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VOL. 9, No. 17

AUGUST 17, 1967

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Johnson Escalates Aggression As Opposition Heats Up at Home

When They Say "Stalemate" They Mean They're Losing!

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

In July 1965 President Johnson made a key policy speech in which he stated the "consensus" of U.S. ruling class opinion that Washington's prime foreign policy objective would be to turn the Pacific into a U.S. lake. This infamous "Pacific Power" speech came shortly after the "great debate" in the Senate and was the signal for all factions of big business to line up behind the Vietnam war—the main thrust in the campaign for the conquest of Asia.

Despite all the fraudulent displays of emotion by the "doves," it was not very difficult to line up the more timid elements of the ruling class behind a program of imperialist plunder of a billion people. But there was one catch. The U.S. billionaires couldn't line up the Vietnamese revolution!

As the irrefutable evidence of U.S. dead and wounded pile up day after day, the bosses and bankers are learning that their barbarian objective was easier to decide upon than to achieve.

The growing defeatism and demoralization among important sections of the ruling class flows straight from the hard facts of military defeat. In a long article surveying the failure of Washington's armies to crush the Vietnamese revolution, the New York Times of August 7 reflected the frustrations of the robbers on Wall Street.

The article complains that the imperialists with 1.2 million troops under their command have been able only to secure a tiny fraction of a country one half the size of New York State. The enormous expenditure, over \$2 billion a month, just to keep from being overrun by the liberation forces, is beginning to make the bosses wonder if it's all worth it. The Pentagon admits to 87,000 U.S. troops killed and wounded (despite the fact that the majority of

U.S. forces never see combat). With all the bluster about "the enemy is hurting" the brass admits that the 297,000 regular troops in the liberation armies is almost triple what it was three years ago.

The debate among the bankers
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A wounded Marine near Con Thien after his unit was hit trying to recover bodies of U.S. casualties in the "demilitarized zone."

Bombs Hanoi and Chinese Border to Counter NLF Victories and Cover Up Saigon "Elections"

AUGUST 15—Once again with Lyndon Johnson at their head, the imperialist militarists of the United States have hoaxed the American people into a deeper and wider war in Southeast Asia.

Bombing central Hanoi and hitting a big railroad bridge just 10 miles from the Chinese border on August 12 were moves for which only Johnson could give the orders. And he gave them.

Pretending to be "under pressure" from the "hawks," but actually maneuvering wildly to overwhelm the anti-war opposition, he ordered probably a hundred new industrial and civilian targets to be hit.

The Senate Preparedness Subcommittee held closed hearings for superhawk testimony from Admiral Ulysses S.G. Sharp, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific, last week. And Sharp recommended a big step-up in the bombing, to which virtually the whole Subcommittee agreed. Johnson seemed to be yielding to the recommendations of these Senators, which were given wide publicity during the week just preceding the big war moves.

But the hearings were held on Wednesday, August 9, whereas the August 14 New York Post casually revealed that Johnson was "reported to have approved the strikes last Tuesday (August 8)... on the eve of the closed hearing by the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee." (Our emphasis.)

Actually, if Johnson gave the order on August 8, he not only anticipated the Subcommittee, but must have planned the move and discussed it for some time even before this. And the best bet is that he actually signalled Senator Stennis, his former Mississippi colleague, to call the Subcommittee together and stage the hearings (even though "closed") to give him a good setting from which to launch the new acts of war.

During the week, the papers publicized the 57 Representatives in the House who demanded genuine "free elections" in Vietnam and the speeches of Senators Robert Kennedy and Jacob Javits also on this issue.

Not to be outdone, Johnson himself had his global messenger boy, Clark Clifford, tell a nation-wide TV audience on August 13 that Johnson had also demanded a "fair" election in Vietnam and that he, Clifford, had solemnly told Ky, Thieu and Co. that Johnson wouldn't stand for a rigged election!

The election issue is raised in the United States by the big bourgeois politicians, (who buy their own elections regularly) only as a smokescreen for purely imperialist politics. They can as easily turn the issue into a reason to support the war as to "oppose" it.

If they phony up the elections a little more, they can easily find an excuse to support the increased bombing if they want to.

And they can also use the fantastically corrupt Saigon elections as a face-saving excuse for some kind of retreat if not admission of a U.S. defeat.

That appeared to be just what they were up to last week before Johnson's escalation. And Republican "non-candidate" for President, George Romney, even after the bigger bombings, put his ear to the ground, heard the popular protest, and made noises indicating opposition to the war.

Powerful as the mass disgust is, however, the ruling class opposition is far

Military Learns To Run New York Prepares Army Rule For Black Masses

By ELLEN PIERCE

The U.S. master class is making concrete preparations for the day when they feel that the only salvation for their racist system will require total military rule over the Black people. That is the unmistakable meaning of the orders which came down from the Pentagon, directing the 356th Civil Affairs Groups of the Army Reserves to take a two-week course in July on various aspects of running New York City. The "liberal" administration of Mayor John Lindsay was only too happy to cooperate.

"For some day," wrote the pro-fascist New York Daily News on Au-

gust 5, "they may be called upon to take over the operation of a government the size of New York City or larger."

It may be coincidence that the training exercise—Operation Cadence—took place as Puerto Ricans were battling the cops in Spanish Harlem. And it may be accidental that this ominous training program came on the heels of the Newark and Detroit rebellions. But there is no doubt that the Pentagon had just such "contingencies" in mind in planning Operation Cadence.

Culture was not neglected either. Curator Thomas Miller of the Metropolitan Museum of Art briefed officers

on the museum's security and fire-control systems. Art lovers will be glad to know that plans for the removal of art treasures to a safe place—"where and how is highly classified information"—have been made by the Pentagon's masters of mass destruction.

Military men were even instructed "in the use of special solutions which can be used in restoring damaged paintings."

Operation Cadence was interested in restoration all right, but not art restoration. Its planners want to restore their racist authority over the rebellious Black people and are expanding

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WORKERS WORLD

Editorial office:
46 W. 21st Street, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: AL 5-0352
Editor: Vincent Copeland
Manager: Dorothy Ballan

Vol. 9, No. 17 — August 17, 1967

Published Twice Monthly



Hanoi's Appeal for Aid

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam appealed to all Socialist nations last Saturday to "condemn severely the step taken by the Americans in the escalation of their criminal war and to act energetically to check their bloody hands."

This is as close to a call for armed intervention against the U.S. invaders by People's China and/or the Soviet Union as the North Vietnamese have yet made.

It comes immediately after the bombing of the center of Hanoi and the openly announced "new target list" of Johnson's latest escalation of the war. It caused at least a temporary crisis in the U.S. ruling class — along with the U.S. bombing ten miles from the Chinese border on the same day.

On Sunday, August 12, the New York Times articulated this crisis by observing editorially that these events "have created the greatest danger of World War III since the Cuban missile confrontation of 1962."

Breathing easier on the following day, the Times reported that "United States analysts" in Washington believe that Hanoi is calling on the socialist countries only "to exert diplomatic and propaganda pressure ... to halt the latest escalation in American bombing."

There is not an iota of truth in this estimate which is based entirely on imperialist wish-thinking and is really intended to provide the rationale for a greater war. This estimate willfully disregards the national interests of People's China and the Soviet Union, not to mention the political logic of their existence as socialist states. Furthermore, it ignores the logic of war itself.

The Slanderers of SNCC

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee came out strong for the cause of the super-oppressed Arabs in its June-July newsletter.

Naturally, those looking for a handle to attack SNCC tried to use this to confuse the masses in the United States. Since Israel is the main instrument of U.S. imperialism in the present Mideast war, and SNCC attacked Israel, the imperialists and their agents here immediately branded SNCC with being — "anti-Semitic."

An honest reading of SNCC's statement shows that its intention is not to attack the Jewish people as such, but to expose the state of Israel as a puppet of U.S. imperialism against the Arabs.

SNCC is now in the very forefront of the struggle of the Afro-American people for liberation. Imperialism is looking day and night for ways to destroy it.

North Vietnam made a similar, though somewhat less urgent appeal on Dec. 14, 1966. And the character of defense weapons received from its allies was greatly improved soon after that. The number of admitted U.S. casualties in the first seven months of this year was nearly equal to that of the previous three years. Improved weaponry played a significant role in this.

Recently there have been persistent reports that the Soviet Union would send Vietnam surface-to-surface missiles — such as would be capable of demolishing a U.S. battleship.

The U.S. escalation will at the very least be met by Vietnamese escalation. And at one point or another, if the war keeps on, it will lead to a general confrontation on the Asian continent.

There may or may not be an immediate response to the North Vietnamese plea by the entry of tens of thousands of Chinese or Soviet troops into Vietnam. But that is not really the point. And the imperialists know it. Military decisions seldom follow directly and immediately from political needs. But they do follow.

Unquestionably the imperialists are greatly comforted by the ever-worsening China-Soviet conflict. Unquestionably the militarists in the Pentagon and the White House are calculating first on China's non-intervention in Vietnam, and second on their own armed intervention into China under conditions most favorable to them. Both these facts are well understood in the Far East, and for that matter, in the Soviet Union, too.

The DRV's appeal to its socialist allies meant exactly what it said.

The cruder way is by "anti-riot" bills advocated by hysterical Congressmen to prevent SNCC's leaders from traveling from state to state. A more subtle way is to slander, distort and malign their position, and among other things call them "anti-Semitic."

This is an obvious attempt to deprive them of support — financial or otherwise — from those "progressive" whites who might remember the gas chambers but forget the machinegun bullets of the Army and National Guard.

It is wrong, of course, to identify Jewish workers or honest sympathizers with Afro-American liberation with oppressors and imperialist agents.

SNCC, however, has made no such identification. SNCC did not equate Harlem slumlords to the young martyrs, Schwerner and Goodman, for example. It took SNCC's pro-imperialist slanderers to do that.

met two days later. Its performance was, if anything, even worse than that of its subcommittee — particularly in its capitulation to the right wing in not allowing H. Rap Brown to speak at the rally to defend Capt. Levy after Brown had already accepted an invitation.

Ivy Branch of the State Dept.

Where does the imperialist government in Washington end and Columbia University begin? It's getting so that one can recognize the branches of the State Department by the ivy on the walls.

The other day, the University announced the establishment of a new Southern Asian Institute to study Burma, India, Ceylon, Pakistan and "other Southeast Asian countries."

The head of the new department will be one Dr. Harold Wiggins. Dr. Wiggins has two basic qualifications for the job. First, he is an "expert" on the subject. Second, he spent a year as a staff member of the National Security Council whose principal members are Johnson, Rusk, McNamara and Humphrey. Wiggins, also a member of the State Department Policy Planning Council, was carrying out a special project for the would-be conquerors of the Pacific.

The Southern Asian Institute will be part of the School of International Affairs which is run by Andrew W. Cordier whose qualifications as an "educator" exceed those of his subordinate from the National Security Council.

Cordier pulled the strings at the UN for Washington as the U.S. "adviser" to all presidents of the General Assembly from 1946 to 1961. He was the special representative to the Secretary General during the Korean War in 1952 and during the rape of the Congo in 1960. As a special consultant to the Ford Foundation and the State Department he is undoubtedly

able to enrich the curriculum at Columbia in direct accordance with the wishes of the billionaires.

Among the more illustrious members of Mr. Cordier's staff on the "foreign affairs" of U.S. imperialism is the "China expert" Roger Hillsman. Hillsman was the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs during the Kennedy administration (which started the war in Vietnam) and before that was head of the State Department Bureau of Intelligence.

The announcement of the new department to perfect counter-revolution in the Pacific region was made by University president, Dr. (Admiral, if you prefer) Grayson Kirk who moonlights as a director of IBM, Socony-Mobil, Con Edison, Nation-Wide Securities, Dividend Shares, Inc. and a trustee of the Greenwich Savings Bank. (It was noted by observers that Dr. Admiral Kirk appeared relieved to be announcing one of the university's more "peaceful" contributions to Washington's efforts, since his school was recently caught experimenting with nerve gas for the U.S. military.)

Cordier, the State Department Dean, announced that:

"The increasing significance of South and Southeast Asia for the United States and the rest of the world (!) was a major consideration in taking the initiative to establish 'the new institute.'"

There is nothing like an imperialist expansion to broaden the intellectual horizons of capitalist academia.

How a Draft Fighter Did It

To the editor:

This spring I lost my draft deferment, did some soul-searching, and decided not to even indirectly cooperate with the war machine by applying for C.O. status. I was attracted to the Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) because they spoke of "not merely protesting the war; we are out to stop it."

I was ordered to report for my physical exam on July 31. Because this would give me a chance to leaflet and talk to the other draftees, I complied with the order. At the train station in suburban Harvey I passed out a number of Veterans for Peace leaflets and heard some encouraging comments, especially from an Afro-American who said he was not going to Vietnam to fight his "Soul Brothers." When we got to the Chicago Induction Center the men saw a demonstration of some 15 CADRE members (rain held the number to less than half that of previous demonstrations); they received new leaflets and were informed of their rights.

Inside, we were ordered to throw away all leaflets, but a number of people put them in their pockets. We were taken to a room for the IQ test, instructed in answering it, and asked if there were any questions. At this point I raised my hand and asked, "Why the hell are we fighting that war in Vietnam?" The room filled with laughter as the officer stammered out that he wished he knew, but he couldn't do anything about it anyway. The atmosphere in the room was altered and when I later refused to sign the so-called "security form" I was joined by two other people.

Having spoken to most of the men in my group by this time, I now went down to the cafeteria, had a coke, and waited for the next group. I then went back up and leafleted about 20 people before

being spotted by an officer; our subsequent argument showed him to be unaware of the meaning of freedom of speech.

While being shuffled from officer to officer I managed to pass out several more leaflets. Then I was escorted to the door and ordered home. My encounter showed the need for an ever escalating series of encounters with the Selective Service System. Progress is slow, but the people who are cooperating with the system only through fear must be shown that they will not stand alone if they say "No" to the war. The majority are already opposed to the war for one reason or another — now the task is to encourage draft resistance, the most effective form of protest.

August 4... As reported nation-wide on CBS-TV, this Friday a demonstration of some 35 people continued despite an attack by a group of Marine volunteers. As one of our group was warned by an induction center officer about such an attack two weeks ago, and as the police, usually on duty there, arrived from just around the corner only after the goon squad left the scene, this was obviously an attempt to intimidate us. It failed. The demonstration continued for an hour and a half longer despite several injuries and the destruction of most of our signs. All this indicates that the local military is seriously concerned about the number of men who receive our leaflets and contact CADRE. (It is not unusual to have several anti-war people previously not connected with any organization to contact us in a single day for draft counseling.)

Contributions needed: CADRE, 333 W. North Ave., Chicago 60610.

Yours,
 Gunnar Knutson

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NAME

STREET

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

Correction

Two weeks ago we referred to a "Peace Parade Committee" meeting of August 1. The gathering was really one of a "working committee" of the Parade Committee.

The full Parade Committee actually

China Gives Firm Support To Afro-American Struggle

Calls National Struggle a Class Struggle Says Monopoly Rule Is Root of Racism

On August 8, 1963, Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, sent a statement in support of the struggle for Black liberation to the Afro-American people. The statement was issued in response to a request from Robert Williams. The Peoples Daily carried an editorial on the fourth anniversary of Chairman Mao's statement of solidarity. It is one of many recent statements of support for the growing liberation struggle in the U.S. Below we reprint excerpts from the editorial.

Four years ago today, our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued his "statement supporting the American Negroes in their just struggle

against racial discrimination by U.S. imperialism."

It was an historic statement; in it Chairman Mao condemned the racial discrimination and racial oppression practiced against the Afro-Americans by the reactionary rulers of the U.S. and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policy of the U.S. government at home and its policy of aggression abroad. He stated the revolutionary truth that the racial question is essentially a class question, analysed the development of the movement of the Afro-Americans and expressed warm support for their just struggle.

In the four years since, there has

been a further awakening of the Afro-American people who have been fighting back ever more vigorously. Their struggle has spread from limited areas to all parts of the United States. At first fighting with bare fists, they are now taking up arms to meet counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. The armed struggle against racial oppression which broke out in Newark and Detroit this summer spread to more than 90 cities within a few days. The momentum and magnitude of this struggle is such as has never been witnessed before in the history of the United States. And the same is true of the panic shown by the Lyndon Johnson administration, which moved in tens of thousands of troops and used tanks and helicopters to crack down on the Afro-American armed struggle against racial oppression.

U.S. capitalism and imperialism have grown up on the ruthless exploitation of the Afro-Americans. And racial discrimination in the United States has always been a form of class oppression. The U.S. rulers have pushed racial discrimination to the most vicious lengths solely for the purpose of strengthening class exploitation and oppression. This barbarous institution, not only yields them several billion dollars of super-profit annually, but provides them with a great labor reserve and also a weapon against the white working people to make them put up with the monopoly capitalists' exploitation and enslavement. To maintain the reactionary rule of monopoly capital, the U.S. rulers use this institution to spread racial prejudice and hatred among the working people of different color, to practice divide and rule, and to undermine the unity and struggle of the American working class and laboring people.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Among the whites in the United States it is only the reactionary ruling circles who oppress the Black people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people."

It is class and politics, not color or race, that have always been the demarcation line between revolution and counter-revolution.

The handful of reactionary rulers in the United States are the exploiters and oppressors of the white laboring people as well as of the Afro-Americans. The Afro-Americans share identical interests with the white working masses but stand in fundamental antagonism with the reactionary U.S. ruling groups. The reactionary U.S. rulers are the common enemy of the people of all colors in the United States.

Fundamentally speaking, it is the presence of classes and class oppression that gives rise to national oppression. To eliminate national oppression, it is imperative to eliminate class oppression, overthrow the reactionary rule of monopoly capital and smash the imperialist system.

The Afro-Americans who have taken up arms in the struggle against racial oppression are a militant force in the struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism. The fact that they have risen up in rebellion in the very heart of U.S. imperialism represents powerful support for the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of all countries. And in turn, the Afro-Americans in their struggle have the support of the people of the whole world. The 700 million Chinese people stand firmly on their side.

The reactionary U.S. rulers give the appearance of a colossus but in fact are nothing but a paper tiger, outwardly strong but internally shrivelled. Abroad, they are besieged ring upon ring by the people of the world; at home, they are facing growing opposition from the people of the U.S. Their days are numbered. Supported by the more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the just struggle of the Afro-Americans is sure to be victorious.

those governments that are against us."

Included in the text of the draft was the key passage:

"The Latin American people have only two choices: to capitulate to imperialism and its organized and systematic violence, or to resist and fight."

The resolution also included a strong denunciation of the bloody repression to which the Afro-American people have been subjected.

The mere fact that this conference could be successfully held 90 miles from the shores of the imperialist U.S.A. and in defiance of Washington, marks it as an achievement for the oppressed people everywhere.



Vietnamese liberation fighters playing for the Latin American Solidarity Conference in Havana.

Cuba Tri-Continental Meeting Hails Black Freedom Fight in U.S. Cities

Carmichael Gets Ovation as Spokesman of Revolt

By PETER STORCH

Representatives from 27 Latin American countries gathered in Havana on July 31 to hold the first conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS). The OLAS was organized a year and a half ago out of the Tricontinental Solidarity Conference also held in Havana. The conference marks the resurgence of anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America. The conference gave strong support to the Afro-American liberation struggle in the U.S. and was climaxed by the passage of a resolution condemning aid by socialist countries to Latin American puppets of Washington.

The main objective of the OLAS conference as expressed by OLAS officials was to develop the armed revolutionary struggle against imperialism and its oligarchic lackeys. Among the delegates were representatives of guerrilla movements from Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Guatemala and Bolivia. Many observers from all over the world were on hand.

The Latin American revolutionaries showed their solidarity with the Black liberation struggle by electing Stokely Carmichael an honorary delegate. Carmichael was given time to speak before the conference. Also present were delegates from the NLF of South Vietnam, including a 17-year-old

Vietnamese girl, a guerrilla hero in combat against U.S. troops.

The conference opened by unanimously electing Che Guevara, the revolutionary guerrilla leader, honorary president of the conference. Cuban President Dorticos gave the inaugural speech, which was highlighted by his call to "...reply with arms to the challenge of imperialist violence or to renounce all hope of liberation."

Carmichael took the floor on the second day of the conference and expressed the complete solidarity of Afro-Americans with Che Guevara. He also said:

"We are moving into open guerrilla warfare in the United States. We have no alternative but to use aggressive violence in order to own the land, houses, and stores inside our communities and control the politics of those communities..."

He received a standing ovation both before and after his speech.

At a press conference earlier, Carmichael told reporters, "We must internationalize our struggle and, if we are going to turn into reality the words of Che to create two, three and more Vietnams, we must recognize that Detroit and Newark are also Vietnam."

Afro-Americans will surely note that the only government in the entire western hemisphere which would give

a spokesman for Black liberation a heart felt welcome and an international platform was the revolutionary socialist government of Cuba.

The biggest newspapers in the U.S. were attacking and at the same time trying to minimize the effect and influence of the OLAS conference. But the billionaires could not conceal their deep hatred and fear of the revolutionary agitation conducted against them in such an open manner.

A minority of the delegates opposed the resolution on armed struggle, while the majority supported it. A Venezuelan guerrilla leader, Francisco Prada, denounced the Venezuelan CP for having rejected the armed struggle in that country. The position of Cuba in favor of armed struggle was the backbone of the political position finally arrived at by the majority.

The Cubans also led in the passing of a resolution condemning economic aid by socialist countries to Latin American puppets of the U.S. who are battling against armed liberation movements. The resolution was aimed at actions such as the recent aid by the Soviet leaders to the Colombian government. The vote was 15 to 3. In the closing speech of the conference, Fidel Castro said:

"If internationalism exists, if solidarity is a word that merits to be pronounced, then the least we can expect from the socialist countries is that they give no assistance to

- Army Prepares to Rule

Continued from Page 1

their arsenal of suppression techniques in an attempt to do so.

While the Daily News article vaguely mentions disaster or war as the situations in which the army would take over, it is apparent that what the ruling class fears most immediately is Black rebellion, not hurricanes or foreign wars. And battle plans against the Black people are being drawn up at the highest levels.

New York City was selected because, to quote the Army, "It is the most sophisticated, densely populated, highly industrialized, complex metropolitan area in the world." New York also has an Afro-American population of 1,200,000 people—the largest in the country, and a Puerto Rican population of 800,000—the largest in the world.

The 130 Reservists taking part in the exercise were an elite group, pillars of bourgeois law and order. Among them were lawyers, clergymen, engineers, business executives and magazine editors. One, Lt. Col. William

Winston, is a steel company president. His job was to study the kitchen facilities at the Municipal Men's Shelter in the Bowery to see how they could be converted to feed the homeless—homeless oppressed people, of course; if they were planning on refugees from Fifth Avenue they would study cooking facilities at the Waldorf Astoria.

Military men were assigned to the Police Department communications bureau, the district attorney's office, prisons and courts—the apparatus carrying out the daily skirmishes against the ghettos which could be expanded into full-scale war.

"At the Police Department's communications bureau, a policeman sat at the busy switchboard answering calls. Seated next to him, wearing earphones and listening in on the calls was an Army officer...

"Major Joseph Limanowski, Bronx, a commercial specialist with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., spent two weeks in police communications bureau while Capt. Michael Magro, also of

the Bronx, an assistant State attorney general, sat at the elbow of judges as they heard cases....

"Major Stuart Jackson of Flushing, an attorney, was assigned to District Attorney Frank Hogan's office. He was with the homicide section but concentrated on legal procedures that the DA must follow from the time of arrest to the case's disposition in court....

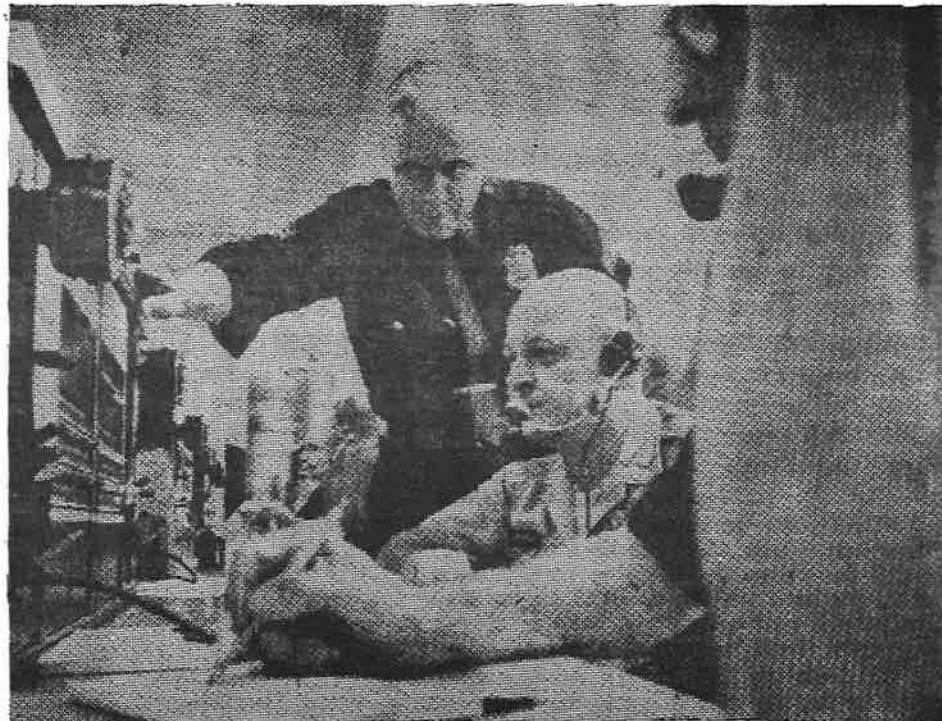
"Major Loren Willing, an insurance agent of Wantagh, L.I., was assigned to the medical examiner's office. He accompanied Dr. Elliot Gross, associate medical examiner, on several homicide

cases and witnessed numerous autopsies."

Major Roy Conklin, a junior high school principal in New York City, New York learned about the city school system. But you don't learn all about the schools to run them for a few days. Bureaucratic inertia could carry the system along for a while, and failing that a vacation for the children could be declared. What the Pentagon has in mind, however, is military rule on a semi-permanent basis with all aspects of life, including education, regimented and controlled by the Army.

Seminars on the physical maintenance of the city were addressed by the Fire Commissioner, Sanitation Commissioner, Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity and others.

From Boss to Brass in One Easy Lesson



Major Joseph Limanowski, a commercial specialist for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., getting lessons from the New York police in running the city.

Letter From A Buffalo Prison - A Black Frame-Up Victim's Reply

The following letter was written by Martin Sostre, an Afro-American militant who was framed up by the Buffalo authorities following the Buffalo East Side rebellion. Mr. Sostre was the proprietor of the Afro-Asian Bookstore in the Black community which was raided by the Buffalo police.

* * *

To my dear Brothers:

Although the white press, TV and radio (along with paid Black informers and Toms who are spreading lies about me in the community) have saturated the community with the stories which they want you to believe, they fail to realize that the Uncle Tom Negro of old—who believed everything boss-man told him—is dead. They fail to realize that the new alert and militant Afro-American is not buying and swallowing boss-man's propaganda any more. This self-delusion on the part of the white oppressors has led them into serious trouble—as evidenced by the nation-

wide spread of the Afro revolt.

By accusing me and our Afro-Asian Bookshop of being the center of dope, subversive, Marxist, Socialist, Communist activities—and of organizing the June "riots" in Buffalo—and then proceeding to destroy the only Black bookshop in the community (the only shop where you could purchase the works of J. A. Rogers, Frederick Douglass, DuBois, Robert F. Williams, Malcolm X, Richard Wright, Nathan Hare, LeRoi Jones, etc.) the white oppressors have dealt the Afro community a serious blow!

Ours was the only shop where one could purchase THE LIBERATOR MAGAZINE, BLACK BELT, AFRO-AMERICA, BLACK DIALOGUE, THE PARTISAN, GOLDEN HERITAGE, AFRICAN OPINION, PEKING REVIEW, CHINA RECONSTRUCTS and many other publications from Africa, America and Asia.

They have destroyed our only Black political, intellectual and historical center—the depository of the writings of all our militant Black writers and

leaders (like Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Robert F. Williams, LeRoi Jones and others) who have inspired our militant youth to revolt against the grinding oppression, brutality and injustices being heaped upon us daily in this roach and rat-infested ghetto.

Yes, Brothers, the white press, radio and TV had a field day telling everybody how bad I am and what bad literature I sold. (It's a wonder they didn't plant pornographic literature along with the dope to say that I was selling it to

children to corrupt them!) But when they covered the uprisings, they did not tell how the police shot tear gas into a bus filled with our innocent children, how they shot at Black people who were innocently walking or standing in the street, how they beat and brutalized our youth for no reason at all, how they shot tear gas inside of public places filled with our people!

No! This police brutality and savagery they did not report. But all of us know this because we saw this with our own eyes. This happened to us in our community. Every man, woman and child in our community saw those white goons come into our neighborhoods by the carloads—armed to the teeth with helmets on their heads. We saw the vicious dogs that they used on us and we felt the burning in our eyeballs from the gas which they shot indiscriminately at us.

No! All of you know that it wasn't Brother Martin or any other group of individuals who started the revolt in June! It was the accumulation of unaddressed grievances, injustices and brutality by our white oppressors which finally boiled over.

Since the white oppressor has done nothing since June to give us justice and has—in fact—retaliated by destroying our Black bookshop and framing me and other Brothers, it will require endless determination and re-dedication on the part of all of us to the cause of Black liberation!

I thank all of you for the support being given me. I hope to be out on bail soon. Give any contributions for my Defense Fund (to be used for legal expenses and court costs) to Geraldine Robinson—that tall, brave Black woman with the Afro hairdo who runs the East-West Bookshop at 767 Jefferson Avenue or send donations directly to THE MARTIN SOSTRE DEFENSE FUND, P.O. BOX 382, ELLICOTT STATION, BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14205.

Your Brother Martin

August 1, 1967

Bosses Give Cops New Terror Weapons

U.S. Big Business Preparing New "Special Warfare" Murder Methods In Vietnam Adapted for U.S. Cities

There has been much said of late about the "responsibility of the private sector" in meeting the challenge of the Black rebellions and taking "drastic new measures outside the sphere of government to put an end to the riots."

Whatever the long range plans of the corporations might be in this area, the "private sector" is taking certain immediate, concrete measures towards "putting an end to the riots."

For example, consider the initiative of B & H Enterprises of Leesburg, Florida which has developed an armored personnel carrier which can carry 12 fully equipped policemen. This murder weapon is equipped with a tear gas launcher, a device to create a smoke screen and can serve as a mobile communications center under fire.

New armor against the Black revolution is a typical response of the "private sector." It reveals the great inventiveness in the art of human destruction which has characterized U.S. big business' technological response to the Vietnamese liberation struggle. Having warmed up to the idea of "special warfare" over the past de-

cade, the merchants of death are rushing to outdo their Vietnamese efforts in devising new methods of crushing the Afro-American struggle.

Bigger tanks to patrol the streets are relatively simple. But Smith & Wesson went right to the heart of the matter by developing a "guided missile" firearm which can shoot a variety of shells into a crowd, including a tear gas dart which explodes on contact, a triangular dart such as is used on animals and a dye bomb to mark the people for police roundups. The company has not been able to perfect this super-weapon yet, but in the meantime, they are working on a one-hand machine gun that can fire 270 rounds of ammunition per minute.

There is a rush by police departments across the country to get the new Chemical Mace manufactured by the General Ordnance Equipment Corp. of Pittsburgh. The chemical sprayed from a dispenser produces a temporary dizziness, extensive pain and general apathy. It is said to be harmless! Production was doubled in June

and then doubled in July.

The contribution of the High Standard-Manufacturing Co., Hamden, Conn. to the challenge of the "urban crisis" is a new 12-gauge shotgun which can fire off five rapid rounds while being held in the crook of one arm and has a built-in searchlight for "sniper hunting." Only cops can buy the gun!

These are only a few examples of the instruments of terror which the ruling class is handing out to the police to smash the Black rebellions.

Also under development is a special hose which will send an electric current through a stream of water and give a painful shock. Helicopters are being adapted for urban counter-guerrilla warfare. "Riot foam," plastic police shields, non-explosive tear gas bombs, are also among the inventions of the corporate scientific brain trust in the war against the Afro-American masses.

The rush to arm the police across the country with new weapons designed to terrorize masses of people shows that all the talk about peace in the cities through reform of conditions is a lie. The ruling class isn't taken in by its own propaganda and is preparing for a vicious war against the Black people of the type being waged against the people in Vietnam.

RAM Harassed in Cop-Ruled Phila; Gets Bosses' Justice From Bosses' Judge

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 11 — Six young Black freedom fighters, four of whom are only 18 years old, were unconstitutionally denied habeas corpus in this city of "brotherly love" today.

Arrested with **Black America** editor Max Stanford, 26, they have been held since July 30 on \$10,000 bail for the "crime" of possessing "inflammatory" literature.

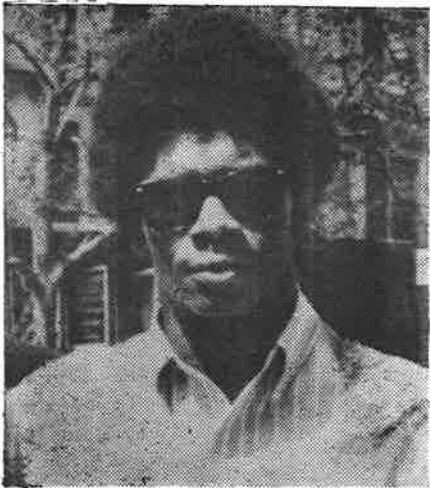
Stanford had only been out of jail a few days before this arrest when he was imprisoned again on even flimsier grounds than before. He had been compelled to pay \$1,500 bail on the trumped-up charge of being a co-conspirator with 16 others in New York City to assassinate a number of "conservative" Afro-American leaders. (This was a typical heavy-handed

Common Pleas Court Judge, John J. McDevitt 3rd appealed to racist hysteria by asserting that the Black Guard literature advocated "the violent overthrow of our government and the murder of our citizens" and therefore could have no Constitutional protection.

Moore replied that the prisoners were merely "advocating ideas" (even though they were revolutionary ideas). Their only "crime" was the possession and distribution of well-known revolutionary literature.

With the authentic voice of ruling class racism itself, the judge added that the group was "planning and plotting to incite a large and important part of the populace of this city to riot, and to perform other and more heinous crimes and atrocities."

The overtime-working Philadelphia police have also arrested a number of other Black activists. In the last week or two they have jailed about 20 young people, some of them teen-age girls, for passing out leaflets that demand justice and equality for Black people.



Max Stanford

frameup by the divide-and-rule imperialist authorities.) But now he is in jail again.

Mayor James J. Tate of this city proclaimed a "state of emergency" on July 27 in order to repress and further persecute the Black people, in the name of "keeping order" and "preventing riots." So in a city that is nearly fifty per cent Black, the white capitalist mayor, the police chief and their cronies have extended the hours of cops on the beat and given them jobs to do like imprisoning spokesmen for the Afro-Americans of Philadelphia.

They are making a special effort to harass the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), which was prominently featured in the frameup of the 17 described above. Those denied bail today—Harold Williams, Irwin Gilchrist, Huey LaBrie, Carl Nealy and George Love—are alleged to be members of RAM's Black Guard along with Max Stanford.

Cecil B. Moore, president of the Philadelphia chapter of the NAACP, as attorney for the group, protested their arrests today and called for habeas corpus—that is a virtual quashing of the case on the basis of illegal detention.

End Black Poverty? Racist Rulers Won't Even Send 60 Kids to Camp!

Following the rebellions in more than a score of cities, the politicians (while they beef up police and National Guard forces) are loudly talking about massive aid to urban ghettos. There is a flurry of activity in the anti-poverty groups. New York's Mayor Lindsay gets his picture taken with a group of Harlem youngsters being treated to a ride in a jet plane. Johnson appoints a panel to "investigate."

But a truer picture of the way the ruling class gives out — and then takes back — an occasional crumb is seen in the story of anti-poverty grants for children in Newark.

On August 8 it was revealed that Newark's Head Start summer program lost \$272,000 in Federal funds and that 65 children were abruptly brought

Rob Williams On Being Partial - To Black Liberation

By ROB WILLIAMS

Yes, on the question of the subjugation of the Black man, I am partial. I am a partisan of Black liberation. Let no one harbor any illusion that I am or should be a horn tooter of the American way of life, of Americanism. Nay never! I am one of its wretched victims, not one of its pretentious and arrogant beneficiaries. I am Black.

Americanism has never let me forget this fact. I am abused. I am angry. I am partisan. Why should I be otherwise?

Should the slave be expected to laud



Rob Williams

slavery? Should the slave be expected to be an advocate of "both sides" of the slave question, to give an unbiased picture of it. I am not of the master class but of the slave class.

I have no objective view towards oppression. The question of human dignity and freedom is not of the nature or state of a discourse that can be taken so lightly. It is not a subject for

200 Black Militants At Hearing of Framed 17

NEW YORK, Aug. 9 — More than 200 Afro-Americans appeared at Queens County Courthouse here today showing militant and voluble support to the 17 Black frameup victims charged with "conspiracy to commit anarchy." (Some of the 17 were also wildly accused of conspiring to assassinate Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young in the DA's blunderbuss attack on the young freedom fighters.

Among the defendants are Max Stanford, editor of **Black America** and a leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), which supports many of the ideas of Robert F. Williams, formerly of Monroe, North Carolina, and now in Peking, China.

Herman B. Ferguson, a public school principal and Arthur Harris, an employee of the Jamaica (N.Y.) Community Progress Center, are being charged with the fantastic plot to kill Wilkins, et al.

The 200 supporters came primarily

at the exhortation of H. Rap Brown, Leroi Jones, Mae Mallory, Conrad Lynn and others at a meeting called last Sunday to show solidarity with and raise money for the 17 defendants.

State Supreme Court Justice John R. Starkey postponed until Oct. 24 a hearing on motions to dismiss the indictments. The Court, the prosecuting attorney, and their staffs were obviously discomfited and shaken by the presence of so many supporters of the 17.

Asst. District Attorney Moses Yam said his office was short-staffed because of vacations. District Attorney Thomas Mackell was reported to be planning to stall the whole trial until after the Nov. 7 election. The sight of 200 resolute partisans of the defendants was not calculated to make him optimistic about the election, either.



H. Rap Brown

Earlier, on Sunday, the 6th, H. Rap Brown had told the 4,000 cheering, chanting Black people who overflowed St. Albans Plaza in Queens, that the Vietnam war, the assassination of Malcolm X and the unseating of Congressman Powell were all part of the same campaign against the oppressed as the frameup of the 17, and he asked for today's turnout in order to "let the Man know we are together."

Conrad Lynn, one of the attorneys for the 17, reminded the audience that the possession of firearms is a constitutional right granted by the Second Amendment.

Mae Mallory of the Women's Committee of the Harlem Unemployment Center and a veteran of the Monroe, N.C., struggle in collaboration with Rob Williams, read a letter from Williams which called on Black Americans to "arm for self-defense."

The other defendants, in addition to Stanford, Ferguson and Harris, are:

Public school teacher Ursula West, Welfare Department employee Mandola McPherson, school teacher Michele Kaurouma, custodial engineer Hampton Rookard, machinist Clarence Ellis, management analyst Merle Stewart, store owner George Samuels, Haryou-Act clerical worker Harriet Noel, art gallery employee Abraham Taylor, youth worker Raymond Smith, youth supervisor Fred Hernandez, writer Albert Haynes, exchange student Marika Kaurouma and community worker John Shabazz.

Meanwhile, Local 1199 of the hospital workers' union (most of whose members are oppressed Black and Puerto Rican workers) has offered \$7,800 to send another group of children to camp at Abelard while expressing anger at the poverty agency's action in sending the first group of children home.

The ruling class mobilized thousands of National Guardsmen in Newark, killed 24 Black people, and declares that the Black rebellions constitute a national emergency; but the ruling class, it seems, cannot even send 65 children to camp for three weeks.

was a source of leftist indoctrination of children — as if these children from the rotting slums of Newark needed "leftist indoctrination" to teach them that there is something terribly wrong with the racist system they live under!

The next day, however, the OEO came up with another excuse: conflict of interests. They claimed that members of the staff of the United Community Corporation in Newark, which selected the children and the camp, were also on the staff of Camp Abelard. But at \$62.50 for a three week stay the camp would hardly be making a profit. Most camps charge closer to \$300 for a three week session and wouldn't take children from a Black ghetto anyway.

home from a camp which the Office of Economic Opportunity did not approve of.

These 65 Black children (out of tens of thousands like them) were chosen to go to camp for three weeks in upstate New York. The cost of the vacation — \$62.50 per child — was to be paid for by the OEO.

But after 12 days at Camp Abelard, on Aug. 8 the children were put on busses and brought home.

An OEO spokesman said that day the reason was alleged leftist influences at the camp. Camp Abelard is on the site of the now defunct Camp Webatuck which was the victim of a red-baiting campaign by the OEO last year.

The agency charged that the camp

Israel Invokes Imperialist "Emergency Law" of 1945 In Anti-Arab Terror

Jerusalem General Strike: Arab Resistance Seethes

On August 7, the Arab people of East Jerusalem carried out a unified act of national resistance to the U.S. sponsored Israeli occupation forces. Over 2,000 Arab shops, restaurants and other businesses closed down in a general strike to protest Israeli annexation of the Arab sector. Every Arab in the city participated and the strike was 100 per cent effective.

The strike was called in response to a single mimeographed leaflet which was passed out for less than 48 hours prior to the day of action. The leaflet was signed by the Committee for the Defense of Arab Jerusalem.

Eastern Jerusalem is under de facto military rule by the Israeli army. Israeli soldiers patrol the streets. Arab militants have been killed, imprisoned or banished. Those who remain live under the constant threat of expropriation or eviction. Israeli forces have searched homes for guns and the Jerusalem Arabs are effectively

disarmed and are hardly in a position to resist Israeli reprisals. But because of the hatred of the imperialist oppressor the strike was carried off without one single incident of defection.

When the strike began, Israeli border guards moved in to beef up the military patrols. Jeeps with machine guns cruised the streets. Hoping to find a weak link, Israeli soldiers went around to every third of fourth store and painted a circle with an X in it, as if to mark off the stores for retaliation. This was "to make the Arabs a bit nervous" according to one Israeli official. (This technique was previously used by Hitler's storm troopers who would mark Jewish owned stores with the sign "Juden".) Those who tried to remove the markings were arrested.

Unable to break the strike, carried out by the traditionally most conservative elements of the popula-

tion, the Israeli's began to show their teeth. The following day they seized four store owners, padlocked their shops and are now holding them without charges. "We are going to make the punishment fit the crime" declared an Israeli official. The arrests were made after consultation at the highest level of the Israeli government. And the "crime" consisted of persuading other shopkeepers to observe the strike; it consisted of closing down their own shops in their own city to protest the military rule of an army which has been oppressing Arabs for two decades.

Two days after the strike the Israelis arrested two prominent Arabs in a pre-dawn raid. Hafez Tahboub, a former Jordanian district judge, and Mussa el-Bitar, an Arab businessman, were dragged out of their homes at 4 A.M. and sentenced to 3 months in prison without a trial. This was clearly an attempt to crush the national resistance because both men had previously signed a statement rejecting Israeli annexation of Arab Jerusalem.

To give legal justification for this fascist measure the Israelis did not even bother to put a front of legality. They simply cited an emergency law passed by the British imperialists in 1945 when Palestine was still an open colony of London!

The racist mentality of the U.S. puppet forces was made vivid in a New York Times dispatch of August 9.

An Israeli soldier "raced through a side street" revealed the Times, "chasing a peddler who was carrying bolts of cloth. The soldier caught him, threw his fabric to the ground, punched him in the face, kicked him and then cracked the tubes inside the rolled cloth."

"We've told him a hundred times nicely not to sell over there where the buses are," the soldier said, "but this is the only language they understand."

It is interesting to note that when Washington's proxy Mideast conquerors marched into Arab Jerusalem and annexed the territory at gunpoint it was such a crude act of imperialist robbery that even the imperialists themselves had to go on public record against the pillaging by their Israeli stooges.

But while Johnson and Goldberg were "disavowing" the annexation of Jerusalem, in order to cover the primary role of Washington in instigating Israeli aggression, the ecstasy of the U.S. ruling class was gushing from the mass media.

When the city was merged under Israeli military rule, Dayan and Eshkol were depicted by the U.S. capitalist propaganda machine as the grand liberators of the Jerusalem Arabs. Arabs were allegedly rushing with joy to view the Israeli sector for the first time in a generation, intermingling of the population was the chief desire of all, etc. etc., etc. It was not death and the destruction of Arab liberty which issued from the gun barrels of Moshe Dayan's army but a veritable triumph of fraternal brotherhood — according to Wall Street at the time.

But now the general strike of the Jerusalem Arabs has emphasized once again to all the world that the division between Israeli and Arab Jerusalem was nothing more than the boundary line between the oppressor and the oppressed.

Now the Brass Wants GIs to Stay In Vietnam Two Years Instead of One!

How can a GI save his life in Vietnam? By staying there two years instead of one, says the top brass of the U.S. Army! Today the "tour of duty" for a GI in Vietnam is supposed to be just one year, even though he is drafted for two years or enlisted for three or four. The war is so bloody that the brass figured the only way to keep up morale was to make the one-year ruling.

But now, with the stubborn resistance of this little country becoming so powerful, and the U.S. unable to raise enough troops except by a full mobilization or something like it, the brass has to think up some way to get more men up to the battle lines.

So the computers went to work. And the answer came out simple. Just double the time the men stay in Vietnam and the problem would be solved!

But it wouldn't be nice to put it just that way. And it might get a lot of GIs unnecessarily angry. So the brass got Hanson Baldwin, their authoritative New York Times military commentator to write a front page story on August 13 entitled, "Troop Losses Laid to Inexperience."

The 5,625 GIs officially admitted to have been killed the first 28 weeks of this year might have lived, Baldwin, if they'd stayed around longer to get more jungle and mountain experience.

Illogical? Only to a civilian worker or a GI, not to an officer!

Up to December 31, 1966, "only" 6,644 GIs had been killed and 37,738 wounded in the two years of heavy fighting after the first consistent U.S. bombings of the North and the ten previous years of U.S. armed intervention on a much lower scale.

The reason for the big increase, according to Baldwin, is not the bigger mobilization of North Vietnam caused by the U.S. bombing attacks, etc., not the increased firepower that the NLF now have (where they started with sticks, stones and homemade shotguns), but the rotation of U.S. troops and the withdrawal of experience U.S. "professionals" in favor of "amateurs," etc.

"Some officers," explains Baldwin, "believe that the tremendous 'turbulence,' or personnel turnover, caused by the policies, restrictions and limitations governing the conduct of the war, are hampering the nation's capability to maintain a well-trained, highly professional experienced force in Vietnam. The inexperience and rapid turnover... in turn affect the casualty rate."

Obviously, the Baldwin article is a trial balloon for raising the one-year "tour of duty" to eighteen months or two years.

It's a trial balloon that should float over the bases in Vietnam and the training camps of the United States with all the glamor and fun of a lead coffin.



Israeli soldiers trying to intimidate Arabs by painting X's at random on doors of shops on strike.

-LBJ's Giant Escalation

Continued from Page 1

from consistent, even on the secondary and tactical questions.

Of course there was some outcry from the Senate after Johnson's latest example of brinkmanship. Of course Fulbright, Mansfield and a scattering of others protested. And Fulbright even said: "I think it's very stupid and extremely dangerous."

But like Cassandra, who had the gift of foretelling the future for her class, Fulbright has also the curse of never being believed by them — so his warnings are regularly rejected.

And in any case, the Senatorial sound-offs, no matter how much they may or may not reflect genuine alarm in some sections of the capitalist class, actually operate as a cover, behind which the war goes on and on, while the masses grow ever more weary of it.

Moreover, the grim truth is that the majority of the big politicians of the bourgeoisie openly support Johnson's action.

Senate Minority Leader and Republican weathervane, Everett Dirksen said, "I think it's necessary and I don't think it's dangerous," and added, "I haven't heard any protest from China."

Gen. Eisenhower could not restrain his enthusiasm, even though he had just gotten out of a hospital bed. He had nothing but praise for the bombing and when asked if the Chinese might not come into the war as a result of it, he answered hurriedly and petulantly, "No, no."

Kennedy and Javits, the important Wall Street Senators from New York State, having made their key speeches on the Viet elections only days before, indicating that they might be for ending

the war, were silent.

Wayne Morse, even though he represents a considerably smaller segment of the ruling class, said an ominous thing about the bombing 10 miles from China.

"This is not an aggressive act against China," he asserted. "And it is no cause for any retaliation by China against us."

Morse is supposed to be the most "extreme" and outspoken of the Senate "doves."

Anti-War Youth Going on Trial

Joel Meyers, a militant anti-war activist has been indicted by a federal grand jury for refusing to submit to induction into the armed forces. His trial has been set for August 25 in Kings County Federal Court in Brooklyn, New York.

Mr. Meyers, a leader of the Buffalo chapter of Youth Against War & Fascism, did in fact report for induction at Fort Hamilton Induction Center in Brooklyn on May 4. Accompanied by several members of YAWF, Mr. Meyers went to the Induction Center armed with leaflets denouncing the war against

the Vietnamese people and exposing the aims of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Distributing to the inductees, Mr. Meyers urged them not to take up arms in the service of U.S. monopolies against their Vietnamese brothers.

For this bold action, Mr. Meyers has become the target of a witch-hunt and campaign of terror aimed at those who militantly oppose the U.S. war of aggression.

The indictment against Mr. Meyers for "refusing to submit to induction," when he did in fact go to the induction center, is clearly an evasion of the real issue for which Mr. Meyers is being persecuted, i.e., his refusal to fight in an imperialist war for the oppressor class.

This Is Restraint??

Admiral U.S.G. Sharp, U.S. Commander in Chief Pacific, has asked "permission" to attack 150 "military" and industrial targets in North Vietnam that are not now being bombed.

He is for smashing all North Vietnamese hydroelectric facilities, wrecking the canal locks in the Red River Basin. And he thinks that destroying the port of Haiphong and other river ports would be a "fine thing militarily."

The New York Times, which is supposed to be somewhat against the war, or at least the escalation of it, printed a charming thumbnail biography of this man on August 10 and soberly entitled it, "A Restrained Admiral."

The "Instant Branches" of Chase Manhattan

A Quick Way for the U.S. to Dominate Africa

By V. Copeland

The biggest sharks in the sea of Mideastern oil are of course the Rockefellers of Standard Oil. But the Rockefellers, who also have the biggest influence in that little circle of U.S. billionaires who run the U.S. Government and who often set U.S. foreign policy practically single-handed, have far more interests abroad than just the oil in the Middle East, tremendous as that black treasure is.

The Rockefellers are also in the process of latching on to the great wealth of the whole African continent, too. Buying into the fabulous gold and diamond mines of the Congo, acquiring tremendous interests in South Africa, South-West Africa, Ghana, and other

south-of-the-equator countries as they have done, is only half the story.

The other half is "instant branch banking."

What is "instant branch banking"? It's a method that the Rockefellers used to acquire no less than 1,100 branch banks in 17 countries of Africa. Being the Rockefellers, it only cost them \$21 million—a very, very cheap price for controlling a continent.

Here's how they did it.

The Chase Manhattan Bank, (often called the "oil companies' bank"), which they control and of which David Rockefeller, brother of Nelson, is president, wanted to establish branches in Africa. Immense increase of U.S. investment in Africa required funding,

mortgaging, other financing—at a profit—and Chase had only a couple of branches there. But Rockefeller-controlled or Rockefeller-influenced corporations were starting to move in (investing many hundreds of millions), particularly after the 1960 pro-U.S. counter-revolution against Lumumba in the Congo. And they needed a bank, as did other U.S. companies.

First National City and Bank of America were beginning to move in—in the wake of the Belgian-British-French decline, and the Morgan banking service had had good connections for some time. To have left all this uncontested would have meant weakening the growing Rockefeller hold on the continent by letting other industrial dynasties get a bigger wedge into African wealth

by means of their banks, which were already on the scene.

But the rising national consciousness of the African people was already being aroused by the presence of U.S. banks and industries and the addition of another branch bank in each important town was likely to add that much more fuel to the fires of possible revolt.

So Chase Manhattan went shopping in London. And there they bought into the gilded old Victorian halls of the Standard Bank, Ltd., which was aristocratically gouging the oppressed for some time before the original Rockefeller was born. And it was in these sedate halls that the new exploiters picked up their 1,100 banking offices in Africa at the bargain basement price of \$21 million.

For this modest (for the Rockefellers) sum, Chase got access to \$2 billion of Standard Ltd. assets. (The bank's capital is much smaller than the assets—about \$140 million—and Chase had to pay only 15 per cent of that for its part interest. Such is the beauty of the banking business that a relatively small capital gives the owner control of a many times greater amount of "assets" that belong to other people—the depositors.)

Naturally, Chase also gave other important advantages to Standard Bank, Ltd. and perhaps Chase already had a powerful indirect hold over Standard through Rockefeller investments in Britain. But the big, big thing is that Chase now uses the 1,100 branch offices to honeycomb the whole of Africa with its financial influence.

Among other things, it made substantial loans to the South African Government through the Standard Bank of South Africa. This cost Chase very little, if any, of its own money, very little in political recrimination against itself, due to the London name. And yet it gained for Chase an "open sesame" into the tremendous mineral wealth of South and South-West Africa and an indirect lien on the surplus value created by the labor of millions of Black African workers.

With 31 branches of the Standard Bank in Ghana, it should be pretty clear that Nkrumah's fall last year was not a mere "natural catastrophe" and that there was somebody around to pick up the valuable pieces when the nationalizations were broken up.

With 1,100 branch offices in Africa of Standard Oil's Standard Bank—far more than the number of U.S. embassies and consulates put together—the U.S. capitalist takeover of Africa seems to be guaranteed—or it would be, if it were not for the African socialist revolution, which is going to be even more powerful than the Rockefellers!

GI Rights Committee Under Army-Govt. Attack

The struggle against the war in Vietnam is coming to Oklahoma despite the attempts of military and local officials to prevent the nation-wide opposition to the war from getting established in their state. Anti-war protest has become top news in Oklahoma with the courts-martial of several anti-war soldiers at Fort Sill and the upcoming trials of two civilian supporters of the GIs making headlines daily.

Scheduled to appear in U.S. District Court, Oklahoma City on August 21 are Maryann Weissman, national coordinator of the Committee for GI Rights, and Key Martin, national chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism. The two leaders were arrested on July 31 as they were going to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, to attend the courts-martial of three anti-war GIs, Pvt. Andrew Stapp, Pvt. Richard Perrin and Pvt. Raymond O'Brien.

The two had previously been ordered by the commanding general of the post not to enter the base where anti-war feeling is rising among the soldiers. The ban was a brazen attempt by the military to rupture the contact between GIs and the two activists by restricting their rights of association in violation of Constitutional guarantees.

While attempting to attend the courts-martial, which must be open to the public according to law, Maryann Weissman and Key Martin were arrested. They were arraigned before U.S. District Judge Luther Bohanon in Oklahoma City on charges of entering government property unlawfully. Conviction could mean six months imprisonment and a \$500 fine.

Although they are charged only with

trespassing, outrageously high bail of \$2,000 cash or \$4,000 in property was set for each of the defendants. Judge Bohanon turned down a request to reduce the bonds.

After spending two days in the Federal jail, the two anti-war youth were released without having to post bond, but the judge, in collusion with the military, put heavy restrictions on their freedom of movement and association. They cannot leave Oklahoma County,



Maryann Weissman, National Coordinator of the Committee for GI Rights, and Key Martin, National Chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism, being taken to court by Federal marshals in Oklahoma City.

"Peace Parade" Marches Backwards In U.S. War on the Black People

NEW YORK, Aug. 11—The "Peace Parade" Committee passed a watered-down, bourgeois-liberal resolution on the Black rebellions last night, over the objections of a militant minority.

The Parade Committee, a coalition of political parties such as the CP, SWP, WWP, assorted peace groups, neighborhood groups and pacifists, had made no public statement during the Newark and Detroit uprisings, and has made no plans for any demonstrations of support although urged to do so by Youth Against War & Fascism, one of the participating organizations.

The resolution—in the form of a draft statement for a press conference—said nothing against Johnson, specifically, or the governors of New Jersey and Michigan for sending troops to shoot down the Black people.

Apparently an earlier draft had come

out for "self-determination for the Black people in the United States as for the people of North and South Vietnam." Abe Weisburd of Trade Unionists for Peace complained that this had been eliminated from the draft he had worked on.

Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, who worked on the second draft, said that he, "personally," favored self-determination, although he had "some criticisms" of the rebellions, but didn't think self-determination should be included in the statement. He didn't want to "draw a line," he said—a line that presumably would prevent anybody crossing it to support the resolution.

On the vote for the self-determination clause, only Workers World, Youth Against War & Fascism, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Middle East and one

or two individuals sided with Weisburd. Weisburd himself gave an inadequate definition of self-determination, but the spirit of the sentence was clear—so clear that Halstead and the SWP, the CP and the pacifists all joined to beat it down.

About the same thing happened with a clause on "solidarity with Black Americans" and a move to change this to forthright "support to the Black rebellions." The line-up of forces was just the same and the move was defeated.

Vince Copeland of Workers World Party condemned the whole statement as being "too little, too late, and an overall cover-up" for the lack of action at the actual time of the rebellions. He said that President Johnson, Governor Hughes and Governor Romney should be condemned by name, and all those who supported sending in troops, such as Martin Luther King, should also be condemned, and the statement should demand immediate freedom for the thousands of Black prisoners taken in the rebellions.

Dave Axel of Youth Against War & Fascism made similar points and Doug

Gordon of the Ad Hoc Committee exposed one paragraph in particular for its failure to come out for actual support to the Black rebellions.

The SWP carried the ball for the right wing forces, with the revisionist CP surprising many by playing second fiddle.

Halstead, in making a progress report referred with a straight face to the recent request of Bishop Fulton Sheen for troop withdrawal from Vietnam. Last week the revisionist Worker printed an equally "objective" report of Sheen's peace prayers on its front page. Sheen is an infamous demagogue of the imperialist right.

The majority of the Peace Parade coalition has shown a steady tendency to adapt to its own right wing—and the "left" to follow the right. This has often taken the form of allowing the bourgeois Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) group to set the political tone.

But now it appears that the SWP is actually leading the rightward trend and providing it with the necessary phraseology for a vaguely leftist cover, or at least rationalization,

Vietnam Tells Its Own Story In Simple But Profound New Book

By Libby Ross

This remarkable volume, twelfth in a series of Vietnamese Studies, published in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is a thoroughly Marxist as well as a profoundly moving book.

It summarizes more than 2,000 years of Vietnamese history, always revealing the class relationships behind historical events.

When the authors tell of the thousand year struggle of the Vietnamese people against Chinese feudal domination (which began even before the powerful Han armies conquered Vietnam in III B.C.) they never look on their battles as purely national strivings, but as part of the world struggle of the toilers. "The great peasant movements which periodically shook the feudal regime in China were a help to the Vietnamese people's movement for self-liberation. Thus as early as those remote times, unconscious solidarity developed between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples struggling against the same enemy, feudalism, embodied in the Chinese imperial court and its agents."

At the same time that the Chinese from the east and the Mongols from the north under Kubla Khan, with an invading army of 500,000, were ravaging Vietnam, internal contradictions brought on a long struggle by the peasantry.

For feudal Vietnam had its own lords and aristocracy, its own caste system, and its native agents of the foreign im-

perial conquerors—counterparts of the Diems and Kys of today.

Throughout the following centuries, up until France forced the Court of Hue to accept its "protection" in 1884, peasant insurrections and feudal domination were never resolved.

Powerful modern nations of the West, desperately needing cheap labor, fields of investment and raw materials to fuel their new capitalist juggernaut, conquered the weaker nations of Asia, Africa, and America.

So Vietnam, along with many other "underdeveloped" countries, never completed its revolution against feudalism.

On the other hand, as the authors of "Fundamental Problems" point out, the French conquerors brought modern bourgeois production relations with them. "What characterizes the Vietnamese working class is that it was born before the bourgeoisie, its birth being connected not with the growth of native capitalism but with colonialist exploitation... Of all social classes, they were in the best position to know imperialist exploitation and oppression, and in the most intimate contact with modern technique. Unemployment and frequent dismissals often compelled workers to return to their villages, whereas bad harvests and famine drove large numbers of peasants to the towns and cities. This unceasing shuttle wove close ties between the working class and the peasantry.

"The monopoly in the hands of French companies...prevented all progress by the national bourgeoisie: the number of national capitalists with more or less substantial businesses could be counted on one's fingers... Only compradors closely tied to foreign capital succeeded in attaining some success... This colonial and semi-feudal society contained all the elements for a future explosion."

That explosion catapulted the Vietnamese nation through and beyond the historical epoch of bourgeois democracy. It combined the struggle for land and national liberation with the struggle for socialism.

"The revolution came, joining in the same upsurge national and peasant claims. The peasant rose up this time both to defend the fatherland and to become master of his land. For the first time in history, the class which carries the future in its bosom, the working class, took in hand the destiny of the country."

In September 1945, with the defeat of the French, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed; free elections in the whole nation made Ho Chi Minh the first president of the new republic, but the French imperialists, backed by U.S. dollars, launched a new war to reconquer the colony which had enriched them for nearly a century. After nine more years of bitter warfare, when the great battle of Dien-bienphu decisively defeated the French army, the Western powers stepped in,

attempting to save something for imperialist exploitation. The Geneva accords divided Vietnam in half for a proposed period of two years, to give time for the remnants of the French army to demobilize, and the wealthy Vietnamese collaborators either to leave the country or accustom themselves to the new socialist order.

As is well known, the elections guaranteed by the Geneva Accords were never held. U.S. imperialism had already taken over the war even before the French were defeated. They set up their own puppets in the South and launched their own war of conquest.

"In the actions of South Vietnamese standing up to enormous M113 amphibious armoured cars, or of a North Vietnamese gunner pointing his gun at Seventh Fleet aircraft, are embodied two thousand years of history," the authors of "Fundamental Problems" proclaim.

The reason for the incredibly high morale of the Vietnamese is not only because they understand the U.S. army's weakness—like that of a heavy tank trying to cross a bamboo bridge—not only because they are versed in the tactics of guerrilla warfare, not only because they are fighting for the land they own for the first time in their history—though all these play a part—but above all because having broken the chains of their colonial masters they have determined to die rather than submit.

They will not negotiate with the representatives of U.S. imperialism in order to exchange French colonial exploitation for American.

They know how it feels to live in a cooperative society. They have seen the beginnings of a socialist order.

'Stalemate' Means Disaster!

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generals about whether or not to invade North Vietnam has no doubt been influenced by the 10,000 Marine casualties in the demilitarized zone in the first six months of this year.

If U.S. casualties are skyrocketing, the liberation army can usually be found only when it wants to fight. "I've destroyed the ---- Division three times this year" a senior U.S. general told Times reporter R. W. Apple, "I've chased main-force units all over the country and the impact was zilch." This imperialist general, who has probably never "chased after" anything except casualty reports of the number of Vietnamese murdered by the troops under his command, reflects the U.S. high command's frustration at not shedding enough Vietnamese blood.

It has now come out that the much touted large unit, "search and destroy" operations were a total failure. Despite the ruling class propaganda effort in celebration of operation Junction City, Cedar Falls and Manhattan, the brass has quietly admitted that in the twelve provinces around Saigon which were subjected to the brutal scorched earth policy, the guerrilla military structure is entirely intact and functioning just as before the attacks. There is a ten-man guerrilla squad for each hamlet, a 30-man platoon for each village, an 80-man company for each district and a 350-man company for each of the twelve provinces. So much for "search and destroy."

"Pacification" is a notorious disaster for U.S. imperialism. The latest working definition of a "pacified village" is one in which "the village chief will sleep at night." Out of more than 12,000 villages to be taken over, less than 2,000 fit this dubious definition. The Marines have been trying to secure the territory around the Danang base for two years. Over 45,000 troops are still locked inside the giant base by the NLF forces.

Saigon mercenaries in charge of "winning the loyalty of the peasants"

are being killed at a rate of 15 per week by their would-be converts: 13 out of every 100 defect. These are Pentagon figures. U.S. troops have had only one success at securing an area. That was when the entire First (Air) Cavalry Division was flown into the Bonsong Plain.

As for the South Vietnamese who have not gone over to the NLF, the imperialists are at their wits end trying to get them to fight. Over 40,000 Vietnamese youth were recently rounded up because they were accused of evading the fight "for Vietnamese freedom." Those already in the puppet army are being increasingly discounted as an effective fighting force by the U.S. high command. For example, during a recent NLF attack on a U.S. battalion command post, three companies of South Vietnam troops were 300 yards away. They sat out the battle while the guerrillas overran the post!

No wonder the representatives of the ruling class are beginning to shed crocodile tears over the "loss of too many good American lives" in Vietnam. Their whole military machine is bogged down in a losing war while the costs of imperialism are rising to astronomical heights. But the ruling class does not give one hoot for the thousands of American workers being killed and wounded in this imperialist carnage. What bothers the bosses is the grim outlook for a future victory.

American officers "talk somberly about fighting for decades," wrote Apple, and one official explained that "the enemy continues to fight with tenacity, imagination and courage and no one knows when he will stop."

The crushing blow to Wall Street, however, is the latest military prediction that in order to control just the heavily populated areas in Vietnam the U.S. would have to put in at least 8 million troops—and that they would have to stay there permanently!

There is no imperialist war that is so



A unit of the South Vietnamese Liberation Army leaving for the front.

righteous, so virtuous and so holy as an imperialist war that can be won. Conversely, there is nothing like defeat to bring every variety of political servant of the ruling class crawling out of the woodwork to preach the immorality of a particular war to their masters.

It is disgusting to listen to the hysterical outcries of the imperialist "doves" about the "totalitarianism" of their puppets in Saigon. These are the same "doves" who together with the "hawks" waved on the troops into Detroit to crush the Black rebellion, who cheered hysterically for Washington's proxy war against the Arabs, who were in quiet ecstasy over the massacre of one million Indonesians by CIA puppets, etc., etc., etc.

The burgeoning camp of Vietnam defeatists among the representatives of

the ruling class now includes among its numbers Bishop Fulton Sheen, whose life's mission is to defeat Communism and win the masses over to clerical reaction, and the arch racist and militarist, Senator Lausche of Ohio.

It is sufficient just to listen to such devoted enemies of the oppressed everywhere whine for a "peace settlement" in Vietnam, to know that Washington is in a desperate military situation in South Vietnam.

Furthermore, these would-be saviors of the imperialist edifice in Asia and the rest of the world have only one thing on their minds—to try to win at the negotiating table what they can't win on the battlefield. In other words, if the U.S. can't win an imperialist war, try for an imperialist peace.