effective, must be the revolutionary unity of the working class, based on revolutionary principles."

Perhaps the most significant development in Puerto Rico in the last year has been the formation of the Armed

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The Wallace Tide Will Be Turned

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years — racism.

Having instilled this racism into the white masses for generations, they have given Wallace what is in some respects an even more powerful weapon than Hitler possessed in the form of anti-Semitism.

But there are also great differences between the U.S. and Germany, and some great advantages on the side of the oppressed.

First and foremost, the more than 20 million Black people, unlike the much smaller Jewish population of Germany in 1933, are in a revolutionary mood. They have already engaged in rebellion and are capable of far greater and wider revolt, regardless of the police state tactics both Wallace and his "constitutional" opponents are preparing.

Furthermore, the Black people are on the verge of gaining sizable revolutionary allies among the white masses. The anti-war demonstrations, still mainly in the middle class and student communities, are only a preview of the much bigger actions of the multi-million masses when U.S. imperialism unfolds its program for further domination of the world at the cost of millions of dead U.S. youths.

True, that is just what the ruling class has in mind as it plays with a fascist solution for its problems. True, that is exactly why it wants to put fascist chains around the masses right

now, or very soon — in order to herd them to war without effective resistance, as Hitler did from 1933 to 1939.

But the mind and temper of the time is different, too. The understanding of fascism may be far weaker in the U.S. today than it was in Europe years ago. But the insistence upon freedom and liberation is far greater.

The Black people and the student youth are already on the march against fascism. They will get stronger and bolder, although there will be vicissitudes and temporary letdowns in their struggles.

Wallace will use this youth rebellion and the Black rebellion like he has in the past — as a means to turn the whole U.S. working class into a fascist mob against the rebels. But it won't work.

Let but the first fruits of imperialist-imposed war sacrifice be tasted by the white masses — and they will be tasted, with or without Wallace — and the Wallace tide will be turned. And it will not only be turned, it will become a tidal wave in the other direction, engulfing the whole "democratic" ruling class as well as its fascist right wing.

For all serious anti-fascists, the task is this: to educate and propagandize against Wallace; to expose him and to fight his minions physically whenever that is possible. And all this should be done in the course of organizing against imperialism itself — its racism, its wars and its exploitation of the peoples.

How Can They Forget An Anniversary Like This One?

October 1 is the third anniversary of the U.S.-supported Indonesian counter-revolution of 1955, in which, according to all authorities, 500,000 to 1 million people were slaughtered.

This was without a doubt the second greatest massacre of this century. And it is questionable if even Hitler's ovens did so much so fast, as did the pro-U.S. generals of Indonesia, with their CIA-assisted butchery.

One would think, however, that this terrible event had never occurred at all, or else that it was merely a mild political upset, from the insignificant publicity it brought forth in the imperialist press.

The imperialists cannot say enough about Czechoslovakia, and they search the very ground of that country with a

microscope to find some blood spots left by the necessary and defensive occupation conducted by the Warsaw Pact troops.

But in the case of a crime infinitely more callous than Lidice and many times the magnitude of Hiroshima, they look the other way or hush it up altogether.

And of course their social democratic camp followers slavishly imitate them in both cases.

It is with real satisfaction, then, that in this issue we inserted the supplement to The Partisan, magazine of Youth Against War & Fascism, and join that organization in calling upon our readers in the New York area to demonstrate at the Indonesian Mission to the UN.

Viet Envoy Tells It Like It Is

By Naomi Goldstein

The representatives of U.S. imperialism at the Paris talks sat through a gruelling session September 4 while the North Vietnamese delegation repeatedly denounced the "savage repression" used by the U.S. government against the anti-war movement.

The 20th session of the talks took place just a week after Chicago police and Illinois National Guardsmen had been ordered by the discredited U.S. rulers to brutally suppress anti-war demonstrations in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention.

Xuan Thuy, chief representative of the North Vietnamese, told W. Averell Harriman, "hundreds of thousands of American people, men and women, black and white, have demanded that the United States stop their war of aggression in Vietnam" according to a New York Times report of September 5. He also referred to youths who have burned their draft cards, fled the country or gone to prison rather than

fight in the Vietnam war.

"To cope with such a situation," Mr. Thuy declared, "the United States authorities resort to deceit and, failing this, to repression."

"United States police forces in Chicago recently resorted to bayonets and rifle butts to counter demonstrations against the United States war of aggression in Vietnam."

Feeling himself to be cornered, U.S. representative Harriman ducked the issue of U.S. repression and resorted to the chauvinist and hypocritical answer that "it would be particularly difficult for a country that does not enjoy freedom of expression to understand American politics during an election year" according to the Times.

But Mr. Thuy sharply answered that: "if by 'freedom of expression' the United States means the freedom to repress Afro-Americans and to assassinate Presidents and Senators, then Mr. Harriman is right that North Vietnam does not have that kind of freedom."

Puerto Ricans Say: Liberation Now

(Continued from page 1)

Commandos of Liberation (CAL), which has successfully bombed numerous U.S.-owned department stores and pipelines. In a manifesto distributed for the centennial commemoration, the CAL said:

"Our actions have been so effective that the U.S. Senate has assigned a commission to Puerto Rico to investigate them.... We plan to expand our operations against North American installations in our national homeland."

The militant audience here in Lares gave a tremendous ovation when Mari Bras declared:

"Today we salute the Puerto Rican patriots of the Commandos Armados de Liberacion."

Conference to Organize the Fight Against Wallace

The would-be dictator, George Wallace, is bringing his fascist poison to New York for a mass meeting on October 9. This is an open provocation to all the Black people, the anti-war fighters, the labor movement and the oppressed of the whole city.

To organize the fight against this racist, fascist individual and his sinister movement, come to an emergency meeting in the Governor's Room of the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street, New York, N.Y., on Monday evening, September 30 at 7:30 p.m.

Members of the Ad Hoc Committee for an Anti-Wallace Demonstration (early and partial list)

Alex Munsell
Andy Stapp, Ed., The BOND*
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The Wages Went Up 300 Per Cent — But So Did The Desertions!

By Libby Ross

In spite of the fact that soldiers in South Vietnam's puppet army have had a 300 percent pay boost in the last three years, they're deserting at a much faster rate this year than last, according to the New York Times (Sept. 20).

If Workers World had a special correspondent in Vietnam, and if he had been so fortunate as to get an interview with one of the lucky soldiers who got away, it would undoubtedly have gone like this:

Q. When did you manage to escape from the army? Did you go home for Tet, and finding your family needed your protection, did you stay there? (Pentagon officials say this accounts for a lot of this year's desertions.)

A. Hell, no. I just sneaked home at night along with 20 other guys from my village ten days after they drafted us. We bumped into some American soldiers on the way and we were real scared at first they'd turn us in, but they told us they were deserting too, so it was ok. ("Pentagon experts noted that desertions have been a much greater problem in the Vietnamese armed forces than in the United States forces." — the Times article declares without further comment.)

Q. The top brass in our country say there has been a deterioration in political orientation in the Vietnamese Army. What kind of political orientation did they give you during your ten days in uniform? And how did it compare with what you've heard about last year's lectures?

A. Well, last year the guys that

came back to the village told us their officers warned them against Viet Cong in black pajamas who looked and talked just like real peasants. They told our guys to take all those peasants back to headquarters for questioning. This year, the officers told us that in case we met some peasants who might be the enemy in disguise we should shoot first and ask questions later. They said that's how they do things in Texas.

Q. When you got home, weren't all your neighbors pretty disgusted with you for running out on a fight? Did any of the pretty girls in the village put a white feather on your chest as a symbol of your cowardice?

A. Are you kidding?

Likes Marcy Article On Czechoslovakia

Dear Friends:

I wish to compliment Sam Marcy on his brilliant Marxist analysis of the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia (Workers World, Sept. 13, 1968).

The backsliders in the various socialist groups — Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Independent Socialist Clubs, Progressive Labor Party — are showing both their ignorance of Marxism and the degree to which they have been corrupted by the imperialists.

Socialist scholars of the future must devote more time to the study of the class struggle within socialist countries.

Sincerely yours,
Robert E. Jackson

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Hawk Humphrey Picketed at Rallies All Over the Country

Hundreds Turn Out Against Him in Bflo.

BUFFALO, Sept. 17—In response to Humphrey's announced intentions to bring his racist-militarist politics to this city, upwards of 500 young people from the area gathered today outside Canisius College, the local bastion of Catholic reaction, to let him know he wasn't welcome.

By the time of his arrival, the four participating groups (Youth Against War & Fascism, Draft Resistance Union, Buffalo SDS, and Buffalo Peace and Freedom Party) were leading one of the most militant demonstrations that has been seen here in recent years.

Huge banners proclaimed: Politicians Lie—GIs Die; Free Huey, Free Martin Sostre and Free All Black Political Prisoners! Another huge banner proclaimed the Peace and Freedom Party as an alternative to the ruling class candidates.

Posters proclaimed "Humphrey—Johnson's War Salesman," "Humphrey—Tool of Wall Street's Rule" and "Humphrey Backs Fascist Daley's Pigs."

When Humphrey finally arrived, his momentary smile at the sight of such a large crowd (the only welcome at the airport was from a few dozen functionaries) quickly turned to a frown as the rousing chant "Humphrey Lies—GIs Die" went up. Another source of embarrassment to Humphrey was the chant "Stop the War Against Black America," since, as at Columbia University in New York, Canisius College plays a landlord role to the surrounding Black community.

After Humphrey entered the student union at Canisius for an "invitations only" speech, where, even with a hand-picked audience he was booed, the demonstration became a spirited march to Humphrey's next speaking engagement later in the day.

Under the leadership of Buffalo's outstanding draft resister, Bruce Beyers, other members of the Buffalo



Holding forth in front of the Statler-Hilton, Buffalo, N.Y.

Nine, the members of Youth Against War & Fascism, and the other participating groups began their march and residents of Buffalo witnessed a display of strength they will not soon forget.

As the march approached the Buffalo Induction Center, loud chanting brought a daydreaming guard at the front door quickly to his senses and he hurriedly shut and locked the doors, hoping to

thwart a possible invasion. Several blocks later, as the demonstration passed the downtown YAWF office, a lone figure appeared at the window and leaned out waving an anti-imperialist banner to the rising cheers of the demonstrators.

Shortly after this point, entering the downtown area, the throng took to the streets. In a tremendous show of courage the demonstrators surged onto a

broad one-way street leading out from the hotel destination in the center of the city.

Shouting "The Streets Belong to the People" and "Join Us" to surprised motorists and pedestrians, they finally reached the Statler Hilton where Humphrey was due to speak. Incidentally, all the way downtown, the crowd had received very favorable responses from people looking and quite a few youths had joined the march from the sidelines.

At the Hilton there were mainly local political functionaries gathered around the front door trying to look cheerful in the face of the depressing fact that almost no "ordinary" citizens had showed up to welcome HHH. The youths gathered around the door, too, almost swallowing up the local political hacks.

As Humphrey's motorcade approached the hotel, a huge "Boo" went up which almost knocked him out of his car. His brief speech before he entered the hotel was also muffled by more booing, shouts of "Lies, lies," and "Hell, no, we won't go!"

The cops who prevented the crowd from reaching the hotel were not ignored either. Chants of "Pig cops," "Oink oink," and "Arm the poor, disarm the cops!" were heard.

This latest development in the movement in Buffalo is also significant in another way. It was pulled off with no casualties whatsoever.

N. Viet Progress And U.S. Poverty

Radio Hanoi reports that there are nearly five times as many doctors and two and a half times as many pharmacists in socialist North Vietnam as there were in 1964 and a large percentage of both categories are women.

From 1950 to 1965, according to the U.S. Statistical Abstract, the number of physicians in the United States increased from 232,700 to 305,100 — or about 30 per cent in that fifteen-year period.

With the booming population in the United States, the proportional increase of doctors to people served was even less. There were 149 doctors per 100,000 population in 1950 and 153 per 100,000 in 1965, a relative increase of less than 3 per cent.

attention to the "disrupters."

"Laugh at them — like I do!" he implored. And he cackled with attempted heartiness.

In the words of a New York Times reporter, "This didn't help much, either."



Harried Humphrey defends imperialism at Euclid Beach Park, Cleveland

Hot Reception Brings Hollow Laughter From HHH in Cleveland

CLEVELAND, Sept. 22 -- Two demonstrations were held in this city today in rapid-fire succession against war-salesman and Democratic big-business candidate for President, Hubert H. Humphrey.

The first demonstration was run by Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (CAPAC), the local coalition of anti-war groups, and brought more than 200 people out to picket in front of the Sheraton Hotel in downtown Cleveland at about noon.

The second protest was called by Youth Against War & Fascism and took place a few hours later and eight miles away at the Democratic Party's annual "steer-roast" at Euclid Beach Park and Lake Shore.

The group of over 100 militant youth at the park got nation-wide publicity by repeatedly interrupting Humphrey's speech with chants of "Politicians Lie — GIs Die; The Rich Get Richer — the Poor Get Killed; Free Huey Now; Chicago, Chicago," and others. Humphrey was forced to stop several times and try to out-shout the protesters.

When Humphrey's plans to visit Cleveland were first announced, Youth Against War & Fascism proposed a

demonstration at the park, which is an amusement area where thousands of black and white working people and their families usually come on Sunday. YAWF also argued that the best opposition could be shown to Humphrey there because it would be possible to maintain a sustained confrontation with him.

But the moderate leaders of CAPAC were fearful of the people at the park attacking the demonstration and opposed that location. A YSA-SWP spokesman showed his fear of the masses by stating that it would be "suicide" to picket there. They proposed, instead, demonstrating at the airport when Humphrey arrived, but later changed their call to the hotel which is in an area that is usually deserted on Sunday.

YAWF worked hard to build up the size and militancy of the demonstration at the hotel but also continued with its own preparations for the park. At the hotel YAWF got good response with such chants as "Stop the War Against Black America," "Two, Four, Six, Eight, We Don't Want a Fascist State," and "To the Park!"

After the demonstration, car pools were organized on the spot for those who

had no transportation to the park.

While YAWF tried to build up enthusiasm for the park demonstration, CAPAC leaders tried to sabotage it by continuing to spread rumors that they had "inside information" that the police were going to attack the demonstration and that it was their (the "leaders") judgment that the demonstration should not take place.

The "judgment" conveniently coincided with that of the Cleveland Plain-Dealer which had a vicious editorial attacking anyone who planned to disturb Humphrey's meeting in the park, but "impartially" covered CAPAC's plans to picket at the hotel.

The turnout to listen to Humphrey at Euclid Beach Park was a flop in spite of great publicity and free amusement park rides and food to anyone who came. And most of those in attendance were not particularly enthusiastic nor were they noticeably hostile to the anti-war demonstrators—except possibly the City Hall employees and hangers-on, who made up a considerable portion of the crowd.

As a matter of fact, Humphrey failed completely in an attempt to get the crowd to drown out the demonstrators. He reprimanded the pickets no less than three times. At one point, he pleaded with photographers, who were facing the pickets with their backs to the Vice President, not to pay any

George Wallace, U.S. Fascist

His Liberal Imperialist "Opponents" Give Him a Boost Upward

The neo-Nazi National Democratic Party of West Germany got 9 per cent of the national vote in late 1966 and gained 15 seats in the 204-member Bavarian provincial legislature and 8 in the 96-man Hesse legislature.

This caused a flurry of serious alarm in progressive circles in the United States, sent a considerable chill down the backs of many people in Europe, and above all, aroused a furious fighting spirit among West German students and workers.

All this, because of a 9 per cent vote for the neo-fascists.

What should be said, then, about the candidacy of George Wallace, the fascist demagogue from Alabama, who is credited not with 9 per cent, but over 19 per cent of the coming vote by the most authoritative poll-takers in the country?

If we were to confine ourselves entirely to the infantile idiocy of merely counting votes and depending upon the voting results, it would, of course, be possible to say that Wallace is only a minority candidate and, as such, is no real threat to the rights of the black and white working people and to what remains of capitalist democracy in this country.

But as the German workers and students well understand, Adolf Hitler also had only a minority of the people behind him—and always had only a minority.

(Even in the final German election of January, 1933, Hitler won only a plurality—and assumed full dictatorial powers only after the Reichstag Fire frame-up. His iron rule became more and more totalitarian precisely because the opposition to him was so great.)

Wallace and Hitler

As Hitler utilized anti-Semitism, so Wallace uses race prejudice against the Black people—fans it up, plays upon all the prejudices built in by the master class during 400 years of oppression, slavery and semi-slavery.

The fact that the master class as a whole may not be ready for a Wallace can hardly dampen the social tinder box it has put together over the decades and which it is more and more tempted to ignite today.

Wallace, like Hitler, appeals to the "workingman." And like Hitler, he is the workingman's worst enemy. He promises to run the United States like he runs Alabama.

How has he run Alabama?

In 1965, at the height of Wallace's own gubernatorial term and the last year recorded in the U.S. Statistical



Giving typical greeting, as police pal backs him up

Abstract for 1968, Alabama was the 48th state in per capita personal income (with South Carolina 49th and Mississippi 50th.) Alabama also ranks 49th in payments to dependent children.

"We're still not the worst. Thank God for Mississippi," said a leading Alabama politician recently.

Mississippi Better

But the truth is that in such a crucial item as workmen's compensation, Mississippi is actually ahead of Alabama, having paid out \$11,814,000 in 1965, with Alabama paying \$16,554,000. (Mississippi is just two-thirds the population of Alabama.)

Mississippi is ahead of Alabama in some other respects, too. Alabama's average payments for unemployment insurance are lowest in the continental United States, the average payment being \$30.26. And this is also the lowest percentage of a state's average weekly

wage in any state in the continental U.S.—29 per cent.

Alabama has more people in prison than Mississippi—4,178 at the end of 1965 to Mississippi's 2,019. (In this regard, Wallace's demagoguery is not demagoguery at all. He really means it when he says he would put all protesters, civil rights advocates, etc., in jail.)

Best at Murder

In one thing Alabama leads the whole 50 states—murder.

In 1965, for the category of "Murder and non-negligent Manslaughter," Alabama was registered as having 11.4 per 100,000 of population—with Mississippi 8.9 and Georgia 11.3. In New York State, where Wallace says "You're not safe on the subway," the rate was 4.6.

It should be added, of course, that the statistics for Alabama ignore hundreds of lynchings—known and unknown to the public.

Furthermore, although the racists

claim that the high murder rate is largely caused by the Black people themselves, even the conservative statistics give the lie to this claim. Illinois, which has more Black people than Alabama, had only 5.2 "Murder and non-negligent Manslaughter" per 100,000 in 1965, down from 5.5 in 1964, a year in which the Black population of the state was smaller.

He Taxes the Poor

Wallace promises to lower taxes for the working people and at the same time advocates more wars which will obviously eat up more taxes. But it is not necessary to speculate on whether he will make a bigger war, to see what his real line on taxes is. It is only necessary to look at Alabama.

He raised the sales tax, the tobacco and beer tax, and he raised the fee for drivers' licenses and automobile plates, all of which bear down heaviest on the working people. He also doubled the state debt.

However, he did increase his popularity by encouraging industrial expansion to provide 100,000 new jobs, a \$40 million educational program and a billion-dollar road-building program. (Even these advances are less than many other states in the South during the same period.)

What he never tells his listening crowds at political rallies is that the Federal Government (that is, the people of the other 49 states) supplied 90 per cent of the money for this program and that he himself instituted the above-named tax and loan policies to get the other 10 per cent.

Wants a Giant Prison

On the contrary, he inveighs against "Federal interference" with states' rights. Everybody knows, of course, that the "Federal interference" he has in mind is on the question of human rights—the "interference" that enforces even the mildest tokenism in the direction of equality of black and white people under the Constitution he claims to defend.

Everybody knows he is hell-bent to further subjugate, if not annihilate, the Black people. But like Hitler's campaign against the Jews, Wallace's anti-Black drive is part of a program to imprison the black and white masses together in a nationwide fascist prison in which the white masses would merely have the choicest cells.

An anonymous political supporter of Wallace told a New York Post writer:

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Youth Commandos picketing him in Milwaukee (about 700 of them)

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George Wallace, U.S. Fascist

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"It will take us generations to get out from under what Wallace did to this state—in education, budget and taxes alone."

Wallace makes his appeal to the workers still more "radical" by hitting "the billion-dollar tax-exempt foundations like the Mellon, Rockefeller and the Carnegie, who want to double your taxes to pay people not to work and to pay tribute to hoodlums not to burn down our cities." And he scores the "Eastern Establishment" of the Wall Street banks.

Against (Some) Bankers

Outside of opposing the relatively tiny contributions of these foundations to the oppressed, what could be more radical than opposing Mellon, Rockefeller and Co. along with the whole "Eastern Establishment"?

One thing could be: and that is to oppose the whole system of Eastern, Western and Southern banks and wealthy businessmen in the name of the working masses.

But Wallace carefully refrains from mentioning the Southwest oil billionaires—and for a very good reason. They are his financial backers—particularly the fabulously rich H.L. Hunt.

When asked about the scandalous 27.5 per cent oil depletion allowance that permits so many big oil companies to pay less taxes than working people do, Wallace just says he doesn't "understand enough about both sides of the problem."

Why Don't They Kick Him Out?

But a more important question than Wallace's racism, his demagoguery and lies—even more important than his oil billionaire backing—is why the ruling class does not expose him thoroughly and cast him out.

Here and there a columnist or two points out some of the contradictions we have mentioned here. And his electoral opponents have rejected the worst of his policies—in words, at least.

The conservative Union leaders have finally gotten worried that he will "take votes away from Humphrey," (1) so it appears they will now begin to "expose" him.

But he is given tremendous publicity by the "democratic" press. He is praised with faint damn by the moderate as well as the more conservative papers, to say nothing of the wildly whooping-it-up ultra-right. The Vice President of the United States proposes to debate him, instead of calling for his imprisonment.

—And Lyndon Johnson invites him into the White House!

Cocktails

At the White House

On Sept. 11, Johnson invited "the three major Presidential candidates" (Why is Wallace a "major" candidate? By whose say-so?) to the White House to "promote the orderly transfer of the executive power," he said.

Instead of making things difficult for a fascist, the President of the United States, ostensibly the spokesman for the whole people, and in

reality spokesman for hundreds of giant corporations, who bad as they are, supposedly oppose Wallace—this President of "all the American people," as he likes to call himself, is publicly dignifying an open fascist and suggesting that he should enjoy an "orderly transfer of political power," if he wins an election.

Should the Black people, whom Johnson is supposed to have aided with legislation, permit such an "orderly transfer of political power"? Should all Wallace's potential victims lie down and die because he may win the office of President? Johnson, the representative of Constitutional government, the presumed opponent of fascism, says yes.

The Presidential Transition Act of 1963 says "the national interest requires that transitions in the office of President be accomplished so as to assure the faithful execution of the laws and in the conduct of the affairs of the Federal Government, both domestic and foreign."

But Wallace has shown himself to be one of the main obstructors of "faithful execution of the laws." Not only in words of defiance against the most moderate liberal legislation, but by actually placing his body "in the schoolhouse door," while he was Governor.

When anybody defies the will of the President (who is conducting an obviously illegal war) by any overt action, he is arrested and thrown into jail, although assured of his right to verbal protest.

But George Wallace, the fascist obstructor of U.S. law, is invited to the White House for a briefing on foreign and domestic policy—and for a "transitional procedure" that is separate and distinct from the "briefings" on imperialist foreign policy that were instituted a few years ago.

Why So Considerate?

Moreover, the Presidential Transition Act, said the New York Times with very muted criticism on Sept. 12, "does not specifically require an outgoing President to take the steps Mr. Johnson did" with Wallace.

Why and how can this be? How can a U.S. President, even a Lyndon Johnson, do such a thing as this?

True enough, Johnson is a real hawk on the war and secretly as much of a racist as Wallace. But he knows that Wallace intends to get rid of him—Johnson—and will never forgive even the token desegregation that Johnson has sponsored.

If history has taught Johnson anything at all, he knows that Wallace in power will trample on all "the affairs of the Federal Government" which in any degree threaten the complete triumph of racist reaction and that he will oust all Johnson's cronies from political power and replace them with the jack-booted or pillowcase-masked thugs of the worst reaction.

Why, then, is he so considerate of Wallace?

Because Wallace aspires to represent the same class as Johnson, and he is much closer to recognition by that class than he used to be.

A True Fascist

As with all fascists, there is an element of the plebeian anti-capitalist about Wallace. But as with all successful fascists, he already has con-

siderable capitalist backing for his phony anti-capitalism.

Johnson is afraid of seriously attacking Wallace for the same reason he was afraid of attacking the murderers of the two Kennedys, or of taking too strong a stand against the steel companies on the question of a price increase, even though they defied him. He is afraid of attacking the Big Money—that is, the big capital—or any section of it. And the fact that the Wallace section is based to such a large extent among the oil kings of Johnson's own state gives an extra filip to his fear.

While liberal capitalism may fight fascism to one degree or another, it has never been known to fight it to the very end. In the United States, it shows signs of not even fighting it very much at the beginning!

H.L. Hunt—"Mr. Big"

Why does nobody really attack Wallace's chief backer, H.L. Hunt? Why does "Happy" Chandler, Governor of Kentucky for several terms, former U.S. Baseball Commissioner and a notable celebrity in his own right, suddenly and very uncharacteristically lose his rambling expressiveness and refer to Hunt merely as "Mr. Big," without mentioning his name, when he discusses Wallace?

Why does Tom Wicker, "liberal" political commentator of the New York Times, write a whole column referring part of it to Chandler's "Mr. Big" and still not mention Hunt's name?

"Chandler's suggestion that Wallace is getting Southwest oil money probably is true," Wicker grants, "but that is not necessarily the same thing as being 'controlled' by some right-wing fat cat."

Why does Wicker thus objectively even defend H.L. Hunt as not being as dangerous as Wallace himself? (Can't Hunt, for example, find at least half a dozen demagogues for a lot less than his billion dollars?)

Why do the more liberal writers, who do want to expose Wallace, merely refer to Hunt as a "backer of extreme right-wing causes" without listing these causes or setting down his reactionary opinions, his hatred of the most elementary democracy, for all to see?

(Hunt, a great friend of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, published a privately printed book some years ago, called "Alpaca," about his ideal state—a sort of "Utopia" for the millionaire. In this Utopia, he said, "the more taxes you pay, the more votes you get... and if you accept State aid because you are poor or sick, you cannot vote at all, and you are denied an old age pension." He insists that the U.S. is "not a democracy, but a republic," which is true. But he wants it to be much, much less of a democracy, too.)

Liberals Blame It On the "Little Folks"

Why did the liberal New York Post manage to publish six installments devoting a whole page each to a discussion of Wallace last week and mention H.L. Hunt only twice? Why did it devote a whole page to the subject, "Where His Financing Comes From" and only refer to Hunt in the following way:

"Wallace may receive large campaign contributions from H.L. Hunt, but apparently most of his support comes as he says, 'from the little folks' contributions."

Why did the Post, which opposes Wallace, thus blame the Wallace pheno-

menon on the "little folks" rather than the big, big wealthy folks?

The Old Wheelhorses

The preponderant section of the ruling class has apparently decided that one of its two old-line representatives will win the election this year, although it may not have the power of initiative to avoid the Electoral College-House of Representatives confrontation that Wallace threatens.

But much as it would hesitate before actually supporting George Wallace and putting some of its own freedom of maneuver into a fascist uniform, it does regard him as a "major candidate."

Wallace has built much of his Alabama machine on pure corruption. He could be prosecuted on at least a dozen counts. He is far more vulnerable in a legal sense than Joseph McCarthy ever was. And the ruling class could move against him and crush him much more rapidly than it did McCarthy at the famous TV hearings.

But it does not choose to do so. The signed statements about his financial doings already in the possession of Federal authorities are quite sufficient to keep Wallace in line for the whole capitalist class as well as for H.L. Hunt.

(Middle class editorial writers are well aware of this. But they persist in saying that Wallace is the candidate of "the ignorant racist poor whites," as though he had been chosen by "the people" rather than by the enemies of the people.)

Not Just Hunt

The section of the ruling class that already supports Wallace really extends beyond the Texas oil klavern.

The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation has given millions to causes similar to Wallace's. So has the Donner Foundation, the Lilly Foundation, the Deering Milliken Foundation, the Schick Safety Razor Co., International Latex and dozens of others.

Allen Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein in their book, "Danger on the Right," make up a "total of 113 industrial, mercantile and banking firms and 25 electric and gas companies," which, one way or another, directly help the ultra-right.

Without these, the ultra-right—including Wallace—could hardly exist, much less gain wide support. And this, in spite of the racism, the "know-nothingism," the gung-ho war jingoism that has been bred into so many of the masses for generations.

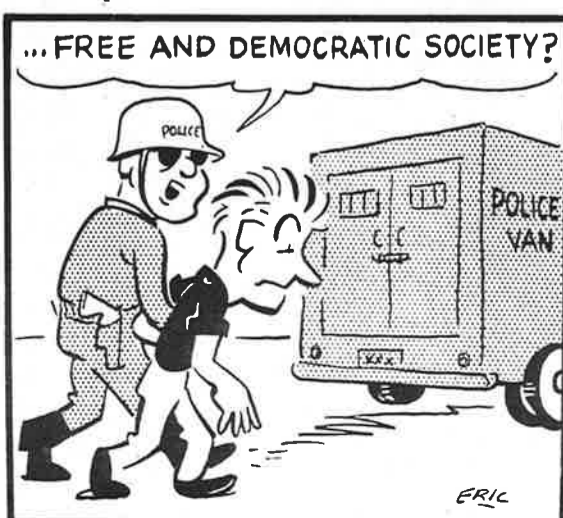
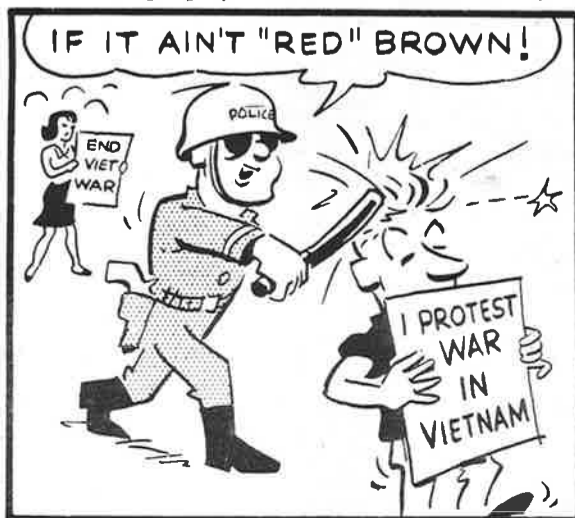
These corporations are by no means the whole capitalist class. Quite the contrary.

Wallace is advancing so fast in the social climate prepared by the "democratic" imperialists who are supposed to oppose him—that the latter may start ringing the alarm bells well before November 5 and try to slap their too obstreperous servant back into place.

But whatever the actual vote for Wallace, he and fascism will thrive on the "democratic" election process of big business, under these conditions.

And the very fact that an outright fascist can make such a joke out of capitalist democracy is the best proof that Humphrey and Nixon, like Johnson, are worthless defenders of those real democratic rights that the masses have won through bloody struggles over the ages.

Wallace can only be beaten by the direct action of the people he is trying to enslave.



"Union, Yes—Racism, No!" Is Theme Of Counter-Pickets at NYC Teachers' Rally

NEW YORK, Sept. 16 — "400 Years of White Mob Rule Is Enough," proclaimed one huge banner of Youth Against War & Fascism in a counter-demonstration to the teachers'

reactionary strike here today.

The United Federation of Teachers' leadership, persisting in its wrongful strike against the right of the Black people to run their own schools, called

a demonstration at City Hall today and implicitly appealed to the worst elements in the white community to support it.

Declaring against the Ocean Hill-Brownsville predominantly Black local governing board and characterizing its militant Black neighborhood support as "mob rule," the union leadership called on all "parents" to join its line.

Many union teachers were, of course, honestly confused by the leadership's raising the false issue of "job security" and found themselves aiding the covert racism of the Albert Shanker leadership without intending to do so.

Spokesmen of YAWF asserted that their organization had been in at the virtual birth of the United Federation of Teachers, actively assisting its first strike at a time when many of YAWF's members were still in high school, and they regretted the necessity for taking this kind of action now.

"But the rights of 22 million Black people to self-determination," said Key Martin, national YAWF leader, "certainly must take precedence over the alleged grievances of ten white teachers against a Black school board in a Black community!"

About 200 people or more took part in the YAWF counter-demonstration. Most radical-left parties were noticeably absent from the area. But a number of DuBois Club members joined the line.

Several large banners added color and political impact. Besides the slogan

quoted above, they carried such messages as: "Self-Determination for Black Communities" and "Don't Let UFT Become Like Racist LEG of PBA!" (A reference to the fascist cops' so-called Law Enforcement Group, 150 of whose members recently attacked a dozen supporters of the Black Panthers in a Brooklyn court.)

A leaflet issued by YAWF appealed as follows to those not consciously racist:

"Union Teachers: Don't Be Used as Cannon Fodder in the War Against Black Freedom!"

In reference to the ten teachers (who had incidentally been offered different teaching jobs than the ones where they had been found unacceptable to the Black people), it said:

"There is always a question of job security. But the union leadership has raised this question in the wrong place, against the wrong management. Particularly when teachers' jobs are going begging all over New York, the idea of counterposing (white teachers') 'job security' to the right of an oppressed people to rule itself is repugnant to decent people, including the majority of the teachers themselves, when they think it over."

Explaining that the union rights of the teachers will actually suffer from, rather than be improved by, this action the leaflet added:

"The NYC Board of Education is playing off your union and the Black community against each other in a vicious attempt to break the power or potential power of both...."

"The only way to defeat the Board of Ed's devious tactic is for the union to give full support to the demands of the Black community. Four hundred years of white colonialist domination in every area of Black life is enough!"



YAWF supports Black control of Black schools

State Reimburses Sostre Committee

BUFFALO, Sept. 20 — The Martin Sostre Defense Committee received a check for \$216.85 from the State University of New York here today.

The check was issued as a reparation for the fascist book-burning that occurred on the campus early this summer.

The funds, according to Gerald Gross, chairman of the Committee, were received after a long administrative delay, and only after a strong protest was voiced by the Black Student Association and the MSDC.

The money will be used to replace the books of Black history, Black Power and Vietnamese literature belonging to the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Exile. These books had been burned by a racist employee of the State.

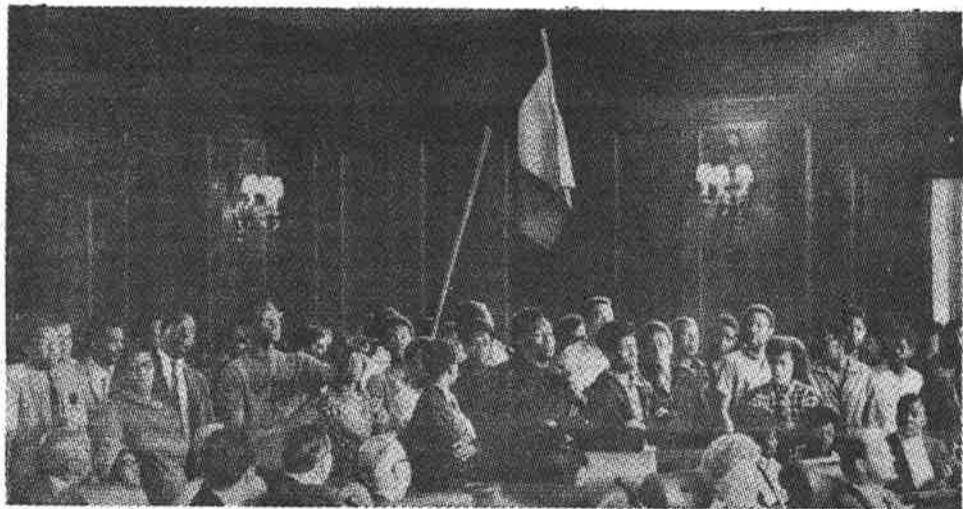
Black Nation's Flag in Cleveland City Council

CLEVELAND, Sept. 18 — About 200 Black militants went to City Hall here on Tuesday, Sept. 17 to lodge a vigorous protest against the violently racist statements made by Councilman Katalinas and others at a previous council meeting.

They were there, also, to demand the right to bring in their proposals to solve some of the pressing problems of the oppressed Black community. Their statement called for support for the demand that all white policemen be withdrawn from the Black community and that a Black police force be set up and that the police be prohibited from using armored vehicles and high-powered weapons during the period of change.

They also demanded that there be "de-escalation of the police department in the armaments race."

The statement further said: "The



Black people's flag in white supremacist city council

recent action of the Fraternal Order of the Police is symptomatic of the mentality that prevails on our police force. Across this nation police are beating our citizens, men and women, young and old, black and white, on duty or off duty, they are participating in such illegal action.

"Councilmen such as Katalinas and Garofoli have expressed their concern for 'law and order.' This cry for law and order by city councilmen Katalinas and Garofoli has been strangely silent when whites have beaten and killed blacks.

"The lack of concern and insensitivity for Black peoples' lives by some councilmen indicate the racist attitude that exists in the community. We, therefore, call upon the Black people of the wards of these racists to support a program that will rid our city of the Katalinas' and Garofolis."

The racist-ruled City Council, hiding behind the rules, refused the re-

removal of the children, temporarily, but fixed another hearing for Oct. 1. And on Sept. 24, Atty. Charles T. McKinney of New York City appeared for Mrs. Robinson in Erie County Court. He was given until Oct. 2 to prepare motions for trial in the first week of November.

Mrs. Robinson is separated from her husband, and like most people who are compelled to accept welfare, totally dependent materially, upon the

representatives of the Black community the right to present their demands; they tried to force the delegation to leave. But the Black militants refused to be terrorized. When told to remove their Nationalist flag, they responded by telling the Council that the American racist flag was allowed there.

When they were told to sit down and maintain "decorum," the spokesman for the delegation insisted that he should have the right to speak. When he was threatened with eviction, the Council was told that they would all have to be evicted. Needless to say, there were no evictions.

The demonstration forced the racist councilmen, in whose ward there is much tension, to say that something had to be done and that he favored a public hearing at which time all sides could be heard. Wilbur Grattan, one of the leaders of the Black militants, stated that it was this particular hearing where the demands should be heard. He said further that additional demands would be made in the future.

The drive for self-determination by the Black people is gaining momentum. Following the rebellion of July 23 in Cleveland and the death of several Black militants and white cops, the Black community forced the Mayor, Mr. Stokes, to withdraw the white policemen and National Guard out of the embattled area for 24 hours without any curfew being imposed.

The present demands are but a continuation in the drive for full liberation of Black America.

Martin Sostre Collaborator Hounded by Buffalo Welfare

BUFFALO -- Geraldine Robinson, a co-defendant in the Martin Sostre case, is being mercilessly harassed by welfare authorities here.

Mrs. Robinson was served with papers threatening to take her five children away from her because, says the welfare worker's complaint, she is "responsible for their neglect" and for the neglect of the absentee-owned deteriorating house in which she rents the upstairs flat.

Blaming Mrs. Robinson for not having proper food in the house on the day after her welfare check was supposed to arrive, and didn't; blaming her for not painting the flat, but not providing her with money to do so; blaming her for keeping the children home on the first day of school, because they needed clothes and she was waiting for the check (the same check) to pay for clothes being held for her at a department store's "will-call"; blaming her, in fact, for her poverty and her victimization by their own racist policies, the Welfare Department is trying to take her children away and give them a racist upbringing complete with watery porridge in an orphans' home.

Mrs. Robinson had helped in Martin Sostre's bookstore until July, 1967, heroically devoting herself to the

liberation of her people as well as to the improvement of her children.

Martin Sostre was framed when the police planted drugs on his premises (this was observed by a customer in the store at the time). So Frank J. Pelligrone, the welfare worker, said in his bill of particulars:

"Mrs. Robinson is presently under indictment as part of the Sostre case of 1967, for frequenting a place where narcotics are sold, and resisting arrest."

At a hearing before Family Court Judge Neimer on September 5, however, Mr. Pelligrone said of his other charges: "There are no witnesses because there is a general fear in the neighborhood about complaints and evaluations." He spoke in an almost inaudible voice.

(There is a general fear, all right. It is the fear of the people for the racist authorities, including the welfare authorities. The vengeful sentence of 31 to 41 years meted out to Martin Sostre is becoming more and more known and understood. There is a fear all right. And the authorities' fear is that the people's fear will ultimately become transformed into rage — an even greater rage than produced the uprising of June, 1967.)

The Judge denied the request for

(Continued on page 8)

"Free Huey — Jail Wallace!" Say 700 Demonstrators in Milwaukee

By James Boulton

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 16 -- Two independent demonstrations armed with a message for Presidential hopeful, fascist George C. Wallace, at Milwaukee on September 12 merged into a solid front behind the central slogan of Youth Against War & Fascism, "Free Huey, Jail Wallace," when the NAACP Youth Council Commandos took command of that idea.

YAWF had fired out a circular call to Milwaukee's boiling schools on the Free Huey demand, while the famed Youth Council was sending out a call to march against Wallace, through the mass media.

By 6:30 p.m. on Thursday, over 80 demonstrators had rallied under the militant placards of YAWF at the glassy entrance to Schroeder-Hilton's swank hotel where an all-white \$10-a-plate dinner sponsored by the white bosses for Wallace was in progress.

At this point the Youth Council made a militant and vocal entrance, swelling the demonstration to several hundred. They chanted "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh — Wallace Gonna Lose, Black Power Gonna Win."

Mayor Henry Maier's police, ordered to keep their cool until after the November 5th lottery, were patently itching to "do their thing" with faces dressed-out in smirks and leaded hickory sticks at the ready.

A thousand public observers gathered on opposite walks while Youth Commandos deployed at fixed points between the lines of demonstrators and police.

At 7:30 p.m. the Commandos regrouped the lines for a march through

traffic-jams and into the public auditorium where 5,000 white-racist citizens were gathering to hear the "Godamighty-damn, if I should win!" candidate.

In expectation of a bust at the auditorium where additional hundreds of Youth Against Wallace had assembled to extend him a "Sieg Heil," police beefed-up the equipment and stocked riot gear.

While the Youth Commandos took command of the march and discipline, the anti-war slogans and posters of YAWF were soon grabbed-up by the Black youth along with the chant: "Free Huey — Jail Wallace."

The Workers World Party fielded the only labor union local officers, members of the Allied Industrial Workers and UAW, on the picket-line; while the main body of labor bureaucrats huddled elsewhere behind \$10 steaks of their own, and chanted "Scrounge a Vote for Humphrey."

Inside the auditorium Wallace spoke for Nixon and Humphrey as well as himself, when he warned the tumultuous inside demonstration — by now a prolonged shouting and stamping contest between the "American Party" and united Youth Against Wallace and Fascism:

"These are the kind of folks the people are sick and tired of in this country.... And all I can say is that the anarchists of this country had better have their say... because after November 5th, you're through, you're through."

Now in fact, the main theme of the Capitalist Three is their mounting chorus of support to the police at home

and imperialist brutality abroad. Cheers and shouts of "We Want Wallace" greeted his drum-beating for bigger war in Asia and his promise of jail and treason charges against those who express solidarity with the revolutionary people of Vietnam and the world: "You don't have the right to call for a Communist victory," he said.

In an effort to stem the auditorium demonstration, with police-youth skirmishes breaking out in the aisles, the Wallace command locked the entrances. Hundreds of Wallace supporters were blocked outside, along with some contingents of Youth Against Wallace and Facism.

Inside, Wallace began again "One of the first things I'm going to do...." but then he was thrown by a massive standing chant: "Sieg Heil!"

At 9 p.m. the Commandos began the march out of the auditorium to parade defiantly through the cordons of police with a 700-strongforce, again chanting "Free Huey—Jail Wallace!"

The ready decision of the Youth Council in Milwaukee to act in a political action against Wallace, coming on the heels of the deep confrontation by anti-war youth, black and white, against the Democrat War Party at Chicago is a harbinger of vast political awakening. Back in 1964 no one, including the Youth Council, would touch an action against Wallace. The revolutionary socialists stood alone.

The 1968 demonstration by the NAACP Youth Council against Wallace was undertaken despite the clearly stated reservations of Father James Groppi, a Catholic social-democrat. But Groppi decided to join this march,



Milwaukee YAWF'ers picketing Wallace

Of equal significance is the support given to the demonstration by Black militant leader and Director of Operations for the Youth Council, Joseph McLain. McLain has made known his view that any project paid for by the white-power leaders in Washington is designed to entrap the Black people and its leaders.

(Other Milwaukee photos on p. 4)

Lumumba's Murderer Heads Columbia



Andrew Cordier

"The word 'repression' is not in my vocabulary," said Dr. Andrew W. Cordier to a group of protesting Columbia students on September 1.

The ghost of the murdered Patrice Lumumba must have laughed at this. And the super-repressed patriots of the Congo would have made this their quotation of the year — if they had the freedom to read it or the wherewithal to publish it.

Cordier, now acting president of Columbia University, replacing the discredited Grayson Kirk, is an imperialist diplomat whose main claim to fame is his repression of the Congo with UN troops during the Congo freedom fight of 1960-61.

The Congo rebellion began in 1960, and Premier Lumumba made the serious error of calling in the UN. (Lumumba was not a stooge of imperialism, but he was at first taken in by the UN. In his political innocence, he actually thought the UN was what it pretended to be — an "impartial" world government body, particularly since the Soviet bloc belonged to it.)

As soon as the UN troops arrived, Cordier made sure that only U.S. puppets were recognized, that Lumumba was not allowed to speak on his own national radio, whereas the U.S. puppet Kasavubu and the Belgian-U.S. puppet Tshombe were permitted to broadcast almost at will.

Despite the fact that Lumumba gained huge votes of confidence in the Congo parliament, Cordier disregarded this. And he had the UN close the parliament.

This "UN" (really U.S.) diplomat

New Columbia Struggles Baptize Start Of International Students Conference

COLUMBIA, U., N.Y.C. — The International Assembly of Revolutionary Students was launched in the midst of new struggles on this campus last Wednesday. The SDS had requested students not to register during a 4-hour period that day so they could attempt to register the 40 expelled students.

During the demonstration, the administration provoked a conflict and threatened everyone with "disciplinary action." The administration closed the registration for the rest of the day — an action not sought by the students who only wanted to open registration to students the administration seeks to exclude.

An hour before the Assembly was to convene, the administration barred it from McMillin Hall where it was scheduled to open. The participants gathered outside McMillin, whose doors were chained shut and marched under a red banner to Schermerhorn Hall, where a large lecture hall was seized for the opening session.

The body of almost 1,000 students was addressed by veterans of recent class and student struggles in Europe and Mexico, as well as by leaders of the

is further thought to have conspired with Tshombe to assassinate Lumumba. And the Irish UN diplomat, Conor Cruise O'Brien, who resigned his post over the whole episode, thought Dag Hammarskjöld's plane crash in Africa was just too convenient for the U.S.-dominated politics which the UN forces were carrying out before Hammarskjöld's visit.

(The then UN secretary general naturally wanted some European imperialists to be in on carving up the Congo, as well as the U.S.)

Cordier is, of course, no ordinary thug. He is a diplomatic, double-talking, 24-karat extraordinary thug. And he is an especially fitting choice for big business to impose upon the Columbia students.

One of the biggest slumlords over Black people in the country, the University can profit from Mr. Cordier's Congo experiences and repress the Black people more efficiently as a result.

"Repression" may not be in his vocabulary. But it certainly is in the



Mark Rudd addressing Columbia students during demonstration

Columbia SDS who had organized the Assembly.

After presentations from the French delegates, a comrade from Germany conveyed a message of solidarity from the Venezuelan MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), who were organizing both the students on the campuses and the guerrilla fighters in the hills. Their message ended, "Long Live Che Guevara!" and "Down with Racist Exploitation!"

The Assembly responded with a standing ovation and raised clenched fists, chanting, "Viva Che!"

At 10:58, the SDS announced they had been informed that in two minutes their meeting would be illegal. The next speakers, the delegates from Mexico, said they were proud to be the first illegal speakers. They went on to give a passionate description of the recent events there (see last issue of Workers World).

Later in the session, an Italian comrade received a good hand when, after describing the struggle in his own country, he explained the necessity for discipline and a party form of organization.

After the meeting, the students poured from the hall, linking arms be-

provisions of his contract with the imperialist University, as it was in his secret instructions in the Congo.

hind the red flag and marched through the campus, chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh; the NLF is gonna win." "This is only the start, we'll continue to fight" and "Che, Che, Che Guevara." They changed to "Freshmen, Join Us" as they passed the dorms where the new entering class was going through the administration's sponsored "Orientation."

The ranks of the demonstration swelled to close to 2,000 as they marched a block off the campus to the President's mansion chanting "Cordier — Assassin for the CIA" and "Remember Lumumba," referring to the newly appointed administrator's previous job with the U.S. (UN) operations in the Congo which ended with Lumumba's murder along with hundreds of thousands of his compatriots.

On Friday afternoon, a number of the delegates travelled downtown to the Mexican Consulate to show solidarity with the students there who were resisting the military occupation of their campus. As the Assembly ended, this resistance was reported to be more and more widespread through Mexico City.

The Assembly concluded Monday night at NYU with a resolution of solidarity with 11 banned French groups and a proposal for a demonstration on Saturday in solidarity with the fighting Mexican students.

Black GIs Beaten Up in Ft. Hood Stockade

American Serviceman's Union Head Reveals Facts

NEW YORK, Sept. 21 — Andy Stapp, national president of the American Servicemen's Union, told an audience here tonight some of the details of the Army's vengeance upon the Fort Hood Forty-Three — the Black GIs who were arrested for refusing "riot duty" in Chicago last month.

"Sixty armed MPs 'took' them to the stockade, and once they got them there," he said, "clubbed and beat them unmercifully. Fifty-eight of the MPs were white. The two Afro-Americans did not join the butchery. Nobody seems to know what happened to them as a result."

"The guys were denied medical attention until 11 p.m. that night," Mr. Stapp added. (They had been arrested fairly early in the morning.)

One soldier had been badly wounded in Vietnam — in the kidneys. He was severely beaten about the kidneys by the MPs.

Like nearly all such brutality in the Army, this had the sanction of, and in fact was given the signal by, the officer caste.

"The commandant of the prison — a major," said Stapp, "began the beatings by taking off his steel helmet and swinging it directly into a man's face, probably disfiguring him for life."

The audience of mostly civilians supporting the Ft. Hood rebels and the Servicemen's Union was assembled by Youth Against War & Fascism at its New York Headquarters to hear reports from Mr. Stapp and some of those who accompanied him to Ft. Hood. They had gone to the post to attend the first hearing of these victimized GIs, but were denied the right to be present.

Shirley Jolls, National Coordinator of the Committee for GI Rights, and one of the party that visited the Army post, told what the atmosphere was like in the nearby town of Killeen — the only town for miles around.

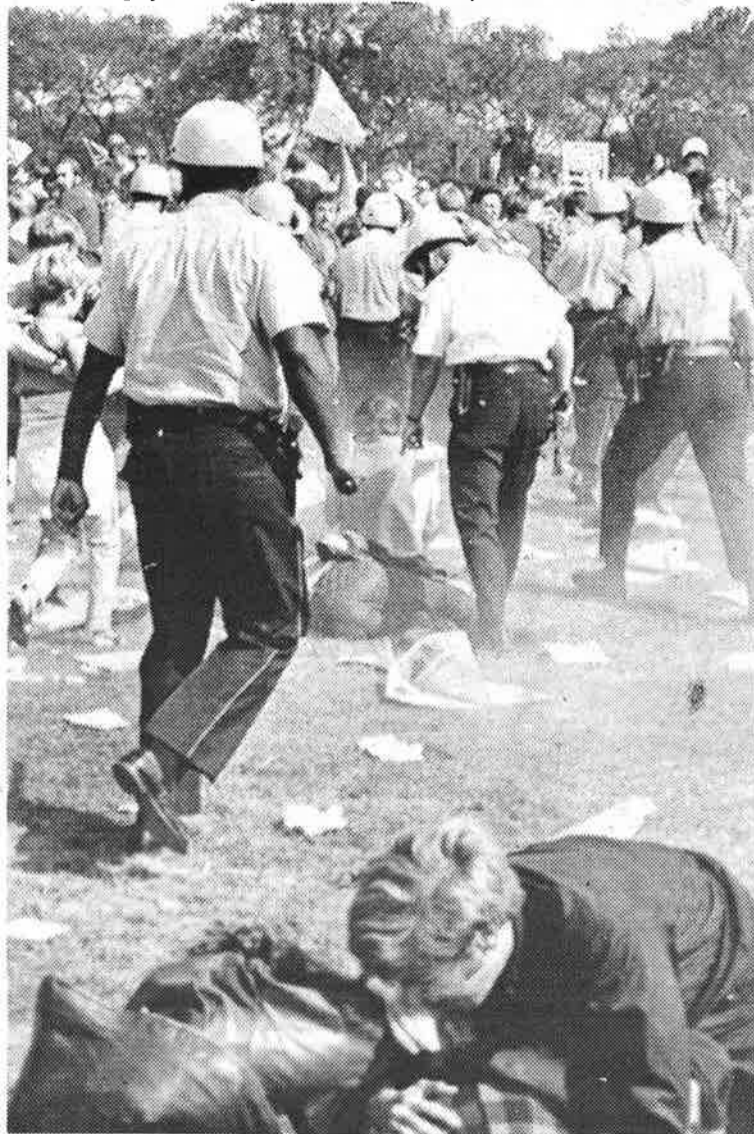
She described the arrest of Dick Wheaton and Bill Smith, former soldiers and ASU organizers, along with Mr. Stapp, for the alleged crime of "vagrancy." She told how the great mass of Black GIs just never went into "town" at all — that is, Killeen — because it is such a racist place.

With the admission fees and the collection, YAWF was able to give the Servicemen's Union about \$150. (Ex-

penses for the trip to Killeen were several hundred dollars, and the three ex-soldiers each had to pay a \$200 fine, as well as pay a lawyer \$200

to take their three cases.)

The American Servicemen's Union has offices at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010.



Scene at Chicago convention last month. Ft. Hood GIs refused to do this kind of "riot duty."

The Story of Oscar Taylor — A Hero's Reward

If it happened in a storybook, you'd say it was exaggerated. If it happened in the U.S. Army, you just wouldn't notice it, because it's standard Army procedure.

Pfc. Oscar Taylor, member of the 1st Battalion, 41st Infantry, only survivor of a "suicide mission" in Vietnam (he only realized it was a suicide mission after all his buddies were killed) comes home to the good old United States and gets sent to prison because he takes a stand for Black Freedom.

Oscar Taylor was one of the 60 to 100 Black GIs at Fort Hood, Texas, who demonstrated their opposition to being sent to Chicago for "riot duty" during the Democratic national convention.

He was not accused of being a "ring-leader" and "only" had a Special court-martial, rather than a General — the latter being a much more serious one, reserved in this case for 8 of the 43 who were arrested.

His court-martial was held on Wednesday the 18th from 1 p.m. to midnight. Curtis McLane, his Workers Defense League attorney, first contacted by the American Servicemen's Union, conducted an excellent defense, from any point of view. But, of course, the verdict was predetermined.

While the all-white officers' board (the "jury") were out considering the verdict, newsmen at the trial took a poll among themselves and found Taylor innocent. The men were from AP, UPI, Newsweek and San Antonio papers.

Pfc. Taylor said to his lawyer, however, while his judges were still out: "It's been proven that I was innocent. But I will be found guilty because of command influence."

By "command influence," he meant that the biggest brass had told the little brass conducting the court-martial what verdict to bring in.

So, of course, he was "guilty" — reduced to the rank of lowest private, and "in consideration of his record" (suicide mission and all), given "only" three months in the stockade!

Army Post Town — In Best U.S. Tradition

By Shirley Jolls
(of the Committee for GI Rights)

Until about 20 years ago, the Killeen, Texas city fathers maintained a sign at the city limits reading: "N-----, don't let the sun set on you in Killeen." The sign came down when the newly "desegregated" U.S. Army took over the community to build Fort Hood — but the racism is every bit as virulent, as every Black person and Mexican-American can tell you.

Just take one example — Jesse Delgado, a young Mexican-American man who moved to Killeen with his family recently. He got a job as a civilian employee of the Army at Fort Hood, and he became friends with many of the people who meet at the Oleo Strut coffee house, which opened in Killeen this summer.

The coffee house is a gathering place for anti-war GIs.

Last month, Killeen cops arrested Mr. Delgado for vagrancy. Every town has its special charge for use against "undesirables"; in New York City it is Disorderly Conduct, in Killeen it's Vagrancy.

Jesse spent several days in jail before bail was arranged by friends. So he lost his job.

Then the day came for his appearance in the Killeen City Court. As Mr. Delgado walked into the combination police station-courthouse, the cops arrested him again — for vagrancy! The lily-white ruling clique probably thought that second arrest would do the trick, but Jesse Delgado didn't run.

Two weeks ago, with two charges standing, Jesse Delgado was arrested a third time — again for vagrancy!

The cops said they had told him to get a job but in spite of their order, Jesse was still "willfully and knowingly vagrant."

Jesse Delgado is only one of the people whom Police Chief Cannon,

Mayor Adams and Judge Odum are attempting to run out of town on their legal rails. Josh Gould, organizer of the Oleo Strut, faces a hard battle on a crude marijuana frame-up.

Every Black GI from Fort Hood who dares to come into Killeen is fair game for the cops. One young Black man was found beaten insensible, the victim of an attack by the vigilante "goat ropers," a gang of the sons of the local elite, who affect cowboy attire and carry their families' racism into Killeen's alleyways.

Killeen cops discovered the Afro-American GI lying in a deserted parking lot, and promptly arrested him for assault.

American Servicemen's Union leaders Andy Stapp, Bill Smith and Dick Wheaton were arrested for vagrancy while in Killeen for the preliminary court-martial hearings of eight Black GIs. They were convicted by a hand-picked jury in Judge Odum's court, and fined \$200 each.

Behind these attacks looms the Army

Brass at Hood, who last spring handed down an order from the Pentagon to "clean up Killeen." The city authorities were all too happy to oblige and have been carrying out their orders to rid Killeen of all "undesirables" with obvious enthusiasm.

Many citizens of Killeen are incensed by these police-state tactics and are organizing a campaign to stop the blatant denial of every constitutional right in their town. Attorney Davis Bragg is representing Jesse Delgado in his vagrancy trials and is helping to initiate a test case of the constitutionality of Killeen's vagrancy law.

It is obvious that the Army, faced with rising anti-war, anti-Brass sentiment among the Enlisted Men, must attempt to control the towns where Army posts are located, for the local communities are the windows to the world for GIs.

In Killeen, they are attempting to close that window to the 35,000 GIs at Fort Hood.

Sostre Collaborator Persecuted by Welfare

(Continued from page 6)

mercy of a hostile, racist bureaucracy.

Her monthly check is \$260, out of which \$85 goes for rent, \$74 for food stamps, \$20 for a payment on a refrigerator. This leaves \$81, or approximately \$19 a week for clothing, shoes, haircuts, laundry, bus fare, toilet articles and the most infrequent entertainment — all for six human beings.

Luckily, Mrs. Robinson neither smokes nor drinks. And with the help of friends she has been able to take the children on picnics, visits to the zoo, etc. during the summer. "Would

Mr. Pelligrone be able to do as much if he were in her shoes?" asked a woman friend of Mrs. Robinson.

Radio station WUFO presented an outline of the case on a program called "The Challenger Speaks," sponsored by the only Afro-American newspaper in the city. Mrs. Robinson spoke for two minutes. She ended by making a simple plea to the Black mothers of the community to support her in her fight to keep the children.

She told a member of the Martin Sostre Defense Committee:

"You know, Jeanette, I got the five kids together today (ages 2 to 8) and I told them that they're trying to take them away from me. My oldest said: 'Don't worry, Mom, we'll never leave you. We'll just run away if they try to take us. We'll never go with them.'"

Five GIs Get The Maximum for Refusing "Riot Duty"

FT. HOOD, Sept. 21 — Five more Black GIs were convicted here today for their part in the precedent-making demonstration against "riot duty" in Chicago last month.

At a "Special" court-martial, in which six months is the maximum penalty, they were given — six months. The all-white, all-brass judge-jury system of the Army convicted and sentenced them with military thoroughness.

The men were stripped of whatever rank they had earned in the racist system, all reduced to the lowest enlisted status, all fined two-thirds of their pay for each month in prison. And as is routine in such cases, they will be compelled to serve an extra six months in the Army, since the time in the stockade is not considered as "good time."

The charge against them was not even that of disobeying a direct order, but of not showing up for reveille in the morning. (They had conducted an all-night meeting on a street corner in the post.)

Most GIs who do not make reveille are given a couple days of KP and a reprimand.

But these men were Black. And they had stood up for Black Freedom. And they indirectly supported the anti-war protesters in Chicago. Every racist, right-wing officer in the Army — and that means 99 per cent — hates them accordingly.

Fascist Terror Goes on in Indonesia

Hundreds of Thousands Still Clog Jails Three Years After Coup

No Bail; No Lawyers; No Trials

There are an estimated 150,000 to 250,000 political prisoners in Indonesia today.

There is no bail. They have no lawyers, They will probably never have a trial.

The prison conditions are just a means to a slow death. In many jails, the prisoners have starved already. In most, the sanitation and food are so bad that disease is rampant.

What is their crime?

They are suspected of being Communist, pro-Communist, pro-Sukarno or anti-military. They are only a fraction of the victims of the right-wing takeover that occurred in October, 1965.



Humphrey on his trip to Indonesia. For HHH's role in the coup, see pages 2-3.

The others are dead. Some were executed in mass before army firing squads. Some were rounded up in the dead of night, had their throats slit and their bodies dumped in the rivers. A few were executed "legally," after show trials.

Altogether, perhaps a million people were killed. The lowest estimates are 400,000. This massive slaughter was "justified" by the fact that six right-wing generals were killed on the night of September 30, 1965 by a group of nationalist officers, members of President Sukarno's palace guard, led by a Colonel Untung.

Untung was trying to prevent a coup planned by the clandestine "Council of Generals" for Army Day, October 5th. He failed. The leaders of the Council escaped and mobilized elite guard units to wipe out their foes.

Indonesia's left-wing and progressive organizations, which numbered some 15 million members, were caught by surprise. After Untung's force was destroyed, the right-wing generals went on to systematically annihilate every institution in the country that could oppose them.

They claimed that they had prevented a Communist takeover, yet the unpreparedness of Indonesia's left organizations for any crisis was obvious — there were no mass demonstrations or strikes, despite their great strength.

What has this got to do with the United States? Everything. Because it was Washington's stage-managing of the coup and the massacre that followed that in a few months turned

Indonesia from a militantly anti-imperialist country into a political satellite and major field for U.S. economic exploitation.

The two men most responsible for this strategy were Hubert Humphrey and Ellsworth Bunker (see inside page). They worked directly with the CIA in developing relations with the military and it was because of U.S. military aid and guarantees that the generals moved to seize power.

From 1958, when a CIA-sponsored attempt to overthrow Sukarno failed, until 1965 and the successful coup by the right-wing, the U.S. carefully cultivated its relationship with the military, pouring \$63 million into the "aid" program. This money was largely spent to bring officers of the Indonesian army to the U.S. for "training," and plenty of indoctrination.

The result of this policy has soaked the Indonesian archipelago in blood, and crushed the people's efforts for independence and freedom from foreign domination.

What does the U.S. press have to say about the murders, the starvation, the masses languishing in prison? Where are the outcries against the "rape" of Indonesia? Why don't the writers, the commentators, the analysts raise their voices for free speech in Indonesia, as they have been so eager to do in the case of Czechoslovakia? Is it because the thousands of journalists who have been slaughtered, imprisoned or exiled were against imperialism, were victims of the same bosses who control the monopolized Establishment press here? Indonesia's leading journalist, Djawoto, formerly chairman of the Indonesian Journalists' Association and Secretary General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, is in exile in China today with a price on his head in his native land.

Is it because Mr. Djawoto writes about the need of his people to wrest their country's riches away from the imperialists, and not the aesthetics of driving a sports car or listening to Voice of America, that he is a "non-person" to freedom-loving Western journalists?

What have the spokesmen for official opinion in this country said about the bloodbath in Indonesia?

"The West's best news for years in



YAWF demonstrates at Indonesian Mission to UN in October, 1966.

Asia," said Time magazine on July 15, 1966.

"A Gleam of Light in Asia," was the title of James Reston's column in the N.Y. Times, June 19, 1966.

"Elated U.S. Officials Looking to New Aid to Jakarta's Economy," was the heading of an article by Max Frankel in the N.Y. Times of March 13, 1966. "The Johnson Administration found it difficult today to hide its delight with the news from Indonesia pointing to the political demise of President Sukarno." This was when hundreds of thousands had already been killed! Earlier, on October 10, 1965 when the slaughters were just beginning, the same writer told us, "The U.S. is heartened by the red setback in Indonesia."

The moans and tears for freedom and humanitarianism, which can be ground out of the propaganda mill so quickly when the interests of U.S. imperialism dictate, turn into squeals of delight when oppressed people are crushed.

Many of the same men who put their names to full-page ads for "aid" to Czechoslovakia and Biafra (where they hope to accomplish through deception what was done in Indonesia through butchery) are quietly going about the business of reinstating their investments in Indonesia. Seventy top businessmen, including David Rockefeller, George Ball, Eugene Black and the presidents of a score of powerful corporations, met in Geneva last November with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik and the Finance Minister, Sultan Hamengku Buwono.

George Ball went to this meeting as Chairman of Lehman Bros. International. Today he is the U.S. representative to the UN lecturing the rest of the world on freedom and justice!

The Geneva meeting was to work out what corporations would exploit which of Indonesia's resources. The big money men also wanted guarantees from their dictator-stooges that Indonesia was now "safe" to receive their capital. They weren't disappointed.

The stench of Indonesia's prisons permeated the smoke-filled conference rooms as the 70 magnates listened to a message from General Suharto.

Just bring in your capital, was the general's assurance. "For our part," he said, "we are working to create the necessary climate of economic and political stability."

CIA's Role in the Massacres

(These terse comments from U.S. sources about the history of the coup and the role of the CIA in Indonesia speak volumes.)

"In Indonesia in the same year (1958), against the advice of American diplomats, the CIA was authorized to fly in supplies from Taiwan and the Philippines to aid army officers rebelling against President Sukarno in Sumatra and Java. An American pilot was shot down on a bombing mission and was released only at the insistent urging of the Kennedy Administration in 1962. Mr. Sukarno, naturally enough, drew the obvious conclusions..."

New York Times, April 25, 1966

"...Kennedy commented to one of his aides: 'No wonder Sukarno doesn't like us very much. He has to sit down with people who tried to overthrow him.'"

"The Invisible Government," p.145

"According to the defendant's (former army brigadier general Supardjo) testimony, Indonesian political history since Sept. 30, 1965, has been completely distorted. The attempted coup that night, he said, was not a Communist plot and it certainly was not aimed at ousting the legal government. Instead, he has repeatedly told his five uniformed judges that the "September 30 Movement" came into being to forestall a coup being planned by a right-wing 'Council of Generals'... Mr. Supardjo noted with irony that in the aftermath of the coup the 'Council of Generals got what they aimed for.' After all, he added, 'the ministers of the legal government are now in jail' — three of them, including former Foreign Minister Subandrio, have already been sentenced to death — and, he said, only Mr. Sukarno is left."

New York Times, March 1, 1967

"In Southeast Asia over the last decade, the CIA has been so active that the agency in some countries has been the principal arm of American policy. It is said, for instance, to have

Continued on Page 3

Oct. 1965— Oct. 1968:

3 years of fascist terror in Indonesia

• Demand the release of all Political Prisoners

• Protest Mass Slaughters

by U.S.— backed military regime

DEMONSTRATE Indonesian Consulate General
5 East 68th St., NYC

Saturday, October 5, 1:00 p.m.

sponsored by: Youth Against War & Fascism

THE PARTISAN

SPECIAL INDONESIA SUPPLEMENT

magazine of YOUTH AGAINST WAR & FASCISM
58 West 25th Street
New York, N. Y. 10010
Tel: 675-2520, 242-9225

October 1968

Some Indonesian Vital Statistics

POPULATION:	110 million
GEOGRAPHY:	3,000 separate islands strung along the Equator for more than 3,000 miles; sixth largest nation in the world
NATURAL RESOURCES:	fifth richest country in the world
EXPORTS:	petroleum products, tin ore and concentrates, rubber, coffee, palm oil, oilseeds, tobacco, tea, spices and lumber
PER CAPITA INCOME:	\$82 a year
HISTORY:	colonized by Dutch in 1596 occupied by Japan in 1942 declared independent Republic of Indonesia in 1945 Dutch formally conceded in 1949
HERITAGE of over 300 years of colonialism (1945 figures):	93% illiteracy 100 Indonesian doctors less than 100 Indonesian engineers 10 Indonesian agricultural experts one university two Indonesian professors

Nationalized Properties Returned to U.S. Since the Coup

- CALTEX (Standard Oil of California and Texaco) — Sumatran oil property pumping 310,000 barrels /day
- GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER — several natural rubber plantations on Sumatra and a tire plant
- STANVAC (Esso & Mobil) -- Sumatran oil property pumping 7,000 barrels /day
- UNILEVER -- two soap and edible fat plants
- UNIROYAL, INC. — a 54,000-acre rubber plantation (on a 30-year lease) and a latex plant

Other properties are slated to be returned to U.S. Rubber, Union Carbide, Singer Sewing Machine and National Cash Register

U.S. Investments Since the Coup

- CALTEX -- \$10 million in Sumatran oil fields and \$50 million contract to supply Indonesian Government with lubricating oil (half the national supply)
- EASTERN AIRLINES — joint operations with Garuda (Indonesia) Airlines
- ESSO -- offshore oil
- FREEPORT SULPHUR — \$75 million contract for West Irian copper
- INDEPENDENT INDONESIAN-AMERICAN PETROLEUM COMPANY -- offshore oil rights for a 15,000 square mile area
- INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH — \$6 million contract to build satellite relay station
- MOBIL OIL -- oil-exploration rights for 450,000 acres on Sumatra and purchase of the Asamera Oil Company, pumping 6,000 barrels /day



Humphrey and Bunker :

The two men most responsible for the coup and deadly massacre which followed it are Hubert Humphrey and Ellsworth Bunker. They were the supervisors of Washington's policy of dealing directly with the right-wing generals, and they personally kept in close contact with the men who now rule Indonesia.

Ironically, Humphrey first met the man who is now Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Adam Malik, in Moscow in 1963. From that time on, Humphrey was in personal contact with Malik — the one non-military man in the troika that ruled Indonesia after the October 1965 coup. His selection for the job of Foreign Minister by Generals Nasution and Suharto indicated how indispensable he was to the military dictatorship.

Malik's visit to the U.S. in September 1966 was the first by an Indonesian official of the "New Order." Columnist Marianne Means of the World Journal Tribune, after an exclusive interview with Malik, wrote of his "friendship" with Hubert Humphrey (World Journal Tribune, Sept. 28, 1966).

"Minneapolis — A private plane carrying Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik and two aides glided unobtrusively into Wold-Chamberlain airport here at 10 a.m. last Sunday on a mission of international significance.

"Malik, the top civilian in the government of Gen. Suharto, which seized power last October from pro-Communist President Sukarno, was hurrying to a private rendezvous with Vice President Humphrey in his elegant Sheraton-Ritz suite.

"Protocol was ignored, for Malik had a very special motive for the conference and the Vice President was forced to wedge the meeting into a crammed campaign schedule.

"Malik, who is visiting this country to arrange Indonesia's re-entry into the United Nations, later indicated in a private interview the reason for the journey — the Vice President had played a heretofore secret, but important, role in encouraging the democratic forces in Indonesia.

"Humphrey, then Senate Whip and a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, met Malik in 1963 at the ceremonial signing of the limited test ban treaty in Moscow. The men began to exchange messages, directly and through emissaries.

"Humphrey conferred with President Kennedy, who authorized him to continue his unofficial personal contacts with the Indonesians and to urge them not to lose faith....

"Thus the stage was set for their first face-to-face meeting in three years. During their talk, Malik assured the Vice President that Indonesia will use its efforts, slowly at first but inevitably, toward reducing Communist Chinese influence in Southeast Asia. Malik said one of the first steps envisioned is the development of a regional alliance with other non-Communist nations, such as Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia. Malik also stressed to the Vice President that U.S. resistance to Communist aggression in South Viet Nam had given heart to the leaders of the Indonesian revolt.

"As he left the suite, Malik paused on the doorsill: 'Goodbye, my old and dear friend,' he said softly."

This remarkable article tells us a good deal. First, that a high-ranking member of the U.S. government engaged for two years in subversion against the Republic of Indonesia, encouraging members of the military who were opposed to their country's

policies. That when these power, with the "encouragement on earth, and mass people, the 'friendship' by 'democrats' was strengthened payoff for the deal was a foreign policy to one of success in Southeast Asia.

Humphrey had an opportunity ruling generals, a return whatever promises and made in his private talks Suharto remain in the "can only guess. But Humphrey get 'the wrong idea' about nesia did make it into the Nov. 5, 1967).

"Vice President Humphrey Indonesia today by publicly aroused anti-American feelings. It is not true, he said, action in Vietnam touched nesia's leftist ruler, President

"Speaking to about 200 States Embassy, Mr. Humphrey said, 'We do not want it pended here was because v is not true.'

"Some Indonesians are umbrage over talk, apparent sources in Washington had a great deal to do with t Sukarno because of its Vietn

"Mr. Humphrey took a c the United States Ambassa quietly fighting that opinion.

"Mr. Green portrays the in Southeast Asia not as h Sukarno overthrow, but ra a shield behind which anti and elsewhere might effectiv

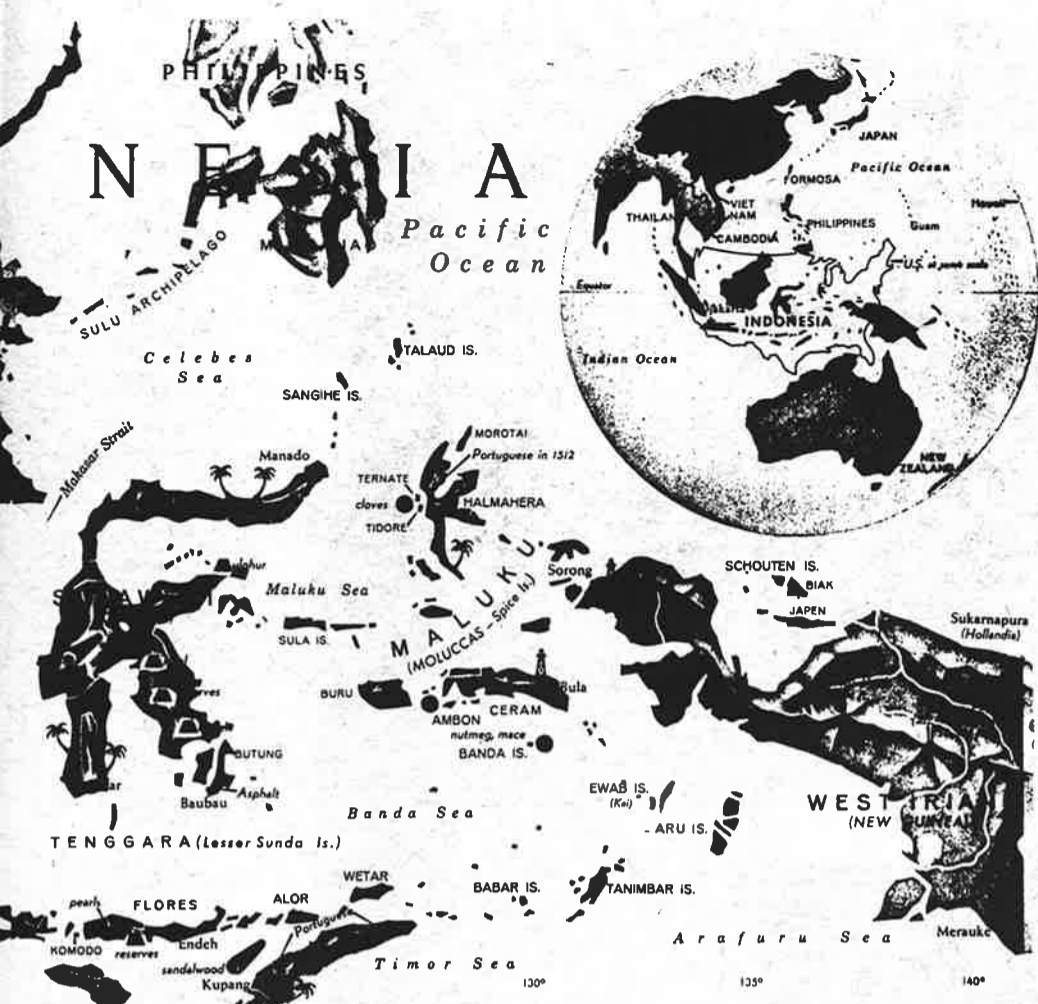
"Various Communist and attributed the Sukarno ov Intelligence Agency. Last n karno, still clinging to a a speech in which he refer 26 times as an agent of the C

"The Vice President p resourcefulness of Mr. Sukar Suharto.... General Suharto the airport and talked with h They are to meet several Vice President leaves for ho

"The Vice President had his arrival that he had no i Indonesia into an ally. He f Government under General philosophy similar to that of ernment — staunchly anti- this makes Indonesia ally eno

Humphrey may consider the actions more carefully tha he still can't hide what ever to know: that the U.S. gove in creating the present regim

Before Humphrey's 1963 m ington was searching for way



Architects of the Coup

elements finally seized "management" of the mightiest massacred up to a million between these two great. And that part of the a reversal of Indonesia's support for U.S. aggression

portunity to pay Malik, and the visit in November of 1967. mutual congratulations were ks with Malik and General "confidential" category. One phrey's concern lest people out what happened in Indo- e press (New York Times,

phrey opened his visit to y denying reports that have eling among Jakarta's lea- said, that the United States l off the overthrow of Indo- dent Sukarno.

0 Americans at the United mphrey urged them to con- r words and actions. He t to appear that what hap- we made it happen. That

re reported to have taken ently originating in govern- ton, that the United States t the overthrow of President nam action.

cue from Marshall Green, sador here, who has been n.

he United States presence having directly set off the rather as having provided anti-Communist force here tively operate.

ed left-wing spokesmen here overthrow to the Central November, President Su- morsel of power, made rred to Ambassador Green e G.I.A....

praised the courage and karno's successor, General rto met Mr. Humphrey at him briefly this afternoon. ral more times before the home Wednesday....

had let it be known before o intention of trying to turn e feels that the Indonesian ral Suharto has adopted a t of the United States Gov- anti-Communist — and that enough."

r the effects of his words and than his employees. But everyone in Indonesia seems government had a big hand time.

3 meeting with Malik, Wash- ways to recover influence

with potential allies in Indonesia after the exposure of the CIA's part in the 1958 abortive coup. That attempt to overthrow Sukarno, or at least break away the oil-rich island of Sumatra, had been crushed. After it was proven, through the capture of a CIA pilot, that Washington was behind the revolt, Indonesian politics turned more militantly anti-American.

As U.S. installations and personnel became the targets of more frequent demonstrations, Washington's efforts behind the scenes to find elements in Indonesia ready to throw in their lot with foreign monopolies became more aggressive. The meeting between Humphrey and Malik in 1963 opened up a new perspective for undermining the progressive Indonesian regime.

Humphrey's contacts and hopes for counter-revolution were confirmed by Ellsworth Bunker, the present Ambassador to South Vietnam, whose reputation for imperialist "statesmanship" was elevated by the Indonesian coup.

Bunker had originally been sent to Djakarta as a trouble-shooter during the West Irian crisis. At that time he acted as a mediator between the Dutch and the Indonesian, making sure that while easing the Dutch out of their last holdout in the former Dutch East Indies, temporary control would pass to the U.S.-dominated United Nations. While the arrangement was to eventually make West Irian part of Indonesia, it did give the U.S. a foot in the door and an arena for contact with potential allies within Indonesia.

It was assumed by Washington that Bunker's position of mediator in the West Irian dispute would give him influence with Sukarno at a later time. Three years later, in March of 1965, when Indonesia's steady progress to the left seemed to threaten U.S. oil holdings in strategic Sumatra, it was Bunker who was sent to Djakarta as Johnson's emissary to try to avert nationalization. Demonstrations by the oil workers themselves, who in some cases physically ousted their foreign overseers and declared the plants nationalized, de facto, prevented Bunker's diplomatic overtures from stemming the tide at that time.

What further contacts did Bunker make on that trip with the military men who, six months later, were to seize power and begin a purge of leftist, anti-imperialist forces? No details have been published, but it is inconceivable that a wise old empire-builder like Bunker (who a few weeks after his trip to Indonesia was to be responsible for rounding up Latin American Governments behind the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic) would have returned from such a trip with recommendations for expanding military aid to Indonesia had he not known that such aid would strengthen the hand of the pro-U.S. elements within the military.

Both Bunker and Humphrey have been promoted since their success in stage-managing the return of imperialism to Indonesia. But the victory they shared with their "old, dear friends" in the military junta has in many ways only increased their problems in Asia.

Mr. Bunker and Mr. Humphrey are only too well aware of the difficulties of fighting a guerrilla war. In Indonesia, even before the fruits of their victory have been plucked, the people are reorganizing and taking up arms in a renewal of the struggle they won against the Dutch. Mr. Bunker and Mr. Humphrey, who should have learned from bitter experience in Vietnam, may in the not too distant future be faced with the dilemma of openly committing American troops to another Asian war.

— CIA's Role in the Massacres

Continued from Page 1

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." N.Y. Times, April 27, 1966

"Between 1952 and 1965, the United States supplied \$68 million in military assistance to Indonesia. Of this total, \$53 million went for training Indonesian officers... (In 1965) a United States military technical assistance group was withdrawn, but a small defense group continued to operate in a caretaker status in Jakarta... The military assistance was relatively small. But in the opinion of many United States officials it was one of the best investments made in Indonesia. The long-term if somewhat intangible dividend of the military assistance program, it is felt, was to produce a cadre of Western-oriented officers who resisted the drift of the Sukarno regime toward Communist China and eventually took over power

from President Sukarno at the time of an attempted Communist coup in 1965."

John Finney, N.Y. Times, Jan. 15, 1967

"Washington is being careful not to claim any credit for this change (the right-wing coup — Ed.) in the sixth most populous and one of the richest nations in the world, but this does not mean that Washington had nothing to do with it. There was a great deal more contact between the anti-Communist forces in that country and at least one very high official in Washington before and during the Indonesian massacre than is generally realized. General Suharto's forces, at times severely short of food and munitions, have been getting aid from here through various third countries, and it is doubtful if the coup would ever have been attempted without the American show of strength in Vietnam or been sustained without the clandestine aid it has received indirectly from here."

James Reston, "A Gleam of Light in Asia," N.Y. Times, June 19, 1966

Men Who Run Indonesian Economy

ECONOMICS MINISTER—Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, the Sultan of Jogjakarta. One of the richest men in Indonesia. Named by rebels as member of abortive government to be set up by 1958 coup. In U.S. at time of that CIA-sponsored attempt to overthrow Sukarno. His palace staffed by a court of 20,000.

TOP AIDE TO THE SULTAN—Prof. Selo Sumarbjan, graduate of Cornell University

MINISTER OF TRADE—Dr. Sumitro, a leader of the 1958 attempt to break away oil-rich Sumatra

FINANCE MINISTER—Dr. Ali Wardhana, graduate of the University of California

Why Indonesia Left the I.M.F.

In February of 1967, Indonesia re-joined the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund. A few months later, YAWF received a letter from A.M. Hanafi, former Indonesian Ambassador to Cuba, who resigned his post in protest at the bloody turn to the right in his country. We quote from a part of the letter explaining why Indonesia had originally left the IMF:

"Some time ago, as a member of the International Monetary Fund, Indonesia was offered credit under the Marshall Plan. With that credit we had to buy, directly or indirectly, a lot of American products.

"This in itself was no great cause for regret, but what happened after we got those millions of dollars credit? There was a steady and ever-increasing inflation which, cyclically, caused an even greater need for more credit, and so on, until an extremely embarrassing situation was reached. The 'textbook thinkers' of the Indonesian Government agreed following the advice of the administrators of the International Monetary Fund, to invite Hjalmar Schacht, one of Hitler's top economists, to advise us how to get out of our financial difficulties. This was done, over the protest of the mass organizations, and the black market for dollars soared to fantastic heights....

"I have learned, too, from my own experience, exactly what U.S. credit means. I learned this while serving as Minister for People's Mobilization for Development, from 1957 to 1959. The United States offered us \$350 million in credit — in installments, and with many strings attached, some explicit and others implicit. Among other things, the United States demanded that three Cabinet Ministers be replaced — Minister of Information Sudibjo, Minister of Veterans' Affairs Chaerul Saleh, and I. President Sukarno asked me to resign 'in the interests of the nation,' and I told him yes, I would gladly be an ordinary citizen again if the credit of \$350 million were dependent on my exit from the Cabinet. I was willing to resign, I said, even without any political reasons, but it might be difficult to explain my resignation to the people, because everyone knows that the decisions I had made as Minister had benefited the country.

"But I had had enough, and I didn't want to be involved in any more political compromises. But why did the United States give such importance to our resignations? We three were strongly opposed to a new law on mining investments which was detrimental to Indonesia's best interests but favored those of the United States."



Sergeant in Suharto's Army. Note U.S. pistol holder.

"Indonesia Up For Sale"

From "Indonesia under Fascism" by Sumartono

(The following paragraphs are excerpted from the chapter "Indonesia up for Sale" which is part of a larger work entitled Indonesia Under Fascism by the revolutionary Indonesian journalist, Sumartono. Mr. Sumartono's manuscript has not yet been published in full in this country; he is presently living in exile.)

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... A very interesting article entitled "Indonesia Up For Sale" was published in the New Statesman of London, August 18, 1967, in which the author describes the development in Indonesia under the fascist military regime as follows:

"Indonesia has turned very firmly towards free enterprise, and foreign investors have been promised new laws and the fullest cooperation. Any pretense of socialism has been abandoned. An American company asked the Indonesian government if they were prepared to sell Garuda Indonesian Airways, which has long been a non-profit making national symbol. According to my informant, the Foreign Investments Committee (headed by Suharto himself, Ed.) promptly replied that the airport as well as up for sale if they were seriously interested.

"While the Foreign Investments Committee was trying to sell Indonesian industrial potential to a specially convened meeting of the Pacific-Indonesia Business Association (attended by 120 representatives of foreign enterprises), Brigadier-General (Police) Dr. Awaludin, Minister of Manpower, was speaking to Gasbiindo of the trade union movement. He told them Indonesia had probably 2 1/2 million totally unemployed and there was visible under-employment among the 14 million agricultural workers."

Another noteworthy news dispatch was carried in the "South China Morning Post" (an anti-Communist newspaper in Hongkong) on August, 1967, with the headline: "Americans Lead in Race for Indonesian Minerals". The dispatch, sent from Djakarta, reads in part:

"American companies are heading the race to tap Indonesia's vast mineral wealth, thrown open for foreign capital investment by the government of acting-President General Suharto.

"Since then an American company, Freeport Sulphur, has signed a big contract for copper exploration in West Irian. The agreement allows for the construction of a copper processing plant, roads, airfields, port facilities worth between U.S. \$ 75 million and U.S. \$ 100 million. Indonesia stands to gain 40 per cent of the finished copper products.

"The Aluminum Co. of America has signed a letter of intent to explore for bauxite in Indonesia and, if its prospecting is successful, may set up a refinery and smelting plant in West Borneo.

"In nickel, the government has announced that it is putting out tenders for the exploitation of fields in Southern Celebes. According to a recent survey, the Malili area in the southeastern part of the Celebes is one of the richest mineral-bearing areas in the world. It is estimated that some 1.55 million tons of high grade nickel are available over a 300,000 square mile area.

"Among companies reported to have shown interest are Inco of Canada and Sunidco, a Japanese company already mining nickel in the Celebes in partnership with an Indonesian concern. About five other companies are said to be interested including the French Société Le Nickel and a Yugoslavian concern.

"Lately, an important new move has been made to attract Dutch foreign investment in the tin industry, which has been a state concern since companies working on the Bangka and Belitung islands of Sumatra were nationalised in the last decade.

"The Mining Department has now drawn up a list of nine tin concessions to be offered to foreigners on and around several islands of Sumatra.

"A big Anglo-American consortium consisting of Bethlehem Steel of America, and two British firms, Rio Tinto and Simon Lobnitz, has visited Djakarta for talks on tin mining. Japanese and Dutch companies are also reported to be showing interest in the scheme."

The "Foreign Investment Law"

The fascist clique of generals headed by Suharto-Nasution which has sold out Indonesia's national interests for the benefit of its own interests and those of the imperialists proclaimed through its puppet-parliament on December 24, 1966 the traitorous "Foreign Investment Law."

Since then, hundreds of Japanese companies have sent their representatives to Indonesia to have negotiations and make dirty deals with the corrupt and degenerate compradors and bureaucrat-capitalists among the fascist clique of generals.

According to Antara of 8 June, 1967, two big American banks, the Bank of America and National City Bank, will open offices in Djakarta. The Chartered Bank (British) will also operate in Indonesia.

The Dutch newspaper "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant" reported that the regime made an agreement with six foreign banks to set up its offices in Indonesia, i.e., (American Express, Bangkok Bank,) First National City Bank, Bank of America, Nederlandsche Overzeesche Bank and Pierson, Heldring & Pierson...

According to the mouthpiece of the generals' clique, the daily "Berita Yudha," all non-Dutch ex-foreign companies must be "returned" to the former "owners" by the end of June 1967. These ex-foreign companies, numbering about 100, belonged to the British, Belgian, American and West German capitalists. Among others, 80 plantations (rubber, tea, tobacco, palm-kernel, coffee), 18 factories (Naspro, Unilever, Bata, Goodyear Tire factory, etc.) and a number of banks and insurance companies will be "returned" to the former "owners" (Berita Yudha, March 22, 1967).

To give a picture of the "big love" of the fascist military regime for imperialist companies, we quote here a news item carried in the newspaper "Sinar Harapan" of July 15, 1967.



Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik, Time Inc. President Linen and Economic Minister Sultan Hamengku Buwono in Geneva.

It was stated in this news item that a decision was made by the regime to "return" rubber plantation Dolok Merangir to the "Goodyear Sumatra Plantations Co." Besides the concession of 30 years given to this company to plunder the resources of this region and the people, it was stated in the decision that this company would be able to prolong its concession for a further 30 years!

U.S. Holds Lion's Share of Indo Oil

As far as oil is concerned, American monopoly capital is stepping up its control over and plunder of Indonesia's oil resources. To please their American masters, the Suharto-Nasution military junta have adopted a series of traitorous measures. (It must be noted that the Director-General of Mining is brigadier general Sudarman, and Director-General of Oil and Gas is major general Dr. Ibnu Sutowo.)

About this important problem, the Hsinhua News Agency made a long report on August 25, 1967, which among others states:

"According to a report of the 'Far Eastern Economic Review' among the representatives of some 20 foreign oil companies in Djakarta, 15 are American companies. Indonesia is an oil rich country with an estimated reserve of more than 1,200 million tons. In 1962 it produced over 22 million tons. Oil occupies a very important place in the Indonesian national economy, accounting for about one third of the country's foreign exchange income. It is the main source of this income.

"But 90 percent of Indonesia's oil resources are controlled by the monopoly groups of the imperialist countries with America holding the lion's share.

"In 1963 the Caltex, Standard Vacuum and Shell Oil Companies signed new contracts with the Indonesian government planning to increase their investment by 50 million U.S. dollars in eight years. Meanwhile, other U.S. oil companies have followed in their wake. Eight U.S. oil companies — the Pan American Oil Company, the Union Oil Company, the Asamera Oil Ltd. the Continental Overseas Oil Company, the California Asiatic Oil Company (Calasiatic), the Texaco Overseas Petroleum Company (Topco), the General Exploration Company of California and the Independent Indonesia-America Company — have signed contracts with the Indonesian fascist military regime, planning investments of more than 100 million U.S. dollars over eight years. Thus the total U.S. oil investments in Indonesia have gone way over the mark of U.S. \$700 million, putting it at the top of the list of all foreign oil investment in Indonesia.

"The U.S. monopoly capitalists are so anxious to pour investments into Indonesia because they have cast their greedy eyes on Indonesia's rich oil resources and on the huge profits that can be squeezed out of them.

"Most of the oil produced in Indonesia is shipped abroad by the U.S. oil companies to obtain enormous profits, and only one quarter of the oil is allotted to

home consumption. As a result, shortages of oil have constantly occurred in oil-rich Indonesia, and kerosene, a daily necessity, is often unavailable in the market.

"The U.S. oil companies have extracted a staggering amount of profit and foreign exchange from Indonesia. It was disclosed that in the seven years ending 1960, the Shell, Standard Vacuum and Caltex Oil companies invested some 222 million U.S. dollars in foreign exchange from shipment of oil abroad — about ten times the value of their investments.

"Between February and March of 1965 the former Indonesian government took over American enterprises because of the strong demand of the Indonesian people. But the American petroleum companies which worked in collusion with the rightwing generals' clique were still making huge profits. An American named Kant admitted in his book, 'The Invisible Coup d'etat in Indonesia,' published in 1966, that as a result of the nationalization of oil, Indonesian generals became directors of the petroleum companies.

"The American oil companies not only have carried out large-scale plunder in Indonesia, but have long been engaged in subversive activities there. They have openly supported counter-revolutionary armed rebellion. In 1956 an armed revolt broke out in Sumatra. They provided the rebel side with a large amount of money and supplies. Socony put its planes at the service of the rebel leader Sjafrudin when he fled from Djakarta to Sumatra.

"Socony has set up oil depots in various major Indonesian ports to supply the demand for oil in Southeast Asia and especially the U.S. oil requirements for its war of aggression against Vietnam. An official of the South Vietnam puppet regime said that the Middle East crisis would not cause a shortage of gasoline in South Vietnam because the gasoline consumed in Vietnam came from Indonesia."

Despite Riches, Begs for Foreign "Aid"

The tight grip that the imperialist countries, especially U.S. imperialism, have on the Indonesian economy can be seen from the financial aspect, as has been exposed by the "Indonesian Tribune" (Tirana) in its March issue (1967).

It was stated, among other things, that according to the Minister of Finance of the military regime, Frans Seda, the regime depended for one-third of its budget on foreign "aid." From this alone one can see clearly that the very survival of the Indonesian fascist regime hinges on the "charity" and "mercy" of the U.S. imperialists who have put them in power. Later on, the newspaper "Sinar Harapan" of Djakarta in its economic commentary stated that the foreign "aid" received by the regime accounted for half of the regime's budget. (Sinar Harapan, July 1, 1967)

The U.S. controlled International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been very active in giving "advice" to the military regime — naturally "advice" beneficial to the imperialist countries — since the military regime joined this imperialist world body.

With the active support of the IMF, a "Tokyo Club" consisting of many countries representing the interests of big monopoly capitalists was set up, which afterward held its meeting in the Netherlands (Scheveningen) and decided to give "aid" to the military regime.

At this meeting in Scheveningen (February 1967), 100 persons representing 14 countries were present, consisting of 9 delegations (the U.S., Australia, Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, England, the Netherlands) and 5 observers (Canada, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Austria). (Associated Press, 24 February, 1967)

The meeting in Scheveningen decided to give "credit" amounting to U.S. \$200 million to the regime in order to cover its "foreign exchange deficits" of 1967 (Business News, 22 June, 1967), while the Paris meeting of this imperialist club in December 1966 decided to give a period of grace to the regime to pay its debts, meaning that during 1968, 1969, 1970 the regime will not be obliged to pay its debts to the western countries.

This "kindness" of the representatives of the big monopoly capitalists and the imperialists is not only a sign of gratitude and "fee" for the slaughtering of about 500,000 patriots and Communists by the military regime, but at the same time it is a price for the selling out of the Indonesian people's interests.

An article in the "Indonesian Tribune" (Tirana) stated in this connection, that the fascist military regime has sold out the country to international monopoly capital headed by the U.S. It has swung the door open for foreign capital investment. The fascist regime's Foreign Investment Law gives all facilities, guarantees and legal protection to the investment of foreign capital in Indonesia. The Suharto-Nasution fascist regime has transformed Indonesia into a new-type colony of U.S. imperialism.

Certainly, this will not be permitted by the Indonesian people. From these hard facts, the broad masses of the people have seen through the real features of the fascist generals' clique. In order to save the country and liberate themselves the Indonesian people must crush this fascist military regime.