

JULY 14, 1967

REPORT No. 9

The
Joint Legislative Committee on
Un-American Activities

STATE OF LOUISIANA



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Governor

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COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH LOUISIANA

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*Prepared and released by the
Joint Legislative Committee On Un-American Activities,
State of Louisiana
Old State Capitol,
Baton Rouge, Louisiana*

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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Representative W. J. Richardson, Caldwell

Jack N. Rogers, *Committee Counsel*

Col. Frederick B. Alexander, *Staff Director*

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 12

REGULAR SESSION, 1964

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

By: Messrs. Knowles, Tessier, Davis, Poston, Broussard, Montgomery, and Reps. Hogan, Cooper and McMillian

WHEREAS, this state and this country face grave public danger from enemies both within and without our boundaries, and

WHEREAS, these subversive groups and persons under the color of protection afforded by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution seek to destroy us and the ideals which we fought to preserve and subject us to the domination of foreign powers and ideologies, and

WHEREAS, Louisiana, as one of the laboratories of this great country, may study profitably this problem within its boundaries and enact remedial legislation if facts therefor are made available, and

WHEREAS, necessary and desirable legislation to meet this grave problem and to assist local enforcement officers to be effective must be based on a thorough and impartial investigation by a competent and active legislative committee.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, the House of Representatives concurring therein, that there is hereby created the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, which Committee shall consist of ten members, five to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives from the membership of the House and five to be appointed by the President of the Senate from the membership of the Senate, which committee shall study, investigate and analyze all facts relating directly or indirectly to the subject expressed in the recitals of this resolution; to the activities of groups and organizations which have as their objectives, or as part of their objectives, the overthrow or destruction of the State of Louisiana by force, violence or other unlawful means; to all organizations known to be or suspected of being dominated or controlled by a power seeking to impose a foreign political theory upon the government and people of the State of Louisiana, and all organizations

seeking by force, violence or other illegal means to deprive any citizens of the State of Louisiana or the State of Louisiana itself from the rights guaranteed to the citizens and the States by the Constitution of the United States; to all persons who belong to or are affiliated with such groups or organizations; to the manner and extent in which such activities affect the safety, welfare and security of this state and the citizens of this state in National Defense, the functioning of any state agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions in this state, including but not limited to the operation, effect, administration, enforcement and needed revision of any and all laws in any way bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution.

Be It Further Resolved that the Committee shall have the authority to:

(a) Select a chairman and a vice chairman from its membership; and to employ and fix the compensation of a secretary and such legal, clerical, investigative, expert and technical assistants as it may deem necessary.

(b) Contract and deal with such other agencies, public or private, as it may deem necessary for the rendition and affording of such services, facilities, studies and reports as will best enable the committee to carry out the purposes for which it is created.

(c) Cooperate with and secure the cooperation of parish, city, and other law enforcement agencies in investigating any matter within the scope of this resolution,

(d) Cooperate with and meet with similar committees of other states and of the Federal Government, or representatives thereof, outside of this state, and expenses necessarily incurred in connection therewith by any of the members or staff of the committee, thereunto duly authorized by the chairman, shall constitute a proper charge against the sums allocated to the committee,

(e) Do any and all other things necessary or convenient to enable it fully and adequately to exercise its powers, perform its duties, and accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution, and

(f) Adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure as may appear appropriate.

Be It Further Resolved that every department, commission, board, agency, officer and employee of the State Government of Lou-

isiana and of any political subdivision, parish, city or public district of or in this state, shall furnish the committee and any subcommittee, upon request, any such information, records and documents as the Committee or subcommittee deems proper for the accomplishment of the purposes for which the committee is created; provided, however, that this provision shall not extend to, nor shall it be construed to make available to the committee or any subcommittee thereof, any record or other document which under the law is made a confidential record.

- Be It Further Resolved that the committee shall have the power and authority to hold hearings at any place in Louisiana, which meetings may be public or private, to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, require the production of books and records pertinent to any inquiry before the Committee and to do all other things necessary to accomplish the purposes of this resolution.
- Be It Further Resolved that the Committee shall have authority to apply to any court of competent jurisdiction for enforcement of any order issued by it for the production of books, records or other documents or to compel the attendance of any witnesses subpoenaed to appear before it and, upon request of the committee, the Attorney General shall prosecute any witness who is guilty of refusal to testify or who gives false testimony, and persons guilty of false swearing or of giving false testimony shall be punished in accordance with the criminal laws of this state relating to false swearing or perjury, as the case may be, and
- Be It Further Resolved that the committee shall submit its findings and recommendations to the Legislature at each of its regular sessions and at such other times as the committee may deem necessary and desirable.
- Be It Further Resolved that the members of the committee created herein shall serve without compensation but shall receive the same per diem and travel allowance in the performance of their duties as is provided for members of the Legislature.
- Be It Further Resolved that the per diem and travel allowance herein authorized and all other expenses incurred by the committee shall be paid out of funds appropriated or otherwise dedicated for the use of the committee; provided, however, that the disbursements for all expenses incurred by the committee, including the payment of per diem and travel allowances for

members as herein authorized shall be approved by the chairman of the committee.

s/ C. C. Aycock

Lieutenant Governor and President of The Senate

s/ Vail M. Delony

Speaker of The House of Representatives

Joint Legislative Committee

on

Un-American Activities

State of Louisiana

Hearings held

May 24, May 29, June 6 and June 21, 1967

at the Committee Offices in

Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Hon. Jesse M. Knowles, Chairman
Jack N. Rogers, Committee Counsel

Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, Hearing held on May 24, 1967, Room 214, Old State Capitol, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Executive Session. Testimony of Sgt. David R. Kent. A quorum is present.

BY SENATOR JESSE M. KNOWLES, COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN:

The meeting today is called for the purpose of hearing testimony from one of our agents, an employee of the New Orleans Police Department, concerning certain groups down in New Orleans, namely the Spartacists. At this time I turn the meeting over to Counsel Rogers.

BY MR. JACK N. ROGERS, COMMITTEE COUNSEL:

Mr. Chairman, I call as a witness before the Committee, at this time, Sgt. David Kent, and ask that he be sworn by the Chairman.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

BY SGT. KENT:

I do.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Be seated.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Sgt. Kent, you are appearing here today as a voluntary witness at the invitation of the Committee, is that correct?

A—Yes, sir, I am.

Q—Will you identify yourself fully, please?

A—Sgt. David Roland Kent.

Q—How long have you been a member of the New Orleans Police Department and what is your assignment in that department?

A—I have been a member of the New Orleans Police Department for six and one-half years, currently assigned to the Intelligence Division.

Q—Sgt., can you tell us under what circumstances you became a member of the Spartacist League? When did you go into it and why did you go into it?

A—I joined the Spartacist League in New Orleans under instructions from supervisory officers of the New Orleans Police Department in conjunction with an investigation previously initiated into the radical movement in the city.

Q—This was part of your official duties as a member of the Intelligence Division?

A—That's correct.

Q—What is the Spartacist League?

A—The Spartacist League is a revolutionary Communist, Trotskyist-oriented organization, nationwide.

Q—From where did it come originally?

A—It originated as a minority tendency in the Socialist Workers Party in 1963.

Q—This is a Communist organization also, the Socialist Workers Party?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—What is the attitude of the Spartacist League, or rather the policy of the Spartacist League as to the questions of violence and loyalty to the United States?

A—At this time, the question of violence is primarily theoretical, it is predicated on the classic Communist precept that violent revolution is the only means of achieving the paradise of the worker's state.

Q—Does this encompass the potential of, or the open advocacy of, disloyalty to the United States?

A—Yes, sir, it does as a matter of basic Communist doctrine.

Q—The New Orleans group to which you belonged bears what relationship to the national organization, Sgt.?

A—The New Orleans local originated as an organizers committee, it subsequently received a full local status and is currently the

southern regional bureau of the Spartacist League.

Q—When did you leave this organization and why?

A—I left in February of '67 because the police department's evaluation of my work in the undercover capacity determined that we had reached a point of maximum return from the intelligence source of information.

Q—Is the overall investigation continuing? It didn't end with your leaving the group?

A—No, sir. It's still going on.

Q—Sgt., I show you a photographic copy of five pages of handwritten minutes and I ask you, would you identify this for the Committee, please?

A—Yes, sir, these are minutes which I recorded in my own handwriting for a local meeting which took place at 8:00 P. M. on February 22, 1967 at a residence in New Orleans, which is the residence of our local organizer.

Q—By "our" you mean the Spartacist League local organizer?

A—Yes, sir, that's right.

Q—What's his name?

A—Joseph Verret—Joseph Seymour Verret, Jr.

Q—Who was present at that meeting as reflected in these minutes?

A—Maedee McElveen, Joe Verret, Mark Klein, David Roland, which was my name—

Q—This was the name which you used in the party, right?

A—Yes, sir, and Richard Fluker.

Q—Was there any particular incident which occurred at this meeting which relates to you directly?

A—Yes, at this meeting, I was elevated from a candidate member, which is something like a probationary member, to full membership in the Spartacist local.

February 22, 1967 8⁰⁰ PM Wed.
Present: M. M.S., J. V., M. K., D. R., R. F.
CHAIR: M. M.S. 8²⁵ PM. Yarrin was;
Previous } by M.K.
minutes } technical problem - not completed to date.

I Membership:

A. Resignation of Comrade Clark - withdrawal
of regrets due to personal hardships rendering
him unable to function properly within organization.
1. Comments by Joe V. - paranoia - threatens stability.
2. Motion by Joe V. - Resignation be accepted with
prejudice - i.e., because of potential threat to the
local.
3. Motion unanimously passes.

B. Elevation Motion by Joe V. - Elevation of Clare P.
from candidate to full membership. Unanimously
carried (J.V., M.K. + R.F.)

II

P.L. Letters + Viet Nam Committee - Relation
to correspondence between E. Clark and West Coast
Comrade, Ed display anti-Trotskyite politics
and a strong Maoist position contrary to revolution-
ary movement. In letters, Ed suggests that he
is in control of NOCEWUN and plans to exclude
Lynne from their functions. Comments by
J.V. + M.K. to effect that Ed + F. Lacey have
openly demonstrated hostility towards our members
in this committee. Apparent efforts by Clark and
Lacey to subvert our members thru overtures
towards certain new members in an attempt,
ostensibly, to expel us from NOCEWUN or cause
sentiment against our movement.

- Proposal 1. By M.K. - revise fraction of NOCEWUN to include
Clare P. on temporary basis till Hon M. has more
time to devote; encourage Hon to attend.
" 2. Ref. to Ed Clark + Fred Lacey - Proposal -

Exhibit 1. Actual minutes of meeting of Spartacist League, February 22, 1967,
showing elevation of Sgt. David R. Kent to full membership.

9¹⁸ PM.

To propose to NOCEWUN that they engage in some united front activity in community action.

Suggestions by J.V.

a. Don be returned in fraction

b. Fraction meeting to draw up a concrete point by point program for activities in the

Motion as result of discussion by M.K.

1. Dove R. to Fraction - permanent

2. Document - point by point program for action in UN Committee and to meet, by fraction, before attending each meeting.

Both motions carried unanimously

Discussion re: leafletting on Sat. AM.

III

Participation in

Jackson Miss. Demonstration against War.

Comments: Joe V. - letter from Killgus to us to participate in Jackson Miss. demonstration against McNamara + War. Objective: to meet the rabid element in that city.

Resolved - no one able to attend. Will regrets to Jon.

IV

SDS Conference - Mark K - Report - Norman, Okla. in March¹⁸⁻²⁰ invitation to attend SDS conference. Joe V. - Sou. Bus. letter to aid in raising, urging attendance and advising of a tour by D.R. + M.K. to Houston + Austin. Cost - 40-50 bucks.

Question: Who is going: Joe V., Dove R., Mark S. Maeder, plan to go. D.R. to write for reservations to SDS. Proposed till next meeting a EXEC decision.

V

Campus Fraction Report M.M.S. + J.V.

LSUNO

A. - J.V. - SLF meeting Friday - 2-24-67 - Contacts + militant leadership - Proposals: sit ins, to test segregation (businesses nearby) 2. Test leafletting

10:00
pm

* literature distribution regulations of campus.

Kathy Youngblood Whitehead - ?? "Slightwood"

B Tulone: no student strike -

IV C. Southern U. - 12 - Murder - this week - 3 guys - contacted
on informant - to be in - threaten - "subversives"
Herbert Newman - contacted on 5/11
K. can Enmend - anti-subversives -

VI

S.W. Soc. Trip - Report R.R. - possible
return trip - contact J. Henry - forey went to
Pofayette - be back Sunday. attempt to make contacts.

VII

Technical + Financial Problems. Accounting
Joe V.: letter to all locals - publication
raise \$120.00 by 3-15-67. N.O. - need money for
typewriter. Funds appear to contacts. China
Forum - possibly at New York. P.K. - financial
cut off Ed's funds.

for
3
500

Assets - ~~100.00~~ 53.50 NO gets 2500.00

liabilities - bulk mailing next week \$ 500

Total Pledges - \$ 26.50

Contributions - Ed - 10.00 \$

VIII

China Forum - Joe V. - ^{discussion of} printer or public - meaning of
China situation strictly with left - Maoists vs. sp. s.
Cmty. Shirley Stout - NY - talk on Cuba - attracted refugees - defended
M.K. - semi private, within left only. accused of
baiting - analysis of radical movement internationally.
Motion to defer - RR - tell next - discussion deferred.
criticism by RF - failure to adhere to P.K.'s rules of order.

IX

A. Unions - MK + DR - no activity - waiting on contacts
from Don - deferred

B. → Auondale - what to do - RR - write N.O. ask for
admit. - Fraction business - submit paper to U.N.
committee.

11⁰⁵
PM

c. Union elections - Watway AFL-CIO Liaison

J.V. to be "Union" liaison - on ...
unions - laws, etc. Done by Tom 7th in next
3 weeks.

Discussions with Union
fraction discussion unit 1 on

X Joe V. - Work Party - ...
with other left groups.
Deferred.

XI Elections for Executive Comm - J.V.
Bills 3000,000,000 - changes plus 2 other ...
Emergency group - ...
Alternates to ...
Discussion re nominating.
R.F. - Motion - Nominate ...
postpone election till next meeting at ...
discusses qualifications.
R.F. - ...
Nominations to ...
Unanimously carried.

End of ...

Announcements:

M.K. 1. YSA - NOCEWUN - single issue - middle class anti-
war movement - ...
mobilization, etc. J.V. ... to YSA, reletter
of Ed's NOCEWUN letter inviting Boldick to come &
debate M.K.

J.V. 2. NOCEWUN - 11⁰⁰ AM - City Hall - picket "Stop + Fuck"
law. - ...

12⁰⁰
mid

3. from Letter by li...
Letter - Detroit - contact with UAW
4. To Dave Rader - SDS conference
5. To All locals - letter of promise for 3 min.
6. To Pol. Bur. - criticism about...
take over if they return to NY if Post comes down to:
Personality in Europe.
7. TV. - Take work done off of N.C. by hand in
Southern bulk mailings
B. bundle of P.B. minutes.

12⁰⁵
AM - Adjourned.

Q—Is that reflected in these minutes?

A—Yes, sir, it is.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, we offer into the record the minutes to which the witness has referred.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Let them be made part of the record.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Now, Sgt., I believe you said you were the secretary of the local at this time. Did you have any other function assigned to you?

A—Well, aside from being a member of the various fractions which the organization is broken up into. I was more or less an acting librarian; it was a party assignment.

Q—Did you find it difficult to infiltrate the Spartacist League or to maintain your cover story after you got into it?

A—No, sir.

Q—Tell the Committee how the New Orleans local of the Spartacist League was organized. What about these fractions that you mentioned?

A—The fractions are divisions which include the entire membership; they are—

Q—Like Committees? Would it be analogous to committees?

A—Yes, sir. The fractions are one or two members of the local and they are divided into a labor fraction, a campus fraction, peace committee and a New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam fraction and any other fraction which may arise as a result of current events. We have had occasional police brutality fractions and so on like that.

Q—Now, Sgt., will you tell the Committee who the various members of the Spartacist League are who have been active in the New Orleans area within your personal observation?

A—While I was a member, the organization consisted of Joseph Seymour Verret, Jr.,—

Q—He was the leader, I believe you said?

A—Yes, sir, he was the local organizer.

Q—Does he have any national office?

A—He is a member of the local, the executive committee here and, as the local organizer, he earns a position of respect in the national office. Now, I'm not sure exactly how much weight, so to speak, he pulls with the national central committee, but, he is the head man down here, he is also the head of the southern regional bureau.

Q—What is Mr. Verret's occupation?

A—He is employed by Louisiana State University in New Orleans as a teacher of math and while he is teaching there he is working toward his masters degree.

Q—What aliases does he use in his party work?

A—Joe Vettters, Joe Vetter or Joe Spoke. He writes under the name of Joe Vetter.

Q—I show you a page from the Spartacist magazine of May-June 1967 on page 2, which lists as the southern representative of Spartacist, Joseph Vetter, is that the same man about whom you're talking, Joseph Verret?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—And down below that, this also lists the southern address of Spartacist to be P. O. Box 8121, New Orleans, Louisiana 70122; whose address is that?

A—That's the Gentilly station for the Spartacist Post Office Box.

Q—And whose telephone number is listed below that, 288-6403?

A—That's Joe Verret's current home phone at 622 Waldo Street in New Orleans.

BY MR. ROGERS:

We offer this into the record also Mr. Chairman.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:



Exhibit 2. Joseph S. Verret, Jr., Chairman, Southern Regional Bureau, The Spartacist League.

Let it be made part of the record.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Now, in addition to Joe Verret, who else did you meet and know in the Spartacist League?

A—Mark Klein, alias Mark Small or Mark Lincoln.

Q—What does he do for a living?

A—He's employed with the Times Picayune, a New Orleans newspaper.

Q—I show you a copy of the Spartacist magazine, dated November-December, 1965, showing an article entitled "Toward Arming the Negro Struggle," written by Mark Klein and ask you is that the same Mark Klein to whom you're making reference in your testimony?

A—Yes, sir, the New Orleans local has credited Mark Klein with authorship of this article.

BY MR. ROGERS:

We offer into the record the article to which he has referred, Mr. Chairman.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Let it be made part of the record.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Tell us the name of the next personality whom you know in this organization, please Sgt.?

A—Richard Fluker.

Q—What can you tell us about this man?

A—Fluker is one of two Negro members in the local; he is a middle-aged person; he is very conscious of the Black Nationalist Movement at the current time; he is a highly respected member.

Q—Have you ever discussed the philosophy of the Spartacist League and his own attitude toward it with him?

A—Yes, sir, I have.

Q—What is his orientation in this regard?

A—He adheres to the Trotsky theories of Communism; firmly believes in the violent revolution—

Q—Did you say he was oriented to some degree toward Black Nationalism also?

A—Yes, sir, definitely.

Q—What is the attitude, just incidentally, of the Spartacist League generally toward Black Nationalism?

A—Generally they support the movement or the philosophy of separation and the identity of a radical element within the Black Nationalist Movement. Theoretically, the Black Nationalist Movement tends to create a problem in that it would blockade the unification of the workers, black and white.

Q—In other words, they have a kind of ambivalent attitude, they want it for revolutionary purposes but they don't want it to disrupt their own organizing, is this generally correct?

A—True. The whole Communist movement, in my experience, in my observations, feels that, as a group, black people are more conscious of the inequities, or the alleged inequities, the supposed inequities, of the American system, and that the Negro people will be the leadership, they will be in the vanguard of the ultimate revolution.

Q—In connection with the witnesses testimony at this point, Mr. Chairman, I offer into the record an eight-page excerpt from the Spartacist magazine of May-June, 1967 entitled "Special Supplement, Black and Red, Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," and ask that it be made a part of the record at this point.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Let it be made a part of the record.

Q—Who is the author of that?

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—To the best of your knowledge, who was the author of this article?

A—James Robertson authored the article.

BLACK AND RED— Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom

I. INTRODUCTION

The struggle of the Negro people for freedom and equality has been the most dynamic struggle going on in the United States in the past ten years. It has taken place in the context of, and has been conditioned by, the general passivity of the organized labor movement. The militancy of the Negro people and the tempo of their struggle increased enormously in the fifties and early sixties, but the achievements have been minimal—limited entirely to token advancement of democratic rights. In fact, the fundamental conditions of life for the vast majority of Black people, particularly in the key areas of employment, wages, housing and education, have worsened. The Civil Rights movement, geared to the aspirations of the small Negro middle class, though professing to speak for all Negroes, has been stopped dead in its tracks in dealing with these fundamental needs, and in fact has functioned partly as a brake on the unorganized and leaderless pressures from below. In the absence of an alternative, revolutionary, leadership these pressures and frustrations explode from time to time in undirected, non-political outbursts that change nothing. Thus in the midst of dissipating militancy, disillusionment in struggle and seemingly vain aspirations among the black masses, the movement is at an impasse. A crisis of leadership is the essence of this impasse.

Economic Prospects

At present U.S. capitalism is attempting to maintain and increase its profits by placing the cost of the Viet Nam war on the working class.

The prolonged and extensive expansion of the productive capacity of the U.S. following upon the Second World War was conditioned by the massive destruction engendered by the imperialist slaughter, and by the world-wide demand for goods which resulted. The period of rapid capitalist development since the war has been marked by periodic mild recessions and interspersed by long periods of boom. Recently the curve of world capitalist development has begun to point downward. The rise in inventories, the drop in investments in capital goods production, and in industrial production, indicate that a world-wide economic downturn is at hand.

While economic indicators pointed to a downturn in 1966, the boom was prolonged another year by the political decision to escalate the aggressive war against Viet Nam. A decision by the U.S. ruling class for another massive escalation could again serve to postpone the downturn.

The upsurge of militant strike action testifies to the growing refusal of workers to submit to further erosion

of their living standards by the inflationary pressures generated by the war on a booming economy, and to their readiness to fight for real gains. Black workers, bearing an even greater disproportionate share of the burden of the war, would be the most militant and ready for greater struggle.

On the other hand, if the war is ended or even continued at the present level of war spending, the economic downturn would prevail. While the black workers would be hit hardest by the ensuing unemployment, lay-offs would also rapidly accelerate among white workers. Again, this poses the perspective of a unity in struggle of black and white workers, and a leap in the level of consciousness of basic sectors of the working class.

Black Workers and Imperialism

Thus the struggle for Negro freedom takes place not only within the national arena, but within an international context. U.S. capitalism, which doubly exploits black workers, is the cornerstone of world imperialism. The abandonment of a perspective which looks to the working class to lead the struggle for the liberation of mankind from oppression is the hallmark of all revisionism. The Pabloist concept that the epicenter of world revolution has shifted to the colonial countries, the Maoist concept that backward countries will encircle and conquer the industrial countries, and the black nationalist concept that the Negro people are essentially part of the movement of African nationalism and will be liberated by the industrially backward countries are all revisionist concepts.

The bankruptcy of revisionism has become apparent with the smashing of the so-called "Third World," "Socialist" regimes and the tragic massacres of the masses in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The definitive victory of the world revolution will only be secured by a victory of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries. The U.S. working class now has "the most revolutionary of all revolutionary tasks," the destruction of the bastion of world imperialism, the U.S. capitalist system. To the extent that the black workers, the most militant in the U.S. working class, become infused with a revolutionary socialist perspective, and thereby become able to provide leadership to the class as a whole, they play a vital role in the success of the world revolution.

II. INTEGRATION OR SEPARATION?

From their arrival in this country, the Negro people have been an integral part of American class society while at the same time forcibly segregated at the bottom of this society. As chattel slaves they were the

(Continued Next Page)

Exhibit 3. Article by James Robertson, National Chairman of the Spartacist League outlining in detail the revolutionary program of the Spartacist League in relation to the exploitation of racial unrest.

... BLACK & RED

labor force on which the Southern planter aristocracy maintained its economic and political dominance until the Civil War. Various factors—the variety of African origins, the deliberate dispersal of slaves with common tribal backgrounds, the fact that most slaves brought from Africa were male—facilitated the total destruction of African languages, social institutions and cultural memories among the slaves and allowed the imposition of a new language and new habits to fit the needs of the economic system into which they were being integrated. In particular, an eclectic Christianity was early instilled to teach the slave to meekly accept his position.

Escape from slavery, not return to Africa, was the goal of Negro efforts toward freedom during the pre-Civil War period. In the Civil War itself, when the political needs of the vigorous and growing capitalist class in the North came into fundamental conflict with the continued political dominance of the Southern planters, freed slaves played an important part in the victory of the progressive forces and destruction of the slave system.

Capitalist and slave alike stood to gain from the suppression of the planter aristocracy but beyond that had no further common interests. In fact, it was the Negroes themselves who, within the protective framework provided by the Reconstruction Acts and the military dictatorship of the occupying Union army, carried through the social revolution and destruction of the old planter class. However, the Compromise of 1877 and the formation of a powerful new bloc of Northern industrial capital and subordinate Southern Bourbons allowed the majority of ex-slaves to be forced back onto the land as tenant farmers or share-croppers.

Southern Populism

Nevertheless, nearly a quarter of the ex-slaves were able to acquire their own small farms. The white small farmers, who had also been "freed" by the destruction of the slave system, were driven in some cases to join hands with their black counterparts in the defense of their common interests against the new plantation masters. Yet this tentative union—the Southern Populist Movement—was doomed to failure. The small-farmer class itself could not be a real contender for political power in a capitalist society, while the dynamics of private farming inevitably brought about sharp competition among the farmers. This competition was exploited by the new political alliance of big planters, Southern capitalists and certain Northern financial interests, in particular, investors in Southern railroads, land, mining and timber. This bloc initiated a campaign of violent race hatred among their political opponents which succeeded in destroying the developing black-white unity. In the context of the new racism the Black people were disenfranchised, stripped of all legal rights, and permanently denied access to adequate education. Those setbacks were codified into a series of laws institutionalizing the rigid segregation which has been the dominant feature of the South ever since. It was the racism launched during this period which has since kept wages in the South at approximately half those of the rest of the country (and wages of Negroes at half those of whites in the country as a whole), prevented effective union organization and perpetuated

a crushing poverty on the land for black and white alike, though today the Southern economy has come entirely under the control of Northern capital.

By the First World War 90 per cent of all Negroes still lived in the South, though by this time nearly one million had made their way from the land into hundreds of Southern towns. Then, with the great expansion of demand for unskilled labor unleashed by the War, a vast migration of black workers into the North took place, and for the first time a sizeable portion of Black people became integrated into the mainstream of American capitalist society. This integration did not last. With the 1921 recession the new workers found themselves forced out of their jobs. This, along with the extremely harsh conditions of Northern ghetto life—instead of the "Promised Land" which many had expected—caused thousands in despair and frustration to turn to the "Garvey Movement" built on the thesis that the Negro



COPS harass 1963 Birmingham demonstrators.

would never receive justice in the white man's land and calling for a separatist solution. This first important mass movement with nationalist aims folded later in the '20s due to internal contradictions, the imprisonment of its leader and the recovery in Negro employment in the boom years following the post-war depression. Far more significant during this decade in terms of American social reality was the successful organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

During the '30s once again black workers were forced out of the economy in large numbers—but this time not alone. Radical ideologies and the gains of mass struggle made a deep impact among workers of both races. The organization of the CIO—the culmination of the upsurge in labor struggle—was a joint venture and bound large numbers of the less skilled and unprotected black workers to the most advanced section of the proletariat. Yet the betrayals of the Communist Party during the war years helped wipe out Negro gains and served to discredit *all* radical movements, even though a significant number of Negro workers came into the Socialist Workers Party at this time. The subordination of the CIO to the bourgeois Democratic Party and Cold War ideology, its affiliation with the conservative AFL and its failure in the context of unexampled prosperity and labor passivity to come to the defense of the Negro freedom struggle have caused black militants to lose confidence in the organized labor movement or in the perspective of common struggle in the future. The SWP's failure to take a clear position on integration vs. separation contributed to its loss of hundreds of

black workers and of the opportunity to forge a significant black Trotskyist cadre.

But the objective basis for future common struggle of black and white workers not only exists but, unlike the Populist Movement of black and white farmers, holds the promise of success, while struggle along nationalist lines is a delusion and an impossibility. The vast majority of Black people—both North and South—are today workers who, along with the rest of the American working class, must sell their labor power in order to secure the necessities of life to those who buy labor power in order to make profit. The buyers of labor power, the capitalists, are a small minority whose rule is maintained only by keeping the majority who labor for them divided and misled. The fundamental division created deliberately along racial lines has kept the Negro workers who entered American capitalism at the bottom, still at the bottom. Ultimately their road to freedom lies only through struggle with the rest of the working class to abolish capitalism and establish in its place an egalitarian, socialist society.

Yet the struggle of the Black people of this country for freedom, while part of the struggle of the working class as a whole, is more than that struggle. The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class. Because of the generations of exceptional oppression, degradation and humiliation, Black people as a group have special needs and problems necessitating additional and special forms of struggle. It is this part of the struggle which has begun today, and from which the most active and militant sections of Black people will gain a deep education and experience in the lessons of struggle. Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution.

"Pseudo-Nationalism"

Black nationalism accepts present American class society and working-class divisions as unchanging and unchangeable, and from this static vantage point separation is seen as the only solution. Yet this solution is unrealizable in terms of the realities of American class society. True nationalism is, in essence, the struggle to establish an independent area for the development of a separate political economy. Historically it has come at those times and in those places, usually within a common geographical area among those with a common language and cultural heritage, when an emerging cap-

DEFEND JOHN HARRIS!

John Harris, a black militant and Progressive Labor Party member from Watts, is being prosecuted in California under the reactionary "Criminal Syndicalist" law. Despite our serious political differences with PLP and its adamant refusal to accept Trotskyist support, we urge in the name of elementary solidarity that our readers contribute to the Harris defense.

Statements of support and financial aid should be sent to:

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY
P.O. Box 19724
Los Angeles 19, Calif.

italist class must free itself from the shackles of a decayed feudal economy or from external imperialism in order to develop freely, i.e., in order to exploit its "own" working class. But there is practically no black capitalist class in America. Instead, the so-called "Black Bourgeoisie" consists in reality of a small, weak, petty-bourgeoisie catering to service needs arising out of segregation, and of white collar workers— which latter are rapidly achieving a remarkable degree of integration into the white middle class, and thus have an identity of interests and outlook far removed from those of the majority of working-class Negroes.

The present mood among black ghetto youth, "nationalism," could more correctly be termed "pseudo-nationalism" since the conditions fostering genuine nationalist sentiment do not exist. This mood arises from growing racial self-confidence and pride—a positive development as it is a precondition for real combativeness—coupled with bitterness at the failure of the struggle to gain significant results without support from the rest of the working class. It develops in the context of a generally correct criticism of the middle-class oriented Civil Rights leadership while an alternate, proletarian leadership has not yet been created. The dominant feature of this pseudo-nationalism, like all variants of black nationalism, is its inability to generate a program of struggle—a further proof of its spurious nature. Such "nationalism" is divisive and interferes with the development of class consciousness and a program to sharpen class struggle.

Thus the Negro struggle in America is more directly related to the class struggle than any essentially national question could be. The falling rate of profit makes it impossible for the ruling class, even during a spurt of unequalled prosperity, to meet the demands of this super-exploited layer for improvements in the basic conditions of their lives. Hence any steps forward in this struggle immediately pose the class question and the need for class struggle in its sharpest form.

III. BROAD TASKS

Transitional Organization

The necessity for mass organizations of strata of working people with special needs and problems was recognized by the Leninist Comintern, which worked out the tactics of the relationship of such transitional organizations to the revolutionary party and to the class struggle as a whole. These organizations are a part of the revolutionary movement, and their struggles advance the overall class struggle. They are neither substitutes for nor opponents of the vanguard party of the entire class, but are linked to the vanguard party through their most conscious cadres. Examples of transitional organizations are militant women's organizations, revolutionary youth leagues, and radical trade-union caucuses. Such a transitional organization is necessary for Negro workers at a time when large sections of the working class are saturated with race hatred.

With its program of transitional struggle around the felt needs of a section of the class, the organization mobilizes serious struggle by the largest possible number. Such an organization, while not itself "socialist," leads those participating in its struggles to the realization that a fundamental overturn of the existing society is necessary.

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In the Northern ghettos a great organizational vacuum exists. The objective basis of the traditional middle-class organizations such as CORE and the NAACP is growing ever narrower as more and more of the Negro middle class is able to flee the ghetto. (For example, over the past decade, 40,000 employed Negroes moved from Harlem into other, more "desirable" parts of the city or suburbs, where their incomes were sufficient to break some of the barriers of segregation. The Harlem CORE chapter recently has had only a few active members who actually reside in Harlem!) As the objective basis of these groups narrows, they grow subjectively ever less related to the needs and interests of the black masses. This is reflected in the move towards an increasingly consistent position by the middle-class groups that since the basic prob-



RACISTS in Chicago attack civil rights march.

lems are economic, government intervention—secured by pressures on or within the Democratic Party—must be the primary aim of the Civil Rights movement. In 1964-65 this took the guise of "Liberal Coalition" politics as expounded most articulately by Bayard Rustin, and the delivery of the black vote to Johnson. This year's guise are the more militant-sounding slogans of "Black Power" and "independent political action" as interpreted by certain Northern Civil Rights leaders to mean black judges, black cops and black Democrats or, as regards "independent" political action, to mean a black voting bloc which will supposedly "swing" its vote to whichever capitalist party promises the most to Negroes. The ultimate meaning of the latter is to build support for Bobby Kennedy's projected presidential candidacy. As the old Civil Rights movement becomes more and more subordinated to the political arm of the very forces responsible for the oppression of the Negro people, it will serve increasingly to function *solely* as a brake on real struggle and a diversion from revolutionary alternatives.

Oppose Federal Infiltration

Furthermore, these reformist organizations have already become so exposed in their ineffectiveness, even in gaining token reforms, that the government has found it necessary to create its own reformist organi-

zations in order that some alternative to proletarian organization and program will exist. The millions of dollars poured into HARYOU-ACT have succeeded in confusing or buying off a large number of potential youth leaders in Harlem through a combination of money and pseudo-radical nationalistic rhetoric. The so-called "anti-poverty" projects have also served to foster a certain amount of illusions among the ghetto masses. The witch hunt in Mobilization for Youth when some idealistic young people tried to use it as a vehicle for support to rent strikes, school boycotts and community actions against police brutality shows clearly the outcome of attempting to use government fronts as instruments of real struggle.

The vast black ghettos of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit and numerous other cities are wide open for the formation of a proletarian mass organization of struggle. Only the smallness of the black revolutionary cadre, together with the temporary aftermath of police terror during the "riots," and in some cases sectarianism, have kept such organizations small. The Spartacist League will do all in its power to encourage and aid such organizations, and favors the unity in action of all working-class oriented organizations in the ghetto.

Ghetto Defense

For the last three summers ghettos across the country have been rocked by elemental, spontaneous, non-political upheavals against the prevailing property relations and against the forces of the state which protect these relations. In no case have they been genuine race riots. The risings have usually been provoked by the police, in the course of "normal" brutalities (Watts 1965) or in an effort to crush a movement which is exceeding the bounds set for it by bourgeois society (Harlem 1964). As the struggle against the police expands, the black street-fighters turn on the merchants and shopkeepers, the visible representatives of the oppressive class society, and smash whatever cannot be carried off. Yet despite the vast energies expanded and the casualties suffered, these outbreaks have changed nothing. This is a reflection of the urgent need for organizations of real struggle, which can organize and direct these energies toward conscious political objectives. It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outbursts political direction.

The Northern ghettos will be organized only by revolutionary ghetto organizations. The beginning of such organization is possible now, while the form remains open. One form is the building of block and neighborhood councils based on tenants councils. Experience has shown that tenants councils must be introduced to the *whole* transitional program and tied to as broad an organizational base as possible if they are to achieve stability. Block and neighborhood councils of this sort would be able to speak for a whole area, put forward their demands, and call out the people in militant actions to back up those demands.

One of the most important functions of such representative popular organs would be the organization and direction of effective self-defense against police and racist violence. The potential for rapid growth by the American fascist movement adds to the seriousness of this task, given the sharp contradictions confronting U.S. capitalism in the next period. Ghetto action might

take the form of block patrols of neighborhood men, preferably union members with past military training. The need for the immediate formation of such patrols is shown by the indiscriminate beatings and killings by police during the suppression of ghetto "riots."

Such terror will be unleashed whenever the black people approach a breakthrough in changing the fundamental condition of their lives. Block patrols would also help prevent the day-to-day acts of terror against individual ghetto residents by racist cops and would serve to control the crime victimizing ghetto residents which the capitalist cops ignore or participate in. Such neighborhood patrols will become a part of that workers militia which will defend the future American proletarian revolution.

Independent Political Action

The struggle for black freedom demands the total break of the Negro people from the Democratic Party, the preferred political weapon of the forces which profit from the suppression and super-exploitation of the Negro people. The only alternative is a new party based on the needs of the poor and working people. The formation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in the South, initially with a mass base, indicated the potential and feeling which exist for independent political action. However, the MFDP, as its name indicated, was not independent but was simply a means whereby certain Southern and Northern civil rights leaders hoped to pursue their ambitions within the national Democratic Party at the expense of the interests of the Negro people. This situation has since been recognized by the most militant sections of the Southern movement, and the party has now lost its mass support.

The formation of the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, was a step forward inasmuch as it was consciously organized in opposition to the Democratic Party. Based on the sharecroppers and farmers of a single rural blackbelt county, its program is by these very factors limited to reforms realizable within the system such as improved schools and roads, development of farmer cooperatives, and purchase of land for dispossessed sharecroppers. In order to go beyond these albeit needed reforms and pose a real challenge to the Southern system and the basic structure of society, the idea of independent political action must be extended to the cities and developed among workers. The perspective of the Black Panther Party for a federation of county-wide parties must be replaced by a perspective for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party.

Only by the development of a working-class program and by explicitly opening the door to support by white workers can real political independence be maintained, real gains won and the basis laid for eventual working-class political unity. This unity will come about when the exploited section of the white South is driven into opposition and is compelled to forego color prejudice in order to struggle along class lines against its real enemies—the owners of land and industry.

The creation of a South-wide Freedom Labor Party would serve as a tremendous impetus for similar action by Northern workers. The struggle for such a party would necessitate a rank-and-file revolt within the organized labor movement to overthrow the present labor bureaucracy. In the absence of a labor party, the Spartacist League supports all independent candidates whose programs are based on the needs of the ghettos.

Negroes as Workers

In this period when primary attention has been focused on the ghetto, the importance of Negro militants within the organized labor movement must not be overlooked; black unionists form an immediate, existing, organizational link with the white section of the working class. Militant Negro and other super-exploited minority workers together with their labor partisans must organize within and without the existing unions in order to fight for their urgent needs. Union bureaucrats, with their public lip service to the Civil Rights movement, will be hard put to suppress "Civil Rights" caucuses within their unions or condemn Labor Civil



CHARLES SIMS of the Deacons for Defense.

Rights Committees as "dual unions." Yet under conditions in which struggle reaches revolutionary heights, such committees would be precursors to factory committees. Should dual power be posed, these in turn would be vital elements in workers councils and, in victory, of workers power.

In addition to anti-discrimination demands, the "CR" caucuses should raise the following demands:

(1) *Organization of the Unorganized.* At the same time this demand is raised, the black worker militants should themselves begin this organization.

(2) *Organization by the Unions of the Unemployed.* Again, this demand should be accompanied by the actual organization of unemployed workers by the black worker militants. The aim is to create links between the ghetto and the labor movement and to counteract the lumpenization process proceeding apace in the ghettos among the unemployed. Welfare recipients should be organized around a program calling for full employment and their organizations should be associated with welfare worker unions.

(3) *For a Sliding Scale of Wages Controlled by Labor.* All workers are being hit hard by inflation caused by the war in Viet Nam. The bourgeoisie's attempts to freeze wages to save profits must be countered by the demand that wages be scaled according to the purchasing power of the dollar, with the power of the sliding scale in the hands of workers' committees, not bourgeois agencies.

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(4) *Fight for the Shorter Work Week.* The rate of Negro unemployment is twice that of white workers, and the gap is increasing. Yet white workers also face the threat of unemployment due to automation. The struggle for *more jobs for all*, rather than competition between black and white workers for a few jobs here or there, can unite workers. At the same time, the demand for a shorter work week poses racial equality in union hiring without making the white worker fear for his job.

(5) *Oppose Government Intervention.* At all times we oppose using the Government to "integrate" unions, and rely solely on the working class for this task. Such ruling class tactics as decertification of discriminatory unions are intended to destroy union independence, foster division among union members and worsen the position of all workers.

For Negroes the fight for full employment at decent wages is not just the key to better housing, schools, etc., but a fundamental and necessary defense. If Black people are forced out of any economic role and become lumpenized as a group they will be in a position to be used as a scapegoat and could be totally wiped out during a future social crisis—just as the Jews in Germany were—without affecting the economy. The fight must be fought *now* to maintain Negroes as part of the working class.

The struggle for this program within the labor unions will entail a simultaneous fight for full union democracy and ultimately a struggle for leadership against the present labor lieutenants of capital. The most essential feature of this struggle will be the break of the labor movement from all its present ties to the capitalist state.

IV. THE SOUTH

The Southern economy is today controlled entirely by Northern capital and is an *integral and essential* part of American capitalism. The contradictions of capitalism culminating in the tendency of the rate of profit to fall necessitate the maintenance of this vast area of low wage, non-unionized labor as a source of super-profits, and prohibit either any fundamental improvement in living standards for Southern workers whatever their color or any real change in the Southern political system of terror against Negroes. The problem of the South is more than merely one problem among many in the capitalist system. U.S. capitalism can oftentimes remove some problems through reforms in the system, always of course at the expense of exacerbating problems elsewhere. *But the Southern system lies at the very heart of American capitalism; its essentials cannot be removed without destroying capitalism itself.* Yet capitalism in the course of its own development has now created in the South a Negro proletariat larger than the rural Negro population and brought together black and white workers in the social process of production. Thereby the objective basis is laid by capitalism itself for a future revolutionary struggle against the inhuman Southern system.

Because only a direct anti-capitalist struggle can eradicate the Southern system, any struggle short of that must soon either turn against capitalism or else fall into a swamp of hopeless reformism and soul

searching. Perhaps the most critical problem of the Southern Negro struggle has been its lack of revolutionary theory. Much energy and much blood have been sacrificed, but the gains have been few. The struggle has gone slowly as the movement has painstakingly groped its way along, hammering out by trial-and-error a program and method of struggle which is still in flux.

Without any theoretical weapons, the movement first struck out blindly but boldly at the most immediate signs of oppression—segregation in public transportation, eating places, educational institutions, etc. The basic demand was equality *within the system*, while the method of struggle was dominated by non-violence. This struggle reached its height in the early 1960's with the sit-ins, Freedom rides, Old Miss confrontation, etc. A good deal of publicity was achieved, but the system was basically untouched. As if to indicate the reformist nature of the demands, the bourgeoisie adopted the entire Civil Rights program and called it the 1964 Civil Rights Act.



COPS RIOT in Philadelphia ghetto, Aug. 1964.

But the civil rights movement was beginning to learn several important lessons. It was learning that one cannot merely make demands—one must have *political power*. *What kind of political power* was still to be learned. The emphasis was on registration of Negroes for the vote. Once again, though, the bourgeoisie adopted this basically reformist demand, this time calling it the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

But the bourgeoisie in the era of imperialism is so decadent, so dependent upon reactionaries, that it can no longer extend even simple bourgeois democratic rights. At this point, then, the Southern civil rights movement was pushed outside the traditional two party system by the bourgeoisie itself. At the 1964 Democratic Party Convention where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party tried to enter the regular Democratic Party, the bourgeoisie rejected this chance to absorb the Southern leadership and so pushed the leadership into its more militant phase.

Rise of the Black Power Movement

The Negro movement in the South has been confronted with two roads: reform vs. revolution, liberalism vs. communism. In recent years, through trial-and-error, the movement has seen the bankruptcy of traditional liberalism. The well-hated "white liberal" who dominated the earlier movement insisted on confining the movement within the system, for a real social overturn would threaten his class position. This attitude was held not only by the white liberals, but also by the petty-bourgeois Negro leaders like Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King.

The most militant section of the civil rights movement has sensed the inadequacy of traditional reformism, and its suspicions were empirically confirmed by the experience of the MFD. This healthy though empirical reaction has its center in SNCC and the "black power" movement.

The adherents of "black power" are usually the most militant elements who have adopted the term partly because of its militant sound and partly because of its repugnance to white liberals. Thus the "black power" movement contains a number of radical points and methods which have caused the bourgeois press to shower vicious abuse on it. Some "black power" advocates profess to reject middle-class values and desire to serve "human" values; they generally favor independent political action such as the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County; they see the connection between the Negro struggle at home and anti-imperialist struggles abroad, as in SNCC's recent statement on Viet Nam; and they discuss the use of armed self-defense against racist terror. In short, the "black power" movement is raising questions whose answers lie outside the framework set up by the capitalist class.

However, as yet the movement has not become consciously anti-capitalist. It has rejected what it knows as liberalism but is unsure of how to go further. Lacking a conscious orientation towards the working class, and constantly surrounded by bourgeois propaganda, the movement may yet fall prey to bourgeois politicians with radical phrases or else become hopelessly isolated and demoralized.

Another facet of the "black power" movement is the proposition that black militants should organize Black people and forget about whites for now, since most whites are racist, and that it's a white man's job to organize whites. But the achievement of Negro liberation depends on the radicalization of white workers, and every class-conscious white worker means a new ally for the Negro struggle. The lessons that black militants have gained through bitter struggle can best be transmitted to white workers by these militants making clear that their aim is to build an integrated anti-capitalist movement, North and South. This means that the slogan "black power" must be clearly defined in class, not racial terms, for otherwise the "black power" movement may become the black wing of the Democratic Party in the South. The possibility of this is indicated by Stokely Carmichael's endorsement of the so-called "National Conference for New Politics," a Social-Democratic front group which is leaning towards Robert Kennedy for "peace" candidate for President in 1968.

At this stage of the Southern struggle where the most militant elements are groping for new solutions to the problems reformism is demonstrably not able to

overcome, the Spartacist League, as the only professed revolutionary organization with any sort of base in the South, is in a unique position to intervene in the movement to advance the development of consciously anti-capitalist struggle.

Advancing the Southern Struggle

In addition to the programmatic points discussed earlier under "Broad Tasks," additional demands are pertinent to the Southern struggle.

(1) *For a Southern Organizing Drive Backed by Organized Labor.* Organized labor is being hurt as many companies move South to tap the vast source of cheap, unorganized Southern labor. Black workers meanwhile



Muhammad Speaks

suffer from low wages and little job security due to lack of unions. A labor-backed Southern organizing drive would thus help both black and white workers. The demand for a Southern drive is complementary to the demand for a Freedom Labor Party, and, if achieved, would lay the material basis for such a party by creating an organized Southern base.

(2) *Armed Self-Defense.* While this slogan is also applicable in the North, the demand has a more immediate urgency in the South and is already being acted upon. The Deacons for Defense and Justice is a tremendous step forward for the Negro struggle, not only because it saves lives, but because it raises the level of consciousness of the civil rights movement by discouraging reliance upon the institutions of the bourgeois state. However, the Deacons exhibit a curious duality: highly militant, paramilitary tactics are used to protect the struggle; however, their political perspectives are characterized by comparatively mild, anti-discrimination politics. This contradictory character will eventually result in a crisis which will reveal the urgent need for revolutionary theory and program along with self-defense if the social liberation of the Black people is to be achieved. The demand for organized self-defense

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must be counterposed to Federal intervention which preserves Southern "law and order" and the racial status quo.

(3) For a Workers United Front Against Federal Intervention. As the bourgeoisie loses political control of the working class, it must rely more and more on direct Government controls, sometimes thinly disguised as "arbitration panels," "wage guideposts," etc. In the recent Machinists' strike a naked anti-strike bill was almost passed. In 1963 Federal troops were deployed to prevent a threatened uprising by black workers in Birmingham during a campaign of racist bombings. All workers have a vital interest in opposing Federal intervention.

V. BLACK WORKERS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

There is one state power in this country, and its destruction will be accomplished only by a united working class under the leadership of a single revolutionary vanguard party. The SWP's concept of the continued division of the working class along color lines with two separate vanguards which would coordinate their activities in a revolutionary period would be like having two command centers during a war, issuing separate orders and disorganization and confusion in the face of the wealthiest and most powerful ruling class in history. The struggle against this concept of a federated vanguard is similar to the struggle carried on by Lenin at the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party against the Jewish Bund's demand for autonomy within the party and for their sole right to work among Jewish workers. Trotsky argued that to grant such autonomy to one group would in effect be granting autonomy to any particular section of the working class, i.e., would be the institution of a federated party and the destruction of a centralized organization, in addition to an explicit challenge to an internationalist outlook. As it is the goal of socialism to sweep away national and racial barriers, a socialist organization struggles to overcome such barriers. Furthermore, the perpetuation of a "dual vanguard" concept within the United States would actually prevent the struggle from reaching a revolutionary level. Only common struggle for common aims can unite the working class and overcome the lifelong racial prejudices of American workers.

Our immediate goal is to develop a black Trotskyist cadre. We aim not only to recruit Negro members—a short-cut to the working class in this period—but to develop these black workers into Trotskyist cadres who will carry a leadership role in organizing the black

masses, within the League itself, and elsewhere. As Trotsky said:

"We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class. . . . If it happens that we . . . are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie."

In recruiting and holding a Negro cadre there are several problems:

(1) *Color hostility.* Only the demonstrated determination of the Spartacist League to carry through its revolutionary tasks will convince black militants to join and remain in our ranks. To avoid disappointment and demoralization, we must make clear to our black recruits that only the patient construction and theoretical preparation of a revolutionary vanguard party will produce significant results.

(2) *Class and educational differences.* At present a predominant number of recruits to any radical organization are from the middle class. In addition whites in the U.S. as a whole have access to more and better formal education than Negroes. These factors, to the extent that they are reflected in our organization, may create a certain social gulf between black and white members. This gulf will only be overcome through conscious, common struggle, and the education of all our members in Marxist theory and practice.

(3) *Daily oppression and the problems of life.* The struggle for livelihood and the immediate problems of daily life create additional pressures on our black members which draw them away from full participation in the revolutionary movement. Our black comrades should be aided in gaining job skills that will make the immediate day-to-day problems of living less pressing and free them for revolutionary activity and concentration.

(4) *Over-Activism.* Because the Negro struggle has been the most active struggle in the country, our Negro members have been intensely active party members. The demands of the mass organizations in which they participate tend to occupy so much time that little is left for the study of Marxist theory and the lessons of past class struggle. Unless there is a balance between these two forms of activity our goal of creating a black Trotskyist cadre to intervene in the mass struggle and lift it to a higher consciousness of its anti-capitalist goals will not be realized. The Spartacist League is confident that it will be able to overcome these problems and create an integrated revolutionary vanguard capable of reaching and eventually uniting in struggle the entire class.

Final Victory

The victory of the socialist revolution in this country will be achieved through the united struggle of black and white workers under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard party. In the course of this struggle unbreakable bonds will be forged between the two sections of the working class. The success of the struggle will place the Negro people in a position to insure at last the end of slavery, racism and super-exploitation.

—General line unanimously adopted and Editorial Commission appointed by Founding Conference, 4 September 1966.

—Report of Negro Commission on revisions accepted by Political Bureau, 27 March 1967.

SPARTACIST

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Q—And who is James Robertson?

A—The National Chairman, Central Committee Chairman of the Spartacist League.

Q—Who is the next person on your list of people you know of in this organization?

A—Maedee McElveen.

Q—Who is she?

A—A young Negro female; formerly a student at LSUNO; a candidate member of Spartacist since approximately December or January past.

Q—Has she demonstrated her dedication to the ideals of this organization?

A—She is accepted as a member in the Spartacist League.

Q—All right, who is next?

A—The next current member is Don Meyer.

Q—And who is he?

A—He is a white male; resident of New Orleans.

Q—He's currently a member or a candidate member?

A—He was accepted as a candidate member.

Q—What's his occupation?

A—I understand he's an attorney.

Q—You've attended meetings with these people yourself at different times, I presume, have you not?

A—Yes, sir, I have, all of them.

Q—Who is the next man on your list?

A—Well, including myself, that was five; including myself, rather, that was six people; we had several former members and various representatives of the national organization who, at one time or another, had appeared in New Orleans and worked or participated in New Orleans, but the current membership, to my knowledge, as of

February, is five; we have several former members.

Q—Do you know a man named Douglas Hainline?

A—I know of Doug Hainline. I have corresponded with him; he is a member of the Spartacist League based out of New York; the last I heard he was attending school at Ithaca, New York.

Q—Has he been active in the New Orleans area in the past?

A—Yes, sir, prior to my entrance into the Spartacist League, the summer before, I believe.

Q—And in this correspondence which you had with him, was that party correspondence or something personal between you?

A—No, sir, it was Spartacist League business.

Q—He has made no effort to conceal his membership in the Spartacist League from you as another member then, is this correct?

A—No, sir, he is a highly respected comrade.

Q—Was there anyone else in this general category about whom you can tell us?

A—Also prior to my entrance into the local, there was an individual named Albert Nelson or Albert Spanfelder or Spanfeuner, who visited New Orleans the summer before I became involved. He also participated in a teach-in at the LSU campus and several other activities in Louisiana.

Q—He's the one who came to LSU here in Baton Rouge and made a speech, I believe, is he not?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—And openly admitted that he was Communist at that time?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—Now, you mentioned some former members of the Spartacist League, whom you knew, can you tell us who those people were, please?

A—One is Marimar Benitez, A Puerto Rican female; New Orleans resident; graduate student at Tulane University.

Q—How long has she been out of the Spartacist League?

A—She resigned in September of '66.

Q—What is she doing at the present time?

A—To my knowledge, her only activity is active support in the “New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society.”

Q—What kind of an organization is that?

A—It's the result of the former “New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam,” which was a single issue, strictly anti-American foreign policy organization. At it's inception, it was basically pacifist; it radicalized as it went along; it is now the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society, which is a multi-based political, social, economic oriented organization.

Q—Now, the orientation of this group, would you say that it was favorable toward the United States domestic and foreign policy or antagonistic toward it?

A—Definitely not favorable; positively it is antagonistic.

Q—Does Marimar Benitez take any part, at this time, in any other Spartacist League activities?

A—She has participated with other Spartacists, however, not in solely Spartacist dominated functions; she, well, all the Spartacist members at times participate in pickets, demonstrations, leafletings and just various protest activity.

Q—Who is next on your list there, this type of person about whom you're talking, these former members?

A—John Joerg.

Q—Who is John Joerg?

A—He's a former member of Spartacist who resigned in January of this year, I believe, who is a professor at one of the universities in New Orleans. He resigned because he felt that this involvement—his involvement—with the Spartacist League may create an employment problem for him.

Q—Is he white or colored?

A—He's a white man.

Q—During the time you were in this organization you knew John Joerg as a member, an active member of the Spartacist League, prior to his resignation?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—Who is next?

A—Robert G. Head, Jr.

Q—Who is he and what does he do?

A—Bob Head is currently involved with the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society; he resigned from the Spartacist League at the end of last year; I'm not sure of his employment at the present time, however, he has recently participated in various activities of the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society.

Q—Now, I believe you have one more name there Sgt., do you not?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—Who is that?

A—Bill Fremont.

Q—Who is he?

A—He's a former member; he resigned his membership; he worked and lived in New Orleans. His common-law wife, Bonny, was also a candidate member.

Q—Do you know her last name?

A—I have a vague phonetic idea, but I'm not sure of the spelling; I'm not positive actually of her last name.

Q—Her first name is Bonny?

A—Bonny, yes sir.

Q—Do you know a woman named Sandra Newman?

A—Yes, sir, I do.

Q—Who is she?

A—She's the common-law wife of Mark Klein. I suspect that

she is now a member of Spartacist but I have no way of verifying it since I have severed my association with them. I would surmise that just through her exposure from Mark that she is probably a member now.

Q—Does she attend the meetings and take any part in the Spartacist activities?

A—Yes, sir, she participates in all the activities, the demonstrations and goes to the meetings.

Q—Do you know a woman named Lloydell Roesch Verret?

A—Yes, sir, the legal wife of Joseph Verret.

Q—What can you tell us about her?

A—To my knowledge, she is not a member, as such, of Spartacist; she has participated and joined in various functions, some social, some quasi-political with Joe; she is employed with Boeing Corp. at NASA Michoud Assembly Facility.

Q—Do you know a woman named Darlene Fife Smith?

A—She is the common-law wife of Robert Head; they reside together in the French Quarter of New Orleans; she also participates, primarily, with functions and activities of the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society; in the past she's held the chair in the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam; she's also employed at the Michoud Assembly Facility, however, she works with Chrysler.

Q—What's her occupation there, do you know?

A—As I recall, she's a physicist.

Q—Have you ever heard Joe Verret or Bob Head discuss their wives and their participation in the Spartacist activities?

A—They participate in activities that the Spartacist League is also a participant of. They do not, primarily, devote full energy to the Spartacist League. However, they are always involved in the different leafletings and the pickets, and, as a matter of fact, they both brag about how their wives have access to magic marker felt pens at their respective employers at Michoud and they bring handfuls of these pens home to write up the anti-Vietnam posters with.



Exhibit 4. 1. Darlene Fife Head, 2. Robert "Bob" Head, Jr. 3. Joseph Seymour Verret, Jr.

Q—Sgt., are you acquainted with an organization known as the Progressive Labor Party?

A—Yes, sir, I am.

Q—What can you tell us about this organization?

A—Progressive Labor Party evolved from the Progressive Labor Movement, which is a Maoist-Communist, revolutionary organization; it has a chapter in New Orleans; the Southern organizer, Ed Clark, resides in New Orleans.

Q—This organization is oriented basically toward Red China, is that correct?

A—Yes, sir, that's correct.

Q—What can you tell us of Ed Clark? Do you know his full name?

A—Edward Hughes Clark, Jr.

Q—What can you tell us of Ed Clark's occupation?

A—I'm not sure of his present employment right now. I know that he was formerly a paid employee of Progressive Labor. He received a monthly stipend; he is from Eastern Kentucky. He has contacts all over the south and all over the country through PL; he's been to Cuba via Czechoslovakia.

Q—Do you know anything of his friendship with any other persons who have been identified as Communists in the past?

A—He claims to be personally friendly with the identified Communists Carl Braden and Anne Braden; he's on a first-name basis with this couple.

Q—How do you know this?

A—In my presence, he spoke to Mrs. Braden, addressed her as "Anne"; he made a long-distance telephone call from a meeting in New Orleans at which I was present. He asked to speak to Carl and subsequently spoke to Anne.

Q—What's his organizational connections in New Orleans other than the PLP?

A—He claims to be very friendly with the certain individuals

who have been identified as officers in the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is a cited "Communist Front".

Q—Does he take any part in the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society?

A—Yes, sir, he is quite active in this organization; he feels that our New Orleans home-based organization is the most radical group of its kind in the south. He prides himself in his organizational ability to have managed to create and raise multi-issue political questions, not only on the American foreign policy in Southeast Asia but also on Africa and also the domestic policy of the United States.

Q—Is he effective in this work?

A—Very effective.

Q—Who else do you know in this organization?

A—His roommate, Fred Lacey, Frederick Bernard Lacey, Jr.

Q—Is Lacey a member of the Progressive Labor Party?

A—Ed Clark, on one occasion, identified Fred to me as a member of the Progressive Labor Party.

Q—Are Clark and Lacey white or colored?

A—Both white.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, at this time, we offer into the record, a police mug shot of Fred Lacey.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Let it be made a part of the record.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Sgt., will you elaborate somewhat on the functions of the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam and its successor, the current organization called the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society? Didn't they have some kind of a conference last fall?

A—Yes, sir, the organization was primarily organized to protest the U. S. policy in Vietnam.

Q—With what was this conference concerned?

A—Along those lines they held a “Southern Organizers Conference” referred to as a “Workshop” in New Orleans in the French Quarter area in September; September 30 and October 1, 1966. The purpose was to help organize the various members of radical organizations in the whole South to help inform them, to make them better organizers and better workers in their respective field work; to help promote a more solid front in opposition to the foreign policy and domestic policy of the United States.

Q—Did you attend that conference?

A—Yes, sir, I did, as part of my party work for the Spartacist League.

Q—While you were at this conference, other than the Spartacist League and Progressive Labor Party personalities, whom you have already mentioned, did you recognize any other people there whom you knew as Communists?

A—I recognized several persons who have been identified previously as Communists, namely James Dombrowski, Mrs. Virginia Collins, Anne Braden and a representative of the Socialist Workers Party from Connecticut, Peter Buch.

Q—As a matter of fact, were not Anne Braden and Peter Buch both lecturers at that conference?

A—That's correct.

Q—Now, aside from Peter Buch, isn't it correct that all three of the persons whom you named, James Dombrowski, Anne Braden and Virginia Y. Collins, are all connected with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a cited Communist front?

A—That's correct.

Q—Can you tell the Committee what the apparent relationship is between this organization and the Spartacist League and the Progressive Labor Party?

A—The primary contact seems to have its origin in the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam. This Committee is composed of the overlapping memberships of PL, SCEF and Spartacist; SCEF incidentally contributed \$250.00 toward the holding of this Workshop in September.

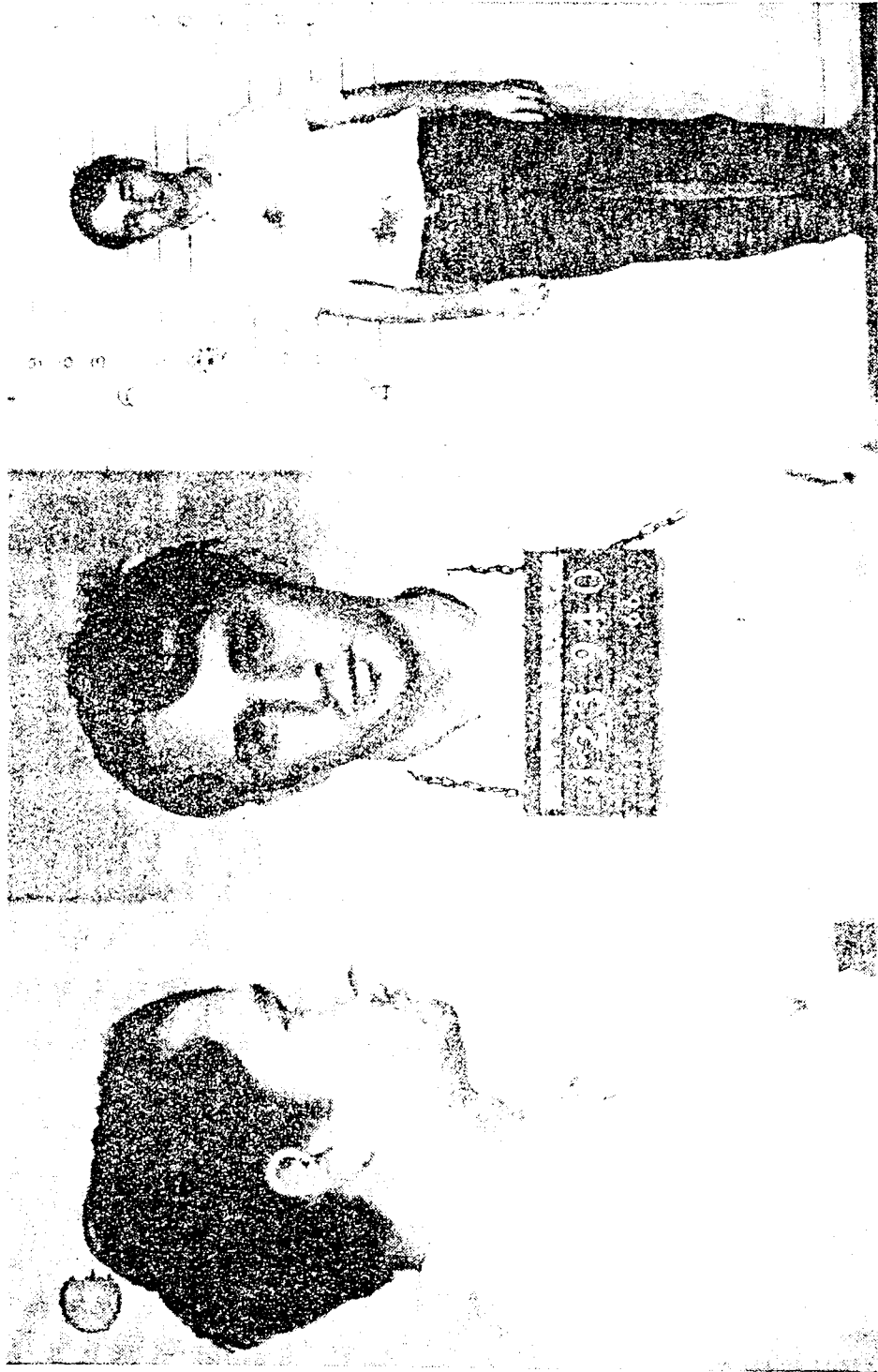


Exhibit 5. Frederick Bernard Lacey, Jr.

Spartacist League
P.O. Box J 8121
Gentilly Station
New Orleans, La. 70122
January 14, 1967

Dear Friend,

In an attempt by the Spartacist League for a revolutionary re-groupment in this country, some of our members from New Orleans will be traveling into your area in hopes of meeting new friends and for the purpose of discussing the problems of the revolutionary movement in this country.

We are interested in meeting new people and establishing communication throughout Louisiana, so that we in New Orleans will have a broader outlook and a better insight into problems confronting other Louisiana cities and rural areas. We hope to be able to make our visit during mid-January and would like to stop over in Lafayette and vicinity.

If you are interested in a meeting such as outlined above, please let us hear from you. Our address is Spartacist League, Box 8121, Gentilly Station, New Orleans, 70122. We would appreciate hearing from you and are looking forward to the privilege of meeting others who have some sympathy with our ideas. To aid in such a discussion we have enclosed some of our literature.

For a revolutionary regroupment

Dave Rolland
For the Spartacist League

Exhibit 6. Letter written by Sgt. David R. Kent for the Spartacist League.

Q—What can you tell us about Virginia Collins?

A—Mrs. Collins claims to be a member of the Board of Directors of SCEF and personally, I firmly believe that she is a dedicated, sincere Communist revolutionary; her feelings against the present American way of the United States seem to be very genuine. She advocates a violent change. She adheres to certain tenants of the Black Nationalist Movement; she's quite an activist.

Q—Have you had personal contact with her?

A—Yes, sir, I was formally introduced to her in September of last year and in the early part of this year I traveled to Lake Charles, Louisiana, in her company with two other Communists.

Q—Who were they?

A—That was Mark Klein and Richard Fluker.

Q—Now on this trip to Lake Charles, what was the purpose of your visit and who did you meet there?

A—The purpose of my visit was primarily a Spartacist attempt to recruit radical political thinkers who had hitherto been organizationally unaffiliated. They were not yet members of any national Communist organization. The purpose was to arrange introductions for us to these people who were more or less militant but not associated with any national organization.

Q—To whom did you go in Lake Charles for this purpose?

A—We went to see Mr. Jack Brady, former editor of the Beacon newspaper in Lake Charles.

Q—And how were you introduced to him?

A—I was introduced to him as a member of the Spartacist League and I was accepted as such. Mr. Brady knew my colleagues as Communists and—

Q—Did they accept him as a fellow Communist in your presence?

A—Yes, sir, they did, as a matter of fact, Richard Fluker addressed him as "Comrade" when we were in his driveway.

Q—Did Jack Brady make any effort to deny his Communist connections or affiliations?



Exhibit 7. Jack Brady and Virginia Y. Collins.

A—None whatsoever.

Q—Had you ever met him before that?

A—Yes, I met him in company of Mrs. Collins and Bob Head, several other people in September '66.

Q—At the conference, that was?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—Did Jack Brady accept you as a fellow Communist, Sgt.?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—Did he make any inquiry about any other people that you know as Communists?

A—Primarily he asked Mark, Richard and me how his friend Joe Verret was and also he inquired about Ed Clark.

Q—Sgt., who is the legal advisor to the Spartacist League in New Orleans?

A—Well, officially since Don Meyer has been accepted as a candidate member, I can only presume that he would be the official counsel for the New Orleans local of the Spartacist League. However, prior to his appearance in the organization, SL and PL and the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam, resorted to a fellow member, Jack Peebles. Now, by a fellow member, I mean a member of the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Q—Who is Jack Peebles?

A—He's a local attorney. He's white, formerly associated in law practice with Benjamin Smith and Bruce Waltzer. He is a high-ranking officer in the Southern Conference Educational Fund and he's highly thought of by both Joe Verret, the entire Spartacist membership and Ed Clark.

Q—Has Joe Verret ever spoken to you about him?

A—Yes, sir, we have discussed certain matters wherein the Spartacist members needed legal advice pertaining to public demonstrations, etc., and also, he has spoken of Peebles having made financial contributions toward Spartacist League programs.

Q—Do you know whether Peebles would give his advice to Joe

Verret after these occasions or prior to their taking place?

A—He'd give advice whenever it was sought, however, I recall that he would give advice prior to our engaging in some legally questionable areas, as far as public demonstrations and passing out handbills and this information would be sought before the actual time came for us to participate in the activity.

Q—Have you ever attended any meetings of any kind at his home?

A—Yes, sir, I have attended two or three meetings of the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam at his residence and it was at one of these meetings that we were arranging and organizing for this Workshop that was held in September. It was from his home phone that Ed Clark called long distance to Louisville and spoke to Mrs. Anne Braden.

Q—What connection did Jack Peebles himself have with setting up the lecturers for this conference?

A—Well, the actual working requirements for setting up the Committee were delegated to various committees. I don't recall exactly what committee he was appointed to or volunteered for.

Q—Do you know of anybody that he personally invited to speak as a lecturer?

A—Yes, sir, the question was raised at a meeting after the conference that he issued an independent invitation to Mr. Buch from the "Bring the Troops Home Now" newsletter, which is a Socialist Worker's Party sponsored publication calling for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

Q—The Socialist Workers Party is, in fact, a Communist organization, is it not?

A—The Socialist Workers Party, yes sir!

Q—The Benjamin Smith that you mentioned, is he the same Benjamin Smith who is the former treasurer of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and a registered agent of Castro Cuba?

A—Yes, sir, he is.

Q—Now, Sgt., outside of Joe Verret, has the Spartacist League any other contacts on the LSUNO campus, to your knowledge?

A—Well, outside of Joe Verret, we had one other member of Spartacist, Miss Maedee McElveen.

Q—She was a student?

A—Yes, sir, she was a student and Joe Verret has contacts within the Student Liberal Federation, however, to my knowledge, he has not recruited any members as of yet for Spartacist, but he does have contacts on the student body and also on the faculty in the person of Mr. Leonard Krimmerman—Dr. Krimmerman.

Q—Who is Dr. Leonard Krimmerman?

A—He is a professor at LSUNO; he is considered by Verret to be somewhat of an anarchist and he is also co-author of an anthology entitled "Patterns of Anarchy."

Q—Has the Spartacist League any other formal connection or informal connection with Dr. Krimmerman, to your knowledge?

A—Well, it has a mimeograph machine with which we wrote and copied all of our handbills and produced the minutes of the meetings and various internal business items. This mimeograph machine is reported by Verret to be the personal property of Krimmerman.

Q—Where is it kept?

A—The machine, to my knowledge, or at the time that I quit the local, was kept at Mark Klein's house at 1707 Jackson Avenue, New Orleans.

Q—I believe Dr. Krimmerman is a "director" of the Communist-front Southern Conference Educational Fund, is this not so?

A—Yes, sir, I've heard him referred to as affiliated with SCEF. I'm not exactly sure of what office he holds.

Q—Do you know a man known as Matthew Suarez or Flukie Suarez?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—Please describe him for the Committee.

A—Suarez is a young Negro male and a student at one of the universities in town. I would categorize him as a Black Nationalist,

anit-American on domestic and foreign policy. He has been associated at various times with the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam; he has participated in functions sponsored by them; he has, at one time also, interested the Spartacist League in a joint effort toward organizing an Anti-Police Brutality Committee; he is highly thought of by the various members of Spartacist.

Q—Has he any connection with Stokley Carmichael?

A—I understand that he claims to be a friend of Carmichael and when Carmichael was in town last month he was reported to be a bodyguard of Carmichael.

Q—Do you know where he lives and with whom?

A—Yes, sir, he lives with a Dr. Dubinsky, who is a white university professor at Tulane University and Cathy Cade, who is a white female, and a student in New Orleans, and they reside at 1538 North Tonti Street, New Orleans.

Q—Now, Sgt., would you give the Committee some of your overall impressions and conclusions drawn from your own personal experiences as to the activities of the various Communist organizations and individuals in the New Orleans area with whom you've come in contact.

A—Yes, sir. It was my discovery that New Orleans is, in fact, considered to be a location that has a high consciousness of politics. This has been stated by Ed Clark of Progressive Labor who feels that he is quite an authority on this and he is confident that New Orleans is one of the more progressive southern cities, more progressive than any other location in the south toward the radicalization of young people. It's a healthy climate for new-left groupings and individuals. It was my observation that some of the leadership in the various organizations that I came in contact with were not natives of New Orleans or Louisiana for that matter. Of course, that's with the exception of Joe Verret, who is a lifelong resident of New Orleans and seems to have developed his political philosophies almost independently. I also observed that the general program of the new-left people that I encountered was ultimately to achieve in the black community a higher level of political consciousness, and by this I mean to raise questions in their minds as to their political, economic and social status in American society.

Q—Was this directed also toward the raising of questions in

their minds as to their loyalty to the United States?

A—Yes, sir, this is a criteria, I would say, in recruitment, particularly by Spartacist, to ascertain how an individual feels in general toward his country, and the vehicle through which this evaluation can most easily be made is the policies of United States government in Southeast Asia. This is quite controversial and it provides the Spartacist League and the Progressive Labor Party and the members of the New Orleans Committee to End the War and the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society with a gauge to a prospective members' feelings in general about the government, how much opposed or how much in favor of the government the individual may be. This is primarily in the white community. Now, by comparing the death rate, the casualty rate in Vietnam in the American and the free west side and also in the Communist or the South Vietnamese side, the radicals have been able to identify non-white persons, citizens of the United States, with non-white alleged victims of atrocities in Vietnam and they also like to correlate the statistical casualty rates of non-white members fighting in the United States Armed Forces in Vietnam. This is a tremendous inroad, you might say, that they have made and it affords them a relatively easy opportunity to reach out, to communicate with other people to ascertain their personal feelings toward the government and our policy. On the home front they apparently have as a goal the elimination of what they call the class system of society, the power structure, the bureaucracies. They feel that their program provides the classless base, an equal, free, democratic society where there will be no particular advantages given to any one group or groups, whether it is industrial or social or what have you.

Q—In the event society is not willing to be destroyed peacefully, have they made any statement of their principles in regard to how they hope to bring this about?

A—Well, generally speaking, at this period in history, they feel that their primary objective is to raise the political consciousness of the worker, both black and white, against the financial, the affluent community, and of course, the classic position is that once they have achieved a certain numerical position, they will be able to forcibly take power away from the majority, which is according to their feelings on financial and political power, and this is naturally done through violent revolutionary regroupment of society.

Q—Mr. Chairman, has the Committee or the Chair any questions to ask of Sgt. Kent?

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May-June 1967

that this second alternative was being realized.

Liège Sectarians

The Liège demonstration was called
by the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes of
Belgium (JCS), a youth group influ-

Exhibit 8. Masthead of "Spartacist", the official publication of the Spartacist League.

TWO REPORTS FROM CHICAGO

I. The Riots and Spartacist

"The tension exploded with a raw fury, spilling terror through the West Side community under cover of night," said the *Chicago Daily News*. Saturday, 14 August, following the Friday night riots on the west side of Chicago. Although the bourgeois press accounts attributed the "terror" to "Negroes run amuck" the residents of the ghetto in the West Garfield Park area had a somewhat clearer picture of who was being terrorized by whom. "I was sitting in a bar on Pulaski when they [the cops] came in, pulled guns, and lined everyone against the wall. Those who didn't know what was really happening and didn't jump fast enough were clubbed down. As I was being led to the wagon with a pistol at my head I heard the machine gun fire from down the street . . ." said a 22-year-old Negro youth arrested in the riot. Another youth said, "After we hit Goldblatt's [a department store] three of us headed down Madison where we ran into cops who had broken through the barri-

cadens. We split and ran. I made it down an alley where as jumping a fence I heard the machine gun. I went to my billy and crawled away under fire with bullets pounding into the fence where I had been." Among the cops present—there were about 500—were reported open Nazi sympathizers, distinguished by swastikas on their belt buckles or by their open advocacy of Nazi methods: "Hitler did it to people like you."

No Middle Ground

Black workers in Chicago (as well as in Los Angeles), battling the police, were no longer submitting to the usual brutalities, intimidation and frame-ups. Those "leaders" who called for the people to go home, or called off demonstrations as Al Raby did, were participating on the side of the cops. The Chicago and Los Angeles riots scraped off the non-violent veneer from the actual policies of the kept civil rights leaders. On the one hand they called upon the people to go home,

while on the other hand they supported the occupation by police and troops. It was no accident that Martin Luther King, Dick Gregory and Al Raby did not call for non-violence on the part of the cops, for to do so would have meant opposing the police arm of the system which these men support and serve.

Riots and Revolution

Riots as such are not beneficial, for they are an unorganized and undirected outpouring of the grievances of the masses. Clearly the problem is not any lack of combativity on the part of the Negro population but rather their lack of leadership and program. The task of real leaders is to organize the struggle and to put forward demands which give the Negro movement political direction beyond its present scope.

Spartacist Intervenes

"GET THE COPS OUT," begins a Spartacist leaflet which was distributed in the West Side ghetto on 14 August. It continues, "The cops and the Daley Machine has this coming. The people are on the right, the cops is the wrong."

The press informs us that Daley and his flunkies had to mobilize their National Guard today to enforce 'law and order' if necessary. 'Law and order' to these modern-day taskmasters means the same treatment black folks have received for the last 400 years. Their 'law and order' is the conduct of rioting cops in Chicago and Los Angeles as well as of U.S. troops in Vietnam. Their 'law and order' has nothing in common with the black working people. For when a people assume what is their civil rights to start with, the Daleys and Wilsons invoke 'law and order' to take it away."

Further on, the leaflet continues, "We must organize to defend the ghetto from cop terror! REMOVE THE (Continued Bottom Page 14)"



Muhammed Speaks
KING ON WATTS: "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them . . ." (NY Times, 16 Aug.)

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Exhibit 8A. Article claiming credit for Spartacist League leadership in the 1965 Chicago riots.

... ALGERIA

Only after the negative confirmation, is it necessary to say, as does the declaration's next sentence, that:

"No conquests in a colonial revolution can be considered to have been consolidated until a workers' state has been created, until a revolutionary socialist party has been built, until the workers and poor peasants hold power through their own institutions of proletarian democracy."

Not a word about the criminal confusion between the working-class revolutionary party and the bourgeois-national movement. Not a word about the criminal responsibility of the authors of the same declaration, who have been in the forefront of the revisionist subordination to bourgeois-national leaders like Ben Bella.

Their vagueness about the "Algerian left wing" is matched by the statements earlier this year by Pablo, recently expelled from the leadership of the United Secretariat. He referred constantly to "the organized left, the marching wing" of the revolution, but he discussed always within the framework of Algeria as a country on the road to socialism.

When he criticized government tutelage of the unions he did this always in terms of the state becoming isolated from the masses.

What was actually required was a struggle of the workers, leading the poor peasantry, to fight behind a Trotskyist party for their own power in opposition to the existing state.

Ben Bella has for years been consolidating the centralized state power against the workers and peasants. Boumedienne and the right have thrown him out because he did not go far enough and was too prone to give concessions to the masses.

As soon as Ben Bella had worked with Boumedienne for the 1962 overthrow of the old provisional government, he used Boumedienne's army to consolidate bourgeois state power.

This army was quite separate from the popular liberation force which fought the French. It was preserved in relatively privileged and comfortable conditions after the liberation, having previously been kept out of the fighting.

Collaboration

It was used to suppress and disarm all remaining forces of the Maquis in the different regions of Algeria. The resolution of the National Liberation Front Congress to create a people's militia remained just a scrap of paper.

This army consolidated its power while independence of the unions was eaten away and the land reform was halted. It was a classical example of

the bourgeoisie halting the democratic revolution, to collaborate with imperialism, and attack the workers and peasants.

Ben Bella, with his demagogic speeches and popular appeal, was necessary to the Algerian bourgeoisie and the imperialists only during the initial difficult period.

The reactionaries behind Boumedienne have now decided that his "left" talk about socialism can be dispensed with, and they will provide their own substitute.

This does not mean that the struggle is over or that the new regime is firmly established, but there can no longer be any doubt about the forces which have been established.

Certainly the Algerian events are of great consequence for Marxist theory and for the working-class movement. But the revisionists of the "United Secretariat" cannot calculate this significance because it involves above all an accounting of their own role.

As in Ceylon, revisionism has led to betrayal, and has prepared the way for defeats. But the struggle against that revisionism can be strengthened now that the lessons are being driven home.

Just as the workers and peasants of Ceylon and Algeria have not yet spoken their last word, so the Fourth International is no longer held back in its development by the revisionists.

On the contrary, they are being rapidly dissolved and defeated. This is a necessary part of the revived international struggle of the working class.

■ [from Newsletter, 3 July 1965]

... CHICAGO

(Continued from Page 16)

COPS! SEND THE TROOPS BACK HOME! ORGANIZE NEIGHBORHOOD PATROLS BY NEIGHBORHOOD PEOPLE! In conclusion, Spartacist called for the freeing of all those arrested and jailed during the riots.

Two supporters of Spartacist were arrested for "incitement to riot" and "mob action" while in possession of this leaflet. Held in jail for three days, they were subsequently released on \$1,000 bail each. They were later convicted of disorderly conduct and fined \$400. The more serious charges were dropped because the prosecution admitted it lacked adequate evidence.

Specter of Spartacist

The participation of Spartacist, alone among organized political movements, in the cause of the Negro people during the riots provoked widespread comment in the world press, from Mexico to Germany to China.

Time magazine (20 August) reported: "The FBI was investigating the origin of another, anonymous leaflet distrib-

ed in the area. 'After years of frame-ups, brutality and intimidation,' it said, 'the black people are throwing off the control of the same rulers who are making war on working people throughout the world—in Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo.'" James Robertson, editor of *Spartacist*, submitted the following reply (23 August) to the editors of *Time*.

"In your account of the Chicago black ghetto outburst (20 August), you falsely identify as 'anonymous' a leaflet produced by the Chicago supporters of Spartacist, a Trotskyist publication.

"This leaflet was signed by the local Spartacist Committee, together with its mailing address and phone number. The leaflet was in no sense anonymous; it was part and parcel of our desire to help transform these spontaneous, leaderless upheavals into

Spartacist Local Directory

AUSTIN. Box 8165, Univ. Sta., Austin, Texas 78712. GR 2-3716.

BALTIMORE. Box 1345, Main P.O., Baltimore, Md. 21203. LA 3-3703.

BERKELEY. Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, Cal. 94701. TH 8-7369.

CHICAGO. Box 9295, Old P.O. Sta., Chicago, Ill. 60690. Ph. 772-8817.

CINCINNATI. Box 46141, Glendale Sta., Cincinnati, Ohio 45246.

COLUMBUS. Box 3142, Univ. Sta., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Ph. 299-3992.

EUREKA. Box 3061, Eureka, Cal. 95501. Ph. 442-1423.

HARTFORD. Box 57, Blue Hill Sta., Hartford, Conn. 06112. Ph. 525-1257.

HOUSTON. Box 18431, Eastwood Sta., Houston, Texas 77023. Ph. 926-9946.

ITHACA. Box 442, Ithaca, N. Y. 14851. Ph. 273-4441.

LOS ANGELES. Box 4054, Term. Annex, Los Angeles, Cal. 90054. Ph. 667-2688.

MINNEAPOLIS. (contact New York)

NEW ORLEANS. Box 8121, Gentilly Sta., New Orleans, La. 70122. WH 4-1510.

NEW YORK. Box 1377, G.P.O., New York City, N.Y. 10001. UN 6-3093.

SAN FRANCISCO. (contact New York)

SEATTLE. (contact New York)

conscious political struggle for the social liberation of the Negro people."

Time responded, "Although we were unable for reasons of space to publish your letter, we thank you for setting the record straight and for your interest in *Time's* reporting."

Peking Review (20 August) reproduced the quotation from the Spartacist leaflet reported by *Time* as an expression of the sentiment of Chicago Negroes, and returned once more to the quotation the following week (27 August) in a reprint of an editorial in *Renmin Ribao* (19 August), the leading daily in China.

(Continued Top Next Page)

Los Angeles

Since no explicit demands emerged out of the heat of the Los Angeles riots, the analysis in our Chicago leaflet and our support the summer before to the people of Harlem under police attack were indirectly generalized by the press. Thus a nationally syndicated column date-lined Los Angeles report-

ed: "Others said that the action [the Watts uprising] was ultimately controlled by an organization with the sinister-sounding name of Spartacus, a heretical Communist organization that seems to be present wherever there is serious trouble in big cities." ■

... PLP

(Continued from Page 7)

We know there are PL members who are sickened by attempts to apologize for the Comintern's "Third Period" sectarian splitting of the German working class, which opened the road to power for Adolf Hitler. Moreover, we know that there are PL members who are becoming increasingly aware that something is basically wrong with China's foreign policy, which proclaims treacherous capitalist politicians like the late Nehru, Sukarno and Prince Sihanouk as its friends and allies. China's pursuit of a counter-revolutionary policy abroad, in turn, puts in question the political nature of the Mao regime itself.

Finally, for some PL members it is but a step to realize that contemporary Trotskyism is nothing but an extension of the program of Lenin and Trotsky which culminated in the October Revolution — a working-class revolution whose degeneration under Stalin and later brought it down to the political level of the peasant-based and deeply contradictory revolutions in Yugoslavia, China and Cuba.

An Amalgam

What better way for an uneasy leadership to silence such currents within PL than to link them to a pro-imperialist and white chauvinist parody of the ideas of Spartacist, and then slyly to link Spartacist to the U.S. State Department. Spartacist will certainly survive this attack, but Progressive Labor may not. The authors of the PL Statement show themselves adept at the language, not of Marxist political thought and polemic, but of the political police—the language of provocation, calculated lies, and frame-ups. But the Stalinized Communist Parties in the days of the Moscow Trials had large numbers and great, if already debased, authority to compel acceptance of virulent anti-Trotskyism.

PL's Choice

Those days are long gone. If the leaders of the few hundred who make up PL persist in their anti-Trotskyist course, they will shrivel into another isolated Maoist sect, competing with the several already existing, irrelevant little bands of self-appointed defenders of the Chinese-Albanian-Stalinist faith. The choice is PL's. ■

—Resident Editorial Board

remediable weakness of the leadership. And the crisis of leadership was directly responsible for the elemental, unorganized outbursts which ensued. The sharp decline in struggle in the wake of the riots makes compellingly clear the need for principled revolutionary leadership. ■ —Bob Sherwood

II. The Struggle for Militant Leadership

From the beginning the Chicago civil rights struggle has exhibited, in specific instances, a high degree of participation on the part of the Negro working class. The first school boycott of 1963 was highly successful, and placed the Mayor Daley machine in a serious bind. Both token gestures, like the removal of the "Willis-wagons" the summer before, and rigid intransigence had the danger of heightening the level of consciousness and participation. Thus the second boycott took on special importance: for while the first boycott represented a "petition to our leaders," the second implied a development in the movement beyond the leadership, program and tactics tolerated by the bourgeoisie. Those who, during the first boycott, received the "grievances of the Negro community" with paternalistic patience were driven to rally their kept leaders and kept press to smash the second. With the success of the second school boycott, for the first time in Chicago, large masses of Negro people rejected the leadership of the official movement. Only on a localized basis had this happened before.

Early Leadership Falls

But from the beginning the crisis in leadership has infected the Chicago civil rights movement. The Rose Simpson—CORE dissident militants—left YPSL grouping represented the only radical class-conscious tendency that could have bid for city-wide leadership. A move for leadership was never attempted because of a deep-seated blind activist streak, a strong fear of "Red-baiting," and generally a fear of political struggle beyond the demand for elementary rights. Later these forces formed the Metropolitan CORE Chapter where, with the exception of a few minor projects, they hibernated for a year and a half before their emergence at the May 1965 HUAC hearings demonstration.

Un-American Hearings

The House Committee had as its prime purpose in "investigating sub-

versives" the intimidation of the civil rights and peace movements. While established "leaders" were calling for quiet and dignified picket lines the Chicago Committee to Stop HUAC, made up of the activists of Metropolitan CORE, SNCC workers, supporters of the IWW, ASOC, and Spartacist, proposed direct action that would bring the HUAC hearings to an end. The morning after the demonstration, lead headlines in the daily press read, "PICKETS STORM RED PROBE; HUAC PICKETS BATTLE COPS; MOB STORMS HEARING, TURNED BACK AT DOOR; PROTESTERS HURL COPS TO GROUND IN MASS ASSAULT." The YSA and W.E.B. du Bois Clubs were conspicuously absent from the attempt to end the hearings, the success of which set the pace for the summer to come.

Willis—A Living Provocation

An advisor to Mayor Daley was reported to have said in mid-May of this year that the civil rights movement could not materialize over 100 supporters at a picket line. Thus, Willis was retained as superintendent of schools by the Chicago Board of Education. The retention of Willis the man was only an indication that the Board again would make no concessions. At first the Negro leaders, with Al Raby at the fore, planned to respond to this provocation with a week-long boycott. With the announcement that the city would obtain a court injunction, SNCC and CORE wavered, and the leadership in deference to the "law" called off the boycott when the courts granted the injunction.

Toward New Leadership

From the beginning of this summer's demonstrations there was dissatisfaction with both the leadership and the program of the civil rights movement. One expression of this dissatisfaction was the Committee to Make Daley Jump, which urged, in a leaflet, active solidarity with the taxi strike then in progress. That this proposal did not receive support revealed the ir-

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Yes, I have a couple here and I suppose the Committee has some questions.

Q—Sgt., have you, while you were associated with these people, heard any one or maybe all of them in conversation or in open meetings, advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force, or did they pay allegiance to a foreign power that advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States?

A—Well, I can only speak from my observations during theoretical and philosophical discussions; first, I'd like to say that at this particular time, the persons with whom I was associated are well aware of the fact that they are in a pauperous minority; they know that they are not in a strong position, and it's a very practical outlook that they have about this, to demand any concessions from the government or to forcibly take any concessions which they would consider their just due. They believe theoretically, they have discussed theoretically, they joke often about the eve of the revolution and what they would like to do when the time comes. In fact, Joe Verret once told me personally that when the revolution came, "the red workers will shoot all the cops, line them up against a brick wall." He was quite serious about this too. It was no joke.

Q—When they speak of the eve of the revolution, they're speaking of violent revolution and they're not talking about a revolution by peaceful means, is that right?

A—Yes, sir, they are definitely speaking of violent revolution and so much, and so sincere, and with such dedication do they speak of this, that they make, generally speaking, a very, very conscious effort of not being so public and so avowed in their inner feelings and ideological belief that their classless society will result from nothing but a violent revolution. They take extreme precautions in not discussing loosely or insincerely the ultimate means that they are going to use to achieve their destruction of capitalism. They are so conscious of this that they do not want anyone, whether they may be friend or foe, to label them as adventurers, soldiers of fortune or just radical, silly Communists or in any way raise any question as to their sincerity as to how they are going to achieve this. This is a very conscious effort and it was interesting for me to observe that they are so conscious of this that they don't speak of it as commonly as I would have thought that they might.

Q—Thank you very much, that is a most explicit answer on that.

One other question. Can you tell the Committee where the Spartacists get their operating funds and how much do they get and do they have dues and how much are the dues?

A—Yes, sir, their funds come primarily through membership dues, they work it on a 10% basis so that each comrade is expected to contribute 10% of his earnings. Part of this money goes to publishing a national magazine entitled "Spartacist"; this magazine is sold. They also have arrangements, obviously through publishing houses, where they produce large quantities of Marxist-Leninist literature, Trotsky, Stalinist, almost any type of left-wing literature that has ever been written.

BY MR. ROGERS:

May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that at a later date we plan to offer a large quantity of this into the record to show the Committee some samples of these items.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Fine, let the record so state.

A—In summary, their funds, generally speaking from my knowledge and observation, come from the membership dues. They are, incidentally, always having fund-raising events, one of which was a party celebrating the October Russian revolution at my apartment while I was in the organization.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Thank you very much Sgt. Do any members of the Committee have any questions they would like to ask Sgt. Kent?

BY SENATOR MITCHELL:

Q—Did the Spartacist League try to affiliate themselves with other groups while they were in the process of riots or disturbances in any sections of the city or territory where you were?

A—Yes, sir, the Spartacist League has made numerous attempts to gain acceptance into the various solidly and exclusively Negro militant organizations, primarily the Deacons for Defense and Justice. They often times attempted to contact representatives from these organizations. They would like to have the Spartacist name mentioned in public and radical movements as being friendly toward and friends of the Deacons for Defense. Also, they have a large membership in the Students for a Democratic Society, The Southern

Student Organizing Committee, and they are attempting to establish themselves as radical Communist revolutionary groupings and win acceptance in the student movement, right now at this particular time.

BY REPRESENTATIVE STINSON:

Q—How did they go about, while you were with them, soliciting members?

A—Primarily, the fraction which I was a part of was the labor fraction, another was the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam. They feel that labor unions and their memberships are generally more economically conscious of their class position as workers. The various Committee fractions are primarily interested in making contacts, meeting people, and recruiting; the main effort toward recruitment by the Spartacist League has been directed at the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the reason for this is that this Committee has successfully attracted independent individuals who are opposed to numerous U. S. policies and economic systems and constitutional means. They feel that at a liberal or a radical organization they will best be able to make contacts whom they could interest in their program.

Q—Have they made any attempts to recruit students at LSU New Orleans?

A—Yes, sir, Joe Verret made quite a concerted effort in organizing and getting the Student Liberal Federation at LSUNO moving and the primary objective in this, of course, was to have fertile grounds for recruitment but also just to raise the political awareness, so it's called, of the students, and hopefully they will settle themselves at one time or another, while they are still students, in some radical organization. As long as they could radicalize the prospective recruit enough, they will not feel terribly bad about losing him as a Spartacist recruit as such, so long as he settles in a Communist organization, they're happy.

Q—Did you say there were many other professors at LSU New Orleans that had the same philosophy as he did?

A—Well, Joe Verret spoke most often of Dr. Krimmerman and, as I recall, he didn't feel that too many of the other professors were recruitable; primarily, because his efforts are aimed at young people, young radicals, and his feeling that anyone, say over an arbitrary thirty years of age, may have too well-developed political ideas to

be considered as recruitable.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Any more questions, Gentlemen?

BY MR. ROGERS:

We have nothing further, Mr. Chairman.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Sgt. David R. Kent, on behalf of the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities and the people of the State of Louisiana, we want to thank you. I hope the people of this state realize that you have put your life in jeopardy when you went into a group like this. We're thankful that we have young men who are dedicated to the principles of America and are patriotic enough to go out and do a job that needs to be done among a bunch of people who advocate the overthrow of our form of government, who don't seem to worry about taking away the freedoms that men have died for and are dying for today in Vietnam. We sincerely appreciate it and are thankful for dedicated young men like you. Thank you very much.

A—Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MEETING ADJOURNED SINE DIE.

* * * * *

Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. Testimony of Joseph Henry, Jr., May 29, 1967.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

As Chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, and as authorized by a meeting May 24, 1967, I hereby appoint Senator Montgomery and Senator Mitchell and myself as a subcommittee of three to hear testimony from Joseph Henry Jr. Would you bring in this witness?

BY JACK N. ROGERS, COMMITTEE COUNSEL:

Call the first witness.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Q—Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

BY JOSEPH HENRY, JR.:

A—I do.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Your name is Joseph Henry, Jr.?

A—Correct, it is.

Q—What is your age?

A—24.

Q—Are you the same Joseph Henry, Jr. that testified before this Committee approximately 2 months ago?

A—Yes, I am.

Q—During the last year and a half, by whom have you been employed?

A—I have been employed by this Committee.

Q—In what capacity?

A—As a private investigator, mostly dealing with subversive activities in the field of "civil rights".

Q—Joe, in the course of your investigations for the Committee, have you ever met a man named Joe Verrett?

A—Yes, I have.

Q—Would you describe him for the Committee.

A—Joe Verret is about 5 feet 9, I would say. The last time I saw him he was weighing about 205 pounds; he is an assistant professor of mathematics, I believe, at LSUNO at the present time.

Q—Is he white or colored?

A— He is white.

Q—And about what age?

A—About—between the ages of 24 and 26.

Q—When did you meet him, roughly?

A—I met Joe Verret about a year ago.

Q—And how did you first become acquainted with him?

A—By a fellow by the name of Richard Fluker.

Q—He introduced you to Verret?

A—Yes, sir, he did.

Q—Do you know any of Verret's connections in any organizations in New Orleans?

A—As far as I know, he's the head of Spartacist.

Q—The Spartacist League?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—Is he a Communist?

A—Yes, I would say he is.

Q—Does he make any attempt to hide the fact that he's a Communist?

A—No, he doesn't.

Q—Was there anyone else with you and Richard Fluker when you first met Joe Verret?

A—Yes, Virginia Collins was with us.

Q—Who is Virginia Collins?

A—She's a former associate of the Social Welfare Planning Council in the city of New Orleans; I met her again a while back when this Committee had a hearing a couple of months ago in Lafayette, Louisiana.

Q—Is she the same Virginia Collins that you identified at that time as a Communist?

A—Yes, she is.

Q—Has Verret ever given you any pamphlets or papers or anything of this nature?

A—Well, he used to keep me informed of all the happenings of the Spartacist League through mail when I was in Bogalusa, Louisiana.

Q—Has he ever asked you to join his organization?

A—Yes, he has.

Q—On how many occasions?

A—I would say about 4 or 5 times.

Q—Are you still on that mailing list?

A— No, I'm not.

Q—When did they take you off of it?

A—The last time I received mail from them was in January of this year; I had a post office box number when I was in Bogalusa and the people transferred the mail over to Lafayette, and I haven't received any so far.

Q—Now, this man Richard Fluker you mentioned, will you describe him to the Committee, please?

A—Fluker is approximately 5 feet 9, between the ages of 40 or 45, a colored male; at the present time his face is scarred up due to

the fact that his house burned down in 1966, around January or February of 1966.

Q—Do you know anything of his organizational memberships in New Orleans?

A—Yes, when I first met Fluker, he was in the Deacons for Defense and Justice, and he was also in the Spartacist League.

Q—Has he any connections in Bogalusa?

A—Yes, he has.

Q—With whom?

A—With the Deacons for Defense and Justice, and he also knows people with the Bogalusa Voters League.

Q—Has he ever tried to recruit you into any organization?

A—Yes, he has.

Q—Which one?

A—The Spartacist League.

Q—On how many occasions?

A—Approximately 4 or 5 times.

Q—Do you know whether or not he is, in fact, a Communist?

A—Yes, I would say he is.

Q—Has he ever, in any way, denied this?

A—No, he hasn't.

Q—What was your connection with him, how did you meet him?

A—Well, when I was living in New Orleans at 1838 Felicity Street, he would come up to my apartment some time or he would call me and come over when I was in Bogalusa; he was there quite a few times; he would come by and see me and talk to me. About 4 or 5 times, I would say, he would try to get me to join Spartacist League; in fact, he was the one that invited me to the debate that they had in September—around the 30th of September, 1966.

Q—Was Fluker open about his beliefs in the Spartacist League and what it stands for?

A—Yes, he was.

Q—Do you know a man by the name of John Joerg?

A—Yes, I do know Mr. Joerg.

Q—Describe him for the Committee, please?

A—Joerg is about 5 feet 8 or 9; the last time I saw him he was weighing about 168—between 168 and 170 pounds. I met him over at the C and E Restaurant. He was introduced to me by a fellow by the name of Aubrey Woods and Richard Fluker was also present.

Q—What's his age and race?

A—He's a white male, between the ages of 28 and 30.

Q—Do you know anything of John Joerg's memberships in New Orleans?

A—Yes, as far as I know, he was a member of the Spartacist League.

Q—Did he admit this to you?

A—Yes, I—he didn't admit it to me but he told me to come out sometime when they had debates and one Saturday night I went to a debate he was on at McAllister Hall, on the Tulane University campus.

Q—How do you know that he is a member of the Spartacist League?

A—Well, he was at the October debate; he didn't stay there very long. He asked me to come out some time, he wanted to know what I was doing. Another fellow by the name of Charles Sims of Bogalusa told me he was a member of this.

Q—Did Fluker or Verret ever recognize Joerg in your presence as a fellow member?

A—Yes, they both did.

Q—Who among these people is the leader of the Spartacist League in New Orleans?

A—At one time before Mr. John Joerg started working on his masters, he was a leader; but at the present time, as far as I know as of a couple of months ago, Joe Verret was the leader of it.

Q—Do you know a man by the name of Mark Klein?

A—Yes, I know Mark Klein.

Q—Please describe him for the Committee?

A—He's a white male, about 25 years of age; about 5 feet 4 or 5 feet 5, weighs about 140 pounds.

Q—Is he a member also of the Spartacist League?

A—As far as I know he is.

Q—Has he ever given you any literature concerning this organization?

A—Yes, he has. He has even asked me to come to some of their meetings.

Q—Have you seen him with either of these other three men?

A—I ran across him one day in Lafayette. He was with Richard Fluker and Virginia Collins. They had just come back from Lake Charles. He had brought Virginia Collins up to Lake Charles and they stopped over at Lafayette at a meeting that they were going to have.

Q—Who introduced you to Mark Klein?

A—Richard Fluker.

Q—Now, prior to this occasion in Lafayette, had you ever met Mark Klein previously?

A—Yes, I had.

Q—Where and when?

A—It was around October 1, 1966 in the city of New Orleans at a program that Spartacist had.

Q—Who introduced you at that time to Mark Klein?

A—At that time Joe Verret did.

Q—And how did he introduce him to you?

A—He told me that this was one of the debating members on the team and he introduced Mark Klein and we shook hands. We talked a while and he asked me where I was working and I told him in Bogalusa; he told me he would be up sometime and gave me his address and I gave him my address, and everything, but he never did show up.

Q—Did Verret tell you that Klein was a member of the Spartacist League?

A—Yes, he did.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, does the Committee have any questions of this witness?

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Senator Montgomery, do you have any questions?

BY SENATOR MONTGOMERY:

No, I have no questions.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Senator Mitchell, do you have any questions?

BY SENATOR MITCHELL:

No, I have no questions.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

The Chair has no questions.

BY MR. ROGERS:

We have no further evidence to offer at this time, Mr. Chairman; we ask that the witness be excused.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

All right, thank you very much Joseph. You have contributed a lot to the welfare of the people of this State and I know that the Committee appreciates it and I'm sure the people of the State of Louisiana appreciate it. You have proven yourself a true American. We need more men like you working for the preservation of our freedom. Thank you very much.

MEETING ADJOURNED SINE DIE.

Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, Hearing held on June 6, 1967, Room 214, Old State Capitol, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Executive Session. Testimony of Mr. Donald Aaron Meyer.

BY SENATOR JESSE M. KNOWLES, COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN:

By authority invested in me through the Committee action, I have appointed two other members as a subcommittee comprised of Representative Ford Stinson, Senator Fieldon Mitchell and myself. The subcommittee is in session. At this time we are ready to take testimony from Mr. Donald A. Meyer. Mr. Meyer, do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

BY MR. DONALD A. MEYER:

A—I do, sir.

BY MR. JACK N. ROGERS, COMMITTEE COUNSEL:

Mr. Chairman, our witness today, Mr. Donald Aaron Meyer, is a young and capable lawyer from the city of New Orleans, who, for the last year, through personal and patriotic motivations, has been serving as an unpaid informant for the New Orleans Police Department within the apparatus of the Spartacist League. Mr. Meyer has furnished us with a complete copy of all the reports which he has written for a year's time on the Spartacist League and will be our witness today with his testimony concerning his experiences and contacts in the Spartacist League.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Proceed Mr. Rogers.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Mr. Meyer, were you subpoenaed to appear before this Committee today?

A—Yes, I was.

Q—About when did you first enter into contact with the Spartacist League, Mr. Meyer?

A—My first contact was approximately during the first week of April, 1966.

Q—And have you had more or less continuous visitation with these people since that time?

A—It has been continuous over a period of a year and during the past six months on a two week basis.

Q—Did the Spartacist League ever accept you formally as a member?

A—I was accepted during December of 1966 as a candidate member, yes.

Q—During the time that you were in the Spartacist League, no doubt you observed and heard about a number of personalities who were connected with their conspiratorial operations. Who was the leader of the Spartacist League in New Orleans?

A—A man by the name of Joe Verret.

Q—Can you describe him for the Committee, please?

A—Joe Verret is, to my knowledge and from what I've been able to understand, a professor at Louisiana State University in New Orleans, teaching mathematics, and he is the operative in New Orleans and the head of the Spartacist League locally with ties directly to New York.

Q—Before we go on into the other personalities involved in the Spartacist League, Mr. Meyer, will you tell us what your impression is of the Spartacist League? Exactly what is the nature of this organization?

A—According to its members, particularly Joe Verret and Mark Klein who we will discuss later, the Spartacist League is national in scope with local organizations in many metropolitan areas, particularly New Orleans, the West Coast, Chicago and others, acting they say as a vanguard movement to recruit from the youth of America—the college area—persons and materials in order to be a vanguard for the forthcoming Communistic revolution.

Q—What particular variety of Communists do these people hold themselves to be?

A—It's the wing of the Communist Party known as the Trotskyite philosophy.

Q—Do they hold as a matter of their basic doctrine that there is a necessity for violent overthrow of the United States Government, ultimately?

A—Philosophically, they discuss it but as a practical matter they abhor the mention of violence in day-to-day activity. As a matter of fact, they censure members who openly speak of violent activities.

Q—There is no doubt, however, of their following the basic Marxist-Leninist doctrine in this regard, is there?

A—Not to my way of thinking, no. There is no doubt about it.

Q—How would you evaluate the loyalty of these people, in view of this, to the United States of America?

A—I would say that they are not loyal to the extent that they are attempting to undermine certain basic institutions and other elements of the community. They are trying to take over in certain areas that perhaps they do not now have any substance in, such as certain labor forces that they would like to make stronger in the country in order to take strength away from certain other elements of the community. However, I would reiterate that they have never espoused to me the immediate violent overthrow of the government. I think that has to be made clear.

Q—At least openly?

A—Openly, that's correct.

Q—In regard to the New Orleans organization, what is the structural setup of the New Orleans local? How are they subdivided below the local itself?

A—The New Orleans local, which consists of from six all the way down to four or maybe three members over the period of a year, is broken down into certain fractions which could be akin to certain types of subcommittees or committees which then act as parties of one or two or more, involved in other organizational work in the community such as the Vietnam Committee, Police Brutality Committees, local campus fractions that are working at LSUNO and other institutions.

Q—Do they allow persons who are not members of the Spartacist League to take part in any of these fractions?

A—Not in the fractions per se, no, but the fractions act as recruiting apparatus for other persons in these organizations and they recruit from that.

Q—We're quite interested in the campus fractions which you mentioned. Tell us what you know of your own knowledge of what schools are involved in the attempts of the Spartacist League to set up a campus fraction and who in these schools are the contacts of the Spartacist League?

A—The school primarily involved is LSUNO because that's the school that Joe Verret has the closest contacts with. They do not have a fraction at Tulane although they would like to get one and have been trying to work with the Liberals Club at Tulane to get somebody in there but have been unsuccessful at this point. A colored girl who was involved with the organization some time ago by the name of Maedee McElveen likewise was part of the LSUNO fraction and did some recruiting at Southern University in New Orleans and also in Baton Rouge. She was a member of the New Orleans local, but has now left New Orleans.

Q—Do you know the names of any of the other contacts of the Spartacist League on the LSUNO campus?

A—I only know what I've heard, I don't know anything personally as far as—

Q—From whom have you heard this?

A—I've heard this from Joe Verret. There was a Dr. Krimmerman, I believe his name was. As a matter of fact, in the very first report that I filed there was a comment about a note in a book that Joe Verret gave me which was signed by Joe Verret which said, "Dr. Savage, give this to Dr. Krimmerman when you are through with it, he will then give it to me." That was back in April of 1966.

Q—Do you know anyone else on the LSUNO campus that's involved with Spartacist in any degree?

A—Well, there are several students out there that Joe Verret attempted to recruit and are also involved in some other organizations in which the Spartacist League has fractions but they are not Spartacist members per se.

Q—Now, on the other campuses in New Orleans, for instance Dillard, Xavier, Dominicians, Newcomb—can you tell us what, in these other areas, has been the result of the Spartacist efforts?

Q—Well, as far as Dillard is concerned, Maedee was supposed to do some recruiting at Dillard but stated that she found it difficult based upon, as she put it, "the complacent nature of the student

body", so I don't know what the activities have been since she has left the community. As far as Xavier is concerned, they did do some recruiting. I likewise don't know what the effect of that is. In LSUNO and Southern particularly, they have had success.

Q—Do you know of any of the contacts on the Southern University campus in New Orleans?

A—No, I don't.

Q—Have you heard anything about any Spartacist contacts in any other schools away from New Orleans, for instance, how about LSU in Baton Rouge?

A—I don't know about anyone in particular on the LSU campus in Baton Rouge. However, initially, when I went into this organization, Joe Verret asked me if I ever made any trips up to Baton Rouge and I said, "Yes, I did," and he asked me if I would let him know the next time a trip was made. On two or three occasions I told him that I was coming to Baton Rouge but on each time he was previously occupied and could not make the trip but he said he wanted to come to, as he stated, "Re-establish relationships at LSU." This was during the summer and he said that some of the students may have gone home for the holidays.

Q—Do you know of any contacts of the Spartacist League at Tougaloo College in Mississippi?

A—There's a girl who has come over to Spartacist meetings whom I have not met but who Joe has referred to and I was asked to write a letter to her. Her name is Jan Hillegas. She is a white girl who is connected with that school.

Q—Is she known to you through Joe Verret to be a member of Spartacist or merely a contact?

A—A contact and sympathizer.

Q—What is your overall impression of the appeal of Spartacist as directed toward students?

A—I think if the student involved has any type of radical tendency initially, the Spartacist League would hold some type of appeal for him. And Joe Verret, even though I do not classify him as a good recruiter, did, while Maedee was in town at least, have some assistance to recruit very well on these campuses.

Hoover Cites Commy Threat On Campuses

BOSTON (AP) — FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover says American college students and faculty members are prime targets of Communist party attention.

"The Communist party is today expending tremendous energy attempting to increase its influence among college students," Hoover said in a copy-right Christian Science Monitor interview Friday.

"Last summer, the party established the W.E.B. Dubois clubs, a Communist-front group designed to appeal to college young people," Hoover said. "At no time in the party's history in this country have the college student and faculty members been more the target of Communist attention."

The Dubois clubs take their name from the late W. E. B. Dubois, one of the organizers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Dubois later renounced the NAACP and joined the Communist party.

Hoover said the Communist party has been trying to exploit student unrest "evident on a number of college campuses." He pointed to last fall's riots at the University of California at Berkeley.

He said that party members and Dubois Clubs have been extremely active and that the Dubois Clubs are conducting training programs this summer to prepare for "more effective agitation and propaganda work next fall among students."

Exhibit 9. Statement from J. Edgar Hoover stressing the extreme effort by the Communist conspiracy toward student subversion.

Q—Has Joe Verret ever directed you to make any particular contact with anyone else in any other city?

A—Joe Verret has mentioned and Mark Klein has likewise mentioned at the meetings, when any of the members of Spartacist would be traveling outside the city to let them know where they were going just in case they could make some type of contact. On two occasions Joe has asked me to make contacts. One was a handwritten note which I have in my file which he gave me before I went to Houston in February, 1967. He handed me a note which I now hand you which says to contact in Houston a man by the name of Raymon Ellington who was involved in Spartacist activities over there.

Q—Is this note in Joe Verret's handwriting?

A—Yes, it is, sir. To the best of my knowledge he wrote it and handed it to me and that's how I received it.

Q—Mr. Chairman, in connection with the witnesses testimony, we offer into the record the note to which he has referred.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Let it be made part of the record, Mr. Rogers.

A—Now also, on a trip that I made to New York in late January or early February, he suggested that I contact their national office in New York and establish contact with them. However, I did not do that.

BY SENATOR MITCHELL:

Q—What year?

A—1967.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Mr. Meyer you have mentioned another man that I want to discuss at this time, one Mark Klein. Can you tell us who he is?

A—Mark Klein is a young man whom I first met in New Orleans in the summer of 1966 at a meeting of the Free School that was established in New Orleans. He is a Cornell graduate; is imbued with Communistic, Trotsky, Marxist, Maoist philosophy and is intellectually capable of distinguishing the nuances of all these. He has been in the city organizing, distributing leaflets and carrying

DON: (1) SEE P. 6 FOR ARTICLE
ON FLA. SOME COMMENTS OR
CRITICISMS OF SSOC'S ROLE
WITH THE LABOUR LEADERSHIP
WITH REGARD TO OUR POSITION
(TRADE UNIONS IN THE EPOCH
OF IMPERIALIST DECAY) WOULD
BE VERY VALUABLE!

(2) FOR HOUSTON:

RAMON ELLINGTON

926-9946

BE COOL! THIS IS HIS PARENTS
PHONE + THEY ARE REACTIONARY

ALSO, YOU MAY LOCATE THEM
BY CALLING BEN LEVY, A

NON-MEMBER LAWYER: 609 COLQUITT
HOUSTON, TEX.

CONTACT WITH THE HOUSTON

PEOPLE IS OF EXTREME

IMPORTANCE. STRESS THAT THEY

MUST WRITE THE SOUTHERN BUREAU.
- JOE V.

on the activities of Spartacist since the summer of 1966 until he left the city in June of 1967.

Q—Continuing with the Spartacist League membership, will you tell us who the other members are of the Spartacist League whom you know?

A—At this time, the members are Joe Verret, Richard Fluker who is a Negro who lives on St. Mary Street and leases a bar and restaurant next door which has recently been shut down due to his bankruptcy. I don't know what, other than that, his background was before he got into this even though I know some of his contacts now. Sandra Newman, is a girl who is living with Mark Klein while Mark was in the city and is still in New Orleans and she will be leaving on September 1 to go up to New York to meet Mark. At the last meeting there was a boy there by the name of Tom Knight who—it was his first meeting and I don't know very much about him.

Q—Will you describe this Richard Fluker to us a little better. What is his basic orientation?

A—Richard Fluker is probably the most militant of the people involved in this organization. As I said before, the organization openly does not espouse militancy or violence but Richard Fluker has been admonished by Joe Verret on occasion for his militant position. He's pretty outspoken on this.

Q—Is he white or colored?

A—He's colored and is the eldest member of the group. He has contacts with Stokely Carmichael and with the Deacons for Defense.

Q—Who is the legal adviser to the Spartacist League in New Orleans?

A—Well, during my tenure, I guess I might have been called that, at least by them, but before I came, and I'm pretty sure even after I was there, Jack Peebles was their adviser throughout.

Q—Who is Jack Peebles?

A—He is an attorney in New Orleans who at one time was associated with Ben Smith and is ultra-left liberal oriented.

Q—Is that the same Ben Smith who has been identified by this

Committee as a former national officer of the National Lawyers Guild, the former treasurer of the cited Communist front Southern Conference Educational Fund and a registered agent of Communist Cuba?

A—To the best of my knowledge, yes sir, it is.

Q—What personal contact have you had with Jack Peebles in regard to his representation of the Spartacist League?

A—As far as acting as an attorney I haven't had any, but he has appeared at least at three meetings that I can think of, two Vietnam Committee meetings and one Spartacist meeting.

Q—Were any of these meetings at his home?

A—Yes, sir. One that I attended was when the organizer for the Spartacist League from Berkeley, California was in New Orleans. It was a discussion group which Doug Hainline, who is the Berkeley organizer, held at Jack Peebles' house where there were approximately ten or twelve people in attendance.

Q—Is Doug Hainline the Berkeley organizer or a Berkeley organizer for the Spartacist League or for what?

A—To the best of my knowledge he's an organizer for the Spartacist League.

Q—Now what occurred at this meeting at Jack Peebles' house?

A—Hainline was introduced as being from Berkeley and an organizer and held a discussion. The meeting was held at Jack Peebles' home on May 14, 1966, at which time Doug was introduced and gave a lecture series entitled, "The Degeneration of the Russian Revolution." He told what we could learn from the degeneration of the Russian Revolution so that we would not make the same mistakes in connection with any anticipated revolution in the West which might take place some time in the future.

Q—Did Jack Peebles take any part in this discussion?

A—Jack Peebles took part in the discussion both on the philosophic and the practical standpoint and also he seemed to know everybody that was there.

Q—What connection has the Spartacist League had in the past with an organization known as the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam?

A—The Spartacist League had a fraction, one of their sub-committees, two or three people who attended each of the meetings of the Vietnam Committee, which is a short name for it, throughout the entire development of the committee which ranged from, I believe some time last summer, I was not involved in it then, up until April of this year.

Q—What has happened in regard to the Spartacist League which made its association end in April?

A—I'm wrong in my dates. The connection lasted until March 14, 1967. The Committee to End the War in Vietnam was a rather unilateral organization comprised of many fractions from other groups but the unilateral purpose was to protest the war in Vietnam. It became involved in matters other than that and it was then decided to change the name and perhaps go into a broader area of endeavor so that they could make themselves more "palatable to a greater portion of the liberal community" as they put it.

Q—Did they so change the name?

A—Yes. At a meeting held on March 14, at which time the Spartacists had present their Vietnam fraction of which, at that particular time, I was a member. They presented to those present a draft constitution for an organization known as the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society which broadened the base of the organization but restricted its membership and made it a much more monolithic organization to the extent that they attempted to exclude persons espousing the Spartacist Party line, the Trotsky Party line, from their organization. At this meeting, Jack Peebles was also present. By a vote to adopt a particular phraseology of the exclusionary clause, Jack Peebles, the two members of the Spartacist fraction, and three others voted against the restrictions and six other persons voted for it so that the restrictions were defeated at first. The vote was a tie and therefore the motion failed to restrict it. Jack Peebles and two other persons then left the meeting to get some coffee as the meeting was to progress and a boy by the name of Dave Dybeck, who was at the meeting, then proposed rather than hemming and hawing around they call a spade a spade and propose that the Spartacists be ousted immediately. This vote was carried and the Spartacists from that time on have not been associated with the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society.

Q—Do you feel that this organization was in any measure cleansed by this expulsion of Spartacist?

A—Definitely not. The organization just took on a further-left tendency, the Maoist tendency, rather than the Stalinist or Trotsky tendency and the members of MDS, Movement for a Democratic Society, are still carrying on the same type of work they carried on before. They're just monolithic in nature at this point, that's all.

Q—Under whose leadership are they operating at the present time?

A—Probably a triumvirate of Fred Lacey, Ed Clark and Bob Head.

Q—Are not Ed Clark and Fred Lacey both known members of a Communist organization known as the Progressive Labor Party?

A—They have been designated by Joe Verret and Mark Klein as belonging to this organization and I know that Ed Clark, at one time, was on PL's—was a PL employee on their payroll. He is not, at this time, to the best of my knowledge.

Q—The Progressive Labor Party is a Maoist-Communist group, is it not?

A—It's been described that way to me, yes.

Q—Mr. Meyer, you mentioned a man by the name of Bob Head as being one of the current leaders of the MDS. Is not Bob Head a former member of the Spartacist League?

A—He was not a member of the Spartacist League when I was in the organization, but I understand that he was either a candidate member or a full member, I don't know which and there is a distinction in this as far as these people see it. But he has subsequently resigned.

Q—What is his wife's name?

A—He has a common-law wife, I believe.

Q—Do you know her name?

A—I believe it is Darlene but I would have to see her to point her out to know that's who it is, but I believe it is Darlene.

Q—Do you know where she's employed?

A—I heard she's employed by the NASA authority, either at Boeing or Chrysler, I don't know which.

Q—Do you know a man named John Joerg?

A—Yes, John Joerg is a former member of the Spartacist League who teaches at Loyola. He was the discussion leader at the first meeting of the Spartacist League I ever attended. He recently resigned from SL for reasons unknown to me.

Q—Do you know a woman named Marimar Benitez?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—Will you describe her to the Committee, please?

A—Marimar Benitez is of Puerto Rican extraction, I believe, and is thoroughly familiar with the Cuban revolution from an intellectual standpoint. She was at one time a Spartacist, either a candidate or full member, I don't know which. She has subsequently withdrawn from that tendency and is now working with the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society.

Q—What can you tell us about a woman by the name of Sandra Newman?

A—Sandra Newman was living with Mark Klein up until the time that Mark left for New York and has recently been made a candidate member of the Spartacist League.

Q—Have you ever heard of a woman named Rose Jancewicz or Jarowitz?

A—I've heard a name like that mentioned. Rose particularly rings a bell. She is supposed to be a militant worker who is now in Europe or some place studying with some organization and will be, to the best of my knowledge, according to Joe Verret, in New Orleans this summer. I particularly designate her as the person who, at this point, has a broken arm as the result of judo classes she attended while in a Communist training school in Europe.

Q—Do you know of her from Joe Verret? Is this the source of your information?

A—Yes, sir, that's the only source of my information.

Q—Do you know for what purpose or has Joe Verret informed you for what purpose she's coming to New Orleans?

A—Well, when it was expected that Mark would be leaving—

quite frankly, I always thought throughout this that Mark might be a paid worker with Spartacist, but I understand that perhaps that's not correct; but when Mark was leaving, some people from Austin, Texas, by the name of Sebesta, I believe, S-e-b-e-s-t-e-r or S-e-b-e-s-t-a, something to that effect, husband and wife, are supposed to come over from Austin to New Orleans to take Mark's place. That's why I thought he was a paid worker. But, they couldn't come because they were doing some graduate work at the University of Texas or something so that this woman by the name of Rose is supposed to come in and fill the gap.

A—As an organizer for the Spartacist League?

A—That's my understanding. I've never met her.

Q—Has Joe Verret informed you about any other anticipated arrivals in New Orleans?

A—At the last meeting which was held on May 26, 1967, Joe advised that two people, one by the name of Bob Zellner and his wife, and another by the name of Jack Minis would be arriving in New Orleans shortly. They were being sent to New Orleans, he said, to do research and do other work in the community and that Minis was a friend of Jack Peebles and perhaps we could work closely with Peebles and Minis to get some other recruiting done here in the city. Likewise, it was my understanding from the last meeting that Stokely Carmichael was supposed to be coming into the city the latter part of this week and would be meeting with Richard Fluker and Joe Verret.

Q—Do you know whether he has in the past already met with these two men?

A—Yes, we were advised at the last meeting by both Joe Verret and Richard Fluker that after the Southern University Baton Rouge situation in the past two weeks or so, Joe Verret and Richard Fluker met with Stokely Carmichael at the New Orleans International Airport, Moisant Airport, and that was when they received this information that Carmichael would be in New Orleans again some time the latter part of this week.

Q—Is that Robert Zellner and Jack Minis the same two people by those names who are working for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee?

A—That's my understanding, yes sir. They did work for them.

I don't know what their affiliations are now but that's who they supposedly worked for.

Q—Has Joe Verret mentioned this organization at any other time to you?

A—Yes, at one of the meetings in the past month or so he suggested that there would be several workers from this organization in New Orleans this summer.

Q—Can you tell us anything about the Southern Students Organizing Committee and their possible connections with the Spartacist League and the Progressive Labor Party?

A—The organization more commonly known as SSOC is based out of Nashville, Tennessee, and our contact to that while she was in New Orleans—when I say “our” that's the Spartacist League contact, was Maedee McElveen.

Q—Who has taken over that contact since Maedee has left?

A—Sandra Newman.

Q—What is their connection with the Spartacist League and the Progressive Labor Party?

A—They are attempting to establish SSOC chapters in each city where there may be organizations such as Spartacist or PLP to work closely with these groups and inter-mingle their work and to carry out the same functions.

Q—Do you see any broad or large-scale significance to the fact that the SSOC has become involved with the Spartacist League and the Progressive Labor Party?

A—Yes, because I think that SSOC as a student organization has the means for getting to the students on a much more personal level than either Spartacist or PLP which are national in scope and perhaps a little older oriented. SSOC generally believes that the four years of a liberal education should not be wasted after somebody gets out of school; that the workers that they have during their four years of school should be held on to for future work after graduation.

Q—Then it appears that the SSOC is more or less a prime target for infiltration by the Spartacist League and Progressive La-

bor Party, would this not follow?

A—The Spartacist League certainly wants to recruit as many members and work with them as actively as they possibly can, at least in New Orleans. I can't speak for PLP even though it would certainly appear that this would follow for them too.

Q—Mr. Meyer, would you give the Committee any further overall impressions which you have concerning the functions of these Communist groups with which you have been associated?

A—Well, I think that particularly, as far as Spartacist is concerned in New Orleans, as small as it is in number, it's connection with the New York national office and several other locals throughout the country, potentially makes it a very dangerous organization if it expands in numbers because they do have contacts on campuses throughout the country and perhaps will be working with younger people whom they can recruit. I think my being taken into the organization as easily as it was, was because Joe Verret believed that I had contacts in labor unions and they felt that they could recruit from the labor unions, particularly the Negro labor unions, and other organizations that might feel that they were not getting their proper share of the "Establishment".

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions for the witness at this time, do you or the Committee have any questions?

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Yes, Mr. Rogers, I would like to ask Mr. Meyer one question. Would you mind telling the Committee how you came about being an unpaid informant for the Police of New Orleans?

A—Mr. Chairman, back in April of 1966, I found a flyer, a leaflet, in the French Quarter in the City of New Orleans entitled "Leninism Discussion Series" which was then a group of discussions which were being held in the Quarter by three or four people who were involved at that time with the Spartacist organization. The discussions were on Leninism, Trotskyism and the various nuances of the Communist philosophies. I attended one or two of these meetings just out of sheer curiosity because I didn't believe that anything like this was really going on in the city and ultimately, after seeing that it really was going on and realizing what was happening, I went to the New Orleans Police Department through the Intelligence Di-

vision and spoke to them and they requested, and I agreed, to stay with this organization as long as I possibly could and be an unpaid informer with them and that is what I have done up to this point.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Do any members of the subcommittee have any questions? Representative Stinson, Senator Mitchell?

BY REPRESENTATIVE STINSON:

Q—Most of your information is on the LSUNO campus. Has there been at any time any connection with LSU in Baton Rouge, the main body of the University?

A—Representative Stinson, the only connection that I would think at LSU would be that at one time there may have been contacts because Joe Verret asked me if I would bring him up to Baton Rouge or let him know when I was coming to Baton Rouge; that he had established some contacts on the campus, but on the few occasions where I was coming up he said he couldn't go or it was during the summer and he said that it might be futile because several of the persons with whom he had contacts would be gone home for the summer and would not be in Baton Rouge at that time.

Q—The same question applies to Southern in New Orleans and also in Baton Rouge?

A—I don't know the names of people on the Southern campus but I would venture to say that there are contacts that Richard Fluker, who is the Negro member of this group has with Southern. He has some contact at Southern who is not a member of the Spartacist organization but who called him to advise him that Stokely Carmichael would be arriving at Southern, at what particular time his plane was arriving, and Fluker went up from New Orleans to Baton Rouge and met Carmichael at the Baton Rouge Airport. Also he went with him at Southern during the time of the recent disturbances up there and left after Carmichael's speech and went back to New Orleans. His contact up there then called Fluker in New Orleans and said Carmichael is now flying or coming down to New Orleans, you can meet him at the New Orleans Moisant International Airport. Fluker then got Verret and the two of them went out to the airport and met with Carmichael.

Q—One question more, I believe you said that if there were any legal matters that possibly they were referred to you as an attorney?

At any time was there any discussion as to State or Federal laws that should possibly be changed or repealed to aid in the program of this organization?

A—Well, they wanted me to, as a matter of fact I am scheduled at this time to give a lecture series on the 23rd of June which I obviously will not do, on Federal and State labor laws, to educate persons from both Louisiana and Mississippi who would be notified of this, Jan Hillegas in particular at Tougaloo, to come over to listen to what they could do in organizing unions and things of that nature. However, as far as actual changes in the laws are concerned, they are of course interested in changing the "Establishment" to any degree they possibly can within certain limitations of non-militancy.

BY SENATOR MITCHELL:

Q—Their non-militant attitude conflicts with their eagerness to work with those who are identified as very militant. Could you say that they are not also possibly to some extent interested in militancy? In other words, to the extent that they would join if they saw it was advantageous to do so?

A—I think these people in particular other than maybe Richard Fluker are more interested in intellectual subversion and recruiting so that they can build up this vanguard base on a national level particularly as I know it in New Orleans to then go in when and if the "Revolution" ever does come whether that be a militant revolution or not. This is so that they will have a base from which to work. Now Richard Fluker would be very interested in becoming overly militant to the extent where he has worked with the Deacons for Defense and was recently requested, according to his own statement, to be the head of the Deacons organization in New Orleans by a man by the name of Thomas, I believe, Ernest Thomas, who is head of the Deacons in Jonesboro, Louisiana.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Any other questions, Gentlemen? Donald Aaron Meyer, on behalf of the Committee and on behalf of the people of the State of Louisiana and I'm sure I'm speaking on behalf of the people of the United States of America, I want to thank you for giving us this testimony because I think your testimony will have great bearing and great weight in our next report. In my judgment and I think it's in the judgment of the members of this Committee, our Counsel and Col. Alexander, you people who take your time, unpaid, and bring

out information and report it to a Committee like this are doing a job just as much as a man who is in Vietnam today. It's true that you're not carrying a gun but where they're using a gun you're using your mind, a God-given tribute to the intelligence of mankind and I want to thank you personally for taking your time to come up here. God bless you, I hope we have more men like you watching out for the safety of the freedoms of our country.

A—Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

MEETING ADJOURNED SINE DIE.

* * * * *

Testimony of Mr. Jack N. Rogers, Committee Counsel.

June 21, 1967.

Meeting opened with a prayer. A quorum is present.

BY SENATOR JESSE M. KNOWLES, COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN:

Mr. Rogers, will you proceed.

BY MR. JACK N. ROGERS, COMMITTEE COUNSEL:

Mr. Chairman I have a large number of documents to present to the Committee today and I would like to be sworn as a witness so that my testimony concerning these documents will be officially sworn testimony for the record.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

BY MR. ROGERS:

I do.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Proceed.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of our hearing today is to offer documentary proof of the subversive nature of the Spartacist League and certain other organized Communist activities in Louisiana and also to show the board scope of these activities. These documents will show the focal points of the Communist conspiracy in Louisiana.

Before I start on these documents, I would like to introduce into the record a copy of a letter sent to Mr. John Joerg of New Orleans on June 15, 1967. As the Committee will remember, three witnesses have identified Mr. Joerg as a member or a former member of the Spartacist League. Our Staff Director Col. Alexander and I have had a lengthy staff consultation with Mr. Joerg and have been told by him that he has for a long time been the paid informant of a federal agency. We have asked him to appear as a voluntary witness before the Committee, but he has not accepted our offer despite his earlier cooperation. The letter speaks for itself and a signed receipt



State of Louisiana

Joint Legislative Committee

on

Un-American Activities

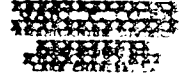
June 15, 1967

HON. JOHN J. MCKEITHEN
GOVERNOR

SENATOR
JESSE M. KNOWLES
CHAIRMAN

REPRESENTATIVE
FORD E. STINSON
VICE CHAIRMAN

F. B. ALEXANDER, JR.
COL. U.S.A. (RET.)
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 800 OLD STATE CAPITOL
BATON ROUGE, LA.



**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

John Joerg
5319 Green Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear John,

I have discussed our conversation of yesterday with Senator Jesse Knowles, the Chairman of the Committee, and he has directed me to write you this letter. The Committee first wants to thank you for your cooperation in your detailed consultation with Col. Alexander and myself on April 6, 1967, concerning the Spartacist League and various other organizations and personalities in the New Orleans area.

As I told you yesterday, the fact that you have been a member of the Spartacist League has been the subject of sworn testimony before the Committee. The Committee has also been made aware, both from yourself and from other sources, that you have for a long time been an active and subsidized informant of a federal agency concerning this same organization. The Committee now desires hereby to extend to you the opportunity to appear before the Committee as a voluntary witness if you so desire. Would you please inform me or Col. Alexander of your decision in this matter by 10:00 A.M., Tuesday, June 20, 1967.

Sincerely,

Jack N. Rogers
Committee Counsel

JNR:dp

Exhibit 11. Letter to John Joerg of New Orleans offering him the opportunity to appear as a witness.

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OFFICIAL BUSINESS

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REGISTERED MAIL

SUPPOSED POSTMARK BY DELIVERING OFFICE

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RETURN TO

REGISTERED NO.	NAME OF SENDER Jack N. Rogers
CERTIFIED NO. 805 634	STREET AND NO. OR P. O. BOX 840 Commerce Bldg.
INSURED NO.	CITY, STATE, AND ZIP CODE Baton Rouge, La.

POD Form 3811 Sep. 1963

CSS-16-71548-6-F

INSTRUCTIONS TO DELIVERING EMPLOYEE

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(Additional charges required for these services)

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SIGNATURE OR NAME OF ADDRESSEE (must always be filled in)

John Joerg

SIGNATURE OF ADDRESSEE'S AGENT, IF ANY

[Signature]

DATE DELIVERED	SHOW WHERE DELIVERED (only if requested)
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CSS-16-71548-5-F GPO

Exhibit 11A. Receipt for letter sent to Mr. John Joerg.

for the letter is in our Committee files.

Mr. Chairman, in order to save time, I offer into the Committee records this stack of some eighty pages of documents, in its entirety. I shall explain them to the Committee as we proceed.

BY SENATOR KNOWLES:

Mr. Rogers, let them be made a part of the record.

BY MR. ROGERS:

They will appear throughout my testimony.

Mr. Chairman, the first significant fact I wish to discuss about the Spartacist League is the highly theoretical Marxist-Trotskyite approach it takes to its Communist activities. The people who belong to this organization could be best described as "hard-core" Communists. Their psuedo-intellectual orientation is generally more concerned with the correct application of classic Marxism-Leninism than with the pragmatism of practical politics. They would be considered as "radicals" in any country in the world today, including Red China and the Soviet Union. Historically, their guiding prophet "Leon Trotsky" (whose real name was Lev Davidovitch Bronstein) was considered such a radical revolutionist that the Stalinists exiled him and later had him murdered. The key point of disagreement between Trotsky and Stalin was Trotsky's insistence that violent revolution be exported to the whole world immediately, while Stalin wanted to consolidate the success of the Communists in Russia first. This historical fact is most important in evaluating the present-day disciples of Trotsky in the United States, for their theoretical goal of violent revolution, as soon as possible, has never varied from the concepts of Trotsky of forty years ago. The Stalinists and later the Maoists have proven more effective with their more subtle and more practical approach to revolution, but the Trotskyites have never varied from their ulimate goal of bloody and violent destruction of capitalist society. Unfortunately, there are people in our society today who are now ready to accept such a goal.

Two documents clearly outlining the theoretical position of the Spartacist League have turned up in our investigations. They are both entitled "Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League" and they were both written in early September of 1966. One appeared in the publication "Spartacist", the official organ of the Spartacist League, and the other was circulated privately among the membership. They bear careful reading for an understanding of the "party

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES
OF THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

1. Since mankind was divided into social classes there has been struggle. Ruling classes have utilized force and violence, and have seized upon and fostered the divisions of the oppressed into national, language, and racial groups in order to maintain their position. To rid the world of wars, depressions, famines, racism, and the need to use force, it is necessary to destroy class-dominated society and build a new, human society.

2. Capitalism in its early periods played a progressive role in developing the productive capacities and in allowing science to be put to man's use. But the world has outgrown the need for the class relations of capitalism. While technology can produce abundance, there is hunger and wanton poverty in the world. While the masses of the earth live at subsistence, the capitalists must fight repressive wars against colonial peoples in order to make still bigger profits. Moreover, some of the latest advances of technology are not utilized because they are not profitable. Crisis is the continual state of capitalism in decline; it must have wars and economic cycles in order to survive. Yet in an age of nuclear technology, this contradiction must be resolved: either annihilation or a world workers' state -- either socialism or barbarism.

In the era of capitalist decline, even the pretense of "democracy," "freedom," and "peace" are dropped in favor of collaboration of the government with the capitalists against strikes, freedom which can be exercised only with sufficient capital investment, and peace on the terms of the aggressors, the imperialists, and finally the open dictatorship. The working people have little of peace, of democracy, of freedom; they have only war and deprivation to look forward to.

Exhibit 12. Declaration of party principles circulated privately to various members of the Spartacist League.

3. The United States of America, after two worldwide imperialist wars, has emerged as the dominant force in the world today and the most powerful protector of the international capitalist order. Enough food is produced in the U. S. to alleviate the hungry masses of the world. Enough is spent on the war budget to aid the nations of the world to industrialize and modernize. The U. S. is therefore the key to the material success of world socialism.
4. Ultimately the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class forces all other social strata to take one side or the other. It is the task of the working class to liberate mankind from class oppression. The working class has no stake in maintaining the present, bourgeois, order. Its power is only in its productive role, its numbers, and its organization. The working class at present has a widely varied consciousness due to the education and press of bourgeois society and in the values and prejudices reflected by the misleaders of the workers. The working class must be brought to a consciousness of its real position and of the need for it to take state power into its own hands.
5. The revolutionary party is the conscious instrument of the working class. The party is the memory of historic experience; it is the repository of knowledge for winning the class struggle. The party relies on, and works for, the increasing of class-consciousness and strength of the class in order to change the existing relation of forces so that the old order can be overturned. The revolutionary party must bring consciousness and unified direction to the struggles of the workers.
6. The Spartacist League seeks to carry forward the revolutionary theory and practice of Marx and Engels, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, Lenin and Trotsky. We seek to learn from the lessons of the history of the international working class movement, above all in the experience of the Russian Revolution of October 1917. We also seek to utilize the revolutionary traditions and

Exhibit 12A. Second page of exhibit 12.

workers' struggles in the United States, exemplified by the contributions of such men as Friedrich Sorge, St. John, De Leon, Fraina, and James Cannon.

7. The methods of the revolutionary party are democratic, not bureaucratic; centralized, not diffuse; and disciplined, not anarchic. The denial of democracy is essentially a reflection of the methods of the elitist rule of the bourgeoisie; only by full and free exchange of ideas can the best course of action be determined. Centralisation of the lower units to the higher, of the parts to the whole, and discipline in action is necessary to insure unified and decisive action at the proper time against the force of the ruling class.
8. The seizure of power by the working class and its allies will signal the destruction of the old oppressive state mechanism and the building of a society in which production is in accord with the needs and wants of the whole society, not for the benefit of a few. The means of production and exchange will be controlled and directed for the benefit of all. In the context of an economy of plenty, not of scarcity, this condition will lead to an increasing mastery of man over matter and a decreasing mastery of man over another man. Then it will be possible to say that the free development of each individual is the condition for the free development of all.
9. Since the economy of every capitalist country is affected to a large extent by the imperialist world market, unless the socialist revolution spreads throughout the world, a workers' state in an isolated, backward country will, after a period of time, suffer from deformations due to material and social conditions. The world revolution was begun in Russia in 1917, but saw defeat elsewhere and isolation in poverty. Thus grew up a privileged ruling elite which usurped the political power of the workers and which feared the power of the workers. The peasant-based revolutions in China and Cuba led to the

Exhibit 12B. Third page of exhibit 12.

development of similar bureaucracies. While these states are worthy of defense against capitalism, the working class revolution in the entire world remains the only complete revolution -- the only alternative ultimately to barbarism for humanity.

10. The Spartacist League recognizes the urgent necessity for the rebuilding of a Leninist-Trotskyist international party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International and the construction of strong national sections in all countries. "In a society based upon exploitation, the highest moral is that of the social revolution." That is our task. We must be bold in order to win.

- by David Rader
3 September 1966

Exhibit 12C. Fourth page of exhibit 12.



"FOUNDING THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE," subject of the public meeting at the Conference. Speakers from left to right were national chairman James Robertson, West Coast editor Geoffrey White, and Central Committee member Paul Galliard. A comrade from the deep South also spoke. New York organizer Albert Nelson chaired.

Photos by Ron Burkholder

Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League

1. The Socialist Revolution and the Spartacist League

The Spartacist League of the U.S. is a revolutionary organization which, as part of the international revolutionary movement, is committed to the task of building the party which will lead the working class to the victory of the socialist revolution in the United States.

Only the proletariat, through the seizure of political power and the destruction of capitalism in all countries, can lay the basis for the elimination of exploitation and the resolution of the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces of the world economy and national-state barriers. Capitalism has long since outlived its progressive historical role of creating a modern industrial economy. Now in order to maintain their rule, the national capitalist classes must intensify national and racial divisions, through imperialism oppress the colonial peoples and impoverish the masses of the entire world, engage in continual wars for the maintenance and redivision of the world markets in order to prop up the falling rate of profit, and attempt to smash the revolutionary struggle of the workers wherever it breaks out. In its final frenzied effort to maintain its close rule, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to plunge humanity into a nuclear holocaust or totalitarian oppression of unprecedented ferocity. The United States of America is today the keystone of the entire international capitalist order.

On the other hand, the victory of the proletariat on a world scale would place unimagined material abundance at the service of human needs, lay the basis for the elimination of social classes, and eliminate forever the drive

for war inherent in the world economic system of capitalism. For the first time mankind will grasp the reins of history and control its own creation, society, resulting in an undreamed-of emancipation of human potential, the limitless expansion of freedom in every area, and a monumental forward surge of civilization. Only then will it be possible to realize the free development of each individual as the condition for the free development of all.

2. The Crisis of Proletarian Leadership

History has shown that the self-emancipation of the working class, and therewith the oppressed of all the earth, balances on the question of leadership. The economic preconditions for socialism have long since been reached. But the contradictions of capitalism in its epoch of imperialist decay produce not only wars, but also revolutionary opportunities. The success or failure of the working class to achieve victory in these historic opportunities depends upon the organization and scientific consciousness of the struggling masses, i.e., on revolutionary leadership. Only a revolutionary leadership—the indispensable weapon of the working people—has proved to have the strategy and determination to lead the working masses to victory. The responsibility for the defeats suffered by the working class and the abortion of previous revolutionary opportunities lies at the door of treacherous Social-Democratic and Stalinist misleaders. But the revolutionary will of the proletariat will triumph! The crisis of leadership will be solved! It is to the solution of the crisis of proletarian leadership that the Spartacist League directs its work.

3. The Theoretical and Historical Roots of the Spartacist League

The Spartacist League continues the revolutionary traditions of the international working-class movement exemplified in the work of revolutionists such as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, and Liebknecht. Above all we look to the experience of the Bolshevik Party which culminated in the Russian Revolution of 1917, the only revolution as yet made by the working class.

We seek in particular to carry forward the international working-class perspectives of Marxism as developed in theory and practice by V. I. Lenin and L. D. Trotsky, as embodied in the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International and by the Transitional Program and other documents adopted by the 1938 Founding Conference of the Fourth International. These materials are the indispensable documentary codification of the communist movement internationally, and are fundamental to the revolutionary tasks of our organization.

We also look for inspiration to the example of such revolutionists in the United States as F. A. Sorge, Vincent St. John, Daniel De Leon, Louis Fraina, and James P. Cannon. The Spartacist League is the continuator of the revolutionary heritage of the early Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. The immediate origins of the Spartacist League are in the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP which based itself primarily upon the statement *In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective* and the document *World Prospect for Socialism*.

(Continued Next Page)

Exhibit 13. Declaration of party principles printed in "Spartacist."

... PRINCIPLES

4. The Vanguard Role of the Working Class and the Road to Socialism

Central to the Marxist perspective of world socialism is the vanguard role of the working class, and particularly the decisive weight of the proletariat of the industrialized countries. Only the working class has the social power and compulsion of clear objective interest to liberate mankind from oppression. Having no stake in maintaining the bourgeois order, its enormous power rests in its productive role, its numbers and organization.

The continued rule of a small handful of capitalists is maintained only through keeping the working class divided and confused as to its true situation. In the United States, the ruling class has succeeded in creating deep divisions along racial lines. The Black workers as a doubly-oppressed race-caste require special modes of struggle as long as racist attitudes continue to permeate the outlook of the working class as a whole. Socialism in this country will be achieved only by the common struggle of Black and white workers under the leadership of a unified revolutionary vanguard.

Historic experience has shown that the road to socialism can be opened only by the intervention of the masses in the course of history and the creation of dual power culminating in the destruction of the capitalist state and the victory of the workers state and development of a new social order. The police, military, bureaucratic, juridical, and political apparatus of the old order will be replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat based on councils of working people and supported by the workers' armed strength. Such a state would defend itself against the counterrevolutionary efforts of the deposed ruling class to return to power and would reorganize the economy along rational lines. As the economic basis of social classes dwindled, the workers state would more and more assume a purely administrative function, eventually withering away with the advent of classless communism.

5. The International Character of the Socialist Revolution

Capitalism is a world economic system which has created an international working class with identical class interests the world over. The international character of the working class gives it a potentially enormous superiority over the bourgeoisie as capitalism operates by anarchistic methods which set one national capitalist class against another and constantly create new unevennesses and crises. In order to realize this superiority, the proletariat needs an international party to unify the

class across the national and sectional boundaries which divide it and to coordinate the interdependent struggles of the workers of every country. While the revolution may begin in a single country, any partial victory will be only finally secured with the spread of revolution to other countries and the eventual world dominance of socialist economic organization. The Fourth International is the world party of the socialist revolution, whose program and purposes remain as valid today as at its founding in 1938, despite its present organizational disarray. We stand with all those groups seeking the rebirth of the Fourth International and, as a first step, the creation of a bona-fide International Committee of revolutionary Trotskyists based upon a real and living democratic centralism.

6. The Necessity for Revolutionary Consciousness

The ruling class has at its command a monopoly of the means of violence, its dominant political and bureaucratic apparatus, its enormous wealth and connections, and its control of education, the mass media and all other institutions of capitalist society. Against such a force a workers state can be brought into existence only by a proletariat fully conscious of its tasks, organized to carry them out, and determined to defend its conquests against the counterrevolutionary violence of the ruling class. The decisive struggle—the conquest of state power—requires political consciousness. Through its acquisition of political consciousness the working class ceases to be merely a class in itself and becomes a class for itself. Such consciousness is not spontaneously generated in the course of the day-to-day class struggles of the workers; it must be brought to the workers by the revolutionary party. Thus it is the task of the revolutionary party to forge the proletariat into a sufficient political force by infusing it with a consciousness of its real situation, educating it in the historical lessons of the class struggle, tempering it in ever deepening struggles, destroying its illusions, steeling its revolutionary will and self-confidence, and organizing the overthrow of all forces standing in the way of the conquest of power. A conscious working class is the decisive force in history.

7. The Bourgeois Basis of Revisionism

Insofar as revolutionary consciousness is not prevalent among the workers, their consciousness is determined by the ideology of the ruling class. Objectively capitalism rules through finance capital, its monopoly of the means of violence, and its control of all existing social institutions. But it prefers, when possible, to rule through

the dominance of its ideas among the oppressed, fostering illusions and concealing its bloody essence. The ideas of the bourgeoisie penetrate into the very movements and organizations of the workers through the agency of the petty-bourgeois labor lieutenants—particularly the parasitic trade union, Social-Democratic, and Stalinist bureaucracies which are based on the "aristocratic" upper strata of the working class. Enjoying privileges not accorded to the vast majority of workers, these misleaders betray the masses of working people through class collaboration, social-patriotism, and chauvinist-racist policies which sabotage proletarian understanding and solidarity. If not replaced by revolutionary leaderships, they will allow the organizations of the workers to become impotent in the fight for the economic needs of the workers under conditions of bourgeois democracy or will allow these organizations to be destroyed by victorious fascism.

The degeneration and capitulation of tendencies within the Marxist movement has been of especially critical value to the preservation of imperialist rule. Submission to the pressure of bourgeois society has repeatedly thrust nominally Marxist currents towards revisionism, the process of ruling out Marxism's essential conclusions. Bernsteinian revisionism, Menshevism, Stalinism, and its Maoist variant, are all illustrations of this process which constitutes a bridge to overtly reformist practices.

Within the Trotskyist movement the problems posed by the post-1943 Stalinist expansions have given rise to the revisionist current of Pabloism. Pabloism is characterized chiefly by a renunciation of the necessity for revolutionary leadership and an adaptation to existing petty-bourgeois and Stalinist leaderships. This deterioration of theory has led to the degeneration of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky, and to its organizational breakup.

The Spartacist League, by contributing to the theoretical clarification of the Marxist movement and to the forging of the workers' necessary organizational weapons, upholds the revolutionary proletarian principles of Marxism and will carry them forward to the vanguard of the working class.

8. The Deformed Workers States and the Political Revolution

Historic gains have been made in expelling imperialism from and destroying capitalist property relations in certain backward countries, i.e., the deformed workers state of Russia, and the deformed workers states in East Europe, and of China, North Korea, North Viet Nam, and Cuba. The nationalization of the means of production, establishment of economic planning,

and the state monopoly of foreign trade have brought tangible increases in the living standards of the masses together with advances in industrial growth in spite of the hostility of imperialism. On the other hand, the failure as yet of the proletariat to successfully carry through a social revolution in any of the advanced countries, the relatively low labor productivity and cultural levels of the workers states compared to the leading capitalist countries, and the numerical preponderance of the peasant class have allowed the formation of bureaucratic ruling castes which exclude the working class from political power and which are susceptible to the development of capitalist restorationist tendencies. These privileged bureaucracies, themselves a reflection of the continued domination of capitalism on a world scale, stand as a barrier to the elimination of class differences within their own national boundaries and the achievement of socialism on a world scale; through their increasingly nationalist deviations, they weaken these conquests of the working class in the face of imperialism and open the way for the re-entrenchment of capitalist economic forms.

The Spartacist League stands for the unconditional defense of these countries against all attempts of imperialism to reestablish its control. At the same time we assert the necessity for the working class to take direct control and defense of these states into their own hands through political revolution and thus sweep away the internal barriers to the advance towards socialism. Only the spread of revolution internally and internationally can successfully maintain these partial conquests of the workers. It is an immediate and pressing necessity to build sections of the Fourth International in the deformed workers states to guide the struggle of the workers for political power and to coordinate their struggles with those of the proletariat in the advanced and colonial countries.

9. The Colonial Revolution and the Permanent Revolution

The partial character of the anti-capitalist revolutions in the colonial world over the past two decades (China, Cuba, North Viet Nam and North Korea) leads us to reaffirm the Marxist-Leninist concept of the proletariat as the key to the socialist revolution. Although existing petty-bourgeois nationalist-led movements against imperialism must be defended, the task of communists is to lead the active intervention of the working class to take hegemony over the national-social struggle. The struggle by the proletarian leadership for self-determination of the oppressed nations is a powerful tool to break the grip of petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders on the masses.

The Spartacist League fundamentally opposes the Maoist doctrine, rooted in Menshevism and Stalinist reformism, which rejects the vanguard role of the working class and substitutes peasant-based guerrilla warfare as the road to socialism. Movements of this sort can under certain conditions, i.e., the extreme disorganization of the capitalist class in the colonial country and the absence of the working class contending in its own right for social power, smash capitalist property relations; however, they cannot bring the working class to political power. Rather, they create bureaucratic anti-working class regimes which suppress any further development of these revolutions towards socialism. Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of the Permanent Revolution which declares that in the modern world the bourgeois democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry. Only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat can the colonial and semi-colonial countries obtain the complete and genuine solution to their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation.

10. The Revolutionary Party: Its Program, Organization, and Discipline

"Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer." The revolutionary party is not only the instrument for bringing political consciousness to the proletariat, it is also the main offensive and guiding force through which the working class makes and consolidates the socialist revolution. The revolutionary party is the general staff of the revolution. Its leading cadre have been trained and tested in the class struggle; it has gained the leadership of the class on the basis of its program and revolutionary determination; it has understood the whole of the past in order to assess the present situation with crystal clarity; it recognizes and boldly responds to the revolutionary moment when it comes, that moment when the forces of the proletariat are most confident and prepared and the forces of the old order most demoralized and disorganized. In the revolutionary party is crystallized the aspiration of the masses to obtain their freedom; it symbolizes their revolutionary will and is the instrument of their victory.

The program of the Spartacist League, as part of the Fourth International, is transitional in nature. It forms a bridge in the course of daily struggle between the present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. From the consciousness of the working class today it formulates its

demands and tasks in a way that lead inalterably to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat. The united front of differing and otherwise hostile organizations of the working class is a primary tactic in unsettled periods to both mobilize a broad mass in struggle and to strengthen the authority of the vanguard party within the class. The transitional program directs the struggle ever more openly and decisively against the very bases of the bourgeois regime and mobilizes the masses for the proletarian revolution.

The organizational principle of the Spartacist League is democratic centralism, a balance between internal democracy and functional discipline. As a combat organization, the revolutionary vanguard must be capable of unified and decisive action at all times in the class struggle. All members must be mobilized to carry out the decisions of the majority; authority must be centralized in its selected leadership which interprets tactically the organization's program. Internal democracy permits the collective determination of the party's line in accord with the needs felt by the party's ranks who are closest to the class as a whole. The right to factional democracy is absolutely vital to a living movement. The very existence of this right helps to channel differences into less absorbing means of resolution.

The discipline of the Spartacist League flows from its program and purpose, the victory of the socialist revolution and the liberation of all mankind.

11. We Will Intervene to Change History!

"Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action." The Spartacist League, as a national section of the international Trotskyist movement, is in the forefront of the struggle for a socialist future. Our day-to-day preparation of the working class and our intervention and leadership in the decisive moments of the class struggle will propel the struggle forward to the final victory. "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International." These are the rules of the Spartacist League as we go forward in the historical task of leading the working class to the victory of socialism in the United States!

—General line unanimously adopted by Founding Conference, 2 September 1966.

—Final draft approved by Political Bureau, 8 November 1966.

line" of the Spartacist League.

Next we have a handbill on a "discussion series" held by the Spartacist League in New Orleans. The topic headings clearly show the pattern of Trotskyite theoretical training offered by the Spartacist League.

The next six documents Mr. Chairman, are the covers of booklets or "papers" prepared and distributed by the Spartacist League. Their titles demonstrate the subject matter propagated by the Spartacist League and the nature of its "party line". I can assure the Committee that the content of these documents is directed at an educated and even pseudo-intellectual reader. They are in no way directed toward the ignorant or the illiterate. Such people are not likely to become Trotskyites.

The last document of this group Mr. Chairman, is a cartoon which appeared in the Baton Rouge "Morning Advocate" on March 1, 1966. It well expresses the trend of Communist influence in the nation from the old stereotype of a bomb thrower to the new image of "intellectual respectability."

Mr. Chairman, the next general subject vital to an understanding of the Spartacist League is the fact that it has engaged in a very broad spectrum of activities. This demonstrates its broad influence and importance in society far beyond its own small number of members. The Spartacists are ready and able to seize upon any issue or problem which arises, and particularly one which they can twist into a conflict between the "masses" and the "power structure." They see these issues only in the light of their Marxist-Leninist theory and exploit them accordingly. Some issues upon which they have taken open action are demonstrated in these handbills, all prepared and/or distributed by the Spartacist League in New Orleans. These nine documents speak for themselves. Note the Communist doctrine expressed in each of them. They well demonstrate the Spartacist "party line" on the subjects they cover.

As are all Communists everywhere, the Spartacists are grossly preoccupied with the Viet Nam war. This subject is one of their three primary objectives and focal points, the other two being student subversion and the exploitation of racial tensions. The position of the Spartacist League on the Viet Nam war is best demonstrated by this first document of this group, a picture of Joseph Seymour Verret, Jr. holding a poster actually advocating "military support" for the Communist Viet Cong against the United States. This poster clearly demonstrates an open and calculated total disloyalty to the United

The AMERICAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

**** A Discussion Series ****

Dealing with some of the major problems which have confronted the American communist movement since its inception.

The series will be held at 1707 Jackson Ave., Apt. G on: April 5, April 19, May 3 and May 17. Meetings will begin at 7:30 p.m.

Auspices: SPARTACIST LEAGUE
P.O. BOX 8121, GENTILLY STATION
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70122
Phone: 522-2194

* * * * *

Discussion Schedule

- I. The Background of American Radicalism (April 5)
 - A. Populism-- the petty-bourgeois influence on American radical thought
 - B. The I.W.W.-- the elementary class consciousness
 - C. De Leonism-- the influence of dogmatic Marxism
 - D. The Socialist Party-- the unborn child
 - E. The Early Communist Movement (1918-- 1924)-- the hollow shell and the new height

- II. The Birth of American Trotskyism (April 19)
 - A. The Stalinisation of the American Communist Movement
 - B. Toward a New Communist Party-- the early years of the American Trotskyist movement
 - C. The Trotskyist Entry into the Socialist Party
 - D. The Birth of the Socialist Workers' Party

- III. The Struggle for a Proletarian Party (May 3)
 - A. The Defence of Marxism
 - B. The SWP in World War II
 - C. "The Coming American Revolution"

- IV. Pabloism-- Revisionism and Its Growth (May 17)
 - A. The international Split
 - B. The SWP and the McCarthy Era
 - C. The United Secretariat and the International Committee
 - D. The Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP

Exhibit 14. Handbill on a "discussion series" held by the Spartacist League in New Orleans.

American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism

by JAMES P. CANNON

SPARTACIST
P. O. BOX 8121
GENTILLY STATION
NEW ORLEANS, LA., 70122



PIONEER PUBLISHERS

NEW YORK

Exhibit 15. Cover of a bulletin prepared and distributed by the Spartacist League.

Marxist Bulletin No. 1

In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective

—A Statement of Basic Position by the Revolutionary Tendency, Presented to the June 1962 plenary meeting of the SWP National Committee.

Published by
SPARTACIST
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, N. Y. 10001

25 cents

Exhibit 16. Cover of a Spartacist League bulletin.

Marxist Bulletin No. 2

The Nature of the Socialist Workers Party— Revolutionary or Centrist?

DISCUSSION MATERIAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY WITHIN THE SWP

Published by
SPARTACIST
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, N. Y. 10001

50 cents

Exhibit 17. Cover of a Spartacist League bulletin.

Marxist Bulletin No. 5

For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question

by R. S. Fraser

Reprinted from S.W.P. Discussion Bulletin A-30,
August, 1955

Published by
SPARTACIST
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, N. Y. 10001

25 cents

Exhibit 18. Cover of a Spartacist League bulletin.

Marxist Bulletin No. 8

CUBA AND
MARXIST THEORY

Selected Documents
on the
Cuban Question

Published by
SPARTACIST
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, N.Y. 10001

35 cents

Exhibit 19. Cover of a Spartacist League bulletin.

What Is Revolutionary Leadership?

BUILDING THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY: SOME ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS
BY BRIAN PEARCE

WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP? BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

LENIN AND TROTSKY ON PACIFISM AND DEFEATISM
BY BRIAN PEARCE

CLASS, CASTE AND STATE IN THE SOVIET UNION BY TOM KEMP

SPARTACIST
P. O. BOX 8121
GENTILLY STATION
NEW ORLEANS, LA., 70122

Exhibit 20. Cover of a Spartacist League booklet.

● Chip Off the Old Bloc!



Exhibit 21. Editorial cartoon from the Baton Rouge "Morning Advocate".

U. S. IMPERIALISM AGAINST THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Fidel Castro is now learning that U. S. imperialism cannot be bought off cheap. The recent international victories of the U. S. in the Dominican Republic, Indonesia and China have raised imperialism's price for a settlement with the Cuban government. So we find what has all the appearances of a deliberate provocation on January 4, 1967 — the sending of a cruise to surface missile over Cuba which just missed the island. The State Department is trying to force Castro's back to the wall just as it is forcing the Vietnamese into a similar position. Revolutionaries must condemn every attempt to destroy the gains of the Cuban revolution!

Why a Provocation Now?

This past year the Cuban leadership has offered tokens of friendship to imperialism in an effort to alleviate the burdens of the Cuban economy. Fidel Castro's vilifications against revolutionary movements such as the MR-13 in Guatemala, his attacks against the Peoples' Republic of China and his support for the reformists in the Dominican Republic illustrate this all too well.

The Cuban economy because of the leadership (admiral the wing led by Che Guevara) is in trouble. The turn toward agricultural development (of a single crop) without the development of industrial capacity so as to supply the peasants with inexpensive goods in return for their crops is causing the Cuban government to look for a source of supply of these goods as well as additional markets for its sugar.

In short, the Cuban revolution as a whole is in trouble and U. S. imperialism knows it. The U. S. wants to make the best deal possible for itself. It knows that a provocation after Castro's gifts will make Castro give more!

What Is the Solution?

The only solution for Cuba is the road to workers' power in Latin America. Internally, this means the combined program of continued planned economy with stress on developing the industrial sector coupled with workers' and peasants control i.e. Soviet democracy so as to stop bureaucratic waste and mistakes. Internationally, this road means for Cuba the active support for revolutionary movements other countries, especially Latin America, U. S. imperialism's own backyard. Only the victory of other revolutions can assure the safety and stability of the Cuban Revolution.

**DEFEND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION!
VICTORY FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS!
WORKERS' POWER!**

Spartacist League (New Orleans Campus Fraction) P. O. #121 New Orleans, La.

VICTORY!

The School Board is a small fraction in a governmental system which is dominated by the interests of big business. These interests are in direct conflict with your interests--the interests of every working class man and woman. Keeping you "in line" will discourage other workers from taking this step toward open struggle. A good example at hand is that if you lose this strike it will be a long time before you will be able to again unite many teachers to strike.

The only tool with which you have to win is your solidarity and your ability to draw more support to your union. You cannot do this by ending the strike. Only your iron will can gain the confidence of other teachers!

The Tax Proposal

The School Board has proposed a one cent sales tax increase to finance education (specifically a teachers' pay raise). This will put the burden on all of the people of the city--the teachers, the industrial workers, and the unemployed.

It must be recognized that the benefit of education goes not only to the educated but to the big businesses which use the largest part of this education. Let the big businesses pay the cost of increasing the teachers' pay. They can certainly afford to give up some of what they have!

KEEP THE STRIKE GOING!

TAX BIG BUSINESSES, NOT THE PEOPLE!

Subscribe to SPARTACIST (6 issues 50¢).

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Send to SPARTACIST, P.O. Box 8121, New Orleans, La..70122

Exhibit 23. Spartacist League handbill attempting to exploit and infiltrate a teacher's strike in New Orleans.

WE'RE WITH YOU I

Working people in the South have suffered too long because of a lack of unions.

The road to freedom from poverty and oppression lies in organizing against the bosses, and eventually building a society without bosses who exploit people.

We therefore extend solidarity to you in your struggle, and offer to help in any way we can.

The unions which we build will bring us higher wages and security on the job. Beyond that, unions have the power to bring real liberation to working people by eventually taking power away from the bosses who run this country. To move towards real liberation, we say this:

1. We demand the right to raise our own wages if living costs go up. This will insure that any raise obtained now will not become worthless in six months from rising prices.
2. We demand a shorter workweek with a raise in weekly pay. If the boss complains that this would leave him short of manpower, we can tell him there are plenty of poor people roaming the streets looking for jobs. Make the boss hire the unemployed along with us so that they can get a job without having to become strikebreakers.
3. We call on the organized labor movement to send alot more help in organizing. No worker is protected until all workers have a union to fight the bosses with.
4. We work for a Freedom Labor Party. The Democratic and Republican parties have both shown themselves to be tools of Big Business. We are for building a party based on working people and representing workers' interests.

BUILD A SOUTH-WIDE LABOR MOVEMENT!
WORK TOWARD A FREEDOM LABOR PARTY!

If the above ideas interest you, or if you just want more information, then just fill this out and mail to the address below.

Name.....

Address..... Phone.....

Mail to: SPARTACIST
P.O. BOX 8121
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Exhibit 24. Spartacist League handbill attempting to exploit and infiltrate a strike in New Orleans.

SPARTACIST

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

The United States' bloody occupation of the Dominican Republic, by order of the Johnson Administration, has been unquestionably the most brazen of recent American military efforts to safeguard the interests of capitalism and maintain its oppression domestically and abroad. "For the first time since 1927, U.S. Marines have landed in a fermenting Caribbean country—and frankly, we're delighted," said the ultra-rightist N.Y. *Daily News* (30 April 1965) in an editorial entitled "Seems Like Old Times."

Rebellion Led to Revolution

As in all colonial countries, the pro-U.S. Dominican ruling class is maintained by imperialism and in return administers the society for imperialism. The "liberal" wing, led by deposed President Juan Bosch, supports "reforms" and "democratic" trappings to stave off basic change and maintain social oppression. The liberals attempted a coup against the junta of the right wing, which realizes that only naked dictatorship can save imperialism and Dominican capitalism. It is significant that under both regimes the economic condition of the country deteriorated.

This crisis provided an opportunity for the Dominican workers and peasants to intervene, much as they had done in 1962 when Trujillo was assassinated. The fatal mistake of Bosch and Colonel Caamaño in banking upon mass support to help return the liberals to power was described by a pro-U.S. observer: "The leaders of the elements favoring the return of former President Juan Bosch were on the verge of taking over the government 24 hours after the revolution began. . . . But then they let the revolution get out of their hands. I saw pro-Bosch forces handing out weapons to anyone who asked for them." (N.Y. *Journal-American*, 2 May 1966.) On 30 April, "U.S. officials in Santo Domingo and other observers believe no one is now in control . . . of the armed rebel bands, which include many young civilians." At this point, "American officials hinted strongly that it would be necessary for American troops to occupy Santo Domingo." (N.Y. *Post*.)

In spite of U.S. ranting about a "minority take-over," it is clear that what developed was an uprising of a large section of the masses against the imperialist power structure—even against the efforts of certain "Communist" and liberal leaders to tie them to Bosch. According to the press, a rebel stronghold

HANDS OFF

The Dominican Revolution!

has been the Ciudad Nueva section of the city, "an area of low income housing and student quarters. Planes strafed the area Wednesday and yesterday." (*Herald Tribune*, 30 April.) On 2 May, "the rebels were winning." Their forces, swollen to thousands "by armed civilians . . . could not be controlled by their military leaders." (Same paper) Johnson at once sent in Marines to "save American lives"; but this "humanitarian" pretext, loudly touted by liberal apologists, was rapidly dropped. Instead, as Johnson has admitted, the aim of U.S. intervention was to crush the developing revolution.

Realpolitik Behind Intervention

William Randolph Hearst, Jr. in a *Journal-American* editorial (2 May), favorably quoted Johnson's State of the Union message of 4 January: "We are prepared to live as good neighbors with all, but we cannot be indifferent to acts designed to injure our interests, or our citizens, or our establishments abroad." Barry Goldwater "stressed the effectiveness of 'big stick' diplomacy" and said, "Yes, I approve the landing of the Marines in Santo Domingo for the protection of American lives and property." (*Journal-American*, 30 April.)

Equally guided by Realpolitik are the liberal apologists who regret Johnson's "imprudence" in "going it alone" in unabashed imperialist fashion instead of relying on the Organization of American States (mainly a band of U.S.-backed dictatorships) to do the job under a "democratic" facade. The token contingent which Johnson finally extorted from the OAS to his "international peace force" has been obviously designed to whitewash his butchery behind a drapery of phony "legality" and "consensus." It is now obvious that Johnson has not sent 20,000 troops to suppress a Communist "minority," but to fight thousands of workers and rank-and-file Dominican militants who partly bypassed their "Communist" and liberal leaders and rallied the support of the Dominican masses to a popular revolution against imperialism. Johnson's "concern" about the "foreign training" of agitators was designed to divert attention away from the direct rape of the Dominican Republic by a foreign occupation army. The sensationalism about the "atrocities" of rebels killing cops and Marines was designed to mask the strafing and bombing of the working-class areas of the city to smash the revolution. Indeed, imperialism must clearly

be desperate to commit such a brazen and naked act.

Crisis of Leadership

Castro and other "Communist" leaders have shown their bankruptcy in supporting the capitalist "legality" of Bosch and calling upon the imperialist-dominated United Nations to "intervene." The absence of a truly revolutionary Dominican party to guide the working class and lead the revolution has resulted in confusion among the rebelling masses. The old-line leaders have done their best to abort the revolution and negotiate a "truce" with imperialism. The swearing-in of Boschite military leader Caamaño as "President" has been due in good part to the efforts of these leaders to channel the masses back into a "popular front" with the ruling class. The agreement of these elements to a "cease fire" even in the face of an imperialist build-up has helped disarm the revolution and facilitated further bloodbaths. The success of the revolution can be guaranteed only by the Dominican workers' conquest of state power, under the leadership of a revolutionary party, and the establishment of a Dominican workers' republic. All such advances reciprocally strengthen the socialist revolution in the United States and the world.

WE CALL UPON AMERICAN WORKERS, STUDENTS, AND ALL THOSE FIGHTING OPPRESSION IN THE UNITED STATES TO SUPPORT THIS STRUGGLE OF THEIR BROTHERS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, AND TO RECOGNIZE THE BI-PARTISAN GOVERNMENT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM AS THEIR COMMON ENEMY! ■

NYC Committee, 6 May 1965

SUBSCRIBE TO THE SPARTACIST

Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, N. Y. 10001
twelve issues — \$1
six issues — 50¢

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

Exhibit 25. Anti-U. S. Re-print handbill from "Spartacist" concerning the Dominican Republic crisis.

DEMAND MEXICAN GOVERNMENT RELEASE MILITANTS

For almost six months now the Mexican Government has detained without trial five members of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist) of Mexico, and an Argentine journalist named Adolfo Gilly. They were all arrested following a 46-day strike by Mexican students, on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the government of Mexico".

Charges Are Fake

It is clear that the arrests were meant solely to suppress a political current. All the arrested were charged with holding meetings, using pseudonyms, advocating a socialist revolution, and taking part in student and labor struggles. All these "charges" should be legitimate democratic rights; in fact, none of them are offences in the Mexican penal code, and there are no Mexican laws against the formation of Communist or Trotskyist organizations or membership in national or international organizations. Furthermore, not one of the arrested Trotskyists is a University student.

Prisoners Mistreated

Reports from Mexico also say that attempts have been made to force statements from the accused through beatings and ill treatment. Gilly himself was beaten for three days and ducked in a tank of water in attempts to make him admit being a party member. When this failed, the authorities threatened to send him over the border into Guatemala, knowing that he would probably be shot there because of his support for the Guatemalan revolutionary movement called MR-13.

Support Democratic Rights

The Spartacist League openly supports the struggle for socialism in Latin America and the United States. But we welcome help from persons of all political views who defend the democratic right of free speech and assembly.

Concerned persons may protest by joining our picket line, and by writing to the head of the Mexican Government (Diaz Ordaz, Palacia De Gobierno, Mexico DF) or to the Mexican consulate (Whitney Building, New Orleans, La.).

SPARTACIST LEAGUE

P.O. BOX 8121

NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70122

Exhibit 26. Spartacist League handbill supporting certain Trotskyites jailed in Mexico.

SPARTACIST

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

MARCH 1965

FREE

Report to Our Readers:

SPARTACIST EDITOR SUBPOENAED

BY "HARLEM RIOT" GRAND JURY

SPARTACIST

P. O. BOX 8121

GENTILLY STATION

NEW ORLEANS, LA., 70122

AREA CODE 504-866-8496

On February 8, the editor of the SPARTACIST, James Robertson, was subpoenaed to appear before the New York State Grand Jury which is seeking a communist conspiracy behind last summer's so-called Harlem Riots. A New York City red squad cop served the subpoena while Robertson was in a picket line protesting this witch-hunting Grand Jury. Comrade Robertson was "commanded to appear before the Grand Jury" on Monday, February 15, but the Jury was unable to get a quorum so he was called back for Wednesday, two days later.

The involvement of the Spartacist group was the first widening of the inquiry beyond the Progressive Labor Movement. We stated in our New York Spartacist Committee leaflet calling for a protest demonstration against the Grand Jury the apparent motives of the authorities in picking out the Spartacist group for legal entanglement along with the PLM:

"The SPARTACIST editor has been dragged into the witch hunt because of our detailed exposure of the police over the riots last summer; our determined defense of Bill Epton and Progressive Labor against legal intimidation and persecution; and our initiation last summer of the militant Harlem Solidarity Committee which rallied working class support in New York's garment center for the people of Harlem during the police riots."

Projected Policy As a Witness

The Spartacist group is fortunate in having as its attorneys Conrad Lynn and his partner, Gene Ann Condon, with whom an effective and principled set of guide lines was worked out for the Grand Jury appearance.

As a general consideration, one must expect that testimony will find its way into the hands of the FBI and other police agencies, there to be used for the harassment of people, loss of jobs, etc. In addition, in a case where "conspiracy to advocate" indictments are being sought, the mere mention in the most innocent circumstances of another individual places that person in grave jeopardy.

(continued next page)

INSIDE: --Spartacist Statement on Viet Nam
--Leaflet to New York Welfare Strikers

SUPPORT THE APRIL 17 MARCH ON WASHINGTON

TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM!

Exhibit 27. Reprint handbill from "Spartacist" supporting Communist participation in 1964 Harlem riots.

DEFEND CHICAGO'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE!

FREE 13 BLACK MILITANTS FACING DEATH PENALTY FOR 'TREASON'!

The residents of Chicago's West Side Ghetto have shown for the second year running that they are unwilling to submit non-violently to racism, unemployment, rat infested housing and police brutality. The present riot which has netted the death of 2 Ghetto residents (by 'stray' bullets, or so the police say) is a defensive act by Black people against a further worsening of their situation. First to feel the wage pinch, cost of living rise and other results of the U. S. Governments need to finance the Vietnam War against that country's Freedom Struggle, the Negro working class, in relation to their white working class brothers, have been forced into an economically poorer position. This is only natural under the Jim Crow capitalist system in which we all live.

Using Black workers as a threat to job security, employers seek to keep white workers in line. Without a united labor movement big business will continue to extract super profits (up 58% in the past few years) from the labor of both Black and White workers. A first step toward a united labor movement would be fighting for a shorter work week at the same pay (30 for 40). This would open up millions of jobs to workers irregardless of race without threatening the job security of a single person. Is there a more natural way to win great masses of whites to the goals of the Freedom Movement?

LEADERSHIP - PROGRAM NEEDED

Riots since they have no program or leadership can easily be smashed. Calling out the National Guard, as what was done in Chicago, will usually suffice. All that riots seem to accomplish is to get a lot of Black people killed, many others thrown in jail, an occupation army in the Ghetto, and one or two "Great Society" funnymoney poverty programs. At the same time we can't simply call for people to go home and let the cops be a conquering army over an oppressed people. We must demand the removal of the cops and troops! The Black Ghetto must form Ghetto patrols by Ghetto people to maintain order in the absence of the capitalist cops.

The Black Ghetto must see itself as a part of a large working class that encompasses persons of all complexions. Armed with the knowledge that Black and White workers face a common enemy we must organize to take political power! A primary task for this purpose is the formation of a Freedom Labor Party as opposed to the two parties of racism, war and exploitation. Inextricably tied up with the struggle for political power is the right to self defense. We must defend the Ghetto against the Klan, rioting cops and other racist thugs. To do this we must FORM A 'DEACONS FOR DEFENSE' IN EVERY NORTHERN GHETTO!

Part of the struggle for power is exposing and rejecting the sell-out leadership of the Civil Rights movement. The same Martin Luther King who says to Black people, "If there is any blood spilled on the streets, let it be our blood!", and said to the ruling class about Watts, "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them...", was rejected by Black workers on Chicago's West Side. They knew his game. The Ghetto saw King (who mustered 200 priests, ministers, and nuns to try and talk the Ghetto into laying down its arms

Exhibit 28. Spartacist League handbill supporting arrested rioters from 1965 Chicago riots.

and go home) as the liberal front man for racist capitalist America. The Chicago riots were the first step in relegating King and other leaders of his sort to the trashcan of history where they belong. Only a leadership which advocated armed selfdefense and a revolutionary solution to the problems of the Ghetto will find root in Chicago's West Side.

The Negro working class is combative, white workers in their unions are becoming more militant. The opportunity is open to link up the working class in a struggle for political power. Clearly we have nothing to lose but our chains and a world to win!

DEMAND RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS!

Growing out of the Chicago riot was the arrest of over 300 Negro persons. 13 of these arrests were for 'Treason', a charge punishable by death. Those arrested aren't criminals but are political prisoners. The arrests involved persons who had just participated in this years most effective Civil Rights and anti War demonstration. The only thing that these persons are 'guilty' of are fighting against racism, war, and the especially exploited position of the Negro working class.

The charges of 'Treason' are part of an attempt by the Government to intimidate Black militants from participating in further anti-establishment demonstrations. This attempted intimidation must be overcome and repudiated! In a single voice Black people, and their white allies must demand the release of all of those arrested as a result of the Chicago riot!

"if you agree with us--join us"

Baltimore Spartacist Committee
Box 1345
Baltimore, Maryland 21203

Phone: LA 3-3703

Attend the Baltimore Spartacist educational discussion of "Negroes on the March", Monday evenings 8 p.m., July 18th & 25th at 2730 Reisterstown Road. Participants and guests are requested to read Negroes on the March, By D. Guerin --50¢ at the above address. Ph. LA 3-3703. No admission charge.

SUBSCRIBE TO SPARTACIST	
<input type="checkbox"/> 6 issues 50¢	<input type="checkbox"/> 12 issues \$1.00
Name _____	
Address _____	
City _____	State _____

Exhibit 28A. Second page of Exhibit 28.

BETSY FLOOD VICTIMS DEMAND SPILL- WAY PAY AND WORLD PEACE.

PETITION TO CONGRESS

FROM: Betsy Flood Victims
2031 Caffin Avenue
New Orleans, La. 70117

ADDRESSED TO:

Senator Russell Long
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Long:

When you and Rep. Boggs got Congress to legislate "partly forgivable" SBA loans to repair Betsy flood victim's homes (all uninsurable for floor), the majority of 9th Ward homeowners got no loans; we're too poor.

The 9th Ward covers 1/3 of the city, has 33,000 votes (see phone-book map; & voters' map STATES ITEM 10/30/65). Following Betsy, without warning to inhabitants, this and nearby wards became a spillway, and stood 6 days under salt water & sewage-----a sacrifice that no doubt saved the upper city.

BETSY ISN'T "OVER" FOR US

We're far from being compensated for the hundreds of dead, the belated rescues that many had to pay for; we lost thousands of paydays and school days, plus homes, cars, tools, and peace of mind. Our future is wrecked, life-investments ruined. Old folks & hard-driven workers, unable to stand in line to get the minimum ARC replacements, are still sleeping on buckled floors within damp walls under gaping roofs. Meanwhile, "War on Poverty" funds are clipped so as to burn Vietnam homes, crops, people. Who wants to be sacrificed for that?

WE DEMAND:

Legislation Now for All Betsy Flood Victims, Not Just a Top Few.

(1) Cancel the mortgages (time payments) on our ruined homes, as President Johnson suggested for veterans (TIMES-PICAYUNE 9/11 p.3 col. 2.)

(2) Cash, \$10,000 per home, to tear down & rebuild, or buy elsewhere. Lykes Steamship, always well subsidized, got \$18 million for just 2 boats flood-damaged. Lykes didn't stand in line. We ask damages for our LIVES, Mr. Senator! Reopen SBA offices for cash payments to those formerly refused loans and to all flood-ruined homeowners who present their papers.

(3) Rent controls to protect flooded renters; food surpluses to all heads of families with annual income of not over \$1200, who are not on welfare.

(4) Eel flood protection for all New Orleans, details made public.

Yes, we know Mr. Milton Dupuy, Levee Board president says the levees are "all safe now" (T-P 1/28/66). He calls Mr. Wilcox, chief engineer, a "world expert on flood control." What! When we've just had our worst flood in history! We recall that Mr. Wilcox said the bulldozing and burning of Batture Dwellers' homes in 1954 "to save the city from floods."

The 9th Ward recalls that the city was planning, just before Betsy, "to take over a big area for a shopping center", few of us even saw a notice of this plan. We recall how for years the Sewerage & Water Board charged us to bring sewers down the street till we woke up and got our money back by law (Art. XIV 23.3). SWB then pushed 3 amendments, where ANY PROPERTY CAN BE REASSESSED UPWARD AND FORECLOSED WITHOUT INDEMNITIES IF THE NEW ASSESSMENTS AREN'T MET. These amendments (Acts 540, 541, 542) are now state law. How safe is YOUR home?

We're not reassured to see the city giving the green light (and promising big money) to "Kretter's Millionaire Spillway" (Orleans East) on the lakefront RIGHT IN THE PROBABLE PATH OF FUTURE HURRICANES & FLOODS. If flood threatens these fine new homes one day, will the 9th Ward pay for that too?

Senator Long, your family is famous for "giving the common people something." That's still good politics. But "double-dips", "hayrides", and human spillways are bad politics. You will be judged by deeds, not words.

Please remain Congress that to ensure progress (against Betsys, cattleprods, church-and-cross burning, ignorance and squeezing the poor), funds can be had in a flash, by ending our senseless, greedy intervention in Vietnam, Dominican Republic, Congo, and elsewhere around the world.

We await your speedy reply,

BETSY FLOOD VICTIMS AND OTHERS WHO PEACE &
PROSPERITY FOR OUR COUNTRY ALL MANKIND

(Signatures Overleaf-----)

Issued February 4, 1966

All Costs Donated

Exhibit 29. Handbill distributed by the Spartacist League attempting to exploit the victims of hurricane "Betsy".

THE FREEDOM-LABOR PARTY

INDEPENDENT ACTION FOR LABOR

What the working people of this country (especially the black workers) need is an independent political party. We need to follow the example set by the Deacons for Defense and Justice: we cannot look to any authority in the power structure to defend us. Instead, we must prepare to fight for ourselves. Therefore we need our own political party. We need a Freedom-Labor Party!!

Such a Party would be the Party of labor, civil rights and peace, a party which has made a complete break with the two old parties. It would be a Party that represents us and NOT the power structure. It would be a Party which could put forward demands which would never be advanced by the major parties because our needs are absolutely different from those of the capitalists. Some demands of a Freedom-Labor Party would be:

1. THIRTY HOURS WORK WITH FORTY HOURS PAY so as to help provide enough jobs for all workers;
2. \$2.00 MINIMUM WAGE FOR ALL WORKERS;
3. REPEAL OF ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS;
4. RENT CONTROL, a general reducing of rates, especially in black and poor-white areas;
5. STOP POLICE BRUTALITY, open the jails to inspection by any citizen at any time;
6. DEARMING THE COPS TO PREVENT BRUTALITY --forming ourselves into armed block councils to stop what real crime may exist.

WHY CAN'T THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HELP US?

We find that the Democratic Party has brought on wage-freezes and set up phoney wage-price guidelines. The "liberals" of this party remained silent or backed Johnson last summer when he offered to send troops into the colored ghettos to "keep order," and probably murder more innocent black youth. For years the Democratic Party has given comfort to the most vicious Southern racists such as Governor Wallace and Sheriff Jim Clark.

But the reasons go even further: who runs the Democratic Party? It is controlled by the big businessmen, for whom the low wage system in the South is highly profitable; the power structure that includes the major banks which hold mortgages on slum housing both in the North and in the South, which refuses reasonable mortgages for improvements and which finances sweatshops and farms which exploit cheap (mainly black) labor. These are the men that run the Democratic Party; their interests and our needs are totally different and irreconcilable.

The Democratic Party is basically the same as the Republican Party, except that it has managed to sell itself as the party of justice and progress. If we understand this and if we understand that the Democratic Party is run with an iron fist by the big businessmen and bankers of this country, then the answer to the question of reforming the Democratic Party is clear: WE CANNOT REFORM THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WITHOUT GIVING UP ALL THOSE DEMANDS WHICH MEAN REAL GAINS FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE! The Democratic Party can never carry through the demands of the working people for they are contrary to the interests of the businessmen who run that party.

SUPPORT INDEPENDENT WORKING-CLASS CANDIDATES

As a step toward building a Freedom-Labor Party for the working class, SPARTACIST is supporting the campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party and the Progressive Labor Party in city and state elections. We support these candidates although we may have some disagreements with their programs, simply because they base themselves on the need for independent working-class politics, which is an absolute prerequisite for the creation of a real working class Party.

LET US BUILD A FREEDOM-LABOR PARTY TO REPRESENT OUR NEEDS

Come to a meeting on: LABOR'S GIANT STEP, at 710 Ursulines Street
7:30 P.M., WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22

DISTRIBUTED BY: SPARTACIST, P.O. Box 8121 Gentilly Station, New Orleans, La., 70122 

Exhibit 30. Spartacists League handbill on political organizational meeting.

States of America. At any other time in the history of our nation, to advocate military support for an enemy with whom we were engaged in a shooting war, would have been classified as "treason" as defined in the Constitution in terms of giving "aid and comfort to the enemy." As yet, such conduct as this has not been the subject of criminal prosecution by either federal or state law enforcement authority.

The next document is a picture of a row of Spartacist League signs carried in a protest march sponsored by the Spartacist League. These signs when photographed were in the custody of Sgt. David Kent during his undercover activities in the Spartacist League. His testimony has been heard previously by the Committee.

The next document shows the Spartacist League involvement in the "March on Washington" sponsored by "SANE" in November of 1965. The Committee will note that this letter, circulated privately to Spartacist League members, is signed by "Al Nelson," the Spartacist League organizer from New York who spoke on the LSU campus. I will come back to him later. The next three documents are statements of Spartacist League policy on the Viet Nam war. The last document in this series is an instruction sheet issued to Spartacist League members in California advising them on tactics to be followed in an anti-war demonstration.

As a natural outgrowth of the Spartacist League preoccupation with the Viet Nam war, in 1966 the Spartacist League in New Orleans took an extremely active part in the formation and operation of the "New Orleans Committee to End the War in Viet Nam." This group has been discussed in the testimony of both Sgt. David Kent and Mr. Donald Meyer. On September 30 and October 1, 1966, the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Viet Nam held an extremely important "workshop" or training conference in New Orleans. A handbill describing this meeting is the first document of this group. A list of all those people taking part in this conference is the next document. No less than thirteen of the people on this list have been identified in sworn testimony before this Committee or elsewhere as Communists of some variety. A very significant factor in the leadership of this conference was the part played by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, previously cited six times as a Communist Front Organization by this Committee and two separate congressional committees. At least six employees or former employees or advisors of the SCEF attended this conference and Anne Braden, currently one of the two top leaders of the SCEF, was a featured lecturer. Anne Braden was identified as a Communist with her hus-

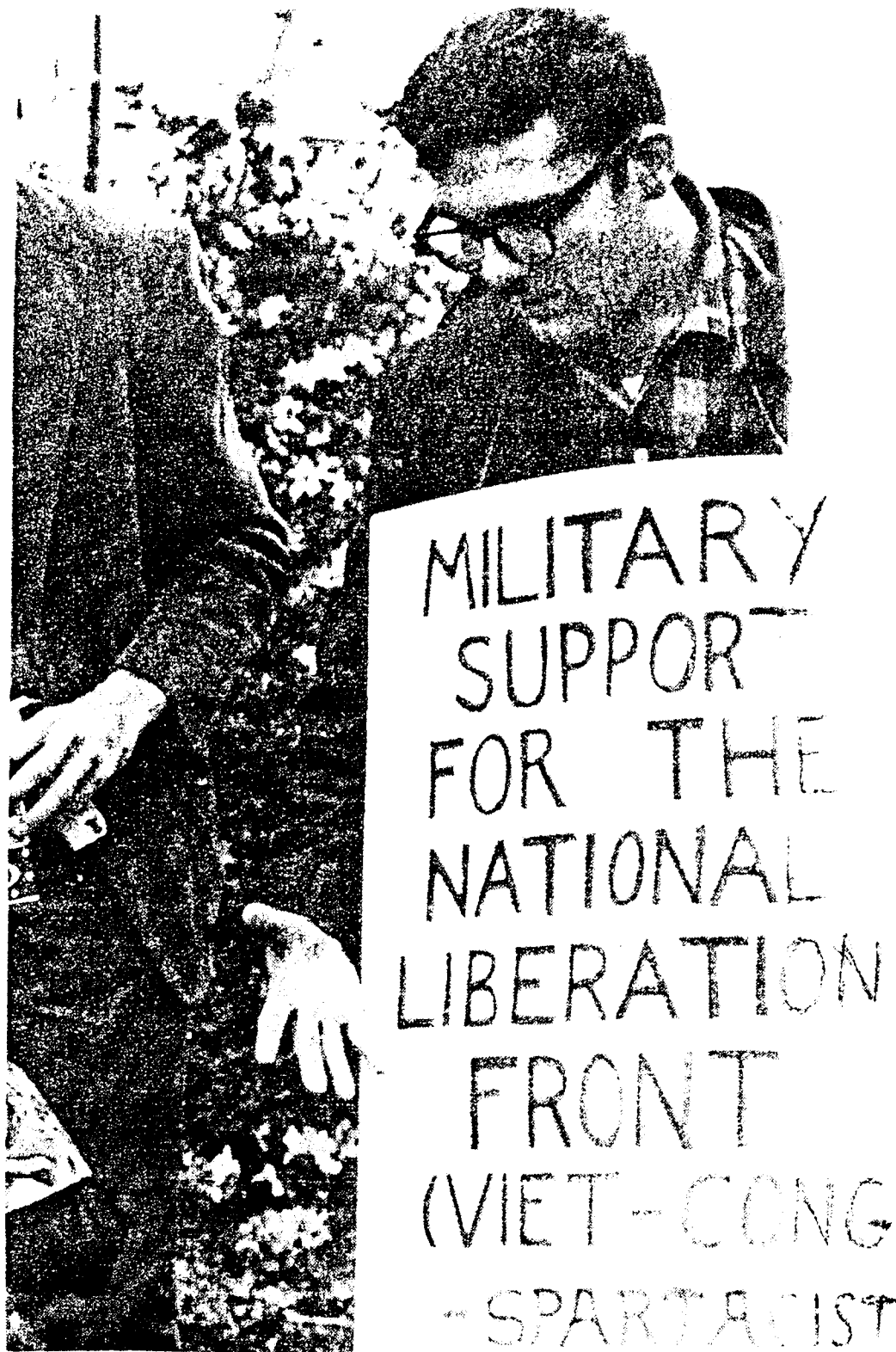


Exhibit 31. Joseph S. Verret, Jr. carrying poster supporting the Viet Cong.



Exhibit 32. Anti-U. S. posters carried by members of the Spartacist League and others in anti-war parade.

New York
November 12, 1965

TO ALL LOCALS, ORG. COM., AND MAL:

Dear Comrades,

Two important actions are coming up on the weekend of Nov. 25-28: (1) the national convention of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam; (2) the SANE-organized 'March on Washington' on Nov. 27.

Important issues will be fought out at the Convention and we will directly intervene as much as we can in this discussion (politics of the anti-war mvmt., attitude toward the draft, SANE, etc.). As a 'national political organization' Spartacist is entitled to one delegate and an alternate. However, since more weight is being given to local committees, ALL COMRADES THAT HAVE ORGANIZED VARIOUS KINDS OF LOCAL ANTI-WAR COMMITTEES, STUDENT GROUPS, CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS, DISCUSSION CLUBS, ETC., SHOULD ALSO IMMEDIATELY WRITE FOR DELEGATES STATUS FOR THESE GROUPS. Local anti-war committees get 2 delegates for the first 100 members and 1 for each additional 100 or fraction thereof.

For delegate status write: Frank Baspak, Chairman
National Coordinating Committee to End the War in
341 West Mifflin Viet Nam
Madison, Wisc. 53703

For housing write: Washington Committee to End the War in Viet Nam
P.O. Box 19249
Washington, D.C. 20036

Also, begin now to make travel connections to come to Washington.

Additional information to coordinate our approach to the SANE march and the issues at the Convention will follow shortly. Right now a couple of the elements of the fight that is shaping up are not clear. The comrades of the ACFI have requested that we work in a bloc in these activities and will be helping us gather information, etc. For the March our approach will be either for a non-exclusionary intervention into the SANE line or for a counter-picket line. We'll have a clearer just what is possible in a few days. Comrades are urged to keep in close contact with local committees and forward to the N.O. copies of pertinent 'calls,' circulars, etc. by airmail plus any other information that may be useful.

Spartacist #5 is being pasted up now and is a VERY GOOD issue! We'll be pushing hard in Washington and will need all the comrades we can get for sales.

Our recent conference was a serious drain on the treasury. Money has been coming in at a fairly good rate since then but at this time we are still several hundred dollars short of the cost of the issue! Please dig as deep as you can. We need the money very badly.

All out for Washington on November 25-28!

Revolutionary greetings,

A. Nelson
A. Nelson

Exhibit 33. Spartacist League national party bulletin urging participation in the 1965 "March on Washington".

SPARTACIST

17 APRIL 1968

STATEMENT ON VIETNAM

The facts about the war in Vietnam are now generally known. Everyone is aware that the U.S. government is carrying on a war against peasant-supported guerrillas, and is supporting a series of unpopular governments; it is now obvious that the U.S. is losing that war. Three questions remain to be answered: Why was the U.S. in Vietnam in the first place? Why did it attack North Vietnam? What solution to the Vietnamese situation should we support?

Why Is the U.S. in Vietnam?

The foreign policy of the U.S. government, everywhere, at all times and regardless of which party is in power, has been to preserve the interests of American capitalism abroad. With no major financial investments in Indochina, the U.S. was at first reluctant to become involved in the war. It was not until after the Chinese Revolution in 1949 that the United States began substantial support to the French effort. The Chinese Revolution tore out of the world capitalist economy one of the chief arenas for American capital investment. This loss, coupled with the example China gave to all other colonial nations, was a warning to United States ruling circles to take measures to curb the expansion of the colonial revolution. American intervention in Vietnam was, therefore, part and parcel of the strategy of waging ceaseless war against struggles for economic and political independence by the Asian peoples, most directly influenced by the Chinese Revolution.

This war is waged in alliance with local landlords and capitalists. Most landlords in Vietnam, as in most colonial countries, are urban or foreign businessmen who have invested capital in land. The peasants cannot take land away from the landlords without overturning the entire capitalist economic structure. Support for agrarian reform in Vietnam directly conflicts with U.S. defense of capitalism and lines the peasants up against foreign imperialists as well as the native capitalist landlords. Therefore the struggle becomes anti-imperialist. The weakness of the capitalist-landlord class has forced it to seek for foreign allies in its struggle against the peasants. As the self-appointed policeman for the entire capitalist world, the U.S. has allied itself with these capitalist-landlord elements in order to use South Vietnam as a strategic base in Southeast Asia. Despite their differences, the U.S. government and Vietnamese property owners have in common their defense of capitalism. In accord with the "domino" theory,

the U.S. government maintains that the "fall" of Vietnam would "endanger" other areas—of course, it is quite correct. The "danger" will come when the masses in these other areas realize their strength and overthrow their ruling classes, as they will, inspired by the example of revolutionary victory in Vietnam.

Why Did the U.S. Attack North Vietnam?

The U.S. government falsely claims that it wants to make the Northern government stop intervening in S. Vietnam. But while the Hanoi government, to its credit, has given aid to the National Liberation Front, that aid cannot be held decisive in the struggle. In fact, the truth of the situation is the exact opposite of the U.S. claim: by threatening to level the cities of North Vietnam, the U.S. government wants to force Hanoi

their American allies. Thus a "neutral" solution to the war would be at the expense of the peasantry and against their wishes. Senator Morse has proposed some form of neutralization to be guaranteed by the policing of an international body such as the UN. But the side that the UN takes in these situations is determined by the fact that the UN is still controlled by the United States in the last analysis, as proven by its role in the misnamed "peace keeping" operation in the Congo. *The simple fact is that there is a struggle between contending classes in South Vietnam which is not going to be stopped by such an outside force.* There can be no real neutrality between the gouging landlord and the revolutionary peasant, between the revolutionary worker and the luxury-loving imperialist agent who exploits him. In such situations no international body can be a "peace keeping" force but will inevitably tend to take sides in the internal class conflict. Thus neutralization as a solution to the problem is neither desirable nor—as the example of neighboring Laos proves—possible.

To withdraw all U.S. troops and leave Vietnam for the Vietnamese is the only solution which will end the war in Vietnam and bring about a progressive solution to the social problems facing the Vietnamese people. In 1954 the Viet Minh controlled virtually the whole country, having decisively defeated the French. However, at the conference table in Geneva, the Russian and Chinese governments signed an accord giving half of Vietnam back to the imperialists, on the basis of a U.S.-backed promise to hold free elections in 1956. This sell-out must not be allowed to happen again. *Self-determination for the Vietnamese people requires the immediate, complete, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces!*

SUNDAY, 7 FEBRUARY 1968

"PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH,
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF
VIET NAM

HANOI, NORTH VIET NAM:

SPARTACIST IN FULLEST SOLIDARITY WITH THE DEFENSE OF YOUR COUNTRY AGAINST ATTACK BY UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM. HEROIC STRUGGLE OF VIETNAMESE WORKING PEOPLE FURTHERS THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

SPARTACIST EDITORIAL BOARD

to intervene in restraint of the NLF. The basic fact which has now been spelled out in the headlines is that the U.S.'s dirty war in Vietnam is already lost. Unless the NLF can somehow be persuaded not to exploit its advantage the U.S. position will soon collapse.

What Solution Should We Support?

Providing the U.S. can be deterred from expansion of the war into North Vietnam and perhaps attacking China, the real courses of action open to the American government are either a negotiated or unconditional withdrawal.

There are those who urge the U.S. government to negotiate a "neutral" Vietnam, ruled by a "coalition" government. This would mean attempting to get the NLF leadership to sell out the Vietnamese working people by accepting a solution that would leave the property-owning classes undisturbed. But the dynamic of the struggle in Vietnam is the struggle against these classes and

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New York, N. Y. 10001
twelve issues — \$1
six issues — 50¢

Name

Address

City

Exhibit 34. Anti-U. S. Reprint handbill from "Spartacist" on the Viet Nam war.

BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW

The Vietnam war has meant tremendous profits for American Big Business. Since 1961, after-tax corporate profits have jumped 80%. This of course has been the intended policy of the U.S. Government.

But everyone else is suffering at the hands of the U.S. Government.

U.S. Labor Attacked

While corporate profits have soared, the U.S. Government, controlled by the "pro-labor" Democrats, has sought to impose a petty 3.2% wage guidepost on labor's wage demands. Even this petty increase has been rendered worthless by the tremendous inflation caused by the war. To top it all off, the Democrats acted out a fake attempt to repeal Section 14-B of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act, and twice the repeal failed.

Yet when labor revolts against these conditions, the Democrats (and of course Republicans) have little trouble passing bills for the bosses. In the current Machinists' strike against the airlines, for instance, all the liberal Democrats from Wayne Morse to Joseph Clark have speedily written up a Congressional bill to break the strike, of course with Johnson's approval. The Democrats, like the Republicans, are solidly on the side of the bosses.

Masses Abroad Attacked

Meanwhile in Vietnam, the U.S. Government has been attempting to carve out a new area for business investment and exploitation. To do this, the Democratic regime has had to give massive economic and military aid to a brutal dictator-- General Ky-- whose only backing comes from Vietnamese landlords and merchants who exploit the local population and serve foreign business interests. As a U.S. businessman in Vietnam remarked recently, "...once you assume a favorable outcome to the war, it becomes a wonderful place to invest." Indeed, new companies moving into South Vietnam have been averaging profits of 20 to 30 per cent! (Newsweek, Jan. 31, 1966)

Peasants Rise Up

Since 1960, the peasants of Vietnam, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, have been in full-scale revolution against the landlords' government in Saigon. And in the recent Buddhist demonstrations, the city workers in Danang and elsewhere displayed their hatred of the present Ky regime by going on strike.

A victory of the N.L.F. would mean tremendous advances for the Vietnamese workers and peasants, similar to the advances made in Cuba and China. It would mean removal of the foreign corporations, improvements in education and medicine, and the beginning of industrialization without private exploitation. This victory would be desirable even though the N.L.F. is undemocratic, for any blow against the bosses favors the masses, even if the blow is given by an undemocratic leadership.

Exhibit 35. Anti-U. S. Spartacist League handbill on the Viet Nam war.

WHAT GIVES IN VIETNAM?

Q. The U.S. Government says that its air raids above the 17th parallel were 'reprisals' for North Vietnamese attacks on U.S. military forces. Is there any truth to that assertion?

A. None. Immediately after the first raids the New York Times (2/8) pointed out that the U.S. defeat at Pleiku had been inflicted by a relatively small National Liberation Front (NLF) force, helped by the local population and using captured, U.S. manufactured, mortars. Moreover, as the Times also spelled out, the raids were staged from an extraordinary Task Force which had been assembled and ready for action before the so-called 'provocation.'

Q. Were these raids, then, a military measure designed to cut off Northern aid to the NLF?

A. No. While the North Vietnamese government, to its credit, has indeed given aid to the NLF, that aid cannot be held decisive in the guerrilla struggle in South Vietnam. The soldiers of the NLF are natives of the Southern half of their country, they are mainly armed with captured weapons, and their greatest strength lies in the support of the South Vietnamese peasantry. Even the U.S. military admits that the majority of the Southern population lives in areas governed by the NLF. Bombings in the North in no way alter these facts, and they won't even stop the aid that is still getting through.

Q. What, then, is the real reason for these raids?

A. As we saw, the U.S. government falsely claims that it is trying to make the North Vietnamese stop 'intervening' in South Vietnam. The reality is the exact opposite: they want to force Hanoi to intervene in restraint of the NLF. The basic fact which has now been spelled out in the headlines is that the U.S. military's dirty little war in Vietnam is already lost. The South Vietnamese 'army' is now effective only to overthrow fictitious Saigon 'governments.' The U.S. forces in Vietnam are confronted with the prospect of destruction in a series of local Dienbienphus. Unless the NLF can somehow be persuaded not to exploit its advantage the U.S. position will soon collapse.

Q. But how can Johnson hope that these raids will have that effect?

A. These raids are intended to make 'credible' a deadly threat: the threat to extend the war, to level the cities of North Vietnam, to send the U.S. Army into Vietnam on a Korea scale, to attack China. The U.S. government is implying that there are no limits to the crimes against humanity that it will commit in order to retain its imperialist grip over Southeast Asia. This is what the Washington cliché 'negotiate from positions of strength' actually means. The only 'position of strength' left to them is the threat of thermonuclear war. We are all, personally, being threatened by these people.

HANDS OFF VIET NAM!

Q. What is the alternative?

A. The U.S. Army must get out of Vietnam, must get out unconditionally, must get out now. The U.S. government has nothing legitimate to say about the future of Vietnam, it has no right to impose 'neutralization' as a condition for withdrawal, it has no right to 'negotiate' the life and death of Asians. Hands off Vietnam! Only this course is in the interest of American working people and our Vietnamese brothers.

The following is the text of a cablegram to Ho Chi Minh regarding the air strikes by the U.S. against North Vietnamese targets:

'PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH,
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM
HANOI, NORTH VIET NAM:
SPARTACIST IN FULLEST SOLIDARITY WITH THE DEFENSE OF YOUR COUNTRY
AGAINST ATTACK BY UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM. HEROIC STRUGGLE OF
VIETNAMESE WORKING PEOPLE FURTHERS THE AMERICAN RESOLUTION
SPARTACIST EDITORIAL BOARD'

→ SPARTACIST--Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001

Exhibit 36. Anti-U. S. handbill from the national Spartacist League headquarters concerning the Viet Nam war.

COME TO THE MARCH PREPARED TO DEFEND YOURSELF

Since the VDC leadership has done everything possible to leave the participants of this Saturday's march completely defenseless, those who do not share their pacifist philosophy but want to march to express their opposition to the war in Vietnam should consider taking a few precautions. For instance:

- (1) Wear sturdy shoes, boots or safety-toed shoes.
- (2) Wear some sort of head protection; if nothing else get an extra large hat and stuff some newspapers inside.
- (3) Wear a heavy jacket. Wear leather gloves.
- (4) Those who wear glasses should remove them if an attack is imminent.
- (5) Bring a picket sign on a sturdy, not too short stick. In case of attack, remove sign and use stick to fend off and poke at the attacker; do not swing like a club.
- (6) Arrange to march with a large group of friends who share your feelings.
- (7) We suggest that all groups who plan to defend themselves gather on the bridge by Sather Gate and join the march in a body.

* * * * *

The VDC leadership has taken the following steps to prevent any effective defense of this march:

- (1) Watered down, re-interpreted, and finally rescinded a proposal calling for an effective defence.
- (2) Adopted a policy that all marchers will sit down and offer no resistance if attacked.
- (3) Made repeated public statements that the marchers will do nothing to defend themselves.
- (4) Put its reliance on the police powers of Mayor Houlahan and Governor Brown to protect the marchers; i.e. appealed to the same ruling class whose Vietnam war we are opposing.

For intelligent individuals to adhere to a philosophy that takes an unnecessarily severe toll in physical damage is a waste; for the leadership of a mass movement to follow similar tactics is a betrayal.

The biggest obstacle to be overcome in this area is not the Oakland cops or the Oakland City Council or Governor Brown or the Hells Angels, but the unrealistic policies of the VDC leadership.

(later donated)

Spartacist Socialist Club
P.O. Box 852

Exhibit 37. Instructions issued to Spartacist League members in California on tactics to be followed in an anti-war demonstration.

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Box 50027
New Orleans, La. 70113

SOUTHWIDE ORGANIZERS' CONFERENCE

The weekend of Sept 30, Oct 1 & 2 there will be a southwide organizers' conference here in New Orleans. Workers with experience in the south will run workshops in anti-war tactics: how to investigate war industries, how to uncover & deal with war-profiteers, how to fight the draft, how to mobilize student action, how to run 3rd party candidates, how to organize local anti-war chapters.

To date the workshop-leaders are:

Jack Minnis, SNCC, The Care & Feeding of Power Structure
Ann Braden, SCEF, Problems & Tactics of Organizing
Southern Whites

Adam Shesh, NCC
Dick Krooth, NCC
Jack Brady, Radical Journalism

Schedule:

Friday, Sept 30, 4 pm on, Registration, Informal Conference
Sat, Oct 1, 9am - 6 pm, Workshops
Sat nite, Party
Sun, Oct 2, 9 am - 3 pm, Workshops

New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam extends an invitation to all people committed to anti-war / civil rights work.

Bring a sleepingbag or a blanket.

\$1 registration fee.

No transportation money available.

Let us know immediately if you can come.

Locals let us know immediately how many people you can put up.

Phone numbers to call on arrival in New Orleans: 523 4580,
944 5445, 947 9145.

Friday afternoon & evening, starting 4 pm, registration & informal conference, Quorum Club, 611 Esplanade Av, 947 9145.

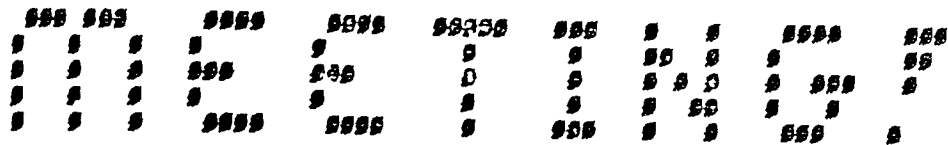
NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Exhibit 38. Handbill describing the "Southwide Organizers' Conference" of the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Viet Nam.

PERSONS THAT ATTENDED THE
NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
WORKSHOP ON SEPTEMBER 30 AND OCTOBER 1, 1966

Harriet Tanzman	James A. Dombrowski
Jack H. Working	Joseph Henry
Robert Greenburg	Sidney Goldfinch
Donald F. Cole	David Dybek
Jan Hillegas	David Groskind
Roxane Head	Mark Hunter
Ed Dubinsky	Johann W. Rush
Lon Clay Hill	Peter Buch
Anne Lowe	Hedy Russo
Alexander Hartman	Judy Ann Barnes
Eric Gordon	Joe Morse
David M. Roland	Dick Krooth
Raymond D. DuVernay	Neil Toman
Jack Brady	Adam Schesch
V. E. Y. Collins	Ed Clark
Jack Frazier	Darlene Fife
Nydia Peebles	Sandy Manson
Jack Peebles	Joe Verret
Liz Foote	Richard Fluker
Mark Klein	Fred Lacey
John Joerg	Jack Minis
James F. Kirkpatrick	John Mahoney
Suzanne M. Wheat	Bob Head
Rosalyn Laventhal	Donald Savery
Mrs. Benjamin (Corrine) Smith	Anne Braden
Emalyn Hawkins	Ray Mooney
Roger Lovin	

Exhibit 39. List of persons attending the "Southwide Organizers' Conference of the NOCEWVN.



-----TUES. NIGHT -- NOV. 15th -- 7:30 P. M.-----

2125 1/2 NORTH RAMPART STREET

WHAT THE "BEAT THE DRAFT" TEST
MEANS FOR YOU

THERE'S AN OLD SAYING that goes "the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer." It seems like these days we should change that saying a little to go: "The rich get richer, and the poor die in Vietnam."

THE WAY THE POOR DIE IN VIETNAM is by first being DRAFTED. And on November 18th and 19th, the Selective Service outfit will again be testing college students to see if they have learned enough to stay in college, or if they should be sent to Vietnam with other kids that the Government thinks haven't learned enough -- mainly kids from the poor and working families in this country.

WE FEEL that the whole draft system is unfair and aimed at sending poor and working kids to Vietnam, while it lets the rich-folk's kids stay in college, get high paying jobs, and get richer and richer.

IF THIS IS A DEMOCRACY, THEN WHY WON'T THEY DRAFT RICH AND POOR ALIKE?

AND IF THIS IS SUCH A GREAT WAR, THEN WHY DO THEY NEED TO DRAFT ANY PARENT'S SON AT ALL?

WHY NOT LET VOLUNTEERS DO THE FIGHTING?

AND IF NOBODY VOLUNTEERS, THEN WHY ARE WE OVER THERE AT ALL???

THE GOVERNMENT BIGSHOTS say that the war will last 5, 10 or even 15 years. That means that kids 13, 8 or even as young as 3 years old now may one day be killed in Vietnam.....MOST OF THEM BECAUSE THEY DIDN'T COME FROM RICH FAMILIES WHO COULD AFFORD GOOD SCHOOLS!

LET'S TALK IT OVER!

If you'd like to talk over what sort of action we can take to begin to solve some of these problems, we invite you to a community meeting at 2125 1/2 N. Rampart St., Tuesday night (Nov. 15th), at 7:30 P.M.

The New Orleans Committee
to End the War in Vietnam

Post Office Box 50027,
New Orleans, La. 70113

--Labor Donated--

Exhibit 40. NOCEWVN handbill on an anti-war meeting in New Orleans.

What to Demand

The choice is clear: either support the dominance of U.S. Big Business, or join with the Vietnamese revolution and demand withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam. There can be no "in-betweens" or compromise positions in a war against the bosses. We who favor the liberation of the Vietnamese and American working people therefore demand:

BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW!
NO GI DEATHS FOR U.S. CORPORATIONS!
VICTORY FOR THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION!
NO MORE VOTES FOR THE BOSSES' PARTIES
-- BUILD A LABOR PARTY!

8/4/66



SPARTACIST

P.O. BOX 8121

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

COME TO A RALLY
AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM

--Local Speakers

--Admission Free

DRYADES STREET YMCA (2222 Dryades)
SUNDAY, AUGUST 7 at 2 p.m.



Sponsored by : New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam
P.O. Box 50027
New Orleans, La. 70113

Exhibit 41. NOCEWVN handbill on an anti-war "rally" in New Orleans. Note the open identification with the Spartacist League.

band Carl Braden by an informant of the FBI in Carl Braden's trial for "Sedition" in 1954. Braden, incidentally, was convicted, and was later released from a fifteen-year term in the Kentucky penitentiary under a U. S. Supreme Court decision nullifying the sedition statutes of the State of Pennsylvania and other states including Kentucky. Other featured lecturers at this conference included Jack Brady, identified as a Communist in the testimony of Sgt. David Kent, and Peter Buch, previously identified as a member of the Communist "Socialist Workers' Party," the Trotskyite parent organization of the Spartacist League.

This particular conference was of extreme importance to the radical left movement in New Orleans. Its title "Southwide Organizers' Conference" indicates its obvious purpose, to train radical leadership. It was controlled and conducted by Communists from beginning to end. The next two documents demonstrate some of the activities and propaganda of the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Viet Nam. They show the Communist "party line" on the Viet Nam war.

The final document of this group Mr. Chairman, is a nine-page statement written by Mark Klein, one of the New Orleans Spartacists, analyzing the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam and its evolution into the "New Orleans Movement For a Democratic Society" under the leadership of Ed Clark. Clark, as the Committee has been told in previous testimony, is a Communist of the Maoist variety, being the Southern Representative of the Communist "Progressive Labor Party." This statement is a well-written explanation of the entire background and activities of the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, the internal rivalry between the Trotskyite and Maoist Communists and the formation of the New Orleans Movement For a Democratic Society under Ed Clark's leadership. The writer at one point refers to Clark as a "Stalinist," but later he develops Clark's Maoist ties. This document is an extremely interesting analysis of some of the inner workings and rivalries of some of the Communist groups in New Orleans. It clearly shows that both the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Viet Nam and the New Orleans Movement For a Democratic Society were and are controlled lock, stock and barrel, by the Communists.

Mr. Chairman, at this point I want to insert in the record six more documents relating generally to the points I have just covered. First, here is a picture of Mr. Ed Clark of the Progressive Labor Party, and Mark Klein and Joseph Verret of the Spartacist League, marching together in a Communist demonstration against the Presi-

MOSCOW TRIALS IN NEW ORLEANS

by a defendant

On Sunday evening, March 12, the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam met to consider ways to give the Committee a broader multi-issue orientation, particularly by changing the name of the Committee. At the opening Ed Clark, Southern representative of the Progressive Labor Party, introduced a new constitution for the new organization and proposed the name "Movement for a Democratic Society". He called for discussion on the most controversial section of his proposed constitution--section 3 of Article III on membership. Sections 1, 2 and 3 of Article III read as follows:

- 1) Membership is open to any resident of Orleans, Jefferson or St. Bernard Parish who agrees with the program of the organization;
- 2) Membership is not open to persons opposed to the program of the organization, in whole or in part;
- 3) Membership is not open to persons who maintain membership in other organizations which are overtly or covertly opposed to the program of New Orleans MDS; nor is membership open to persons who also maintain membership in other organizations which have as their overt or covert political objective the disruption of other groups on the left.

Clark emphasized that section 3 was written explicitly for the purpose of excluding members of the Spartacist League. Such sectarianism could have disastrous consequences for the entire Left in the U.S.

To get a better understanding of the ensuing events, one should have some knowledge of the origins of the now defunct New Orleans CEWVN.

Militant Committee

The core of the CEWVN was born out of a split in July 1966 between right-wing pacifists-anarchists on the one hand and independent radicals and communists (including Spartacist and PL) on the other. The pacifists wanted merely to "witness" their moral indignation against the war, and felt uncomfortable in the presence of the radical wing of the Committee; in July they split off to have their own peace vigil and afterwards went out of politics. The left wing of the Committee continued to be active and grew into the now defunct CEWVN.

The new left-wing group was extremely active and very militant. Among its activities were: an indoor rally in August, several pickets of government functions, a Southwide conference of antiwar activists in September, several mass leafletings, a monthly newsletter and a door-to-door survey in December. One Committee leaflet against new City taxes called for a "political party of the poor and working people", which would "move to tax the big businesses" and "bring our troops home now".

/,

Exhibit 42. Statement written by Mark Klein, Spartacist League member, analyzing in detail the NOCEWVN and the "Movement For A Democratic Society".

Spartacist Participation

The Spartacist policy towards the Committee was one of friendly participation. We regarded the Committee as a healthy, leftward-moving formation; we worked in it as open Spartacist members and contributed to the various projects. At the same time, however, we recognized the inevitable instability of a grouping which had not yet resolved its political positions, and we attempted to open political discussions wherever possible. This general policy is outlined in our policy paper on antiwar work, adopted at the September 1966 National Conference of the Spartacist League:

...we seek to be both the best activists and the most programatically clear fighters against the war. In our participation in the anti-war movement we do not seek to hastily run through correct positions or put undue emphasis on the formal organizational adoption of our line, but rather wish to patiently explain our positions and genuinely convince militants of our program.

In the day-to-day work of the Committee, therefore, we tried to give political analysis of the Committee's direction and activities, and offer criticisms, suggestions, etc.. The Committee itself began to realize the need for more theoretical understanding, and in December it began a monthly newsletter "to educate ourselves so we can educate others." In February the Committee held the first of a planned series of open "ideological discussions," which, however, proved also to be the last.

Stalinists Generate Blind Hostility

We gradually learned, however, that the PL fraction was not so much interested in political discussion as it was in generating blind hostility towards us, and towards ideology in general. The first manifestation of this was in October, when Ed Clark introduced a motion saying that henceforth all signs at demonstrations must be signed by the Committee, that slogans must be approved by the majority, and that organizations wishing to bring their own signs must "negotiate" with the Committee. In defending this motion, Clark specifically referred to a sign carried in a recent demonstration by a Spartacist which read: "Military Support to the National Liberation Front (Viet-Cong)." Clark claimed that this sign was the main cause of the hostility of passersby, although in actuality this was only one among many Spartacist signs, having slogans like "Vietnam, Watts, Mississippi -- It's the Same Struggle," "Abolish 2-S," etc. -- all of which Clark, as a Maoist, is supposed to be for. We argued not only for the slogan, but against any restrictive sign policy, which could only lead to each faction attempting to impose its own political line on the united front committee. While we opposed the motion in principle, we still abided by it when it was passed, since the majority did not ban the fundamental slogan of immediate withdrawal.

In December we attempted to continue political discussions by holding two discussion classes on "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" by Trotsky, and "Fascism, What It is, How to Fight It" by Trotsky. This drew people from outside the Committee, including some Black people.

2.

In early January I wrote an article entitled, "A Political View of Our Antiwar Work" and submitted it to the Committee as a possible article for the Newsletter. The article, which was signed by me and did not mention Spartacist, said in part:

The New Orleans Vietnam Committee recently reached an impasse which has been chronic to the antiwar movement in general: despite months of vigorous activity, no significant tangible results were obtained. While it is true that the Committee picked up one or two new members, it still remains small and isolated, and composed almost entirely of white middle-class elements...

The essential strategical task of the Committee thus has been to break out of this middle-class isolation. To do this, the Committee has begun experimenting with different organizational methods of reaching people...

But the main problem has actually not been one of organizational methods, though new methods are always welcome. The real problem has been lack of a clear political program--in particular, a program which can appeal to the workingclass--and this aspect has been seriously ignored...

...we should carry on more internal discussions. In this regard, the newsletter should be opened to a free political discussion.

It was apparent, however, that Clark had generated the idea of some kind of subterfuge involved in my suggesting such an article for the newsletter. A large majority voted that the newsletter was not the proper place for such an article, and that if we wished to publish it, we should do so under our own name.

In February we received the first definite indication that Clark was planning a purge of the Committee. Clark had been carrying on correspondence with someone on the West Coast who had once lived in New Orleans and whom he considered to be sympathetic with his views. This person, shocked by Clark's dishonest accusations and plans, sent a copy of one of these letters on to us. In this letter, Clark writes of his plans for the Committee:

We are currently discussing changing the N.O. CEVWN into something like a "New Orleans Citizens for a Democratic Society" which will be an organization of organizers--organizing neighborhood CIPA's, campus SDS chapters, etc.--and associate researchers, newsletter publishers, pamphlets, etc. (all this, it goes without saying, excludes the sparts) /our emphasis/

This letter was dated January 21, 1967--seven weeks before the "purge".

A few days before the final confrontation, I received a confirmation of the above when a non-Spartacist member of the Committee phoned me up. He said he felt something dirty was going on and that he didn't want to be a part of it, and so was warning me. He referred to a draft of the constitution which Clark had sent him, and read the clause which was directed at us. Clark was going to force a split in the Committee.

The Phoney Charges

After introducing his "constitution" at the final meeting, Clark expounded six major "charges" against the Spartacist League and Trotskyism in general. The general theme of his speech was an old Stalinist corpse--that Trotskyists are "splitters and wreckers" and so must be excluded and destroyed. The charges, with my answers to them, were as follows:

Charge 1--The Spartacists identify their political ancestry with the American Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, led by James P. Cannon in its younger days. In his book, The History of American Trotskyism, Cannon wrote:

Partly as a result of our experience in the Socialist Party and our fight in there, the Socialist Party was put on the side lines. This was a great achievement, because it was an obstacle in the path of building a revolutionary party. The problem is not merely one of building a revolutionary party, but of clearing obstacles from its path. Every other party is a rival. Every other party is an obstacle.

Essentially, as Clark wrote in his letter of January 21, the charge was that "the main organizational perspective of trotskyism is the perspective which asserts that all other left groups are obstacles to the revolution & the revolutionary party...obstacles which the revolutionary party must infiltrate, smash, destroy, etc."

To begin my answer, I referred to Cannon's Socialism on Trial, which seemed rather appropriate. In that book, and in the book quoted by Clark, Cannon says that the Trotskyists did not "infiltrate" the SP to smash it. As Cannon said:

The Socialist Party had had an internal discussion and controversy which culminated in the last month of 1935 in a split, in the withdrawal of the more conservative elements. The Socialist Party had then issued an invitation for unaffiliated radical individuals and groups to join the Socialist Party.

We accepted the invitation and joined the party in 1936, again with the express provision which we had originally contended for in the Communist Party, that we should have the right to maintain our particular views and to discuss them in the party--that is, when discussion was in order, and we on our part obligated ourselves to observe discipline in the daily work and common action of the party. [our emphasis]

But, as Cannon explains in detail in the book quoted by Clark, the right-wing bureaucrats of the SP like Norman Thomas, frightened by the gains of Trotskyists among the rank and file, smothered internal party democracy. Thomas and other "democrats" passed a rule banning internal party organs, and then, as Cannon explains, "They passed the 'Gag' law. This was a decision of the National Committee to the effect that no more resolutions could be introduced in branches about disputed questions." When the Trotskyists in the SP began a fight against this procedure, the "democrats" began wholesale expulsions which decimated the party.

4.

The SP organization was thus destroyed by the right-wing "democrats". All professed revolutionary tendencies admit the need to expose and destroy incorrect ideas in the revolutionary movement. In "Road to Revolution II", PL says, "The fight against revisionism must be one of the main tasks in the international communist movement." Unlike Stalinists, however, Trotskyists destroy incorrect ideas not by physically eliminating the representatives of these ideas through purges, but by constantly engaging in open political confrontation and debate. If incorrect ideas and practices are adequately exposed in the course of struggle, those who continue to hold them will be totally discredited--as happened to the SP leaders. But it is such confrontation in the course of common struggle that Clark and PL, like all Stalinists, want to avoid at all costs.

Charge 2--In its Memo on the PL Group in 1963, Spartacist said:

Without both recognizing the need for and achieving a Trotskyist clarity about the nature of the SU [Soviet Union] and of Stalinism, no formation (above all one formed as a breakaway from Stalinism) can acquire an authentic and durable revolutionary quality. [emphasis added by Clark]

This quotation comprised the entire charge. Clark was thus implying once again that the SL is out simply to infiltrate and smash everybody else. In reply, I said that we believe that our orientation and theoretical position is vital for the building of a successful revolutionary movement. This of course is the common belief of all groups which call themselves Marxist-Leninist, including PL. But, unlike the Stalinists once again, we do not push our line through bureaucratic maneuvers, exclusions and purges, but through open honest discussion and common actions.

Charge 3--In the mid-1965 unity discussions between Spartacist and the American Committee for the Fourth International, Jim Robertson, editor of SPARTACIST, said:

We want to have a political clarification and confrontation with PL and have never been interested in merely picking up a member here or there. We want to see a deep split within the cadre.

Once again Clark tried to imply that we want to infiltrate and smash opponent groups. In response, I merely noted that the obvious intention was to point up contradictions in PL's position through "political clarification and confrontation". If PL believes its line can stand the test of open confrontation with other views, then PL need have no fear of being split.

Charge 4--In March of 1966 the New Orleans Spartacists put out a small pamphlet which charged that Ed Clark was a liar.

This "charge" is true, but so was the charge in our pamphlet. In February a Spartacist member, Al Nelson, had spoken at a teach-in at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. Nelson, who had visited Cuba in 1964, spoke for the victory of the NLF. This caused a statewide sensation and as the New Orleans States-Item said (12 February): "The incident drew fire from conservatives, veterans' organizations and public

officials, who demanded everything from the arrest of Nelson to the imposition of restrictions of speakers at the university." But when Clark reported on this in Challenge (March 2) he omitted all reference to Spartacist and attributed the controversy to a pro-NLF statement made by a student the day after the teach-in. To correct this deliberate distortion, the local Spartacists reprinted Clark's article in toto together with another article which corrected the distortions and exposed Clark's dishonesty.

Charge 5--I published and mailed out on my own a one-page supplement to the October issue of the New Orleans Freedom Press. (This was an independent mimeographed publication, but staffed by many people from the CEWVN).

Clark failed to mention that I was editor of the October issue, and each editor had the final say over his issue. The reason for my supplement was that Clark, who at this time held the stencils and the mimeograph machine, inserted something in the issue without telling me or the staff. What he inserted was the result of a poll circulated on his own at an anti-war conference in New Orleans; part of the poll told the reader:

Arrange the following national and regional organizations by initials, with the most radical at the top of the list and the least radical at the bottom...: CP; SDS; SP; CNVA; PLP; SNCC; SSOC; DECA /Dubois Clubs/

My supplement pointed out the dishonest way in which the poll was inserted in the issue, and the dishonesty of the poll itself; in the above question, at least three major groups are omitted--the SL, the SWP and the YSA. In any case, only about 8 people answered this question, so any "results" were of dubious significance.

Charge 6--The CEWVN passed and sent a letter to Peter Buch of the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter in February. The letter quite correctly attacked the concepts behind the Spring Mobilization, and also rejected the visit of a YSAer, Charles Bolduc, who was preparing a Southern tour on behalf of the Mobilization. Subsequently, the local SL sent a letter to Bolduc inviting an open SL-YSA debate.

Clark was thus insinuating that the SL broke the "discipline" of the Committee, by acting in its own name in proposing a debate. But such a loosely-run group, with neither a Leninist structure nor a clear program, could not reasonably impose the discipline of a revolutionary party over the SL, the PLP or any other group whose members participate in the Committee. We did not disagree with the Committee's criticisms of the Spring Mobilization, but felt that all would gain from open debate of the issues involved, rather than from the Stalinist method of preventing the expression of opposing views.

* * *

After the presentation of and reply to Clark's charges, the meeting opened up and more or less degenerated into a barrage of petty gripes which bore the marks of a mindless witchhunt. Typical was the "charge" that we had attempted to get an article into the newsletter--the article which I had submitted for discussion at an open Committee meeting!

6.

A Fake Constitution

Throughout the heated discussion a number of people pointed out the monolithic character of the proposed constitution, although the "program" of the constitution was so broadly worded as to be almost meaningless. Essentially the program called for "organizing community action groups", "organizing assistance to the trade union movement", "organizing campus organizations", "organizing...insurgent political parties completely independent of the Democratic and Republican parties..." and "organizing campaigns around individual issues (the war in Vietnam, the draft, etc.)" The preamble had a disgusting patriotic tone: "We as citizens of New Orleans, Louisiana, the South and the Nation concerned with the quality of the political life of our republic and convinced of our right and duty to join with our fellow citizens in securing the establishment of genuine democracy..." etc. Yet although its program was hopelessly vague, the constitution insisted on strict "discipline"--beginning with the expulsion of the Spartacist League.

It was clear that Clark's constitution was mere window-dressing, designed to cover his maneuver to get rid of us. To demonstrate this, I proved that Clark himself opposes the stated program of his constitution. The constitution generally gave complete approval to SDS, SSOC and SNCC; in fact, it stated that "No one can become an officer in New Orleans MDS who is not either a member of SDS or a member of SSOC", that MDS would "give preference" to the organization of SDS, SSOC and SNCC chapters on campuses and that MDS would "function as an at-large chapter" of SDS and SSOC. Yet in his letter of January 21, Clark had written:

The root of these ambitions [to organize] lies in the deplorable state of the national anti-war movement (as I saw it in my travels). In the south the Southern Coordinating Committee is defunct, the SDS groups that exist (Birmingham, Lexington, Ky., Gainesville, Florida, Austin, Texas) are either politically bad (the first two) or pot head chapters (the last two) or both. SSOC has two or three chapters and maybe 75 members counting the at-large people--and is so bad that even Eddy Hamlett has virtually resigned! At the last SNCC meeting (in upstate New York) a gang of secular muslims led by Bill Ware and his Vine City gang nearly ousted Stokely Carmichael...and Carmichael is in such bad shape that he has already announced that he will not be a candidate for chairman in the spring. SECF [sic] hasn't gotten worse politically, they're just broker than usual.

Clark thus has a pretty low opinion of SDS, SSOC and SNCC, but for the sake of expediency he lied about it in his constitution.

After a long heated debate the Committee came to a vote on the "membership" section of the Constitution, and the result was a tie, 6 to 6, with two abstentions. Finally someone proposed to resolve the issue by voting simply on whether or not to expel Spartacist, without the rationalization; this vote was 7 for and 4 against, with 2 abstentions and one person who supported us out of the room for a few minutes. After this vote, four people immediately left the room.

7.

It is clear that the net result of Clark's exclusionist maneuver was a wrecking of the left in New Orleans, at least temporarily. The former chairman of the CEWVN, a non-Spartacist, had resigned his chairmanship before the meeting had begun, and abstained on the final vote. Another non-Spartacist member of the three-man steering committee resigned and left the room with us. There is a general demoralization which will take some time to overcome.

Why?

Clark's actions are only one more example of PL's sectarian policy which refuses to engage in united front efforts with Trotskyists. We believe that actions ultimately flow from theoretical positions, and this is the real root of the problem.

PL was born as a left split from the revisionism of the Soviet Union and the Moscow-oriented Communist Parties. Since then PL has oriented more and more toward the Chinese Communist bureaucracy under Mao, which has leveled some very pointed criticisms at the Soviet bureaucracy. But the Chinese bureaucracy, like all Stalinist bureaucracies concerned with "Socialism in One Country" and the maintenance of bureaucratic rule, has limited its international efforts to serious class-collaborationist policies aimed at securing diplomatic gains for the Chinese state at the expense of the international working class. When these policies proved disastrous--for example, the support of the pro-Peking Indonesian CP to Sukarno, a policy which led to the massacre of the Indonesian communist workers--and isolated the Chinese Revolution ever further, Mao sought to stabilize his position through a purge, under the guise of the "great Proletarian Cultural Revolution".

With its orientation toward Peking as the "center of world revolution", like the CP's long orientation toward Moscow, PL has adopted the Chinese line in its own propaganda and actions. This line has taken such absurd turns as demanding that North Vietnam not only denounce Soviet revisionism, but refuse to accept even that aid which the Soviet bureaucracy has reluctantly conceded to the Vietnamese revolution. This position was outlined in "Road to Revolution II", the PIP's latest position paper. In effect this is a demand on North Vietnam to send back anti-aircraft weapons, MIG jets, trucks, oil supplies and other valuable military equipment which the Chinese unfortunately cannot provide.

Taking as a "given" the view that the most revolutionary force is the Chinese leadership and that the main task of revolutionaries is to defend this leadership and subordinate the class struggle in this country and around the world to the Chinese line, PL is applying itself to eliminate what it regards as "enemies" of the Chinese Revolution--i.e., enemies of the Chinese Communist bureaucracy. Since Spartacist has taken a strong stand against Mao's policies (see "Maoism Run Amok" in SPARTACIST #8) we have been among the first targets. But who will be the next target as the needs of the Chinese bureaucracy flip-flop in typical Stalinist fashion.

It is doubtful, though, that PL will be able to gather a reliable following around the policies of a zig-zagging Stalinist bureaucracy, for the Left today is less naive than the Left of 30 years ago, and wants nothing to do with a false ideology which leads to dishonesty and maneuvering, the refusal to politically confront the ideas of other tenden-

cies in the radical movement, red-baiting and exclusionism. For its own part, the Spartacist League will continue to approach politics with the method of scientific socialism, as expounded by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky—i.e., with the uncompromising seriousness and respect for truth demanded by the struggle to abolish exploitation and oppression through the action of the mass of working people acting consciously on their own behalf.

March 1967

Published by:

SPARTACIST LEAGUE
Box 8121, Gentilly Station
New Orleans, La. 70122

9.

Exhibit 42H. Ninth page of exhibit 42.

dent of Nicaragua during his recent visit to New Orleans. The next picture is one of Frederick Bernard Lacey of the Progressive Labor Party and Marimar Benitez, a former member of the Spartacist League, in the same demonstration. The next document is a picture of both the front and back covers of the magazine "PL" published by the Progressive Labor Party. These show the nature of subjects important to the Progressive Labor Party and also the participation of Ed Clark as a writer for this magazine. The Progressive Labor Party is militantly Maoist in its policy, following the anti-Moscow party line of Red China. The next document is the cover of a bulletin published by the Progressive Labor Party showing the contents of the bulletin. The last two documents in this group are photographs of the front-page headlines of two issues of "The Militant," the weekly publication of the "Socialist Workers' Party." The Committee will no doubt remember the famous picture of Lee Harvey Oswald holding a rifle and a copy of "The Militant." These newspapers are samples of the "party line" of the Socialist Workers' Party, whose member Peter Buch was a lecturer at the Southwide Organizers' Conference.

Mr. Chairman, one of the key "issues" exploited by the Spartacist League is the question of so-called "Police Brutality." All Communists as a matter of policy hate the police as symbols of "Capitalist Oppression." They honestly expect all policemen to be killed when the violent revolution comes about and in fact have actually killed most of the police of every country they have ever taken over. I offer for the record three documents which show the Spartacist League "party line" as to the police. These are all handbills handed out in the New Orleans area by the Spartacist League, the most recent one only last month. These handbills are calculated to stir up resentment and hatred of the police. They are a classic prelude to actual violence and demonstrate a Communist technique which has been used in every city in this nation where violence and rioting has taken place. They portend some dangerous plans for the city of New Orleans whose police force is already undermanned and overworked.

The connection of New Orleans attorney Jack Peebles to the Spartacist League was explained to the Committee in the testimony of both Sgt. Kent and Mr. Donald Meyer. I now offer for the record a picture of Jack Peebles. He is an obvious link between the Communist front Southern Conference Educational Fund and most of the radical left activities in New Orleans. On the SCEF side he is reported to be a Vice President of that organization and he is known to be closely and personally associated with Carl and Anne Braden

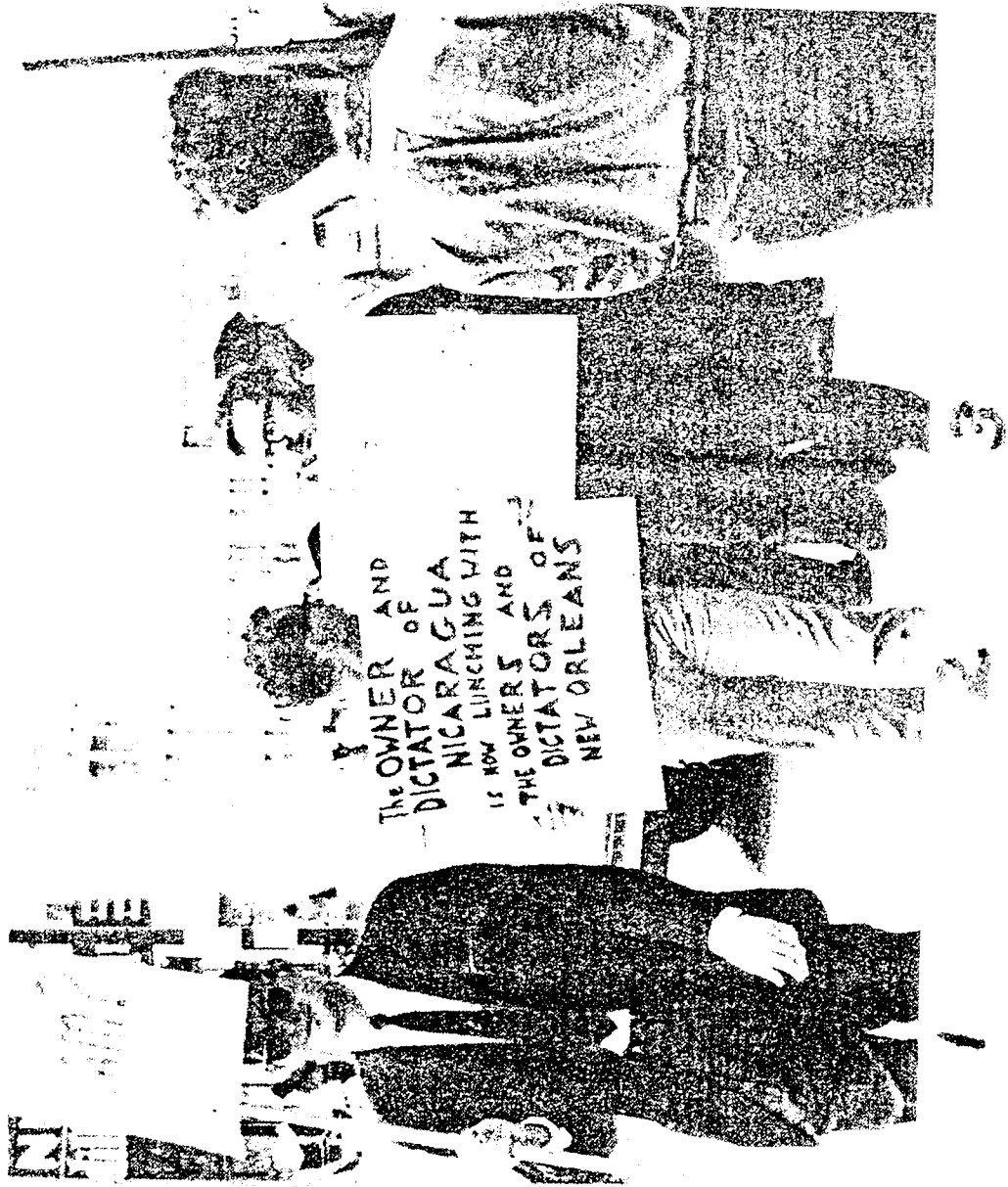


Exhibit 43. 1. Edward Hughes Clark (Progressive Labor Party leader in New Orleans.) 2. Mark Klein (Spartacist League) 3. Joseph S. Verret, Jr, (Spartacist League)

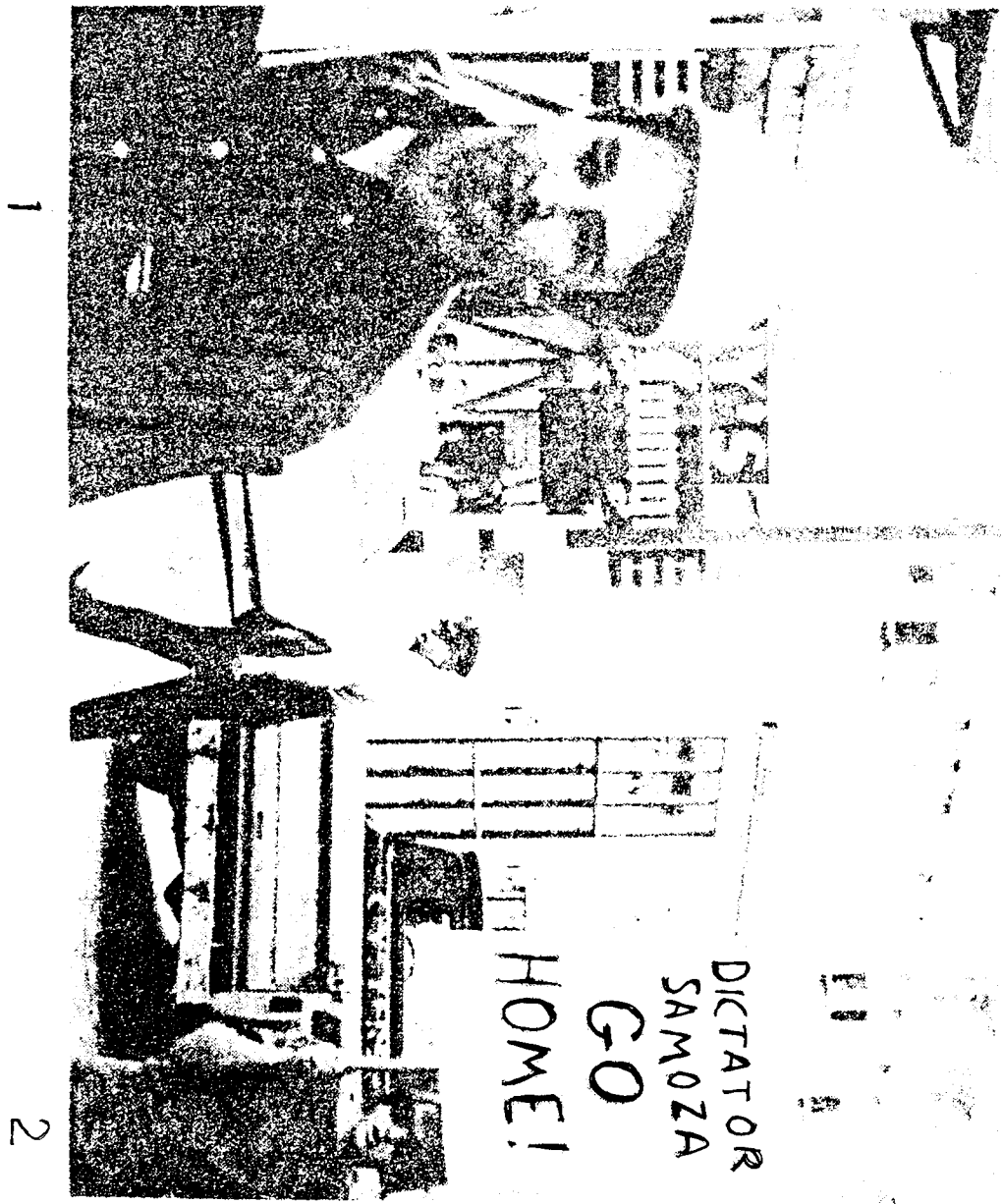
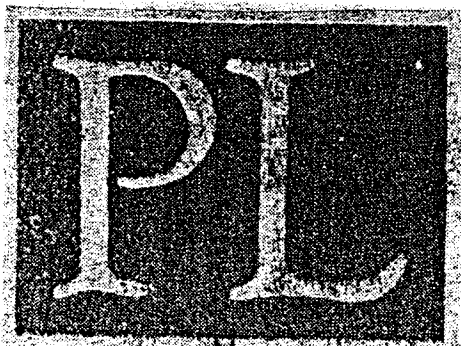


Exhibit 44. Frederick Bernard Lacey (Progressive Labor Party), 2. Marimar Benitez (Ex Spartacist League member and Puerto Rican Nationlist)



PROGRESSIVE LABOR

VOL. 5 NO. 3

MARCH-APRIL 1966

FIRST ANNIVERSARY PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

Securing Revolutions - Eric Guevara

The Other Germany - 1943 - Bertolt Brecht

District 65: An Analysis - Walter Linder

PLP Community Work: East - West

Studies on the Left: Reply - Rejoinder

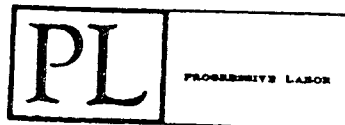
Green Beret Against The War - Don Duncan

'Legal' Murder: Rosenberg-Sobell Case

NYC Halts Transit Strike - Frank Scott

Exhibit 45. Front cover of "PL" magazine, official publication of the Progressive Labor Party.

In the next issue of



Pre-Civil War Black Nationalism — Bill McAdoo

The Role of Social Consciousness in Struggle

Art and Revolution

The Epton Case: The Lawyers Speak Out

Nationalization of the Railroads — Walter Linder

Marxism and Anarchism — Ed Clark



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Progressive Labor Party
organ on the West Coast

10c an issue; \$1 a year on the
West Coast; \$2 in the rest
of the USA; \$4 all foreign

Spark
P.O. Box 73
Station A
Berkeley, California

Exhibit 46. Back cover of exhibit 45. Note the contribution of Ed Clark, New Orleans leader of the Progressive Labor Party.

Bulletin | Supplement

THE QUESTIONS FACING THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR CONVENTION

1. THE QUESTIONS FACING THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR CONVENTION
Will PL deal with its growing problems politically or will it resort to the same methods as the CPUSA?
2. ON THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES
 - a. Progressive Labor and the origins of revisionism in the American Communist Movement.
 - b. International roots of CPUSA's revisionism and the role of Cannon and Foster in resisting that revisionism.
3. WASHINGTON'S GRAND DESIGN FOR WORLD DOMINATION
 - a. What lies behind Khrushchevite revisionism? A discussion of the important theoretical questions raised by Progressive Labor's latest international statement.
 - b. Behind the ouster of Nikita Khrushchev. Bureaucracy seeks to solve deepening crisis by changing the man but not the policy he stood for.
 - c. China, Stalin and the world revolution. Mao can neither completely break with the Khrushchevists nor establish permanent peace with them.
4. LIST OF LITERATURE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE FROM THE BULLETIN

Published by the American Committee for the Fourth International

Part I is reprinted from the Bulletin of International Socialism, Vol. 2, No. 7, April 19, 1965. Part 2 is reprinted from Vol. 2, No. 3 and No. 4, Feb. 8 and Feb. 22, 1965. Part 3 is reprinted from Vol. 1, No. 4, No. 5, and No. 6, Oct. 26, Nov. 9 and Nov. 23, 1964.

Exhibit 47. Bulletin from the Progressive Labor Party concerning its 1965 convention.

Handwritten copy of the "SWP" (Socialist Workers Party)

Civil Rights Leader to Head Spring Antiwar Mobilization

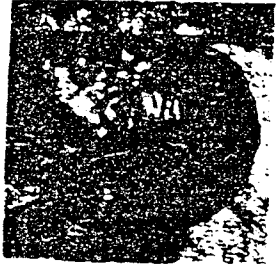
THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People
Vol 31 - No. 6 Monday, February 6, 1967 Price 10c

SNCC, MPI Form A Working Bloc

During the recent visit to Port-au-Prince, Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, concluded an agreement of mutual support and solidarity between his organization and the two leading pro-independence organizations of Haiti: the Movement for the Liberation of Haiti (MLH) and the Federation of University Students for Independent Haiti (FUSI).

For the information of our readers we are reproducing here the text of the statement made by



By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Rev. James L. Bevel, militant rights fighter, will speak the organization of a massive April 15 New York-San Francisco mobilization against the Vietnam war.

Director of action programs for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a longtime associate of Martin Luther King, Bevel has become national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee, a coalition of antiwar forces that is organizing the Spring Mobilization. The appointment for the past year announced by A. J. Muste, chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee, at a press conference here Jan. 27. Muste had just returned from a visit to North Vietnam.

Bevel said he was particularly interested as a black person about mobilizing a movement to end the

war. He said his decision to work fulltime in the antiwar movement had the full support of Rev. King and symbolized the growing opposition to the war among non-whites.

Bevel spoke bluntly about the racist character of the war. "Our concern is with the mass murder of the colored people of Vietnam," he declared. "This is one more expression of the racist policies of the American government. It's all through history — the extermination of the Indians, the banning of the colored people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the disenfranchising of the Chinese at the UN and the Harlem, the attitude toward South Africa — all of these things are expressions of the same problem. It grows out of a real sickness, particularly by the policy makers of this country."

Discussing the plans of the Spring Mobilization Committee, Bevel said: "I believe we are in a position to bring about as a result the world-wide popular demand to end the murder and that is what we are going to do. Each passing day," he continued, "makes more and more plain to millions of Americans the hollowness and wickedness of this war of aggression against a foreign, colored people. We cannot let our duty as civilized people to stop the mass murder in Vietnam and bring America's boys back home."

Nelson Kent Ovi



Rev. James L. Bevel
Photo by Harry Ring

Prof. Robert Greenblatt of Cornell University; Edward Keating, publisher of Ramparts; and Prof. Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University.

At the press conference, Muste said that the acceptance of the director's post by Bevel was in itself a significant expression of the degree to which the movement is being broadened.

Attacked Red-baiting

Evidence of this was offered by Bevel who announced that members of SCLC, CORE and SNCC would be joining him on the staff of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Muste also spoke out vigorously against the recent red-baiting attack on the Spring Mobilization Committee by Rep. Willis, chairman of HUCAC. "We are not going to be intimidated," Muste said.

Exhibit 48. Front page headlines of "The Militant", a publication of the "Socialist Workers' Party" a Trotskyite Communist organization.

Weekly organ of the "SWP" (Socialist Workers Party)

THE MILITANT
 Published in the Interest of the Working People
 Vol. 31 - No. 13 Munday, March 27, 1967 Price 10¢

**A GI Writes Home:
 'Let's Get Out!'**

(The following are excerpts from a letter sent to Senator Fulbright by a Second Lieutenant in Vietnam. Fulbright read the letter into the Congressional Record.)

I think we are meddling in someone else's affair. I am also told that if we do not make our stand at the Saigon River, we will have to make it at the Mississippi River. I cannot buy that idea either. The domino theory is not a valid one in this case. The past little phrase, "history repeats itself," combined with the history of Europe during the time of Hitler creates a totally invalid analogy. North Vietnam is not fascist Germany, and South Vietnam is not western Europe. It is not 1939, or even 1949, or even '59. It is 1967. The Vietnamese do not claim to be a master race and do not want to exterminate anyone. This is the other side of the world, and an entirely different people. This is a people who want no more than to be left alone. They want peace. They want to under a government that can give it to them, but they want in under a Vietnamese government. Who is more imperialistically interested in Vietnam, the U.S. or the VC?

Weekly organ of the "SWP" (Socialist Workers Party)

BRING OUR BLACK GIGS BACK HOME!
 NO FIGHTING BLACK PEOPLE - THE BLACK VOTE FIRST.
 FOR JOIN THE VIETNAMESE VOTE.
 PACIST U.S.A. AFFOAMERICANS AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM. LATER.

MAKING THE POINT: Sign carried in the March 26, 1966 massive antiwar march down Fifth Avenue in New York.

**Black Youth Victims
 Of Rigged Draft Setup**

By Dick Roberts

More black youth are drafted relative to population than whites; more black soldiers fight in Vietnam relative to population than whites; and more black soldiers get killed in Vietnam relative to population than whites. These facts about the racist war machine in this country have now been substantiated by a government body which has recently investigated the U.S. military system.

This body was the presidentially-appointed National Advisory Commission on Selective Service which released its long-prepared study on March 6. The same commission recommended drafting by lottery. While the daily press discussed the lottery proposal, it ignored the significant results of the Advisory Commission study on black casualties.

presidential commission found that approximately 20 percent of all personnel assigned to combat occupations throughout the Army are Negro. The racial composition of combat units is even more striking in Vietnam. "Kastanmeier continued.

"The Commission reported that in late 1965, 22.8 percent of enlisted personnel in combat units were Negroes, yet Negroes made up only 11 percent of the total enlisted personnel serving in Vietnam. The Negro percentage in Vietnam Army units there totaled 14.5 percent.

"The casualty figures reflect this," the Commission said. "During the first 11 months of 1966, Negro soldiers comprised 22.4 percent of all Army troops killed in action." (Congressional Record, March 6.)

to white casualties yet to be released in the course of the Vietnam war. It was released by the most authoritative government body yet to investigate the question. And yet the results have been literally sealed out of the pages of the daily press.

The Commission also revealed facts about the composition of the draft boards on a national basis. It found that only 1.3 percent of the 16,632 members of local boards across the nation are black. There are 23 states in which no Negroes serve on the board. In New York City, where there are more Negro and Puerto Rican children in the school system than whites, the draft boards had 3.3 percent Negro members and 1.3 percent Puerto Rican.

The Commission findings substantiate other figures which Re-

WE DON'T WANT THE COPS

A few rich men and politicians run this city and live in luxury. We working people, who actually do the work, are stuck in bad housing and are paid low wages or don't have jobs at all. When we want to do something for ourselves these people use their cops to protect their interests not ours.

We don't need their cops!

We're fed up with police brutality!

What We Need

Sending letters to the mayor and chief of police is no good - the cops protect their interests. They know what is best for them and they're just not interested in helping working people.

What we need is our own block-by-block organization - elected by us and responsible to us - to keep order. This would stop any real crime that exists and stop police brutality. The people who are behind the cops don't live here, we do!

If we unite like this on a large scale we can also form a party which will represent our interests - a freedom-labor party. This party could be run by us through our block-by-block councils and could kick out the racist Democrats.

STOP POLICE BRUTALITY!
BUILD BLOCK-BY-BLOCK COUNCILS!
WORK TOWARD A FREEDOM-LABOR PARTY!

SPARTACIST
P O Box 8121
New Orleans, La. 70122

Exhibit 50. Anti-police Spartacist League handbill.

FIGHT POLICE TERROR

Big Business and its politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties have long used the cops to terrorize working people, especially black people. The purpose is to keep us frightened and divided so that they can make more and more profits for themselves.

Black People Fight Back

But in the face of police terror, Black people have been organizing and fighting. At first our movement was led by Black people who only wanted "equality" so that they could get better jobs in the system (like James Farmer, former head of CORE, who now has a high-paying job in the U.S. Government). But now that the demand is for "Black Power", we the Black masses are getting our say.

Power Structure Reacts

So now the Big Business managers and politicians are becoming real scared. They denounce "Black Power" because they're afraid it could become a radical mass movement of poor and working people, Black and white, which would break away from the two Big Business parties and take power itself.

So the power structure is trying to increase the police terror. All around the country racist politicians are demanding bigger and better police forces.

This is why the New Orleans power structure-- through such groups as the Chamber of Commerce-- is calling for more cops, and wants the City Council to pass a "Stop and Frisk" ordinance. Of course, Black people and poor whites are stopped and frisked by the cops all the time, but the passage of such an ordinance would give the green-light to a much more brutal terror campaign.

What to Do?

When the "Stop and Frisk" ordinance came before the City Council on Feb. 23, a large number of Black people packed the hearing room. This frightened the Council into postponing a decision until March 23.

It is clear that the only way to prevent the passage of this ordinance is through aggressive, massive demonstration. The City Council will not be affected by petitions, pleas, or arguments-- the Council operates for the bloodthirsty power structure, and so is affected only by the threat of massive action.

* * * * *

Therefore we suggest holding a massive demonstration against the ordinance before March 23. We would demand that the City Council immediately drop the idea of a "Stop and Frisk" ordinance in any form. The suggested demonstration would be open to all groups and individuals opposed to the ordinance.

For more information, call 522-2194 or write to :

SPARTACIST LEAGUE

P.O. BOX 8121

NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70122

Exhibit 51. Anti-police Spartacist League handbill threatening "massive action"

FIGHT POLICE TERROR!

More and more the cops and the City politicians are attacking black people. Recently they passed a "Stop and Frisk" law which has resulted in increased police beatings and attacks on black people. In addition, they're putting up extremely bright street lights up and down the street in black areas to let the cops know all that goes on in the neighborhood.



Big Businessmen and their managers in the Democratic and Republican parties are becoming afraid of the rising militancy of working people, especially black people. The militant strikes in the airline, trucking and auto industries, and the rise of the "Black Power" movement, make the power structure real scared that all this might grow into a radical mass movement of poor and working people, black and white, which would break away from the two Big Business parties and take power itself.

So the power structures everywhere are trying to increase the police terror— with more cops, "Stop and Frisk" laws, and so on.

We have to fight these attacks. To begin with we should demand the following:

- 1-The City Council must immediately repeal its "Stop and Frisk" law
- 2-Local street lighting must be maintained at what we think is a reasonable level

Of course, since the City Council operates for the bloodthirsty power structure, it will not be affected by petitions, pleas or clever arguments from us. This was proved by the way the Council cynically ignored the pleas of numerous black "leaders" who came on hands and knees to the Council hearings to testify against the "Stop and Frisk" ordinance.

We must start organizing for our own power and defense. Only massive action— such as large-scale demonstrations and strikes— can affect the power structure. Ultimately all working people and poor people must have control over the major decisions and resources of this country through our own organizations. We must have black power!

For more information call 283-6403 or write to:

Spartacist League
P.O. Box 8121
New Orleans, La. 70122

Exhibit 52. Anti-police Spartacist League handbill distributed in New Orleans in June, 1967.

and James A. Dombrowski, who was named in sworn testimony as a Communist by two witnesses appearing before the U. S. Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee in 1954. On the side of the Spartacist League and other radical left activities, he is the accepted legal advisor for the Spartacist League and the Progressive Labor Party in New Orleans and it was he who personally invited Peter Buch, of the Socialist Workers' Party, to lecture at the Southwide Organizers' Conference of the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Viet Nam. The Southern Conference Educational Fund, as demonstrated in previous reports of this Committee, has long been the source of leadership for the bulk of the radical left activities in the Southern United States. I offer for the record a recent statement of policy by the Southern Conference Educational Fund outlining its overt activities. As this Committee established in previous reports, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has long been under the domination and control of the Communists through the leadership and financial support of the SCEF. I offer for the record an article from "Spartacist" of November-December, 1966, discussing the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in favorable terms, and also a very recent handbill from the Spartacist League entitled "Black Power," naming Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee as a "friend." I can further report to the Committee at this time that on the morning of May 20, 1967, Stokely Carmichael met Joseph Verret, the New Orleans leader of the Spartacist League, along with another Spartacist League member named Richard Fluker, at the New Orleans international Airport. At that time these three persons engaged in a conference of some length. Richard Fluker incidently is a former employee of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and a member or former member of the "Deacons for Defense and Justice."

Mr. Chairman, the field of racial conflict is one of the prime targets of the Spartacist League. I offer for the record five documents showing the Spartacist League "party line" on this issue. The Spartacist League has taken an active role in attempting to develop and arm militant negro groups, allegedly for "self defense." It has, however, made no secret of its desire to bring these armed negro groups into direct and violent confrontation with the "cops" and other manifestations of the "power structure." It appears that the Spartacist League plans to use these armed negro groups simply as the front-line shock troops of violent revolution. The Committee will note that two of these documents, the first article from "Spartacist" and the bulletin on the "Negro Struggle," were written by Mark Klein of the New Orleans Spartacist League Local, either openly or under



Exhibit 53. Atty. Jack Peebles.

DANGEROUS THINGS are happening today in the South.

Racists still win high office. The Ku Klux Klan is experiencing a mass resurgence in some sections. Federal court orders are still defied. Desegregation is often a farce. Old-fashioned racists are sometimes replaced only by more sophisticated ones.

BUT GOOD THINGS happen in the South too.

Grass-roots groups organize themselves--seek the vote, run candidates, form cooperatives.

White people who are poor look at the black poor and decide that they too can organize--not to fight the black man but to improve life for all.

People meet and talk--about peace, injustice, about what they can do.

SCEF (the Southern Conference Educational Fund) sees these stirrings as the seeds and sprouts of democracy. Where we find them we try to nourish them, help them grow and spread. The soil in the South seems rocky for such plants, but in each such effort lies the hope for tomorrow. For the soil may not be as unproductive as it seems.

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF)

is an interracial organization of Southerners, which has existed for 28 years.

Its purpose has been to help bring into being a truly democratic society in the South. Its program has adapted and changed with the changing times.

TODAY its chief effort is to reach white Southerners and bring them into struggles for social justice, helping them to unite with black Southerners in meaningful joint action.

It works through such organizing projects as those described on the inside of this folder, and carries on a constant informational and educational program.

It also maintains support groups in the North which help keep people in these areas informed about the South as well as contributing financial aid.

SCEF's support comes entirely from voluntary contributions from individuals and groups. It needs your help. Send your gift now to!

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Seeds of Democracy

SCEF
Projects
in the
South

Exhibit 54. Outline of the current overt activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization cited six times by Congressional and Louisiana legislative committees as a "Communist Front."

Projects Supported

by SCSA

SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN PROJECT

This is our pilot project to organize poor white and poor black people together around mutual problems in the mountain and hill country of the South. Today, we have field workers in Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia. As finances permit, we will expand into other states: Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia.

NASHVILLE PROJECT

This project was initiated by local people in Nashville, Tenn. SCEP lends full-time staff members to it and contributes to a regular subsidy. The purpose is to organize poor white people around neighborhood and economic needs and help them to form alliances with similar groups being organized in the Negro community.

APPALACHIAN ASSOCIATES

This is an effort led by Don West to spark a cultural and economic revival in the Southern mountains around the rich cultural heritage and non-racist traditions of that area. Central to the work is the creation of a school in West Virginia for high school dropouts, where young people will be taught the history of their region and encouraged to go back home and help others to organize for a better life. SCEP, along with others, helps finance this project with a regular subsidy.

LOUISIANA PROJECT

Two SCEP staff members, one Negro and one white, work full-time setting up workshops in both rural and urban Louisiana. The workshops are to encourage people to discuss their economic and political problems and find their own way in creating local organizations to cope with them. The effort is to reach both black and white Louisianans.

OPERATION OPEN DEBATE

This is SCEP's project to stimulate debate on the war in Vietnam and foreign policy generally throughout the South. Our travelers contact people, give them information, put them in touch with each other. An office in Nashville follows up. Thus we hope to inject real issues into Southern politics.

ANTI-HUAC PROJECT

In cooperation with the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, SCEP subsidizes a full-time worker to take information to Southerners on how HUAC has stifled progress and to build an awareness of the need for civil liberties in a new South.

SOUTHERN PATRIOT AND RELATED WORK

With our regular monthly publication, the Southern Patriot, and an increasing number of pamphlets and brochures, SCEP tries to bring to the Southern public, especially white Southerners, facts about the freedom movement, so that they may react and act with intelligence and creativity.

REPORT FROM NEW ORLEANS

SNCC and Revolution

In 1964 the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee worked with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in an attempt to seat the MFDP at the Democratic Convention. They were refused in favor of the white racists. The result of this snub by the ruling class was to push SNCC and its followers into a more radical posture. SNCC workers began to question the purpose of voter registration if voters then had nothing worthwhile for which to vote, and they began to raise the question of independent politics.

In early 1966 other incidents gave rise to more radical ideas. At a "Poor People's Conference," held at Mount Beulah, Mississippi, in January 1966, the participants, desperate for food and shelter, decided to occupy the deserted Greenville Air Force Base. They were promptly and violently removed by Federal authorities. This incident smashed many illusions about the nature of the Government.

Anti-War Stand

Meanwhile SNCC militants, seeing the connection between the oppression at home and the U.S. war in Asia, issued an angry statement, which read in part:

"We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to the military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to U.S. aggression in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country."

All these trends culminated in the May 1966 election of Stokely Carmichael as SNCC chairman. The organization's new position was summarized in the 23 May statement on the White House Civil Rights Conference. SNCC denounced the conference as an attempt by Johnson to improve the image of the U.S.

SNCC's empirical rejection of the more obvious brands of reformism advocated by white liberals and petty-bourgeois Black "leaders" has taken the form of a call for "Black Power," a militant-sounding phrase which frightens the white liberals and Uncle Toms. The concepts implied in the SNCC slogan of "Black Power" are radical enough to have caused the bourgeois press and politicians to show vicious abuse on it, precisely because the slogan is a groping for solutions outside the framework of the capitalist society.

It is clear that SNCC and Carmichael want Black people to have some

kind of "independence" from the power structure so they can achieve liberation. However, one must have a program to steer by, and SNCC's is at best rather vague. So-called Marxist organs like *The Militant* and *Progressive Labor* offer no help in this problem, as they applaud uncritically every new development in the Black liberation movement.

Class Politics

SNCC's program is essentially contained in the recent position paper explaining the concept of Black Power. The paper states in part: "If we are to proceed towards true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people. . . . We must form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories."

But as a program such a view can lead to no serious improvement of the conditions of Black people. For the primary division of capitalist society is class division, and racial divisions have

been traditionally used by the ruling class to maintain its hold on society. It is precisely the lack of a class-conscious position, and the predominance of a race-nation outlook in the SNCC position which leaves it open to serious practical errors.

In the deep South SNCC found it impossible to work in the racist Democratic Party; however, in the North, SNCC's position is much more ambiguous—for instance, Carmichael endorses the "National Conference for New Politics," a peace group organized by right-wing socialists, Stalinists, and reform Democrats. The group is not independent from the bourgeois parties, and its preferred "peace" candidate for President in 1968 is Robert Kennedy! SNCC's black-white outlook also tends to gloss over the serious conflict in class interests between the petty-bourgeois Black leaders and the Black workers.

The black-white outlook also fosters
(Continued on Page 15)

Victory for Gallashaw

The acquittal of 17-year-old Ernest Gallashaw of framed-up murder charges on 13 October in N.Y. State Supreme Court was a defeat for the racist cops in Brooklyn who plotted the frame-up, and an example to Black people in all the ghettos that oppression by the ruling class can be successfully fought. Gallashaw was freed primarily because the "evidence" was so blatantly invented, and the testimony of the brow-beaten witnesses obviously the result of coercion that even the *New York Times* made an exposé of it. But actually winning the victory depended on the articulate, determined defense campaign waged by Mrs. Gallashaw, friends and Black militants from several organizations, including N.Y. CORE and the Harlem Organizing Committee. Reform Democrat lawyer Paul O'Dwyer included in his defense summary a strong indictment of the Brooklyn police and D.A. for their "strong desire" to see that a Negro was found guilty of shooting a Negro during the East New York disturbances. The real murderer of Eric Dean, of course, will never be prosecuted although defense witnesses identified him as a white boy "called little Joe." The

cops will never admit that it is white terrorism and white racism that causes the so-called "riots." ■



Ernest Gallashaw
(in police car)

Exhibit 55. Article from "Spartacist" concerning the "Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee."

... SNCC

(Continued from Page 16)

illusions about the nature of the bourgeois State, implying that all that is needed is to put Black men into the State bureaucratic machine. *Marxists* must point out that the State itself, like the Democratic Party, is a tool of the ruling class and cannot be "taken over" by class-conscious elements—it must be *smashed*.

One corollary of the black-white outlook has been the idea that only Black people must organize in the Black community, and whites must organize whites, whether for civil rights or any other struggle. As a *tactic* this idea is probably wise for neighborhood organization, but it has been raised to the level of *principle* by many Black Power advocates, thereby becoming an obstruction to class-oriented organization for struggle.

Bridge to White Workers

Can the white working class be won over to a Black workers' struggle against capitalism? The white working class has been generally quiescent and largely racist for about 20 years, but with the deepening of contradictions in the American economy white workers are being hit hard by inflation and the domestic repercussion of a growing imperialist war. Recent signs of revolt, such as the Machinists' bitter strike against the airlines, indicate that sections of the white working class may be ready for militant anti-capitalist struggle. Black militants, being in general more class conscious (as well as race conscious), can help considerably in raising the class consciousness of white workers and thereby gain valuable allies for the Black Liberation struggle. The formulation and execution of a class program for Black workers would form the necessary bridge to the white working class, stimulating its consciousness and militancy.

Such a program should at least include the following demands:

- For a Freedom-Labor Party — to break the labor movement from its bondage to the Democrats, who provide only war, inflation and wage freezes;
- For a Southern organizing drive, supported by organized labor — to strengthen both the labor movement and the Black people;
- For a workers' united front against Federal intervention—to counter the increasing tendency of the government to intervene in struggles with forces to uphold the ruling class;
- For a sliding scale of wages—to keep purchasing power in pace with living costs;
- For a shorter work week with no loss in pay—to provide more jobs without making the white worker feel threatened by job loss;

—Organization of the unemployed—by the unions, so links are created between the employed and unemployed worker.

Along with these demands, of course, the Black Power advocates should continue to raise demands designed to meet the special needs of the Black people, who suffer the extra burden of racism which white workers do not face. Such demands should include:

- For organized, armed self-defense—to protect against racist terror and police brutality;
- For the right of inspection of the jails and for the disarming of the police—to reduce the power of the cops to terrorize innocent people.

One Social Revolution!

These demands and the struggle necessary to achieve them can only be seriously considered within the context of a *social revolution*, which alone can achieve political and economic power and social justice for the majority of Black people—that is, workers. But the need for social revolution is not felt only among Black people; unemployment, inflation, poverty and all the problems of this society are imposed by the capitalist ruling class on black and white workers alike. There is only *one* ruling class, *one* State power, and *one* struggle must be waged against that power.

Black and White Vanguard

To unite and lead the working class in this fight is the task of the *vanguard party*. The division of the working class into hostile black and white sections is a direct result of the oppression by the ruling class and is carefully nurtured by it in order to alleviate some of the contradictions of capitalism. And it would be a fatal error to assume that the centuries-old racial antagonisms will all be gone *before* the working class can come to power. The American revolution, if it is to succeed, will be the result of struggle by black and white working people, led by class-conscious militants joined in the Marxist-Leninist party. Black militants can and must play a key role in the building of this vanguard party, and only the success of revolutionary forerunners—such as the Spartacist League—in winning the allegiance of militant Black workers and students *now* can assure the success of the future vanguard. Those who feel that the principle of race is more important than the reality of *class* in the struggle against the "Establishment" are doomed to failure; even as is either the black or white sections of the working class if it attempts to carry out a social revolution alone. It is for these reasons that we urge SNCC and other Black militants to fight with us, for a united working class program, for the coming revolution! ■

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Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, N.Y. 10001

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Fraternal Group

SEATTLE. Freedom Socialist Party of Washington. Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Ave. NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. phone: ME 2-7449.

Exhibit 55A. Second page of exhibit 55.

BLACK POWER!

The Black people of this country have suffered too long under the chains of the white racist system. We now hear the cry of Black Power. But this call means many things to many different people, some our friends, (like Stokely Carmichael) some our enemies, (like Adam Clayton Powell). To us Black Power can only mean liberation from the racist system—freedom from the beatings and threats of the cops, freedom from the racist draft, freedom from lousy wages and treatment on our jobs.

How do we get Black Power? We must form groups which are independent of the racists and our bosses. We must get unions which will be run like we want and we must set up chapters of the Deacons for Defense and Justice to keep the cops out of our neighborhoods and to keep crime down. We must not depend on the bosses or the cops to help us! We must depend on ourselves!

BLACK POWER MUST MEAN INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SYSTEM!!

For more information PHONE: 522-7523

OR WRITE: SPARTACIST LEAGUE
P.O. Box 8121
New Orleans, La. 70122

Exhibit 56. "Black Power" handbill distributed by the Spartacist League identifying Stokely Carmichael of SNCC as "a friend" of the Spartacist League.

SPARTACIST

is dedicated to building the organization necessary to lead the socialist revolution in the United States. This is done through concrete work in the trade unions, Negro and student movements:

SPARTACIST, during the height of the Chicago riot this summer, sought to bring the methods of working-class organization to the black people of the West Side ghetto. This involved the struggle to organize block councils for self-defense.

IN THE SOUTH, Spartacist is working actively in support of the Deacons, and wherever possible fights for the program of armed self-defense within the civil rights movement. In working with members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Spartacist urges them to break with the Democratic Party and form a Southern Labor Party.

IN NEW YORK Spartacist is working in Harlem with serious black militants, the only group in the ghetto still organizing rent strikes. In the Garment Center Spartacist is working to organize opposition to Dubinsky within the ILGWU as part of the general perspective of building militant rank and file leaderships to oust the reactionary bureaucrats now in power.

SPARTACIST fights for independent working-class political action against the Democratic and Republican Parties, and supports in this election, the candidates of the Progressive Labor and Socialist Workers Parties, and other independent working-class candidates.

Theory: Guide to Practice

REVOLUTIONIZING THE WORLD is impossible without ceaseless struggle to understand it. The development of Marxist theory is therefore a necessary part of building the revolutionary communist movement. Today this means that one of our principle tasks is to understand the nature and dynamics of counter-revolutionary Stalinism.

TROTSKY began his analysis of Stalinism forty years ago, and this analysis has become, in its development, an important part of the theoretical basis on which the Fourth International is being built. Today the Fourth International continues to develop the revolutionary theory and practice of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

SPARTACIST, continuing the tradition of revolutionary working-class struggle, strives to bring to workers and students consciousness of the past as the only secure basis for struggle in the present. To the extent that we succeed, the socialist future is assured.

Exhibit 57. Spartacist League handbill stating support of the "Deacons for Defense and Justice."

Toward Arming the Negro Struggle

by Mark Klein

(The information on the Deacons for Defense and Justice contained in this report is based in part upon an interview between the writer and Charles Sims, head of the Bogalusa Deacons.)

Armed self-defense has at last taken root in the civil rights movement. On 21 February 1965, the *New York Times* reported the existence of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, "a mutual protection association, employing guns and shortwave radios," which was born the summer before in Jonesboro, Louisiana, to protect CORE workers there. The organization began to patrol the Negro neighborhood, and the impact of organized, armed self-defense became immediately obvious. Harassment from the Ku Klux Klan and allied groups had decreased markedly since the Deacons made themselves known.

By June the Deacons had achieved considerable success in several other southern towns. On Sunday, 6 June, the *Times* announced, "ARMED NEGRO UNIT SPREADS IN SOUTH." The article continued, "The Deacons for Defense and Justice . . . has crossed the Mississippi River to Mississippi and Alabama and plans to move into every Southern state. . . . Earnest Thomas of Jonesboro, La., the 22-year-old vice president and full-time organizer of the deacons, said yesterday that the organization had 80 to 85 chapters in various stages of organization in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama."

"Protected Non-Violence"

The *Times* reporter could not hide the fact that the method of armed self-defense had proved highly successful in preventing violence. Local CORE workers, under the direction of Richard Haley, the Southern director of CORE, had begun to co-operate with the Deacons and to accept their services "so when CORE discovered that its workers were safer with the Deacons around." Haley was forced to set down an official double-standard policy for CORE: CORE still believes in the basic principles of non-violence and so will not recruit, organize or plan for the Deacons; however, CORE appreciates the presence of the Deacons and is willing to co-operate with them and to accept their services—"protected non-violence" is better than unprotected!

Tremendous Step Forward

The Deacons organization is a tremendous step forward for the Negro struggle, not only because it saves lives, but also because it raises the level of consciousness of the civil rights movement by encouraging independent

action and discouraging reliance upon the institutions of the bourgeois state. Mr. Thomas explained that the organization was formed after the KKK paraded through a ghetto street under police escort, tossing out leaflets: "We decided that if the power structure would do that for the Klan; then we had better do something for ourselves." When the FBI tried to discourage Thomas' plans and suggested he join a bi-racial committee, he rejected their idea, because he distrusts such committees. "They are to slow things down," he commented.

Hence already the FBI has the Deacons under surveillance and has tried to discourage their growth. Recently, too, it was reported that HUAC, which is conducting an investigation of the KKK (under Chairman Willis, a La. Democrat), may also look into the Deacons!

Curious Duality

Although the Deacons have achieved a new level of militancy, they are still far from achieving the consciousness needed for ultimate success. In their Bogalusa, La., chapter, for example, they exhibit a curious duality: on the one hand, highly militant, paramilitary tactics are used to protect their struggle; on the other hand, comparatively mild, anti-discrimination politics relying heavily on the 1964 Civil Rights Act characterize their political perspectives. This duality is embodied in Charles Sims, the president of the Bogalusa chapter of the Deacons.

Bogalusa is a Klan stronghold, and so almost any struggle there is bound to produce violent reaction. This perhaps explains in part why the tactics there are so bold, while the politics are reticent. As Sims told a *Life* reporter recently, "I don't approve of the Deacons myself, but we have no choice."

Against Federal Troops

To a degree, Sims mistrusts the instruments of the power structure. Some of the members of the local FBI, he knows, believe in white supremacy. Accordingly, when the FBI tried to discourage his self-defense ideas, he replied that he would cease organizing if the FBI broke up the Klan; and thus Sims went ahead with his plans. In addition, Sims is against calling for help from U.S. troops, for he believes that troops cannot push the struggle forward—at best, they can only freeze the situation.

But Sims' mistrust is parochial. With his eyes on the local arms of oppression, he has not been able to see that those arms have their roots in an oppressive monster which, in one or another form, grips the whole country. Thus, he regards Martin Luther King as a "great man," though King is struggling to keep the Negro movement disarmed and dependent.

Politically Disarmed

Politically speaking, Sims' localized view tends to disarm the struggle. To Sims, the main problem in Bogalusa is unequal job opportunities. And to Sims, the Federal government, especially the Federal courts, is the answer to the problems of the Negro, North and South. This belief, of course, leaves no political role for the Deacons, and Sims will admit this—he believes the Deacons should be for defense only, and not get involved in politics. Building another party, he thinks, is completely out of the question because Bogalusa is a Democratic town, and another party would be merely another split. In short, Sims has put military power into the hands of the local Negro workers because he felt they could not get effective protection from the system; yet he still retains political faith in the system, and so does not seek to

YOU CAN HELP!

"Every Dime Buys a Bullet"

For information about the Friends of the Deacons, write:
c/o Henry Austin, 1210 Ann St.
Bogalusa, La.

put independent political power within their reach.

Revolutionary Program

The Bogalusa Negroes cannot long rely on the Federal government. For when the struggle attains a more distinct class character, when, for instance, Negroes demand more jobs as well as equal job opportunity, the Federal government will be out in earnest to destroy the Deacons. The presence of Federal troops in the South must very soon become a mortal danger to the Negro struggle. The contradiction in Sims' outlook—military armament, but political disarmament—will precipitate a crisis of leadership, revealing the urgent need for revolutionary theory and program to achieve the social liberation of the Negro people. ■

Exhibit 58. Article from "Spartacist" by Mark Klein, Spartacist League member from New Orleans.

SPARTACIST
PRE-CONFERENCE DISCUSSION BULLETIN

DRAFT RESOLUTION
ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

by

Lynne Harper and M. Small

Mark Klein

SPARTACIST
P.O. Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, N.Y. 10001

August 1966
25 cents

Exhibit 59. Cover of a Spartacist League bulletin written by Mark Klein under his party alias of "M. Small".

STORMS IN THE GHETTO

From 1960 to 1964, there had been a rise in civil rights struggle in the Northern ghettos, especially New York. But the 1964 Harlem police riots successfully smashed the existing mass organizations. Since 1964 the struggle has taken various ineffective forms and the difficulties have been intensified by direct assault on the ghetto.

ASSAULT ON THE GHETTO

Continuously for the past two years the rulers of this country have been conducting a psychological war against the black communities. The campaign has consisted of newspaper and magazine articles designed to whip up white racist hysteria against black, so-called extremists. Such articles were combined with police frame-ups and "official" violence.

It began in earnest in 1964 with the *NY Times* creation of a Black-Muslim-directed, dope-selling, karate-trained gang of 400 "Blood Brothers," whose main activity was supposedly the maiming and killing of whites. This fantasy led to the jailings, beatings and frame-ups of many Harlem youths, among them the Harlem Six. Then came the all-out reign of terror—the police riot provoked by the police murder of James Powell.

In the winter of '64, *Esquire* magazine carried an article entitled "The Red Chinese American Negro." This article, written by a former partisan of the struggle for black liberation, sell-out William Worthy, claimed the conspiratorial existence of a black revolutionary underground, plotting with Mao-tse Tung to unleash mass violence in this country. This "news" was verified by the bomb-plot frame-up of black militants, planned and instigated by a black cop. In February 1965, Malcolm was assassinated—the subsequent "investigation" and official cover-up made it clear that no matter who pulled the trigger, the government had been involved.

Then came HARYOU's cool summer of '65. HARYOU's boasted achievements were four vestpocket parks, 371 trees planted, day camps for children and summer jobs for youths who were sent back to starve during the winter. The government's chief trouble-shooter in Harlem, Livingston Wingate, gets paid \$500 a week to keep Harlem cool. But when the HARYOU books were being investigated and Wingate thought he might lose his job, he started a scare campaign about the existence of a group of teen-agers in HARYOU, called the Five Percenters, who had beaten white teachers and would unleash massive violence if he were fired. Thus he contributed to the terror campaign at the same time that he planted trees to "beautify" Harlem.

The U.S. government and local officials were very successful not only in buying off all the reactionary nationalists who sided with the cops in '64 and now have high positions in HARYOU; not only in preventing the struggle of a section of the masses by giving them summer jobs selling "Organize for power and dignity through HARYOU-ACT" to their neighbors;



but also in confusing a section of the otherwise militant youth.

Even after Harlem was cooled for 1965, the terror campaign continued. In June 1966 *Life* magazine carried an article entitled "Plot to Get Whitey" about "Red hot young Negroes" in groups like RAM and UHURU, armed and planning to kill whites, receiving material aid from China and Cuba. In the meantime Police Commissioner Leary increased the Tactical Patrol Force (NYC's elite stormtroopers) to 690 men and announced that they were receiving special training in riot and crowd control.

1966 Fascist Riots

This is the background for the 1966 riots and racial clashes in ghetto areas, among them Cleveland, Chicago, East New York, Amityville, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Omaha, Boston, Jacksonville and Perth Amboy. This summer a new element has been added to the familiar police assaults—the cops have had the support of fascist-style elements, many proudly flaunting the swastika.

The riot in East New York typifies the 1966 brand of racial warfare. The Society for the Prevention of Negroes Getting Everything (SPONGE), a white racist organization based in an Italian neighborhood, started a race riot in the adjoining black and Puerto Rican slums. While the police didn't start this one, they sided with the racists who conducted anti-black picket lines and attempted to promote fights between blacks and Puerto Ricans. A cop queried by the *Times* said, "They are not anything organized like CORE. You might say SPONGE was their way of expressing their sentiments. I wouldn't call them big troublemakers or cop fighters, but in a tense situation, they could

(Continued on Page 14)

Exhibit 60. Article from "Spartacist" stating policy of the Spartacist League concerning the exploitation and subversion of racial tension toward "revolutionary consciousness."

... ELECTIONS

(Continued from Page 4)

the big corporations that profit by the war." Even such firm supporters of capitalist politics and the Democrats as the Communist Party frequently use such phraseology, because it allows them to appear radical while at the same time remaining conveniently vague about the actual content of their political practice. What we need is not, as Levin puts it, "an independent movement, free from the corruption of the machine politics of the two major parties," but rather a *class party* of the working class. The difference may appear to be merely over terminology, but the conflicting choice of words reflects a basic divergence in political approach. The Levin campaign is unfortunately caught in the worst of all possible positions: while not making a fundamental political break with capitalist politics, it nevertheless takes a number of quite radical positions. Thus it can neither pile up a large "reform" vote in November, nor fundamentally raise the consciousness of those it does reach. It is to be hoped that the Levin campaign will embrace a principled class stance before November, and like the other independent campaigns mentioned, call for the building of a party of the working people.

Build a Labor Party

Will such a call be heeded? We frankly state that we do not expect to see a labor party formed this November. We do see the possibility, however, of the fulfillment of a far more realistic and necessary goal: the formation of a small but persistent circle of militants around the general program outlined above. For the working class is not homogeneous. It has its layer of reactionaries, its broad center, and its advanced layer of militant shop-stewards, tenants council chairmen, thoughtful youth, etc. It is to this strata that our campaigns must be aimed, for through them the entire class will be moved. And with the proper consciousness among its ranks, the coming social struggles will put an end once and for all to American capitalism. ■ D.H.

... GHETTO

(Continued from Page 16)

do some damage." Such official attempts to make SPONGE appear innocent are belied by the facts: roving bands of SPONGE racists attacked black residents; white sniper and police fire killed 11-year-old Eric Dean and wounded black men and women. Yet all the spokesmen of the ruling class deplored "Negro violence"; however, not one white person has been killed or seriously injured as a result of "Negro violence."

Brooklyn DA Aaron Koota, who earlier had darkly accused outside black radical agitators, now admits that the Gallo brothers, Cosa Nostra heads in Brooklyn, were the ones able to "cool" the riot area. Yet the conclusion which should flow from this one fact—that this was a white-caused race riot—is ignored by Koota and other officials. They are still trying to frame-up Ernest Gallashaw, a 17-year-old black youth for murdering Eric Dean. Although Gallashaw was with more

than 20 adults at the time of the shooting who testified to his innocence; although eye witnesses reported a car loaded with whites who shot at blacks, hitting Eric Dean; although Eric Dean's mother denies that Gallashaw could have shot her son; although no corroborating evidence such as bullet or gun has been produced, Gallashaw has been indicted for first degree murder without a preliminary hearing. The frame-up certainly has another meaning—Mrs. Gallashaw has been an outspoken critic of the 75th Precinct and of the living conditions which blacks are subjected to—this is retribution to prevent further action on the part of blacks.

Such attacks, whether by cops or by the increasingly evident fascists, show the absolute need for the ghettos to have organized programs of self-defense. The ghetto struggles must become consciously militant.

ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE

The need for such conscious militancy is shown by the protest against the war, the most significant struggle that has taken place in Harlem since the '64 police riots. It is clear that the majority of Harlem residents are opposed to the war, although on many different levels. Most black workers oppose the war on the basis that black soldiers should not be sent to be killed in Vietnam fighting for so-called freedom only to return to racial oppression in the U.S.

Some of the most militant and radical elements in Harlem are in Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam. The AAAWV over a period of several months has been holding street meetings and distributing anti-war literature. One of its most significant activities was a march through Harlem and a rally on 30 May. The march, comprised of about 50 people, was planned on short notice, but succeeded in gaining the support of the many people lining Eighth Avenue and the spectators at the official Memorial Day parade.

Despite the widespread dissatisfaction with the Vietnam war, the Harlem anti-war movement has not yet been able to engage the masses in active opposition to the war. The Black United Action Front consisting of Harlem Unemployment Center, the AAAWV, Harlem Organizing Committee, Progressive Labor, and Blacks Against Negative Dying, held another march and rally on 25 June. Even though many thousands of leaflets were distributed and sound trucks roving through the community announced the march, it was no bigger than the haphazardly prepared 30 May activity. Only the militants already in the movement participated in the 25 June March or in the BUAFF organized feeder march from Harlem on 6 August.

The masses feel that all those rallies and marches won't change anything. Apathy to the anti-war struggle exists because the black masses do not see the link between imperialist wars and their position in society. To involve a significant section of black working people in the struggle against the war, the movement must provide a revolutionary consciousness by linking up the two struggles.

The principal slogan which has been used by the Harlem anti-war movement, "Bring our Black GIs Home," has not helped to build such a consciousness. The implication of this slogan is that black anti-war militants are not really against the war in itself and

would not protest if this government used only white troops to kill the Vietnamese workers and peasants who are fighting American imperialism.

The U.S. will continue to draft from the black and white working class because there will continue to be imperialist wars. The U.S. government, as do all capitalist governments, wages wars for economic and political reasons—to defend the capitalists' freedom of exploitation and to prevent working-class victories. (Such victories would be encouraging lessons to workers and peasants in other countries, as well as to the black masses in this country, to throw off their chains.)

Therefore, in order to end imperialist wars, the anti-war movement must become an anti-capitalist movement. The only type of protest that can ultimately end this or any other imperialist war is a revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalism.

As an alternative to "Bring Our Black GI's Home" we say: Fight racism in the army. End discrimination against blacks in the draft! End draft deferment for the white middle class! End the draft. Solidarity with the Viet Cong! Withdraw all American troops from Vietnam!

BLACK POWER

Even more dangerous to revolutionary consciousness than some of the tactics of the anti-war movement is the recent uproar about Black Power. When Stokely Carmichael first raised the slogan of "Black Power," it was a reflection of the practical efforts of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee in Alabama. SNCC was trying to elect black candidates to office through an organization independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, better known as the Black Panther Party. Black Power meant the use of independent politics, in places with a black majority, to give blacks local political power.

In the North, however, the issue is being debated in a vacuum, with none of the major civil rights organizations and others who give lip service to the slogan struggling to make Black Power a reality. We have experienced, thus far, only a scramble for the limelight among leaders of the various civil rights organizations and maneuvers by political hustlers to buy off blacks with radical words. They would force more illusions upon the masses of black people in the ghettos.

An example of this trickery is the statement of Roy Innis, New York CORE chairman, that "Black Power today means people like Adam Clayton Powell, Jesse Gray and J. Raymond Jones." Jones is a well-established Harlem Democrat. Gray sold out a rent strike movement and the people of Harlem during the 1964 police riots. His capitulation was emphasized when he tried to enter the Democratic primary in the summer of 1965, even though he had called for independent political action right after the '64 elections.

Congressman Adam C. Powell is a political hustler who has called for "audacious" Black Power—blacks will "move non-violently with whites into the mainstream of American life" and "whatever the percentage of Negroes in a community they must have at least the same percentage of jobs, appointments, judgeships and Commissionerships."

Power means nothing less than economic and political

control and an army and police force to defend that control. The cry for Black Power by militants in the civil rights and other movements is meaningless unless they struggle for the economic and independent political power of black working people. And the struggle to obtain that power needs a program of organized self-defense. Black Power means a social revolution. If honest militants don't recognize the real meaning of Black Power, the ruling class and its police forces do. That is why Vice-President Humphrey rushed to the NAACP convention to denounce Black Power as "black racism" and to align the government with the token reformist goals of that organization.

The first step toward obtaining Black Power is to break all ties with the ruling class. It requires a *black break-away from the Democratic Party*. The formation of the Black Panther Party in Alabama was a good step in this direction. But Stokely Carmichael, while shouting Black Power and independence from the Democrats in Alabama, is tying the movement to them nationally. SNCC gave active support to candidates running in the Democratic primaries in the state of Mississippi. And Carmichael is one of the sponsors of the National Conference for New Politics, which is "looking for a presidential candidate committed to peace in Vietnam" like "Robert Kennedy . . . whose interests parallel our own." This is the Kennedy who, as Attorney General, protected the racist killers in a whole series of murders and bombings in the South.

Black Democrats sitting in Congress or on some city council cannot change the conditions of the masses of people. These black Democrats enrich only themselves as agents of Johnson's party. As long as they can prolong the illusion that the masses can use the Democratic Party to change their conditions, they can deliver the vote from the ghettos. But such Democrats always desert the masses at critical points, as did the Negro councilman in Cleveland who called for the National Guard to suppress the people of Hough. The role of a political party is to gain and maintain state power for a particular class. This is what the Black Panther Party must do both North and South. The Democratic and Republican parties are instruments of bourgeois power—the oppressed cannot use the oppressor's instrument of oppression to free themselves.

In the struggle to obtain Black Power, the key question is not color but program. The question that should be raised is *which* blacks are to have power—the black working class or the Wingates and Powells struggling to become a black bourgeoisie. To achieve Black Power, a mass movement must be built in all the ghettos, North and South, with a militant program of struggle designed to take the power away from the slumlords, plantation owners and sweat shop bosses and their protectors, the brutal racist sheriffs and cops.

The conditions of black working people in this country are an intensified expression of the conditions of the working class as a whole. Thus, when a mass movement for black liberation comes into being with a concrete program to achieve black political and economic power—for a shorter work week to end unemployment, a higher minimum wage—it will also add inspiration to the struggle of white workers, both southern sharecroppers and northern factory workers. The working class struggles, black and white, can be linked together because both struggle against the same exploiters. ■

THE NEGRO RIOTS: COPS, REDS AND BLACK NATIONALISTS

a speech

by

DOUGLAS HAINLINE

or

SPARTACIST,



a revolutionary socialist Trotskyist group.

* * * * *

WEDNESDAY: 8 SEPTEMBER 1965
8:30 P.M.

at

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Exhibit 61. Handbill on speech by Douglas Hainline, a Spartacist League organizer.

BLACK POWER

**IS HERE TO STAY , WE WON
THE BOYCOT. WERE ON THE MOVE
THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING.
THE WHITE TRASH CAN LOOK FOR A
LONG HOT SUMMER .**

**WERE GOING TO MARCH
DEMONSTRATE INTERGRATE.**

**WERE GOING TO KILL
THE WHITE DEVIL TO SHOW
WHAT BLACK POWER IS**

**SUPPORT THE BLACK
POWER MOVEMENT**

Exhibit 62. "Black Power" handbill distributed by unknown parties in the Port Allen-Plaquemine area of Louisiana in May, 1967. An example of racial tension existing in parts of Louisiana.

his party alias of "M. Small." The three-page article from "Spartacist" entitled "Storms in the Ghetto," is extremely significant, and states in detail the Spartacist League "party line" on using racial violence and hatred as a tool toward Communist revolution. It stresses the creation of a "revolutionary consciousness" in the "black masses" and their involvement in the struggle against "imperialist wars." The final document in this group is a "Black Power" handbill handed out last month in the Port Allen-Plaquemine area. We do not connect this handbill with the Spartacist League but it does clearly demonstrate some of the racial tension which currently exists in the State of Louisiana. The exploitation of this racial tension is one of the key targets of the Spartacist League in the New Orleans area and also throughout the rest of the State. I offer this document solely to show clearly one of the key target issues in which the Spartacist League and other Communist groups have a vital interest.

The final target area of the Spartacist League, Mr. Chairman, and probably the most dangerous one in the long run, is that of student subversion. This has been the subject of great concern throughout the State of Louisiana and is, of course, a matter of prime interest to this Committee. I offer for the record a picture of Joseph Verret of the Spartacist League and Robert G. Head, Jr., a former member of the Spartacist League, showing Head holding a poster concerning the "SDS." The "Students for a Democratic Society" is the key Communist front for students operating in the United States today. I offer a clipping in this regard quoting former U. S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach concerning both Communists and Communist influence in the Students for a Democratic Society. At this time there is an attempt being made to organize a chapter of the SDS in New Orleans. Robert G. Head, Jr. and other people connected with the Spartacist League are taking an active part in this. Nationally, the Spartacist League has maintained a close liaison with the SDS and the bulk mailing list of the Southern Regional Bureau of the Spartacist League includes many SDS chapters all over the United States. I offer for the record an article from "Spartacist" stating the Spartacist League "party line" on the "Berkeley Student Strike" of 1966, and on the involvement of students generally. Other witnesses have informed this Committee of some of the Spartacist League activities with students in the New Orleans area, and I can now describe one incident which took place on the LSU campus in Baton Rouge.

In the last two years there have been three particular incidents on the LSU campus which merit the attention of this Committee.



Exhibit 63. 1. Joseph S. Verret, Jr. (Spartacist League) 2. Robert G. Head, Jr. (formerly a member of the Spartacist League)

Katzenbach Says Some Reds Aiding War Protesters

CHICAGO (AP) — U.S. Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach says Communists are active in the demonstrations against America's role in the Viet Nam conflict and that the Justice Department has begun an investigation.

There are some Communists involved in the movement, Katzenbach told a news conference Sunday night.

"Whenever you have a situation in which people are saying things similar to what is being said by Peking, you are likely to find some Communists involved in it," he said.

Katzenbach said the Justice Department has uncovered "some Communists and some persons very closely associated with Communists" working for the Students for a Democratic Society.

The society is reported to have backed a nationwide campaign over the weekend in which young persons were urged to display objections to the draft on a national scale.

Katzenbach cited federal laws dealing with urging, aiding and abetting persons to avoid the draft; treason; destruction of draft cards, and sedition.

The society claims a membership of 2,000, mostly college students.

Katzenbach was in Chicago for a meeting of the Polish National Alliance.

Exhibit 64. Clipping quoting former Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach on Communists in the "Students For A Democratic Society".

"STUDENT POWER" OR WORKERS' POWER?

The Berkeley Student Strike

Two years ago, Berkeley students sought to secure their rights of free speech and political advocacy on campus. Now they seek a decisive voice in controlling their university. The 1964 Free Speech Movement revealed the total bankruptcy of the university's liberal administration and its dependence on brute force to maintain its power—but that power was left intact. Now, recognizing that university administrations serve the interests of powerful forces in the society, and not the interests of students and teachers, the students are challenging the authority of the administrators to rule on campus.

At the Berkeley campus, this development arises out of the behavior of the administration, which has become progressively more antagonistic to the students' interests. So far this year, one student was threatened with disciplinary action for the content of his criticism of the administration; another student was disciplined for bringing student aid to the Black ghetto struggle against the racist Oakland school system. On 14 November, Chris Kinder, a young non-student member of the Spartacist League, was arrested under the Mulford Act (passed in 1965 to "protect" the campus from "outside agitators") for handing out leaflets on campus. Finally the administration threatened to ban the noon rallies on the Sproul Hall steps, traditional podium for radical dissent. Campus organizations, political and non-political, banded together in a Council of Campus Organizations (CCO) and gained widespread support from the student body for another free speech confrontation.

Strike Demands

The spark which touched off the strike, however, was another issue: cops on campus. Alameda County dep-



Daily Cal photo by Walt Dyanison

CHRIS KINDER, Spartacist League "non-student," is seized by U. C. cops while picketing Russian attaché Rogochov (see page 14).

uties, called in by the vice-chancellor, invaded the campus on 30 November to arrest all the non-students in a demonstration against a Navy recruiting table in the Student Union. In a mass meeting that night over 2,000 students voted unanimously to strike the university. The students adopted the following strike demands, which were approved with near unanimity by the crowd of 8,000 to 10,000 which packed Sproul Plaza the following day:

- no cops on campus to "solve" political problems;
- complete amnesty by the university and the courts for all demonstrators;
- privileges for all off-campus groups and individuals to equal those of government agencies;
- open disciplinary hearings bound by due process and judicial review;
- effective student representation in formulating a new set of rules for student activity.

The strike won the support of the teaching assistants union, some faculty members and, later, the *Daily Californian*. Few students had any illusions about immediate support from the faculty, but many thought that the faculty would take a favorable stand once the students led the way, as had happened during the FSM fight. It was a serious blow for the students, therefore, when the faculty's Academic Senate came down overwhelmingly against the students in a meeting on 5 December. The faculty declared "that the strike should end immediately," urging the chancellor not to punish striking students for events only through 5 December. The next day the regents of the university condemned the "disorders," especially those "in-

stigated by outsiders," and declared that all university employees who continued to strike would be fired.

Strike Recess

By the sixth, the teaching assistants and students decided in separate meetings to call a temporary recess in the strike because of final exams, only days away. Though strike committee surveys in the last few days of the strike indicated about 85 per cent support, the students and assistants were aware of their isolation, both on campus and in society. This awareness gave rise to strong feelings of "community," "love" and even "victory" among the students. The only outside support of any significance had come from the Alameda Central Labor Council, whose executive committee granted official sanction to the striking teaching assistants.

Besides increased radicalization of the students, the main difference between the FSM and the current struggle is the isolation. Throughout the current crisis, the administration has sought to divide the movement by emphasizing artificial barriers between "student" and "non-student." On 30 November the administration sought arrest warrants for only the "non-students," and during the strike the administration refused to negotiate with, or have present at the negotiations, any non-student representatives of the strikers, such as Mario Savio.

Isolation of Students

The Spartacist League, in connection with the arrest of Kinder under the Mulford Act, has stressed that isolation of the students is a primary goal of the administration and a point which

(Continued on Page 15)

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Exhibit 65. Article from "Spartacist" concerning Spartacist League leadership in the Berkeley student unrest of 1966.

... **BERKELEY**

(Continued from Page 16)

the ruling class learned especially from the FSM. Objectively, the FSM prepared its own defeat by concentrating student discontent and radicalism on a long, exhausting campus fight which was unable to really affect the ruling class' interests. Although the students won some gains through the FSM, they were unable to maintain and develop a viable link between student radicalism and the class struggle in society. As a result, the students were unable to maintain even their small gains against constant administrative whitening.

Students swelled the ranks of the civil rights movement; they led the anti-war movement. These activities have been directed, and misled, by the liberal-union-Democratic peace coalition, headed by people such as Walter Reuther, Martin Luther King, and pacifist organizations like SANE. This coalition's failure to provide more than token concessions from the ruling class has led in the civil rights movement to the Black Power rebellion, in which the role of white students is so far minimal. The inability of anti-war demonstrations to effect the end of the war has inspired some radicalization of students, but has also caused widespread demoralization. Many students have become frustrated with the failures of these movements to alter the oppressive power structure and with the growing isolation of radicals in a rightward-moving environment.

"Student Power"

This frustration and isolation are reflected within the student movement itself in the form of the "student power" demand. The radical student today wants a basic alteration in the power structure which has frustrated all his idealistic efforts to change society and alienated him so completely, both on campus and off. Yet student power is an absurdity and a dangerous illusion. While it expresses the increased radicalism of the student movement and registers a well-justified "no-confidence" in the administrative parasites of the knowledge factory, it does not confront or explain the isolation of the movement within an already reactionary society. A "true community of scholars" is a hopeless illusion in a society where the LBJ's and Reagans still hold undisputed sway. Not so much out of fear and intimidation, but out of their own basic interests, the faculty sought to maintain their positions as liberal advisers to the power structure—at the expense of the students. Talk of a radical reordering of power on campus without confronting the need for a revolutionary reordering of society can only lead to impotent ref-

ormism (more of those student committees "working closely" with the administration!) or to the equally impotent—and inherently reactionary—personal "out" via the sugar cube.

While growing increasingly radical on campus, the student movement has in fact done little to break its isolation. Though the old "progressive" coalition is virtually broken and widely discredited, its keystone — the Democratic Party—is thoroughly intact. The movement has failed to offer even an exemplary alternative to the two-party trap which gripped the country once again this November. The boycott of the election initiated by dissident reform Democrats still refusing to break with the Party was symbolic of the student movement's abdication of a political role. A socialist alternative, offered by the Socialist Workers Party, went practically unsupported not only by the student movement, but also by the revisionist SWP itself!

Working-Class Revolutionaries

It is false to assume that the student movement can break its isolation by merely seeking "allies" in the labor movement. Workers don't have an interest in turning out to secure judicial review for students. Student radicals cannot change society merely as students because they lack the power. Workers, on the other hand, do have an interest in fighting the bosses; they are continually forced into an endless struggle against the unemployment, inflation and exploitation which are permanent features of capitalist society. Yet it is naive and hypocritical to sit back and expect the workers to "rise," come to the rescue of the students and remake society without revolutionary consciousness and leadership. Students must go to the workers not as students seeking allies and followers, but as revolutionaries, with the understanding that only the working class, because of its unique position as society's producers, has the power to lead a social revolution in modern society. This involves a complete change of orientation, from student radical to working-class revolutionary, and an adoption of Marxism, the ideology of the revolutionary working-class struggle.

It is only through the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party that the struggles of students, workers and Black people can be effectively linked. As has happened again and again throughout the history of American radicalism, independent movements that fail to break with the social system and to take the revolutionary path invariably get absorbed by the likes of the Democratic Party. This party must be not "pressured" but *smashed*. It is this party that prevents successful class struggle by keeping the various sections of the working class divided against each other—and all voting

Democratic. This is the chief political weapon of the ruling class. Linking the struggles of the oppressed requires revolutionary organization, opposition to the ruling class on a class basis and a political struggle to smash the Democratic Party and the two-party system. Student, union and ghetto fractions need to be built to connect the party with the struggles of the masses, form a base and link the day-to-day struggles of the people.

Spartacist Cadre

As progenitor of such a revolutionary mass party, the Spartacist League conducts exemplary activity to this effect, with working fractions in Harlem, in several unions, and in the deep South. A new generation of revolutionary cadres is needed, however, to strengthen the movement and build it to the point that a full-time turn to mass agitational work will be possible. Much of this cadre must come from the radicalized student movement. Students should orient their thinking to the ideology of the revolutionary working-class struggle and take their radicalism to society in the form of revolutionary politics. ■

Spartacist Local Directory

- AUSTIN. Box 8165, Univ. Sta., Austin, Texas 78712. phone: GR 2-3716.
- BALTIMORE. Box 1345, Main P.O., Baltimore, Md. 21203. phone: LA 3-3703.
- BERKELEY. Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, Calif. 94701. phone: TH 8-7369.
- CHICAGO. Box 6044, Main P.O., Chicago, Ill. 60680. phone: 281-4296.
- COLUMBUS. Box 3142, Univ. Sta., Columbus, Ohio 43210.
- EUREKA. Box 3061, Eureka, Calif. 95501. phone: 442-1423.
- HARTFORD. Box 57, Blue Hill Sta., Hartford, Conn. 06112. phone: 525-1257.
- HOUSTON. Box 18434, Eastwood Sta., Houston, Texas 77023.
- ITHACA. Box 442, Ithaca, N.Y. 14851. phone: AR 7-1619.
- LOS ANGELES. Box 4054, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, Calif. 90054. phone: 783-4793.
- MISSISSIPPI (contact New Orleans)
- NEW ORLEANS. Box 8121, Gentilly Sta., New Orleans, La. 70122. phone: 522-2194.
- NEW YORK. Box 1377, G.P.O., New York City, N.Y. 10001. phones: National Office—WA 5-2426; Uptown—781-8722; Downtown—447-2987.
- PHILADELPHIA. Box 1827, Wm. Penn Annex, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105.
- SAN FRANCISCO (contact Berkeley)
- SEATTLE (contact Berkeley or New York)
- YOUNGSTOWN (contact Columbus or New York)

Fraternal Group

SEATTLE. Freedom Socialist Party of Washington. Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Ave. N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. phone: ME 2-7449.

Exhibit 65A. Second page of exhibit 65.

The first of these was a speech on May 11, 1965, by one Steve Weissman, a member of the Students for a Democratic Society from the University of California at Berkeley. His speech was entitled "How Not to Have a Berkeley" but consisted of a detailed instruction of exactly how to organize and carry out a "Berkeley-Type" disturbance. It is to the great credit of LSU that from a student body of about 17,000, Weissman could only draw an audience of about thirty people for this speech. This is roughly the number of people connected with the Student Liberal Federation at LSU, the organization sponsoring the speech. I offer a clipping from the "Daily Reveille" concerning this speech. Prior to this, Weissman had given the same speech at Southern University in Baton Rouge and had drawn an audience of some 400 from a student body of about 6,000. The significance of this is that evidently the people sponsoring Weissman considered Southern a much better target than LSU and worked much harder to get out a crowd.

The second incident at LSU was a speech on November 23, 1965, by Virginia Y. Collins who was introduced at that time as a "Civil Rights Worker" and the "special assistant to Dr. James Dombrowski, director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund." She has now been identified by two witnesses before this Committee as a Communist. Her speech was also sponsored by the Student Liberal Federation. I offer two clippings from "The Daily Reveille" concerning her speech.

The third incident at LSU, also sponsored by the Student Liberal Federation, was a panel discussion on Viet Nam including as an invited panelist "Albert Nelson," Spartacist League organizer from New York and a member of the editorial board of "Spartacist." This occurred on February 8, 1966. I offer three clippings concerning Nelson's comments and the reaction thereto, plus a handbill showing that he spoke at Tulane University on a similar panel three nights previously. Two points on this speech are important. First, Nelson was not introduced as a Communist at LSU and his Communist publication was characterized in advance simply as "Left Wing." He did admit openly during the discussion that he was in fact a Communist, but this was generally not known to his audience until he said it. Second, the editorial in the student newspaper shows a very healthy and common-sense point of view toward Nelson, what he had to say, and Communists in general. When such people are clearly identified for what they are, their influence at LSU seems quite low. Unfortunately, this is not always the case elsewhere nor even at LSU when the background of such speakers is concealed or unknown. The pseudo-intel-

Campus Groups List Activities

ETA KAPPA NU

Eta Kappa Nu, electrical engineering honor fraternity, elected officers for the 1965-66 school year and discussed plans for their annual banquet on May 13.

Robert Klepzig was elected president. Other officers are Bill Thibaut, vice-president; Ronald LaCarna, recording secretary; Steve Bryan, treasurer; Daniel Hotard, corresponding secretary; and Alvin Grille, bridge secretary.

ALPHA PHI

Alpha Phi will hold its installation Saturday at 6:30 p.m. in the Faculty Club.

FARM MANAGEMENT CLUB

The Farm Equipment Management Club recently elected Bill McDaniel their 1965-66 president.

Other officers are George Poche, vice-president; Ed McMahon, secretary-treasurer; and Robert Tregre, reporter. Mansel Mayeaux was chosen faculty adviser.

INTERNATIONAL WEEK

A watermelon party and free dance sponsored by the Union Social Activities and SGA International Relations committees will be held tonight on the terrace outside the Tiger Lair.

The watermelon party will last from 6-8. The "Showmen" will play for the dance slated from 7-11.

The International Exhibition will close at 3 p.m. today with a prize being awarded for the best entry in the showing.

These events will conclude International Week.

PHI MU ALPHA SINFONIA

Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia will hold its spring initiation tonight at 6:30 in the University Theater.

STUDENT LIBERAL FEDERATION

Steve Weissman, a graduate student from the University of California in Berkeley, will speak Tuesday at 5 p.m. in the International Room of the Union.

Weissman is currently touring the United States speaking at various universities about the recent student activity on the Berkeley campus. He is a member of the Students for Democratic Society and was a member of the steering committee of the Free Speech movement.

The speaker is sponsored by the Student Liberal Federation.

Exhibit 66. Clipping concerning speech by Steve Weissman, SDS leader from Berkeley, on the L. S. U. campus, May 11, 1965.

The Daily Reveille

Vol. 70

LSU, BATON ROUGE, LA., TUESDAY, NOV. 23, 1965

No. 35

Rights Worker Speaks in Union

The first Negro civil rights worker ever allowed to speak on campus will talk to students in an open forum in the Acadian Room of the Union tonight at 7.

Mrs. Virginia Collins, sponsored by the Student Liberal Federation, will speak on "The Mississippi Freedom Challenge."

Student Liberal Federation President Paul Jensen commented on the University's more liberal position on controversial speakers after the approval of Mrs. Collins by Chancellor Cecil G. Taylor. He said, "I am pleased that the University has finally seen fit to allow the student body to be exposed to a variety of ideas, one of the basic tenets of an education."

Mrs. Collins, of New Orleans, is a noted speaker on civil rights, and at present is special assistant to Dr. James Dombrowski, director of the Southern Conference Educational fund.

She has worked with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the National Association for the Advance of Colored People.

Mrs. Collins has spoken at the University of Oklahoma and at Dillard and Xavier universities in New Orleans.

Exhibit 67. Clipping concerning speech on L.S.U. campus November 23, 1965, by Virginia Y. Collins, identified since as a Communist.

The Daily Reveille

Vol. 70

LSU, BATON ROUGE, LA., TUESDAY, NOV. 30, 1965

No. 36

Civil Rights Worker Advocates Formation of Political Party

By MIKE BATTLE

A new political party, which would give Negroes the voice in the government which they are not receiving under the present system, must be formed, Mrs. Virginia Collins, a civil rights worker, told students recently.

Mrs. Collins, who has worked for both CORE and the NAACP, was the first Negro civil rights worker allowed to speak on campus.

Wants Dignity

"For me and my people, we would like to see the dignity that goes with free men. We want to participate," Mrs. Collins said. She stated that she was against President Lyndon Johnson's foreign policy for the simple fact that she could not see why her son should go to Viet Nam and fight for these peoples' right to vote when her own son could not do so in the United States.

Mrs. Collins of New Orleans is special assistant to Dr. James Dombrowski, director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Mississippi Move

Concerning the movement to unseat the Mississippi delegates in Congress, Mrs. Collins said that "democracy was on trial. Only the minority voted the Mississippi Congressmen in." She stated that the Negroes in Mississippi did not have

a voice in the election of these people and that for this reason they formed their own political party, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. From this party the "Freedom Ballot" was formed.

After the federal elections in Mississippi were held, civil rights workers took dispositions from Negro people as to how they were intimidated. "Much that has happened never appeared," she stressed. She added that in addition to the three Negro bodies recovered in rivers of Mississippi many more were found but never reported in the news.

Federal Government

The federal government, leaving the problem of voting registration up to the individual states, has placed an undue hardship on the Negro population, she added. Mrs. Collins cited recent incidents in New Orleans to support her claims. She stated that hundreds of Negroes were turned away from the polls because of the lack of voting registration employees. Because of this, applications were filled out for them, and no party preference was stated. These Negroes were not allowed to vote in the Democratic primary.

The suit, which was filed immediately after this action, was dismissed by the courts from "lack of evidence."

Exhibit 68. Clipping on November 23, 1965 by Virginia Y. Collins at L.S.U.

The Daily Reveille

Vol. 70

LSU, BATON ROUGE, LA., TUESDAY, FEB. 8, 1966

No. 58

Viet Nam Discussion Is Tonight

An open Viet Nam panel discussion with speakers having various political and social views will be held tonight from 6 to 10:30 in the Cotillion Ballroom of the Union.

The Student Liberal Federation is sponsoring the event. All speak-

ers will answer questions from the floor.

William Percy, assistant history professor, will give the keynote address. Jack Wright, a graduate student in sociology, will discuss the sociological implications of the Viet Nam crisis in the United States. Other speakers from the University include representatives from the Young Democrats, Young Republicans and Students for Conservative Government.

From outside the University, the Student Liberals have invited Albert Nelson, a former member of the Socialist Worker's Party. Nelson is on the editorial board of a left-wing publication, Spartacist.

Dorothy Nance, a CORE worker from New Orleans, will also speak.

The forum will also feature Buford W. Posey, a native of Philadelphia, Miss., who informed on seven members of the Ku Klux Klan involved in the murder of three civil rights workers.

Another member of CORE, Herman Carter, will give his views. Carter is a Southern University student and secretary of the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

All interested persons are invited to attend. The president of the club is James Oppel.

Exhibit 69. Clipping concerning speech on L.S.U. campus February 8, 1966 by Albert Nelson, Spartacist League member from New York.

STATE TIMES

BATON ROUGE, LA., WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 9, 1966 88 PAGES

LSU Prof Leaves Meet In Protest of Commie

An LSU engineering professor who had been invited to speak at an LSU forum on Viet Nam last night, left the meeting when he learned that one of the other speakers was a Communist.

Dr. Raphael Kazmann, associate professor of engineering at LSU, was one of nine speakers invited to a discussion of U.S. Policy in Viet Nam by the LSU student Liberal Foundation. Kazmann said he left the meeting when another speaker, Albert Nelson, admitted to the large audience he was a Communist and had been dishonorably discharged from the U.S. Army.

Kazmann, a native of New York, N.Y., said today he had accepted the invitation to speak because he did not want a bunch of intellectual nitwits and Communists to take over the LSU campus.

He said today, however, that "half or two-thirds" of the estimated 300 persons in the audience "were on his side."

The forum began at 6 p.m. and continued until about 10:30 p.m.

The event was at the Cotillion Ballroom at the LSU Union.

Kazmann said today that he did not want to be seated at the same speaker's roster with an avowed Communist.

(Continued on Page 13-A, Col. 7)

...sure that Nelson and others of his kind are properly dealt with. If legislation is needed, we support it.

Dr. Walfrid J. Jenkins, chairman of the Sociology Department at LSU, and moderator of the panel discussion said today the panel speakers represented liberal and conservative views on the U.S. Policy in Viet Nam, and the various shades in-between.

He said the audience was definitely not all of the same opinion.

In addition to Nelson and Kazmann, the panel included Jim Hax, LSU history student who is president of the Students for Conservative Government; Steve White, vice president of the Students for Conservative Government, also an LSU student; Jack Wright, graduate sociology student at LSU; Dr. William Percy, member of the LSU history faculty; and a member of the Citizens for Racial Equality and a Southern University student, Dorothy Nance of New Orleans, a CORE worker and Richard Power, who has been active in civil rights movements.

Quoted for official comment this morning, a University spokesman said neither LSU President John A. Hunter nor Chancellor C. G. Fryler would have any statement on the meeting.

Asked today if he were true that the audience cheered when Nelson said the group he was a Communist and had been dishonorably discharged from the Army, Kazmann said, "There was a certain noisy minority who applauded Nelson."

Kazmann described the discussion as "spirited" and said, "There was audience response to many things."

He said, however, "Most of the audience was not in favor of Nelson by any means."

Kazmann said there was cheering from the audience when he left the speaker's stand in protest of Nelson's presence. Nelson told the group the United States wants freedom to invest in the resources of China. Thus, the war in Viet Nam is premeditated and deliberate.

The aims of the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Viet Cong were explained by Miss Nance, who said she had been in correspondence with the National Liberation Front.

Kazmann, who spent two months in Saigon in 1958, termed Red China a paper tiger who can not successfully feed its people, and who has successfully "outhuffed" the United States.

He said a nation which cannot feed its people cannot go to war.

White, the vice president of a conservative group, urged increasing the force of attacks against North Viet Nam.

Some of our allies are aiding the enemy by selling supplies, White said, and the bombing of ports and major industrial centers in the North Viet Nam would help win the war.

Carter said the group that more Negro soldiers were serving in Viet Nam than white men because of the discrimination policies of the United States.

(Continued from Page One)

"When he (Nelson) said he had picketed the Russian delegation at the U.N. demanding they send more arms to North Viet Nam, frankly I'd had it," the engineering professor commented today.

Mayor Comments

Mayor-President Dumas today said he sent the following telegram in protest of Nelson's statements to President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, Gov. McKeithen, Sen. Allen Ellender and Russell Long and U.S. Rep. James Morrison:

"The citizens of Baton Rouge are shocked at the statement made yesterday at LSU by a certain Albert Nelson, an admitted Communist and a dishonorably discharged soldier from the U.S. Army, advocating the overthrow of the U.S. Government.

"To many of us who are loyal American citizens believing in freedom of speech, if this is not treason, it should be. To permit statements such as these to be made unchallenged before student groups goes beyond the bounds of free speech.

"I hope that this incident will be thoroughly investigated and immediate action taken to in-

Exhibit 70. Clipping concerning February 8, 1966 speech at L.S.U. by Albert Nelson, Spartacist League member.

OPINION...

Thursday, Feb. 10, 1966

The Forum

The forum on Viet Nam revealed more about LSU than it did about the social, political and military situation in Southeast Asia.

It showed that the University is not, as many have alleged, in the chronic state of a disease not uncommon to contemporary campuses—apathy.

During the five-hour "teach-in," students took advantage of a rare opportunity to hear, question, disagree and understand opposing views and suggested courses of action on the most crucial problem of the decade.

No one could have possibly agreed with all the views presented. However, the audience listened closely, politely and weighted the merits of the arguments of speakers ranging from warhawks to a former member of the Socialist Workers Party who announced he was a communist.

We doubt he made many converts. With his general appearance and garbled logic, coupled with his speaking inability, he may have even lost the party a few members.

The purpose of the forum, after all, was to gain an understanding and awareness of all the sides to the question of U. S. participation in the Vietnamese war.

We listened attentively to the dirty armpit Vietniks (who weren't even half-safe) proclaim the Viet Cong as the saviors of South Viet Nam and imply that American fighting men were roaming about the countryside slaughtering widows and orphans.

We read their literature which implied that a good way to dodge the draft is to feign homosexuality (and judging by their appearance, this shouldn't prove too difficult.)

We listened to all they had to say, measured the merits of their arguments . . . and find them as unpatriotic and as repulsive as ever.

Exhibit 71. Editorial comment from L.S.U. student newspaper on February 8, 1966, speech by Albert Nelson

OPEN FORUM

on

VIETNAM

Saturday, Feb. 5
7 p. m.

McAlister Auditorium
Tulane U.

PROGRAM

For

Against

John Piercy, State Dept.

Panel I

Prof. Kahin, Cornell U.

Dave Treen, Republican Congressional
Candidate

7 p. m.

Fr. Douenhour, Tulane Newman
Club

Prof. Mason, Tulane U.

Panel II

Dave McReynolds, War Resisters
League

Prof. Hicks, Southern U.

5 p. m.

Nancy Gitlin, Students for a
Democratic Society

Prof. Parker, LSUNO

Panel III

Prof. Schechner, Tulane U.

Ed Butler, Information Council
of the Americas

10:15 p.m.

Al Nelson, Spartacists

Workshops will be conducted for discussion with and questioning of individual speakers. Members of Panel I will hold workshops at 9 p.m. Members of Panel II will hold workshops at 10:15 p.m. Everyone is invited to continue debate at 11:30 p. m.

Exhibit 72. Handbill showing open participation of Albert Nelson, Spartacist League member, in "forum" on Tulane University campus February 5, 1966.

Why Not Give Some Worthy Kids a Chance?

Shreveport Times - Feb 9, 1965 - 6-A



Exhibit 73. Editorial cartoon from "Shreveport Times" concerning student "Trouble makers."

N. Orleans Local Copy

S R B BUNDLE MAILING LIST

Sunflower County Improvement Association (10) P. O. Box 396 Sunflower, Miss. 38778	N.S.A. Southern Project (5) 41 Exchange Place Room 703 Atlanta, Ga.
Otis Brown, Jr. (10) P. O. Box 30 Indianola, Miss.	United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO (10) P. O. Box 703 Belle Glade, Fla.
MFIU (10) Box 547 Shaw, Miss.	Appalachian Relief Committee (5) Box 113 Pleasant Hill, Tenn. 38578
Tennessee Freedom Labor Union (10) P. O. Box 277 Somerville, Tenn.	<u>The Appalachian South</u> (5) P. O. Box 4104 Charleston, W. Va.
L. C. Coleman (5) 511 Cotton St. Marks, Miss.	<u>Catalyst</u> (5) c/o Louisville Peace & Freedom Center () 221 Brandon Louisville, Ky.
Richard Chinn (5) 600 Third XXI Ave. So. Providence, Ky.	National Farm Workers Association (10) Box 54 Rio Grande City, Tex.
S.D.S. (10) University of Missouri Kansas City, Mo.	Florida Socialist Union (10) University of Florida Gainesville, Fla.
S.D.S. (10) University of Missouri Columbia, Mo.	International Affairs Club (5) Box 9 Florida Atlantic University Boca Raton, Fla.
S.D.S. (10) University of Kentucky Lexington, Ky.	MFDP (10) 507 ¹ / ₂ Farrish St. Jackson, Miss.
S.D.S. (10) University of Oklahoma Norman, Okla.	Operation Open Debate (5) 2202 Oakland Ave. Nashville, Tenn.
S.D.S. (10) Washington University St. Louis, Mo.	SNCC (10) Box 572 Selma, Ala. 36702
S.D.S. (10) LIBERAL ACTION GROUP (SDS) (10) Duke University Durham, N.C.	SCCEWYN (5) Box 3105 Atlanta, Ga.
Little Rock University Foreign Relations Council (5) Little Rock University Little Rock, Ark.	SSOC (5) Box 6403 Nashville, Tenn. 37212
SSOC (10) Box 15474 Atlanta, Ga.	Liberty House (5) P.O. Box 3193 Jackson, Miss.

3rd Class

Exhibit 74. Bundle mailing list of the Southern Regional Bureau of the Spartacist League.

Mrs. Dorothy P. Williams (15)
702 N. Craft Highway
Prichard, Ala.

SCEF (5)
321 1/2 West Broadway
Louisville, Ky.

JACKSON AD HOC COMMITTEE TO END (10)
THE WAR IN VIETNAM
P.O. Box 3255
JACKSON, MISS.

SDS-SSOC (10)
Box 13636
UNIVERSITY STATION
GAINESVILLE, FLA. 3260

SOUTH NASHVILLE COMMUNITY PROJECT (5)
Box 6072
NASHVILLE, TENN. 37212

lectual appeal of the radical left "liberalism" falls on fertile grounds in the minds of idealistic but naive and inexperienced students. Some of them are mature enough to see through the smokescreen, some are not. All of them are the prime targets of the Communist conspiracy throughout the free world. I offer for the record an excellent cartoon from the "Shreveport Times" which demonstrates one logical answer to some of our student problems.

Finally Mr. Chairman, I offer a copy of the Southern Regional Bureau bulk mailing list of the Spartacist League. It shows clearly the targets and areas of cooperation of the Spartacist League. It also demonstrates again the broad base of subversive influence of the Spartacist League, despite its small number of active members.

I have no further evidence to offer the Committee at this time.

MEETING ADJOURNED SINE DIE.

* * * * *

CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

The Constitution of the United States, Article III, Section 3, defines "treason" as follows:

"Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court."

The Constitution of the State of Louisiana, Article 19, Section 3, contains a practically identical provision.

The Legislature of Louisiana has defined "treason" in the Louisiana Criminal Code, Louisiana Revised Statutes Title 14, Section 113, as follows:

"Treason is the levying of war against the United States or the State of Louisiana, adhering to enemies of the United States or of the State of Louisiana, or giving such enemies aid and comfort.

"No person shall be convicted of treason except on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on his own confession in open Court.

"Whoever commits the crime of treason shall be punished by death."

Congress has defined the crime of treason in the same terms in Title 18, Section 2381, of the United States Code, fixing the penalty under the federal law to be death, or imprisonment for not less than five years plus a fine of not less than \$10,000.00.

Louisiana Revised Statutes, Title 14, Section 114, defines the crime of "Misprison of Treason" as follows:

"Misprison of treason is the concealment of treason, or the failure to disclose immediately all pertinent facts to proper authorities, by a person who has knowledge of the commission of the crime of treason.

"Whoever commits misprison of treason shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars, and imprisoned at hard labor for not more than ten years."

The United States Code, Title 18, Section 2382, contains practically the same provision, with a maximum penalty of seven years imprisonment.

These crimes are historically considered among the most serious felonies a citizen can commit. They must, under the Constitution, be considered in the light of the First Amendment, which says:

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.”

Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have tended to extend the protections of the First Amendment to the laws of the various states.

An inevitable conflict appears evident between the protections of the first amendment for the individual and the overriding necessity for the general security of society. However, if treason should become general and be successful in the overthrow of our government in favor of a Communist dictatorship, who would then be protected by the First Amendment? One need only look at the total lack of civil rights and civil liberties in the Communist countries of the world today for the answer to this question. Of course, the rights of individuals are of paramount importance under the Constitution, but this Committee believes that the first responsibility of any government is to maintain itself, within its constitutional framework, for without the United States of America, there would be no first amendment, and indeed no constitutional rights of any kind.

Evidently the founders of this nation believed the same proposition, as they defined the crime of treason in the constitution! It is the only crime so defined. When the first amendment was written, it made no reference to the constitutional crime of treason, but only imposed reasonable restrictions on the law-making power of the Congress. This Committee is of the opinion that the first amendment protections do not and were never intended to supersede the constitutional provisions defining the crime of treason.

The evidence in this report can be taken as no less than evidence of treason, both under the Constitution and statutes of the United States and the Constitution and statutory law of the State of Louisiana. The Committee urges every reader of this report to evaluate the evidence contained herein in the light of the law as stated above. Is it “Adhering to their (the) enemies, (of the United States and the State of Louisiana), giving them aid and comfort . . .” to march in a public demonstration carrying a poster calling for “Military support for the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong)”? (See ex-

hibit 31). Do these words from the constitution cover the many other similar overt acts and the open conspiracies detailed in this report which are directed toward Communist "revolution" in our nation? Are all these and many other similar acts established in the evidence presented herein "treason"? If not, what are they? Is not the concealment of these acts "misprison of treason" under the clear meaning of the law? If not, what is it?

The federal crime of "Advocating overthrow of government," commonly called "sedition" is defined at some length in the United States Code, Title 18, Section 2385, which provides a maximum penalty of twenty years imprisonment. Much of what is shown in the evidence in this report clearly falls under the provisions of this federal law, but there have been no prosecutions under this law! In the State of Louisiana the United States Department of Justice has allowed the federal crime of sedition to be committed with impunity, despite many clear decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States holding that this federal statute was fully constitutional. It may be noted in passing that the laws of the various states covering the crime of sedition have been substantially emasculated by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Committee is sending copies of this report to the United States Department of Justice, the Attorney General of the United States, the Attorney General of Louisiana and all the District Attorneys of this State. The enforcement of law lies with them, not this Committee. The trend of decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in recent years has not inspired the confidence of this Committee that the constitutional and statutory law applicable to the facts in this report will be interpreted without bias. We pray that this trend will not be continued.

The Committee finds that the "Spartacist League" and the "Progressive Labor Party" are Communist organizations and are subversive within the meaning of the laws of this State. The Committee further finds that the now dormant "New Orleans Committee to End the War in Viet Nam" was a Communist front organization. The Committee further finds that the "New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society" is in fact a Communist front organization. The Committee re-affirms its prior findings that the "Southern Conference Educational Fund" is a Communist front organization. Although the headquarters of this notorious organization have been moved from the State of Louisiana to the State of Kentucky, it is currently being led by two people well known and publicly identified as Communists, Carl and Anne Braden. Also, its operations in Louisiana are still be-

ing supervised by another such person, well identified previously as a Communist, James A. Dombrowski. The Committee urges all innocent people, who are associated with any of the above cited organizations, to leave them and repudiate them as Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker recently repudiated the SCEF in Louisville, Kentucky. Bishop Tucker, connected with the SCEF for many years as an idealistic "liberal," publicly stated upon resigning from the SCEF on April 17, 1967 as follows:

"I do not intend to give aid and comfort to any organization that seeks to denigrate the position of the United States and to make apology for positions that have been taken by our government. My position is, our country right or wrong, but may she always be right. And anyone who always sides on the part of Communism and lauds everything that Russia does ought to move either to Moscow or Leningrad."

By repudiating the SCEF, Bishop Tucker joined the ranks of many other disillusioned people.

The Committee is not surprised to hear again that the racial issue has been exploited by the Communists. This is not new in Communist policy or activity. The inevitable losers on this score are those duped and misguided people who follow the Communist leadership in this regard, either from ignorance of the nature of such leadership or from a mistaken belief that the Communists are really sincere and loving people altruistically interested in the welfare of mankind. Those who believe this should carefully read more of the basic Communist literature to see the cynical drive for power it contains and they should critically evaluate the state of "civil rights" in the Communist countries of the world. They should realize that the only active "imperialism" in the world today is the imperialism of the worldwide Communist conspiracy! The Committee believes that the most "downtrodden" negro citizen in the United States has more personal freedom and guaranteed liberty than any citizen of any color whatsoever in Red China or the Soviet Union. The recent drive by Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, and others, to identify the "civil rights movement" with the Communist's "struggle for world peace" is a clear step toward subverting the motives and aspirations of non-Communist sympathizers of the one movement into the machinery of Communist revolution. The Committee finds the secret meetings of Stokely Carmichael with the Communist leaders of the Spartacist League and the extensive connections of Martin Luther King with the Southern Conference Educational Fund (see Report No. 4, of this

Committee) most significant in this regard.

On February 16, 1967, before the Sub-Committee on Appropriations of the U. S. House of Representatives, J. Edgar Hoover gave the following sworn testimony:

“The riots and disturbances of recent years have given Communists a golden opportunity to emphasize the Marxist concept of the “class struggle” by identifying the Negro and other minority group problems with it. Communists seek to advance the cause of communism by injecting themselves into racial situations and in exploiting them (1) to intensify the frictions between Negroes and whites to “prove” that the discrimination against minorities is an inherent defect of the capitalist system, (2) to foster domestic disunity by dividing Negroes and whites into antagonistic, warring factions, (3) to undermine and destroy established authority, (4) to incite Negro hostility toward law and order, (5) to encourage and foment further racial strife and riotous activity, and (6) to portray the Communist movement as the “champion” of social protest and the only force capable of ameliorating the conditions of the Negroes and the oppressed.”

“The cumulative effect of almost 50 years of Communist Party activity in the United States cannot be minimized, for it has contributed to disrupting race relations in this country and has exerted an insidious influence on the life and times of our Nation. . . .”

“The net result of agitation and propaganda by Communist and other subversive and extremist elements has been to create a climate of conflict between the races in this country and to poison the atmosphere.”

The Committee agrees wholeheartedly with this statement, and prays that the Attorney General of the United States will take steps toward remedying the situation through federal prosecution of the leadership of the said “agitation” under federal law.

This report contains substantial evidence of Communist infiltration directed toward our institutions of higher learning and toward students generally. Why is this a prime target of the Communist conspiracy? The reasons are multiple. Students are idealistic, they rally to “causes,” they support the “underdog”, they have much unrestrained enthusiasm and they are generally somewhat immature in their judgment. Also, they will someday be the leaders of this nation.

It is classic Communist doctrine to spread the seeds of Communism through students. Students are pliable and easily led by well trained Communist leadership. They have been used throughout the world as the shock troops of Communist revolution. On July 5, 1965, J. Edgar Hoover stated that American college students and faculty members are the "prime targets" of Communist attention in the United States. (See exhibit 9).

Up to this time, the students of the State of Louisiana have generally resisted the efforts of Communist infiltration very well, and the Committee compliments them for it. They must continually be on guard and should critically analyze any leadership which tries to "organize" them, no matter what "causes" are used for a rallying point. This Committee will continue its observation of activities on the campuses of Louisiana State University and other state supported institutions. State supported universities are paid for by the people, belong to the people and are supposed to serve the people, primarily by educating their children. The people have a legitimate right to insist that these institutions be kept free from Communist subversion.

The responsibility for operating Louisiana State University legally rests with the Board of Supervisors of that institution as provided in the Constitution of the State of Louisiana, Article 12, Section 7, which states:

"The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College shall be under the direction, control, supervision and management of a body corporate to be known as the 'Board of Supervisors of Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College. . . .'"

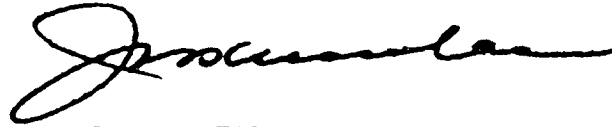
Similar constitutional responsibility for the operation of the various other State supported colleges and universities is delegated to the State Board of Education by the same section of the Louisiana Constitution.

In Louisiana Revised Statutes, Title 17, Sections 1451, et seq, the Legislature has defined in detail the extent of the powers, authority and duties delegated to these boards. The people of the State of Louisiana depend upon these boards to fully exercise the authority constitutionally delegated to them.

In conclusion, the Committee reaffirms its previous position that the keynote of freedom is the responsible individual citizen. Without responsibilities, no "rights" can be guaranteed to any citizen. To

balance "civil rights" there are equally strong and binding civil responsibilities. To balance "academic freedom" there is an equally strong academic responsibility. To balance "freedom to dissent" there is an equally strong responsibility for patriotism and respect for law and order. To ignore these facts is to invite the loss of freedom, and if it is ever lost in this nation, it may be lost on the face of this earth for a thousand years to come.

Respectfully submitted:



Jesse M. Knowles, Chairman,

Senator Jesse M. Knowles, Chairman, Allen, Beauregard, Calcasieu,
Cameron, Jefferson Davis

Representative Ford E. Stinson, Vice Chairman, Bossier

Senator Fieldon H. Mitchell, Livingston, St. Helena, Tangipahoa

Senator Harold Montgomery, Bossier, Webster

Senator Danny R. Moore, Bienville, Claiborne

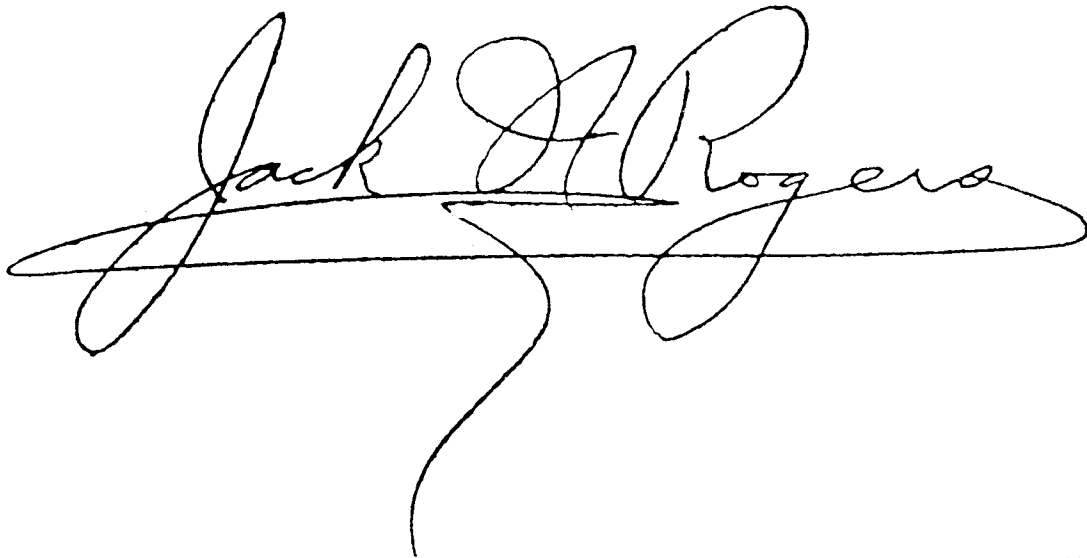
Senator W. Spencer Myrick, Morehouse, West Carroll

Representative S. S. DeWitt, Tensas

Representative Herman B. Schoenberger, Plaquemines

Representative W. J. Richardson, Caldwell

Col. Frederick B. Alexander, Staff Director



Jack N. Rogers, Committee Counsel