

WORKERS WORLD

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McNamara's 9th Viet Trip Marks U.S. Desperation

Escalation, More Troops Expected As Defeats Pile Up, Casualties Rise

By F. RICHARDSON

July 6 — Secretary of War Robert McNamara started for Vietnam yesterday. It was his ninth trip there and as he took off from Andrews Air Force Base his computer mind was whirling with frustration over the deepening military crisis of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

Some 463,000 troops were already in South Vietnam. The U.S. has been and still is carrying out the murderous bombing of the northern part of the tiny country of Vietnam as well as the south — but in spite of this and the poisoning of crops and napalming and search and destroy missions and B-52 giant bomb raids, the U.S. military situation is crumbling.

To make matters worse for Washington, Saigon is once again in a state of political chaos. The Ky-puppet has been replaced by the Thieu-puppet; neither has one ounce of popular support and the trouble points towards a deeper crisis right in the U.S. stronghold of Saigon.

On the battlefield the long disguised failure of the U.S. military effort has suddenly begun to show openly. For example, in the northern part of the country in an area which the U.S. military thought it had cleared, a marine company of something over 250 men was recently annihilated.

The Marines, in military parlance, "crack" troops, had at their disposal endless amounts of military hardware: planes, tanks, heavy artillery and they were merely patrolling an area which, according to the best U.S. intelligence estimates, was cleared and safe. This area was the 6-mile-wide zone below the demilitarized zone. It was supposedly emptied of people and much of it was bulldozed, leveled as a desert where no enemy could be.

On Sunday, July 3 at about 10 A.M., as the Marines patrolled the western end of the strip, which borders on a scrub jungle, they were attacked by a heavy mortar barrage. As they frantically ducked for cover, the Vietnamese attackers moved in with the barrage and cut them to pieces. Within a half hour, a major part of the Marine force was destroyed. Tanks sent to the aid of the stricken group were met with fire from a new Soviet anti-tank gun which a Marine officer says can penetrate 11 inches of steel. At least two tanks were knocked out by these guns. Marine reinforcements were met by heavy fire and were unable to reach the dead and wounded until July 5. Vietnamese troops, having done their job with shattering effectiveness, had left.

But this was only the most recent of a series of smashing defeats suffered by U.S. troops in the last few weeks. With the dry season over and the rain beginning to fall, U.S. plane coverage was curtailed and "search and destroy" missions were bogged down. Vietnamese Liberation Forces were striking hard in many places.

In the Mekong Delta 17 miles south of Saigon, a U.S. company from the 9th Infantry was caught and all but wiped out on June 19. In the Central Highlands a few days later a company of the 173rd Airborne Brigade was trapped and decimated — "virtually wiped out" was the phrase of the New York Times military report on the action. And

throughout Vietnam other Liberation Forces' attacks, ambushes, mortar shellings continued.

American youths drafted into the army were paying a heavy price for the dirty role in which the ruling class government had placed them.

The U.S. ruling class and its military leaders were worried, not about the blood being shed by the men they had forced into uniforms, but about the fact that their sacrifice was not winning the war.

The military was demanding more troops and insisting that a large increase was essential. A "high military official" quoted by the June 27 Wall Street Journal cries:

"This is the first time in modern U.S. military history that a theater commander has to worry about whether moving company A into a fight means company B should be moved in to replace it and what happens when company B leaves its own area." He was referring mainly to the fact that the U.S. generals have had to move troops to the northern part of South Vietnam in order to meet the threat of attack there and in doing so left other areas weakened.

That the military situation is becoming increasingly precarious can be gleaned from a translation of a Westmoreland statement that if he is not given a lot more troops, the U.S. "may lose the initiative." Since it is clear that the U.S. never had the initiative, the general must mean something else. And what he means is that the U.S. is in danger of serious military defeats — perhaps even on the order of the French Dienbienphu.

This is all on McNamara's mind as he goes to Vietnam and discusses the situation with Westmoreland. But there is more too. While the military faces defeat from a people in arms and cries for men and material to fight them, McNamara has also pulling at his computer the fact that not only does he not have the men and means ready to give the military what they are asking for, but he has important elements of the ruling class fearful and reluctant over taking the massive steps (mobilization of reserves, bigger draft, near wartime economy) that would supply them.

But even further is the history of the Vietnam story which must make even a McNamara, computer and all, flinch.

First, there was the increase in troops from the "advisor" level of 23,000. With 200,000 troops there was the demand for 300,000. Then there was the demand for bombing the North, and there was the demand for 400,000, 500,000 troops. Now the demand is 600,000 or 700,000. Next perhaps the demand will be a million.

But what has been the result of this increase, this escalation? Liberation forces have grown (in U.S. estimates) from 113,000 to 292,000 and more (since March, 1966).

A whole nation has risen to fight. Yet even with the awareness of this history, the U.S. ruling class has not grown wiser. It has only grown more desperate. And as the military — and political — crisis deepens, their desperation increases. And as their desperation increases, the probability is: further escalation and even more reckless adventures.

Vote Shows UN As Puppet Despite Anti-U.S. Vote

Kosygin-Tito Move Seen As Mask To Cover Cease-Fire Capitulation

By SAM MARCY

The inevitable has happened once again at the U.N. The world organization which has for all these many years been painted up as the "guardian of peace" and the "enemy of aggressive wars" has once again proved itself to be the pliable tool of U.S. imperialism. Again, as on so many other occasions, the paid publicists of imperialist finance, its flunkies, and clients are crowing over the diplomatic victory which some of them describe as "almost as significant as the one on the battlefield." (N.Y. Times, July 6, 1967)

The truth of the matter, however, is that the issue of condemning the aggression against the Arab People through a U.N. edict, and redressing the terrible harm done was never really in doubt for a single moment.

The shame of it all is that the leadership of the Soviet Union knew all along that the whole business of calling the General Assembly into special session was nothing but an exercise in futility. It was a cunning maneuver carefully stage-managed to convey the aura of a great and dramatic fight but the outcome of it was absolutely beyond doubt. It was undertaken in the knowledge that it would be defeated only because some credible means was urgently needed to counteract the Soviet capitulation in joining with the U.S. to steam roll through the Security Council resolution calling for the infamous cease-fire which was imposed on the Arab People.

It is difficult to believe that any of the statesmen at the U.N., no matter from what delegation and no matter how naive, could avoid knowing the results beforehand.

As always the only parties that were deceived were the broad masses of the people, the millions upon millions who were led to believe, on the basis of Soviet policy, that the United Nations as presently constituted is a force for peace and a progressive factor in world relations. All this despite incontestable proof to the contrary, such as the U.N. experience in the Congo and Korea, as well as elsewhere.

It is also inconceivable that the Soviet leaders genuinely believed that the military aggression against the Arab People could be reversed by diplomatic means. The Soviet leadership today has more diplomatic contact throughout the world and an accumulation of experience in contemporary world affairs second to none, especially when one considers the giant impact of the Soviet state in the world arena today. It is therefore quite impossible that the Soviet leaders did not know in advance that the Assembly vote would go substantially the way it did. The Soviet leaders must also have known that if there was a real doubt about the outcome of the struggle in the U.N., that is assuming that it was a genuine struggle, the U.S. government would never have permitted it in the first place. The U.S. would break the organization up long before it ever came to such a pass or would maneuver its way out in such a way as to completely paralyze the organization.

It must never be forgotten (and the Soviet leaders surely know this) that since the very day the U.N. was founded the U.S. has consistently maintained full and operative control of the U.N. machinery. It has never for a moment relinquished it. Furthermore, the infrastructure of the U.N. is built in such a way that if the U.S. does not maintain exclusive control it can certainly share it with the leading imperialist powers through control over the Security Council. That is where the U.S. scored its initial victory.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that no one was asking the Soviet leaders to take reckless military adventures. No one demanded unreasonable acts of them. And the situation was not one that necessarily posed the threat of a direct confrontation with the U.S., which the leaders of the Soviet Union are continually using as a weapon of fear to cover up their betrayals.

The issue reduces itself to whether the Soviet leadership was obligated to accede to U.S. demands for a cease-fire in the Security Council and impose it on the Arab People. It is the imposition of this cruel surrender on the Arab People which is the crux of the matter.

All that was required of the Soviet Union as an ally of the Arab states in the existing circumstances was to vigorously oppose the attempt of the U.S. government to use the U.N. to impose a cease-fire on the Arab People, particularly at a time when the Israeli puppet regime had invaded much of the territory of the U.A.R., the Syrian Arab Republic, and Jordan. It was the solemn duty of the U.S.S.R. delegation and the other socialist countries and their allies to vigorously fight this outrageous and flagrant attempt by U.S. finance capital to manipulate the world body and make it its willing tool.

In addition to such a diplomatic and political defense at the U.N. of the Arab liberation struggle against U.S.-Israeli aggression, the U.S.S.R. was also obligated to continue an uninterrupted flow of economic and military assistance in accordance with its pledges to the Arab People. By acceding to the U.S. cease-fire demand it halted the struggle and left the aggressive Israeli forces with the fruits of their aggression and made it more difficult for the Arab People to resume the struggle. The fact that the U.S.S.R. is resuming shipments now may lessen some of the difficulties but it is no substitute for the U.S.S.R. not living up to its promises of giving fraternal aid and assistance to the Arab People in time of overriding need.

The most lamentable aspect of the Soviet role in the Mideast crisis, and in

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**Valuable Admissions**

Week after week, month after month, the U.S. ruling class propaganda machine grinds out an unending flow of lies and distortions in order to drum up mass hostility to the People's Republic of China in the U.S. and on a world scale.

Particularly since the onset of the Cultural Revolution, which is directed first and foremost against counter-revolution sponsored by imperialism and its internal allies, the bourgeois press has described China as the land of chaos and social disintegration, where the masses are regimented in a life of privation and poverty.

That's what the ruling class tells the public in their daily campaign of vilification!

But for themselves, in order to map their strategy of counterrevolution, the billionaires require a more sober estimate of the strength of their class enemy. To that end, the congressional Joint Economic Committee was entrusted with making a study of the Chinese economy.

Part of the results of this study were published in the July 3 edition of the Washington Post, in an editorial hardly written for mass consumption, which had to admit the tremendous economic progress being made in China despite imperialist sabotage and war threats.

"Far from being the land of total chaos and conflict," writes the Post, "China is... a country which has made considerable progress in the past and which continues to tackle major economic concerns."

"The Committee's study," reveals the Post, "is the most comprehensive and timely one available. Its central conclusions, summarized in Chairman Proxmire's report, are that China is in a 'reasonably satisfactory food situation with no indication of food stringency,' that 'remarkable gains' in education and welfare have been scored, and that Chinese nuclear development is limited not by its economic resources but by its technical knowhow (itself 'not inconsiderable and expanding'). China's recent explosion of its thermonuclear bomb underscores this assessment of its nuclear progress."

Thus, these valuable admissions reveal in one paragraph the mountains of lies which flood the daily press—particularly as they come direct from the irreconcilable enemies of China, whose deepest historical objective is the destruction of the Chinese Revolution. Nor do these admissions mean that U.S. finance capital will give up for one minute trying to carry out this objective.

"Neutrality" Washington Style

In recent years the capitalist press has devoted little attention to Burma—that is up until the end of last year. At that time it was announced in welcome tones that the Asian country was "emerging from its state of rigid neutrality" and that "democratic forces were slowly coming to the fore." That was six months ago.

In the past week the bourgeois press has suddenly resumed its interest in Burma. This time by gloating over the news of anti-China riots, the killing of a staff member of the Chinese embassy and the virtual rupture in relations between the two neighboring countries.

Apparently the "democratic forces" have "come to the fore!"

Translated from the parlance of imperialist deception—reaction has

triumphed in Burma.

Rangoon has abandoned its policy of refusal to join Washington's worldwide anti-China cordon sanitaire—and has synchronized its diplomacy with violent campaigns against the People's Republic now being carried out by the CIA fascist puppets in Jakarta and Washington's reactionary clients in New Delhi.

Washington is still careful to speak of Burma as neutral but the State Department is warming up to the regime of Gen. Ne Win, whose country has a 1,000 mile border with China, in its new state of "neutrality"—the only kind acceptable to Washington—"neutral" on the side of U.S. imperialism as against the Chinese revolution.

Revisionism and Imperialism

The government of Yugoslavia, having seen a number of its valuable neutralist allies destroyed or crippled by U.S. imperialism, has seen the handwriting on the wall.

In an act of self-defense, the Tito government was obliged to give vigorous diplomatic support to the Arab people, particularly to the UAR, its closest diplomatic ally.

The Belgrade regime has watched with the deepest apprehension as Washington has installed a hostile fascist dictatorship at its doorstep in Athens, has starved New Delhi into submission by holding up desperately needed wheat shipments, and has now embarked on the destruction of the Nasser government.

Premier Tito has tried to resist the tide which seems to be engulfing his country by trying to hang on to what is

left of the neutralist alliance.

In order to punish Tito for introducing the resolution for Israeli withdrawal (a mild enough measure, see front page) the chief organ of the U.S. monopolies, the New York Times, carried a long editorial on June 29 in which they excoriated Yugoslavia for behaving like "a satellite" of the USSR. The editorialists of big business also threw in a heavy-handed reminder to Tito that previous leaders, such as Sukarno and Nkrumah, both of whom took their independence too seriously to suit Washington (both former diplomatic allies of Yugoslavia) "have been swept into the trash can of history"—i.e. overthrown by the CIA.

The Times concluded with an ominous threat to instigate a right wing overthrow of Tito with the comment that the U.S. was "encouraged" by the more

Private Air for Rich Polluters**Solution to Pollution?**

NEW YORK—Emphysema knows no class distinctions.

The rain of cancer and respiratory disease-causing sulphur dioxide falls quite impartially from Con Ed's stacks—23,000 tons of it a month. Air pollution threatens to claim the lives of thousands of New Yorkers by 1971, not to mention the \$1 billion a year cost in property damages.

Even the industrialists who do the polluting must be worried for their own health. Surely self-interest would make them find a way to cleaner air. It has.

For 44 residents of 980 Fifth Avenue, the solution is simple. These fresh-air fiends will soon be able to ride from air-conditioned offices (in air-conditioned cars) to apartments sealed off from the dirty world. A complex system will heat, cool, dehumidify and electrically filter every lungful. They'll never have to open a window. Their 6-to-15-room apartments range from \$80,300 to \$418,000, which clearly leaves the rest of us gasping.

And there is little chance that relief will be had by appeals to the more public-spirited in big business. Thoughts of profit always seem to alleviate their coughing fits.

The American Petroleum Institute served notice at a May 16 hearing of the Senate Public Works Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, that the cost of reducing air pollution would fall on the taxpayers. The price of heavy fuel oil would rise by one-third, the Institute said, if the sulphur content had to be reduced to 1 per cent from the standard 2.3.

Con Edison, notorious for over-

charging its customers, is dragging its feet on the city's request to switch to low-sulphur oil. Grade 2 oil, the kind used in most homes, costs twice what the utility pays for its present, noxious Grade 6. Compliance with low-sulphur standards, they threaten, will raise their charge to users.

The installation of "scrubbers" to filter out soot particles in building incinerators will cost tenants in two ways. In 3,500 rent-controlled buildings the landlord will get rent increases of up to 70 cents per room, as well as tax deductions for 75 per cent of the upgrading cost.

In other kid-glove moves to stay the wrath of the landlords, the city is allowing owners of small buildings and buildings built before 1951 to close down their incinerators altogether. This will cost the city (and that, again, means us) \$9 million each year in daily hauling of 1,000 additional tons of refuse. The extra garbage also threatens to add to the monumental disposal problem. The rivers are cesspools already. Now it seems park lands near the city face future destruction for use as dumps.

New York City Housing Authority's 1,169 incinerators must be upgraded, too, and the \$3 million Gov. Rockefeller allowed for the job won't be enough. So—you guessed it—rents are due to go up.

The situation may be somewhat improved, but the victims are being made to pay for it. A more fundamental solution requires much more drastic action. Man is the only animal who fouls his own nest, and ruling class man will have to be kicked out of that nest to make it really livable for the rest of the species.

Soldiers Against the War

The Story of Pvt. Andrew Stapp
and the Fort Sill GI's

10¢

Pvt. Andy Stapp speaks on "the right of revolutionary socialists to organize within the Army against America's imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam."

COMMITTEE FOR GI RIGHTS
P.O. Box 484
Old Chelsea Sta.
New York, N. Y. 10011

Two Ft. Sill Viet Vets Killed in "War Games"

FT. SILL, OKLA.—Two men were shot and killed here last week, and a third badly wounded by live ammunition, while they pretended to be "enemy aggressors."

The Army was conducting an "organization test" to judge reactions to an ambush in a tactical situation. But the Army, as it often does, goofed. The ammunition was real instead of being blanks.

The two killed, Sgt. Refugio Hernandez and Pfc. James D. Conway, were veterans of the war in Vietnam. Conway had been scheduled to enter Reynolds Army Hospital for an oper-

ation on his left leg, which had been hit with three bullets in South Vietnam.

The wounded man is Spec. 5 Billy G. Evans, who is expected to live.

A large number of GI's have been killed by "friendly fire," in situations during real battles as well as rehearsals—just how many is a carefully guarded secret. The truth, of course, is that the whole ten thousand and more admitted GI deaths in the present war are the fault of the Administration in Washington and the big businessmen it represents, who are determined to exploit Southeast Asia.

subservient policies of "more clear sighted leaders in Belgrade." The Times did not divulge which "leaders" they intended to rely upon.

Having begun the process of dismantling the socialist structure of Yugoslavia and having followed a policy of giving diplomatic aid and comfort to imperialism, Tito is now trying to put

on the brakes. But the process of social disintegration goes on and political reaction is continuing in an upward spiral.

The lesson of it all is that once a socialist country embarks upon the course of revisionism, it must inevitably fall under the sway of imperialism.

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NAME

STREET

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

Johnson Sends Rangers to Crush Farm Strike

LBJ's Strikebreakers

By ELLEN PIERCE

Everyone knows the myth of the Texas Rangers: Tall and brave, dedicated to justice, they go around upholding "law and order."

Nice story.

Only every word is a lie. They preserve "law and order" all right — the landowners' law, the exploiters' order — i.e. with bosses on top and workers on the bottom.

Texas Rangers are in the news these days as strikebreakers against wretchedly paid farm laborers striking for \$1.25 an hour and union recognition in the Rio Grande Valley.

The Rangers, according to a Texas statute, are "under the direct command of Governor John Connally, (and are) doing a bangup job for the Governor's fellow ranchers in Starr County, hub of the strike activity." (Retail, Wholesale and Dept. Store Union Record, June 25)

It is of the utmost importance to organized labor and the entire working class to note that Texas is Lyndon Johnson's state. And the growers who run vast areas, almost like feudal lords, have not hesitated to call on their friend in the White House to help break the strike. Last November, when the strike was in its sixth month, a Starr County grand jury asked Johnson to send Texas Rangers to the county to aid local authorities "during these extraordinary times." (New York Times, Nov. 18, 1966)

The grand jury denounced the strike by workers who make 40 cents to one dollar an hour as "unlawful and un-American." "Outside agitators" was the cry against union organizers. The grand jury accused them of using means "directly contrary to everything that we know in our American and lawful way of life."

(This grand jury, like all such juries, was picked from among the bosses of Starr County, where 95 per cent of the population is Mexican-American and mainly agricultural workers.)

The grand jury returned indictments against five people involved in the strike and quickly came to the bosses' rescue by sending Ranger strike-breakers.

The Rangers are now there — attacking picket lines, arresting strikers, beating organizers.

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee Vice President Gilbert Padilla calls the Texas Rangers "Connally's and Johnson's union



LBJ's strike-breakers. Did Reuther know in 1964?

busters" and accuses them of "police state tactics against the workers."

(Of course, it is not just the Rangers who are out to crush the organizing attempt. Judges, police, all the local authorities do the bidding of the growers. During the crucial melon harvest, the red and black "Huelga" (strike) flag was placed on a border bridge so Mexican workers would not cross into Texas to scab on their brothers. But Mexican officials, at the behest of growers, burned the flag — and the melons were harvested.)

Johnson's home state, run by and for oil billionaires and big ranchers, has some of the worst anti-labor statutes on the books. Picketers must be 50 feet apart, "mass picketing" and boycotts are illegal. These are the laws the rangers uphold as they "protect the orderly progress of commerce."

Labor bureaucrat Walter Reuther, who was caught between the Democratic Party (which he supports) and the militant farm workers, sent a telegram to Senator Harrison Williams (Democrat of New Jersey), Chairman of the Senate Sub-committee on Migratory Workers demanding an investigation of the Rangers' activities. Due to Reuther's intimate connections with the

"liberal" wing in the Democratic Party the request was granted, and a hearing is currently taking place in Rio Grande City, Starr County.

But when it came to supporting Johnson in 1964, Reuther, knowing full well how anti-labor Texas and the Texan Presidential candidate were, did a lot more than send a telegram. He dipped into the UAW treasury and helped mobilize millions of workers behind the anti-labor nominee of the bosses!

The RWDSU Record gives an account of strikebreaking in an article called "Texas Rangers Turn Their Guns on Farm Workers":

"Abetted by Randall Nye, the Starr County prosecutor who is also counsel for La Casita and Star Produce, two of the major struck ranches in the area, (our emphasis, ed.) the Rangers are arresting strikers on any pretext."

"On July 1, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee spokesmen charged, four Texas Rangers — two of them wielding shotguns — kicked down a door at a house rented by the union for volunteers and assaulted two union members, Magdaleno Dimas and Benito Rodriguez. Dimas required stitches in a head wound after the attack."

"A United Auto Workers representative taking pictures of a picket line was also beaten by Rangers and then jailed for unlawful assembly. When he was released two days later, his bail was twice the maximum fine for the fictitious offense."

These are only two examples of Lyndon Johnson's Texas Rangers in action — preserving "law and order."

- UN A U.S. Puppet

Continued from Page 1

particular the U.N. debate, is the effort of the Soviet press to palm off the so-called Yugoslav or non-aligned resolution as a victory. "Never before in the history of the U.N. have so many states voted against the U.S. position on such an acute international issue." This statement of Tass of July 5 is true enough. It further adds "that fifty-three countries voted for the non-aligned draft resolution and forty-six countries together with the U.S. voted against it."

The Tass release fails to make plain that this vote was not a clear denunciation of U.S.-Israeli aggression. It merely called on Israel to pull back to the pre-war borders. The amendments to indict the U.S.-Israeli aggression submitted by Albania and also Cuba were defeated by a much larger margin. One merely has to look at some of the votes for the Yugoslav resolution to gauge its significance. Thus we find imperialist France and Japan as well as the fascist dictatorships of Indonesia, Spain, and Greece and other dubious allies as supporters of the resolution. The deeper significance of having these allies in this covering resolution can scarcely be underestimated.

The fact of the matter is that in a showdown which would require positive action they would be on the other side of the fence. The votes of these dubious allies are dictated by interests and motivations which have little to do with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab and other peoples who are fighting for liberation. True friends, like the People's Republic of China, are not listed in the U.N. vote tabulation as though this tremendous revolutionary ally of the liberation struggle did not exist.

Of course, the initiators of the Yugoslav resolution couldn't stop anybody from voting for it, but if the resolution had any real anti-imperialist substance or teeth to it one can scarcely imagine Franco, DeGaulle, Suharto, the new fascist clique in Greece, the reactionary police dictatorship in Turkey and others of their ilk siding with the anti-imperialist cause. The character of a struggle that one initiates is often determined not only by the nature of the adversary but also by the character of the allies.

It is a gauge of the seriousness of the struggle put up by the Brezhnev-Kosygin-Tito leadership that they could gather this motley crew of reactionaries on the side of their resolution. It is proof of its innocuousness, rather than its effectiveness.

There are those who say that the Soviet leadership rendered a service to the anti-imperialist struggle by bringing the Mideast question to the U.N. because it helped expose the hand of U.S. imperialism in the Israeli aggression.

It is one thing to try to utilize any bourgeois parliamentary forum to expound a revolutionary position and to expose imperialism. (Certainly the Albanian and Cuban representatives did.) It is something else, however, to deliberately sow illusions, to practice deceit upon the masses and in the course of it all to embellish the U.N. as an instrument for peace instead of exposing it as a tool of imperialism.

Youth Group Denounces Racist Frame-Up of RAM

On June 21 the police arrested 16 Afro-Americans in a so-called assassination plot. The racist press, working hand in glove with the police immediately launched a campaign of wild racist hysteria. The press has subsequently quieted down and some of the exorbitant bails have been reduced in order to protect the government when the defendants appeal their case.

Following is a statement of Youth Against War & Fascism on the "assassination plot" arrests Wednesday of 16 Black militants, issued today by the Editor of The Partisan, Deirdre Griswold:

"We strongly condemn the Gestapo-like pre-dawn arrests of the leaders of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and 15 other Black militants. These arrests are the result of a plot — a plot by the police authorities of New York and Philadelphia to crush the rising tide of militant struggle sweeping the ghettos of this country. "An attempt has been made to implicate Robert Williams in the trumped-up 'assassination plot.' Williams, who had to flee for his life when the racist North Carolina authorities framed him on a kidnapping charge, has advocated self-defense of the Black people against the violent lynch spirit in America. After decades of burnings, bombings and lynchings, which have been perpetrated with the acquiescence and often the active participation of the racist police, the Black people are striking back against white supremacy,

and often against the very police who are their immediate oppressors.

"The police in this case are acting as agents of the wealthy American Establishment, who fear more than anything else that the Black people will identify and make common cause with the revolutionary masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In attempting to destroy the most conscious elements in the Black freedom struggle, they have resorted to the oldest form of frame-up: a 'plot' charge, which alleges no overt act and needs only the word of one or two police agents for a conviction.

"Those who accuse the Black militants of RAM of 'plotting assassination' are the same police who bust heads in Harlem, who shoot down unarmed Black people on the streets of the ghettos, and who act daily as an army of occupation. It is absolutely justified morally, and guaranteed legally under the Constitution of the United States, that the Black people have the right to organize, to express their political views, and to arm in self-defense.

"Finally, we protest against the vicious pre-trial lynching in the newspapers, which has established a hysterical atmosphere in which the 16 are being held in fantastic bail bond (\$100,000 alone for Max Stanford). We call on all progressive people to denounce this frame-up attempt, and to defend the rights of Black people against racist attack."

Bus Fare to Go DOWN

Bus fares across the country have been going up continually. New Yorkers recently had the subway fare increased to 20¢ and we are continually hearing of the possibility of the fare being raised again to 25¢.

Capitalist progress!

From July 26 onward Cubans will receive a decrease in bus fares of 37 per cent — from 8¢ to 5¢. The lowering of fares is in honor of the revolution.

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are holding a demonstration to point out the date of the fascist uprising in Spain in 1936.

There will be a picketing of the Spanish Tourist Office at 589 Fifth Ave. on July 18 at 4:30 p.m. where they will express their support for the Spanish workers and students who are rising again in a fight for freedom from the fascist hell that Spain has been since the defeat of the Spanish Republic.

All anti-fascist fighters are urged to support this demonstration.

Government of Cuba on Mideast and UN

Condemns Security Council Cease-Fire Calls "World Body" Imperialist Tool

Below is the text of the statement of the revolutionary government of Cuba delivered at the UN to the Emergency Session of the General Assembly by Doctor Ricardo Alarcon, Permanent Representative.

The Cuban Government denounced the Security Council cease-fire imposed on the Arab people. Cuba also denounced U.S.-Israeli aggression in an amendment to the Yugoslav resolution.

With regard to the problem of the Middle East, my delegation wishes to state that the people and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba are opposed as a matter of principle to any manifestation of religious, national or racial prejudice, regardless of its origin. We also wish to state that we condemn any political proclamation which has as its objective the annihilation of any people or State. That principle is applicable both to the people of Palestine which were clumsily, unjustly and brutally despoiled of its territory, as it is to the Jewish people which for 2,000 years has suffered from persecution, racial prejudice and, in the not too distant past, nazism, in one of the cruelest attempts to carry out mass extermination that has been recorded in history.

Our position with respect to the State of Israel and the crisis in the Middle East is determined by the aggressive conduct of that State which is serving as an instrument of imperialism against the Arab world.

The State of Israel, as an instrument of imperialism, not only resorted to armed aggression against the Arab people as a means of solving existing problems, but it has also done so in the most treacherous and condemnable manner, by means of a surprise attack, carefully prepared in advance, in the Nazi style. We do not believe that anyone here can deny that those were the characteristics of the armed attack carried out against the Arab peoples.

In keeping with this conduct, the State of Israel has proclaimed its intention of annexing the territories occupied by force of arms in the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. In other words, that State proclaims and practices against other States the brutal right of conquest, and this of course is

being undertaken by the State of Israel only because it can count on the full military and political support of imperialism.

The agreement of the Security Council, which called for an unconditional cease-fire without condemning the aggressor or pinning the responsibility on the imperialism which instigated and supported it and without demanding the withdrawal of the invading troops, constitutes the clear establishment of the right of conquest as proclaimed and practised by the aggressor. To all intents and purposes, that agreement was tantamount to imposing a surrender to the imperialist aggression, as the Revolutionary Government of Cuba stated on 7 June 1967.

Obviously encouraged by that agreement, the armed forces of the State of Israel later took the Sinai peninsula, wrested from Jordan a considerable portion of its territory and then undertook the invasion of Syria.

The unconditional cease-fire agreement constituted a political and moral body blow for the Arab peoples.

The people and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba consider that, because of its concept of dignity and patriotism, there can be no cease-fire while a single inch of national territory is in the hands of aggressive troops. It is preferable that the last citizen of a country die rather accept such an ignominious despoiling of a country's rights.

It is naive to believe that such an agreement can contribute to peace. On the contrary, it contributes to a worsening of the situation since it encourages the aggressor, consolidates his conquest and promises impunity for imperialism in new wars of aggression in that or any other part of the alternative of either accepting faits accomplis or resuming the struggle.

The State of Israel took full advantage of the unconditional cease-fire agreement; but that was not all. It also stated that it would keep the territories it has occupied and it has scoffed in advance at the verbal statements and postulates that we are debating here. It acts and behaves as an occupying country which can count, moreover, on the support of imperialism and, more particularly, on the support of the Yankee Sixth Fleet.

In due course, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba expressed its condemnation of the cease-fire which, without condemning the aggressor and without insisting on the withdrawal of its troops from the occupied territories, was adopted by the Security Council.

The Cuban delegation welcomed the revolutionary attitude of the Government of Algeria, which not only openly rejected the cease-fire agreement, but also proclaimed that it was in a state of war against imperialism until it achieved the restoration of law, the liquidation of abnormal situations and the elimination of the results of the aggression.



Fidel Castro

The conduct of the United Nations and of its Security Council in the light of the aggression surprises no one since this Organization which was established with the idea that it might serve to strengthen equity and law in international relations, has constantly become the cat's paw and the instrument of imperialist policy.

I speak on behalf of a people which, in its own flesh, more than any other small country, has known that no protection for its violated rights can be expected from this Organization. A criminal war which daily becomes more brutal is unleashed against the people of Viet-Nam by the imperialist Government of the United States, a war being carried out with complete impunity, proves this statement, as if the experiences of Korea, the Congo, Santo

Domingo and the most recent one of the Middle East were not sufficient.

The only policy on which imperialism rests its hopes—and therefore practices it—is the unconditional subjugation to its hegemony, which it endeavours to attain by force. But it is not misleading anyone. At any moment and anywhere it acts as the convicted and confessed sponsor of world counter-revolution, and the only answer to that policy is the heroic and unshakable struggle of peoples.

It is within the context of the global strategy of imperialism that the true meaning of the perfidious and treacherous aggression perpetrated against the United Arab Republic, Jordan, and the Syrian Arab Republic becomes clear.

It is not an isolated aggression, as also the aggressions committed in the Congo were not isolated acts, nor those still being committed in the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Viet-Nam. Every one of those acts of aggression forms part of the same global policy of aggression conceived and unleashed by Yankee imperialism in its desperate but useless endeavours to squash and dominate the peoples of the world that are struggling to shake off the imperialist yoke or to consolidate their independence and sovereignty.

In the conception of their plans, and in the achievement of their objectives, Yankee imperialism bases itself on the force of its arms and its conventional and strategic weapons. Revolutionary peoples know this from their own experience and, for this reason, they are entirely convinced that the revolutionary struggle is the only way of carrying into their own fields and overcoming the counter-revolutionary violence of imperialism.

The armed forces of the State of Israel must withdraw from the territories they have occupied, and if they do not do so without delay, the Arab peoples will be justified in resuming the fight, aware as they must be of the fact that the restoration of their rights will then basically depend on their willingness and determination to resist and fight, and not on the behaviour of this international Organization, obedient as it is to the dictates of imperialism, which is the instigator of aggression.

The only alternative open to the Arab peoples, at this decisive moment in their destiny, is the same alternative open to all peoples confronting imperialism, be it in Asia, Africa or Latin America: to resist and fight. Homeland or Death. We shall win!"

Committee Calls Demonstration Against U.S.-Israeli Aggression

NEW YORK, June 30—The Ad Hoc Conference Committee on the Middle East announced today their plans to hold a demonstration to protest U.S.-Israeli aggression against the Arab people. The demonstration will take place at the Israeli Mission to the UN at 15 East 70th Street on Friday, July 14 at 5:30 p.m.

A press release announcing the demonstration stated: "The Ad Hoc Conference Committee plans a continuing campaign of exposing imperialist designs in the Mideast by means of ads, leaflets and further demonstrations and rallies on a nationwide scale, and the convening of a National Conference on the Middle East.

The release also explained that "the Committee was organized with the intention of:

"Exposing U.S. monopoly interests in the Middle East as the cause of the Mideast war and the past and present puppet role of the Israeli State as a base against the Arab people's movement for freedom from Western domination;

"Showing the American people that the U.S. foreign policy in the Mideast is directed against the Arab people's

anti-imperialist struggle and has nothing to do with sympathy for the oppressed Jewish people...

"Urging the anti-war movement to take a stand against U.S. and U.S.-sponsored aggression on all fronts, and not only in Vietnam."

Mrs. Rita Freed, Secretary of the Ad Hoc Committee, said that there had been a very enthusiastic response to the call for action against the U.S.-sponsored aggression in the Mideast. She also noted that the planned demonstration was the second action taken by the Committee. The first activity was a distribution of leaflets at a meeting where Senator McGovern spoke on the topic, "Vietnam-Israel: There is a Difference."

The leaflet, entitled "Vietnam-Israel: The Similarities!!!" urged the anti-war movement to oppose the U.S.-Israeli war of aggression in the Middle East as it does the war in Vietnam. It further pointed out that the "basic similarity between Vietnam and the Mideast is the overriding desire of the U.S. Government to crush any popular liberation movement which might become a threat to current or

British Turn Tougher in Aden After U.S. Mideast Victory

After reaffirming as recently as May 8 of this year that they would get their troops out of Aden in South Arabia, the British imperialists coolly reversed themselves on June 19 and said they would continue to "protect" the area.

South Arabia is supposed to get its "independence" next January and Britain was supposed to withdraw its armed forces on January 9, 1968. But on June 19, 1967, George Brown, Labor Foreign Secretary for Her Royal Majesty, told Parliament that a British naval force would remain in South Arabian waters six months after independence—and a number of bombing planes would be stationed nearby—indefinitely.

What led to such a sharp reverse in British policy? What happened between May 8 and June 19 that made the British decide to give more of their unwanted

future financial investment."

Inquiries and/or funds should be directed to: Ad Hoc Committee c/o Rita Freed, Secretary 1430 Amsterdam Ave. New York, N. Y. Phone: WA6-2490

"protection" to the rebellious people in South Arabia?

What happened was the Mideast war. The United Arab Republic had withdrawn thousands of its troops from South Arabia, where they had been helping the revolutionary guerrillas against the feudal royalists in Yemen, the latter being armed and covertly supported by the U.S., Britain and Saudi Arabia.

With the more revolutionary nationalists in South Arabia weakened by the weakening of Nasser, and with the depletion of the Egyptian troops, the British, under constant pressure from Washington not to evacuate, decided that they had more of a chance of remaining a military power in the area than they had before. It's as simple as that.

This sordid little story, incidentally, sheds some much-needed light on the whole British imperialist concept of "independence" for the colonies.

Their idea is to move out before they're kicked out, but decorate the moving with the bunting of freedom and good will. In this case, since they hopefully figure the victim has lost the power to kick them, they are moving back in again!

Israeli State; Not a Homeland But a Catspaw

Imperialism Enemy of Both Arabs and Jews; Class Solidarity Only Way to True Haven

By V. Copeland

Is the state of Israel (as opposed to the Jewish nation) a tool of imperialism; should it be changed into something else; and if so, what else?

To answer this question, it is necessary to say at the outset that the state of the United States is a reactionary state and should certainly be changed into something else, and no one in the United States should have the right to discuss Israel from the point of view of this question, unless he is clear on the class nature of the imperialist United States, whose government sponsors and manipulates Israel.

But Israel is somewhat different from the United States and many people think of it as the "underdog" or else some real haven for oppressed and formerly oppressed Jewish people.

And it is true that one of the first requirements of an oppressed nation is to have its own territory and national sovereignty. After many centuries of oppression, a section of the Jewish people founded the state of Israel in 1948, cutting it out of the territory of Palestine, which at that time was inhabited by a majority of Arabs, and drove most of the Arabs out.

Because of the terrible persecution by Hitler and the Nazis and because of the "final solution" of the "Jewish question" by the gassing of 6 million Jews to death, many progressive people in the West supported Israel—as a state—and forgot all about the Arabs, who today are much poorer and much more oppressed than the Jews.

Ruling Class Hypocrisy

Of course the U.S. ruling class knows all about the Arabs and isn't the slightest bit interested in whether the Jews ever suffered or not. The U.S. ruling class coldly and unanimously supports Israel against the Arabs, while many of its members would not allow even a Jewish millionaire into their private clubs. U.S. imperialism (rather than the Jewish people) is the real and fundamental enemy of the Arab peoples. But the truth of this statement does not absolve Israel of its collusion with the U.S. and of being essentially a pawn of the U.S. Above all, it does not settle the

question of the validity of the state of Israel in the first place.

Burning Issue With Arabs

It is vaguely recalled in the West, but a burning, living issue in the Mideast, that a million Arabs were driven out of Palestine to make way for the state of Israel. It is also well known in the Mideast that Arabs and Jews lived in peace until the advent of Zionism and that the Jewish people had not been persecuted under the Arabs, who were famous for their advanced position at a time when the Christian ruling class were still torturing Jews on the rack and breaking them on the wheel, not to mention the more recent crimes of Christian imperialism.

The state of Israel by its very creation, did to the Arabs what the Christian feudalists and capitalists so often did to the Jews: subjugated them and dispersed them.

A Jewish minority was artificially and forcibly changed into a majority—and in one of the few parts of the world where there had been good will between Jews and non-Jews for centuries.

How were the Jews changed so suddenly from oppressed into oppressors? Not, certainly, by that famous alchemy of "human nature" which the reactionaries are always preaching about, but by their own oppressors, the big imperialists, luring them into the "promised land" to be an unconscious beachhead of the imperialist West on the shores of the super-oppressed and anti-imperialist Mideast.

This imperialist beachhead consists not in the mere immigration of a number of Jewish refugees, but in the formation of a Jewish state—with its police, its courts, its prisons, its army, etc.—in opposition to and in oppression of the Arabs.

A Homeland Yes

But every nation, particularly a persecuted and dispersed nation, yearns for a homeland.

There should be a homeland, yes. But why in the Arabs' homeland?

The reason given by the Zionists is that the ancient homeland of the Jews

was there and that the Diaspora (the expulsion and dispersion of the Jewish nation 1900 years ago) took place from there, and the classical history of the Jewish people centered there.

But while the Jews were driven out of their homeland 1900 years ago, the Arabs were driven out of their homeland just 19 years ago.

And it was not the Arabs who drove out the Jews in 70 A.D., but the Romans. If revenge against the descendants of the conquerors really were in order, it should have been directed against the Italians, and the Italian ruling class, at that—the Vatican, the Italian bourgeoisie, aristocracy, etc., not the Arab farmers, workers and unemployed.

Ho Chi Minh Offered

Interestingly enough, Ho Chi Minh offered a large piece of Vietnamese territory for a Jewish state back in 1945, when North and South Vietnam were united in one republic under Ho's leadership. The Soviet Union also set up an autonomous Jewish Republic—Birobidzhan—in 1918. (Zionist support for this republic would certainly have made it much more successful than it proved to be.) And in about 1900, the British imperialists offered a large, uninhabited part of Uganda as a territory for a Jewish state. (Of course, they did not consult the Africans!)

Each one of these proposed sites was more fertile and more potentially productive than was Palestine.

U. S. Did Not

Of course, the United States, once the refuge of the oppressed, with great sections of land still undeveloped, particularly in the 30's, when Hitler started the new Diaspora, and even in 1945, after Hitler was defeated—the United States could have more easily given an uninhabited piece of land as big as Israel than any country in the world. (But it didn't even relax the immigration laws!)

The U.S. could also have helped such a new Israel by providing an immediate market for its goods, by helping to construct its communication lines, by moving heavy industrial equipment across the borders into its cities and towns, etc., etc.

But the U.S. never made a move to do such a thing. The same U.S. ruling class that so unanimously supports Israel

against the Arabs never even went through the first motions of helping to create an Israel that would be viable and prosperous in virgin territory.

On the other hand, the Zionist leaders based their whole appeal to the Jewish masses upon the biblical history of their nation and apparently refused to consider any territory other than the ancient one. And they led the Jewish masses into a conflict with a people much more oppressed than themselves—and even worse, led them in some cases into actually oppressing the Arabs.

Thus, the most outstanding victims of German imperialism have become the instrument of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast precisely by trying to recreate the past and by welding Jewish workers and Jewish bosses into a common front against the Arab victims of U.S. imperialism.

While the majority in Israel are not chauvinist, the chauvinists undoubtedly have their day right now, and are basking in a highly inappropriate national self-glorification. But Israel is now more than ever a lightning rod for imperialism. The wrath of the Arab masses is directed against Israel even more than the U.S. which is their fundamental enemy.

The 80 million Arabs of the Middle East are more anti-Israel than ever and will inevitably try again to upset the imperialist status quo by going to war against.

Can They Live in Peace?

The question of questions for those who really look ahead is: can there be a perspective for the Jewish masses to live in peace with the Arabs?

There is such a possibility, but only on the basis of the Jewish masses opposing all the territorial and political gains made in the recent war and by supporting a return of all the Arab refugees, with the restoration of their land, their homes, and their jobs. This means creating a joint Arab-Jewish state that is non-secular, anti-imperialist, with a possible Arab majority. It also means abolishing the state of Israel in its present form.

This is a big order. But it is a realistic one, nevertheless.

This approach includes joining the Arab revolution against the United States, and the class struggle inside Israel, too.

U.S. Giant Union Carbide Grabs Tin in Thailand

Washington currently admits to having 36,000 troops in Thailand. PX facilities for 100,000 U.S. troops are hastily being constructed right now. U.S. Special Forces are training the puppet army of Bangkok in counter-guerrilla warfare. The country is criss-crossed with U.S. military highways and dotted with U.S. constructed counter-insurgency military outposts. U.S. helicopters have become the "eyes and ears" of the Thanom regime in its attempt to crush the growing military and political strength of the Thai national liberation struggle.

Here is one big reason why!

Thailand is the world's third largest producer of tin and Union Carbide has a monopoly on tin production in the country.

Only Malaya and Bolivia produced more than Thailand's 31,000 metric tons of tin last year and Union Carbide, whose imperialist holdings span the globe, made sure that every last ounce of the precious resource went through its \$5 million smelting plant on Phuket Island, the tin capital of Thailand.

Washington's puppet military dictatorship courteously provided Union Carbide with a five year monopoly on tin processing — i.e., by law all Thai tin concentrates must be shipped to the giant U.S. monopoly for smelting

and export sale. In addition, Carbide pays no taxes at all for five years.

Carbide's "price" for getting the right to super-exploit the labor and steal the resources of the country was to allow Eastern Mining Development Ltd. to put up 30 per cent of the original \$2 million capital. Eastern Mining is headed by Lieut. Gen. Ampof Chantagond who doubles as the Under Secretary of Economic Affairs in Bangkok.

The two "partners" formed the Thaisarco Corp. which has 350 workers whose pay ranges from \$1.50 to \$4.50 a day "because they are such hard workers" explained Carbide director Ralph S. McNair. (There is no record of the wages of the thousands of workers who get the ore from the ground.)

Union Carbide is waiting anxiously while the puppets in Bangkok draw up a new law giving their U.S. military-industrial rulers offshore exploration rights.

Union Carbide is not the only U.S. monopoly which has dug its fangs into Thailand under cover of the Vietnam war. Among the big names in U.S. business who are there to get a share of the loot are Kaiser Aluminum with 35 per cent of an aluminum rolling mill, the Bank of America with a branch in Bangkok and Brown and Root and Utah International, which



Thai Buddhist priest blesses US airfield

has the lion's share of all construction in the country.

The oil monopolies are also waiting to move into the off-shore exploration business. On his recent trip to the U.S. the king of Thailand was wined and dined by big business and he enjoyed special hospitality at the home of John D. Rockefeller 3rd.

Having turned the country into a gigantic military base for Washington, Thailand is of the utmost value to the monopolies for their long range strategy of turning the Pacific into a U.S. lake. But the "progress" of companies like Union Carbide in Thailand — the kind of "progress" the billionaires would like to achieve in all of Southeast Asia and eventually in China — is the motive force behind U.S. aggression all over the world.

Guerrillas' Aim OK

In an attempt to cover up the policy of deliberate mass murder of civilians in Vietnam by the U.S. military forces, the Pentagon and the capitalist news media have tried to convince the people that "in any war civilian casualties are inevitable." But in view of the fact that the U.S. military boasts that its bombers have pin-point accuracy which rules out the possibility of errors, the continual attacks on non-military targets like villages and residential areas have amply exposed the genocidal intentions of the U.S. imperialist army in Vietnam.

In fact, it has been proven that the inevitability of civilian casualties is an outright lie! On the contrary, civilian deaths occur in large numbers only when it is the deliberate policy of the armed forces.

This was illustrated by an AP dispatch from Saigon on May 29 which reveals that the National Liberation Front, which is fighting in the interests of the people of Vietnam, has carefully avoided killing civilians.

The NLF fired 65 mortar rounds into a United States army compound in the center of Hue (the heavily populated capital of northern South Vietnam). The attack was the third this month on the U.S. compound. And despite the fact that the rockets were launched from about six miles away without the aid of radar or computers, "in all three shellings," the dispatch continued, "the guerrillas avoided hitting the surrounding residential area."

Police Pour Shotgun Fire, Tear Gas Into Black Ghetto

Buffalo Revolt Met With Terror

BUFFALO — The Black community of Buffalo, for years a powder keg of overt, exploded in rebellion last week and blew the liberal cover of the city administration to smithereens.

Mayor Frank Sedita, who prides himself on having established good race relations in the city, spent the entire week trying to pick up the broken pieces of his shattered image.

But it was not only his image that he was worried about. Sedita was trying to put the liberal cover back on the racist corporations such as Bethlehem Steel, Westinghouse, Chevrolet, Ford, duPont, etc., in whose behalf he governs and whose owners have condemned the Black people of Buffalo to generations of misery and oppression.

As the rebellion hit, the city put on a show of shocked innocence at the reports of intolerable slums, broken down schools, police brutality, 6,000 Black youths on a job application list for 616 jobs, etc. (The Mayor declared that there really wasn't any riot at all—only a "rampage"—and anyway, it was all due to "outside agitators" who were paying youths a dollar for every window they broke!) But Sedita could afford to play it liberal because the ruling class made sure that the cops were taking the hard line.

Buffalo has been preparing for the rebellion for a long time, not with jobs for the thousands upon thousands of unemployed and underemployed Afro-Americans, but with riot training for the police and a brand new "communications room" for the riot-control command post at police headquarters. And prepare they did.

The police fired so much tear gas on the Black masses in the East Side that by the second day the city had to have an extra supply flown in by a special

plane from the federal stockpile at Indiana, Pa.

During the three-day rebellion, the 14 police precincts were choked with Black prisoners. Over 200 were arrested in the biggest "round-up" in Buffalo's history. (In order to make sure that the prisoners stayed in jail, the city stopped pressing charges on violations of local law which carry a maximum bail of \$50 and switched to the state penal code and upped all bail to \$500.)

Despite the reign of terror the Black masses, largely unarmed, fought to get the invaders out with tremendous courage. On the first night hundreds fought. The police increased their occupation forces from 170 to 500. So on Wednesday, thousands joined the battle.

Police firing tear gas and shot guns were caught under a hail of fire bombs, bricks, bottles and stones. At one point, police cars trying to get to Sycamore Ave., the center of the rebellion, were bombarded so heavily that they had to turn back.

Cops in flying wedge formation advanced down Sycamore on unarmed crowds. The people were so enraged that they often stood their ground and faced the police only to be clubbed and arrested.

During the height of the rebellion on Wednesday one Afro-American was so angry at the wild shooting by the police that he screamed "you going to let them do this to us" and put up his bare fists to face six heavily armed cops. They jumped him, beat him with clubs and threw him in the wagon. Crowds gathered and it took a ring of police firing 12 gauge blasts and many rounds of tear gas to get the wagon out of the neighborhood.

During the rebellion Police Com-

missioner Felicetta started sounding like Lyndon Johnson. While his brigades were shooting up the Black community he said, "I will meet with anybody, anywhere, anytime to head this thing off."

But the only people the police or the mayor could talk to were the local poverty workers, so-called Black "leaders" and BUILD members (who had acted as police stool pigeons, patrolling the neighborhood in radio cars and reporting back to police). The "leaders" told the mayor and the city the same story. If you want peace, get jobs for Black youth!

This simple message—sounded thousands of times in the past—suddenly

had the weight of a mass rebellion behind it and the ruling class began to bend slightly (in words at least).

Sedita, who at the outset "could not make any promises," met with the Chamber of Commerce during the height of the struggle and suddenly found that 3,000 jobs would be available! (He didn't mention why they weren't available before the rebellion.)

If there was any question as to why the billionaires suddenly even promised 3,000 jobs, with more to come, for Black people whom they have been oppressing for decades, it was made clear by Nelson Nichols, executive director of the Urban League, who is in Buffalo.

"There was a man in here who was a machine gunner in Vietnam," said Nichols, "who has been turned down five times for a job. He said if someone had given him a machine gun two nights ago, he would have gunned down America."

Who Runs Buffalo?

Black people are being shot by cops on the streets of Buffalo. The Black ghetto is under attack and the police are on the rampage. Who gives the orders? Who is responsible? How did it get like that? Who runs Buffalo anyway?

There are first the wealthy families like the Schoellkops who control the huge Niagara Mohawk power company that supplies electricity to a large part of New York State; the Rands whose name looms large in the military picture (Remington-Rand) and Seymour Knox who has big interests in such companies as Woolworths and the New York Central Railroad and whose name and pixie-ish face often appears in the newspaper stories of Buffalo's cultural events at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery or at the University of Buffalo where Knox is a director.

Members of these families or their representatives sit on the boards of Buffalo's two largest banks: 1.) Marine Trust and 2.) Manufacturers and Traders Trust ("M and T" to Buffalonians). They also hold top offices in a quasi-governmental body calling itself "The Greater Buffalo Redevelopment Foundation" which decides on how to run Buffalo so that businessmen can make more money out of the workers. Government funds and government agencies are a ready and willing tool for this group.

In 1960 a large section of the east side Afro-American section was torn down in a so-called "slum clearance" operation. The idea was to replace the slums with good housing.

Thousands of Black citizens hemmed in by quiet discrimination and with low

incomes had to find other homes in the crowded city ghetto area north of the torn down section.

After the slum homes were torn down the scrap was burned in huge fires and the area was left a desert. For years contending business groups could not agree on a division of the profits and payoffs, and today, some seven years later, a large part of the region still remains a bare stretch of weed and debris covered wasteland.

When Mayor Sedita, the businessmen's current political front man, asked the protesting Black youths to give him "a week" to do something about their needs, many people must have remembered this scandalous situation.

Buffalo is located on the shores of Lake Erie but there is no beach for the poor kids—Black or white—to swim in, in or near the city. (Lake Erie has become so polluted, however, that beaches in or near the city would be unusable.) The Schoellkops and the Rands, the Knoxes and the others of Buffalo's ruling class who live far out of the city in their suburban mansions would not want to spend money foolishly on such profitless ventures which would only make life more tolerable for Buffalo's poor.

They did, however, unanimously agree on a giant giveaway to the utilities. When a Schoellkopf power plant at Niagara Falls was wrecked by a landslide in 1956, the state government financed a huge three quarter of a billion dollar power project to aid Buffalo businesses.

Following its completion and the supplying of cheap state power to the private Niagara Mohawk Corporation, the Schoellkops managed to raise individual consumer rates for electricity. Company profits jumped sharply.

But many a Black family that could not pay the high electric bills on time has had the Schoellkopf's Niagara Mohawk electric company turn off their lights and these families have found that pleas meant nothing to the company and they have had to live in darkness until they got the money to pay their bills in full to the monopoly of the Schoellkops.

Most of the big corporations which employ large hunks of Buffalo's working class have their facilities outside the city proper.

Bethlehem's huge steelmaking complex where many Afro-Americans work and which belches its orange smoke over South Buffalo, is located in Lackawanna, a rundown, poor workers' suburb just south of the city. Lackawanna, which is run by a Bethlehem hired man, has New York State's worst schools as measured by the amount spent per pupil. Buffalo ranks next to the bottom.

Lying just outside the city limits are such factories as the Ford Stamping Plant, also in Lackawanna; the du Pont and Chevy plants in Tonawanda; and the Westinghouse plant in Cheektowaga.

Buffalo workers, who travel to these

Continued on next page



Youths Picket City Center To Support Black Struggle

During the height of the uprising of the Black people of Buffalo, the Buffalo chapter of Youth Against War & Fascism led a demonstration in the heart of the city supporting their struggle. Later, the youths picketed the jail for release of the Afro-Americans arrested during this rebellion.

In a leaflet calling for the demonstration they said:

"It is not the Black people who are the looters; their very lives have been looted for centuries by a white, racist system in the United States." The leaflet concluded: "YAWF calls for a demonstration in solidarity with the oppressed Black people of Buffalo: Lafayette Square, Thursday, June 29, 6:30-7:30 P.M."

The Buffalo ruling class met the announcement of the demonstration with near hysteria; downtown stores were closed early in the afternoon, radio announcements repeated over and over the "threatening" news of the scheduled demonstration and the implication was that downtown Buffalo was going to be invaded, attacked and destroyed.

The demonstration itself was held in a tense and nearly deserted city center. Cops with riot guns stood atop the Western Savings Bank Building overlooking the scene; others cruised the streets with windows taped to prevent shattering.

Several young Black men stood silently, approvingly, watching the



picketers, and on one occasion challenged some white racists who heckled the demonstration.

On July 1, the youth group picketed the city jail where many prisoners captured by police during the rebellion were being held. The group demanded that the prisoners be freed without bail. Their statement said: "It is not the Black youths who should be jailed, but the racist slumlords and big businessmen..."

When the busloads of Black prisoners were being brought in from the courtroom the demonstrators shouted: "FREE OUR BLACK BROTHERS!"



L.A. Police Attack 20,000 Demonstrators In Bloody Move to Crush Anti-War Protest

Murderers of Watts "Protecting" LBJ

As He Drums Up Support From Coast Rulers

LOS ANGELES, June 23 - Today Lyndon Johnson came to the Century Park Hotel in Los Angeles to address West Coast ruling class society at a \$1,000-a-couple gala affair, to fill the coffers of the Democratic Party. Over 20,000 demonstrators who used the occasion to protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam were themselves met by the police aggression of the murderers of Watts.

The demonstration to protest Johnson's arrival had been announced repeatedly in the daily news media for weeks before it took place. There were advance notices of the time and the place, even the estimated number who would attend — 20,000.

The demonstration began in a confident and high spirit. At least 20,000 people had in fact turned out at the rally in Cheviot Hills Park.

The rally and the demonstration were called by the Peace Action Council of Southern California. One high point of the pre-march rally was when Muhammad Ali climbed atop a garbage can, declared his solidarity with the demonstration and signed the draft cards of eager anti-war autograph seekers.

The march got underway — placards held high — denouncing Johnson and Washington as the enemies of the people of Vietnam and the U.S. The demonstrators had been issued a "permit" to march to the hotel — peacefully — and then to go around

a particular area which had been well defined. A restrictive injunction issued that morning had cited the distance to be maintained between the demonstration and the hotel, rules of behavior along the route, and that no moving vehicles would be allowed.

The march began and a contingent of militants attempted to lead in a truck — in defiance of the illegal injunction against driving on a city-owned, taxpayer-paid (worker-built) street. The truck's first movement brought forth cops swinging in with clubs, smashing the windshield, and dragging people away.

The cops severely beat the driver about the head (he was a 16 year old boy). A woman in the area was taken away in a police car, wedged between 2 cops in the back seat while two others sat in the front. When demonstrators asked why the woman was being hauled away the cops replied that she was being "transported." The marchers continued towards the hotel.

One thousand five hundred helmeted, armed cops awaited their arrival. Cops were atop every high-rise apartment or office building in the vicinity — rifles poised. A tactical alert was in effect which called out half the Los Angeles police force.

National Guard units were on alert by order of Reagan. At least 3 helicopters chopped away in the sky — swooping and watching. Inside the hotel, uniformed cops guarded every

one of the 40 floors. Plainclothesmen roamed about with walkie-talkies; bellboys, waitresses and other "employees" of the hotel carried revolvers and handcuffs.

As the lively demonstration reached the hotel and proceeded along the predetermined route the cops suddenly blocked the path and tried to form a ring around the demonstrators.

The police then ordered the

But each time the police tried to disperse the crowd they met with determined resistance despite the terrible brutality.

One demonstrator sat in the street and when he was joined by others the cops jumped in, clubs swinging, handcuffed and arrested them.

One man was led away by the cops with his face covered with blood. A woman near him screamed at the police



demonstration of 20,000 people to disperse!

The order was met with boos and shouts. No one moved. Another order to disperse, more shouts and boos. All three orders telling 20,000 people to break up and leave the area were met with solid determination to demonstrate against the arch war criminal, Johnson, and not to run from his storm troopers.

The path was blocked by police, people were wedged in and unable to move so they began to sit down. That was the signal for the cops to unleash their pre-planned blood bath.

Police charged on motorcycles and on foot with clubs swinging. One commanding officer told his men "Let's go...anything goes."

"Nightsticks swung and blood spouted from the heads of demonstrators as they fell to the ground," reported the Santa Monica daily, The Evening Outlook.

The police charge was met with cries of "Bloody Fascists", "Murderers" and "Sieg Heil" as the demonstrators tried desperately to hold their ground. The crowd surged back at police lines with cries of "We Won't Go". The cops grabbed individuals, dragged them away from the crowd, clubbed and handcuffed them and took them away to be booked.

"After the initial police lunge," reported the Outlook, "the empty field across from the hotel looked like a battlefield."

"you're crazy...he'll bleed to death."

Karen Dellenback, 22, a senior at UCLA, was one of the first injured. She sat in the middle of the street sobbing. Susan Dougherty, 18, from Long Beach told one reporter:

"I was standing on the sidewalk when all of a sudden I got hit and stomped on. I got hit in the head with a club and got jabbed in the ribs."

Hundreds of shoes were scattered about the sidewalk. Torn clothes, ripped signs, protest buttons and "spatterings of blood" were mixed with dust on the pavement, when the battle was over. Scores of people were arrested and booked at a special headquarters set up for the occasion. Many more beaten.

A squad of cops returning to the hotel after the bloodbath were cheered by a group of ruling class, \$1,000-a-couple types. They were standing on a balcony after having heard a speech by their White House servant.

It was these same millionaires and billionaires inside the Hotel Century who unleashed the Los Angeles police in their fury of fascist repression. The frustration with their failure to bring the Vietnamese people to submission has caused the bosses to turn with vengeance on the growing anti-war movement. But they will fail.

To the everlasting credit of the struggle against the vicious imperialist war in Vietnam, the police order to disperse was never carried out.

New Stage Seen

To the editor:

The demonstration in Los Angeles was a significant event—as brutal as any could be—which ushered in the stage of crackdowns against large demonstrations. The cops attacked 20,000 people—all with a deliberate plan to intimidate, to make it clear that mere numbers would no longer serve as protection.

I was pushed back against a fence which formed a protection against falling maybe 20 feet below into a vacant lot. We could look behind us into the lot below and see people running from the cops, rolling down an embankment there, lying prone, beaten—many unconscious.

A girl I spoke to said that she had been standing in the front line facing the cops. They told her to move back. She couldn't—the people behind her were as far back as they could go—and if she obeyed she would have had to run into a mother carrying a baby. As she turned a cop hit her across the back with a lengthwise club and pushed her.

Cops were purposely jabbing women in the ribs and abdomen—and lots of women!

Long after the core of the demonstration had left (or been taken from) the area, cops on every street corner for blocks stopped, questioned, searched every young person who passed. People were found blocks away from the hotel, unconscious.

I can't really stress enough the spirit of the crowd. In the face of police clubs they yelled, "Fascist pig" (or cop) more than anything else and they knew damn well what they were saying. Everyone around knew the nature of the attack. Black nationalists went through the crowd (mostly white) urging them to stick together, not to let those pigs push them around—and chanted, "Hell no, we won't go!"

The Chief of Police in L.A. has said publicly that the actions of the police that night were planned in order to protect the law and all that. But he admits it and we are sure that the tactics displayed by the cops were planned at a much higher level than the city level.

B.C.

- Who Runs Buffalo?

Continued from preceding page

plants for both day and night shifts, face speedups and layoffs which are decided upon in company or banking offices and are based, of course, only upon the company's profit needs—never upon the workers' needs.

In these plants Afro-Americans are traditionally the last to be hired and the first to be fired and while whites are given the skilled jobs with higher pay, the Black workers get the dirtiest and lowest paying jobs.

In short, Buffalo is like any other big city in the capitalist U.S.A. Its real rulers are the corporate rulers of the country; e.g. the directors of Ford Chevy, Westinghouse, du Pont, Bethlehem Steel, the Rands, the Knoxes, etc.

The "Pittsburgh of the North" has a large, exploited working class. The

bosses have deliberately and systematically over the years maintained a huge gap in the standard of living between white and Black workers. Racist hiring and wage policies and racist local government, which they control, have seen to that.

The position of the working class as a whole is being eroded by price increases of the profit hungry monopolies, higher taxes for the Vietnam war, speedup and automation. The Black masses, whom the bosses never gave anything but the leftovers, are now being shut out altogether.

It is the Marine Trust, the Manufacturers and Traders Trust, the Schoellkopf who have imposed the grinding poverty on the Black people of Buffalo, and it is the corporations who now call out their storm troopers in blue uniform to enforce their program of super-exploitation with armed terror.

"Salvaged" For Death

Last August (during a period of upsurge of the Afro-American rebellion) Washington decided to up the draft of Black youth and send them to fight oppressed Vietnamese instead of racist U.S. cops. So Secretary of Defense McNamara announced a plan to "help" Afro-Americans to pass army induction tests by giving remedial education which white supremacist society would not give them as civilians.

This plot to give more ghetto youth a quick trip from the slums to the front lines, courtesy of Wall Street, was dubbed the "salvage plan" by McNamara.

Recently the Pentagon confirmed the "success" of the "salvage plan."

WASHINGTON, May 25 (UPI)—"The Army said today that the percentage of Negroes acceptable for the draft rose

sharply in 1966, as draft calls increased and qualifications were lowered.

"In contrast to 1965, when 29.2 per cent of Negroes given pre-induction examinations were accepted, 42.5 per cent passed all tests necessary for military service in 1966."

Of course, these figures in no way reflect the disproportionate number of Afro-Americans who serve in the front lines in Vietnam and the resulting high percentage of casualties among them.

Thus, with the simultaneous escalation of the wars against the Vietnamese and the Black people, in 1966 Afro-Americans conveniently became 46 per cent more "acceptable" to the racist U.S. high command. (The comparable rise in "acceptability" for whites was 7 per cent!)

Humphrey Goes to Bolster Seoul Regime But...

Students Rock U.S. Puppets in South Korea

By Fred Goldstein

Ten thousand South Koreans clashed with police last week, trying to get at Vice President Hubert Humphrey as he left the country after attending the inauguration of U.S. puppet President Chung Hee Park. Humphrey visited the country to bolster up Washington's crumbling satellite regime. The trip was a vivid demonstration of Washington's abiding loyalty to all reactionaries who serve its will, no matter how corrupt, how despised or how discredited among its own people — i.e., provided they can hold power!

Massive anti-government demonstrations have been going on in Korea almost every day since June 9, the day after the elections for the national assembly.

The pro-U.S. Democratic-Rep-

ublican (!) is so much hated by the South Korean masses that it had to resort to open terror and bribery at the polls to stay in office. The elections, denounced by the opposition New Democratic Party as "the most viciously rigged in the history of our country," touched off massive student demonstrations. The protests were comparable in size and militancy to the ones that led to the overthrow of U.S. puppet Syngman Rhee in 1960. Now the Park government, which has followed Rhee's policy of selling the country to U.S. imperialism, has been shaken within an inch of its life.

Immediately following the elections there were reports in local newspapers of poll watchers being beaten and driven from the polling stations. For four days protest demonstrations calling for new elections took place

in 10 cities. The government refused and tried to calm the masses by arresting 39 of its own officials. But to no avail.

On June 12, students at the Law College of Korean University called a protest demonstration in Seoul. The Park government declared an "emergency alert" and sent 7,000 police to seal off the university. Hundreds of students battled club swinging riot police demanding new elections. The police arrested 160 students in Seoul and demonstrations were reported in Taegu, Kwangju and other cities.

The following day, according to Hsinhua of June 13, 3,000 students from Korean University broke through a cordon of 1,000 police and rushed the square outside the national assembly to denounce the government and again call for new elections. (It was reported that women bystanders were handing the students rocks with which to fight the police.) On the same day 10,000 people demonstrated in the city of Kunson.

The government only enraged the students by tokenism combined with a large dose of police terror.

According to a June 14 dispatch to the New York Times 30,000 students from 18 universities and 15 high schools poured into the street of Seoul. The students stoned riot police who waded into the demonstration with clubs flying. The battle lasted nearly eight hours. Scores were injured on both sides and 437 students were arrested during the clashes.

The demonstrations spread across the country and the government had to close down ten universities in Seoul and 3 in Pusan.

The demonstrations continued and the following day an AP dispatch from Seoul reported that 20,000 people demanded the ouster of the assembly and fought riot police who lobbed tear gas into the crowds. Arrests climbed to 525 and even the President of the New Democratic Party, Cho Taichum,

was arrested when he attempted to lead a small demonstration of 200 NDP members in a show of protest. Similar demonstrations took place in Pusan, Taegi, Taejon, Chongju and other cities.

Under the tremendous pressure of the masses the Park regime had to make an open admission of bankruptcy by expelling whole sections of its own party, including 125 government officials and 6 of the candidates who "won" the rigged election.

Nevertheless at the time of this writing the struggle for new elections is still being fought out in the streets. And even if the hated regime, which could not win an election in its own country without terror and can't consolidate its fraudulent victory with battalions of riot-police, should gain a lease on life it will only be temporary.

For the puppets in Seoul know, as do their U.S. masters, that the election fraud has only served to crystallize the deep-seated hatred of the South Korean masses for the quislings and traitors who serve Washington. The rigged elections have given an opening for struggle against stooges who have turned South Korea into a military bastion of U.S. imperialism, a reservoir for investment by the financial oligarchy on Wall Street and has sent 45,000 troops to Vietnam to fight for Washington.

The students who are fighting the police in every major city in South Korea are fighting a regime which would not last a day without the 50,000 U.S. occupation troops and the 600,000 man army -- U.S.-armed, U.S.-trained and whose high command has been hand picked by the Pentagon.

Given the tradition of revolutionary struggle of the Korean masses, who have been fighting U.S. occupation and aggression since the first U.S. soldier touched Korean shores in 1945, the rotten regime that Humphrey went to help "inaugurate" has a short life expectancy.



Through the Magnifying Glass

By John Moore

Anti-War Youths of New Paltz

New Paltz, 100 miles up the Hudson from New York, is a little town that looks like many other little towns in the Northeast — pretty and peaceful: thick-foliaged maple trees stand in front of fine old white-painted houses with smooth green lawns; youths gather along a Main Street lined with shops and restaurants — a 5¢ and 10¢, a Chevron station, Pat and George's Bar Restaurant, the Pink Spot Lunch, and the Cue Tip Lounge.

New Paltz is also the home of New Paltz College.

On April 25th a group of 29 students at the College, which is an integral part of the town, protested the presence of a Marine recruiting booth on campus. When their peaceful presence did not stop the functioning of this tentacle of the war machine they did what every serious enemy of the warmakers has got to find a way to do — they took action. According to descriptions of the incident they sat, linked arms and barred the way. They were arrested.

Action Says NO! — But That's ILLEGAL

Much to-do was made about the fact that this was "illegal" — as if Johnson's attack against the Vietnamese were "legal" or as if ruling class laws and their legality were anything more than a way to prevent people from gaining their rights.

The action and the arrests caused a big stir in the community — and the New Paltz area has in certain parts the stink of the Nazi American Bund which flourished there during the Hitler heyday. Today it has its Minutemen.

As could be expected, the local voice of the merchants, businessmen and bankers — and who knows what — which goes by the name of the New Paltz "Independent" tried to whip up town sentiment against the youths. The theme of the attacks generally was anti-communism and furthermore just one more thing (to those who might not buy the if-they're-against-the-war-they're-communists and-if-they're-communists-hang'em routine) what they did was ILLEGAL!

Under pressure from advisers most of the youths reluctantly pleaded guilty and paid a fine of \$50 for disorderly conduct. Some, however, though pleading guilty, refused to pay the fine. The judge, a local contractor who appears to be of the legionnaire type, had one of these defiant ones, a pretty 19-year old girl, handcuffed. Another youth who refused to pay his fine was also jailed and beaten by the local cops.

The Trial

Last night (June 29) we attended the final legal chapter of the incident where four of the demonstrators who had refused to plead guilty faced trial in the new, two-story red brick town hall courtroom. They were represented by attorney Conrad Lynn.

The air-conditioning was working and the judge, cops, the arms of New Paltz's ruling class apparatus, had decided to put on their respectable faces. It was all politeness. Or nearly all.

The judge, after a tryout of the first defendant to see if the pressure had worked on him and would make him plead guilty (it didn't), abbreviated the trial to a statement by each defendant and an immediate verdict of guilty.

One by one the four young defendants went to the witness chair and made their statements. The first was Bob Barnes, a Vietnam veteran; husky, quick-smiling Bob Barnes now sat with a serious face and said simply, "I did what I had to do and I'd do it again."

Then the chair was taken by the only girl of the group, attractive and poised Diantha Perry, who said in a calm voice that she was not guilty of any wrong; that the people who were doing wrong were the people who were making the war.

The next defendant was Don Baty (pronounced Bay-tee), thin and wiry, his suntanned face peeling. He said defiantly, "I would do exactly the same thing again no matter what the penalty."

The businessman-judge turned and in an almost inaudible voice questioned: "Even if I give you the death penalty?"

There was a nervous titter in the courtroom. Underneath the crude joke, you knew lingered the threat of what this kind would like to do if they could.

The last defendant was tall, blond Joel Schubert who read a letter from an American civilian in Vietnam who described the effects of napalm, bombing, hunger, and said at one point of the effects of this aggression: "If I were a Vietnamese nothing would stop me from being a communist."

The sentence was for \$50 fine or ten days in jail, Diantha Perry and Don Baty,



Students from Korean University battle police in Seoul on June 15, demanding ouster of puppet national assembly.

defiant of any of what they felt would be cooperation with the ruling apparatus, both refused to pay. Don Baty walking up to the bench said to the judge emphatically: "I will not pay it!"

But the judge and the cops had their script written somewhat differently than the earlier trial, it seemed: They stayed quietly in the background, cops walking discreetly along the wall aisle, as the defendants and parents and friends talked together before the jailing.

Don and Diantha sat together. Don had a thick paperback edition of "The Rise and Fall of the 3rd Reich" to read in jail.

We left and walked out past the stone monument dedicated to the Korean War. There was a cop car outside with a wire grating separating the back seat where the prisoners would be put and the front seat where the cops would plump their fat hind ends.

What Is To Be Done

We drove down the slope of the hill past the new "State of New York National Bank" with its Gothic windows and ornamental stone walls in the center of the village and headed back for New York City.

We had told the young defendants about the anti-war soldiers of Fort Sill who are in an even more remote and dangerous outpost and they listened with interest and admiration for the soldiers' struggle.

Yes, things are adding up and it's clearer than ever how much organization of all militant youths, like these fighting kids at New Paltz, is needed. A tighter, more disciplined, more conscious organization that strengthens all and studies the roots of imperialism to the bottom and aims at whatever action is necessary to tear out these poisonous plants, root and all.