

On To The Pentagon!

Confront the Warmakers; That's What We Came For!

March to the Pentagon; picket the Pentagon; shut down the Pentagon. That's what we came to Washington to do.

The idea of the demonstration is to "confront the warmakers" and let them know how the real people of this country feel about the war.

Speeches and resolutions may be ef-

fective at times, but only if they are calculated to arouse large numbers of people to ACTION. The mass murderers in the Pentagon have no interest in votes, in pure approval or disapproval by the people. They cannot be impressed by anything less than a powerful movement that aims to punish them for their crimes.

As for "civil disobedience," everybody has the right to withhold his cooperation from an unrepresentative and autocratic Government, just as workers have the right to withhold their work from profit-gouging employers.

But the best expression of the will of the anti-war people of the United States would be a mass civil disobedience of an active rather than a passive character.

No matter what the formal arrangements may be, we have the full right to take action against a bunch of war-mad banker-generals who are sending our

brothers and sons to die, and preparing even bigger holocausts for all humanity.

The Pentagon is the powerhouse and planning center of the whole U.S. military machine. To a large extent independent of Congress and the White House, it takes its most basic orders direct from Park Avenue and Wall Street. It is the heart of the military drive to take over the world at the expense of the lives of American youth and millions of others.

It is high time to let it and the world at large know that the American people oppose its actions and would like to abolish it altogether.

Black and White, Unite and Fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

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Washington
Mobilization**

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Only the Proletarian Revolution Can End Imperialist War!

Two terrible world wars have already convulsed our planet. And a third is being planned before our very eyes.

These wars did not drop from the sky. Nor were they simple outbreaks of uncontrollable human passions, arising from that old devil, "human nature."

No, these wars were organized, financed and planned by the agents of billionaire corporations in the interest of taking over or keeping control over the labor and resources of large areas of the world — that is to say, they were imperialist wars. The only function of the workers of these corporations and their sons, was to do the producing, the fighting and the dying, while the rich got richer.

A large number of smaller wars — "pacification" wars — as in the case of Nicaragua, Algeria, Congo, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Guatemala, Laos, etc. were also wars of imperialism against colonies or former colonies.

The Korean War of 1950-53 and now the Vietnam war, too, are attempts of the great financial interests to keep their semi-slaves producing for them. In both these latter cases, the question of a new progressive social system as well as the question of liberation, has been clearly raised, and this, of course, makes imperialism even more reactionary, if that is possible, clothing itself in the holy garments of an "Anti-Communist Crusade."

Needless to say, the U.S. never fought a foreign war until U.S. corporations were exploiting foreign countries! And it began its foreign wars 19 years before the Russian Revolution, 51 years before the Chinese. Its foreign wars were — and are — imperialist wars.

In all these wars, literally scores of millions of people have been killed in this century and a still greater number wounded and mutilated. The social wealth destroyed, exploded and shot into the ground during the imperialist period has been calculated as enough to double the national income of most of the countries concerned or of course to quadruple and quintuple that of the colonial countries.

And yet the latest newcomer to the imperialist feast of death — i.e. the United States — now contemplates spending infinitely more billions on death in the pursuit of world domination! (Even today, \$115 billion of the \$136 billion U.S. budget is clearly

marked for "national security" expenditures.)

But these truly insane actions of the civilian leaders, like the insane plans of their military partners, flow from the insanity of an irrational and out-lived social system — a system in which one man can often directly dictate over the lives of tens of thousands, and if the truth were known, even millions of his employees.

The directors of 500 U.S. corporations, which in turn are owned or controlled by a dozen big banks, are at this moment almost in a position to determine the destiny of all humanity. It is they who "own" the oil of the Mideast; it is they who "own" the bauxite, tin, rubber, etc. of Southeast Asia. And it is they who dictate how many young Americans shall go to die to "defend" these things. Moreover, it is they who make the tanks, planes, bombs, radar, guns and other equipment — and get the profits from them, while soldiers die.

Only the struggle against these corporations and their banks — only the struggle to overthrow their whole system, that is, the imperialist system — can prevent the Third World War.

This will be hard struggle and a difficult task. But it has the tremendous added attraction of not only ending the war in Vietnam, not only stopping the Third World War the U.S. bankers are preparing for in their board rooms and the Pentagon, but of ending the whole system that breeds war and thus ending war itself.

The dream of the ages, a warless world and the beginning of true civilization, the emergence of mankind from slavery to FREEDOM depends, therefore, more than anything else, on the proletarian revolution, the only force which can abolish imperialism, once and for all.

Let the bourgeois pacifists preach non-resistance; let the half-pacifists of the liberal imperialist Establishment call for "Sane" tactics and "negotiations" for a peaceful imperialist occupation! Their programs can only lead to more exploitation, more imperialist domination and more war.

Our program, the program of Workers World Party, is the program of proletarian revolution and the abolition of all oppression and exploitation forever.

U.S. Embassy: A Fort

Remember when the U.S. Embassy was bombed right in the middle of Saigon? Well, it won't happen again, according to Frank J. Martin, architect of the new embassy that opened on September 29.

"We'll be able to withstand just about any type of minor attack," he said.

Maybe he's right. The building has solid teak doors, shatterproof Plexiglas windows, reinforced concrete walls and a massive terra cotta sun screen that will double as a blast shield.

"Security is our primary consideration here," said Mr. Martin, standing

on the helicopter pad on the building's roof.

"The pad," said a reporter in Saigon, "will make it possible for Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker and other officials to travel without using Saigon's crowded streets."

The "crowds" that crowd these "crowded streets," needless to add, are made up of many people who don't love Ambassador Bunker.

The 200 people who are now working at the embassy are "heavily guarded by Marines and brawny American plainclothesmen" according to reports.

—Now, if somebody can just guard the Marines and plainclothesmen, the U.S. might be able to stay in Vietnam for a long time.

Two Anti-War Fighters To Be Freed on Bail

NEW YORK, Oct. 16 — Two anti-war fighters and their supporters scored a victory today in a court action which set the stage for their being freed on bail.

The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals meeting in Oklahoma City today, after listening to arguments of American Civil Liberties Union lawyers, Warren McConico and Sam Harris, to reduce the appeal bond on Key Martin, national chairman of Youth-Against War & Fascism, and Maryann Weissman, coordinator for the Committee for GI Rights, lowered the bond to \$1,000 each. The bond had originally been set at \$7,500 for each defendant.

The court also lifted bail restrictions which would have forced the defendants to stay in Oklahoma City. They will be allowed to come to their homes and families in New York City. But it appears from the report received today by the Committee for GI Rights office in New York that the defendants will be restricted to New York and thus prevented legally from contacting anti-war GIs at Fort Sill whom they were supporting in action that led to their arrest.

The same U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals which lowered the bond for the defendants today, will hear an appeal on the conviction of the defendants in Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 14.

The ACLU has said that it will take the case to the Supreme Court if necessary.

The two were arrested on July 31 when they attempted to attend open courts-martial of two Fort Sill GIs who were organizing inside the Army against the war. They have been in



Maryann Weissman and Key Martin being taken to court by Federal marshals in Oklahoma City.

federal prison since August 31, when they were arrested for the second time.

The two GIs on trial were Pvt. Andrew Stapp, the leader of the Fort Sill GIs' anti-war movement, and Pvt. Richard Perrin, who had issued a strong public statement against the war. The pressure and lack of any case by the Army forced an acquittal of Pvt. Stapp, but Pvt. Perrin who had committed a minor pass infraction was given the highest sentence possible, 30 days in the stockade.

Mrs. Weissman and Mr. Martin have written messages of continued support for anti-war GIs from their prison cells.

"Keep the Bums Honest"

To the Editor:

When I first started working in my shop, I didn't pay much attention to Mac. Most of his talk was a reflection of what he read — the N.Y. Daily News and paperback mysteries.

One morning I heard him screaming at two known rascists. He really told them off. From that time on I paid more attention to him.

In the next few years we talked about Vietnam, Mississippi, China, Detroit, Africa etc. The one series of events he had a hard time understanding was the Red Guard movement in China.

His father is an Irish immigrant who drove a truck for the N.Y. Journal-American. When they closed down the paper he was out after 25 years service. Therefore, Mac has no illusions about the bosses and is a militant shop-steward.

A few weeks ago one of the workers was suspended, illegally and crudely. Everyone was asking what the union was doing about it. The truth was the bureaucrats were sitting on it. Three of us (stewards) caucused and decided to alert the entire shop-committee to the leadership's inaction. We told the stewards that there would be a meeting at 2:00 in the union office. After this we told the Shop-Chairman to advise our local president what we had done.

The president blew his top. He came storming over to the shop to squelch the militancy. He was met with determination. We told him that wasting time could only benefit the company. He replied that only the executive board would decide on any action, and that

JAMES BOULTON
Representative of
Workers World Party

Speaks on

**"The Burning Question
Who Shall Rule?"**

AT STACY HALL-MILWAUKEE

Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m., 150 E. JUNEAU

he won't stand for a "Maverick" action. The reply to this "Maverick" remark of his almost knocked him over. He was told that there was a meeting at 2:00 and if he wasn't there he would be the "Maverick."

This occurred at about 12:30pm. At 1pm we received official notice from the union office that there would be a shop-committee meeting at 2:00. I asked Mac if he knew what the Red Guard movement was all about now? He replied:

"Yes, it's to keep the bums honest."

Well, we had our meeting, we planned our action and returned to the shop to alert the workers. They flexed their muscles, brought production to a crawl and the company gave-in. The suspended worker was reinstated with full-pay.

It felt great to win, but it wouldn't have happened if we hadn't done as Mac said, "Keep the bums honest."

(signed) Mike K.

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NAME

STREET

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

As He "Justifies" War in Vietnam — Rusk Lays Basis for War Drive Against China!

Secretary of State Dean Rusk on October 12 put into words what the U.S. Air Force has been saying for some time with its bombs on the border of China.

—Namely that the war in Vietnam is part of a bigger war against People's China and the sooner the actual hostilities begin, the better.

The U.S. "national interest," Rusk said, is at stake in Vietnam, because of China, and a withdrawal from Vietnam would "subject this country to mortal danger." This, he contended, was because "within the next decade or two, there will be a billion Chinese in the mainland armed with nuclear weapons, with no certainty about what their attitude toward the rest of Asia will be."

And since the "rest of Asia" is where Rusk's friends, the Rockefellers, and a dozen other ruling families are making billions of dollars, this is a danger to U.S. "national interests"!



Chairman Mao Tse-tung together with Premier Chou En-lai and Defense Minister Lin Biao.

any rate would be the best way to "unify" the masses of the United States behind the war. China, goaded beyond endurance and justly fearful of U.S. intentions, may be compelled to make the war move that Washington could use for the "casus belli"—or if China doesn't respond as required, the CIA may oblige with one of its super-spectacles—such as a PT boat really blowing up a super-battleship this time.

Naturally, Rusk's language has to be translated, at times. The word "defense" for example, has to be read as "attack." But even so, he clearly gave the counter-revolution's explicit "rationale" for the coming war.

"We are not picking out Peking as some sort of special enemy," he said. "Peking has nominated itself by pro-

claiming a militant doctrine of world revolution, and doing something about it." And he concluded by saying, "The almost unbelievable power of the United States has been harnessed to the simple notion of organizing a peace in the world."

The Chinese can well be forgiven for concluding that he intends to "organize a peace" in China along the same lines he is organizing it in Vietnam.

The so-called "anti-war" forces within the imperialist Establishment have chosen to view Rusk's speech as an exercise in illogic and a thrashing about to find a response to his opponents, who are supposed to have him on the run. But even these liberals are uneasy. They sense that more is involved than just arguments.

"Rusk can't have it both ways," lectured the New York Post on Oct. 14. "(If) the front line of our struggle is with expansionist China...how can we pretend that we seek a negotiated settlement and are prepared to withdraw within six months after it is signed?"

The question was meant at least partially to show the holes in Rusk's argument and again to raise the question of "credibility"—this time on the international diplomatic arena. The editorial also contained the inescapable hint that the attack on China was the real basic aim of the Administration. But the very fact that the hint was not spelled out should be a warning to all serious anti-war militants not to have the slightest reliance on such "liberal" forces to oppose the kind of war Rusk is preparing for. A large number of prominent "doves" have made and will make similar statements. But failing to repudiate Rusk and Johnson altogether, failing to demand unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam and the whole of Southeast Asia, they go along with the escalations—and will most likely go along with the big new war that they know is being maneuvered into existence by the Administration and the military.

It should hardly be necessary to add that any U.S. war against China would be just as imperialistic, just as reactionary and unsupportable as the present war in Vietnam. No matter what the manner of its beginning (which will almost certainly be cloudy and accompanied by loud cries of "Chinese attack!") every working person in the United States should oppose it as a war against his own interest and against the interest of progressive mankind.

Racist Reagan Comes to Town Milwaukee Militants Protest

MILWAUKEE — On Saturday night, September 30th, those members of Milwaukee's upper crust who had paid \$100.00 apiece to see Ronald Reagan, king of the late, late show, were startled by the appearance in front of the Milwaukee Arena of a determined group of pickets.

The demonstration was in protest of the long established segregated hiring policy of the Allen-Bradley Co., whose top officials were present to hear the darling of the reactionary set.

As the tuxedos and minks swept past the line, there were outraged objections to the slogans carried by the pickets: "Allen-Bradley - 'Symbol of Inequality' ", "LBJ Gives War Contracts to Racist Birchite Allen-Bradley," and more.

All of the posters were signed by the Committee for Jobs for All at Allen-Bradley (JAAB). This group is currently being organized for the specific purpose of breaking down the segregated hiring policy of one of the largest shops in Wisconsin, by more militant means than the traditional appeals to conscience and letters to government committees.

Already several Milwaukee citizens are listed as sponsors of the committee, among them Ali Anwar, of the Organization of African Heritage; John C. Lazenby, Professor Emeritus of the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee; Rev. Herbert Huebschmann, of Frieden's United Church of Christ; Dr. Richard Crawford; Michael Cullen, of Casa Maria; John Rowen, of the Catholic Workers; Ken Horgan, a student at Marquette University; and James E. Boulton, of the Workers World Party.

This new committee plans to call an organizational meeting soon to elect officers and to organize its attack. Anyone interested in becoming a sponsor, or a participant, is urged to write JAAB, 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee 53202.

Allen-Bradley Co. is well known for the largest four-sided clock in the world, the largest donations to the Birch society, and the most lilly-white plant in town. This situation has been attacked verbally by many groups, and even (mildly) by the local daily press.

Both the Milwaukee Journal and the Milwaukee Sentinel saw fit to deny news coverage to the Saturday demonstration. CBS cameras were active at the scene, but the film was never shown on the local station.

Letter to A Fascist

Open Letter to the "King of Greece," Constantine Glucksburg:

During these days when you dine with U Thant and other dignitaries, we hold a hunger vigil to remind the world of the twenty thousand Greek patriots languishing in your concentration camps. The junta supports you and you support the junta. The colonels have yet to establish ovens, but they seek to behead Greek democracy by murder, torture, starvation, and intimidation.

Our hunger vigil is not a protest, for millions around the world have already protested. We are serving notice that we do not mean to see Greece as it was but as the Greek people dream it can be. The colonels have put the poet Yannis Ritsos on an island to die, but Greece is a nation of poets. They have placed Manolis Glazos in a prison, but there are others who can rip the swastika from the Parthenon.

They have placed Andreas Papan-dreu in a cell, but there are not cells enough for the nameless students, workers, intellectuals, and peasants who are the true soul of the Greek nation, more precious than any noteworthy individual, more formidable than any weapon. We were an outstretched palm and our fingers were

"Don't Fight Wall Street's War" Says New York Youth Rally

NEW YORK, Oct. 7—Hundreds of Saturday shoppers heard speakers from Youth Against War & Fascism denounce the war in Vietnam as a war for the monopolies, and link up the Vietnamese



struggle abroad with the Afro-American struggle at home, at a street meeting on 14th Street and Fifth Avenue last Saturday.

Armed with sound equipment and the power of their voices, the Youth attracted a steady crowd of about 50 to 60 people. The first speaker was Joel Meyers, a young man now under indictment for refusing to serve in the U.S. military machine. He spoke of why he, and others facing the draft, should refuse to serve, pointing out that the war was one to serve the interests of the huge monopolies, and not of the draftees. Deirdre Griswold, the editor of The Partisan, spoke of the struggle of anti-war GIs down at Fort Sill, which she said opened up "a whole new phase in the anti-war struggle."

Peter Anton, a Youth speaker whose father was in the Belgian Resistance fighting Nazis, told of how there were

sprained. The fist is now clenching. The days of the junta are numbered.

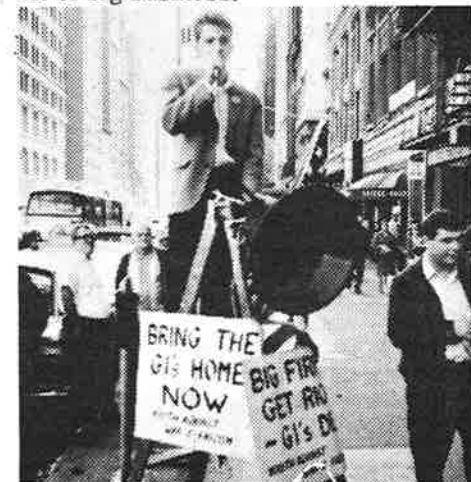
Ad Hoc Hunger Strike Committee
c/o American Committee for
Democracy and Freedom in Greece
1133 Broadway, Room 539
New York, New York 10010

"two armies in Vietnam, one, that of U.S. imperialism and its puppets whose troops were forced (drafted) to join; another, that of the NLF, where there are only volunteers." The last speaker, Myron Jefka, gave some of the actual figures on how some of the biggest monopolies in the U.S. were profiting off the blood of American soldiers.

Among the other speakers was Ed Vogel, a Navy reservist who refused to report for basic training.

The chairman of the meeting, Jim Coatsworth, pointed out that, "While many pro-war people accuse those of us in the anti-war movement of being against the GIs, we're actually their truest friends and that's why we want to bring them home now."

During the meeting, many people nodded agreement with what the speakers were saying, and some gave contributions to continue the work of YAWF. A spokesman for YAWF made it clear that more street meetings of this type would be held in the future to "get the truth out about this imperialist war which is being fought for the benefit of big business."



Jim Coatsworth

Will They Really Fight It to the End? The Imperialist "Doves" and the Vietnam War

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

Governor George Romney recently discovered that he had been "brainwashed" by General Westmoreland into thinking that the Vietnam war was fine. Senator Thruston Morton made the even more sensational finding that President Johnson himself was brainwashed by the military-industrial complex as far back as 1961. Senator Percy wants some unnamed, and as yet, undiscovered Asians to take the lion's share of the burdens of the Vietnam war off Washington's hands. Fulbright, Morse, Church and Co. seem as nervous as ever about Johnson's Pacific Power policy and increasing numbers of capitalist politicians are offering anxious complaints about the "open ended" war.

Life Magazine, of the Luce publishing empire, gave advance announcement last week that it would publish an editorial "re-thinking" its position on the war and called upon others to admit they were wrong about Vietnam. This mass publication, which has done as much as possible in the past to indoctrinate the public with the pro-war spirit, is an advisory organ of the ruling class with

prestige of long standing.

In fact the Life article only serves to highlight the fact that the vast majority of bourgeois columnists and editorial staffs across the country have recently, in one way or another, expressed their fears that if the Johnson Administration continues its course of reckless escalation in Vietnam, the end result will be a disaster for the U.S. As the Wall Street Journal put it in a recent editorial: "In some quarters American anxiety over the war is approaching panic proportions." (Needless to say that should read "in some ruling class quarters.")

In short, as the U.S. casualty level reaches the 100,000 mark and as the cost of the war reaches over \$2 billion a month with no discernable progress toward a U.S. victory, the bourgeois opposition is mushrooming.

This development, while it is certainly a reflection of the pressure of the growing anti-war movement and reflects the dilemma of the murderers in Washington, also poses political problems for genuine opponents of the war.

Have Thruston Morton, Fulbright,

Romney, etc., finally succumbed to the will of the millions upon millions of people both inside and outside the U.S. who hate U.S. aggression? At any rate, can they stop the war, and if the war should be ended on a basis proposed by the imperialist "doves" what must be the attitude of true anti-imperialists?

What the anti-war militants really have to ask themselves is: Do the advisers and representatives who have served the ruling class so faithfully in mobilizing opinion and support for the counter-revolution against the Black people, the invasion of the Mideast, the Congo, and indeed the original intervention in Vietnam — do these advisers now suddenly want to oppose imperialism? Do such loyal servants of the monopolies, who are voting billions of dollars to prepare for new wars against Asia, Africa and Latin America, have anything in common with those who struggle against war?

That could hardly be the case. In truth the Fulbrights, Mortons, etc. and all the pundits of bourgeois society, Walter Lippmann, James Reston and the like, are plainly rushing to the aid of their class which they feel to be in grave danger of suffering a drastic reverse in its world position, if not outright destruction, in the revolutionary cauldron of Asia. The constant references to "monomania," "insanity" and other forms of illness in Washington reflect the desire to save the capitalist class from the presumed "aberrant" behavior of the capitalist government — to revive the position and prestige of Washington, either through a change in policy, or, if necessary, through a change in personnel (e.g. the "dump Johnson" campaign among the Americans for Democratic Action and the Kennedy camp).

But assuming that the majority of the bourgeois opponents of the war are sincere from their own point of view (an unlikely assumption in an election year), can they stop the war?

It would be fatal to confuse the advisers with the class and its apparatus. The machinery of imperialist politics and war, the military bureaucracy in the Pentagon and the machine of the State Department, are firmly entrenched and carry on the affairs of the bankers on a day-to-day basis. The more vital (and venal) their operations, the more secrecy surrounds their activities. None of them are elected. All are appointed with the advice and consent of the monopolies and are hired and fired by them.

The "doves" are advisers whose advice can be accepted or rejected by the billionaires. And no man, no matter how

actually helped the cops push back the crowd.

By this time, the cops had gathered a considerable force, and hemmed in the anti-draft protestors until the demonstration dispersed through attrition.

devoted to the master class, has ever been listened to in the long run when his preachings ran counter to the expansionary urge of imperialism.

Witness the Korean war. Up until the very moment of the U.S. invasion of the peninsula the entire bourgeois establishment, including Truman himself, declared that the whole region of the Far East was beyond the perimeter of U.S. territorial ambition. Judging by the advice of the day there was to be no Korean war! But could mere advice stand against the half a century drive by U.S. imperialism into the Pacific, beginning with Theodore Roosevelt through the WWII struggle with Japan?

All previous advice against the Korean war did not prevent the entire bourgeois press, and the political establishment from following the line of the ruling class once the leap had been taken. Similarly, the 16 Senate "doves" in the Vietnam debate sent a threatening letter to Ho Chi Minh last Spring when the bosses began a hysteria over the possible trial of war prisoners by North Vietnam.

At present the U.S. is losing the war in South Vietnam. It is clear that the war cannot continue along the present lines without a drastic turn, either towards a settlement or a gigantic escalation, with an invasion of North Vietnam and a conflict with China.

The growth of the bourgeois opposition is generated by the fear of the ruling class at the approach of this turning point, which cannot be postponed much longer.

Fear is one thing, and will be overcome. Iron necessity, however, is another. "Expand or die" is the law of life for imperialism. The escalation of the war is on the agenda, as the bombings of Haiphong and the Chinese border prove. And once their tactics have been rejected the bourgeois opposition can be expected to respond to the new needs of the ruling class — unity in the all-out war against the Asian revolution. Just as peace candidate Wilson did in WWI ("He kept us out of war"); just as Roosevelt did in WWII ("No American boy shall ever again set foot on foreign soil"); just as Truman did in Korea and just as Eisenhower did when he settled for the Korean truce and began to prepare for Vietnam.

Furthermore, any peace settlement, whatever the terms, will only be an interlude between wars as long as imperialism exists. The "doves" do not want Washington to exhaust itself prematurely on the battlefields of Asia at a time of upsurge of the world-wide liberation struggle and the Afro-American struggle at home. They want to be in a stronger position for the next war. And when it comes, now or later, they will support it.

That is the role of the bourgeois opposition and all revolutionary opponents of imperialist war should say so.

VIETNAMESE

GIRLS

SURVEY

WRECKAGE

OF

U.S. PLANE



Throng of Draft Resisters Shakes Foley Square in NYC

NEW YORK, Oct. 16 — An anti-draft action was today turned into a running battle with the police that extended all the way from the Federal Courthouse here at Foley Square to the Whitehall Street induction station.

The melee was provoked by the police who bodily prevented anti-draft activists from entering the courthouse to hand in their draft cards to U.S. Marshals as a symbol of their defiance of the slave-labor Selective Service Law. This action was organized by The Resistance, a pacifist anti-draft movement. It was New York City's installment of similar acts involving thousands of youth all over the country.

Not allowed to hand in their cards, the demonstrators, numbering about one thousand, decided to march to the nearest post office and send their cards in by registered mail.

The cops tried to break up the demonstration by harassing the youths with their clubs and their horses. But the youths successfully fought back with their bare hands, and repulsed the attacks, as they took over the center of the street and blocked traffic, all the while chanting, "Hell No, We Won't Go!" and "We Won't Fight in Wall Street's War!"

As it turned out, the sluggish cops were no match for the determined and agile youths, who outran the foot cops and outmaneuvered the mounted ones. Here and there actual fights broke out between both sides, and the demonstrators gave a good account of themselves.

The hundreds of demonstrators, marching with linked arms, reached the post office, and after the mailing, proceeded to Whitehall Street. On the way, they passed Broad Street and one activist discerned the Morgan Guaranty

Trust Co. headquarters, across the street from the stock exchange.

"Let's march on the stock exchange!" he shouted. The whole demonstration came charging down Broad Street as the charging horses of the mounted police continued straight ahead, eluded by the demonstration's sudden turn.

The cops left far behind, some demonstrators attempted to hold a rally in the middle of Wall Street in front of the exchange, but soon the cops caught up and broke it up.

Then the march went straight to Whitehall Street. Here, the cops were waiting and through brute force, crowded everyone behind barricades and made three arrests. While this was going on, some of the pacifist leaders

Defies Draft 2nd Time



Ellen Schneider (left) fiance of Dave Mitchell who is serving 5 years in Federal prison for refusing to fight the war in Vietnam, and Sharon Martin, wife of Key Martin who is serving 6 months in Federal prison for helping GI's at Fort Sill organize against the war.

NEW YORK, Oct. 3 — The gates to Fort Hamilton, Brooklyn's main induction, examination and entrance station were once again the scene of anti-draft activity, today.

This time the army had ordered Nick Salvatore, leader of the End the Draft Committee, to report for his physical. At 7:30 a.m. he showed up with several members and friends of the Committee who formed a picket line and handed out leaflets to inductees and other persons in the vicinity.

Salvatore took some leaflets with him but was harassed by military authorities when he tried to distribute them inside the Fort.

The two dozen early morning picketers carried slogans such as "Enlist in the Fight Against the Draft," "Fight

the Draft, End the War!" "I'd Rather Fight Here Than There," and "Big Firms Get Rich, GIs Die!"

The End the Draft Committee earned its reputation for devotion and militance with its persistent defense of Dave Mitchell, who refused to violate the Nuremberg Agreements against war crimes by complying with the draft. Mitchell has already served almost a year of his five-year term while the Committee continues to appeal the case. His fiancée was on this morning's demonstration, along with Sharon Martin, wife of jailed anti-war fighter, Key Martin, National Chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism.

Also on the line were several members of YAWF: Joel Meyers, who was indicted for "failing to report" and "disrupting" induction after leafleting fellow draftees at Fort Hamilton in May, and Ed Vogel, a Navy recruit who refused to report for active duty last month.

The True Role of Father Groppi in Milwaukee

Real Relation of Church Figure to Black Struggle: An Analytical View From the Battlefield

By JAMES BOULTON

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 9—The Open Housing conflict between Milwaukee's white patriot racists and the militant Youth Council Commandos who laid waste Mayor Maier's liberal office on Sept. 7 could very well become the Battle of the Priests: Where the aggressive NAACP youth advisor and social action priest, Father James E. Groppi, proclaims "I have a Black heart;" the equally aggressive white heart of Father Russel Witon for Milwaukee Citizens Civic Voice growls: "We are not going to sit back and let those savages—those Black beasts—take our rights away."

What the two Roman collars, called "brothers in Christ," have in common is a license to administer the Blessed Sacrament, Catholic communion, and a hatred of white revolutionaries. Yet Father Groppi has gained understanding of the new Roman Catholic liberalism in a world besieged by the revolt of dark-skinned masses and the spread of socialist revolution, while Father Witon hounds the bloody trail of bible-belt fundamentalism. Witon would destroy his church while Groppi has shouldered the burden of saving it. The conflict poses a serious question:

Can the Black liberation movement find a home in an organization whose main objective is to continue its role as an ideological bulwark for the ruling class?

On the 42nd day of open housing marches, Milwaukee police took over again with clubs swinging as the two hostile forces, within the church, frenzied racists behind Father Witon and dedicated civil rights militants behind Father Groppi, faced each other on disputed ground. The sympathies of the police were a foregone conclusion as Black youths were clubbed to the ground and prodded into the "freedom wagons" for a night ride with Dick Gregory, under arrest in Milwaukee for disorderly conduct.

DICK GREGORY'S ROLE

As the conflict sharpens, Dick Gregory's role in the action to make Milwaukee the "Selma of the North" and to re-vitalize the non-violent civil rights movement gains importance. Gregory is not strapped by the church and a narrow loyalty forbidding him to speak out against that dirty war in Vietnam, hated by all Black militants. If Groppi has gone beyond the normal limits set by his superiors in the church, he has carefully limited his goal to that of greater equality for Afro-Americans within the shoddy framework of American capitalist society. To the old chant of "Freedom Now," he adds the new chant of "Black Power." He has become increasingly dependent upon the Black comedian, Dick Gregory, in order to contain the Black youth who are increasingly aware of H. Rap Brown and a war against the white power structure.

RACIST DEMOCRATS FOR MAIER

The long marches, mass arrests, mob attacks, and police engagements have failed to shake the solidity of Milwaukee's liberal Democrat city council, now trapped in a hard position against city-wide open housing. Moreover, the Democrat stars on the Peace Front have been dutifully shy of this battle while labor Democrats have toasted with Mayor Maier. On Sunday, Oct. 9, Gregory was moved to extend his ban against the faltering flavor of Milwaukee beer to a projected series of solid, Black community boycotts of Milwaukee industry, banging right into the lush Xmas shopping spree so dear to Christian merchants.

There emerges a clear design to re-vitalize the old civil rights action

that burgeoned before the triumphant smash of 1965 in a Civil Rights Act on paper, delivered by President Johnson and designed to take the civil rights action off the streets.

In a shower of Washington appointments King and the rest complied. The celebrated end of civil disobedience and strife, so satisfying to the liberal saviors who pushed the paper laws



onto Johnson's desk, solved absolutely nothing for the masses of ghetto Blacks who gave their own fiery answer in the rebellions at Watts, Newark, Detroit, Milwaukee, and a hundred other cities across the nation.

"Open Housing" has now become the banner for a movement designed to provide a diversion from the revolutionary aims and methods of H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, and Malcolm X. A program of political action and armed resistance against the white power structure of American capitalism is exactly that which the Milwaukee NAACP leaders are against.

NEW PROBLEMS ARE POSED

Still, as the movement gains momentum, new problems are posed, leading Groppi and Gregory to the idea of marathon demonstrations. They have learned that the white power liberals ain't giving much anymore, that the anti-poverty funds don't cover the gang.

The emergence of Father Groppi as the spiritual leader and able tactician for Milwaukee's NAACP Youth Council has fired-up controversy over the question: Is Groppi a leader of the Black liberation movement? He has undoubtedly proven himself to be a dedicated and effective servant of the Catholic church. Hundreds of Black youth come and join, and receive the consecrated host at St. Boniface parish in Milwaukee.

Perhaps the most instructive appreciation of Groppi for the white power structure is that made by the editors of Newsweek for Oct. 2, 1967: "For all the abuse he invites, Groppi is not a social revolutionary. His current crusading goal, which has won national attention, is just to force an open-housing ordinance from Milwaukee's recalcitrant city council.

"Groppi is not a sophisticated civil rights leader. Rather he is a priest gripped by that elemental Christian belief which ordains that all men must

love one another.... that such love is still possible between black and white men. As the pale young cleric sees it "There are 90,000 Black people of many different faiths in this community. They know me and I consider them all my parishioners."

NEWSPAPER TESTIMONY

A testimonial to Groppi's dedication is forcefully presented by a Catholic layman. Phyllis Wiggins, in the Milwaukee Sentinel for September, 28:

"Do you know that as a new curate at St. Boniface he rang a hundred doorbells per day getting acquainted with the unchurched people of the neighborhood and begging them to come and investigate his church? Has the public been told that "Father Jim" made frequent trips to Chicago to study the techniques which predominantly Afro-American parishes there were using to win Black men and to assist them? And do Catholics in particular know that Father Groppi has been and is capable of being one of the best spiritual directors and confessors of which the Milwaukee church can boast?"

Groppi gained fame in 1966 when he shepherded the long lines of Youth Council marchers into the quiet all-white suburbs to picket before the homes of venal judges belonging to the Eagles Club, a Caucasian membership fraternity and national club-house for Democrat politicians on the upswing. The quiet white suburbs got noisy, foul-mouthed, and rock-happy, requiring National Guard supervision of the marches. After two weeks of intense side-walking and Guard maneuvers, the protest ended with the familiar sell-out story: negotiations to suspend the march, and a round-table for Commandos and Eagles Club brass at New York. The net gain consisted in pious editorials and Christian promises. Groppi learned something: keep marching.

TESTIMONIAL DINNER

On August 14, 1967 the total liberal Republican and Democratic community threw a \$5,000 testimonial dinner for Groppi. Rev. Lucius Walker of Northcott Neighborhood House made the finest tribute: "It isn't often you see a saint in the flesh; and I literally con-



sider Jim one of the saints of the church." Groppi was awarded a handsome portrait of Father Groppi from the brush of a Milwaukee Afro-American artist; while members of the Youth Council sang: "We love Father Groppi in our hearts." And Groppi was expected to knuckle down.

After the furniture-busting at City Hall on Sept. 7, many \$5.00 plates at the testimonial had a second thought about the unpredictable Groppi. Hence, on August 24, Ben D. Segal, liaison director for the Federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, was needed to soften the liberal fears in a speech at Madison, Wisconsin, in praise of the priest: "Groppi is rendering an important service in keeping the avenues of communication open between the poverty groups and the white middle-class."

Groppi told Newsweek for Oct. 2, 1967 what his duty is: "to witness the social teachings of the church.... To me people who call themselves Christians and aren't concerned about brotherhood and justice perform the sacramental rites as ecclesiastical gymnastics."

It is entirely fair to say that Groppi has shouldered the burden of saving his church, or rallying the brutalized victims of racial oppression to his faith in salvation. But this is not the aim of the Black liberation movement or the Black Power leaders! And the wise priest does not face the nation or the youth on the question of what his church has been doing in America for the last 300 years, before H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, before the Cuban and Chinese apostles of working-class solidarity and socialist revolution made the scene. In this context, Groppi's view of the "Black Power" slogan is crucial: "One of the best ways to teach brotherhood is to teach Black power."

CHURCH PROGRAM FOR OPEN HOUSING

The new call to action began a year ago on Nov. 24, 1966, when Groppi proposed that Catholic Church parishes form foundations to buy property in the suburbs which then would be sold to Afro-Americans on a long term basis. "This I would consider a sign of the seriousness of the church's statement.... Now we're at housing and it's an education problem. How does the Black man get out of the ghetto?"

In 1967 the NAACP Youth Council began occasional walks in support of Alderman Vel Phillips' open housing ordinance, introduced and beaten down for the umpteenth time by the city council's other liberal Democrats in tune with Mayor Henry Maier, a veteran anti-red fighter since 1946. But it was not until after the fires of rebellion

swept through America and finally torched Milwaukee on July 30, 1967, that the marching action was escalated and brought to its present level of intensity.

In the soul-searching campaign that arose like smoke from the smoldering

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Philadelphia Police Frame-Up Black Militants

R A M Case One Of Crudest In U.S. History

"Poison-Dynamite-Assassination Plot" Police Fraud From Start to Finish

A wild, fantastic police frame-up of Black militants is underway, full blast in Philadelphia.

The target of this latest racist offensive is the Revolutionary Action Movement and all Afro-American fighters in the city, which is over 50 per cent Black. The ruling class media have endorsed 100 per cent a host of totally unfounded charges by the birchite Police Department of a "conspiracy" to poison the whole police department, blow up public buildings and assassinate public officials, including President Johnson.

In typical witch-hunt fashion, the capitalist press has given credence to every unfounded allegation, every syllable uttered by the police stool pigeons whose testimony is the only "evidence" in the case, as though it were the gospel truth.

This frame-up is part of the general assault on Black people by the ruling class. The past summer's rebellion of Black America has brought frantic efforts to perfect new "anti-riot tanks" chemical "incapacitators" and other weapons to crush the Black masses. And while new forms of oppression are being devised, old ones are not discarded. The long-standing racist method of legal lynching through police frame-ups is constantly used against militant Black leaders.

In Philadelphia the summer began with a "state of emergency" that put Black people under virtual police rule and ended with the framing of six freedom fighters on trumped-up charges which include solicitation to murder,

solicitation to commit arson, conspiracy to murder, arson, carrying bombs and explosives, felonious possession of explosives, attempted murder and conspiracy to commit riotous destruction of property. Quite a list of charges — but not one overt act that can be reasonably laid to any of the defendants!

Those arrested are Anthony Montiero, 22, a student at the University of Chicago who gave himself up to Chicago police; William Lyles, 26; Reginald Grantham, 21; Edward George Anderson, 22, and his brother Lonnie, 19; Edward Super, 24; and Karl Clowers, 21. Bail ranges from \$25,000 to \$50,000 each.

To make sure that the phony charges would stick, Philadelphia papers immediately went to work with scare headlines, slanders against RAM posing as "background stories" and editorials describing the defendants as "possessed of demons" (Evening Bulletin, Sept. 29) or "racists gone mad" (Philadelphia Inquirer, Sept. 29).

Instead of examining the "facts" and motives of the police in this incredible case, the press instantly assumed the guilt of the six — and urged their readers, who include the potential jurors, to do the same.

Presumption of innocence, a basic right of the arrested, was given formal lip service by use of the words "alleged" or "suspected" with the names of the accused. But the overwhelming weight of the stories and editorials played upon racism — that

City of "Brotherly Love," A Black Man's Hell

By Ellen Pierce

The fact that Philadelphia is the scene of a particularly vicious attack on Black freedom — namely the frame-up of RAM — should not be surprising to anyone who has followed the development of racist counter-revolution in that city.

A year ago the ruling class sent out orders for a crackdown on Black Power advocates and a young SNCC member was arrested in Atlanta for "insurrection" (which carries a death penalty in Georgia) during the picketing of an Army recruiting center. Philadelphia was not far behind in this "get-SNCC" drive. Police in Philadelphia, under then Acting Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, carried out a raid on August 13, 1966 against four so-called SNCC "offices" in the North Philadelphia ghetto.

Acting on a "tip" from an unidentified link, 80 heavily armed detectives backed up by 1,000 other cops made the raids in which they "discovered" two and a half useless sticks of dynamite without detonator caps and confiscated

is, real racism, and tried to stir up fear and confusion among white Philadelphians. The news media repeatedly emphasized the bizarre quality of the "poison-dynamite-assassination plot" to show how "dangerous" Black militants are.

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a quantity of literature. Four SNCC members were arrested and held on \$50,000 bail and warrants were issued for the entire local SNCC leadership.

James Forman, a SNCC official, denounced the frame-up. He pointed out that the police knew "we have only one office here, and that one is at 521 South Street, where no dynamite was found." He further suggested that the cops themselves had planted the dynamite in order to concoct the sensational "dynamite plot."

When Rizzo heard that accusation, which was too true for comfort, he threatened to subpoena Forman to explain the charges in court. Forman appeared in court at the hearings of the arrested Black youth, but was not called on by the judge.

Mayor Tate had been consulted and had given his ok for the frame-up, and not long afterward Rizzo was advanced from Acting Police Commissioner to Police Commissioner despite (or maybe because of) the fact that he had received wide publicity a year earlier when it was revealed that the Dept. was an organizing center for the John Birch Society.

To Black Philadelphians—who make up over 50% of the population — Rizzo is a symbol of racism and police brutality. He carries a pearl-handled revolver and is known as the "Cisco Kid." His biggest claim to fame, like that of Mayor Tate, is that he has "preserved law and order" in Philadelphia while other cities were "burned, sacked and pillaged." In other words, he is an out and out bigot who has taken the offensive against the Afro-American community. A special "civil disobedience squad" in the police force has been set up for this purpose.

Early in July, Judge Vincent A. Carroll banned rallies by Black activists in a 50-square block area of South Philadelphia. Then on July 27, a "limited state of emergency" went into effect. This police state measure, aimed against the Black people, made it a crime for groups of more than 12 to assemble publicly. Refusal to disperse immediately on orders of the police made a person liable to high fines and two years in jail. Special police "riot squads" were deployed through the city and 2,000 of the 7,000 man force was assigned to special standby.

It was during this "state of emergency" that more than 20 Afro-Americans were arrested for merely possessing or handing out literature demanding justice and equality for Black people. RAM was the target of police harassment as cops arrested Black America editor Max Stanford and five other alleged members of RAM's Black Guard 3 days after the "emergency" was declared. The charges — completely unconstitutional — were possession, merely possession, of "inflammatory" literature. Bail was set at \$10,000 and a motion by defense lawyer Cecil Moore to quash the case on the basis of illegal detention was denied by Judge John J. McDevitt III.

These arrests followed soon after a frame-up of RAM had been designed by New York City police who arrested 17 Black men and women, including Stanford, for "plotting" to kill Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

The real conspiracy, it is apparent, is the conspiracy of the ruling class, its cops, courts and judges, to crush militant Afro-Americans.

Four of the Philadelphia Black Militants Framed-Up



Reginald Grantham



William Lyles



Anthony Montiero



Edward G. Anderson

Black Solidarity at RAM Hearings

Youth Defy Cops Cheer Defense in Court

PHILA.—Hearings for seven Afro-Americans arrested in the "poison-dynamite-assassination plot" frame-up began on Oct. 9, as 300 Black supporters of the defendants, many dressed in nationalist attire, crowded the courtroom.

The hearings for Anthony Monteiro, William Lyles, Reginald Grantham, and Edward Super, falsely accused of conspiring to mass poison police, began Monday morning. On Wednesday, George and Lonnie Anderson and Karl Clowers had hearings at which they were accused of planning to assassinate government officials and dynamite public buildings.

During the three days of hearings, police attempted to intimidate RAM sympathizers. The cops frisked Black people entering the courtroom, carried hand fire extinguishers, and turned over Black youth as "truants." Plain-

clothesmen with walkie-talkies patrolled the building, and uniformed cops were all over the place.

This was the atmosphere described by Black militant Stanley Branche as "the start of a legal lynching" when he addressed supporters of the intended frame-up victims at a rally in City Hall courtyard during lunch recess on Monday. The rally was followed by a sit-in at the Police Administration Building. Demonstrators then marched back to City Hall, where 75 cops with nightsticks ready waited in the courtyard.

That afternoon's session had been cancelled by Judge Leo Weinrott, but the spectators were back on the following days in defiance of police intimidation.

During the hearings, defense attorneys attempted to show the falseness of the charges. Close cross-examination of stool pigeon Hilton Jones by attorney Cecil B. Moore was repeatedly interrupted by Assistant D.A. William Wolf.

Moore questioned Jones and FBI Agent Edwin Cole and demanded to know the details of the FBI's first contact with the informer Jones while he was in the Detention Center on a robbery charge. Jones was later released on bail.

Each time the defense lawyer made a point discrediting the informer, the prosecution—which includes the judge in this case—tried to counter with sensational embellishments to the phony plot, including charges that the defendants had planned to invade Fort Dix, and a revelation that one of the seven had "confessed." Edward Super, who admitted starting a fire in a vacant building last July, denied however, that any conspiracy to mass poison cops existed.

The judge and D.A. also came to the defense of stool pigeon Robert Bailey (who has accused three RAM members of planning to kill city and Federal officials), when Moore tried to show the worthlessness of his testimony.

Youth Rally in Phila. Supports RAM Defendants

Stanley Branche, Mae Mallory, Ed Oquendo Denounce "Legal Lynching," Call For Mass Support

PHILA. Oct. 14—An entrance of the massive City Hall here was the scene today of a rally of 250 people protesting the "plot" frame-up and jailing of seven Black militants, including members of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). The rally was sponsored by Youth Against War & Fascism.

Stanley Branche, a Black militant from Philadelphia, said: "We're not going to sit by and see these brothers railroaded." He accused white politicians angling for the racist vote of the frame-up. "Don't vote for none of

them," he said. "None of them are worth a damn!"

Mr. Branche pictured some of the police state tactics which the Philadelphia ruling class has empowered its cops to use. "Three Black people get together and sing 'We Shall Overcome' and they'll put you in jail—that's how bad it's become." He told of the searching and harassing of those who came to court to support RAM defendants and the jailing of some youths:

"They locked up some young brothers and sisters, claiming that they were



Mae Mallory

truant from school."

Mae Mallory, co-defendant with Robert Williams in the Monroe, N.C. kidnap frame-up, and acting chairman of African-American Sisters United, denounced the history of American "liberty" which kept the Black people enslaved.

"The Black brothers of RAM," she said, "are the saviours of the Black community, and the white community as well."

Addressing herself first to the Black people in the audience, Mrs. Mallory said to the whites who formed about half the crowd: "The enemy of the white workers is not the Black people of RAM—it's the bureaucrats inside this building." She pointed to the city hall behind her.

Eddie Oquendo, YAWF member and a founder of Blacks Against Negative Dying (BAND), who has himself defiantly refused to report for the draft, caused a burst of laughter when he told his audience of his previous visit to Philadelphia.

"I asked the Philly cops what was new in the way of plots. They said,

pursued an uncompromising policy of advocating armed self-defense for brutally oppressed and terrorized Black Americans. It has never wavered in its stand against imperialism, fascism, racism and the enemies of freedom, peace and justice. THE CRUSADER has always been a staunch advocate of the enforcement of the U.S. Constitution and equality for all Americans irrespective of race, creed or political persuasion, and from the very beginning maintained that the Afro-American struggle is part and parcel of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

It is an irony, born of vicious hypocrisy, that the chief protagonists of racial bigotry have cynically accused THE CRUSADER of "preaching Negro hate of whites and urging big city violence." Through deceptive omission and the lifting of certain sentences and phrases out of context the sensation seeking and reactionary U.S. press has viciously endeavored to distort and impugn the message of militant exhortation to resist racial and imperialist tyranny embodied in CRUSADER copy. THE CRUSADER has always "preached" hatred of racial oppression, terror and tyranny. It is not THE CRUSADER's

'Nothing,' and the next day there were these big headlines about RAM."

But his tone turned angry as he said: "They never discovered any plots by the killers of Medgar Evers or of Brother Malcolm or the three civil rights workers. 'Plots' like this are made up by the ruling class—and its lackeys. A plot like this is an attempt to stop what's going on—the rebellions."

Chairman of the meeting was Ed Vogel of Bethlehem, Penna., who last month publicly refused to report as a reservist in the Navy.



Ed Oquendo

Deirdre Griswold, the editor of the *Partisan*, spoke of the failure of government police to find any plots when Black people were being killed by racists. She also linked the witch hunt in Philadelphia with the frame-up of the militant Black leader, Martin Sostre, in Buffalo, who was thrown in jail on fraudulent charges just after the Buffalo rebellion and is being held in \$25,000 bail.

Rob Williams Denounces U.S. Ban On "Crusader"

Robert Williams was the first Black leader in the U.S. to publicly advocate meeting racist violence with violence back in 1958. At that time he was the leader of the Monroe County, North Carolina Chapter of the NAACP. He organized an Afro-American self-defense guard which successfully answered the local Ku Klux Klan blow for blow.

In August 1961, the U.S. ruling class retaliated when the F.B.I. aided the Ku Klux Klan in framing up Williams, together with his supporter and collaborator, Mae Mallory and others, on a bogus charge of kidnapping.

Williams was forced to flee for his life and found political asylum in Cuba. From Havana he continued to publish his organ, *The Crusader*, which he had founded in Monroe to spread the doctrine of Black liberation and armed self-defense. Williams subsequently went to Peking from where he continued to work for the success of the Afro-American struggle.

Because of his revolutionary program and tactics for Black freedom, Williams was and is an inspiration to militant youth across the country.

One of his earliest followers outside of Monroe was Max Stanford who organized young Black militants into the Revolutionary Action Movement in Philadelphia. Williams was made the honorary leader in exile.

RAM's publication, *Black America*, edited by Stanford, published many articles by Williams.

With the gigantic upsurge of the liberation struggle the U.S. ruling class has begun a witch-hunt against both Williams in exile and his followers in this country.

The *Crusader* was recently banned from the mails by the U.S. government and RAM has been the target of a wild racist witch-hunt in New York, Philadelphia and other cities.

PEKING, CHINA — The banning of my personal journal, *THE CRUSADER* Newsletter, is yet another warning of an ominous nightmare of fascism hovering over America. The fact that Lyndon B. Johnson personally ordered a probe of the "content and mailability" one week prior to the summary and arbitrary ban offers undisputable evidence of the dictatorial nature of the Johnson regime. It constitutes a graphic example of Johnson's callous disregard for civil liberties and constitutional guarantees. The fact that the Johnson regime is openly and shamelessly soliciting the aid of postal authorities in Hong Kong in the enforcement of its fascist ban also proves that the Johnson gang expects the whole-wide world to respond like ever-loyal running dogs to its every whim and command.

Since its inception nine years ago, as an organ of the Union County, North Carolina Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *THE CRUSADER* has



Rob Williams

- R A M Frame-Up

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The Evening Bulletin editorialized on Sept. 29, "That these purported plots by this small fringe group with an ideological link to Red China have exploded in publicity rather than the death of any marked as victims does not alter the gravity with which they must be regarded. It is a matter for deadly serious concern that men possessed of the demons of race hate should even contemplate such ghastly undertakings; the step between the thought and the deed, in the present climate of extremism — of riots, arson, and sniping — is potentially too narrow to find reassurance merely in the grotesqueness and infantilism of some features of such a scheme."

This editorial alone should be suf-

ficient evidence to throw the whole case out of court on grounds that a fair trial — rare enough for any Black person — has been made totally impossible in the racist atmosphere of Philadelphia.

The police case itself rests entirely on the testimony of two informers — the classic pattern in conspiracy frame-ups.

Both informers, furthermore, are in trouble with the law — one has been indicted for armed robbery and the other is being held for extradition to Georgia where he escaped from a chain gang. Even D.A. Arlen Specter pointed out that prisoners are "always telling police stories in hopes of getting some kind of help for themselves." (Phila.

Daily News, Sept. 29) In this instance, it was probably the police who fed the informers the "information" with which the cops concocted the frame-up of RAM.

There are many flaws and blanks in the police version of the "plot." The 10 1/2 ounces of potassium cyanide "found" in a basement by one informer and handed over to the FBI on Sept. 19 is in no way connected to any of the six defendants — except by the testimony of the informer.

The "assassination" accusations, likewise, are based only on another informer's word and no guns or other possible murder weapons have been found.

But the motive for Philadelphia officials to set such a plot frame-up in motion is apparent. It is part of their overall attempt to smash and destroy revolutionary potential in the Afro-American community.

fault that the greatest purveyors of these social evils happen to be white Americans. THE CRUSADER has not created the anti-social conditions of the Black ghettos that breed violence and insurrection. This blame rests squarely on the shoulders of the racist and inhumane power structure. Savage oppression and tyranny are the fountainhead of revolution and rebellion. Black humanity is being starved, dehumanized, raped, maimed and massacred in racist America, and Johnson moves not to alleviate this tragic suffering but conjures up a scapegoat which is tantamount to trying to cure cancer with aspirins.

The Johnson regime has been less than honest in revealing the real reason why, at this particular time, it is so sensitive and reacts so hysterically relative to the publication of a small and obscure personal journal. The only recent significant change in THE CRUSADER's "contents" deals with subversion, not in the U.S.A. but that which is being carried out in Cuba by Johnson's C.I.A. which has infiltrated that country's security forces.

This summary punitive action taken against THE CRUSADER is an alarming indication of the rapid erosion of civil

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D.A. Arlen Specter, a Republican, is running for mayor against the Democratic incumbent, James Tate. Tate, appealing to racists and frightened whites is making much out of the fact that the state of emergency he ordered during the summer, which tightly restricted freedom of assembly and speech, "prevented riots." The announcement of the discovery of the RAM "plot" by Specter (a one-time ADA liberal) was designed to justify the illegal "state of emergency" repressions and to further whip up hysteria against Black people. Not to be outdone on the question of racism, Tate is charging that Specter withheld information about the plot to kill the Mayor, thus leaving him (Tate) "defenseless."

Despite this racist electioneering, both are united in their opposition to Black Freedom in the "City of Brotherly Love."

Buffalo Black Leader Defies Racist Court

Martin Sostre to Judge: "You're a Racist Bigot" In Dramatic Scene at Bail Hearing

BUFFALO, Oct. 11—The Black prisoner stood up before the black-robed judge and told him: "Your honor, you are nothing but a white racial bigot in judicial robes and you know it!"

The prisoner was the uncompromising, almost middle-aged freedom fighter, ex-steelworker, Martin Sostre. The judge was Jacob A. Latona of the Erie County Court, a typical judicial servant of the racist ruling class of the Buffalo area.

The trial was supposed to be a hearing over the question of reducing bail. But it turned out to be a political duel between a representative of the oppressed and a spokesman for the oppressor.

Sostre was originally tagged with

being the real leader of the Black uprising in Buffalo last June. Today, after spending four months in county jail awaiting trial, he came into court like an uncaged lion, and told the Judge off properly when he refused to lower the astronomical bail of \$25,000 to \$2,500 as Sostre requested.

After checking with a great number if not all the inmates of Erie County Jail, he told the court, he found "no other person with \$25,000 bail." Most of the inmates, in fact, had their bail fixed at under \$1,000, including some who are accused of crimes legally more punishable than his own alleged "crime."

Sostre acted as his own attorney, his "liberal" lawyers having dropped out of

the case under intense pressure from the local ruling class. He is being framed on a flimsy trumped-up drug charge, but is really being punished for running the only revolutionary Afro-American book store in this explosive city and playing such a prominent role in the June uprising.

"As you well know," he told the judge, "the bail system favors whites over Blacks and even for the whites it favors the rich whites over the poor whites...The average white high school graduate makes more money in a lifetime than the average Black college graduate. We Blacks are on the bottom of the barrel, in the lowest economic strata."

Latona paused and then said that he could not lower the bail further. (He had previously lowered it to \$25,000 from the \$50,000 he had set during the peak of the anti-Black hysteria here last summer.) And he offered the judgment that the bail system is fair toward black and white equally.

Sostre retorted that even if a judge sets equal bail for black and white, he is still discriminating, because the Black man is more "economically oppressed in these racist United States."

Latona, trying to talk "liberal" and well aware that he was defending the whole system against the man he wanted to victimize, quickly answered that Afro-Americans are hired at the Chevrolet and Ford plants here, and at Bethlehem Steel and other such places.

It was then that Sostre called him a "white racial bigot in judicial robes" and added that Black people nearly always get the most menial jobs.

"As you well know," he said, "no Blacks are hired in this court as stenographers, clerks or judges." And he listed a number of other positions.

Latona interrupted him with a request to stop his "tirade."

"These are facts, your honor," Sostre insisted. "Can you deny that these are facts?"

But Black people couldn't pass the Civil Service tests, replied the still propaganda-spouting judge.

"You are nothing but a Southern racist, Northern style," his Black opponent shot back. "This is just like Mississippi! That is what all Southern racists said when they refused to register Black folks to vote. Those tests

New RAM Frame-Up In Buffalo?

BUFFALO, Oct. 11 — A new scare campaign against Afro-American people is being prepared by the ruling class here.

According to a prominent report in the Buffalo Evening News today, "representatives of organizations that have a record of discord and violence are in the Buffalo area, planning disturbances for next year."

FBI agent Neil Welch was quoted as singling out the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

"These people will bear increased investigation," Welch was said to have told 150 police officers at a conference today.

And Buffalo Police Commissioner Felicetta "analyzed" the June uprising in this city and discussed the use of Mace, the poisonous chemical spray now being used more and more by the cops against the oppressed.

Neither FBI nor Buffalo police mentioned a single member of RAM by name or described any "conspiracy" or gave any facts.

These are the facts. The Afro-American people suffer oppression in these oppressive United States. This is fact. We built this country and we were never paid for it!...We were never paid and we are going to take what's coming to us now!

The D.A. and the judge made much over a previous conviction of Sostre many years ago, for which he served time, and which will make it harder for him if he is found guilty in the present frame-up. (Incidentally, this totally committed liberation fighter made the ruling class prison his university and studied the law as well as the history of the Black struggle at that time.) But because of his lawyer's negligence in not notifying him of a court appearance, he was accused of "jumping bail" on that occasion. And this was brought in

Fighter for Black Liberation Is Frame-Up Victim

The Story of Martin Sostre

The Afro-Asian Bookstore on Jefferson Avenue in the heart of the Buffalo ghetto, by this June had become a center where young Black militants could browse and discuss Afro-American history, culture and heritage and the rising liberation movement. Then in June Buffalo's Black community broke out in rebellion against ghetto conditions, joining the many other cities across the nation where frustration and anger had reached the boiling point.

Today the proprietor of the book store, Martin Sostre, faces thirty years in jail. Just two weeks after the rebellion, and ironically on the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille during the French Revolution, July 14, the Afro-Asian Bookstore was attacked by a squad of police; Sostre and others in the store at the time were beaten up, and he was arrested.

Sostre was charged with two felonies and one misdemeanor: sale of narcotics, assault in the second degree upon one of the police officers arresting him, and possession of narcotics. In the early days after the arrest, the local press referred to the "riot case" and stated that Mr. Sostre was "a leading figure in last month's disorders," and that in addition to the above charges, he would be charged with arson and inciting to riot. He was never formally charged with the latter two.

Mr. Sostre is being held on \$25,000 bail—a grudging reduction from the original \$50,000 set by the judge. The exorbitant bail, the brutal manner of his arrest, the press hysteria against him, and the destruction of the book store all confirm that Sostre is being framed on a phony charge because of his militant beliefs.

Passers-by claimed that during the height of the uprising firemen, under the pretext of putting out a blaze in an adjacent establishment, sacked the book store and turned their high-power hoses on the literature racks, virtually destroying the store and its stock. Before the rebellion, Sostre had been visited by FBI agents and members of the Buffalo Anti-Subversive Squad.

This case must be viewed as a link in the nation-wide chain of frame-ups against Black militants. The Afro-Asian Bookstore had become a community library of progressive and Black literature and cultural artifacts. His book selections included works of Malcolm X, LeRoi Jones, James Baldwin, Robert F. Williams, Nathan Hare, Richard Wright, and others. The shop was the only outlet in the community for Liberator Magazine, Afro-America, Black Dialogue, The Partisan, African Opinion, China Reconstructs, Peking Review and many other publications

from Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

Before he started the book store, Sostre had been getting \$130 a week at the steel plant. Fourteen hours a day in the store created much Black consciousness in the community, but needless to add, considerably less than \$130 in profits.



Martin G. Sostre

Martin Sostre recently faced the judge alone at a pre-trial hearing on October 6th. His conduct in defending himself was so militant and articulate that the local papers were forced to comment on his ten-minute oration. Sostre appeared without counsel because he had told his attorneys, Lipsitz, Green and Fahringer, that he no longer wanted them to represent him because of their failure to appear at an earlier hearing. The cancellation of the hearing had cost Sostre the testimony of a key witness to the destruction of his shop by the police.

In a letter that apparently crossed Sostre's, the attorneys told him they were resigning from the case because of his "inability to meet the very minimum financial requirements." The law firm had demanded \$2500 down before even taking the case, then relented somewhat on receiving a \$500 retainer from the Martin Sostre Defense Committee.

Sostre has shown great courage and defiance in the face of great odds. He reopened his shop after it had been badly damaged by the firemen. Facing a 30-year sentence, and without lawyers, he told it like it is to the hostile white judge.

Funds for his defense are badly needed, as the \$25,000 bail has forced him to spend the last three months in jail awaiting trial. This has given the police the chance to intimidate his witnesses. Contributions can be sent to the Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P.O. Box 382, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205.



A scene from the Buffalo rebellion in June of this year.

are designed to keep Black people out. That is why the Government was forced to send in federal registrars."

The judicial reply to this was:

"Motion for bail reduction is refused."

"Didn't I expect it?" the irrepressible Sostre taunted his would-be torturer. "You're just a racist bigot and you know it!"

Sostre continued describing the character of the judge and the character of the oppression. And Latona continued to try to refute him.

"In the Erie County Jail, there are nothing but Black faces," said the accusing prisoner. "Because of the economic conditions the Black people suffer under, they cannot make bail.

evidence by the D.A.

But two days ago, Sostre had appeared before County Judge Frederick M. Marshall. And at that time, referring to bail, he boldly stated: "I wouldn't leave Buffalo. Buffalo is my home. I want to be here when Detroit comes to Buffalo!"

This is the man they are trying to frame as a drug pusher. This is the man who calmly turned his back on the judge when the marshals came to remove him, and calmly smiled at members of his Defense Committee in the back of the courtroom, even though he had failed in his plea.

He knew he had done better for the oppressed than Latona did for the oppressors.

Garrison Investigation Reveals...

New Facts On Washington Cover-Up Of Rightists In Kennedy Assassination

By MILT SEAMAN

Four years have gone by since the frenzy, fear, confusion, and tears generated by the bourgeoisie over the assassination of Kennedy. Today, only Playboy Magazine, a publication described as "Entertainment for Men", in their October issue carried an interview with New Orleans District Attorney, Jim Garrison that gave concrete proof of a right wing conspiracy in the assassination. There is a well financed campaign to discredit the Garrison trial — well financed and highly organized.

Regardless of what Garrison's political motives are and whoever his financial backers are, his pre-trial findings of an assassination plot should be brought out into the open.

Garrison charges that there are 51 CIA documents classified top secret in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. pertaining to Lee Oswald and Jack Ruby. Twenty-nine of these files are of particular interest, says Garrison, because the titles alone indicate that the CIA had extensive information on Oswald and Ruby before the assassination. That the U.S. Government has a file on Oswald concerning his association with the top secret, monstrous and war-provoking U-2 plane that was aimed conspiratorially by the Eisenhower Administration at the Soviet Union indicates how deep the government is involved in covering up the facts of the Kennedy assassination. What makes Kennedy's killing smell even more of a plot hatched high up in the ruling circles is their decision to seal these 51 documents in the National Archives for the next 75 years.

Garrison describes in his interview just how the assassination plot was planned and carried out.

"Oswald's role in the assassination was strictly political... to establish his left-wing bona fide... so the

Now Framing Up Garrison, Too?

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., Oct 13 — In a new move to stop District Attorney Jim Garrison from going to trial to prove his conspiracy charge in the Kennedy assassination, Attorney General Ramsey Clark threatened here today that he "might have to prosecute Jim Garrison." Though the Justice Department denied the threat later, it was clearly another heavy-handed attempt by Washington to wreck his investigation. Garrison's evidence points clearly and correctly to a conspiracy by the U.S. government and its agencies to cover up the right-wing plot in the Kennedy assassination.

President's murder would appear to be the work of a sharp shooting left-wing fanatic." This was the Reichstag fire plot all over again to panic, confuse and inflame public opinion against the progressive forces in an atmosphere of national emergency and disaster.

"Beyond the shadow of a doubt the scheme of the conspirators is based on the classical experience of the Nazi take-over." That is what Workers World said on the fateful weekend after the assassination.

Garrison charges that the plot to kill Kennedy was hatched "on a higher control level — by people of ultra-right wing persuasion — people who could be described as neo-Nazis (including anti-Castro Cubans) — who had a vital stake in changing U.S. foreign policy — the CIA was involved with both these groups."

The actual triggers were pulled by "a precision guerilla team of at least four men on the grassy knoll, at least

two behind the picket fence and two more behind a stone wall to the right of the fence... One fired at the President from each location while the role of his companion was to snatch up the cartridges as they were ejected. There were at least five or six shots fired at the President from front and rear... The CIA knows their identify. So do I."

That the CIA is involved is now common knowledge. But much more than just the CIA was involved in this conspiracy. The assassination was the result of a fierce struggle in the ruling class over U.S. imperialist policy and leadership. On November 26, 1963 while an atmosphere of panic, confusion and disorientation swept through the country, this newspaper issued a special edition on the assassination. "The United States of America came close to a fascist coup d'etat and the establishment of a Right Wing, reactionary totalitarian dictatorship. The merger of the racist reactionaries with the unbridled military who are impatient for adventure in Cuba, in Vietnam and nuclear blackmail..."

Whatever specific groups and factions of the ruling class actually plotted and executed the assassination, the events of the last four years have confirmed all too well this wedding of Johnson with the military and racist right wing ruling class faction.

Only recently, James Reston, New York Times columnist, hints at how the wedding was consummated at the time of the assassination. In his column on October 1, 1967, Reston states, "In the tragic week when President Kennedy was murdered, there was a crisis in Vietnam." Four years, over 100,000 casualties and more than 500,000 troops later, this well informed publicist of big business suggests that Kennedy's trip to Dallas may have been more than a jaunt to patch up an inner Democratic party squabble.

"The arrangements at that time," continued Reston, "was for President Kennedy to go from Dallas to the Vice President's ranch in Texas to get a report on the war from Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, but after the assassination all plans were of course changed."

Reston tells us now that Lodge reported (to Johnson, of course; ed. note) that if the U.S. "didn't take a much more active part in the fighting, the war might be lost." Johnson's decision was "decisive and personal" says the columnist penning the thoughts of a section of the ruling class who now have some second thoughts on Johnson's Vietnam policy. Really "decisive" was the assassination that catapulted the right wing racist military clique into power with Johnson at the drivers seat.

Garrison, who describes himself in the political arena as a conservative, warns the readers at the end of his 21 page interview:

"What worries me deeply is that we in America are in great danger of slowly evolving into a proto-fascist state. In a very real and terrifying sense our Government is the CIA and the Pentagon — and I'm afraid based on my own experience that fascism will come to America in the name of national security."

On November 26, 1963, four years earlier, Workers World put the matter as follows:

"The evolution of U.S. ruling class politics in general, and military politics in particular, has consistently manifested an undeviating tendency toward dangerous adventurism abroad which needs domestic reaction as a fundamental prop. This trend cannot be reversed as long as the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the DuPonts, the Fords, not to speak of the Gettys and the Hunts and the rest of the financial oligarchies control the destiny of American life. Their aim is super-profits, which can only be obtained by exploiting more and more millions of people throughout the world, at home and abroad... They need frameups and assassinations in order to demoralize and destroy the spirit of intransigent resistance by the people. Peace and freedom are inconsistent with the objectives of monopoly capitalism, which can only thrive in an atmosphere of reaction and preparation for wars."

But, as the mushrooming growth of the Black liberation struggle and the anti-war movement have also proved:

When "the effects of psychological terror and political confusion" are shaken off "A great and genuine renaissance of critical thinking and militant spirit is sure to follow."

Sato Besieged by Tokyo Students On Way to Bless U.S. Saigon Puppets

U.S. imperialism's junior partner in Asia, Japanese imperialism, was rocked off its feet when 3,000 Japanese students and trade unionists staged a tremendous demonstration on October 8 against Prime Minister Sato which left over 400 Tokyo policemen injured. The militant Zengakuren students were protesting Sato's visit to the U.S.-puppet leaders in South Vietnam. The Japanese students again went out to show that they will fight to bring down any Japanese government that collaborates with U.S. imperialist rule in Asia.

In 1960, the students held such a powerful demonstration against a U.S.-Japanese military pact that Eisenhower was forced to cancel his trip to Japan for fear of being overwhelmed by the students. To this day, a U.S. president has yet to dare to come to Japan, in fear of the might of the militant student and labor unions.

It took over 2,500 policemen to barely save Sato from a tremendous assault by students and workers at the Tokyo International Airport. The police attempted to use 8 armored cars to hold back the militant demonstrators, but 7 out of the 8 were set on fire and destroyed.

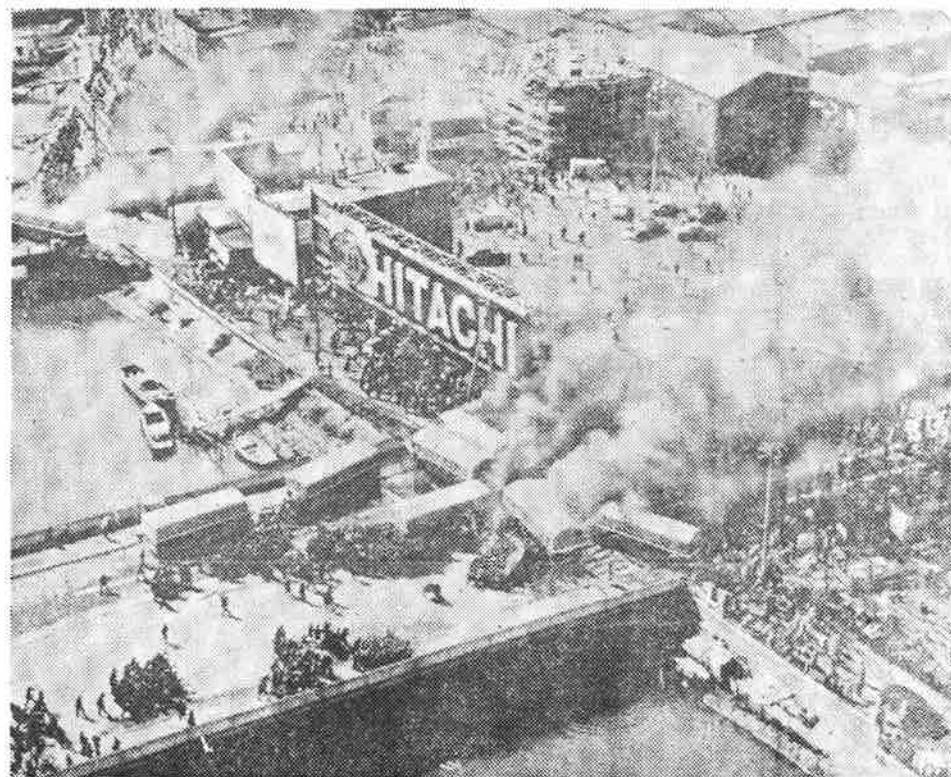
The Tokyo police were then pelted with an avalanche of rocks and took such a beating that only the use of tear gas against the students and workers saved the cops from being completely

overrun. Many students came prepared for a battle with the police by wearing helmets and carrying wooden poles. As the students marched on the airport, they could be heard chanting loudly, "Down With Sato's Visit to South Vietnam!"

Pitched battles between demonstrators and policemen lasted for hours and virtually paralyzed all traffic around the airport. By the end of the day, reporters claimed that as many as 615 cops were injured, as compared with 100 students being injured. One Zengakuren student was killed during the battles and 58 students and trade union members were arrested.

Sato's trip was not just limited to a meeting with the Saigon U.S.-puppet generals, but also to include the fascist generals of the U.S.-installed regime in Indonesia. The Sato government not long ago met with the Johnson Administration and agreed to support U.S. policy in Southeast Asia in return for a thin slice of the imperialist profits extracted from Asia.

Sato's visit to South Vietnam came along just a few days after 23 U.S. senators, including both "doves" and "hawks," signed a resolution demanding that more Asians fight in the U.S. war in Vietnam. The Japanese students and workers certainly showed these imperialist politicians that they are willing to fight — against U.S. and Japanese imperialism, that is.



Police armored cars set afire by Zengakuren students and workers who converged on Tokyo International Airport to try to block Premier Sato's trip to Saigon. One student was killed and 615 police were reported injured in the clash.

Ho Chi Minh: A Life of Revolutionary Struggle

Marxist-Leninist Fighter, Hunted for Years by Imperialism, Now Father of His Country

A boy was born in 1890 in a small village near the North Vietnamese city of Vinh. He was to have many names. He was to live in many lands. He was to meet and make friends with many people. But in any land and under whatever name, he worked day and night for one goal.

That was the liberation of his people from imperialism. And his people were the people of Vietnam and the oppressed of the world.

He is now called Ho Chi Minh. He was born Nguyen Sinh Cung in the poverty stricken village of Sen where the people in a valley among the mountains were reduced to wearing rags or loin cloths as they struggled with the thin parched soil, and more than that, faced the plunder of the French colonialists who robbed the people of their labor and of their lives.

The boy's father, from a peasant family knowing poverty first hand, had been educated by a scholar and was one of those rarities in oppressed Vietnam, an educated man who was not an aristocrat and whose heart was with the peasants.

The boy saw his neighbors from 18 to 50 years old taken almost as slaves in the French "corvee," or forced labor gang, to build the Cua Roao highway. They died from beatings, disease, and overwork to build the road which would serve the French to help ship the wealth of Vietnam to the French masters.



Ho Chi Minh at Tours Conference in 1920. He sided with Lenin.

The Vietnamese people resisted and the boy who was to continue the fight under many names, now as a youth called Nguyen Tat Thanh, joined the rebellious but disorganized national movement. When the authorities in Hue threatened to arrest the patriotic mayor of his village, the youth, in protest against the injustice, demanded that he, Thanh, be arrested in the mayor's place. The authorities backed off and made no arrest.

But the resistance attempts sputtered and failed. The youth trained as a seaman, signed aboard a French ship and reached France in 1912. He was to devote his life to developing a viable liberation movement, capable of victory.

Before settling down for a while in France he traveled much of the world as a seaman. He took a job as steward on a ship that went round Africa to look at the other French colonies. From Spain and Portugal to Algeria, Tunisia and the East African countries, the Congo—everywhere he saw that colonial peoples were ill-treated, despised, and exploited. Then he went to London, where his heart was captivated by the struggle for Irish independence from British imperialism.

He visited the U.S. briefly during World War I. There he later remembered attending a meeting of militant Black people led by Marcus Garvey. In sympathy, he contributed his money to his oppressed Black brothers. It was this visit that inspired him to read and learn of the racist oppression of the Afro-American people, and write an historical sketch of the Ku Klux Klan.

Then came the great October Revolution in Russia and the clarion call of the Bolsheviks to the oppressed to smash the yoke of imperialism. He began to attend Socialist Party meetings in Paris where theoretical arguments flew thick and fast between the 2nd Internationalists (who had supported imperialism in World War I) and those who favored the 3rd International and Lenin. He sided with Lenin who was in complete support of the anti-colonial liberation movements throughout the world.

He had read Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" and fought hard for the Leninist position within the French Socialist Party.

He was soon convinced along with many other French revolutionaries in the French Socialist Party that a new and genuine Marxist party, a Leninist

party was needed. Thus, in 1920 he became one of the first members of the French Communist Party and at the same time, the first Vietnamese Communist.

In 1921, he founded the League of Colonial Peoples in Paris which embraced the revolutionary forces of the French colonies then active in France, and French sympathizers. He became well known as the editor of the League's weekly newspaper, "Le Paria," under the name Nguyen Ai Quoc, which was transported back to Vietnam as well as distributed among exiles.

He left for China in December 1924, not yet able to safely enter his homeland. In 1925, in Canton, he set up the League of Oppressed Peoples in Asia. He then formed the Vietnam Young Revolutionary Comrades Association. In late 1928 he went to Thailand to help organize Vietnamese residents there.

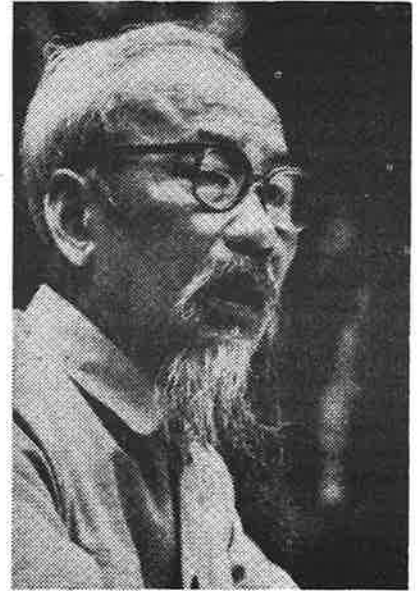
On February 3, 1930, under Nguyen's leadership, the Vietnamese Communist Party was officially established in Hong Kong. Nguyen presided over the merger of three regional communist groups. On June 5, 1931, he was arrested by the British in Hong Kong and was saved from being handed over to the French for execution by tremendous worldwide pressure from the Communist International.

He was finally able to return to Vietnam in 1941 and convened the 8th session of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party which organized the Viet Minh Front. He returned to China in 1942 and was jailed again, this time by Chiang Kai-Shek's police. He was finally released after more than a year of prison misery.

March, 1945, was his decisive return to Vietnam. After the Japanese had ousted the French, he presided over a Party meeting which decided: "general insurrection to seize power." In order to appeal to the famine-stricken Vietnamese masses to join the struggle, the Party put forth its main slogan, "Storm the rice-stocks, relieve the famine."

On August 13, 1945, the Vietnamese Communist Party under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, as he was now called, led the Vietnamese people to a victorious nation-wide insurrection against the Japanese imperialists. On September 2, 1945, the first Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed.

With the material help of U.S. imperialism, the French colonialists in



Pres. Ho Chi Minh

attempting to reconquer Indo-China, forced the Vietnamese into an eight-year protracted war which resulted in disaster for the French at Dienbienphu on May 8, 1954, with President Ho Chi Minh and General Vo Nguyen Giap in command of the Viet Minh Front.

Having broken the 1954 Geneva Accords, the U.S. imperialists invaded South Vietnam beginning in 1961 to fight against the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. By 1965, North Vietnam was bombarded by the most destructive imperialist machine in history. Ho Chi Minh's answer to Wall Street was, "We will fight 20 years or more if necessary, until final victory."

This revolutionary fighter, who was once the most hunted man in Asia by the imperialists, is the father of his country and a legendary hero of the colonial masses in his own lifetime. During his 60 years of struggle, his obituary was mistakenly and joyously written by imperialism more than once.

Just as Ho Chi Minh, the man, has survived, so will his name and his deeds survive the ages as a Marxist-Leninist combatant in the struggle for the liberation of mankind from class slavery.

While the imperialists have been unable over the decades to put an end to Ho, the story of his life will surely constitute one of the most glorious chapters when the obituary of imperialism is finally written.

- Rob Williams

Continued from Page 7

liberties in racist America. As a matter of constitutional preservation, it warrants the protest and active opposition of all Americans who believe in the right to dissent and freedom of press and speech. The American press has been more than zealous in championing so-called opposition presses in other countries. What is the cause of its seeming paralysis in the case of Johnson's dictatorial banning of THE CRUSADER?

The Johnson regime is displaying its true colors before the entire world. The F.B.I., at the behest of the power structure, has proclaimed to the world that I am a wanted criminal, and yet when I propose to return to face trumped-up charges of a so-called kidnapping, legislation is introduced in Congress to strip me of my citizenship and to bar my return.

The U.S. power structure is not reacting to criminal conduct on my part, but is hysterically afraid of Afro-American resistance to racial tyranny and is mortally frightened that my exercising the right of free speech is proving inimical to the best interest of imperialism, white supremacy and its international conspiracy of intrigue and subversion.

The U.S. power structure can ban THE CRUSADER; it can spitefully prolong my exile, it can frame Black revolutionaries and unleash massive terror against the revolting ghettos, but none of these fascist tactics will stem the tide of the Afro-American's resistance to savage tyranny. Ever more violent and destructive uprisings will occur until justice, equality and prosperity become reality in the racist imperialist citadel of so-called free world democracy.

RELEASE:

The following registered letter, relative to the banning of THE CRUSADER Newsletter from the U.S. Mails, was sent on September 21, 1967 to Mr. Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General of the U.S.A.:

Dear Sir:

According to international press reports your department has banned my newsletter, THE CRUSADER, from the U.S. mails and has ordered Hong Kong puppet authorities to do likewise. If this is correct, will you please be so civil as to inform me specifically, formally and directly why such repressive, undemocratic and unconstitutional vindictive and punitive action is being taken against such a small personal

How Johnson "Saves Lives"

Does U.S. bombing "save lives"?

Obviously, it does not save Vietnamese lives.

But does it save the lives of American GIs, as the military "experts" claim it does?

Defense Department figures give the lie to Defense Department propaganda:

Bombing missions over North Vietnam for 1966 totalled 23,577. Weight of bombs dropped on all Vietnam totalled 512,000 tons for that year. Admitted U.S. casualties for 1966 were 36,146 (dead and wounded).

But in the first eight months of 1967, over 550,000 tons of explosives were dropped, and bombing missions over North Vietnam were 24,488—more than for all 1966—and more GIs died than in all 1966, too.

U.S. casualties—dead and wounded—up to Sept. 23 of this year, totalled 55,139.

Before steady U.S. bombing of the North began on Feb. 7, 1965, total number of admitted battle deaths for GIs in Vietnam from the beginning of 1961 to the end of 1964, were 244.

Thus, the bomb-happy generals "save lives"!

Needless to add—before the U.S. invaded Vietnam there were NO young Americans killed there. And after it gets the hell out, there won't be any killed, either.

journal that uncompromisingly advocates abolition of brutal racism, defense against terror, resistance to imperialism, violent resistance to tyranny and struggle for a more just and peaceful world society?

If, in Washington, there is still some feigned official belief in freedom of speech and of the press, then even America's consistency of hypocrisy dictates that your office clearly delineate the nature and extent of such

ban and specify its charges and the reasons for this fascist-like action that is so inimical to freedom of the press. I, at least, expect to be formally informed as to what laws, codes, rules and regulations, both national and international, you have so summarily and arbitrarily acted under.

Yours for Freedom of Press and Speech,
(signed) Robert F. Williams

Apostle of Armed Struggle Against the Oppressor

A Conversation With Che Guevara

By V. Copeland

Since the article below was written, Premier Fidel Castro has declared his belief that it is really true — Che Guevara is dead.

We dip our flag and join with all true revolutionaries in mourning him. He was unique, but the youth that admired him so much will now try still harder to acquire his unconquerable spirit.

* * *

The night before Che Guevara left the United States for the last time, he met with a little band of progressive writers and supporters of Cuba. And he talked until past midnight about guerrilla fighters and world revolution.

Now, according to his enemies, he is dead. If so, the revolution has lost a great leader, as even the counter-revolution, for its own reasons, is quick to admit.

We who met with him on the night of December 16, 1964, did not have the opportunity to serve with him in guerrilla battles or in political struggles. But we saw him in a rare moment of relaxation — a socialist man in a capitalist world, conversing with comrades and sympathizers about the struggle and about its demands on the individual.

He talked, not like the "romantic" the imperialist press makes him out to be — not with the "charisma" that is supposed by reactionaries to set off the "born" leader from his followers by some unbridgeable gulf of the personality. He talked more like a man tired of the phony politicians he had been with all the preceding week at the UN, but with enough energy left to respond with enthusiasm to the questions about the present struggle and future struggles for power.

Sitting on the floor in the parlor of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations on 63rd Street in New York, he spoke to the eight or nine of us about Black Freedom in the U.S., problems of production in Cuba, liberation of Puerto Rico and the U.S. blockade of his country.

We were seated around him in a semi-circle of three or four chairs and a sofa between. Sitting on the floor probably more to put us at our ease than for any other reason, he

smoked his inevitable cigar (having already passed out Havana specials to all of us).

Mae Mallory, the Black Liberation fighter, and associate of Rob Williams was there. (Che seemed well acquainted with Rob and his militant program.) So was Deirdre Griswold, editor of the Partisan, Leroy Jones, the dramatist and Black Freedom fighter; Dixie Bayo, president of the New York chapter of Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI); and James Aronsen, then editor of the National Guardian and two or three others.

Che was as handsome as his pictures and informally witty as he was reputed to be.

"A revolutionist has to be a little 'loco,'" he told us with a sympathetic smile, when someone asked him what were the human qualifications necessary to create a movement to destroy capitalist oppression.

He described some of Fidel's and his own experiences, and turning modesty into humor, he explained their heroic facing of such tremendous odds by using the ruling class' own characterization of revolutionaries as "crazy."



He defied Yankee imperialism to the end.

You would never have known by anything in his manner that he was the author of the book "Guerrilla Warfare" — and more significantly a great practitioner of its lessons. Several of us remarked afterwards on the total absence of build-up and pomp and "greatness" that every big shot in the capitalist world surrounds himself with on such occasions.

He was a surprisingly shortish man and didn't at all have the "commanding presence" that great leaders are supposed to have and his humor, although disarming, was not especially dazzling. Nor did he speak with an air of special wisdom or was he over-conscious of his position. He seemed like a man who would find it absolutely impossible to pontificate about anything at all — including that which he had the most right to speak authoritatively about — guerrilla warfare.

He was just as serious about the number of eggs produced in Cuba as he was about the possibilities for world revolution. At that time, there was a great deal of talk about rationing of food in Havana. And with many of the statistics at his finger-tips, he made

the fundamental point that for the great masses of Cuba, rationing was a tremendous step forward, because formerly they had had practically nothing and now they were being fed, while the former middle class had to wait.

He talked about the struggle for Puerto Rican liberation — when he was asked about it — and the fight for Black Freedom in the U.S. He was an internationalist through and through, and regarded Cuba as only the opening shot in the revolution of the Western Hemisphere.

Contrary to capitalist press reports about his being a ladies' man, he showed not the slightest trace of "Latin galantry" to the young women in his intimate audience, and in fact treated them as comrades, warmly and with exactly the same enthusiasm as he did the men. This was something we all felt was deep in his character and could not have been put on for the occasion.

If he is indeed dead, it is a great and sorrowful loss. But not at all of the kind of loss the Bolivian Government and world imperialism is making it out to be, with their slanderous allegation that he said, "I have failed" just before he died.

No one felt any more strongly than Che Guevara himself that he could not fail, and that the socialist revolution was inevitable. By the same token, Che also was one of the foremost among those brave spirits throughout the ages who have taken to arms against oppression, who have sounded the clarion call to struggle for a better world. He felt deeply that "he who wills the end must will the means thereof." And his advocacy of armed struggle, like his example of laying his own life on the line, shall not perish with him.

Guevara would be the very first person to say, "There are many Che Guevaras." And legendary as are his deeds and exemplary as his personality was, if he died fighting Yankee imperialism in Bolivia, he could have had no better death.

And if he died, he must have died secure in the knowledge that the best youth in the world will try their utmost to imitate the actions of his life.

After The Phony Plebiscite...

U.S. Puppet Police in Puerto Rico Attack Independence Fighters

FUPI Youth Fight Back, Many Police Hurt

By PETER STORCH

Despite the phony U.S. - staged plebiscite held last July in Puerto Rico, the imperialist thieves in Washington and Wall Street have found that violence is the only way to continue to rule and exploit the Puerto Rican people. But the San Juan police and



Cop goes down.

the U.S. FBI agents, who launched a brutal assault against pro-independence students on September 27, never expected the unarmed students to fight back as heroically as they did and leave 21 cops injured.

The 12-hour battle was touched off by a police and FBI-ridden organization called the Pro-Statehood University Students Association (AUPE) when it publicly stated on the morning of September 27, that the Pro-Independence University Students Federation (FUPI) was part of an "international communist narcotics ring."

The AUPE had been organized several years ago specifically to break up the independence movement on the University of Puerto Rico campus. Later that afternoon, the AUPE held a meeting in their second-floor headquarters just off the University. A group of FUPI students gathered in the street shouting at the AUPE to come out and prove their vile accusations against the FUPI.

In what was an obviously planned

attack by the AUPE, FBI and the colonial police, 20 San Juan cops began to club several FUPI students. Immediately, bottles came raining down towards the students from the AUPE headquarters as the students were moving backwards, avoiding the police clubs. The cops then arrested six FUPI students, but no AUPE members, of course. By this time, some 300 students had gathered to fight back against the police assault on their brothers. They picked up rocks and anything they could get their hands on and aimed at the police and the AUPE headquarters.

Police and students waged a pitched battle which forced the AUPE meeting to shut down. After the FUPI youth regrouped their forces within the university gates, hundreds of police, including reinforcements from the "riot" squad, ignoring a legal ban on police entry into the campus grounds, charged into the campus. They shoved aside a dean of the University who was pleading with the police to stay out of the University. The police pulled out their pistols and began shooting

towards buildings where students had taken refuge. And, before the police withdrew from the campus, they had hurled 6 tear gas bombs at the students.

Later in the evening, almost 2,000 FUPI partisans rushed to the police station after news broke that the six arrested earlier had been beaten inside the jails. Again, several hundred policemen waded into the mass of students with clubs and pistols. Here, the largest battle of the day broke out as the cops had become more brutal. The students fought the police head on with rocks and bottles, as well as with Molotov cocktails. The

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Wounded student.

- Role of Father Groppi

Continued from Page 5

embers of Newark, Detroit, and Milwaukee, to water the eyes of frightened liberals, broad civil rights demonstrations were once again projected as an alternative to hot rebellion.

Milwaukee was to become the "Selma of the North." And on Aug. 30 Mayor Maier complied, banning demonstrations and meetings, rolling out the police and "freedom wagons" to herd hundreds of youth marchers into the glutted jails. The Mayor's proclamation was a liberal order that some liberals could not stomach — despite the nation-wide praise showered upon Mayor Maier by Senator Percy for finesse in turning Milwaukee into an armed prison camp on July 30. The marches began in earnest.

BRUTAL THREATS

The apostle of non-violence is now face to face with the brutal threats of destruction by organized white racists led by a rival priest of the Christian churches. Their program of crushing the militant civil rights struggle of the Youth Council and driving Groppi out of the church follows the same logic that led Groppi to exclude white and black radicals from the movement in Milwaukee.

It was none other than Father Groppi who took the initiative to call the cops

when thirty white and black socialists joined the united demonstration of 1965, Aug. 21, with placards protesting the criminal action of America's imperialist leaders against the brown-skinned people of Vietnam.

"Take those signs down; they don't have any place here," Father Groppi demanded at the march commemorating the March on Washington.

What the "hot" placards of the socialist war resisters, in solidarity with the revolutionary masses of Vietnam, declared is now an open position held by all honest partisans of freedom in the Black liberation movement: "What are we fighting for in Vietnam when we don't have freedom at home?"

The statements said: "Stop the bombings in Birmingham and Vietnam." "Fight it out in Mississippi — not in Vietnam." "Bring the troops home now." "Mao Tse-Tung salutes all Black liberation fighters in America."

When the marchers refused to comply with Groppi's order, he threatened to call the police, compelling the socialists to march separately. But on the platform that afternoon, Dick Gregory told the Black youth that their duty was not to fight the white man's war in Vietnam. Their struggle for freedom is at home.



Through the
Magnifying
Glass

By John Moore

The Chain Gang

The huge Pentagon is a fortress that we can harass and pressure, but the present forces of the anti-war movement can't yet shut it down the way it should be, and the way it one day will be, — i.e. forever.

The Pentagon is, of course, a great deal more than a fortress; it is the bankers' command post for an offensive against the world.

But generals don't fight wars. They only give commands. They sit and plan destruction and conquest. And all the grand plans of all the generals in the Pentagon are so much scribbling and hot air by themselves. They depend on somebody else to do the fighting and dying.

Rank and file GIs.

The rank and file part of the army is a chain gang. Once they lock on the steel cuffs you walk in lock step — or suffer the consequences.

The army brass is satisfied when they have their chain gang marching in unison with a steady clankety clank. All they have to do is give commands and it marches over and tramples down whatever, whoever, they point out with some of the marchers, or a great many of them sometimes, getting blown up in the process.

American youth have spurned the propaganda that marching with the chain gang for armchair generals in the Pentagon is brave and manly and their patriotic duty. They are not volunteering for the chain gang. They have to be impressed into it.

Sometimes a prisoner refuses to march. The chain gang bosses are naturally disturbed by things like that because it can have an effect on the entire gang.

And what really alarms the Pentagon is when prisoners begin to organize others, a group, to say, "No," to stop, to sit down, to pull their chain back.

When something like that happens, Pentagon masters get deeply alarmed because that could do more than cause a disruption. This could stop the whole march.

It was just two years ago that the first widely publicized case of a soldier refusing to fight in Vietnam took place. Others may have refused before but when a worker's son from Milwaukee, who had been indoctrinated at West Point (and was considered a part of the supervisory network of the chain gang) refused his assignment, the army was shocked.

Said the commanding officer of Lt. Richard Stienke, "Only once in my lifetime have I been confronted with this type of case!" He added in shocked tones of disbelief and dismay that the army was built on "discipline and obedience to orders."

It was the first visible disruption of the chain gang.

Since that time in the summer of 1965, there has been a growing series of refusals by GIs to play a part in the aggression against Vietnam.

When the Fort Hood three courageously faced long jail terms with firm defiance, we sat in the bare Fort Dix courtroom and saw the officers carry out their Pentagon verdict.

Last May we flew to Fort Sill and saw the farcical trial of Pvt. Andy Stapp charged with refusing to open his footlocker and turn over his anti-war literature. (They broke it open and then charged him with having an open footlocker as well). His real crime was something else: organizing a group of soldiers to oppose the war. The trial, where he was supported by chanting Youth Against War & Fascism demonstrators, won him and fellow GIs even wider sympathy among the 45,000 soldiers at the Fort. It also aroused concern among Pentagon brass.

When the anti-war feeling among the GIs at the base continued to mount and a bond was forged between civilian anti-war youth who stationed themselves near the Fort to support the GIs who were now under heavy pressure, the Pentagon became deeply alarmed.

The chains of a chain gang can pull both ways: if large numbers of GIs pull another way, the Pentagon-directed marching stops.

The generals suddenly dropped all but the hollowest pretext of observing "democratic" legalities; two youth leaders were first harassed, then arrested on Army orders, and sentenced to six months with a threat that they would be barred from contacting GIs even if freed on bail. And bail during an appeal was set so high that both Maryann Weissman, a leader of the Committee for GI Rights, and Key Martin, the National Chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism, are now still political prisoners in U.S. federal penitentiaries.

The deep and potentially paralyzing opposition to the war by the chained GIs has frightened the Pentagon. And their fears have a good basis.

Rank and file combat GIs questioned in Vietnam (New York Times Magazine, September 24) reacted to patriotic preaching about why they were fighting, with swift and sure comments: "What a crock!" or "Who's kidding who?" "Be serious, man!"

In spite of lifelong indoctrination, they showed their disgust at being there — Why were they fighting? "My own stupidity for listening to the recruiting sergeant." Or "I happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time."

Indications are that GIs in Vietnam wisely are doing as little fighting as possible, avoiding contact and putting in their time.

While, according to the Times interviewer, their cynicism rejects identification with anti-war marchers, they have only contempt for the support-the-boys stooges of the Pentagon.

Said one soldier "who spoke for many," "The only support I want is out."

The chain gang is rattling the chains.

An Uneven Exchange

Just to prove that Johnson's scheme to make "Asians fight Asians" is really working, a detachment of 2,500 troops from Thailand arrived in Vietnam on September 21.

The bands played and the girls threw garlands of flowers around the officers. The Thai Ambassador, Major Gen. Ban Cha Minatrakinetia proclaimed that, "We want to unite with other

nations in the collective effort against Communism."

Gen. Westmoreland was exultant. "Boy, they're sharp looking troops, aren't they?" he exclaimed as he looked them over.

It was a great day in Saigon. Some GIs even thought they might come home early.

But nobody mentioned that for the 2,500 Thai troops in Saigon, there were 40,000 American GIs in Thailand.



Armed guerrilla fighters in Mozambique in the seventh year of the struggle against the imperialist government of Portuguese dictator Antonio Salazar.

-After Plebiscite

Continued from preceding page

students eventually had to retreat back to the campus, where they could fight back on better grounds. Before the night was over, 6 police cars and 2 motorcycles were destroyed, besides the many injuries sustained by the cops themselves.

Several students received bullet wounds from police pistols, while others were injured from clubbings. The trigger-happy cops also shot and killed a taxi driver who happened to be walking by the University.

The FUPI held a giant rally the next day and one of its main speakers, Manuel de J. Gonzalez, declared,

"We are students determined to answer with violence whenever attacked with violence. From now on, the peaceful coexistence has been broken. Beware, all you little provocateurs, here are no longer just good little students, only

enemies and friends. To our enemies, we declare war, and from now on, the war remains declared."

The current campaign of police repression seems to have been closely timed with the failure of the U.S. rigged plebiscite and with a renewed penetration by U.S. monopolies into Puerto Rico. In particular, the Phillips Petroleum Company has just inaugurated the largest petrochemical industry in Puerto Rico. Other oil and mining companies from the U.S. are also opening up new high-profit industries.

For the Puerto Rican people this only means bigger imperialist exploitation. It means being robbed of their remaining land and resources. But if the militant spirit of the embattled students is any indication of the liberation struggle to come, then U.S. imperialism is headed for defeat in Puerto Rico.