

WORKERS WORLD

Vol. 10, No. 7

March 28, 1968

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Where Do They Stand on the War Against Black America?

Somehow or other, Senators Kennedy and McCarthy have convinced large numbers of gullible middle class liberals and "radicals" that they are against a war on an oppressed people.

If they are against such a war, why do they not condemn the war against Black America? Why did they not oppose the sending of troops to Detroit last July? No Tonkin Bay Resolution tied their hands or gagged their voices on the question of Detroit and Black Freedom.

It would be very simple to submit a resolution to the Senate opposing the use of U.S. troops against the Black people of the United States and a Federal gun control law to control the police. But these demagogues have not done this, nor are they likely to do it in the future.

How can they be serious about really ending the war against Vietnam, when they do nothing to end the war against the Black people in the United States?

Malcolm X Memorial Witch-hunted, But...

Nazis Speak in Public School; Racist Board of Ed Silent

Did you know that a bone fide Nazi organizer, whose program is to murder all Jews and Afro-Americans, gave a speech last week denouncing the "evil effects" of "race mongrelization" on "the white youth of America"? And guess where he spoke? In Public School 169, 113 East 87 Street!

Just a month ago, the wrath of the entire New York City government and entire business press was unleashed against a militant Black educator for delivering a speech in a public school in favor of advancing the cause of Black liberation.

The Board of Education immediately held a witchhunt investigation into the memorial meeting for Malcolm X, the heroic Black liberation fighter, which soon resulted in the firing of Herman Ferguson as an advisor to Intermediate School 201 in Harlem.

The reactionary New York press printed day after day the most vicious attacks against the participants of the meeting with screaming headlines and editorials calling for a merciless crackdown against Ferguson and his supporters. Never had a single speech been treated with such official hysteria

in the history of the city of New York, supposedly the bastion of "free speech" in America.

However, the hypocrites and racists in City Hall and the Board of Education never so much as lifted a finger against the recent Nazi meeting held at Public School 169 on the night of March 23. Not one city official nor one newspaper editor has yet denounced the meeting, not to mention calling for a ban on fascist meetings in New York public schools.

Not only did the Lindsay government not object to the fascist gathering, but it provided the National Renaissance Party fuhrer, James Madole, with the protection of more than 20 cops! But Herman Ferguson, just for speaking out for Black freedom and the right of self-defense against racist attacks, was ousted from I.S. 201, re-arrested on a previous frame-up charge, and held on bail at the unbelievable sum of \$100,000.

Where were all the "liberal" politicians with their platitudes of "equality for the Negro"? And isn't it a mockery of the truth when Herman Ferguson is the one called racist?

Arab Guerrillas in Jordan Hurl Back Israeli Attack And Vow to Fight to the End

Struggle Reaching Stage of People's War

On March 21, the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa and also the U.S. massacre in Ponce, Puerto Rico, Israeli troops crossed the Jordan cease-fire line in a drive to massacre the Arab people who have been resisting the occupation of their land.

Flattening homes, damaging schools and hospitals with a U.S.-like tank, plane and bomb assault, they killed and wounded hundreds, particularly in Karameh and a cluster of villages east of Jericho. (Also like the U.S., the Israelis described their aggression as a "police action.")

They utterly destroyed the Wadi Shoab Dam, north of Karameh — a dam which supplies the life-giving water for hundreds of farms in the neighborhood. About 50 homes and shops were demolished in the town of Shune and a school completely col-

lapsed under heavy shellfire, according to pro-imperialist reports.

Already occupying over 3,000 square miles of Jordanian territory, which was practically annexed to Israel with tacit UN consent last June, the Israelis went still farther east across this territory to "punish" the Jordanians.

The imperialist press, however, emphasized "the high cost of the preventive raid even for the overwhelmingly superior Israeli military forces." (New York Times, March 22)

The aggression of last June has galvanized a popular Arab resistance that goes deeper and may endure longer than the official armies of many Arab leaders.

In addition to giving a good account of themselves in hand-to-hand fighting, the armed guerrillas and generally unarmed masses captured at least six Israeli tanks, five of which were on public display in Amman on March 26, according to the Christian Science Monitor.

"The Israelis," a bearded Arab told the Monitor reporter, "hesitated to go into the side streets. They feared our fighters there. Some Arab women fought them with kitchen knives."

"We are going to fight on until we liberate our country and eventually build a new Palestine," said the old man. "This may not come in my lifetime. But at least we have the feeling we are working for future generations. We are going to get the job done, whether Arab governments help us or not."

Another man described how the Israeli tanks came into Karameh after a heavy artillery bombardment. "Their leaflets and loudspeakers told us to stay in our homes. But then their tanks destroyed our homes," he said.

But the feeling of the people is not that of despair. Far from it. They are proud of having stood up so well and of having captured tanks and inflicted casualties on the enemy.

And a young feday (guerrilla fighter) must have spoken for many thousands when he declared:

"This is better than living as refugees in camps. One at least feels that one exists and has a purpose. We are going on with our operations."

The Arab people of Jordan and the occupied areas are girding themselves to fight a protracted war. There is universal expectation of heavier fighting ahead.

WW on the June War

"It is not 'little' Israel against the manifold Arab peoples, but giant imperialism against the struggling Arabs. It is only a measure of the cynicism of the Western monopolists that they utilize their own victims, the more oppressed of the Jewish people, against those whom they are exploiting on the most grandiose scale — the super-oppressed Arab peoples."

— From Workers World Party Statement, June 6, 1967



Jordanian troops and civilians gather around an Israeli tank captured at Shune, two miles east of the Jordan River. At least six such tanks were captured by Jordanians.

Panama National Guard Gives Lesson On State Power

Last week's presidential crisis in Panama, which is a more-or-less puppet state of U.S. imperialism, caused a few raised eyebrows in the parlors of the U.S. capitalists and something of a red face in the U.S. State Department.

In the course of the election, not only were some useful Panamanian stooges exposed, but the whole machinery of class repression — which is the real instrument of class rule — was undraped for the masses of the world

to see, just as it has been in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Paraguay, Bolivia, South Vietnam and a number of other "democratic" countries allied to the United States.

President Marco A. Robles had been legally impeached by the Panama Assembly on March 14 and legally replaced by the First Vice President Max Delvalle.

The President, however, declared a state of siege and used the armed forces to imprison the leaders of the

opposition and smash their headquarters.

As the March 26 New York Times put the matter with urbane, class-conscious precision:

"While Mr. Delvalle continued to be recognized by the Assembly and by opposition forces as the legitimate President, Mr. Robles was recognized by the National Guard, Panama's only armed force. This made all the difference."

It certainly did...make all the

difference!

Naturally, the ruling class of the United States would prefer that the National Guard support the "democratic" candidate. This might make things more "stable," assuming that the poorer people who trust Mr. Delvalle wouldn't get too many democratic notions.

But since the armed forces "make all the difference," the State Department will maneuver mightily before dumping Mr. Robles.

WORKERS WORLD

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Vol. 10, No. 7—March 28, 1968

PUBLISHED BI-WEEKLY



New Stage in the Arab Struggle

Israel's latest invasion of Arab territory and attempt to massacre its inhabitants on the night of March 20, marked a new stage of the long smoldering Arab-Israel war.

The difference was not so much in the tactics of the Israelis as in the stiffened resistance of the Arabs.

Israel admitted to the loss of one tank and 23 soldiers killed. But the Jordan radio announced that it had overheard a message that 73 Israelis had been killed and the Jordanians insisted that four Israeli tanks were captured.

The Israelis had almost openly planned what was supposed to be a crushing attack. The assault was indeed a murderous one against the civilian population. But the Israelis were surprised at the extremely high morale of men who were armed only with rifles against their tanks and planes.

But the freedom struggle of the Arabs is reaching wider and wider ranks of the people — so much so that even the Jordanian King Hussein,

who is generally pro-Western, had to announce the other day that he, too, was "one of the fedayeen." The fedayeen are "those who sacrifice themselves" — the Arabic term for the revolutionary guerrilla soldiers.

The Israelis had crossed the 3,000-odd square mile area of already occupied Jordanian territory to make their "punitive raid" into Jordan's villages. And in doing so, they found the Jordan struggle against them a good deal more unified than it was during their invasion of June, 1967. This was especially true in the town of Karameh, against which they marshalled most of their firepower.

The significantly deeper involvement of the Arab masses shows a strong tendency to conduct a people's war.

In this connection, the great victories of the Vietnamese people against Israel's giant sponsor, the United States, must have played a tremendous, although subtle and psychological, role. The Tet offensive of the NLF was a powerful weapon in the defense of Karameh.

Same Old Sellout at the UN

Jacob Malik, Soviet Delegate to the United Nations, stated last week that the UN Security Council cannot "force the Arabs to bow their heads and fold their arms" before the Israelis' occupation.

But his predecessor, Nicolai Fedorenko, had voted for the resolution of the same Security Council last June 6 that provided for this occupation and helped Israel take thousands of square miles of Arab territory!

This was the cease-fire resolution, which eliminated a proposed provision for Israel to retreat to its 1947 borders as a condition of the cease-fire.

Why didn't Malik move to denounce the resolution of June 6, if he honestly supported the idea of the Arabs not bowing their heads?

Malik did not do this. And last week in discussing the Council's resolution of this March 24 on the Mideast, he expressed his dissatisfaction with it and suggested that it might be "used to bolster the position of aggressors elsewhere, including the United States in Vietnam" — in the words of the New York Times of March 25.

But Malik himself voted for this very resolution!

He was maneuvering to modify his support of the Arabs, of course, in the "search for a compromise," just as the U.S. delegate maneuvered to modify his support of Israel. The resolution

censured Israel's attack on Jordan, but "deplored" the "violence" of those who were attacked.

The United States imperialists have nothing to lose by such maneuvers. Deception and double dealing are their regular stock in trade. Deception of the masses is their first and most important instrument of domination, next to naked force itself.

The workers of the Soviet Union, the Arab people and the oppressed masses of the world, however, need above all to know the faces of their enemies and their friends. This is as important as all the Soviet ships in the Mediterranean Sea.

If the leaders of the Soviet Union have any business at all in a United Nations dominated by the U.S., it is to thoroughly expose the role of the U.S. and all its satellites and puppets, including Israel. And this means voting squarely for the oppressed and squarely against imperialism.

South Africa Copies U. S.

CAPETOWN, March 13 (AP) — Defense Minister Pieter Botha told Parliament today that South African scientists had developed a napalm bomb from local raw materials. He added that there were "even more dangerous surprises for our enemies."



Rochester and Buffalo students picket outside Veterans Administration Building in solidarity with Carl Baker, 21, who was removed from building for "causing a disturbance" after giving out anti-war leaflets to fellow inductees.

Reader Learned Election Lesson In 1964

Dear Editor: Having lived through the Great Conjuring Act of 1964, we may, I believe, draw certain conclusions about the future of American politics; for we are now witnessing the opening scenes of the Great Conjuring Act of 1968.

How deeply and bitterly I remember arguing with my revolutionary friends in 1964. We must stop the monster Goldwater, I said. Johnson promises peace while Goldwater promises war, I said. So what could be more logical than to vote for Johnson?

We must be practical revolutionaries and vote against the danger of World War Three and of fascism. Your advice to boycott the elections is self-defeating petty bourgeois romantic adventurism; it will hurt the revolutionary cause, I said. I thought I was pretty smart. I was armed with convincing arguments. I voted for Johnson.

Looking back on that, I'm determined at least to gain the lesson of experience for my folly, and to share that lesson with as many people as possible.

Eager battalions of youth have gone out for McCarthy. McCarthy's success in the New Hampshire primary effectively kills the chance of an independent left new party developing during this election. It will draw thousands of youth away from militant struggle and away from the advance of revolutionary consciousness that goes with it. It brings them back to the establishment. In that way it is a victory for the establishment.

The nature of the system is such that McCarthy cannot win the Democratic Party nomination unless the Democratic Party pros decide to dump Johnson. If they so decide, probably Robert Kennedy or McCarthy will be nominated. If one of them wins the election by giving the electorate the impression that the ruling establishment has dumped the Johnson policy, then we will be stuck with four years of Kennedy or McCarthy carrying out the Johnson policy.

Why not? We were deceived to believe that we were throwing out the Goldwater policy when we defeated Goldwater. But we got the Goldwater policy, and if we elect Kennedy or McCarthy we will get the Johnson policy, the very thing that we "defeated", just as we did and just as we got in 1964 — the Goldwater policy, which is the Johnson policy, which is the ruling class policy.

We will get that because that is the policy of the ruling class of the United States in this era. The system of class rule is a meatgrinder that pours in candidates of varying image in order to take in the credulity of the public in the myth of democracy, but which grinds out the same kind of hamburger all the time to the order of the needs of the ruling class in a given era.

Articles in publications like the Wall Street Journal questioning the Vietnam War suggest that contradictions and uncertainties may exist within the ruling class of this country regarding tactical moves in their general policy of worldwide counter-revolution, but not in that

policy itself. Nevertheless, it might be in our revolutionary interest to force tactical changes on them, if possible, such as to force them to abandon their Vietnam aggression as too costly.

If it appears too costly to them, as the Wall Street Journal suggested, they may leave Vietnam alone for the time being, probably dumping Johnson and putting in Kennedy or McCarthy to give the appearance of change by democratic process rather than change by ruling class decision. However, if they make that decision, it will be change by ruling class decision rather than by democratic process.

The amount of time remaining to them to act in this manner — propitiously dumping Johnson — in the 1968 elections grows short. If we think that there is any possibility of our forcing them to act in this manner, we must rapidly decide what we must do to force them to do this, and act ourselves most rapidly and correctly.

Will plugging for McCarthy convince them that the price of their aggression is too high? No, for by plugging for McCarthy we give up militant street action against them and thus lessen the cost of their aggression. If they decide to dump Johnson they do not need our McCarthy plugging, they will do it within the inner circles of the Democratic Party which is the mechanism by which the candidate is really chosen.

We can work to force them to this choice by doing all possible to make the internal cost of their external aggression as high as possible — and this means militant street activities and not electioneering on our part.

Electioneering is a trap. The illusion, the "good feeling" when McCarthy wins a primary victory is the honeyed bait that leads us into the trap. The honeyed bait drugs us, we feel good, but it is a victory for the ruling class. In the electoral process the ruling class has all the leverage, we have none. In militant street activities we have all the leverage, the ruling class has none. Basically, we must choose between helping to maintain stability here or helping to weaken it. The former strengthens the ruling class. The latter strengthens the revolutionary forces opposing the ruling class. This is the crux of the debate within the left in America and in the world. Finding a correct course in this respect is our fundamental revolutionary choice. Carrying it out is our fundamental revolutionary act.

This is what the Great Conjuring Act of 1964 teaches, and we should not be fooled by the slight variations that are being put in it in 1968 to fool us. I could never go back to my friends and repeat my folly of 1964 to them. 1976 is too far off to be sure of. But one thing we can be sure of, if we do not learn our lesson pretty soon we will be sorry — very sorry — much sorer than I am now looking back on my folly of 1964.

—Bernard Edwin Galitz

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British Youth Stone U.S. Embassy Support NLF; Cheer Ho Chi Minh

By PHYLLIS FISHBERG

LONDON, Feb. 18 -- Over 15,000 militant students and workers braved police attacks and marched on the U.S. embassy in a show of solidarity with the struggle of the National Liberation Front of Vietnam.

Today's march, which assembled in Trafalgar Square, was twice as large as a similar march which was beaten back by the police last October.

The rally in Trafalgar Square was attended by trade union and youth delegations from all over England, as well as by student delegations from Europe. They were unanimous in demanding immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Not once did I hear the word "negotiation." The most hearty applause was accorded speakers who expressed their wishes for a speedy and total N.L.F. victory.

Trade unionist speakers emphasized the link between the struggles of British workers and Vietnamese freedom fighters. Every penny you lose in the wage freeze, they said, ends up financing the war against the Vietnamese people.

I saw at least four American draft cards turn into bright orange flames, as American students here took this opportunity to show the world their contempt for U.S. militarism.

At one point, standing on a raised platform in the center of Oxford Circus, I had a good view of the entire demonstration. It stretched on for many blocks, and I could not see the end of it. The dominant motif was the blue, orange and yellow N.L.F. flag. Also visible were the banners of the many organizations which had come in groups to support the march.

A great many of these organizations had prepared letters of protest which they intended to present at the American embassy. The explanation of what follows is that the police had arbitrarily decided to let only a few people into the embassy to present their protests, and to meet the rest with deliberate provocations and violence.

The American embassy looks like

the largest building belonging to any government, including the British, in London. Built in 20th-century-American-shopping-center architecture, topped off with an enormous eagle, it hovers insolently at the foot of Grosvenor Square. The square is connected with Oxford Street by North Audley Street, and I found myself packed into this small street as cordons of police barred access to the square at one end and demonstrators continued to pour in from Oxford Street at the other. A girl who had climbed to the top of a traffic sign at the end of the street described to us how the demonstrators at the front were being beaten back by club-wielding cops.

Soon we were allowed to go around the side of the square, but the square itself was still cordoned off by police. Many of them had the blood of the demonstrators they had just beaten on their uniforms. They continued to push us back from the side of the square, even though we had no choice but to try to get into the square because of the pressure from the crowd behind us. I saw several cops dragging one boy along the ground, and I myself was pushed back into the crowd several times by cops, until I finally broke past them into the square.

Once inside, I could see the embassy entrance at the foot of the square. It was solidly guarded by cops, headed up by a large contingent of mounted police. The demonstrators inside the square were throwing whatever they could get their hands on, including clods of earth and cops' helmets, at the embassy building, but no one succeeded in getting near the embassy. In spite of this, I saw the mounted police charge into the demonstrators several times. Many demonstrators were injured as a result of these police provocations.

Tonight on television, American Ambassador Bruce thanked the London police for guarding his embassy so well. He has equal reason for thanking the Treasury, as we will no doubt learn

British Workers Hit with "Austerity"; LBJ Wants the Same Here

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

Acting on orders from the U.S. bankers, President Johnson announced last week the need for a "total national effort to win the war" and "a program of national austerity to insure that our economy will prosper and that our fiscal position will be sound." By this Johnson meant a \$9 billion tax and a cut of \$4 billion in non-military spending, i.e., a cut in the already meager programs for the poor.

When Johnson called for a "total national effort" and "austerity," he was not asking the monopolists to give up their profits. "Austerity" is the bankers' word for sacrifice on the part of the working class and was never meant to touch those who own the real wealth in capitalist society.

A good example of just what "austerity" means—to the bosses and to the workers—was given by the junior partner of U.S. imperialism. Roy Jenkins, Chancellor of the Exchequer of Britain, announced just one day after Johnson's talk, tax increases of \$2.2 billion a year. "A remarkable feature of the (British) budget," approvingly commented the New York Times of March 20, "was Mr. Jenkins' evident determination not to follow what might be regarded as a traditional Socialist pattern of soaking the rich."

As a matter of fact, the new taxes are of the most reactionary type—taxes on consumer goods like cigarettes, gasoline, cars, candy, televisions, refrigerators, and many other items needed by the workers. This regressive form of taxation is speci-

tomorrow when the new Budget appears, for doing its part to aid the war effort by stealing even more from the British workers (not to mention the students, who continue to get starvation-level stipends). But what neither the police nor the Treasury can do is stifle the anger of British workers and youth against the vicious American war, as today's demonstration proved.

fically designed to put the heaviest burden on the poor who are forced to pay a much higher percentage of their income to meet these taxes.

In an attempt to hide the anti-labor character of the taxes, the British ruling class added to the 3.5 per cent limit on wage increases, a limit of 3.5 per cent on dividend increases and a vague provision allowing the government to fix prices—if they are found to be too high. (The so-called ceiling on dividends in no way taxes the capitalists' profits, but only slightly limits the distribution of the profits.)

The monopolists, in whose interests the workers' share of taxes have been increased, got off easy. A one-year special tax on unearned income (i.e., parasitic investment income) will affect only a small number of capitalists, will amount to only 1 per cent to 2 per cent of the total tax increase and is guaranteed to apply for only the current fiscal year—which ends in two weeks.

The new tax won not only the cheers of the "Labor" M.P.s, but also those of the U.S. bankers and their representatives, who have been threatening to cut off money to Britain if such measures were not adopted (not that the British ruling class wasn't happy to squeeze the needed funds out of the workers). A New York Times editorial of March 20 praised the "austere" but necessarily harsh budget. At the same time it urged that the U.S. government start doing the same, "to take responsible action to bolster its own finances and its own currency in just as deliberate and convincing a fashion."

While the masses in the U.S. are being taxed and exploited to finance the drive of U.S. imperialism into Asia, the workers in Britain are now being forced to pay for the disastrous collapse of the empire. But whatever the particular cause, the burden of these "austerity" programs has been placed squarely on the shoulders of the workers and the oppressed.

Civil War or Not, It's Slave vs. Master

When a country is in civil war, other countries are not supposed to intervene. That is why Lyndon Johnson said on March 12 (during the Fulbright-Rusk hearings) that North Vietnam is now openly intervening in South Vietnam and there should no longer be any illusions "that this is only a civil war."

If the history books are right, Northern troops invaded the South of the United States from 1861 to 1865, and stayed there until 1877. That is called a civil war—in fact, the Civil War,

But on March 22, Johnson's own puppet vice-president of Saigon—Cao Ky—in advocating an invasion of the North, during a tour of the U.S. aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk, said:

"At the Manila Conference, we declared we don't have any desire to invade any other country. But the declaration of Manila never mentioned the unification of Vietnam."

Ky, who represents the Southern landlords as well as his U.S. masters, wants unification, just as the revolutionaries do. In this respect, he regards Vietnam as more of a united country than Jefferson Davis regarded the United States.

Jefferson Davis was for secession and advocated two different countries. Ky advocates one united country. Only he wants it united by the oppressors, while the NLF wants it united by the oppressed.

Johnson's program, which is about the same as Ky's, is thus really based on the idea that the Vietnam war is

just like the American Civil War, except that the Washington Administration is on the side of the South instead of the North.

As a matter of fact, the U.S. Civil War was almost exclusively an invasion of the South by the North, which is not at all the case in Vietnam, and not even Johnson can say that it is.

For the U.S. Civil War to have more clearly resembled Vietnam, there would have had to be a huge country-wide slave revolt—like the revolt of the peasants and workers of South Vietnam.

In a sense, this did happen. There was passive resistance and active sabotage of the slaveholders by the Black people.

And hundreds of thousands of ex-slaves entered the Union Army to fight for the freedom of their loved ones.

But as far as Johnson's view of history is concerned, all this never happened. It was just a war of "the North" against "the South." So if that were the case in Vietnam, it would certainly be a civil war, if the U.S. history and definition of the Civil War is at all correct.

Of course, the U.S. rulers try to pretend that South Vietnam is really an altogether different country than North Vietnam—even though they themselves agreed to support the Geneva Agreement of 1954, which specifically provided that all Vietnam is one country and laid a basis for its unification.



Rob Williams Warns of the Liquidationist Movement

Below is a pre-publication copy of an article due to appear in the March issue of the CRUSADER, which should appear in this country in the next few weeks.

The CRUSADER is published in Peking by Robt. F. Williams, an Afro-American leader-in-exile hounded out of the country by the FBI and KKK after organizing armed self-defense guards in Monroe, N.C. in 1961.

No just struggle being waged anywhere in the world today can be said to be an isolated affair. No matter how small, distant or unheralded any struggle waged in the cause of human decency and dignity may be, the fact remains that in the final analysis it complements humanity's eternal universal struggle to liberate and civilize society.

The fountainhead of racism, imperialism, and violent plunder is situated in the devil kingdom commonly known as the United States of America. The original imperialist powers today are ailing and feeble. They would have already passed from the current scene



Rob Williams

if they were not being subsidized and patronized by conquest-crazed and power-drunk America.

It goes without saying that hypocritical and covetous Americanism entertains a sinister design to even colonize the former colonizers whose governments are now struggling desperately to stave off complete bankruptcy and subsequent Yankee receivership. Inasmuch as the racist and imperialist USA is the mainstay of world social reaction, political, economic and racial tyranny, it also is the wellspring of international subversion and counterrevolutionary liquidationism.

Decadent and dying systems and orders struggle fiercely for survival and their tactics of struggle evolve in relativity to the social stress, political forces and exigencies motivated by the dynamics of the will to survive.

Whenever the situation dictates certain responses, the power structure has no compunction about usurping, emasculating and feigning adherence to principles and policies naturally opposite and alien to its state and structure of being. This vicious but cunning wolf does not hesitate to disguise itself as a lamb, to simulate its nature and to integrate into its flock so as to delude and devour the innocent and duped.

We must alert ourselves to the ancient, but still successful, Trojan Horse tactics of the enemy. Our innocent gullibility can be the enemy's greatest source of strength. His skillfully developed art of deception can be a weapon more powerful and dangerous than his instruments of force and violence.

The history of Christianity can teach us much. In its early era of inception the prevailing power

structure reacted to Christianity as an alien doctrine inimical to the interest of the declining order and scheme of things. It was looked upon as a revolutionary doctrine that would, if allowed to run its natural course, upset and overturn the status quo.

It carried with it a dynamic mass appeal. It railed against the rich and the exploiters. It taught brotherhood and the equitable distribution of wealth. Man was to be his brother's keeper.

Such a doctrine could not be tolerated by the ruling gentry. The power structure's first response to the inimical doctrine was one of violence and savage repression. Violence failed to stamp it out. The horrible lion pit was no deterrent.

The despoilers of humanity's dream and quest for an equitable and just society eventually realized that the wisest response to the new doctrine would be to join, usurp, utilize and control it.

From within they converted it into a powerful instrument of coercion, repression, exploitation and an opium through which to deaden the sensibilities of the defiant.

After it had become a mighty institution through which to perpetuate the oppressive and reactionary system, it was no longer the lion pit for those who adhered to its teachings, but for those who challenged its claim to eternal power.

After the Great October Revolution in the USSR, the reactionary forces of the world moved might and main to crush this new social order.

Again, violence failed them.

They changed their tactics, recognized the USSR and embarked on a long road of usurpation, subversion, deception and utilization of its dynamics. In the arena of world revolution we know what role certain revisionists play today. The perennial international liquidationists are still at work.

Again they have cloaked themselves in deceptive

opposed interracial unity on a working class basis.

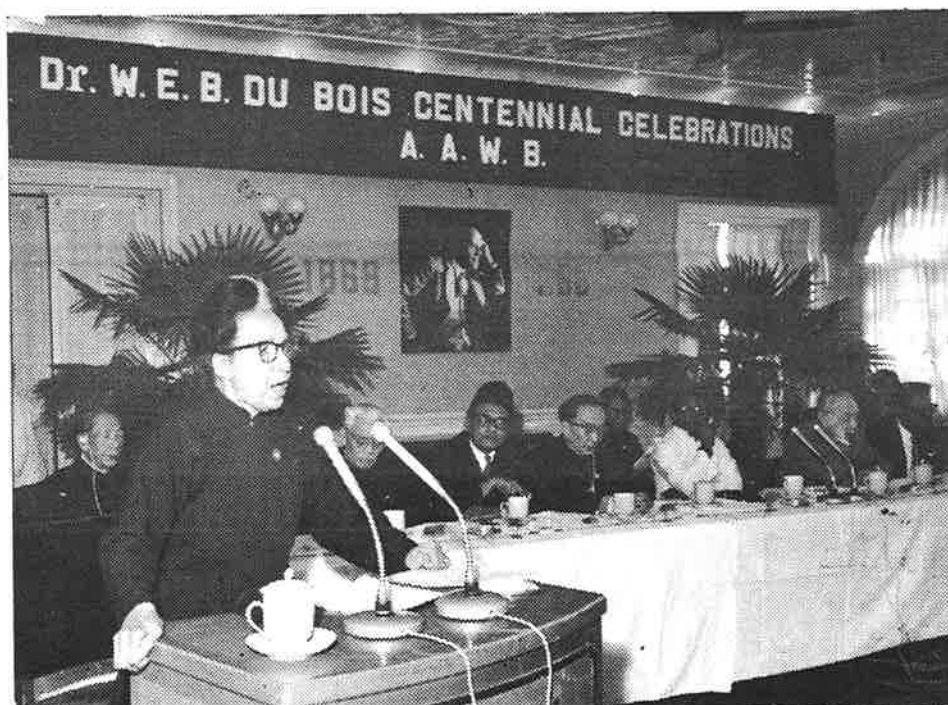
Now, again, the liquidationists have shifted positions. This time they appropriate the tenets of Marxism to further their own liquidationist designs. Now, we have no less hypocrites than Johnson, Ford, and a grand parade of the top wolves of the dying system admonishing us that the Afro-American struggle in racist and imperialist America is more a class (poverty) injustice than one of race.

They are calling for unity between the races and hypocritically advocating the narrowing of the gap between the classes. They are pleading for racial harmony and unity.

Unity for what? Unity to crush the freedom struggles of the world's brutally oppressed and exploited peoples. They see unity and peace between the races in America as a possible salvation for their tottering empire, their decadent system. They know that a united Black people in racist America would constitute a terrifying threat, so they try to dilute the struggle and divert us from our goal by infiltration and control.

By infiltrating the Marxist movement and simulating class brotherhood, they hope to accomplish what they can never realize through naked violence alone. They are striving to turn black into white and white into black and to profit from confusion and deception. Their appeals for brotherhood and racial unity are aimed only at the victims of hate and racial tyranny.

Why? The Black man in America is on the right track. We cannot allow wolves in sheep's clothing to weaken our resolve to resist and defeat the white man's tyranny. Brother is as brother does and no amount of whitewash can conceal white America's contempt, hatred, slander, brutalization and lack of class sympathy for Black America.



Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois in Peking speaking at the Afro-Asian Writers' centennial celebration of the birth of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. At right is Robert Williams seated next to Foreign Minister Chen Yi. Mrs. Du Bois said:

"I rejoice that I may celebrate this day here in the People's Republic of China, mighty bastion of world revolution, with the Chinese people, who, under the leadership of that great fighter, philosopher and statesman, beloved Mao Tse-tung, constitute a nation of fighters against imperialism and revisionism, fighters against aggression and exploitation, fighter for justice and freedom, the nation which is the pilot light and inspiration of oppressed and struggling peoples, wherever they be." (Peking Review, March 1, 1968)

Williams Barred From France

Robert F. Williams was called to the French Embassy in Peking last month and informed that he had been denied a visa to France. He had applied for permission to meet his lawyer, Conrad Lynn, in that country and was refused.

Earlier, he had been invited to speak to students in Sweden and the Swedish government had likewise refused him an entry permit.

Williams, formerly a resident of Monroe, N.C. and a former U.S. marine, fled to Cuba in August, 1961, after a long battle with the white supremacists of Union County, which climaxed in a racist mob attack on his adherents and a frame-up of him, Mae Mallory and three others.

Now in China, Rob Williams is making plans to return to the United States, face the phony "kidnap" charges against him (similar to those against Mae Mallory) and expose the true character of U.S. "justice" in a massive publicity and action campaign here.

"Someone is really afraid that I will try to return to the States," he wrote recently in a letter to a friend. "It seems that it is going to be a very difficult task for me to even get there, not to mention what may happen after I arrive."

revolutionary garb in order to facilitate their villainous work of perpetuating the status quo. Their sinister aim is to subvert the whole international revolutionary movement and the oppressed people's struggle to build an equitable and just world society.

The Afro-American struggle is no exception. The modern liquidationists constitute a high-pressure goon squad deceptively and skillfully implementing the will of the traditional hierarchy of monopolists.

They constitute an inseparable arm of the perennial international plutocracy that segregated and enslaved us for centuries, stamped us with the stigma of racial inferiority, ignored our mournful cries of anguish and jeered at our pitiful pleas and petitions for justice and an integrated society of freedom and brotherhood.

They vehemently opposed American Marxists who maintained that our savage victimization resulted more from class exploitation than from racial animosity. When we were helpless, demoralized and isolated as a race the vicious power structure

The international liquidationists of racist and imperialist America's power structure have infiltrated the Marxist movement, the revolutionary movement, the Black Nationalist movement and everything else that constitutes a potential threat. From within they hope to divert the people's struggle into a blind alley wherein lies the hope of white supremacy and imperialism's survival.

They are seeking to create artificial barriers and emasculating divisions by distorting revolutionary doctrine. They are endeavoring to curb our growing militancy by feigning adherence to Marxist and humanist principles. They want Black men to cease and desist from fighting like revolutionary Nationalists and to meekly submit to the discipline and ideology of CIA-sponsored and controlled phoney Marxist cliques.

We must fight those who oppress us, who hate us and abuse us. It is not a difficult task for the victim to ascertain who is victimizing him. It is also not difficult for him to discern the sham Marxists.

Maximum Prison Sentence For Buffalo Black Leader Framed During Rebellion

Sostre Given 31-41 Years

BUFFALO, March 18 — It was a surprise to no one, least of all to Martin Sostre himself, when he was convicted by an all-white jury March 8 on a phony narcotics charge. Nor was it a surprise to the Black liberation fighter when Judge Frederick M. Marshall sentenced him to a minimum of 31 years and a maximum of 41 years in prison.

The very harsh sentence came after Sostre had been imprisoned for eight months, since the Black rebellion here last June, on excessively high bail, set first at \$50,000 then reduced to \$12,500 cash. Throughout the pre-trial and trial period, the racist court attempted to frame Sostre on charges of sale and possession of heroin and second-degree assault. However, Martin Sostre continually exposed the frame-up as a racist attempt to make him a scapegoat for the Black rebellion. He used the court as a forum to defend the Black liberation struggle.

A 30-day sentence for contempt of court was also imposed by Judge Marshall today because at a presentencing hearing on March 14 Sostre objected to the proceedings of the court, telling the judge, "I have a right to be tried by an unbiased judge."

During this hearing, which was held to prove that Sostre was a second felony offender (in an attempt by the court to impose the severest sentence possible), Marshall ordered Sostre to "sit down and shut up" after the Black defendant said, "We are resisting. Now we have our Black Cabinet — Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister, and our Defense Minister, Huey Newton, in prison—this is war and you know it. You are going to get another Vietnam right here."

When Sostre refused to be silent, saying again, "This is war," Marshall shouted to the guards, "Get a gag!" Sostre was then taken out of the court and returned in handcuffs and with a white towel tied across his mouth. Six guards stood around him. (This kind of vicious treatment is a familiar sight to those who have seen the defiant Black liberation fighter brought into court many times chained around the

waist and hands.)

After the sentencing today, Sostre was taken from the court to the county jail where he has been imprisoned for eight months. One hour later, he was rushed to Attica prison. Within a few days, however, Sostre was transferred to Greenhaven prison, located a short distance from Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Reasons for the transfer were not given, but members of the Martin Sostre Defense Committee commented that the racist prison authorities were probably very anxious to keep Sostre away from Attica because of the high proportion of Black prisoners there and because Sostre fought for religious rights for Muslim prisoners while serving a previous sentence in Attica. It is also thought that the authorities are trying to prevent all communication between Sostre and his defense committee and the Black community in Buffalo which knows he has been framed.

Mr. Sostre defended himself throughout his case, using the courtroom as a forum to expose U.S. racist "justice." He has studied law extensively in prison, despite the fact that he was denied use of a library, denied access to newspapers and put in a dimly lit, dungeon-like cell. Mr. Sostre is now working on the appeal for his case.



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

Court Statement of a True Liberation Fighter

During the four days of his trial, Martin Sostre refused to participate in the legal lynching. However, he directed many militant speeches at the courtroom audience of supporters. At one point he told them:

"It's up to us to resist oppression and racism with all facets and weapons. All U.S. superiority in weapons — cannot prevail against will and determination. Racism and militarism are two claws of the same hawk!" Sostre has consistently identified the Black liberation struggle with the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people.

"No more cooperation with our oppressors!" he told the court. "From now on we are going to resist. It's people that count, not money, power and guns. We must challenge the entire rotten foundation.... We must challenge everything they do to cover their crimes."

A week after Martin Sostre was convicted by an all-white jury, another trial was held to establish that Sostre was a second felony offender. Because Sostre protested the court proceedings, he was handcuffed and gagged. When an all-white jury was again picked, Sostre objected, "I want to challenge this jury ... I don't see any Black faces here among the prospective jurors... I demand to be tried by my peers... We have here a white judge, a white stenographer, an

all-white jury... What kind of justice is this? No wonder racist Buffalo is going to burn!"

On the last day of his second trial, Mar. 18, Martin Sostre told the jury in his summation (before Judge Marshall cut him off):

"You have just heard the evidence and have seen the methods the fascist state uses to destroy all those who oppose it ... you have seen the crude methods used by the racist white power structure to frame-up Black men... They either plant dope or a pistol or anything to get rid of the dissenters against the state."

"I am facing 30 or more years," Sostre continued later on, "because I had a bookshop that sold literature against the system. I am facing 30 years because I went against the system... The War Crimes Tribunal at Nuremberg originally affirmed that it is one's duty to oppose unjust law..."

"Even the government itself breaks the law. It has violated the Constitution by sending our boys over to Vietnam to be killed and to murder innocent peasants in a war that has not even been declared. They broke the law but they want you to go by the law."

Sostre urged the jury and the courtroom audience, "We must expose fascism. Dissent has come to the courtroom, just as it has come to all levels of society, in the streets, in the universities, in the homes.... Black militants and their white allies have been framed up because they dissented from the rule of fascist goon squads."

"I will waive your right to summation," Marshall yelled. Mr. Sostre replied, "Waive my rights, just like you are waiving the rights of the dissenters, framing up those who oppose the rule of fascism."

Marshall retorted, "Stick to the rules, Mr. Sostre!"

"I am not following any fascist rules!" Sostre shot back. With this, Judge Marshall told the D.A. to begin his summation.

When the prosecutor was done, Marshall sentenced Sostre to 31-41 years.

Sostre turned and smiled at his supporters and defense committee. Before court guards could rush him out handcuffed, Martin Sostre raised his clenched fists and said, "Keep resisting!"

shirt (had on pants), the accusing guard, mumbling racial remarks attacked Stanford, striking him in the left side of his face. The blow knocked Stanford back into the bars separating the receiving section from the observation section. All three white guards charged Stanford, attacking him. Stanford eventually managed to free himself; and in the process of defending, the accusing guard received a bloody nose. The other guards moved on Stanford and he retreated into a hallway barefooted. One of the guards shouted "Do you want to get killed?" Stanford replied, "You started it, I didn't start anything, you started the whole thing." The guards then told Stanford to go into the bing. From reliable sources it was reported to Stanford that after he had been backed in his cell in the bing, the guards sent for more help. A white deputy asked two Black guards to "get Stanford." They asked: "What are you going to do to him?" The deputy said, "We're going to do him in." The Black guards refused to attack Stanford. Max Stanford, in defending himself against physical attack by three guards in the Queens House of Detention where he is now being detained, has himself been indicted for "assault of a police officer." Five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) bail was placed on him for this charge in addition to the \$5,000.00 for the 6/21/67 charges in New York and \$10,000.00 bail on similar charges in Philadelphia.

Imprisoned RAM Leader, Framed by Jailers

The following is reprinted from Did You Know (Vol.5, No.3), a newsletter put out by Mrs. Ethel Johnson at 503 N. Boyte St., Monroe, N.C.

Mrs. Johnson is an associate of Robert Williams, the honorary chairman-in-exile of RAM.

Max Stanford was one of seventeen brothers and sisters to be arrested on June 21, 1967. They had been indicted on charges such as advocacy of criminal anarchy, conspiracy to commit criminal anarchy, conspiracy to commit arson in the third degree and possession of deadly weapons. All were held in excessive bail.

Max Stanford, living in Philadelphia at the time, was released on bail. In August, 1967, Max was extradited to New York and is presently being held at the Queens House of Detention, Kew Gardens, New York....

But America, like the other imperialist colonial powers does suppress political opposition, particularly Black opposition. Malcolm X' wanton murder was a political assassination. Robert Williams is in political exile. Rap Brown and Eddie Oquendo are under house arrest. Bill Epton and Max Stanford are political prisoners.

The following is an account of an incident that happened to Max Stanford in the Queens House of Detention on



Max Stanford

Christmas day, 1967:

On December 25, 1967 at approximately 11:15 A.M. in the cafeteria at Queens House of Detention for men, Officer Kelly, a white guard, gave the signal for the first row of men to leave. Four men were still eating and remained. Kelly then approached the table and said, "All those finished eating, leave." The men continued to eat. The guard repeated his remarks and then approached one of the men at the table (Stanford) and gugged his finger in his side saying, "You, I'm talking to you." Stanford blocked the guard's motion with his left arm. The guard then shouted, "Hand me your card." (in-

mate's I.D. card) Stanford refused and the guard said, "None of you here move," — referring to the four Black inmates sitting at the table. The guard then ordered the other rows of men to leave the cafeteria.

The guard went and spoke to a deputy warden in charge on post in the cafeteria and returned and said, "You, you, you, leave," (referring to the other three men at the table) and, "You, stay," (referring to Stanford). The guard then said twice to the other men at the table, "Stay, if you want to become involved." The men left. The deputy approached. Stanford then noticed a white inmate still eating without being disturbed. The deputy warden asked Stanford what had happened. Stanford explained he had not finished eating and the guard had shoved him. The deputy warden ordered Stanford to the bing (punitive segregation).

The guard took Stanford to the third floor into the receiving section entering the observation, administrative and punitive segregation sections. Stanford was ordered to undress and re-dress. There were two guards plus the accusing guard present, all white. The two guards asked the other guard what happened. Stanford saw Robert 35X in an adjoining cell of the receiving station and began talking to him as he began to dress. As Stanford was putting on his

Ruling Class "Peace" Candidates Maneuver To Divert the Anti-War Movement

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

The quadrennial struggle to grab the spoils of the capitalist government has broken out again. The different financial cliques and combinations are cutting each others' throats in the backrooms again to grab the power that goes with the Presidency.

Only this time there is an added feature to the cynical circus. The bankers have been forced to combine their internal combat with a massive "peace" propaganda campaign for the masses of people who want peace in the world and who know that the present government in Washington is bent on making more war.

The rulers know that another campaign between two war mongers would very likely precipitate the incipient revolt against bourgeois society into a full-scale rebellion.

The purpose of the "peace" campaign is to prevent such a rebellion by holding out the false hope of peace through elections.

"Eugene McCarthy," read the chief editorial in the New York Times the day after New Hampshire, "has performed a service of value to his country...He has rekindled the faith of thousands of intelligent young Americans in the democratic machinery and the efficacy of the ballot." Many students "said they would have turned to violent protest if Senator McCarthy had not entered."

The New York Post commented a few days later that McCarthy "has revived the belief that the politics of principle can be a major force in American life."

James Reston, syndicated Washington insider, expressed directly the relief in Washington over the launching of this "peace" campaign.

"Something very exciting is happening in American politics," wrote Reston on March 19. There is a "new hope." "Not long ago the situation was entirely different. Democracy...was not working." Young people "were operating outside the political system of the time, apparently in the belief that traditional political discussion was useless" — i.e. outside the system of capitalist democracy in the belief that only struggle on the streets would end the war.

But, gloats Reston, "We have come a long way since the march on the Pentagon last year." A "long way" back toward working "within the system" for McCarthy in New Hampshire.

Tom Wicker, head of the New York Times Washington bureau, hit the nail on the head on March 13. "One of McCarthy's purposes in running was to channel their (students') energies into constructive political effort, rather than let them explode in street demonstrations."

"Has Eugene McCarthy...really pulled these young people permanently out of the streets and into (bourgeois - ed.) politics? That remains to be seen, but the evidence of New Hampshire is that he gets A-plus for effort."

It is no wonder then that just before the New Hampshire primaries, Walter Lippmann commented on the coming election period in the following manner:

"The United States can count itself fortunate that in these unhappy times there is an election near at hand. For this opens up the chance to begin to get a grip on the events which are at present out of human and political control."

This prestigious adviser to presidents has been following the fortunes of the U.S. ruling class for decades and is well able to appreciate the dire difficulties facing Wall Street and at the same time to understand how valuable parliamentary politics can be in strengthening the bourgeois system in a time of crisis.

This past year was one of the worst

for the U.S. ruling class in its history. The Johnson Administration's hoped for "Pacific power" has completely evaporated in the heat of the Tet offensive. Despite Washington's barbarous use of its firepower advantage, the National Liberation Front of Vietnam has treated the U.S. military machine in even a more humiliating manner than did world powerful England in 1812. The North Koreans have thrown salt on Washington's wounds by accomplishing the first capture of a U.S. warship in history.

Wall Street has found that Pacific power increasingly belongs, not to the banker-generals, but to the Asian revolution.

At home the Black liberation struggle was not intimidated by ruling class terror. The bourgeoisie has only one answer — more terror — which must not only fail again, but which will also inevitably heighten the vigilance and strengthen the organization of Afro-American militants.

And the corollary development to the growth of ruling class reaction at home and abroad has been a mounting rebellion against the system of bourgeois democracy in favor of direct mass action and resistance to ruling

class discipline.

"Lyndon Johnson," moans Lippmann, has driven a whole generation of Americans into open revolt or implicit revolt against their government and their own society."

Of course Lippmann, the moderate Republican, wants to blame the expansionist urge of the billionaires on their executive officer in the White House and proposes to replace him with the personal representative of the voracious Chase Manhattan-Standard Oil empire, Nelson Rockefeller.

Nevertheless, these are indeed "unhappy times" for the master class and it can truly "count itself fortunate... that there is an election near at hand" to give them a chance to "get a grip on events" (i.e. rebellions) which are "out of political control" (i.e. control of the bankers).

And that is just what the entire establishment is doing with this election — trying to get the anti-war movement, in the words of Eugene McCarthy, "out of the streets and into the ballot box."

Is it any wonder then that the representatives of the war-makers are falling over one another to try to appear "dovish" and talk peace?

"Out of the Streets.....Into the Voting Booth"



Primaries; 'A Democratic Masquerade'

The New Hampshire primaries were a farce and a fraud. They were not an accidental or incidental hoax on the American people, but a fundamental aspect of the undemocratic system that masquerades as "democracy." They were staged — like all other presidential primaries will be — to give the great masses of the people the impression that they — the people — choose the President.

The theory of primaries is that the registered voters of each major party choose the candidates whom they want to see run for the Presidency, and then in the fall, the whole country chooses between the two main candidates, and the People's Choice wins.

But this theory is false from every point of view.

In the first place, only fifteen states out of fifty have direct primaries at all. The candidate for the November election is chosen at the national convention of the Democrats and Republicans, respectively, and not by the primaries.

The delegates to both these conventions are hand-picked by either the top machine politicians or the big business interests for whom they work.

The primaries only result in the choosing of a small number of delegates to these conventions, delegates who are pledged to the man for whom the party members voted, but are usually "released" to back someone more favored by the big bankers, so they, the delegates, can be in good with the eventual winner.

Democratic National Chairman John M. Bailey observed last week that even if McCarthy captured every delegate in every one of the primaries he is entering, he would have only 15 per cent of the convention votes.

Nixon would get a little higher percentage, because he is entered in more primaries. But of course the purpose of his vigorous campaign — like the purpose of McCarthy and Kennedy — is to convince the ruling class that he is a good vote-getter, so they will give him the nomination at the convention.

This aspect of the primaries is so important that the capitalist backers of Nixon spent many hundreds of thousands of dollars on his campaign to get a good vote in the tiny state of New Hampshire.

George Romney and his supporters are reputed to have spent \$700,000

Mayor Lindsay of New York City, who just added 1,000 police to fight the war at home against the Afro-American people, calls for students to "join the resistance" against the war — by joining the Republican or Democratic parties! The would-be president even tried to get an added dovish lustre by saying kind words about McCarthy and Kennedy.

Richard Nixon praises the "integrity" and "principle" of McCarthy and pledges to "end the war." Kennedy, who was one of the chief architects of the Vietnam war, talks peace. Rockefeller, the assassin of the oppressed on five continents, had all his spokesmen hint at his coming "dove position." Humphrey claims that Johnson is the "only true peace candidate."

Pro-Johnson machine politicians across the country are defecting to Kennedy like rats jumping from a sinking ship. They are in a panic because they know the meaning of the New Hampshire primary — the masses are sick and tired of the war. Johnson is hopelessly disgraced and despised by the majority of the population.

The aggressors are all talking peace. They have been forced to by the anti-war feelings of the broad masses which has both been influenced by and found expression in the anti-war movement.

They talk peace but their purpose is to lull the anti-war movement and the rest of the population to sleep — to divert them from struggle and erode the resistance to militarism and aggression and thus pave the way for larger wars.

just to get up to the starting wire. And "poor" McCarthy admitted to spending "only" \$130,000, although Time Magazine and some other sources estimate his actual total at around \$300,000.

If it takes this much to run (much less, to win) in one primary, it obviously would require several millions of dollars to run in all fifteen of them.

Thus, the "town meeting" atmosphere as shown on TV in the case of the New Hampshire voting, is really a Madison Avenue soap sales-type performance, and much more expensive, at that.

In the final November election, many more millions are required by both parties — and a strong stable of newspaper columnists, TV commentators, preachers, priests, movie actors, athletes, artists, and so on. Very few of these jump into the fray without some financial inducement of one kind or another.

Whole newspapers are bought up, where they don't already belong to one faction or another of the big business rulers of the country. And they devote page after page to the discussion of the figures in the election. And TV panels

(Continued on page 8)

McCarthy, the Cold-War Liberal, Now An Imperialist Dove

OLD-TIME MINN. WITCH-HUNTER LIKED KOREAN, MIDEAST WARS - FEARS LOSS IN VIETNAM

By PETER STORCH

"The U.S. must undertake to preserve Western civilization and the peoples who value it and guard and protect our lifelines to vital materials and necessary supplies of oil, tin, manganese, uranium, etc... preserve our national honor..... and raise the economic and cultural level of peoples of other civilizations and thus promote the cause of justice and world peace."

Were these the words of Barry Goldwater, John Foster Dulles, Lyndon Johnson, or Dean Rusk? No, they were the words of none other than Eugene J. McCarthy, spoken during the Korean War in 1951. In 1954, in another political speech, McCarthy again asserted his Cold-War "liberal" principles.

"It is to the interests of the United States to protect non-communist countries against communist combination, even to the point of using American troops under certain conditions."

As the Johnson administration escalates the U.S. war in Vietnam and further antagonizes ever greater sectors of the American people, the so-called "dove" wing of the U.S. ruling class fears that the Johnson government may be losing its control over the American people as well as the Vietnamese nation. It is this fear that has catapulted Senator Eugene McCarthy to run for president as the only "sincere and progressive candidate." A good look at McCarthy's political background and connections, however, will quickly show that he is neither "sincere," "progressive," nor for any other "peace" than one favorable to U.S. imperialism.

Despite all of McCarthy's rhetoric

"against" the Vietnam war, he has all along supported the "negotiations" line advocated by Fulbright, Kennedy, & Co., which can hardly be differentiated from the pronouncements that have come out of the mouths of Johnson and Rusk. On the critical question of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam he answered a U.S. News & World Report journalist:

"I think there should be a phased withdrawal over a period of several years."

North Vietnam on Kennedy and McCarthy

The following are comments, as reported in the New York Times, of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the so-called "peace candidates" in the U.S. presidential election:

"What must be noted is that, among the American politicians who are fiercely wrangling with one another, none voices his support for the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination or expresses sympathy for our people's struggle for national

liberation."

"All their quarrels center on how to retrieve U.S. failure in Vietnam; whether or not to increase the troops and, if the troops are to be increased, whether by a large or small number; where to get more troops; where to get more money to spend for the war; whether to continue the military escalation or to withdraw to the enclaves, and whether to expand the war or to try to withdraw with honor."

And just what is McCarthy's "peace" record? He supported every single escalation made by Truman in the Korean war. He has consistently voted for high military appropriations, including the infamous Tonkin Gulf resolution which handed Johnson a blank check for appropriations to expand the war into North Vietnam.

McCarthy was one of the Senate "doves" on Vietnam who turned into "hawks" on the Mideast war last June. At the time, he defended an aggressive attack on the Arab peoples, declaring that U.S. interests were far greater in the Middle East than in Vietnam.

McCarthy's special concern over U.S. interests in the Middle East is not surprising in light of his deep connections with the oil monopolies. In a recent column written by Drew Pearson and published in the N.Y. Post, it was revealed that McCarthy had been the front man in the Senate Finance Committee for the late Senator Kerr, who was a powerful representative for the multi-billion dollar oil interests in Texas and Oklahoma.

Thus, McCarthy supported U.S. aggression all over the world during

his political career. But, like many of the imperialist "liberals," McCarthy began to have doubts about the war in Vietnam only when U.S. military forces began to take a shellacking.

McCarthy's political career as a "liberal" began in Minnesota after WW II where he led a big witchhunt to oust radicals in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party along with Hubert Humphrey and Orville Freeman, Johnson's present Secretary of Agriculture. McCarthy's cold war liberalism brought him the reward of a Congressional seat.

Moreover, McCarthy's anti-Johnson position may have its roots more in the 1964 presidential election than in the recent Vietnam debate. Both Humphrey and McCarthy were in the running to be Vice President to the Texas racist but Johnson chose Humphrey.

Even McCarthy's legislative record is less than liberal. He has voted several times for drug manufacturers maintaining their exorbitant profits and prices. In 1962 he tried to kill a bill to close the loopholes on expense account deductions for congressmen, and he also helped kill the investigation of corrupt, ultra-right wing, Senator Dodd when the inquiry was getting too hot for Dodd.

He voted against reducing the oil depletion allowances in 1964, doing his job for his big oil friends. When asked how his pro-oil votes could be consistent with his "liberal" ideas, he scornfully replied:

"The oil depletion allowance is not really a great liberal issue."

McCarthy's "liberal" political career was well summed up by Andrew Kopkind, Washington correspondent for the bourgeois British publication, the

(Continued on page 8)

The War Record of "Peace Candidate" RFK

By F. REED

Bobby Kennedy's Vietnam policy is no different in its opportunism from McCarthy's. Both are unabashedly for the successful prosecution of U.S. imperialist interests.

The only difference may be that on this score Kennedy has filled in his record more broadly than McCarthy.

He first publicly criticized the Johnson Administration over the Marine invasion of Santo Domingo, saying that the OAS should have been consulted first — actually saying that its approval was assured anyway! (New York Times, May 8, 1965) Kennedy applied similar criteria to the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, which "didn't work out very well."

During the 1967 war in the Middle East, Bobby Kennedy stated that the U.S. "commitment to Israel is clear and must be clear," and that "Israel had earned the right to a final peace settlement," explaining that the state was "a tiny outpost of Western culture and ideals." (New York Times, June 11 and 12, 1967)

In a Feb., 1966 policy statement on Vietnam, Kennedy praised the CIA-engineered Indonesian massacre of over 500,000 Indonesian communists and progressives, referring to this butchery only in terms of "the Chinese... suffer(ing) enormous defeats." This was the good result, he indicated, of the U.S. not intervening!

Kennedy's domestic record is equally revealing:

He was chief counsel to the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations under McLellan, chief Minority counsel under the pro-fascist Sen. Joseph McCarthy — with whom Kennedy remained a lifelong friend.

Bobby Kennedy began his "crusade" to get the Teamsters — then led by

Dave Beck — during this period. The campaign, which he pursued as Attorney General, finally getting Hoffa jailed in 1964, was widely interpreted as an attack on labor in general.

He was also the initiator of an anti-communist offensive against CP leaders and the CP youth group, Advance. Kennedy demanded wiretapping without the requirement of court orders. He declared William Worthy, the well known Afro-American journalist, "unworthy to enter our shores" after Worthy's trip to Cuba in 1962.

A Times analysis of Kennedy's civil rights accomplishments as Attorney General notes that at least three Southern district judges appointed on his advice turned out to be segregationists, that he refused to send federal law officials south to help civil rights workers in the summer of 1964, and that the FBI's "ability to infiltrate Negro extremist groups is limited by its... shortage of Negro agents — one that Mr. Kennedy also tried to remedy." (Sept. 4, 1964)

Speaking in support of New York City gun control laws, Kennedy called for martial-like powers for the Mayor "during emergency," and called the weapons the "tools of the urban rioters." He said that without the laws "...we sign the death warrant of more policemen and more children." (New York Times, Aug. 25, 1967)

Kennedy would like to see business get tax incentives for hiring ghetto unemployed — incentives such as 125 per cent deductions for wages and salaries paid.

He has "absolutely no" ideological quarrel with business, he has stated in a number of interviews, because that is the system the country is based on.



Above quote from recent speech of Robert Kennedy.

In his "breakaway" (from Johnson) Vietnam speech in Feb., 1966, Kennedy warned that "for us to surrender a vital national interest...is an objective which cannot be achieved."

Is Kennedy now less convinced of the vital interest of business in Vietnam? Only the other day he repeated that the U.S. would never "wave the white flag of surrender" there.

People's War in Vietnam Humiliates Pentagon; Panics European Ruling Class

NLF Victories Over U.S. War Machine Triggered Gold Rush

The international monetary system is based, above all, on confidence. And it is not very hard to see that any system which is based upon relations of mutual confidence among a pack of imperialist robbers contains the essential ingredients necessary for a crisis.

With the billions of dollars in foreign debt held by the imperialist countries against one another, confidence goes just about as far as profit-mad suspicion will allow.

And with the dollar as the principal reserve currency in the capitalist world, that is, the currency by which corporations and nations in large part measure their wealth, the wolves in Europe never take their eyes off the financial course of U.S. imperialism.

Naturally then, the European bankers are nervous over the value of the enormous quantity of dollars which they are holding, a quantity which has been growing steadily for 17 of the last 18 years. The U.S. Government has been borrowing billions from the bankers for 12 of the last 13 years. The resulting inflation of the dollar relative to the European currencies certainly causes anxiety in financial circles on the continent.

To make matters worse, the French bourgeoisie is waging a fierce struggle to undermine the dollar and the British devaluation has left the dollar in the front line of paper currencies to be traded in for hard cash (gold) when productive investment opportunities fall off.

All these difficulties and many more are part of the inevitable development of the profit system toward economic crisis.

Nevertheless these gradual developments, while creating the conditions for a general crisis, fail to explain what precipitated this particular one and therefore fail to explain its political significance to the exploited and the oppressed.

These developments fail to explain the intensity of the attack on the entire system of international commerce, which is vital to the stability of world imperialism. Why was there such an all out vote of "no-confidence" in the dollar now — when the U.S. economy show so little sign of crisis and when, on the contrary, there is a steady rise in productive investment, volume of production and sales both at home and abroad?

The attack on the pound came because the British lost the loot from their empire and their economy was approaching stagnation. Why attack the dollar at the height of U.S. economic power?

The capitalist economic experts deliberately avoid the question because of the answer.

The answer is that the European ruling class is afraid of a military collapse of U.S. imperialism in Asia — the guardian of world imperialism, the ultimate defender of the of the bankers in London, Bonn, Rome, Brussels, Amsterdam — and Paris, too.

The European bourgeoisie would have been swept away by the liberation movements and their own proletariat long ago were it not for the fact that Wall Street's counterrevolutionary warfare against the oppressed in Africa, Asia and Latin America simultaneously and purely coincidentally protects the pro-

perty of its European imperialist rival.

They are worried about the destiny of U.S. imperialism because it involves the destiny of all the exploiting classes on earth.

The gold rush, flowed from the fear of the ultimate defeat of U.S. imperialism (and the dollar with it) on the battlefields of Asia. It was merely an expression by the European ruling class of their own deepest class interests.

The billionaires in Europe listened to Gen. William Westmoreland, commander of all the United States forces in Vietnam, predict victory and then saw him one month later hiding from the NLF soldiers in Saigon. Mortars fell at Cam Ranh Bay where the U.S. President stood just weeks before.

The NLF has turned the cities and fortresses in Vietnam into prisons and graveyards for U.S. troops. Yet Johnson pulls out a false "body count" to prove that the Tet offensive was a U.S. victory! Could there be a surer sign

of defeat? And is not such a sight enough to frighten the junior partners in the world imperialist enterprise?

To turn fear into panic it was only necessary for the European ruling class to hear the talk in Washington about sending 200,000 more troops, to hear Johnson talk about "no retreat" and to see Dean Rusk on TV spouting the same line which has lead to the present crisis.

In short, the U.S. rulers are preparing to push on from a humiliating, but limited defeat, into a major, catastrophic debacle on a broader Asian battlefield.

A few vague and ambiguous hints at the truth appeared to this effect in the bourgeois press. Edwin Dale, the New York Times economic expert, let one hint slip on the eve of the arrival of the foreign bankers for the Washington conference.

"It was reported on excellent authority," reported Dale on March 15, "that the President would not and could

not do what some financial men most want — pledge to send no more troops to Vietnam."

On the following day, an article in the New York Times also hinted at the truth:

"In Zurich last week a banker talking with a visitor about the gold crisis pointed to a newspaper on his desk. There were two main stories on the front page — one about the Basel bankers' statement of reassurance on gold, the other about probable American escalation of the war in Vietnam."

"Which do you think we are reading?" the banker asked.

"Words, however soft and reassuring, the banker was saying, no longer carried weight with the tough-minded men of money."

In all instances in which the Vietnam war was referred to in the capitalist press, it was brought up in the context of either leading to inflation at home or contributing to balance of payments deficit abroad.

In the first place, the U.S. financiers are fully aware of the dangers to the monetary system caused by inflation and the predators on Wall Street hardly need encouragement from the European bourgeoisie to slap a war tax on their own working class! They are getting ready to do it anyway and only the timing and the amount has to be worked out! Certainly the European bosses would prefer a deflation of the dollar but this did not set off the gold rush.

Secondly, the notion that the Vietnam war has, by itself, caused an "excessive outflow of gold" and therefore has aggravated the balance of payments to the point of a crisis is utterly false.

The vast sums being spent on the war are being spent almost entirely here at home — enriching the war profiteers. But more importantly, the Vietnam war, as an economic enterprise, helps the imperialists.

All wars help galvanize the imperialist economy — militarism and war are the basic means of stabilizing the capitalist economy in the stage of imperialist decay. The problem for the U.S. rulers as far as the economics of the Vietnam war goes, up until now is that the war is too small to galvanize the economy in the manner of World War I and World War II.

Enlargement of the war has been extremely dangerous and is still being approached cautiously (but steadily), but at its current level it has not stimulated the economy enough. War is good for business. Arguments about war, as such, hurting the U.S. capitalist economy are false. (The bosses always use a war to tighten the screws on the standard of living of the working class, but that is another matter.)

The threats to the U.S. posed by the Vietnam war are military and political. Military defeat and political crisis have shaken the confidence in the dollar because they have shaken the faith in the U.S. as an imperialist power — until now able to enforce its will on the oppressed people through sheer military might.

—Primaries

(Continued from page 6)

do everything they can to make the opportunists, wheeler-dealers, and "underdogs" into scintillating and captivating personalities.

The candidates in the primaries understand this better than anybody. They well understand that the primary votes are in themselves meaningless. But they also understand that the art of imperialist politics is primarily the art of deceiving the majority of the people.

And the primaries offer an especially appropriate theater in which they can put on their act and, by winning the voters, possibly win the approval of their real audience: the U.S. ruling class, whom they wish to serve.



Is the value of gold imaginary? Not to the South African bosses who work the miners to death for millions in profit. In 1965 South African miners earned 10 cents a day.

10,000 Wolves; 24 Million Sheep

There are now over 24 million Americans who own stock, that is, "a share in America," the New York Stock Exchange announced last month.

That's 176 million people who don't own a share in America, of course.

But do these 24 million really own any substantial part of big business, even though they have bought some shares in it?

If you add up the shares of 23 million people, it is possible that they equal the shares of 1 million. And the shares of 990,000 of the top million might actually be five or ten times the shares of the top 10,000.

But this has little effect on the top owners. Or rather, it enhances and increases their power over the workers and over the country as a whole.

Big business is very anxious to get more and more stockholders, just as banks are anxious to get more and more depositors. This way, a relatively small amount of capital in the hands of the very rich can manipulate a constantly larger body of other people's money — turning it into capital. The more people there are who have a "share in America" —

via the stock market — the more powerful the very rich become.

"Mutual funds," which have sold a tremendous amount of stock in the past two decades, have helped finance the biggest companies to expand further and profit more at the expense of the small investor (all on the backs of the workers, of course!)

The small return for the one-to-ten thousand dollar investor is not matched — even percentage-wise — by the colossal profits of the billionaires. The latter, in addition to manipulating the stocks, manipulate the corporations themselves.

They give themselves and their friends \$500,000 a year jobs and deduct the salaries from the small stockholders' dividends. And they keep much of the profits each year for re-investment.

Above all, they use their control over the increased capital to run the Government still more uncontrolledly and to dictate war and peace — running the very lives of the 23 million dupes of their system, who are suckered into keeping the rest of the people in line, too.

— McCarthy

(Continued from page 7)

New Statesman:

"...it was perfectly all right to wage the world counterrevolution, if the consequences were not too disagreeable.... (but) McCarthy can easily see the necessity for the liquidation of a particular imperialist adventure. But it is not hard to imagine what line he would take if he were the seat now occupied by his soul rother, Hubert Humphrey."