

U.S. Loss of Czechoslovakia, Arab Struggle, Revive NATO

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

Washington and Bonn conspired with the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie to organize the capitalist restoration for so long that they developed an excruciating hunger for their anticipated spoils. They lived so closely with their plot that they truly regarded the country as theirs — and in fact it almost was.

All the more reason why, having had the prize snatched from their hands just moments after victory, the new Nazis (Washington) and the old ones (Bonn) are seething with anger, frustration and

above all an abiding conviction that a return to imperialist force and intimidation is as necessary in Europe now as it was in the early days of the Cold War.

How else can one explain Dean Rusk's belligerent unilateral assertion at the NATO conference that Austria, a neutral country by international treaty, and Yugoslavia, at least in name a socialist country, have been added to Washington's sphere of imperialist interest and now belong within the robbers' protectorate?

How else explain Rusk's remarks,

denied of course, but heard, according to the Nov. 15 edition of the New York Times, by Belgians, Italians, Dutch and English delegates, that it would be a matter of concern to Wall Street if independent socialism were threatened in Rumania?

Then there was Clark Clifford's dissertation on the "upset in the balance of power" because of the "ten divisions" which the USSR moved into Central Europe — (in order to restore the previous upset of January when the exploiting classes started their take-

over in Prague).

Clifford's "balance of power" analysis was quickly recited, in order to get to the six-point program which included 10,000 more U.S. troops in Europe; conversion of fighter-plane forces to the F-4 of "Vietnam success"; putting the Rapid Reaction Force, based in the U.S., at the disposal of Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer; more and better electronic warfare, and so forth.

Three U.S. divisions have already been earmarked as European re-

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Black and White, Unite and Fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

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Anti-Communist Terror Goes on in Indonesia

"JAKARTA, Nov. 18, (Reuters) — A senior Indonesian Army officer said he had arrested Brig. Gen. Ischak Djvarsa and 1,500 Communist suspects following discovery of an alleged assassination plot against President Suharto in August, the Antara News Agency reported today."

This one inch item reports the latest bloody dealings of the CIA-hired generals in Jakarta who murdered from half a million to a million Indonesians in 1966 to 1967, hold a quarter of a million political prisoners and still haven't been able to stabilize the fascist rule.

Last month, the Suharto regime of butchers executed three leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party. This was part of their failing campaign of terror to make the country safe for U.S. imperialist investment.

Black, Puerto Rican People Determined to Win Community Control as Racist Strike Ends



The right of the black people to control the education of their children — a right they will never stop fighting for.

— Photo from Saturday Review, Nov. 16, 1968

By V. COPELAND

NEW YORK, Nov. 20 — For nearly 24 hours after the anti-black, anti-Puerto Rican strike ended in the city's schools on Monday, hundreds of hard-fighting parents continued their sit-in at schools in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district here. They were protesting the settlement of a teachers' strike in which the racists won virtually all their demands.

Turning the form of progressive struggle upside down, with the union's strike playing the reactionary role and the ranks' resistance to that strike, the progressive role, both parents and non-striking teachers fought on as they had fought during the strike — for the right of black and Puerto Rican people to run their own schools.

At Public Schools 155 and 144 as well as Junior High School 271, parents sat in all night in support of the community-chosen principals who are now being removed in line with the strike settlement. One of these principals, Luis Fuentes, is the only Puerto Rican head of a public school in the whole city.

They had also sat-in many a night during the strike to protect functioning schools from racist sabotage.

The Anti-Strike Progressives

At the strike's end yesterday 9,218 teachers out of the city's 57,000 had been defying the union leadership and the racist lynch-spirit of other forces, and were teaching the children in schools often manned and maintained by hard-working, militant parents.

Most of these working teachers were

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WWP Chairman Exposes Frame-Up as War Move

A Plot Against the Arab People, Not Nixon!

NEW YORK, Nov. 14 — "An independent citizens' commission drawn from several countries should investigate the true nature of the so-called plot to assassinate President-elect Richard M. Nixon."

"It's a plot all right, but not a plot by foreigners against the U.S. It's a plot by the CIA to whip up popular feeling for a U.S. war in the Mideast," declared Sam Marcy, Marxist-Leninist leader, here today.

Mr. Marcy, national chairman of Workers World Party, declared: "The very fact that the most elementary rights of the accused Arabs have been violated in this case is both an indication of the political injustices being done and a sign of the necessity for an international citizens' commission."

Pointing out that the prosecution is legally bound not to make prejudicial

pre-trial statements, Mr. Marcy condemned the many leaks and hints from the District Attorney's office and unnamed Government "sources," which attempt to link the accused before the American public with other Arab defendants, as calculated to convict them before their trial even begins.

Alluding to the pending trial of Sirhan Sirhan, another person of Arab descent for the alleged assassination of Robert Kennedy, and pointing to the infamous whitewash of the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Mr. Marcy urged that "the strongest independent efforts must be taken to ensure a fair trial and prevent fabrications against the defendants and the Arab people."

In calling for the formation of an international commission, Mr. Marcy said:

"It is just too perfect and too suspicious that every one of the recent poli-

tical assassinations in this country — those of the two Kennedys, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King — and this last alleged 'plot' so conveniently serve the interest of the most sinister forces of U.S. imperialism.

"The latest allegation against Ahmed Namer and his sons, Hussein and Abdo, citizens of the Mideast nation of Yemen, is an ominous international development, following as it does on the heels of so many real political assassinations by ruling class forces," Mr. Marcy added.

"These were handled by the U.S. Government in such a way as to tax to the limit the credulity of the world as to the motives and sources of the assassinations, and their interest to the U.S. ruling class," he said.

"A world-wide impartial body is needed, one which would investigate all

recent U.S. assassination plots from the point of view of looking into the acts of the U.S. Government itself, rather than its victims."

In an earlier statement, the chairman of the Marxist-Leninist WWP had declared:

"This arrest of three Arab people by local and Federal authorities is an ominous development that must be condemned by all progressive people. We can only see it as an attempt to whip up hysteria against the Arab liberation struggle and thus prepare the American people for a new war in the Mediterranean...."

"The oil monopolies are desperate to secure their Middle East empire against the rising tide of Arab struggle for self-determination. Now in the attempt to rally the population at home that precedes every major imperialist war, scapegoats have been found — this time, the Arabs.

"And a heinous 'plot' has been concocted in the same spirit, though not yet on the same level, as the Reichstag Fire frame-up, through which Hitler seized absolute power, and began his all-out drive to war."

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On Superior Strength

Two U.S. Senators, Gore (D-Tenn.) and Pell (D-R.I.) were on a mission to the Soviet Union last week during which they obtained an interview with Premier Aleksei Kosygin. According to an Associated Press dispatch, the two Senators said that "in an hour and 40 minute meeting with Kosygin the premier cautioned against either of the great powers seeking to become decisively stronger than the other."

Even if not exact, the statement attributed to Kosygin is quite consistent with the conservative diplomatic line of the revisionist Soviet leadership and should be condemned.

The statement clearly implies that it is somehow in the interest of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp not to develop its fighting strength beyond that of the capitalist camp. Such an idea is fraudulent.

Kosygin himself should know that the USSR itself would not exist for 24 hours were it not for the superior strength of the world wide working class.

It is the indomitable power of the liberation struggles in the colonies which saps the strength of and undermines U.S. imperialism which affords the Soviet Union its greatest protection. It is the growing international struggle

against imperialist war and for black liberation right here in the heartland which exerts its great force against the warmakers. And, not least of all, the great military prowess of the USSR itself causes the trigger-fingers in the Pentagon to falter.

The idea of not exceeding the imperialists, in strength, of the oppressed maintaining a parity of forces with the oppressor, is totally misleading and harmful to the struggle. If the Soviet leadership is trying to be cunning in diplomacy with the new administration in Washington, the imperialists will not be fooled. They will never stop trying to prepare their superior force. The only ones who are fooled by such a line are the broad masses who look to leaders for ideological guidance.

In its struggles against the oppressed people and the workers, the ruling class ultimately relies on force alone in every instance where force is possible. Conversely, the only lasting successes of the exploited have been achieved by using superior force to overcome the bourgeoisie, including such gains as the Cuban Revolution, the great success of People's China, not to mention the establishment of the world's first Soviet republic.

Two Lines on Vietnam

Speaking of superior strength, we note that U.S. officials have openly admitted that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam recently organized and successfully held elections throughout liberated areas of the South, from the village level all the way up to the district level. To be precise, the U.S. admits that the NLF-organized elections were held in 1,241 villages and hamlets, 17 provinces, five cities and 38 districts. This startling admission is probably a lying understatement by the U.S., but is great news for the partisans of liberation, even at

face value.

This heartening information reminds us that there are two lines on the Paris Peace talks. There are those who say that the Vietnamese are selling out by discussing with the U.S. and have violated the revolutionary cause.

We disagree wholeheartedly and we feel that the discussions are the result of the heroic victory of the Vietnamese and that North Vietnam and the NLF are speaking from strength—superior strength—which has brought the U.S. imperialists to the bargaining table. The above statistics confirm this view.

Ohio Steel Local Backs Dostal Against Police Frame-Up



Left, David Gass being attacked by cop at anti-Wallace demonstration Oct. 5.

Right, Ted Dostal addressing a "law and order" hearing at City Hall on Nov. 9 in support of self-determination for black people.

CLEVELAND — Steelworkers Local 1330 in Youngstown met last week and in a near unanimous vote endorsed the fight of Ted Dostal against a pending police frame-up in this city.

Mr. Dostal is a retired steel worker and was an active member of Local 1330 for 25 years. He was arrested here Oct. 5 during a militant anti-Wallace demonstration when cops charged into a crowd of hundreds of protestors and viciously clubbed people, including Mr. Dostal. He has been charged with "assaulting an officer" and along with another defendant, David Gass, Cleveland chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism, faces up to three years in prison.

The local union's vote of support for Mr. Dostal's struggle is an important precedent in the labor movement. Local 1330, in which Mr. Dostal was a militant rank-and-file organizer, is possibly the first local in the country to support victims of police brutality flowing out of an anti-war and anti-racist demonstration. Of particular significance is the fact that the local of 3,000 workers in the Ohio Works of U.S. Steel, is predominantly white.

Many of the older union members who knew Mr. Dostal during the hard labor struggles of the 1940's and 1950's

led the move to get the local to support him in his fight against police brutality and the political frame-up. Only a few hawks voted against the endorsement.

The strong support expressed by Local 1330 for the anti-war militant is an indication that some of the progressive ideas that had been brought to the local in many years of hard work by militant unionists, like Dostal and others, are again coming to the fore as the bosses are increasingly resorting to cutbacks in employment which are creating a great problem in the local steel plants Ohio.

Dostal-Gass Defense Continues in Clevel.

CLEVELAND — The defense of two anti-fascist and anti-war militants, arrested Oct. 5 while protesting against a Wallace rally, continues in this city. The defendants, Ted Dostal, a retired steelworker and militant unionist, and David Gass of Youth Against War & Fascism, were beaten by cops and then charged with "assaulting an officer" under an Ohio anti-riot law providing for up to three years in prison.

Youth Against War & Fascism has called a United Front demonstration in support of the defendants for Dec. 2, 8:00 a.m. at City Hall where the court is in session. The jury trial of Mr. Dostal will begin at that time. Mr. Gass' trial is scheduled for Dec. 9.

The defendants were among several demonstrators arrested on Oct. 5 but were the only ones to be held or charged with an offense. This was a clear indication that the police were attempting to frame-up the two well-known activists.

Cooperating in the defense of Dostal and Gass are the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, Clergy and Laymen Concerned, the University Circle Teach-In Committee and Youngstown Steelworkers local 1330 in which Mr. Dostal was a long time member.

Black Students Fight Cop Recruiters

CLEVELAND — Black students at Kent State College rocked the campus last week in a continuing militant protest against a visit by recruiters for the Oakland, Calif. police force. Arrogantly coming on campus to seek hired guns for the war against black America, the recruiters found that members of Black United Students, with the support of the SDS on campus, had occupied the office where they were going to conduct interviews for future cops—the oppressors and murderers of the black people. The students held the office for seven hours.

The college administration backed up the racist police agents and pulled out a riot act in order to discipline nine of the leaders of the demonstration. The nine could be dismissed from school as a result. In response to this threat, 600 black students (almost the entire black population on the campus of 18,000 students) voted to leave the college for a week and go to Akron.

Helen Sobell Says Her Husband Is "Very Much Alive" As Supreme Court Turns Down New Appeal After 19 Yrs.

In a barbarous and cruel move, Nov. 12, the Supreme Court refused the latest appeal on behalf of Morton Sobell for a reduction of his 30-year sentence.

Mrs. Helen Sobell, wife of the foremost victim of the McCarthy witch-hunt and political prisoner for 19 years, told WORKERS WORLD:

"Despite 19 years of imprisonment, my husband continues to be very much alive, both mentally and physically. He is tremendously interested in all the issues in the world, and has managed to remain a whole person despite everything that has been done to him."

Sobell, who was convicted of "conspiracy to commit espionage" along with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1951 at the height of the McCarthy witch-hunts, asked in a motion for certiorari that time he spent in prison before being sentenced and while his case was on appeal be credited as part of his sentence. Mrs. Sobell explained that with Justices Douglas, Harlan and Brennan dissenting, the court ruled that the time Sobell spent in prison before being sentenced and while appealing the conviction — one whole



Morton and Helen Sobell

year — does not count as time served on the frame-up 30-year sentence.

The Supreme Court ruling came in spite of a 1960 law which credits presentencing confinement of a prisoner towards his sentence. This "cruel and unusual punishment" was barely mentioned in the so-called "free press" of this country.

Helen Sobell told WORKERS WORLD that had the motion been granted in full, her husband would have been released immediately, or on Jan. 10, 1969 if part of the motion were granted.

The determination of the ruling class

to keep Mr. Sobell in prison as long as possible was again exposed when Mrs. Sobell related that her husband has been eligible for parole for the past ten years but has been denied parole ten times. Numerous appeals on the conviction and sentence have also been consistently denied. However, with statutory good time, meritorious time and thirty days of extra good time while in Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary, Mr. Sobell should be released by next July 24. "That will be an important day," said his wife.

The issues of the motion which was denied by the Supreme Court were also argued before Judge Borsal in the Federal District Court for New York where the Rosenberg-Sobell "trial" took place. No ruling on the motion by attorney David Reine of New York and Prof. Thomas Emerson of Yale Law School has been made yet. However, the Supreme Court's denial indicates that the ruling class has no intention of freeing the foremost victim of anti-communist hysteria still languishing in its jails.

Much literature has been written on the Rosenberg-Sobell case which exposes it as a crude political frame-up. Of particular interest, Mrs. Sobell noted, is Walter and Miriam Schneir's book, "Invitation to an Inquest." This book and other literature on the case is available from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010.

—Racist Strike Ends

(Continued from page 1)

white. Most of the children and parents were black. The black and Puerto Rican teachers almost unanimously opposed the strike. But due to discrimination and capitalist white supremacy, their total number is relatively small.

Settlement — And Struggle

The strike settlement provided for a state-appointed trustee to administer the whole district for the time being. It involved the removal and transfer from their posts of three community-selected principals and four very popular black teachers.

Although Rhody A. McCoy, the black administrator of the district, said yesterday that the community governing board "neither accepts nor rejects" the settlement, he later advised his supporters to end the last protest actions.

The settlement was universally regarded as a defeat for community control and a victory for white racism. For that very reason, its permanence is questionable.

The strike had lasted over two months, with short intervals of unstable compromise. There were an actual 36 school days lost. The striking teachers were paid their regular salaries by the ruling class Board of Education during the first five weeks of the strike, although it was said that they would have to make up the time lost later on. This undoubtedly helped the racist strike and encouraged the reactionary mood of many.

Albert Shanker, the union's president and spearhead of the anti-black drive, had called the strike in behalf of a number of white teachers who had been transferred out of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district. The all-black governing board of the area had ordered the transfer because of the teachers' lack of "cooperation" with community control — a very polite way of characterizing them as racist.

This was the first time a strike had been called in the case of a teacher's transfer, although militant teachers had been transferred in former times for

entirely opposite reasons.

Within the teachers' union, the New Coalition — and especially the Ad Hoc Committee of Teachers for Community Control — strongly opposed the line of Shanker, the latter group campaigning against the strike in newspaper ads and by other means.

One union officer, John J. O'Neill, took a strong pro-community control position and was fired by Shanker in the midst of the strike. O'Neill said dryly at the time that the strike was supposed to be over the teachers' right to "due process," but there wasn't very much due process for officers of the teachers' union.

Learning From the Bosses

The bitter settlement, like the reactionary strike itself, seems to be having

the effect of educating as well as inflaming the black and Puerto Rican communities.

For example, Whitney Young of the Urban League and Dr. Kenneth Clark of the State Board of Regents have long been regarded as Uncle Toms by the most revolutionary of black leaders and not so well understood as such by the broader masses.

But night before last they addressed a meeting composed of average concerned community residents, along with members of the governing board. And the people shouted "sellout" and "Uncle Tom" at them, when they advised acceptance of the unpalatable settlement.

The parents literally drove the two ruling class apologists from the meeting.

Later, Allan Brooks, a parent with three children in the district's schools, expressed the feelings of the community about the Establishment itself, when he told newsmen:

"Mayor Lindsay, Commissioner Allen and the Board of Education sold the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community out."

Another parent, a white mother at P.S. 9, told WORKERS WORLD that her child had never been so well taught as during the strike, nor were relations between black and white children in the school ever so good. She would be sorry indeed to see the sensitive and understanding young woman who taught her little son have to leave.

Perhaps the most poignant episode of the strike's end was yesterday, when a number of Puerto Rican parents stood outside the State Department of Education on Madison Avenue, protesting the treatment of their only Puerto Rican principal.

Standing in a downpour, they chanted again and again: "Fuentes Si; Shanker No!"

The racist strike may be ended. But the struggle for community control is not.



Black Community and White Teacher

Do Unions of an Imperialist Nation Have Rights Over an Oppressed People?

If British teachers were teaching in India just before that country became independent — and if the Indian people, incredibly exploited and oppressed by the British, demanded that a number of these teachers be sent back to Britain, a progressive American would not even have to ask what the reason was in order to support the Indian position.

And if a British teachers' union centered in London demanded a voice in the control of India's schools, while Indian teachers were hardly given a chance to teach in their own country, this would be considered outrageous, not only by every Indian, but by every progressive everywhere.

The very obvious reason for this is that the exploitation of the whole Indian people by the British was so vile and so murderous. The right of the Indian people even to have unions of their own was still in question, while all Britons living in India, including teachers and skilled workers, were infinitely more privileged than the Indian people.

This analogy with the black people in the United States ought to be very clear. But because the Afro-Americans have no clearly defined geographical territory (through no fault of their own, but through the fault of their oppressors), their rights can be more easily blurred and the struggle for independence muffled.

Afro-American People,

An Internal Colony

The black people constitute an internal colony of U.S. imperialism — of a peculiar kind — but resembling all other colonies in super-exploitation, humiliation and oppression.

The very idea of black control of schools in black communities — even if only partial control, as it was in Ocean Hill-Brownsville — was a step in the direction of national liberation. And the black people of the district obviously regarded it as such.

True, the decentralization plan came from the Board of Education itself, and was administered by people paid by the Board. But nevertheless the black people rightly regard it as a step forward, away from racist control of black children's education, and toward community control of firemen, policemen, storekeepers, landlords, etc.

In fact, a growing number of black leaders are demanding a separate solution altogether and drawing up

plans for an independent black republic. Herman Ferguson, a former assistant New York school principal, framed in the infamous "RAM" case, and recent candidate for U.S. Senator, advocates such a solution as does his co-defendant, Arthur Harris. Rob Williams and Mae Mallory advocate the "Republic of New Africa." In effect, so do Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Wilbur Grattan, Eldridge Cleaver and many others.

This separatist perspective enrages the racists fully as much or more than the idea of integration — thus proving that the real issue is all-around equality rather than mere social integration, as such.

At the same time, however, the liberal section of the ruling class, recognizing the trend, adapted to this trend somewhat, and came up with a modified program for community control of schools.

It was meant as pure tokenism and designed to divert the struggle away from much more revolutionary goals. But the black people took it with both hands and of course want more.

UFT Strike Against Self-Determination, Not Ford Foundation

Albert Shanker, racist leader of the UFT, however, made a big point of the fact that the Ford Foundation had "backed" the New York school decentralization plan. He implied that the community's struggle was a billionaire plot against the union, rather than a community-colony's upheaval against colonialism.

Actually, the New York Times, the New York Post, and other liberal ruling class media more or less joined with the Fords in advocating this mild version of community control. And it aroused a racist storm, not because the liberal rulers had anything to do with it, but because it threatened to weaken the racist reaction generally. The right wing of the ruling class (working in this case through the UFT) fears that even the slightest tokenism will arouse the masses to still greater struggle rather than satisfy them.

Opposing community control because the Fords appear to support it would be like opposing the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 because it was intended to end the black struggle rather than help it.

Just as they were tokenists in integrating the schools, so are they now tokenists in their approach on "community control."

But even this tokenism is too much for the rest of the ruling class (as was the Supreme Court's tokenism).

And somewhat like George Wallace's attack on the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations for being too liberal for him, so the reactionaries' attack on the financial backing for some of the school decentralization, is really motivated the same way.

The right wing of the ruling class opposes the tokenism because it feels that the liberals are wrong — and the tokenism may actually open the floodgates of black revolution.

A Setback for Labor

The racist line of the UFT has undoubtedly set labor itself back considerably, in spite of its "victory." The victory was entirely one for racism, not for unionism. And the teachers' union will be considerably weakened by it, as will a great part of the labor movement.

The ultimate salvation of the teachers' union and the unions in general lies in fighting for the independence and self-rule of black and other minorities, when the latter are insisting upon their rights to a separate destiny.

Fighting against this is a sure-fire prescription for the demise of the labor movement, including its majority of white members.

Without the alliance between the black liberation struggle and the drive of labor for better wages and better conditions, the ruling class will smash the unions as well as defeat the liberation fight.

And it will have no more sympathy for white labor than for black, once it has effectively isolated and weakened both of them.

"Labor with a white skin," said Karl Marx, "cannot emancipate itself while labor with a black skin is branded." He was speaking for the necessity of ending chattel slavery. But the same sentiment applies just as forcefully to the necessity of freeing a whole people from the super-exploitation by the same bosses who exploit the whites. The ending of chattel slavery only posed this more sharply on the one side and made the task more complicated on the other.

But one thing is simple and clear: The duty of every white progressive and every white unionist is to give all-out support to the struggle of black and Puerto Rican people to control their own schools. And if this leads in a succession of steps and political decisions, even to the declaration of an independent and sovereign republic, that must be supported with even greater energy and loyalty.



Who Rules

IMF: Wall Street's Blackmail Fund

the Empire?

There is an innocuous-sounding organization called the International Monetary Fund which would be more appropriately titled the Wall Street blackmail fund. It is not international at all, but rather the financial arm by which U.S. big business gets a stranglehold on a country which is in economic trouble — probably as a result of previous dirty work by the U.S. itself.

For example, after the CIA-inspired mass murder in Indonesia, the country was in a state of economic chaos. One of the first acts of the fascist generals was to "invite" the IMF in to go over the economy with a fine-tooth comb. In Ghana, Greece, India, throughout Latin America, the pattern is the same. The coming of the IMF is dreaded by any government which has a semblance of independence. Even Australia, according to one staunch supporter of IMF policies, refused to join the IMF as though "membership in the Fund was only doubtfully compatible with national sovereignty."

The International Monetary Fund was founded at the Bretton Woods (N.H.) Conference in 1944 and began operations in Washington in 1946. It has as its ostensible purpose the maintaining of international monetary stability.

Each member of the IMF invests a sum of money in its own currency and receives votes in proportion to its "subscription." For example, the U.S. — in January, 1961 — had invested in the IMF \$4.13 billion, out of a total IMF capitalization of \$14.74 billion. The U.S. has about a third of all the votes itself and with its "protégé nations" well over a majority.

"Appearance" or Reality?

Economist R.F. Mikesell, in his semi-official book on U.S. investment abroad, "U.S. Private and Government Investment Abroad," made the following admission: "... in the minds of many people in other countries, both the World Bank and the IMF are believed to be dominated by the U.S. government and to reflect its policies. This is, of course, unfortunate, and every effort ought to be made to have these institutions regarded as truly international."

This is not a mere appearance, but a hard fact which is openly admitted in the 1968 Annual Report of the IMF:

"The restoration of enduring confidence and stability in the international monetary system depends primarily on the achievement of early and progressive improvement in the external positions of both the U.K. and the U.S."

In fact, the lever by which the imperialist countries are able to "improve their external position" is the capitalist world market which they control and which the IMF exploits to the hilt.

The capitalist metropolis of the U.S., Europe and Japan purchases the raw materials of the colonial dependencies and neo-colonial countries at steadily diminishing prices. The imperialists extort high prices from these same colonial countries for the industrial products which they need in order to live. Needless to say, an improvement in the "external position" of the U.S. is equivalent to a deterioration in the external and internal positions of all neo-colonial countries.

"Recommendations" Equal Diktat

The IMF approach to this chronic and deteriorating imbalance in the terms of trade (the ratio of export to import prices) is twofold. The IMF will offer dollars to the country approaching a crisis to pay its foreign debts (mostly to U.S. corporations). However, it will make this loan conditional on the country accepting the IMF's "recommendations" for basic changes in the economic policies of the country.

Generally, this means a devaluation of the currency, a reduction in real wages, runaway inflation, a rapid decline in living standards for the working class, the abandonment of import quotas, the curtailing of domestic investment that would lead to long-range industrial growth, and opening the country to further intercession of U.S. capital in the country's economic life.

For example, in Colombia, President Lleras "refused to devalue the Colombian peso when the IMF made such a devaluation a condition for granting a \$50 million standby credit.... Because of his refusal to meet the IMF requirement, a \$100 million Alliance for Progress loan also was said to have been held up" (NY Times Dec. 15, 1966). Lleras finally came around.

In 1961 in Ecuador, the IMF blackmail was equally successful. Following the IMF "recommendations," the sucre was devalued from 15 to the dollar to 30 to the dollar. The advantages to anyone with dollars in Ecuador or U.S. purchasers of Ecuadorian products were immediate and obvious. The effects of this devaluation on the Ecuadoreans were drastic.

A general strike by the workers and student rebellions flared up across the country. The military took over and with their U.S.-supplied guns put down the protests.

In Uruguay, the IMF "suggested" import quotas be abandoned. They were, and U.S. goods poured into the country faster than ever. Not only did this squelch the infant industry of Uruguay, it increased that country's dependence on U.S. dollars. Eight years of IMF policies in Uruguay have led to the following results: 1) Inflation has skyrocketed at rates of more than 60 per cent a year; last year it reached 136 per cent; 2) foreign debts have accumulated to the point where they exceed the value of all the country's exports for two years; 3) unemployment has increased more than 12 per cent since 1963 (when the IMF came in).

Clearing the Way in Indonesia

According to the June, 1968, edition of Fortune Magazine, "The IMF came to Indonesia not as a stern disciplinarian but as a warmly welcomed friend." Suharto's regime may have had reason to welcome the IMF, but the Indonesian people had to pay the tab. "Subsidies to the nationalized enterprises were sliced, and they were ordered to operate like private businesses, with competitive costs and prices."

In other words, Indonesian industry was forced to compete with U.S. industry, effectively stopping national development. This paved the way for U.S. mining, rubber, and oil companies to march back in to take control of the country's vast natural resources.

The Fortune article continues, "Subsidies to consumers were also curtailed; the price of kerosene, for example, was allowed to quintuple.... As shortages developed in the city markets, the price of rice shot up; from 12 rupiahs a liter in the spring, it reached around 35 in November."

This is the IMF cure for "underdevelopment." It must not be forgotten that at least a million Indonesians had to be murdered before the U.S. could arrive in Indonesia as a "warmly welcomed friend." And the Indonesian people are still paying for the imperialist onslaught. As Fortune Magazine boasts, "the IMF has never before concentrated so much effort in a single country."

— KENNETH LAPIDES

Unequal Before the Law

By F. REED

The New York Criminal Court broods over Centre Street, its gray judicial facade broken only slightly by the barred windows of its executive twin, the infamous "Tombs" (a "holding" jail where a young man was recently misplaced for a year without trial).

Walk past the carved announcements that justice is to be had here, its value above all other things, etc., and no matter what the weather, it's a dank, rainy day. The courtroom ceilings are twenty-feet high and the lighting dubious. For variety's sake, the standard piety has been amended to "I GOD W RUST," or even "I GO RU." The courtrooms are cold, with hard and splintery benches, and the restrooms are foul. Here is where the New Yorker confronts the criminal justice of the State.

Just across the street stands the new Civil Court building. It has ample lighting, purring elevators, an abundance of splendid marble, luxurious restrooms, and it doesn't need any carved slogans.

If the "appearance of justice," as somebody said, is almost as important as the execution of (bourgeois) justice, it would seem that there are some very different values at work here. The physical plant is only the most obvious example.

To begin with, there is a presumption by all court personnel and, of course, by the cops that those who have business in Criminal Court are guilty. Guilty of being mostly black and Puerto Rican, for one thing. So why bother to make the proceedings any more bearable?

The contempt with which the court treats defendants is totally blatant. Eugene W. is led from the cell behind the courtroom to be arraigned before the judge. The charge is read (unintelligible in the second row), the prosecution suggests a bail, the judge accepts it. Eugene doesn't have it, and Legal Aid doesn't much seem to care. The bridge man (court clerk) yells, "Put 'im on the side," like a short order cook.

Victor C., who has had a previous adjournment, informs the judge in halting English that he is having trouble getting a lawyer, but prefers one of his



"So you say you were hungry... but almost every day, but I don't steal..."

own choice. The judge says that "bail is exonerated" and generously explains that this means, "We'll see if you can get better results from inside (the jail) than outside."

Defendants, of course, are never asked when they can come back (it's only a day's pay), but police are (they get paid anyway) and get to sit instead of "working".

Ann D. and Betty L., arraigned for prostitution, have no "records." The judge suggests parole. The D.A., who has not yet objected to a white defendant being paroled, objects vigorously. The judge puts a small (\$50) cash bail.

Judge, D.A. and Legal Aid haggle over the sentence of Jake O. There are some

The Coal Miner: The Faster He

By ELLEN PIERCE

Miners have always been among the most oppressed and exploited workers. In ancient times, slaves were put into the mines to work until they collapsed and died. In the last century, their struggles for unionization, safer working conditions and better pay have been fiercely fought in South Africa, Spain, Wales, the United States, and wherever coal or metals are dug from the earth.

The greed and callousness of the mine owners, in refusing to dig escape shafts to use in case of cave-ins or explosions, in exploiting child labor, in throwing away thousands of lives and the health of thousands more in the race for profits may be unequalled in any other industry.

The history of mining in the United States is one of bitter class struggle — a war in which the mine bosses use every weapon of the capitalist state, from the army to the courts, in trying to crush the workers.

In the U.S. today, coal miners face health conditions which are worse now than they were ten or twenty years ago.

"Although effective methods of preventing 'black lung' or 'miners' asthma' have been known for more than 20 years, the typical American miner works in a deadlier environment than his father."

"This is because the automation of coal mining has led to machines that rip away at coal seams at an ever faster and dustier rate, saturating the air in the mines with the superfine coal particles that cause pneumoconiosis, the medical term for the disease."

"It is incurable, untreatable and often fatal. It clogs and shrivels the lungs, leading from coughing and shortness of breath to total invalidism...."

"The U.S. Public Health Service concedes that one miner in five suffers from some stage pneumoconiosis (that's 125,000 men), but autopsies of 1,000 American miners showed evidence of pneumoconiosis in four out of five."

This, in a country whose government is planning to send men to the moon by Christmas, was reported in the New York Post on Nov. 14.

A member of the West Virginia air pollution control commission, Dr. I. E. Buff, said, "The attitude of American mine operators is easy to illustrate. I asked the owners of eight mines I visited to install chemical toilets, because the long-accepted practice of defecating in worked-out galleries was impregnating the air in working shafts with disease-producing filth."

"They calculated it would cost 25 cents per man per day, and turned it down as too expensive. If they won't pay a quarter a day for toilets, imagine them spending, say, \$3 per man-day for dust suppression. They are never going to do anything on a volunteer basis."

Methods of cutting down on dust include sprays to blot up the dust, improved ventilation techniques and redesigned machinery such as chutes to switch coal from one conveyor belt to another instead of dust-generating dumping methods. But the utter ruthlessness of the mine owners in their quest for profits makes it clear that only more struggles will win these improvements.

The road of struggle is nothing new to the mining population of the U.S. Their ancestors fought the ancestors of today's mining bosses for every tiny concession.

or A Tale of Two Courts

NS DE JUSTICE.



that's no reason. Why, I myself am hungry

legalistic complications, but the judge wants to be sure Jake serves thirty days, so he settles on the wording: "Fine of 500 dollars or 15 days and 15 days. That ought to do it!" he concludes triumphantly.

Equal contempt is shown for the accused at the trial.

A defendant totally disputes the cop's story, and the judge decides, "She hasn't proven her credibility." (Neither has the cop!) "Remand her," he says, even when the lawyer protests that she has already served as much time as the law allows on the charge. The court proceeds with the next case. The total effect is that of a meatgrinder.

The Civil Court is quite another thing. Although the property involved in Small Claims Court may not exceed \$300 dollars, court personnel show great solicitude for the plaintiffs and defendants waiting to be assigned to a set of arbitrators. (Arbitration failing, the case can go on eventually to a jury trial.)

The clerk keeps reassuring everyone: "We don't rush anybody... just relax." He speaks clearly through a public address system, calls everyone "sir" and asks, "Has Mr. So-and-so arrived?" When so-and-so has not "arrived," the clerk consoles that "since you have spent your time here, we'll hold." This is in marked contrast to the Criminal Court where judges condemn defendants to lose work days time after time for a police or plaintiff non-appearance. Needless to say, 90 per cent of those in Civil Court are white. Most look well-dressed and well-fed.

Class distinctions are evident here, too, in the way clerks fawn on a big insurance company's lawyer with many cases, and racism is subtly present in the fact that of all the juries active in the many courtrooms, only a few have any black members. A judge, in a car accident case, keeps yelling at the black plaintiff, but he seems to be a pretty grouchy judge in general. At least the plaintiff has the benefit of several witnesses, which is seldom the case for defendants in the criminal trials. The civil cases all seem to be at least three years old.

Landlords, however, get the benefit of speed. The Landlord and Tenant Court is most like Criminal Court as to noise and judicial contempt for the tenants. All the cases are from October and November. Several landlords win evictions by default. The judge tells Mary C., tenant, "Listen, if I disbelieve you, it's just too bad." Another tenant, who has his rent doubled, is told, "They can raise it to \$1,000 if it's decontrolled."

After all the lowly cases are cleared out, the judge gives his attention to the case of a restaurant which owes \$13,654 rent to a large realty firm. His sympathies are obviously with the bigger capitalist.

Isn't that what it's all about?

e Works, The Quicker He Dies



Miners all over the world have always been the most oppressed and exploited workers. These are Italian miners.

During the late 1870's, nineteen Irish coal miners in Pennsylvania who were organizing against killing conditions in the mines were framed up and hanged. Accused of belonging to a secret Irish terrorist organization called the Molly Maguires, they were tried for various murders. In one case, the actual murderer, in collusion with the prosecutor, was the chief witness against the miners. The prosecutor himself was a mine owner who had begun the Molly Maguire witch-hunt.

Coeur d'Alene, in northern Idaho, saw bloody strikes in 1892 and 1899.

National Guard and regular army troops were called out against the miners. Barbed-wire camps imprisoned 1,200 strikers for six months.

In the 1903-04 Colorado miners strike for an eight-hour day, over a thousand men were put in military concentration camps, while hundreds more were deported from the state, and at least 42 killed. The Rockefellers and Guggenheims, big mine owners in Colorado, were behind the state supreme court ruling that legislation passed in 1899 calling for an eight-hour day was unconstitutional.

"Robert the Torturer," A True U.S. Representative

The Turkish Government is a right-wing, pro-U.S. regime which has been thoroughly saturated over the years with military funds from Washington—an estimated \$2 billion. The ruling circles of the NATO "anchor," which borders on the USSR, have been totally subservient to the diplomatic and military needs of the U.S. ever since Truman sent money and arms to crush the revolution there in 1948 and to line up the country against the Soviets.

But last week the arrogant imperators in Washington exceeded their Turkish welcome by assigning Robert Komer as the new ambassador to Ankara. Komer headed the so-called "pacification" program in Vietnam and is probably one of the most hated men in the world—even in this U.S.-run NATO satellite. His closest historic predecessors were the supervisors of the Nazi concentration camps.

"Robert the Torturer" is one headline characterization of Komer in the Turkish press, according to the Washington Post of Nov. 15. This succinct description of the U.S. chief in charge of bulldozing Vietnamese villages, "interrogation" of the people, "rooting out" liberation fighters, etc., was undoubtedly a reflection of the broad masses of the Turkish people.

"A normally moderate paper" reads the dispatch from Ankara, "said that for the United States to send a man like Komer, whose last job was one of 'neutralization and oppression' is to completely disregard Turkish public opinion." This is in a country which banned the diary of Che Guevara.

Komer's connections with the hated

U.S. Central Intelligence Agency have also failed to endear him to the Turkish people and have thus made his acceptance by the government a political liability which will not be easily overcome.

"These writers reflect anti-Americanism," which is on the rise in Turkey. The nervousness of the ruling circles over the Komer appointment comes in the wake of recent attacks on U.S. military personnel in the country. Navy men from the Sixth Fleet had to be rescued from the people recently when they were attacked by crowds while on leave.

Developments such as these can only cause extreme nervousness in Washington because of the strategic position Turkey occupies in U.S. plans for global domination. The Turkish puppet government has integrated its 425,000-man armed forces into NATO and has turned over the country as an anti-Soviet military base which includes vital radar-monitoring facilities to spy on the USSR.

"Some 30,000 American military personnel and families are stationed" in Turkey, reads the Washington Post dispatch, and "scores of civilian Americans have been influential advisers in the government ministries."

With the U.S. position in Turkey as potentially vulnerable as it is, only the most arrogant imperialist could be blind enough to send an ambassador whose reputation among the masses of the world is only slightly less repugnant than Hitler's. But then, that is precisely what the U.S. ruling class is—the most arrogant imperialist.

You Too Can Be President —For \$12 Million Plus!

No one who has lived through the recent barrage of election campaign propaganda by the ruling class candidates on radio, TV, and in the papers, can avoid concluding that the electoral system is tightly sealed against the ordinary working man or anyone who wants to fight for his interests. But how tightly sealed? By how many millions of dollars?

The latest figures for the Nixon-Agnew campaign, filed by major Republican fund-raising groups in accordance with the Corrupt Practices Act, bring the total campaign contributions to \$12 million. The most recent tabulation by United Press International showed a popular vote for the ticket of 31,002,987. The Nixon victory, therefore, could roughly be said to have cost 40 cents a vote. A New York Times editorial on Nov. 2, titled "Costliest Campaign," estimated the Nixon campaign budget at \$20 million, on the other hand. The Citizens' Research Foundation calculates the cost of a vote this year at 50 cents.

If there is uncertainty about total costs, there is still less information available to the public on what the money went for. Nixon's advertising firm, Fuller, Smith & Rose, received \$525,000. Media in general accounted

for at least one-third of the candidates' total budgets, according to the CRF. But the rest is more or less a blur.

More intriguing is the question of where the money came from.

Naturally, everyone who voted for Nixon did not contribute even 40 cents to the cause. But certain individuals made up for this with generous sums. They got around the \$5,000 federal legal limit on individual contributions by giving to a number of committees.

In this way, Mr. and Mrs. W. Clement Stone gave \$50,000; the Max Fishers of Detroit, \$45,000; the Henry Salvatoris of L.A., \$45,000; the Pews of Philadelphia, \$45,000; and John Hay Whitney of New York, \$11,000. Other well-known financiers and businessmen gave somewhat less: Jack Dreyfus, Jr., N.Y., \$3,000; Paul Mellon, Pittsburgh, \$3,000; John M. Shaheen, N.Y., \$7,000; A. C. Nielson, Chicago, \$5,000; Lamont du Pont Copeland, Del., \$3,000.

These names and a number of others were listed in the New York Times of Nov. 13 and 14 as the major contributors. Their donations only total about \$300,000. Other resources might have come from people like those who signed a full-page NYT ad on July 30, by the Business Advisory Committee for Nixon. The list included the chairmen of Chase Manhattan, AVCO Corp., Goodyear Tire, Olin Mathieson, First National City, N.Y., Republic Steel; the director of the Mellon National Bank; the presidents of Union Carbide, J.P. Stevens, Sinclair Oil, and 80 others.

Corporations, excluded by law from making contributions, were allowed this year by Congress to take tax-deductible ads in the Miami Convention Program. Contributions to state committees account for a good deal more. At any rate, the billionaires find their own ways to contribute far larger sums than are ever made public.

The patently un-"democratic" nature of the electoral college system has caused embarrassment, and even talk of changing it. But no editorial has ever appeared anywhere in the ruling class press calling for an end to truly undemocratic parties, candidates and elections which are tools of a handful of the rich.

A SMILE

I made a long trip
From one end of the sky
to the other.
I crossed the threshold
that separated peace from war.
I was afraid my eyes would fall
into a well filled with tears,
And meet the gaze of the dead.
But when dawn exploded, like a grenade,
An exhausted woman smiled to me,
The foreign visitor.
In her smile, O crucified Vietnam,
I saw thy tenderness, and thy strength.
Her smile had sent me from one
end of life
To the other.

By Blaga Dimitrova, Bulgaria

From They Have Been in North Viet Nam, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, page 61.

—U.S. Loss of Czechoslovakia, Arab Struggle, Revive NATO

(Continued from page 1)

inforcements. But, probably in view of the growing uneasiness of the masses with the Vietnam war, this most important point (important to the GIs) was left out of the six points.

One need only read the brief, 14-point NATO communique to get a sense of the antagonism within U.S. ruling circles caused by the defeat of subversive U.S. expansionism in Eastern Europe.

The communique mentions the "serious situation following the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia" and how "the peoples of Czechoslovakia must be free" and condemns the "use of force and the stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia"; and how "the Soviet Union's intervention" has "seriously set back hopes," "the increased presence of Soviet naval units"; "So long as the Soviet Union adheres to a policy of force" etc., etc., etc.

The gut reaction of the ruling class to Soviet power, which the bosses thought was permanently anesthetized by the revisionists in grey flannel suits, is a wild fury partially concealed by the need to keep from pushing the Soviet leaders to break off completely the detente which Washington so badly needs.

The threat to profits they lost 20 years ago enraged the bourgeoisie. And the Arab peoples' assault on wealth to which Wall Street already holds the deed has driven them to a frenzy, has caused Israel to be drafted as a de facto NATO member and has given new military status to the fascist generals in Athens.

Furthermore, the U.S. is twisting De Gaulle's financial arm to get the French ruling class into action in the Mediterranean. Phantom Jets for Tel Aviv, new arms for Athens, a new anti-Soviet naval command for the eastern Mediterranean are all intertwined with the NATO revival and coordinated by the Pentagon.

Soviet gestures of military support for the Arabs and the intervention to save the socialist system in Czechoslovakia are progressive acts which have threatened the profit interests of imperialism. All previous betrayals and conciliation by the Soviet leaders failed to ingratiate them with the billionaires — and only whetted insatiable capitalist appetites for expansion.

The new aggressive anti-Soviet stance of the U.S. after the period of so-called detente will hopefully serve to dispel some revisionist illusions.



Secretary of State Rusk and Defense Secretary Clark Clifford at NATO conference of foreign and defense ministers held in Brussels.

The Confessions of Herman Kahn: The Counter-Revolution That Failed

Chief U.S. Brain-Truster Mourns Loss of Czechoslovakia

Editor's Note: It was Soviet CP general secretary, Leonid Brezhnev, who brought to our attention the following remarks of Herman Kahn on the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. (Brezhnev's understandably indignant remarks about Kahn's anti-Soviet article in the November Fortune Magazine were printed in the New York Times last week.)

Kahn is the militarist "expert" on atomic warfare who works for the Rand Corporation and advises the U.S. from time to time on the best way to conquer the world. This excerpt from his remarks should throw a bright light on the real meaning of Czechoslovakia.

* * *

In retrospect, the extent to which we underrated the resolve of the Soviet leaders seems fantastic. In anticipating that they would not intervene in Czechoslovakia, we were in effect saying that they would acquiesce in the events listed below. These events, all of them plainly of great importance, represent a fair summary of what most Soviet experts in the West anticipated (and what they believed the Russians themselves anticipated) if there was no intervention:

1. A general acceleration in almost all Warsaw Pact countries of the trends listed on the page opposite.

2. In Czechoslovakia itself:

A. Early recognition of Bonn, followed by West German credits, trade and influence.

B. Establishment of strong Western, especially French and German, cultural influences.

C. Abandonment of "democratic centralism," i.e., of the rule that Communist party decisions are binding on every party member.

D. Early emergence of the government as superior to the party; general atrophy of the party's influence.

E. Development of opposition parties and creation of an effective political opposition.

F. Some likelihood that economic and political reforms would achieve considerable success — possibly even development of a "Wirtschaftswunder" charisma.

G. Possible development of an effective and perhaps charismatically attractive state based on a humanist version of socialism, perhaps even a social democracy with capitalist overtones.

3. All the above would make likely the fall of Gomulka in Poland and replacement either by:

A. An independent, hypernationalist, and relatively anti-Soviet but Communist group, or ...

B. A reformist regime, which might also be independent, hypernationalist, and anti-Soviet.

4. Even without No. 3, an effective isolation and weakening of the East German regime, with great pressure on it to implement reforms on either the Czech or the Polish model.

5. Probable eventual denunciation of the Warsaw Pact by one or more East European countries.

6. Even without Nos. 4 and 5, a likely eventual loss of the Soviet hold over East Germany. (In this context, the loss might easily take place in a relatively explosive and dangerous fashion, possibly involving an effort at unification of East and West Germany.)

7. Almost any of the above could contribute to or force a massive Soviet retreat from Eastern Europe...

8. And/or a spread of "liberalizing" infection to the U.S.S.R. itself.

9. In any case, there would be a loss of morale in Moscow, perhaps a near-total erosion of imperial nerve (although it is also possible to envisage "cornered bear" scenarios involving last desperate efforts to regain earlier Soviet influence).

10. And any combination of Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 would raise very serious threats to the existence of the current Soviet system and state.

W. German Anti-Nazi Arrested

The U.S.-supported West German regime continues to increase repression there, while opening new avenues for the openly fascist NPD and all neo-Nazi "patriotic" organizations.

In a recent move aimed not only at progressive elements in the Federal Republic but also against the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, the Bonn government ordered the arrest of Georg Herde, publisher of "Neue Kommentare," a bi-monthly anti-fascist newsletter. Mr. Herde was arrested on September 26, and is still imprisoned pending investigation.

Herde is accused of having "treasonous connections" with the "Czechoslovakian secret service." The Kiesinger government's counterpart of an attorney-general's office further charged him with being the chief source of Czech and Soviet information

Two Vietnam "Doves" Show Their Anti-Soviet Talons at NATO Assembly

A pair of influential U.S. politicians switched their roles from "doves" to "hawks" last week in Brussels and thereby shed further light on the dubious motives of that faction of the ruling class which wants to slow down the war against Asia.

Two outspoken advocates of a settlement in Vietnam, John Sherman Cooper, (R-Ky.) of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and Paul Findley (R-Ill.) of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, attended the North Atlantic Assembly as U.S. delegates to NATO's parliamentary counter-part. Both men, who have done a lot of talking in the past about the wrong war, at the wrong time in the wrong place, etc., (Vietnam) showed that, in their minds (or pocket books), the war against the socialist countries in Europe is the right war.

The Assembly met in conjunction with a full meeting of the NATO ministers and the big brass. The purpose of the meetings was to shake the big stick at the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries who unceremoniously squelched the imperialist plans to recapture Czechoslovakia.

Cooper, it turns out, is the chairman of the Assembly's Military Committee (hardly a very dovish pursuit) and he gave the main military report to delegates from the 15 NATO nations. The report was based upon information supplied by the Pentagon, was worked out in collaboration with the U.S. high command and served as the rationale for beefing up the military might of the NATO forces.

"A comprehensive picture of the new military situation in Central Europe

was presented to the forum" by Senator Cooper, reported Clyde Farnsworth from Brussels in a Nov. 12 dispatch in the New York Times. "Senator Cooper said that the movement of 10 additional Soviet divisions to advanced positions in Eastern Europe in August had upset the balance of forces."

As it developed, Cooper's lengthy and detailed military analysis was only a prologue to the sabre-rattling proposals by Clark Clifford at the full meeting a few days later.

Findley, also a U.S. delegate to the anti-Communist war gathering, was the sponsor of a highly "dovish" petition in Congress, which he began circulating in September, 1967, calling for a "re-evaluation" of the U.S. position in Vietnam. It turns out that Findley, like Cooper and a number of other illustrious Vietnam doves, is a member of the "Atlantic first" faction of the capitalist establishment. He has been a delegate to the NATO Assembly since 1965 when the Johnson Administration began the great escalation of the war. He is chairman of the House Republican Committee on Western Alliances.

Last week Findley was acting as a hawkish, anti-Soviet spokesman in Brussels for the new Nixon Administration. Drew Middleton, in a Nov. 14 dispatch in the New York Times, reported that,

"Representative Paul Findley... said today that President-elect Richard M. Nixon would give Atlantic unity priority over improved relations with the Soviet Union."

Findley spoke about the "fundamental" United States security lying in the strength of this anti-Communist military force and of delaying any attempt at improving relations with the USSR until the NATO alliance can be strengthened.

Of course, neither Nixon nor his predecessors ever wanted to improve relations with the USSR for the sake of peace. They only wanted to cajole the conservative Soviet leaders into closing their eyes to U.S. counterrevolution. Now that it is getting harder to achieve that goal (witness Czechoslovakia and the Mideast) the U.S. is crying for blood and the Vietnam doves are leading the pack.

Upon examination, it appears that the peace talk of two prominent doves was not a reflection of even the slightest progressive sentiment on their part. Rather it was solely a reflection of the division of labor within the capitalist establishment and these two were appointed watchdogs over the interest of U.S. imperialism in Europe. And in pressing for one peace they were really lobbying for another war all along.

about reactionary groupings in eastern Europe!

"Neue Kommentare," which has been published in Frankfurt for 11 years, is distributed internationally. The issue immediately before Herde's arrest was concerned especially with activities of right-wing groups, especially those of the Sudeten Germans in the Czechoslovak Soviet Socialist Republic.

Herde's frame-up and incarceration is significant for what it shows of Bonn's efforts to mount a repression under the so-called "Emergency Laws."

The Herde case, however, has additional importance because it exposes the depth of interest of Washington-Bonn-NATO in recent "liberalization" in Czechoslovakia and illustrates their anger and fear at Soviet moves to halt growing imperialist penetration.

The Banker-Generals Grow Richer

Military-Industrial Complex After McNamara

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

When Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara was ousted from the Pentagon last year, the question on everyone's mind was whether or not this augured a new escalation of the war in Vietnam. Certainly, the appointment of Clark Clifford, a hard-line hawk, seemed to corroborate this speculation. And it was intended to do just that.

The momentous Tet offensive of the National Liberation Front just after Clifford's appointment, however, put the skids under plans of the U.S. military for an early escalation in Vietnam.

But the swiftness with which the ruling class has undercut the McNamara "cost-effectiveness" technique in the year since his demise has filled out the picture of the dispute between McNamara and the banker-generals over the control of the Pentagon.

McNamara, one of the major architects of the war in Vietnam and a key figure in the U.S.-inspired coup in Indonesia which resulted in the slaughter of nearly one million Indonesians, came to realize that it would take more than just vast armament build-ups to stop the liberation struggles around the

world. Thus, he was unwilling to hand over the entire budget of U.S. imperialism for weapons.

In less than a year since his departure, the military has been authorized to develop an anti-ballistic missile system whose cost could reach \$100 billion; it has gotten funds for development of a supersonic bomber and has gone ahead with construction of new nuclear-powered attack submarines, all of which McNamara had attempted to hold back on.

Clifford — The Military's Man

Drew Pearson's column in the New York Post on Jan. 26, 1968, provided a glimpse of what was to come with the appointment of Clark Clifford as the new Secretary of Defense.

"Time after time McNamara refused to spend the billions voted by Rep. Mendel Rivers (D., S.C.) and other hawks in Congress for atomic-powered aircraft carriers, the B-70 bomber, and an anti-ballistic missile network. This eventually contributed to his downfall....

"Clark Clifford, on the other hand, has spent all of his career as a private attorney defending some of the defense giants. He has been on their side in their battle against the same U.S. government which he will now represent as Secretary of Defense.

"These clients have pulled down in the fiscal year 1967 the sum total of

\$1,890,200,000 in defense contracts plus \$494,659,000 in research grants, all from Uncle Sam."

The bosses of the military-industrial complex did not have long to wait for Clifford to go to work for them. In March, the Pentagon announced that Western Electric had been awarded a \$85.48 million contract to start production of the long-disputed \$5 billion Sentinel ABM project. While Western Electric was to be the prime contractor, also cut in on the deal were McDonnell-Douglas, Martin Marietta, General Electric, Raytheon, Lockheed Electronics, RCA, Motorola, and Texas Instruments.

Sentinel — A \$5 Billion Sieve

However, the \$5 billion figure for a "thin" ABM system that its proponents claim would be aimed at intercepting missiles from People's China, is generally acknowledged in the bourgeois press as being just a starter. (By July of 1967, the Army had already spent \$2 billion on developing the Sentinel.)

"Privately," wrote Drew Pearson on Nov. 20, 1967, "McNamara still feels this is \$5 billion down the drain."

Spending \$5 billion on a system which would be obsolete before it was even completed was too much to bear for some of those who were not directly in with the military-industrial group.

U.S. News & World Report of Oct. 2, 1967, quoted Sen. Frank Church (D.,

Idaho):

"Let's not deceive ourselves. Five billion dollars is just a down payment on an ABM system. Before we are finished we will spend a hundred billion dollars constructing the most extensive sieve in history."

On June 20, 1968, the Times wrote that Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford had warned the Senate in a letter to Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, that postponement of the Sentinel system would be "a serious mistake." On June 24, the Senate obligingly voted to go ahead with the Sentinel program. And on Oct. 2 of this year, Congress met in an extraordinary secret session to give the final go-ahead for funds for the ABM system.

Story of the F-111B

Just after Clifford's appointment, Business Week, Jan. 27, 1968, wrote:

"One of Clifford's major placating moves toward Congress may be cancellation of the much-criticized and trouble-plagued Navy version of the F-111." (McNamara had insisted that both the Air Force and Navy use different versions of one plane, originally known as the TFX, to cut costs.) The congressional representatives of the military industry disliked such money-saving—especially when the entire contract went to General Dynamics of Fort Worth. A campaign was begun to sabotage the plane.

Drew Pearson on March 12 revealed that one Vice Adm. Thomas Connolly had suddenly begun to attack the Navy version of the jet, F-111B, after previously having defended it. It turned out that Connolly had gotten secret

(Continued on page 8)

The Texas Take

Below is an extract from the November issue of Economic Notes, which is published by the Labor Research Association.

Texas take: The Texas gang got in their "last licks" for a still larger share of military contracts while their man Johnson was still in the White House. Texas prime contracts increased from \$3,547 million in fiscal 1967 to \$4,087 million in fiscal 1968, or by 15.2 per cent. Texas' share of prime contracts increased from 9.5 per cent of the total to 11 per cent.

Texas concerns, overall, may show a decline in new military business this fiscal year, with Johnson going out, and with the F-111, made by General Dynamics Corp. in Fort Worth, in disrepute.

The most severe loss in business in fiscal 1968 was by Missouri, whose share fell from 6.1 per cent to 3.6 per cent for a drop of over \$900 million in new contracts. Presumably, this represents a decline in new orders for the McDonnell-Douglas Phantom jets. Undoubtedly the McDonnell firm is hopeful of regaining ground as politicians have been vying with one another to demand the sale of Phantom jets to Israel.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff: from left, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, Army Chief of Staff; Gen. John P. McConnell, Air Force Chief of Staff; Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, Chm; Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations; Gen. L.F. Chapman, Commandant of Marine Corps.



Lobbyists for War and Profits

Japanese Imperialism: Washington's Restless Industrial Satellite in Asia

By P. MEISNER

In defeating fascist Japan in WW II, U.S. imperialism seemed to emerge victorious in the battle for total domination over the colonial markets of Asia. And by rehabilitating Japan after WW II, Washington and Wall Street had hoped to make Japan their Asian beachhead for crushing the revolutionary tide of liberation sweeping the Far East and Southeast Asia at the time.

But never had the U.S. imperialists anticipated a completely revitalized imperialist Japan, challenging the American conquerors again for the economic markets not only of Asia, but of the whole world. This renewed imperialist rivalry has come out more in the open recently in the form of a fight over the trade barriers imposed by both powers over their domestic markets.

For example, while the West German auto manufacturer, Volkswagen, still leads in foreign car sales in the U.S. at a rate of 550,000 cars a year, the automobile monopolies in Detroit fear more the rising sales of Toyota, the largest of the Japanese companies selling cars in the U.S., now up to 120,000 cars a year.

On the other hand, in spite of the politically and militarily dominant position of the U.S., American auto sales within Japan are still highly restricted by the Japanese government

so as to protect the relatively young auto industry of Japan from American competition.

The Japanese monopolies have made some concessions recently in letting more American cars into Japan, but only because American competition is less of a threat now than before within the domestic Japanese auto market.

But the U.S. corporations are still applying great pressure to force the Japanese auto industry to lift all import barriers on cars, which are reflected in the fact that in 1967 only 14,866 cars were imported in Japan, while 223,000 cars were exported by Japan.

Another bitter battle is taking place

between the two imperialist nations over the marketing of steel products.

Steel, as well as automotive products (Japan is now the world leader in the production of automotive products), is another product where Japanese technology has virtually caught up with American technology. Consequently, Japanese steel products are underselling American products by 10 to 20 per cent, since wages paid by Japanese monopolies are far lower than those paid by American monopolies.

But what makes the U.S. steel monopolies most furious is that the Japanese government is actually subsidizing the

Japanese steel companies to promote the sale of steel exports. This enables Japanese companies to sell at much lower prices while their profit margins are made up by the subsidies from the Japanese government, which in reality are tax monies from the sweat of the Japanese workers.

It is not the exploitation of Japan's workers that U.S. big business objects to, but the "unfair" advantage Japanese monopolies obtain through government subsidization.

So fierce is this battle over steel products that U.S. steel corporations are screaming for the establishment of new import duties. In fear of losing their competitive advantage, the Japanese Iron and Steel Federation has offered a slight "compromise" to limit yearly increases of Japanese steel exports to the U.S. at a rate of 7 per cent.

But the U.S. monopolies are not

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More U.S. Capital Which Will Demand Increased Military Protection in Asia

While the U.S. talks of peace in Asia, a group of the biggest bankers and industrialists in the country just announced another escalation of their economic war against the Asian peoples. In collaboration with some of the largest Japanese, Canadian, Australian, and Western European corporations, U.S. corporations will soon form a new investment company to be known as the Private Investment Company for Asia (PICA).

The company will have 22 directors, including seven from the U.S. and seven from Japan. The board chairman

will be Japanese, but the chairman of a 10-man executive steering committee will be American. The leading U.S. corporations in the new company will be Lazard Freres & Co. and Kuhn, Loeb & Co., both of them big investment banking houses; the Bank of America; the Chase Manhattan Bank; the First National City Bank; IBM; and Standard Oil of New Jersey.

These bankers and industrialists are not against peace. They are just for the super-exploitation of the Asian continent first, and for peace second.

This was no less admitted by the mouthpiece of big business itself, the New York Times. In its Nov. 17 business section, it reported:

"Eugene Black, Jr., a Lazard Freres partner and son of a former president of the World Bank, explained that the new investment company has two aims.

"First, it wants to make profits.... It also hopes to contribute to the economic development of Asia. 'We feel it will be a method, hopefully an effective one, for marshaling resources abroad for developing countries,' Mr. Black said."

If that is the kind of peace the U.S. bankers and industrialists want in Asia, the Asian masses will never have it.

Puerto Rican Anti-Draft Fighters Win First-Round Court Victory

NEW YORK, Nov. 19 — After months of mounting popular pressure in Puerto Rico, the colonial U.S. Federal Court in San Juan backed down in holding trials for 85 Puerto Rican draft resisters. Yesterday, Judge Cancio "indefinitely postponed" the first of the draft cases, that of Jose del Carmen Garcia Miranda, a member of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI), on a technical irregularity involving a discriminatory induction order given by the local draft board.

The 84 other draft cases were also "indefinitely postponed" by the judge later in the day. Norman Pietri, National Political Committee member of MPI, termed the virtual dismissal of the case, "a formidable political victory for the MPI."

As another 25 youths await trial over the arrests arising out of confrontations between university students and police on Sept. 27, 1967, militant demonstrations of solidarity were held in San Juan and here in New York City.

Over 5,000 demonstrators participated in the demonstration on the Plaza de Hostos, facing the San Juan Federal District Court. Demonstrators smashed almost every window of the Court building when they discovered hidden FBI cameramen photographing them. The rally was called by the MPI, FUPI, (Federation of University Students for Independence) and the Sixto Alvelo Committee of Puerto Rican Youth Defense.

A New York demonstration of solidarity with the Puerto Rican youths began with a picket of the Commonwealth office on 44th Street today. The group of 200 was composed chiefly of delegations from MPI, Youth Against War & Fascism, New York Resistance, Vets and Reservists Against the War and the U.S. Committee to Aid the NLF.

Also present were individuals from the Medical Committee Against the War and SDS. A large group of Puerto Rican high school students from the Bronx was also among the marchers. The MPI has just recently begun to organize a mission in that borough.

The demonstrators carried placards in Spanish and in English demanding an end to the imperialist draft and to the political repression in Puerto Rico. Among the slogans were: "Hell No, Puerto Ricans Won't Go"; "No Puerto Rican Cannon Fodder for Wall Street's War"; and "Free Puerto Rico/End U.S. Draft/Free the Political Prisoners."

There was a wide variety of chants, including "Free Puerto Rico, End the U.S. Draft"; "Puerto Rico Sí, American Army No."

North American youths joined with gusto in the rhythmic Spanish chants: "A Vietnam Yo No Voy, Por Que Yanqui Yo No Soy" (I Won't Go to Vietnam, Since I'm Not a Yankee); and "Puerto Rico Y Vietnam, a los Yanquis Vencerán" (Puerto Rico and Vietnam Will Defeat the Yankees).

At 6 p.m. after an hour of picketing, the demonstration headed east toward Times Square, where it continued around the Armed Forces recruiting booth for another half hour. A number of passersby, attracted by the banners, the large MPI liberation flag and the chants, joined the demonstration. Many shouted "Sí, Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" in agreement.

The action ended with a picket at the Biltmore Hotel, surprising gowned matrons and military guests of a dinner which Gen. Westmoreland was scheduled to attend, with chants of "Westmoreland War Criminal!" and "The Rich Get Richer, the Poor Get Killed."

Japan-U.S. In New Rivalry

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satisfied with this offer knowing that even this limited rate of increase will cut deeper into the American steel market, of which 18 per cent is currently in the hands of foreign capitalists, half of them being Japanese. As a matter of fact, the competition is so stiff that the eight leading steel companies in the U.S., except for U.S. Steel, were forced to cut back on price increases announced last July by most of the companies. However, an executive of U.S. Steel was recently quoted as saying:

"Our position will depend on other competitive developments."

Another development which will make Japanese steel even more competitive with American steel is the upcoming merger between the Yawata Iron and Steel Company and the Fuji Iron and Steel Company, the two largest steel companies in Japan. The merged company will rank second in the capitalist world to U.S. Steel in total output.

Japan's total production of steel this year may be over half the 135 million tons the U.S. is expected to produce. The year before Pearl Harbor the Japanese steel industry turned out just seven million tons — the U.S. over 70.

While auto and steel are the most glaring examples of bitter competition between Japan and the U.S., the Japanese imperialists are also challenging their American rivals in the markets for radios, TV sets, cameras, chemicals, textiles, electronic products, and several other products.

Japanese capital is notorious for paying sweatshop wages in heavy industry. But in recent years Japanese workers' wages have been rising at a faster rate than American (although still abysmally low).

This means Japanese technology is closing the gap on American technology — and there may possibly be a new U.S.-Japanese imperialist crisis as a result — or a campaign to further exploit the U.S. workers — or both.

— After McNamara

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estimates from Grumman, McDonnell-Douglas and Ling-Temco-Vought on a new plane that would cost almost \$1 million more than the F-111B.

By March, the Senate Armed Services Committee had voted to stop Pentagon plans to build a Navy version of the F-111, and in July the House Armed Services Committee followed suit and agreed to withhold any more money for the F-111B, thereby almost certainly killing development of the plane. The committee provided instead \$170 million for the development of a new plane, the VFX-1.

Within two weeks after Congress withheld funds for the F-111B, the Navy announced that it had contracted with five companies for preliminary plans to build a new jet fighter. This time they spread the payoff around. General Dynamics, Grumman Aircraft Engineering, McDonnell Douglas, LTV Aerospace and North American Rockwell all got a piece of the action.

Expanding the Nuclear Submarine Fleet

Running parallel with the drive for greatly expanding military expenditures on the Sentinel and fighter bomber projects, has been the drive by the Navy to expand its nuclear fleet.

"The Senate Preparedness Subcommittee," said the Times of Sept. 24, "recommended strongly today a continuing expansion and improvement of the nation's nuclear submarine fleet..."

"The subcommittee particularly challenged a decision made last February by former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara to stop expansion of the nation's nuclear submarine fleet after 1970."

This recommendation was a victory for Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover in particular, head of the nuclear-powered ship program, who carried on a continuous battle with McNamara over such an expansion. In testimony before Congress, Rickover repeatedly denounced McNamara's "cost-effectiveness" approach.



Black students boycotting school sing freedom songs to fellow protesters under arrest behind barbed wire in Swan Quarter, N.C. last week. Over 100 were arrested in four days of protests against the closing of two black schools and the busing of black children to an all-white school. During one demonstration, cops locked 20 children in a room in the Courthouse and threw a smoke bomb in among them. Welfare Department is threatening to cut payments to black families participating in the school boycott. (Photo from Washington Post, Nov. 15, 1968)

Orangeburg Murderers Set Free; Racist Courts Grow Bolder

In the wake of the recent Congressional attack on the Supreme Court and the capitulation of Abe Fortas and Earl Warren to their right-wing assailants, and with the Nixon "law and order" election victory, the U.S. judiciary and government authorities have become emboldened in cracking down on the last vestiges of legal civil rights for the Afro-American people. Following are several examples of the increasing nationwide reactionary turn.

The racist perpetrators of the Orangeburg Massacre have been set scot-free by a Federal grand jury in Columbia, S.C. which refused to indict nine unidentified highway patrolmen who shot three black students in the back last Feb. 8 during a protest demonstration.

The youths, Delano Middleton, 17, Sam Hammond, 18, and Henry Smith, 18, were shot down on the campus of South Carolina State College, a predominantly black school, when cops opened fire on a group of unarmed students. The black students had been protesting for several days against the racist policy of the All-Star Bowling Lanes in Orangeburg, which refused to admit Afro-Americans.

City officials reacted to the demands and protests of the black students by calling out the highway patrol and National Guard and initiating a blood-bath in which at least 40 were wounded. The students charged that the victims had been shot in the back while lying on the ground. At the time, Rap Brown read a SNCC statement saying, "We shall not forget the Orangeburg massacre and we will get revenge."

After the grand jury refused last

Racist Rivers' House Armed Services Committee reported that the U.S. "faced the possibility of a major submarine gap." For this they blamed the systems planners hired by McNamara.

With Clifford in the Pentagon, General Dynamics was awarded a \$154 million contract for the construction of nuclear-powered submarines. And after Rickover's testimony before Congress, General Dynamics was ordered to build four, instead of three of the attack submarines that the Vice Admiral had asked for.

In addition to the above mentioned arms build-up, the Joint Chiefs, in August, went ahead with tests of the MIRV (Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicles) warheads over the cries from the "liberals" that such testing would vastly escalate the nuclear arms race. In fact, the tests were a provocation to the Soviet Union at a time when the U.S. was piously talking to the USSR about a missile freeze.

week to prosecute the murderers of the black youths, Gov. Robert E. McNair called their decision "a conclusive and fair judgment of the incident," according to the New York Times, Nov. 9.

United States District Judge J. Robert Martin refused to reveal any of the testimony given in eight days before the grand jury of 23 white and two black jurors, nor would the judge disclose the names of the cops involved.

Thirty black youths at Jonesboro High School in Jonesboro, Arkansas were expelled from school Nov. 1 for walking out of the gymnasium in a protest over the school band playing "Dixie."

In a Nov. 15 dispatch, the New York Times reported that two of the students had retained a lawyer and filed suit in the United States District Court to request an injunction against punishment for their protest against the playing of the anthem of the Confederate South and fighting song of the slavemasters.

School officials acted like brazen night-riders when they demanded that the expelled black students be forced to publicly apologize in class for their demonstration against a song which has been the rallying cry of the lynch mob for over 100 years, as a condition for being readmitted to school.

A three-judge Federal panel in Shreveport, La., Nov. 14, upheld "freedom of choice" for students in school enrollment in the South, which in effect gives official sanction to de facto segregation. In so doing, the lower court overruled a Warren Court decision made only seven months ago.

Last March the Supreme Court ruled that desegregation in the South should be broken down by rezoning school districts. This method was to take the place of "freedom of choice" for students, which had, in practice, left the South's schools virtually as segregated as ever.

Often the enforcement of geographic zoning in desegregation has been as objectionable to the black people as segregation in inferior schools, since in many cases black children are forced to travel to white districts and black teachers and principals may lose their jobs if the previously black-dominated schools are closed. In addition, integration is not favored among a large section of the black people who are now struggling for control of their own schools.

Nevertheless, the action of the Louisiana court, in upholding "freedom of choice" as opposed to geographic zoning, was a ruling in favor of slavery.