

What Does The McCarthy Vote Mean?

The tremendous vote for Senator Eugene McCarthy is a splendid sign of the irresistible tide of anti-war sentiment that has enveloped the length and breadth of this land.

The vote for McCarthy is all the more remarkable because it has taken place in a state which has been regarded as a stronghold of conservatism and pro-war sentiment.

It should be remembered that the New Hampshire primary occurred against the background of the spectacular victories of the National Liberation Front and the crumbling of the Saigon puppet regime and the disintegration of its military forces.

It cannot be denied that the entire ruling class in this country has been badly shaken by the magnificent demonstration of the Vietnam Liberation army. A new and far deeper sense

of pessimism has engulfed the hitherto violently pro-war forces of this country, and they are even more violently torn asunder by their inability to either stop or stifle the ever-growing ranks of the anti-war movement.

But the McCarthy showing now raises more sharply than ever the question of a program to really stop the war.

Certainly it would be a splendid and easy way to end the war if it could simply be done by urging the electorate to vote for McCarthy. But to do that would be to sow illusions — the crudest and most deceptive of our time.

No imperialist war has ever been stopped by a popular referendum. Nor has the ruling class ever entrusted its fortunes to be decided by par-

(Continued on page 2)

Blacks and Puerto Ricans Unite To Protest Draft Arrests in P.R.

By PETER STORCH

NEW YORK, March 9 — Over 100 persons, mostly all Puerto Ricans, picketed the W. 125th Street Army recruiting center yesterday protesting the arrest of five pro-independence youth leaders in Puerto Rico.

The demonstration was co-sponsored by the New York branch of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) and the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU).

The protest drew an almost unanimously sympathetic response from Harlem residents, as they watched the demonstrators holding posters and shouting:

"Freedom for the MPI Youth in Puerto Rico!", "Down with the Draft!", and "Blacks and Puerto Ricans Unite!"

A wave of repression against the growing Puerto Rican liberation movement has been recently launched by U.S. authorities and their Puerto Rican lackeys in San Juan. Two weeks ago, a new organization called the Armed Commandos for Liberation (CAL), issued a communique stating that the organization's task was to use what-

ever means necessary to oust U.S. imperialism from the island.

CAL also announced that it had just successfully destroyed eight different parts of the Commonwealth Oil Co. (U.S.-owned) pipelines. The San Juan police, in panic, immediately arrested 72 independists, most of them members of MPI.

A few days later, on March 4, FBI agents arrested the president of the Youth of MPI (JMPI), the president of the Pro-Independence Student Federation (FUPI), as well as three other leaders of the JMPI on charges of avoiding the draft and inciting others to stay out of the army.

In another action that took the colonial regime by surprise, MPI and FUPI organized demonstrations against the almost unannounced visit of President Johnson to Puerto Rico.

Picket lines were held on both days of Johnson's stay at the gates of the Ramey Air Force Base near Aguadilla. Many demonstrators carried placards denouncing the U.S. war in Vietnam and the sending of Puerto Ricans to that war.

Big Troop Build-Up Certain In Spite of Heavy Losses And Senate Talk-Fest

Fulbright Committee Hearing Real Purpose Is to Placate Mass Opposition to the War

The appearance of Secretary of State Dean Rusk at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings this week was essentially a re-play of the same record heard at the Fulbright hearings of 1966: that is, it was a "democratic" screening of the Government's war aims, a viewing-with-alarm and a wringing-of-hands over a war that the real rulers of this country hope and intend to widen still further.

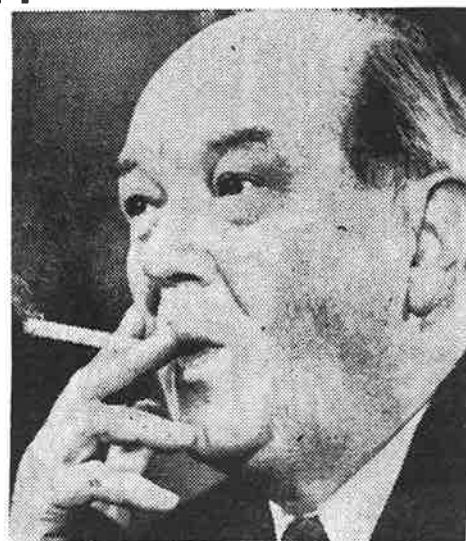
The imperialist politicians are faced with a far greater crisis now than then. They are reeling from the military blows administered by the revolutionary forces in Vietnam. They are alarmed at the growing groundswell of popular opposition to the war. And they are more and more fearful of taking on the masses of Asia in a "land war" — that is, a direct confrontation with the revolutionary millions.

These fears were all reflected on Monday and Tuesday, March 11 and 12, when the Senators questioned the Secretary of State on the Administration's intentions to enlarge the war and send hundreds of thousands more troops to Vietnam.

But the hearings still operated as an escape valve for opposition and a cover-up for the war-makers, in the sense that they appeared to provide "checks and balances" against the mad drive to war.

Actually, at the very moment Rusk was hinting that there might be some "consultation" between the opposition Senators and the President on future escalations, the Pentagon revealed that a "modest" call-up of 30,000 men was already in the works.

"High Pentagon officers," in the words of the New York Times in an article dated March 12, revealed that "Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman



Hawk Dean Rusk isn't too worried about Dove Fulbright's attack on war policy.

of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, discussed a plan for calling up about 30,000 reservists at the White House yesterday." This contingent of 30,000 would be supplied mostly by Army Reservists, National Guardsmen and Marine Corps Reservists.

The Pentagon says that this "would be designed to help Gen. William Westmoreland regain the initiative in the war."

All this was reported on the same day that Senator Fulbright was complaining to Secretary Rusk that the Senate ought to be consulted on sending 200,000 troops, and when Rusk demurred, said:

"Well, I don't care about the precise number. I mean any substantial number, anything that you have in mind."

Rusk made some vague promise to "confer." But back at the White House, Gen. Wheeler and Commander-in-Chief Johnson were conferring with themselves and nailing down the fate of another 30,000 men.

Huey Newton, Eddie Oquendo, etc.

Other signs read, "Racist Courts Speak for Wall Street."

As the demonstrators chanted, "Free Max Stanford," "End the Persecution of Herman Ferguson" and "Bail is Ransom, Free the Prisoners," the prisoners cheered and waved out of the barred windows.

The supporters of the Black defendants then marched around the jail several times, still chanting, and formed a picket line in front of the House of Detention on Queens Blvd. There, reporters and TV cameras from Channel 5 covered the demonstration.

A leaflet distributed to passersby pointed out that the pattern of police frame-ups of Black militants has been repeated now in at least four cities: New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo and Cincinnati.

In these cities the racist ruling class has concocted fantastic "conspiracy" charges against "RAM" members and alleged members, and has set bail so high that, in effect, the defendants are under political detention, without trial.

Picket Prison to Protest RAM Frame-Ups

A demonstration in support of the "RAM" defendants was held at the Queens House of Detention for Men today to protest the frame-up of Black militants and their political detention. Fifteen Afro-Americans, framed by police agents, are presently under in-

dictment for "conspiracy" to assassinate moderate Black leaders.

One of the frame-up victims, Max Stanford, has been in jail since last June 21 when his bail was set at \$100,000 by a typical racist judge.

Another defendant, Herman

Ferguson, who was out on bail, was jailed for the second time and his bail raised to \$100,000 because he had urged Black people at the Malcolm X memorial meeting at I.S. 201 to arm themselves in self-defense.

Mr. Ferguson was finally released March 6 on \$10,000 bail after his lawyers won a reduction of the outrageous bail. Judge Irwin Shapiro, who raised Ferguson's bail, openly declared that he had done so because of the militant words the defendant had used at I.S. 201, thus denying his right of free speech.

The demonstration today, organized by Youth Against War & Fascism, began in back of the jail where prisoners could see and hear the picket line.

Several demonstrators carried signs saying, "Free the Black political prisoners." They were followed by others carrying signs with the names of leaders of the liberation struggle who are victims of racist U.S. "justice" like Max Stanford, Herman Ferguson, Rob Williams, Martin Sostre, Rap Brown,



Two scenes at Queens House of Detention last week.

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The Trend in Czechoslovakia

More than 20 years ago the revolutionary workers, peasants and village poor of Czechoslovakia took destiny in their own hands and completed the overthrow of the rule of the landlords, bankers and industrialists who had plundered the Czech people for centuries and even sold them to foreign imperialists — first of the Western democratic type and later of the Nazi type.

The seizure of power by the Czech people was a momentous event in world history. It shook the imperialist world to its foundations and encouraged the revolutionary peoples elsewhere to do the same. No wonder the Czech people earned the enmity of the world bourgeoisie — particularly the U.S.

It need only be remembered that the establishment of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was given as the principal reason by the Truman Administration for the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a move calculated to stem the revolutionary tide in Europe and lay the groundwork for aggressive domination and war all over the world.

It should also be remembered that the U.S. thereafter put a tight economic boycott around Czechoslovakia, seized its foreign assets and began a campaign of internal subversion and external pressure the like of which was not seen during a period of "peace."

The establishment of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic brought phenomenal social and economic gains, particularly to the workers. It ushered in a period of economic and industrial development which took place at an unprecedented tempo and increased the standard of living of the masses of people to heights undreamed of during the reign of the capitalist class.

The 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party ushered in a new period of reaction, which revived the remnants of the old ruling classes in Eastern Europe as well as the neo-bourgeois restorationist elements in the Soviet Union.

This Congress, among whose leaders was Nikita Khrushchev, took advantage of the grave and serious errors made by Stalin during many years, and ushered in a new period of revisionism in nearly all fields of Soviet life.

This soon found an echo in the newly established Peoples' governments in Eastern Europe where remnants of the older ruling class still maintained a clandestine existence and were constantly nourished by their strong economic and social connections with the Western bourgeoisie.

The counter-revolutionary uprising

in 1956 in Hungary and Poland were the logical outcome of the reactionary impetus given by the 20th Congress.

The Congress set in motion a series of changes to the right, particularly in the economic system of Eastern Europe, which, even though checked from time to time is still moving toward the abyss of bourgeois restoration.

The latest events in Czechoslovakia constitute a renewed leap in the same direction. The Wall Street government, which was so hostile to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic when it was first set up, and did everything to strangle it, is practically delirious with joy at the new trend in Czechoslovakia.

Said the New York Times in a prominent editorial on March 12:

"The United States could greatly help the present positive evolution in Czechoslovakia by extending to her the long overdue privilege of receiving the most-favored-nation treatment in respect to tariffs. Furthermore, the United States has blocked the return to Czechoslovakia of the gold reserves of the prewar period Prague Government. (That is, the capitalist regime — ed) ... Their return would be a telling symbol of American good will..."

The New York Times forgot to mention that it applauded the blocking of the gold reserves and similar moves when they were proposed by Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

There are those who say that all is lost in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

No, we don't think so. Such an analysis is faulty and premature. The basic conquests of the revolutions, such as the collectivized and nationalized property and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie are still a giant fact of life.

And while the planned economy has been damaged and hurt by revisionist leadership, it can be disregarded by revolutionary Marxists only at their peril.

Finally, it should be noted that the recent reactionary upheavals in Eastern Europe come at a time of world-wide revolutionary onslaught against imperialism, an onslaught that gives renewed courage and confidence to millions in the West. Imperialism's efforts in Vietnam and elsewhere are crumbling. The fortunes of imperialism are declining. From one end of the globe to the other, imperialism is becoming more discredited and incapable of attracting new people to its banner.

The present international situation is favorable to revolutionary struggle for socialism and unfavorable for a lasting tenure for the ugly reaction raising its head in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.

of feudal Emperor Haile Selassie on this question, as well as on several others.

As a matter of fact, even if South Africa should change its position, there remains the highly important fact that People's China is absent from the Olympics — because its regime is not recognized as representing China. (!)

Elementary socialist solidarity would dictate that leaders of the Soviet Union, no matter how conservative, should ask their athletes to stay home.

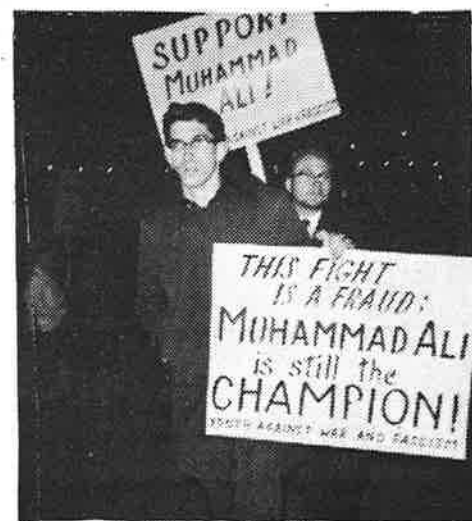
Cleveland Youths Defend Champ As New Yorkers Picket the Garden

CLEVELAND, March 4 — While hundreds of youths picketed the so-called world heavyweight boxing championship at Madison Square Garden in New York, demonstrators marched here, too, in support of Muhammad Ali.

The demonstration called by Youth Against War & Fascism, was held outside the Cleveland Arena, where closed circuit television showed the Frazier-Mathis fight. With TV cameras covering the demonstration, the spirited picketers carried signs saying, "This Fight is A Fraud: Muhammad Ali is still the Champion!" and "Support Muhammad Ali."

A leaflet handed out to passersby said in part:

"Muhammad Ali is the real heavyweight champion of the world. He never lost his title. The Boxing Commission stole it from him. Why? Because he is against the war of aggression against the Vietnamese, he is a Nationalist and a Muslim, and he is a popular Black



fighter."

Most of the Black fight fans who came to see the match readily agreed that Ali was still the champ.

Meaning of the McCarthy Vote

(Continued from page one)

liamentary means.

It is most unlikely to do so in regard to this ferocious war on which it has staked so much.

It is commonplace for capitalist candidates to talk of peace during wartime, especially when significant battle casualties begin to reach home. In fact, as the election date draws near, the peace talk will reach deafening proportions and no capitalist candidate will dare disavow it.

The first of the U.S. presidents to be elected on a credible peace program was Woodrow Wilson. "He kept us out of war" was the promise to the masses, more than half a century ago. Since then, all succeeding presidents have spoken in the name of peace but executed a program either leading to or perpetuating an imperialist war.

The temptation to rely on differences in emphasis and terminology by presidential candidates is very great indeed,

But how can one be so gullible with respect to peace propaganda from capitalist candidates with the example of the 1964 presidential campaign still fresh in the memory of the American people?

Were not Johnson's peace promises on Vietnam in such stark contrast to those of Goldwater? What is there in McCarthy's career that makes him more credible than a Woodrow Wilson or a Lyndon Johnson — whose bosom buddy he was just yesterday?

The temptation to succumb to the "lesser evil" theory is the principal reason for people who should know better continually deceiving millions of American workers and corrupting instead of raising their class consciousness.

The entrance of McCarthy on the electoral arena is really a stratagem calculated to get the militant anti-war elements off the streets, away from open mass struggle and into the safe arena of electoral politics.

Lockheed on the Gravy Boat

By F. REED

MARIETTA, Ga. Mar. 2 — A first helping of the world's biggest "bird" was ceremoniously served up today for President Johnson. The bird, the Galaxy C-5, will go to the Air Force, the gravy to Lockheed Aircraft.

Lockheed-Georgia won the \$1.8 billion Air Force contract for 58 of the giant fanjets in 1965. Expected future orders for 142 of these could bring the total to \$7 billion.

The company seems to be in the habit of winning government contracts. The C-130 Hercules airlifter has been its chief money maker for 12 years, with over 1,000 sold to the government, and more now required as they crash over Khesanh, Vietnam.

When Lockheed-Georgia was awarded a contract for the Starlifter C-141, its competitors suddenly noticed that Georgia was home to Sen. Richard B. Russell and to Rep. Carl Vinson, present and former chairmen of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees.

Russell, it should be noted, held his same powerful positions in the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees in 1951, when Lockheed took over a W.W.2 assembly plant in Marietta. Georgia Sen. George was chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Georgia Rep. Brown was a member of the Joint Committee on Defense Production at that time, as well.

Lockheed may have needed the services of friends in high places in 1961 when yet another billion-dollar contract was challenged by the NAACP for dis-

criminatory practices.

The NAACP told the new President's Commission on Equal Job Opportunity that Lockheed-Georgia refused to hire Black apprentices, that only 400 out of 10,000 workers were Black, facilities were segregated, and so on.

Lockheed promised to reform, and Administration officials warned that progress "would not come overnight." (New York Times, June 5, 1961.) Lockheed kept its contract. The chairman of the President's Commission was Lyndon B. Johnson.

Lockheed-Georgia can undoubtedly count today on such friends as Sen. Russell; Sen. Talmadge, a member of the Finance Committee; Georgia delegation members in the Appropriations and Aeronautics committees — one congressman is a Vice President of the National Aviation Trades Association — not to mention Secretary of State Dean Rusk, another Georgia boy.

And, as President Johnson noted in his speech at the roll-out ceremony for the C-5 at Marietta, U.S. imperialism can count on Lockheed to profitably provide the craft that will "fly our men to any spot on the globe where we might be forced to stand..."

Johnson was greeted on the platform by fellow racist and Lockheed supporter, Georgia Governor, Lester "Ax-Handle" Maddox.

The Vietnamese are fighting a "people's war" in every sense of the word. But that does not prevent them from using people's rockets in addition to people's fists and homemade shotguns.

Apartheid Olympics and Moscow

Finally, after 32 African countries have condemned the Olympic games, the Soviet leadership seems to be coming around to the same ideal!

Can you imagine Lenin and the Bolsheviks waiting for pressure from 32 countries as a result of South Africa barring Black athletes, before considering a possible Soviet boycott?

Of course not. Lenin would have been the first, not the thirty-third to propose such a thing. But Kosygin is to the right

Black Freedom Fighter Turns His Back on Judge Makes Revolutionary Appeal to Trial Spectators

We are carrying a rather detailed report of the Martin Sostre frame-up trial in Buffalo, giving much space to Mr. Sostre's off-the-record addresses to the courtroom, first because of the vital importance of the case itself, and second, because of the great bravery and deep understanding shown by a man who educated himself in his enemies' prison.

This man gave up his \$146-a-week job in the Lackawanna steel plant to put his savings and all he could beg and borrow into establishing an Afro-American bookstore (the only one in the city), which he and Geraldine Robinson kept open 14 hours a day, as they eked out a precarious living.

The idea of the bookstore was to prepare Black youth for the liberation struggle.

During the Buffalo uprising last

June, the police gutted the store and arrested Martin, framing him on a charge of possession of drugs, as well as of arson, in the uprising. The charges of arson were later dropped in order to make the drug frame-up more plausible.

Mr. Sostre has acted as his own attorney ever since his "liberal" lawyers let him down and overcharged him in the bargain, keeping a \$500 retainer for no work at all.

The Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P.O. Box 382, Ellicott Sta., Buffalo, N.Y., has raised several hundred additional dollars, still trying to provide the exorbitant bail.

It has obtained a number of law books for Mr. Sostre to prepare his own case, fight for bail reduction and process other grievances.

bellions and declared:

"I have been vindicated. The fifty-thousand dollar bail which was originally set was a sure sign that I have been made a scapegoat. I have been in jail eight months now. I have always asked for a speedy trial. I have always asked for reasonable bail, all I asked was to be treated fairly. I ask no favors from this court."

At this point, Martin Sostre turned to the spectators in the room and urged them:

"Watch racism in America. This is an example of fascist America and a kangaroo court. Everyone remained silent in Germany, but I don't intend to make the same mistake. I want to be a personal example of how you can resist a legal lynching.

"We are not going to the ovens like the Jews did. They were taken unaware. We have learned from their lesson. They did not die in vain. The poor Jews in Germany didn't believe what fascism could do.

"It's up to us to resist oppression and racism with all facets and weapons. All U.S. superiority in weapons — it cannot prevail against will and determination. Racism and militarism are two claws of the same hawk!

"They tried to make me a scapegoat for last June's rebellion. Now they have admitted in their so-called 'riot report' the actual causes of the rebellions. However, even now, little credence can be given to that whitewash report.

"But they admitted they could not point to any scapegoats, that conditions were the real cause. I have been vindicated by even this whitewash report!"

While Sostre continued to speak, Judge Marshall left the courtroom. Sostre went right on. He read a list of some thirty cases of inmates with lower bails than his for much more serious accusations of crime, including second-degree murder and manslaughter.

He pointed out that there was no doubt that this was a political case and that the stoolpigeon and police informer that the prosecution would trot out against him at the trial would be a man by the name of Arto Williams, a known drug addict. He said that Williams was being held on the third floor of the city jail.

"No more cooperation with our oppressors!" said Sostre at this point. "Now we are going to resist them! What do they expect me to do — say 'Yes, Boss, give me a rope and I'll put it around my own neck?'"

"From now on we are going to resist. It's people that count, not money, machines, power and guns. We must challenge the entire rotten foundation. Everything they do we must challenge. We must challenge everything they do to cover their crimes."

"The glare of national publicity scared them when Brother Dick Gregory came last Monday. The court calendar is a very precise thing, yet my case was postponed last Monday and again last Thursday."

(Entertainer Dick Gregory took an interest in the Martin Sostre case when he visited Buffalo, sent a telegram to the U.S. Attorney General and appeared on March 1, the scheduled day of Sostre's trial. And the hearing was mysteriously postponed.)

Then Sostre compared the situation to that in Vietnam.

"Everyone they shoot in Vietnam is called a Viet Cong. The Viet Cong are the people. How could they distinguish me, Martin Sostre, from the Black community? I am part of the Black community. But we have our Uncle Tom generals in the Black community — the equivalent of Tshombe in the Congo — just like there are those militarist generals, the sell-out men, in Vietnam."

At this point, Sostre referred to the local press of last July and August that had constantly harped on "outside agitators," on "fanatics tied to the June violence" and to "Martin X," etc.

Sostre asked:

"What happened to all these outlandish arguments? Either the riot report in Washington is wrong, or I am wrong. I am vindicated. I have to have some sort of redress....

"They said that Black fanatics started it. If all this is a lie, as it is, according to the riot report, they have to give me justice."

Martin Sostre referred to the photograph that appeared on TV and on the front pages of most U.S. newspapers, showing a Saigon police chief "executing" an NLF youth with his own pistol.

"This is a photo of outright murder committed by the oppressor to subdue the people. In every act of wrongdoing they show that they are murderers. I am going to fight everywhere. This court is an arena. This is a battlefield — one of the best. We will use these same torture chambers, these same kangaroo courts, to expose them."

Sostre then referred to Judge Marshall. He said that Marshall didn't even want to hear the show-cause order he had signed.

"There are all sorts of goons," Sostre said, "intellectual goons, goons in badges, and goons in judicial robes. Because you see hostility in hostility, the intellectual goons say you are paranoid. (This was a reference to the court's attempt to commit him to an asylum.)

"I feel hostility because I see hostility. That's normal, and even I can see this, and I'm a high school dropout. But they can't see the forest for the trees.

"Only one thing will stop them — and that is to put a stop to all oppression. These so-called riot experts never even set a foot in the ghetto, yet they make recommendations.

"They missed the whole point. They could have asked any teenager in the ghetto. They didn't ask them. This new riot report is a clue that they intend to set up a colonial administration for the Black people and run us like a colony.

"We want self-determination within our own community. We want to run our own affairs. Every one runs their own affairs but us.

"I want to thank you all for the efforts you are making on our behalf.

"Now just sit back and relax and watch the racist and bigoted Judge Marshall — if he has the guts to proceed with this trial. And remember, never cooperate with your lyncher!"

At this point, Judge Marshall re-entered the courtroom and ordered

that all prospective jurors be summoned. Some twenty-odd all-white people filed in, and at the very end of the procession was a sole Afro-American man, who at first sat with the rest, but moments later, made his way to the other side of the courtroom and took a seat among the supporters of Martin Sostre.

He later told a Sostre Committee member that he was unwilling to serve on a jury against Martin.

With the formal beginning of the trial, Sostre branded the whole thing as a farce, pointing especially to the fact that he had not been allowed out on bail to locate his own witnesses.

"I don't know how naive you are," he said to the Judge, "but if you believe that I'm going to cooperate in this legal lynching, then you are more naive than I thought."

And the defendant refused to testify or cross-examine witnesses, even though the prosecution's finger-men proceeded to contradict each other and trip themselves up very obviously in their direct testimony.

At the recess for lunch, Martin once again addressed himself to the courtroom:

"There's a little more sophistication in Buffalo-type justice than there is in the Mississippi type — but they both dole out the same type legal lynching."

As the harness-type belt and handcuffs were being placed on him, he held his fists up and said, "This is how we're going to resist."

At this point, all his sympathizers stood up and broke into spontaneous applause for the courageous and brilliant defendant.

The expected verdict of "guilty" was given today (March 8), said the Buffalo Courier Express, "against a backdrop of tight security measures. Armed deputy sheriffs took up strategic positions against possible demonstrations by Sostre followers...."

During the three-day trial many Black people were kept outside in the corridors. And a number of seats were actually removed from the none-too-spacious room on the second day.

The all-white hand-picked jury took one hour to reach its decision. They had been impressed by Peter Notaro, the prosecuting assistant district attorney, who had solemnly adjured them:

"The only way you can bring in a verdict of 'not guilty' is if you believe the police witnesses put their hands on the bible and lied."

Martin summed up the situation sharply at the close of one of the sessions, when he admonished the spectators — many of whom were Afro-American youths from the community and white student activists from the university:

"Pay careful attention! Note this farcical trial. They are trying to get rid of Black militants all over the country. Remember, it has happened to me; it can happen to you. When you oppose them, this is the treatment you get! Continue to resist!"

A middle-aged Afro-American raised his voice and spoke for all, when he said:

"We're with you one hundred percent, Martin!"

An attorney in the courtroom, obviously moved by Mr. Sostre's courageous struggle and the tremendous show of sympathy and solidarity he had received from spectators, said that in his many, many years of law practice, he had never before seen such a display of support for a defendant in a courtroom.

Sentencing will be handed down on March 14. The conviction will be appealed.

Giap and Westmoreland: Two Generals, Two Classes

One Fights for the Past, the Other for the Future

Why Can't the West-Pointer, With Far Greater Fire Power, Out-General the Ex-History Professor?

Now that the U.S. militarists are reeling from the blows dealt them by a supposedly "weak" and "backward" people, there is a sudden rash of discussion about the military tactics of the Vietnamese.

Out-weaponed by the U.S., which has almost total mastery of the sea and sky, the Vietnamese people are winning battles in the North and in the South, not to mention their magnificent uprising in 40 southern cities, which electrified the whole world last month.

How can they stand up, much less win actual front-to-front engagements, against what is supposed to be the greatest military power on earth?

In a desperate effort to answer this question, imperialism has now taken to discussing the role of Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, the Defense Minister of North Vietnam and the field commander who planned the Vietnamese victory at the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

Giap is one of the few truly great generals in history. Like the immortal Toussaint l'Ouverture, who led un-

trained men against one of Napoleon's finest armies, he welded an unorganized freedom struggle into a disciplined and modern combat force, decisively defeating Napoleon's immensely more powerful, although decadent, descendants in 1954.

Like Toussaint, and unlike the French and American generals, he has steadily bested, Giap never studied at any military academy. Also like Toussaint, who was nearly middle-aged when he went from coachman to general, Giap never took up arms at all until he was 33 years old. (U.S. generals are very often ready for retirement in their forties, and promotion into \$50,000 to \$100,000 a year "defense" industry jobs.)

How was it possible for Giap, the former history teacher, to accomplish what he did? How is it that he can outmaneuver, out-general, out-think Gen. Wm. Westmoreland, the West Point graduate, who gets ovations from both houses of the U.S. Congress and carries the commission of a trillion-dollar

business empire in his briefcase?

The bourgeoisie cannot answer these questions, twist and turn as they will. Even publishing and studying Giap's own words and explanations for their defeat, they refuse to believe them and label them "propaganda."

For Giap, although obviously a military genius, is most powerful in his understanding of the political character of the forces he leads, in fully recognizing the strength of the revolutionary people along with their military weaknesses. He is strong because he grasps the strongest link in the chain of the masses' consciousness. And on the other hand, he has an equal awareness of the weaknesses of imperialist armies, even while he carefully calculates the ratio of their firepower to his.

The U.S. generals have no doubt read the book from which we have gathered the excerpts printed here. It was published just three years ago by "Vietnam Studies" in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam). It was called "A Contribution to the History of Dien Bien Phu." And it is probably required reading for every single U.S. officer.

But the U.S. generals are as little

inclined to admit that Giap is right about their prejudices or the morale of the soldiers they lead as they are to admit that the whole Viet nation is arrayed against them.

Revolutionaries and all those who identify with the oppressed masses will have little difficulty, however, in recognizing what accomplished the victory at Dien Bien Phu and seeing the same forces at work in Vietnam today. Being a revolutionist does not automatically make one a master strategist. But it provides the indispensable ingredient for an understanding of such a master strategist as Giap.

We think that these quotations from this valuable book supply the answers to the mystifying question: How can people with less arms, and practically no planes or battleships, win a war against the last word in modern armaments? They also answer the question that the tired-out psychologists of the ruling class have asked in a somewhat different context: "May man prevail?"

Gen. Giap answers in the way a proletarian revolutionist should answer, as he explains some of the military problems of both sides on the Vietnamese battlefield of the international class struggle.

Vietnamese Studies — According to Western publications, the command of a people's army, not counting the losses, often uses human-wave tactics in attacks against fortified positions, until the enemy are submerged. These tactics, so they say, are made possible by the troops' fanaticism. What do you think of this opinion?

General Giap — The beaten armies have to find some kind of reason for their defeat, but I must also say that these Western writers show an utter lack of comprehension of what a revolutionary soldier is. A revolutionary soldier has high political consciousness, enhanced national consciousness and class consciousness.

We have devoted much time to forming and enhancing this political consciousness, and for the command of a people's army a soldier is in the first place a militant, a comrade-in-arms. That is why we try to avoid unnecessary losses as best we can. A fallen combatant is a comrade lost, not merely an insignificant soldier.

But we also inculcate in our men the idea that no revolutionary conquest can be achieved without sacrifices, that to expect the imperialists and other reactionaries to give up of their own accord their privileges is to deceive oneself with an illusion.

For the battle of Dien Bien Phu as for all other campaigns, we made our preparations with the utmost care; we made sure of our absolute superiority in number of troops and fire-power every time we launched an attack and our losses in men were always relatively small. We severely reprimanded those cadres who threw their men into adventurous operations. But wherever it was necessary, there were combatants ready to sacrifice their lives for the fatherland, for the greater interests of the revolution. What some people call fanaticism is in fact the revolutionary



Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander-in-Chief of the Vietnam People's Army.

heroism of an army in the service of the people.

V.S. — How did the two armies come to face each other at Dien Bien Phu?

G.G. — Dien Bien Phu was not a part of Navarre's initial plan. When he learned that our regular divisions were moving in a north-westerly direction, he airdropped troops to occupy that plain which in his mind was to become an offensive base to paralyze our troops in that region, and prevent them from extending their operations to Laos.

But the French command was then also obsessed with another idea: it was desperately seeking a violent encounter — which it hoped would be decisive — with the main body of our forces. It expected us to be crushed by French troops with all their technical means.

To our plan of offensive in the north-westerly direction, the French opposed a counterplan. Dien Bien Phu would become a trap into which our troops would be irresistibly lured, to be decimated by gun fire from the formidable fortifications of the entrenched camp.

V.S. — And you headed straight for the trap?

G.G. — Whether our troops or their adversaries would be trapped was decided by the relative strength of the forces facing each other, and by the strategic and tactical direction of operations.

Until then we had attacked only isolated fortified positions held by relatively small forces. Here we had to deal with an entrenched camp with forty-nine strong points which supported each other, and were defended by twenty-one battalions, most of which were crack units of the French expeditionary corps equipped with an imposing artillery, armoured cars and tanks and supported by a large number of aircraft.

Previously, our attacks against fortified positions as a rule lasted a single night: our troops started for the enemy's post at night, liquidated it and withdrew before dawn. It was obvious that the battle of Dien Bien Phu would last much longer. And this created new problems for us.

V.S. — In order of importance, which was the first problem?

G.G. — That of supply, of logistics. The French command was not quite wrong in thinking that the problem was insoluble. In the previous campaigns, when we engaged in operations at some hundred kilometres from our bases, with a small number of troops, we already had to content ourselves many a time with some meager soup for a meal.

Sometimes we almost had to give up our objective on account of insufficient supply. Dien Bien Phu was 500 to 600 kilometres by road from our rear. Our forces at the front comprised several divisions. The enemy was aware of our weak point, and its air force was ceaselessly pounding our supply route.

You know how we solved this problem: by massive mobilization of our entire people. I will not repeat what most of your readers already know — how we succeeded, with most rudimentary means, in accomplishing this really gigantic task.

V.S. — Once supply and munitions had been secured, could you regard the problems as solved?

G.G. — They were far from being solved. We still had to set up our artillery on the inward slopes of the hills without having it destroyed by enemy shells. And first, how to take our guns over the tops of the hills surrounding Dien Bien Phu, when in most places there was not even a simple trail?

How to approach the enemy's positions without being slaughtered by gun fire from his strong points and from the air? And don't forget that our troops had to cross a pretty large plain where the adversary could use his tanks and armoured cars.

Guns had to be pulled by hand over the mountain tops and hidden in cleverly camouflaged casemates. Hundreds of kilometres of trenches and galleries had to be inde-

(Continued on next page)



Gen. Giap calls on fighters of Battalion Nguyen Viet Xuan early in 1967.



Gen. Giap at founding ceremony of Armed Propaganda Unit of Vietnam Liberation Army in Viet Bac region, Dec. 22, 1944, far left, reading Order of the Day.

(Continued from preceding page)

fatigably dug during several weeks. But you already know that.

V.S. — But how did it happen that Navarre, who had an excellent intelligence network, failed to foresee all that?

G.G. — Navarre was an expert in intelligence work, and the colonialists who ruled over our country during 80 years were pretty well acquainted with it. But Navarre, like other French generals, had made a mistake in strategy, which resulted directly from misjudgment, from total lack of knowledge of the adversary.

Navarre did not realize that he was facing an entire people, a people's army waging a people's war. In fact, neither Navarre nor any other French general knew our people and our army. They chiefly relied on weapons, on technical means.

V.S. — But did not the French command rely also on some of its crack troops?

G.G. — It did. It even indulged in paratroop-worship and Foreign Legion-worship. But it regarded them as excellent "war machines" rather than as men. Mechanical training and, to speak like psychologists, prolonged conditioning, had turned these men into robots. Fighting was their trade but they never asked for what they were fighting.

Relying on weapons and mechanical training more than on the soldiers' spirit, Navarre, like all bourgeois generals, had overestimated his own strength. But a still more serious shortcoming for a general was that Navarre did not know his adversary.

V.S. — Many authors, especially the military men, have blamed Navarre for this. They have given the impression that another general would not have made Navarre's Dien Bien Phu error. What do you think of this opinion?

G.G. — As I told you, it is easy to give judgment on what has happened. If those "experts" had had to command the French expeditionary corps in 1953-1954, perhaps they would not have sought a strategic decision at Dien Bien Phu, but in any case they would have committed their troops elsewhere, and any plan of theirs would have been foiled by us.

Those who freely used tanks, planes and artillery could hardly understand how so poorly armed combatants could oppose them.

That any other bourgeois general would make the same mistakes if he were in the same situation as Navarre has been clearly shown by the fact that the French colonialists started the Algerian war immediately following the cessation of hostilities in Indochina, and by the fact that the U.S. imperialists have replaced the French in South Vietnam, only to repeat exactly the same mistakes.

V.S. — But wasn't Dien Bien Phu a special case?

G.G. — Why?

V.S. — It is commonly thought that small and weak peoples, without modern means of warfare, could oppose imperialist armies only with guerilla fighting, small-scale attacks with a modest number of troops, carried out in a short space of time, mostly by surprise. At Dien Bien Phu, there was a battle of 55 days and nights, with entrenched positions, both sides using modern weapons and equipment.

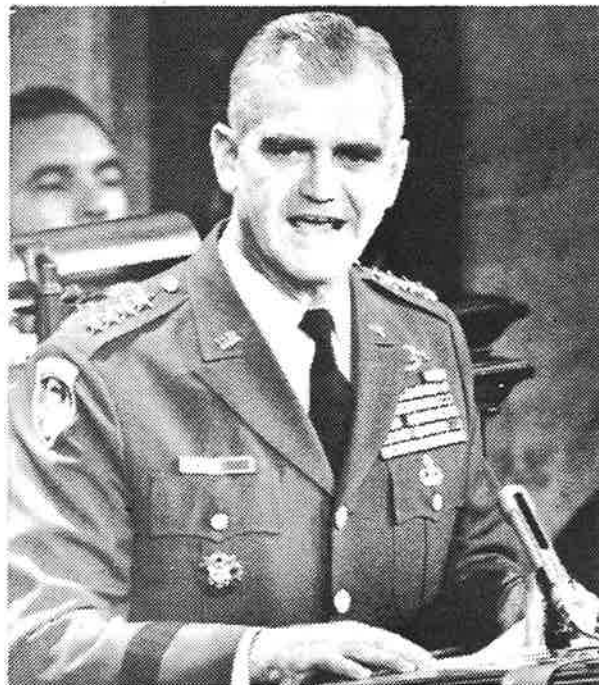
G.G. — Dien Bien Phu has simply proved that when a national liberation war is prolonged, a people's army is quite capable of moving from guerrilla warfare to regular

warfare. This is a necessary evolution in the growing up of a revolutionary army.

Navarre's mistake, like that of all other imperialist generals, is to doubt that simple peasants, often illiterate, are ever capable of becoming good artillerymen, that cadres who never studied at Saint-Cyr or West Point could ever solve strategic, tactical, operational, and logistical problems which seem to be the monopoly of the bourgeois military.

V.S. — May we ask you where and how you made your military studies?

G.G. — I never studied in any military college. But at the time of Dien Bien Phu, my comrades and I had been fighting ten years of guerilla warfare, first against the Japanese, then against the French: the people's armed struggle is the best school. However, in armed struggle as in all revolutionary activities, empiricism is not enough. There is a Marxist-Leninist military theory, a Marxist-Leninist military conception, a Marxist-Leninist military science. Our Party has brought into play this Marxist-Leninist military theory, taking into account the concrete conditions in our country, to arrive at a correct military policy.



General Wm. Westmoreland speaking to Congress about "the light at the end of the tunnel."

V.S. — How was it that the imperialist generals who had read a lot of Marxist works had not been able to apply this military theory?

G.G. — The Americans have made great efforts in an attempt to adapt this Marxist military conception, and they have devised the "special war" tactics, but how can one distinguish the different colours while wearing dark glasses?

We have an army whose morale and combativeness are continuously sustained by high patriotism and class consciousness. Our artillerymen and our infantrymen at the front faced and overcame great difficulties which were new to them. Had we not been confident of the people's creative power and our army's heroism, the Dien Bien Phu battle would not have taken place.

V.S. — How is this concretely reflected in the organization of our armed forces? Are there similarities with a bourgeois army?

G.G. — There may be some similarities with a bourgeois army. But these are related to the external aspects only.

In fact, our regular forces constituted the top of a pyramid the base of which was made up of the regional and local people's fighting units.

Our entire people were up in arms; the peasants learned to handle weapons to defend their villages. The best fighters in the village militia were selected to build up regional units, and another selection among the people's fighting units led to the organization of regular units. A number of local and regional fighting units actually operate like regular units.

No bourgeois government would dare to arm the population as we did. I should add that at present, as we are still threatened with aggression, our people in the North are continuing their military training, and an invading army would encounter regular troops and people's fighting units which are even better organized and trained than in the years of Resistance against the French.

V.S. — Doesn't such an organization seem to be more defensive than offensive?

G.G. — One may say that this organization makes it possible for us to do both tasks: offensive and defensive. Navarre thought that by threatening our free zones with his mobile forces, he could force us to hold back our regular units, thus foiling our plans of offensive. We only had to strengthen our regional troops in the threatened areas, while our regular units kept attacking the enemy wherever he was exposed.

V.S. — If we understand you well, you had at your disposal important mobile forces.

G.G. — Exactly. Freed from the defensive task, our regular troops could attack wherever they wanted, while the enemy's mobile forces had to rush to the rescue of every threatened sector. Lacking planes, motorized ve-

hicles, and ships, our forces were in fact more mobile than the enemy's.

Some of our units covered thousands of kilometres on foot, during the winter-spring campaign of 1952-54. But without the regional troops and the numerous support organizations of the people, we would have been reduced to rushing troops wherever the enemy attacked and remaining always on the defensive.

V.S. — Before Dien Bien Phu, had the Vietnam People's Army received special training?

G.G. — As the war extended, gradually our armies' technique and equipment improved and we moved from guerilla warfare to mobile warfare, attacking more and more important fortified positions. Our troops had undergone appropriate military training and education which we consider particularly important. But what was decisive in bringing about victory and making it possible for our troops to overcome all technical difficulties, during the stage of apprenticeship as during actual battles, was the political factor. Our army fought for just political objectives.

V.S. — What exactly did this political factor consist in?

G.G. — Above all, in patriotism, national consciousness, the will to liberate the country! Our revolution is in the first place a national revolution. It is also a democratic revolution. Our Party launched the agrarian reform while the war was raging. Our soldiers were mostly poor peasants.

During their political studies, each of them recalled how he had been exploited, oppressed by the feudal landlords, what miseries and humiliations his family had suffered, how the colonialists had ruined the country, while committing the worst possible crimes.

Our men at the front received many letters from their wives, their parents, informing them of the agrarian reform then in full swing, describing their joy and the enthusiasm of the seething peasant masses.

Our Party ceaselessly inculcated in our troops a double consciousness: national and class consciousness. Our army is an army in the service of the people and not in the service of the propertied classes, as bourgeois armies are.

V.S. — Is there any contradiction between national consciousness and class consciousness?

G.G. — Not at all for workers, poor peasants and progressive intellectuals. To acquire this class consciousness is to feel on the one hand deep hatred against the exploiters, the imperialists, the feudal class and on the other hand fraternity with the exploited and oppressed.

This class consciousness enables our soldiers to see beyond their national borders, to feel tied with all peoples in the world, including the French people. After their courses of political education, all were eager to achieve new exploits, and our entire army took the offensive with a new ardour.

V.S. — If the French expeditionary had received more planes and arms, could it have won the victory?

G.G. — What the colonialists were lacking was not weapons. In this respect they enjoyed absolute superiority over us. What they lacked was men, men who were willing to fight.

Delattre de Tassigny, like Navarre, wanted to build up a puppet army to remedy this shortage of troops, but the number of troops does not make the value of an army.

If you want further evidence, just look at the Americans in South Vietnam: they thought they had found a solution with the use of helicopters, amphibious vehicles, up-to-date telecommunication systems, all kinds of new weapons, including toxic chemicals. How are they now in South Vietnam? Their situation now is still more precarious than that of the French ten years ago.

He May Do Better As a Captain of Industry

Westmoreland has put over 5,000 GIs into an exposed and maybe indefensible spot (Khesanh). Some generals appear to think the soldiers should be taken out of there.

But "U.S. prestige" (or do they mean Westmoreland's prestige?) is too deeply involved. And GIs are somewhat more expendable than generals.

The question is beginning to arise, even in the United States: Does Westmoreland know what he's doing?

Only last November he hailed the Dakto fighting as "the beginning of a great defeat for the enemy." But the Dakto area has now been abandoned by U.S. forces.

The same applies to Hill 881 and some of the other bloody mounds that GIs died for. Nobody's there now except the NLF.

As recently as December, Westmoreland's official maps showed Khesanh as a "pacified" area.

Maybe General Dynamics or Lockheed Aircraft can see a lot of sense in paying him \$100,000 or so a year when he retires, so they can get all those fat war orders.

-- But whether the GIs in Khesanh think he's worth a general's salary may be another matter.

A General's Lot Is Not a Happy One

A report from the Chicago Daily News service datelined Saigon, said on March 9:

"Little more than a month ago Westmoreland could look forward to returning to the U.S. and a top job after four long years of running the most frustrating war in American history

"Today, if Westmoreland's future isn't in doubt, his reputation has suffered. All his claims that we were winning the war, that within a couple of years U.S. troops could begin to phase out and let the South Vietnamese take over, went up in smoke Jan. 30. (The date of the beginning of the South Vietnamese uprising -- ed.)

"In a single stunning blow North Vietnam's Gen. Nguyen Giap not only demolished Westmoreland's optimism, but left most of South Vietnam's major cities in partial ruins and Washington in a state of shock. (Slight correction: it was U.S. bombing of "friendly" cities that made the 'partial ruins' -- ed.)

"His position was not improved when he called Giap's offensive a 'go for broke' operation, then had to concede that the Communists had more than enough strength to strike again and again.

"As if to underline his humiliation, even Westmoreland's command post isn't safe. His air-conditioned offices in the 'Little Pentagon' at the edge of Tan Son Nhut air base, rock and tremble daily under the impact of friendly and unfriendly explosions ...

"As one of his lieutenants observes, no matter whether he leaves in two months, four months or two years, people will still say he is fired."

Great "Riot" Report — Just 100 Yrs. Too Late

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

The oppression of Black people in the racist U.S. society is so severe that the revolutionary struggle for liberation cannot be avoided at home unless the U.S. capitalist class reforms its entire system to give Black people full economic, social and political equality now.

This is the real conclusion of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, only it is expressed in more demagogic language.

Watts, Newark and Detroit are only a mild prelude to what will occur if the billionaires do not grant true equality. The stability of the entire U.S. imperialist society will be threatened if the revolutionary trend of the Black struggle is not reversed. That is the urgent message of the liberal wing of the ruling class.

In order to bolster their point of view, the commission compiled a partial catalogue of what amounts to the crimes of U.S. capitalism against the Black people. True, the report is written in the chauvinistic, barely sympathetic tone of the bourgeois scholar; of course, the report covers up for the class of industrialists and bankers who are responsible for inculcating racist social attitudes in the masses of white people.

Nevertheless, it is acknowledged in all quarters that the report describes the plight of the Black masses accurately — at least as accurately as any ruling class report could.

The natural question Black people are asking is — what is the Government going to do about it?

Their answer was partially supplied by police departments throughout the country, who announced that they were stockpiling weapons and ordering the most "effective riot control measures," such as tanks and heavy guns.

It was also supplied by Johnson himself last January in his hysterical call for fighting "crime in the streets" (meaning Black Americans) in his State of the Union Message.

In the very week that the report was made public, the cops in Omaha shot a 16-year-old Afro-American boy in the back and killed him at the same time that George Wallace was in town barnstorming for white supremacy.

The 11,000 National Guardsmen in Tennessee last week for "riot-training" did not come to read the commission report, but to learn to use their bayonets this summer against Black people.

The ruling class in Newark, in a symbolic gesture of racist intransigence, refused to even grant such a mere token as a civilian police review board. This two days after the report came out!

The highest executive official in the capitalist Establishment, President Johnson, gnashed his teeth in silence at the report for a week. During that time he had Hubert Humphrey disagree with the indictment of racism. Finally, Johnson grudgingly declared the report to be "recommended reading."

The day before he had stood on a platform with the ax-handle-wielding governor of Georgia, Lester Maddox, who only differs from Johnson in the advancement of his career.

Otto Kerner, Democratic governor of Illinois, may have been the chairman of the commission, but this did not stop Democratic Mayor Daley of Chicago from denouncing the report and calling for force.

Richard Nixon, the leading Republican candidate for President, attacked the report because it didn't lay the blame on the oppressed and because it didn't call for more police terror. No one can fail to draw the obvious

conclusion:

If the President, the Vice President and the leading candidate for President don't speak the mind of the decisive section of the ruling class, then who does?

Furthermore, the stockpiling of weapons by police, the open training of the National Guard and the Army are deeds which no report can conceal or overrule.

But what of the argument that these threats to the Afro-American community are simply the reflexive action of hardened racists entrenched over the years, and that the report heralds a new turn by the ruling class which will be implemented by new forces?

After all, by this astounding document of self-criticism the ruling class has risen to the occasion — has faced a new and desperate situation — a dire threat to their society based on exploitation. Haven't they finally come to grips with the problem?

Yes, the liberal bourgeoisie has "finally come to grips" with the problem — on paper. But what of real life?

In the first place, the capitalist class would not free the Black people in the nineteenth century when it was breaking up the old order by force of arms; when it had become the champion of abolition in order to smash the slavocracy; when it expounded the equality of all men as the national slogan in order to extend its hegemony over the South.

But most important is the fact that the bosses put an end to Reconstruction and sold out the Black millions to the southern bourbons in 1877, before they became imperialists; before they became the bulwark of world reaction; before they began to oppress people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In other words, the bourgeoisie as a class instituted the system of racism when it had an historic choice to do otherwise, so to speak; when full equality was already in the minds of men; when a war had been fought for it and a million had died to get it; when there was no fundamental threat to the system to grant it. The rulers chose super-profits over equality then and they cannot and will not do otherwise now, when their counter-revolutionary tasks are multiplying daily.

Nothing less than a complete renaissance of the bourgeois liberalism of a bygone era is required to bring equality to twenty million Afro-Americans under the profit system.

The concrete implications of the ruling class carrying out such a program merely have to be stated in order to grasp the historic impossibility of it being done.

For example, the Vietnam war would have to be called off just to get \$30 billion, the estimated amount needed to carry out the report's recommendations. Asia would have to be left to the Asians!

The ruling class would have to inaugurate an intensive campaign against racism and become the exponent of the brotherhood of man.

Racism and chauvinism would have to be rooted out from every section of society. Getting up social support for imperialist wars would become impossible.

The bosses would have to give up the billions of dollars in super-profits wrung from underpaid Black workers. Whole new markets would have to be found (where?) in order to give employment to the millions of under- and unemployed Black workers, at a time when there are not enough jobs for whites.

Men like Wallace, Maddox, Johnson, Richard Russell, etc., etc., would have

The Words . . .

- May 17, 1954** Supreme Court rules that segregation in public schools is illegal.
- July 14, 1955** U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond, Va. rules that segregation in public buses is illegal.
- Nov. 25, 1955** Interstate Commerce Commission rules segregation illegal in trains, stations, buses, and waiting rooms.
- Nov. 7, 1957** President Eisenhower appoints new Civil Rights Commission after first civil rights bill is passed in Congress in 82 years. Commission is given power to investigate denial of voting rights or equal protection of the laws because of color, race, religion, or national origin.
- Sept. 8, 1959** Civil Rights Commission reports to Eisenhower the following recommendations:
 - 1) legislation authorizing voter registrars
 - 2) authorization of Census Bureau to compile voting statistics
 - 3) prohibit discrimination of registration officials
- May 6, 1960** Civil Rights Act of 1960 passed by Congress providing protection of voting rights through court referees for determining voting qualifications.
- Mar. 6, 1961** President Kennedy issues executive order to provide equal access to all for Federal government jobs.
- Nov. 1, 1961** Interstate Commerce Commission prohibits segregated seating in interstate buses, and bars interstate buses from using terminals whose facilities are segregated.
- Feb. 26, 1962** Supreme Court decision in Mississippi case bans segregation in all interstate or intrastate transportation facilities.
- Aug. 28, 1963** Giant March on Washington of 250,000 is interpreted as attracting much support from Congressmen and local politicians for important civil rights legislation.
- July 2, 1964** Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed by Congress provides that voting booths, classrooms, federally assisted programs, public parks, hotels, and other public places shall be open to all on equal basis, and also including equal opportunity for employment in business enterprises of 25 or more employees.
- Apr. 8, 1966** Last voting poll tax in the U.S. is abolished in Mississippi.
- Feb. 29, 1968** President Johnson's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders reports that "riots" have been basically the result of white racism. The report urges drastic reforms in employment, housing, education, and welfare for the ghettos.



"Riot"—control demonstration at Ft. Belvoir, Va., staged for police officials. Both of the clashing forces are played by "volunteer" GIs.

to be jailed, along with the KKK, etc.

The entire political structure in the South would have to be smashed. The racists would have to be purged from every city, state and national position, North and South. Black leaders and partisans of Afro-American freedom would have to take their places.

In short, for the bourgeoisie to grant equality to Black people would mean the collapse of the imperialist system and the death of the capitalist class itself.

This is the scientific class truth, regardless of the sincerity or hypocrisy of the authors of the report, and this is why the report will become

just another sterile document.

The above tasks are on the agenda of the day. But it is not the racist ruling class which is going to commit suicide by carrying them out. Only the forces of Black liberation and their allies in the struggle can accomplish this.

Certainly the terrible conditions of oppression outlined by the report will be abolished. But it will not be the most decadent, racist and imperialist class history has ever seen which will abolish them. Only the proletarian revolution can build a new society and it will do so on the ruins of the old.

... The Deeds

- Apr. 14, 1955** NAACP demands deadline on ending segregation during 5-day hearings before Supreme Court. Attorney for Administration says no deadline should be set.
- Sept. 23, 1955** Emmett Till, 14-year-old Black youth is murdered in Sumner, Miss. Two racists are later acquitted by white jury — they tell Look Magazine exactly how they committed the lynch-murder and get several thousand dollars for story.
- Dec. 29, 1956** With Talahassee, Fla. bus boycott just ended, racists shoot and wound Afro-Americans attempting to take newly "integrated" buses.
- Jan. 10, 1957** Four Black churches bombed in Montgomery, Ala.
- Nov. 10, 1958** Token integrated school in Osage, W. Va. is blown up in early morning hours.
- Apr. 9, 1960** Reports show that 94 per cent of South's public schools are still segregated.
- May 14, 1961** White racists beat up Freedom Riders in Anniston, Ala. on way to Birmingham, and also attacked later in Birmingham. Another 20 Freedom Marchers beaten in Montgomery, Ala. a week later.
- Aug. 27, 1961** Robert F. Williams, first organizer in the U.S. for armed Black self-defense, is framed-up by Klan racists on kidnapping charge in Monroe, N.C. along with Mae Mallory. With FBI having orders to shoot on sight, Williams is forced into exile in Cuba.
- Jan. 21, 1963** Charges of insurrection at University of Mississippi campus against Fascist General Walker are dropped. Walker had organized racist mob against the admission of James Meredith into Mississippi U.
- June 12, 1963** Medgar Evers, civil rights leader, is murdered in Jackson, Miss.
- Sept. 15, 1963** Racists bomb church in Birmingham, Ala. and kill four Black children. Police shoot and kill another Black youth during subsequent demonstrations, and still another boy is murdered by white gang.
- Apr. 7, 1964** Rev. Bruce Klunder crushed to death by bulldozer during demonstration at Cleveland school construction site for equal employment of Afro-Americans.
- June 21, 1964** Three civil rights workers, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman murdered in Philadelphia, Miss.
- July 11, 1964** Lemuel Penn, Black assistant superintendent of Washington, D.C. public schools killed by shotgun blast in Colbert, Ga.
- July 16, 1964** Off-duty police lieutenant murders 15-year-old Black youth, James Powell, in Harlem, N.Y. Enraged Black community rebels against racist police for five days. Four Afro-Americans killed and 800 arrested.
- July 31, 1964** 15th Black church is bombed in Mississippi.
- Feb. 18, 1965** Alabama state police murder Jimmy Lee Jackson, an Afro-American, in a civil rights demonstration in Marion, Ala.
- Feb. 21, 1965** Malcolm X murdered by U.S. police agents in Harlem.
- Aug. 17, 1965** Afro-American community begins uprising against racist cops in Watts, Los Angeles. 34 killed, 883 injured and 3,600 arrested.
- Jan. 10, 1966** Julian Bond, SNCC officer, ousted from Georgia legislature after having been elected. Washington looks on and goes along with racist action.
- June 12, 1966** Chicago policeman shoots Cruz Arcelis. Angry Puerto Rican community fights back against brutal cops. 16 Puerto Ricans were wounded or injured.
- Nov. 8, 1966** Policemen's Benevolent Association runs racist referendum and gets Civilian Review Board of police abolished.
- Jan. 10, 1967** Lester Maddox, ultra-racist restaurant owner "elected" governor of Georgia. Humphrey later embraces fellow democrat.
- May 17, 1967** Houston cops terrorize Black dormitories at Texas Southern U. 500 students are arrested. One cop shot and five students are framed-up on murder charge.
- July 12, 1967** Police arrest and beat Black taxi cab driver in Newark. Afro-American community rebels against racist cops. 26 are killed, 1,200 injured and 1,300 arrested.
- July 23, 1967** Enraged Afro-American community in Detroit fights back against racism and stages largest rebellion. 43 are killed, 2,000 wounded, and 7,200 arrested.
- Feb. 9, 1968** Three Black students murdered by racist cops in Orangeburg, S.C. during drive to integrate a bowling alley.

Students Invade S.C. Legislature To Protest Orangeburg Massacre



Orangeburg students before besieging Governor.

MARCH 7 — The racist Senate of South Carolina hurriedly adjourned today when 400 militant Afro-American students stormed into the State Capitol at Columbia, to demand redress of grievances for the students of South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, where three students were murdered and over 30 wounded by highway patrolmen recently.

The students demanded an audience with Governor Robert E. McNair and sat outside his office until he agreed to meet with six of their representatives.

Five of the demonstrators were arrested when they tried to read a petition of grievances from the senate gallery. The students' petition protested the "vicious use of violent Gestapo tactics by police" and demanded an "all-Black" board of trustees for South Carolina State College.

Among other demands were:

*Suspension of the heads of the State

Law Enforcement Division, State Highway Patrol, National Guard and Orangeburg City Police (all of whom participated in the massacre of Black students) pending an investigation.

*No less than \$10,000 from the state as redress to each of the families of the slain students.

*A \$12-million appropriation for operations of South Carolina State College next year.

*The dropping of charges against Cleveland Sellers, state field director of SNCC. (Sellers was wounded during the racist attack, held in \$50,000 bail and charged with five counts, including arson, assault with intent to kill and inciting to riot.)

After the demonstration at the Senate, the students marched around the grounds of the State House carrying signs which read:

"Orangeburg Massacre (Police Riot)" — "Kill Me and Who's Going to Fight the War?" — "Gov. McNair should be Tried for War Crimes."



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To American Women: "South Vietnamese Victory Is YOUR Victory"

Dear American friends,

On the occasion of March 8, International Women's Day, a day in honour of the militant spirit of the world women, we send you the warmest greetings of Vietnamese mothers and women.

On this occasion, we once again hail your seething activities in January last against the American government's policy of aggression in Viet Nam. The march on Washington staged by 5,000 women, Mrs. J. Rankin's appeal, Eartha Kitt's declaration to the wife of President Johnson, are proof of your courage. In defiance of repressive measures by the rulers, you have resolutely demanded an end to the American government's unjust and cruel war in Viet Nam, and the repatriation of your husbands and sons.

We are writing this letter to you at a time when our compatriots in South Viet Nam are living seething moments of stirring struggle.

As you know, the untold crimes perpetrated in the past years by the U.S. government and its henchmen in Saigon have aroused deep hatred among the South Vietnamese people.

During the recent Lunar New Year Festival, while the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation ordered a 7-day ceasefire so as to enable the people and army to enjoy the festive days, the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys rejected this order, and suddenly cancelled the truce, then sent aircraft to raid the heavily populated areas and massacre our compatriots right in our traditional festival.

These barbarous acts have incensed

the flames of hatred among the people and triggered a concerted uprising of millions of people throughout South Viet Nam, in the countryside and over 87 towns, cities, and provincial and district capitals, against the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique. Great victories have been recorded by the uprising forces.

Sustaining heavy and unexpected defeats, the U.S. government on the one hand has adopted cruel measures of retaliation by sending aircraft to drop bombs and poison gas on Saigon, Cholon, Hue and many other parts where they had lost control.

On the other hand it has slandered the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and spread news about their imaginary victories with a view to deceiving public opinion in the United States and the world.

It has moreover threatened to take special measures to continue its criminal war and slaughters in South Viet Nam and to escalate further its war of destruction in North Viet Nam. However, the retaliatory acts and war escalation of the U.S. government only increase the determination of the 31 million Vietnamese people to defeat the enemy.

Dear friends,

The South Vietnamese people are now resolved to promote the struggle to achieve at whatever costs sovereignty, independence, freedom, peace and happiness. We deem that you, who have long been aware of the unjust nature of the U.S. government's



"Let all the women in the world unite to struggle against imperialism... especially U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy, socialism and the future and happiness of the women and children. We will certainly win."

— Ta Tha Kieu, heroine of the South Vietnam Liberation Army

aggressive war in Viet Nam and who have long been persistently and valiantly struggling against this war, will certainly realize that the victory recorded by the South Vietnamese people is your victory and that of the genuine American people who constantly fight for freedom and justice.

In the present urgent situation, we hope that you will not let the Johnson government deceive you and prolong the war which is but causing sufferings and mournings to so many American families. Will you demand that the U.S. government stop its aggressive war in Viet Nam, end unconditionally and definitively its bombing and the other acts of war against the D.R.V.N. and let the Vietnamese people themselves settle their internal affairs....

Would you take stronger actions so as to end early the U.S. dirty war, in the interests of our two peoples.

These acts are for your own interests and at the same time in support of the Vietnamese people's just struggle.

All the best wishes to you. We shall win.

On behalf of the Standing Committee of the Viet Nam Women's Union
HA GIANG



A platoon of militiawomen handling guns in training exercise.

Big Brass Want GIs to Stay in Viet Even After 12-Month Hitch Is Over

The big brass is not only demanding ever more men for the meatgrinder in Vietnam, it is also apparently plotting to extend the GIs' tour of duty there from one year to 15 or 18 months, or even longer.

Last August 13, Hanson Baldwin, military editor of the New York Times and confidant of several top desk-warriors at the Pentagon, sent up a trial balloon by saying that the "rapid casualty rate" was caused by "the inexperience and rapid turnover" of GIs in Vietnam, thus trying to indicate that it might "save lives" to keep a GI in the battle zone a few months longer!

Last month, under cover of "emergency," Johnson coolly sent 10,500 extra troops to Vietnam, about 4,000 of whom had already completed their 12 months there and were waiting for discharge in the United States. No

public outcry went up from those many organs of the imperialist Establishment, which are so much "opposed" to the war.

Last week, on March 8, Drew Pearson went a step further in conditioning the U.S. public (if not the GIs themselves) to accept a still broader breakdown of the 12-month system. Pearson revealed, together with his partner Jack Anderson, who is now in Saigon, that Gen. Earle Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had taken this matter up in his recent trip to that city.

"Just as soon as our combat troops become more experienced at Vietnam-style warfare, they are shipped home and replaced by greenhorns," said the aging, but apparently gung-ho columnist.

"This has made calendar watchers out of GIs in Vietnam. As they approach

the end of their 12 months some also start playing it safe, taking fewer risks."

"Even at the height of the Viet Cong offensive," the Pearson column complained, "planes continued to take off, loaded with combat troops heading for home or the bright lights of Bangkok, Hong Kong or Honolulu. Only the sporadic mortar attacks on the airfields briefly held up the departing planes. ...Troops were being hurried home as fast as their 12-month Vietnam hitches ran out."

It's all a build-up, of course, for an extension of Vietnam tours of duty. But it also raises the question of just how far the Pearson-type "liberals" will really go in their opposition to the escalation, not to mention the war itself, and whether they will stand up to the military at all in a greater crisis.

And if "liberals" like Pearson and Anderson talk as callously as this about the lives of the GIs, it can be imagined how far the hard-boiled militarists are really planning to go!

Land Reform — U.S.-Saigon Style

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

Now that the U.S. military is suffering its heaviest losses in the Vietnam war, has in fact lost control of the entire countryside and is besieged in almost every city and town, an "expert" study for a Congressional watchdog committee has suddenly come up with this explanation:

"Virtually all land reform ceased in 1961, and the major new development in the law has been one prescribing in effect 'negative land reform,' or the return of the landlords to their former positions in areas that have been resecured (i.e., areas where the NLF has distributed the land to the peasants).

"The Americans are thus placed in a position of those-who-are-here-to-take-back-our-land in the eyes of hundreds of thousands of peasants," said Dr. Roy L. Prosterman, author of this official report.

The total absence of land reform, and in fact the reversion of land to the landlords is, according to the study, "costing the lives of large numbers of American soldiers and is significantly prolonging the war."

These "experts" for the U.S. imperialists have suddenly "discovered" that their own corrupt Thieu-Ky puppet regime, which has always been backed by the arch reactionary and hated feudal landlords of South Vietnam, is "bankrupt" and has failed to "win the loyalty of the masses."

However, it was further revealed that stealing the peasants' land is not only the policy of the Saigon regime, but that of the U.S. invaders. A Defense Department study, this one by the Rand Corporation, admitted:

"From the point of view of Government control, the ideal province in South Vietnam would be one in which few peasants operate their own land, the distribution of land-holdings is unequal and no land redistribution has taken place."

It is no wonder that the people have risen up to defeat "those-who-are-there-to-steal-their land!"



Do Thi Duyen, 66 years old, was hit by a U.S. fragmentation bomb on outskirts of Viet Tri.

SAD SACKED SAVIORS

Remember those two British girls who were so worried about their bosses' empire when the pound fell that they started a campaign to get all workers to work a half-hour overtime for free?

Well, they must have worked themselves out of a job.

"Unfortunately," said the managing director of Windley Bros. Engineering Co. in Chelmsford, England, "we find these people in excess of our requirements and it is not our policy to have people hanging about doing nothing."