

# WORKERS WORLD

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July 5, 1968

Ten Cents

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## HUAC, Hoover Concoct Phony "Plot" To Frame WWP, YAWF

**Aim to Undermine Buffalo Black Liberation Struggle and the Defense of Martin Sostre**

**BUFFALO** — The House Un-American Activities Committee and the FBI have opened up an attack on Martin Sostre and his Defense Committee by concocting a phony "plot" between Sostre, Youth Against War & Fascism and Workers World during and after the June, 1967 rebellion in this city.

HUAC and J. Edgar Hoover are being anxiously assisted in this new red-baiting smear campaign by the Buffalo Police Department and the big business controlled press.

The Martin Sostre Defense Committee has been singled out for attack because it has tirelessly worked to defend the 40-year-old Black liberation fighter who was given a 31 to 41 year jail sentence on a trumped up narcotics charge. The committee has also tried by every method to break through the press blackout and bring to light the facts and circumstances surrounding the police frame-up of Mr. Sostre and other Black political prisoners.

Police Commissioner Frank Felicetta travelled to Washington to furnish HUAC with fairy tales about an alleged "plot" and his testimony was carefully released by the Committee and the police to the Buffalo Evening News and the Buffalo Courier-Express. The testimony itself was expertly timed to coincide with a new wave of repression against the Black people on the Niagara frontier.

Felicetta told HUAC that Sostre was a "prominent figure" in the 1967 rebellion and practically tried to make the entire rebellion the responsibility of one Black militant. Thus, Felicetta admitted that the Buffalo authorities were out to get Sostre because of his

devotion to Black liberation and that the narcotics charge was just an excuse.

The Buffalo press, which was so quick to pick up this smear testimony, would not even print one line from the

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## Berkeley Cops Use Tear Gas and Clubs; Students Fight Back

**BERKELEY, Calif., July 3** — Since last Friday night the police of this university city have been on a wild, but obviously calculated and organized rampage against student militants and anybody else who gives the slightest appearance of being against the status quo.

Police have arrested and clubbed

scores of young people, unleashed tear gas at peaceful street meetings and have had the open approval and cooperation of the city council, even in the face of thousands of protesters who appeared at the special council meeting yesterday.

The police attacks began Friday, June 28, during a street rally to protest the outlawing of French student radical organizations by the reactionary de Gaulle government.

After a very brief warning on a bull horn, the police laid down a barrage of tear gas and proceeded to club anyone who did not get out of the street "in time."

The 1,500 or so present at the rally were spread across Telegraph Avenue, rather near the University, in an area generally conceded to belong to the students and often used as a forum for discussions, sale of books, pamphlets, etc.

Actually, however, traffic had been flowing past the rally when the police broke it up.

The following day, Saturday, at an afternoon rally, the youths decided to take back their street. They erected barricades in the evening and redirected traffic, reserving a small section of Telegraph Avenue for themselves. After the speeches, they played music and danced in the street. At 11:30 p.m., after many leaders of the rally had gone home, the cops again launched a tear gas attack, this time without warning, and clubbed the dancers and

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### BARRICADES AT BERKELEY



Berkeley demonstrators defending a student rally area against police attack.

### WWP Chmn. Scores

#### USSR Return of Plane

**JULY 3**—Sam Marcy, chairman of Workers World Party, today denounced the hasty release by the government of the USSR of the U.S. military transport plane and the 214 U.S. soldiers who were on their way to fight in Vietnam.

"It is a basic principle," declared Mr. Marcy, "accepted in imperialist international law, that during wartime, if any military transport belonging to one of the belligerents strays into the territory of any neutral country, that country has the obligation to intern the transport and all military personnel aboard until the termination of the war. Such detention is required in order to safeguard the neutrality of the country."

"The Soviet Union is presumably an ally of the Vietnamese people. But even if they were neutrals, the leaders of the USSR had not only the right but the duty to keep the plane."

"The indecent haste," continued Mr. Marcy, "with which they sent the troops on their way to fight against the National Liberation Front was an uncomradely act towards the Vietnamese, to say the least, and a humiliating show of servility towards U.S. imperialism."

"Furthermore," concluded Mr. Marcy, "we would like to know whether they consulted the GIs about their wishes to go to fight in Vietnam."

## Rocky to Mac - "Perhaps It Is Right to Conceal Your Love, But Don't Knock Me Downstairs!"

By V. COPELAND

The New York primaries did not prove that Eugene McCarthy is really against the war in Vietnam. But they certainly did prove that an awful lot of other people really are against it, and they think he is against it, too.

This is one reason the newspapers, even the most conservative newspapers, have not attacked McCarthy; they know the overwhelming majority of people are against the war.

But there must be some other reason too. Like maybe McCarthy has big friends among the warmakers.

For example, McCarthy was reported as having said on June 30 that he "might go for Rockefeller if his domestic and foreign policy programs were acceptable."

He denied this the next day, although a number of Michigan Democrats testified he had really said it — in Lansing — at a private meeting of delegates to the coming National Democratic Convention.

Apparently his alleged remark caused quite a stir and "did him a

lot of harm" as at least one prominent Democrat lamented.

But it's really about par for the course in the 1968 Presidential election, and McCarthy is after all "one of the boys" — that is, one of the office-boys for imperialism like all the other candidates. Why shouldn't he make such remarks?

Humphrey says he'll support McCarthy, if the Democratic Party nominates that "peace" candidate. And McCarthy said earlier that he'd support Humphrey, if Humphrey would improve his position on the war a bit (that is, before he became angry with Humphrey for taking too many delegates). And Johnson let word leak out that he had persuaded Rockefeller to run — so Nixon wouldn't get elected.

So if McCarthy would support Humphrey, and Humphrey supports Johnson, and Johnson supports Rockefeller, why shouldn't McCarthy openly support Rockefeller and make the whole game much simpler? (Of course, on May 20 Rockefeller didn't see "any great ideological gap" between himself and

Ronald Reagan, who advocates invasion of North Vietnam with U.S. ground troops.)

Since McCarthy is such a direct and honest sort of chap, it's sort of what we'd expect of him.

Particularly since Stewart Mott, a leader of the Citizens' Movement to "draft" Rockefeller, gave McCarthy \$50,000 back on May 19, just after he had given Rockefeller (does he need it?) \$50,000 too — and then in June, Mr. Mott gave McCarthy another \$50,000.

McCarthy has been awfully well heeled for a lonesome Don Quixote type, who quotes you a poem in the intermission between advocating war in the Mideast and opposing withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe.

In his lonesome New Hampshire campaign, he said he spent \$130,000 (Time Magazine said it was \$300,000). In Wisconsin, he outspent Nixon, according to reports filed in the state capital on April 16 and 17 — \$494,000 to \$458,000.

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## Illusions About Disarmament

The agreement by the U.S. and the USSR on the so-called non-proliferation treaty and on holding talks on limiting anti-missile systems has been hailed on both sides as a great stride toward world peace. This is only an illusion. While these latest agreements do not help world peace, the spreading of illusions about imperialism by the conciliatory policies of the Soviet leaders certainly does increase the boldness of the most aggressive imperialist circles.

There is nothing wrong with agreements to limit armaments per se. But the Soviet leaders have not made a simple military agreement.

These agreements are achieved in the context of a political detente with Washington. The liquidators of Marxism in Moscow have touted these agreements before the world as steps on the road to friendly and harmonious diplomatic and political relations with the U.S. These latest agreements, however, although military in character, cannot be separated from the consular treaty, airlines

agreements, cultural exchanges, etc., and the generally class-collaborationist and conciliatory policies towards imperialism of the USSR leadership and their ideological followers around the world.

Treaties between working class countries and imperialist countries are a perfectly acceptable tactic. But given the unstable and warlike nature of imperialism, any military agreements, particularly with the U.S., should be openly explained as a pact with the class enemy, which can only be regarded as temporary and which is liable to be broken at the first moment that the imperialists consider it in their interests to do so. In that way arms limitations could be carried out without blurring over class contradictions, without disarming the masses ideologically, without lulling them to sleep with illusions about eternal peace between two antagonistic social systems — i.e., without covering up for imperialism and thus without increasing the chances of war.

## The Warren Resignation

The resignation of Earl Warren from his lifetime position as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is a result of the sharp struggle in the inner circles of the ruling class over how best to combat the Black liberation struggle. It is the outcome of the same fierce in-fighting among the billionaires which led to the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy.

Warren was appointed in 1953 as a representative of the ruling class point of view which held that substantial concessions must be made to the Black people in order to avoid a revolutionary struggle for true liberation. The Warren court did proceed with a number of rulings which, if they had been totally enforced in letter and in spirit, would have added up to achieve considerable improvements for the Afro-American people.

But the profit interests of the corporate rulers, deriving from the super-exploitation of Black workers and the general counter-revolutionary temper of the U.S. capitalist class as a world oppressor, proved to be inflexible barriers to even minimal political and social equality for Black people. The decisions of the Warren Court only served as a delaying factor, as a diversion in the liberation struggle. If anything, ruling class racism and oppression of Afro-Americans has gotten worse in the last 15 years.

Nevertheless, Warren is still a representative of the faction which believes some sort of concessions can stem the tide of revolution. The housing desegregation decision which he made just before his resignation underscores his position in respect to tactics in the struggle.

The Eastlands, Wallaces, Talmadges etc., all representative of the extreme racist wing of the ruling class which wants to further escalate the repressions against the Black liberation struggle, have been screaming for Warren's resignation since the 1954 school desegregation decision.

His leaving cannot but be a sign of the sharpening of the struggle among the financial oligarchs over tactics, and an indication of the behind-the-scenes growth of the extreme right wing. (If age were the only reason for his leaving, there would not now be any dispute as to whether he has actually resigned unconditionally or not.)

Whether the appointment of Fortas was just to stave off a takeover by the extreme right or whether he will lead the way to the right is immaterial. The fact that Warren has covered up this struggle, just as he covered up the Kennedy assassination, does not make it any less severe. It only stresses the need for the oppressed to keep a close watch on the machinations in the camp of the class enemy.

## On Lowering the Voting Age

We note with interest President Johnson's proposal to lower the voting age to 18 years old. We are certainly not opposed to allowing young people to vote. But what is interesting about the Johnson proposal is the timing of it.

After all these years of elections, when there doesn't seem to be any particularly outspoken popular movement in favor of lowering the voting

age, we can only draw one conclusion. The ruling class has concocted another diversionary maneuver to get the youth into the parliamentary morass and away from militant activities.

We propose that if the administration is lowering the voting age to let young people have more representation, why not have a binding referendum of youth on the Vietnam war — including the GIs.

# —Cops Attack at Berkeley

(Continued from page 1)

bystanders indiscriminately.

On Sunday, the city government declared a 7 p.m. curfew for the area. At an afternoon rally that day, it was decided to abide by the curfew. However, many young people had trouble getting home through the curfew zone after the rally. The cops had cut off 50 blocks to incoming traffic, and anyone on foot within the area, if he looked like a hippy or a radical student, was clubbed or arrested, or both.

This aroused the youths again. Some of the leaders and monitors tried to hold down the militancy by locking arms to keep the students on the sidewalk. But hundreds broke through this barrier and constructed their own barricades out in the street with benches, boxes and newspaper racks.

On Monday night, July 1, another curfew was imposed — this time at 8 p.m. — for the whole city of Berkeley.

At 8:00 sharp the cops again went into action on Telegraph, chasing some people a block or more.

One youth taunted cops from inside the Forum Coffee Shop. They went inside and beat him repeatedly, while a girl screamed, "Leave him alone, leave him alone!" They dragged him outside and left him alone — unconscious and bleeding on the sidewalk.

On Tuesday, the Berkeley City Council met in an all-day session to hear — and

disregard — complaints from spokesmen for a crowd of 2,000 who jammed the Berkeley Community Theatre for the special session.

The high point of the hearings was the testimony of Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party. Out of jail for what may be a very brief period, Cleaver made a ringing statement of solidarity with the students. (He has a hearing next Monday afternoon to determine the future of his parole.)

The original rally was called by the Young Socialist Alliance, the Campus Mobilization Committee, the Black Panther Party, Peace and Freedom Movement, ISC, Tri-Continental Progressive Students, The Movement (a branch of SNCC), the Iranian Student Assn. and the Spartacist League.

The Council refused to grant a permit for sound for a street meeting on July 4. And while some of the leadership felt they should wait for more decisions by the council, the consensus of the ranks (2,000 to 3,000 in the strategy session) is for an open and outright declaration of independence on July 4.

The vicious police crackdown has been explained by some as a state-inspired move, designed to break the back of the movement and demoralize the black and white supporters of Black Panther Huey Newton, whose trial is to begin July 15.

## Imperialism is to be understood and fought

### Come to an Anti-Imperialist Action Conference

At the Hotel Diplomat  
108 West 43rd Street

Sat., July 13, 1968

Registration: 10 a.m.

Sponsored by: COALITION FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT

## A READER'S REACTION TO KENNEDY ASSASSINATION— IT WAS A PLOT!

Dear Editor,

Hardly 24 hours after Robert Kennedy was buried we learn that Hubert Horatio Humphrey, political scion and heir to LBJ, has the Democratic Party nomination for president of the United States sewn up. The assassin's bullet that killed Kennedy gave him the balance of Kennedy delegate votes that he, Humphrey, needs for a majority at the Convention in Chicago. As in 1963-64, a bullet has in 1968 decided which candidate of the ruling class of the United States will represent that class as president of the United States, for Humphrey will surely go on to win in November unless absolute catastrophe overtakes U.S. imperialism even sooner than seems likely.

The real point in all this is that absolute catastrophe is overtaking U.S. imperialism, and very rapidly, as the American central core of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism, enters its terminal period of rapid and frenzied degeneration and disintegration. It is this objective fact of the necessity of the movement of the class forces in this particular direction at this stage of the objective historical process: as scientifically discovered and described by the science of Marxism-Leninism, that has thrust into predominance in the U.S. the most vicious, reckless, and aggressive wing of the capitalist ruling class that strives, through assassination of its competitors within the ruling class, genocide of the Blacks in America, and reckless wars of aggression abroad, to rapidly bring about the conditions which will bring capitalism as a world system to its fate, its end, in an accelerated manner.

These maniacs, in a sense, are the handmaidens of history; their fana-

ticism will destroy what they strive to sustain. It is the necessity of the objective historic process that is using their ignorance and thrusting it into the forefront of this historical process at this time, and using it to produce just the opposite of that which they subjectively aim to produce through it.

Nothing could be a firmer commentary on the futility of attempting to solve the problem of America, the central core of world-capitalist, imperialist violence, by trying to turn America into a peaceful, law-abiding international neighbor of the self-revolutionizing nations of the world and of the internal Black colony within America. The objective nature, the temporal necessity of the historic process, as scientifically known in a firm objective manner, will not allow such a reformation of imperialist America to take place. Instead, imperialist America will degenerate and disintegrate into chaos, and in that way remove itself as an obstacle to revolution, social justice, progress, independence, and just peace in the world at large.

I will not even dignify the administration's "lone fanatical leftist" explanation of the third round of assassination with a refutation. Let me close only by saying that it is the solemn duty of every revolutionary to help U.S. imperialism along its road to disintegration and decay by accelerating militant actions such as those by the Columbia students. A good, swift kick in the pants and the house of dividend coupons and draft cards will come tumbling down.

Bernard Edwin Galitz



## Who Is Abe Fortas?

Friend of Johnson Yes — and  
Friend of Monopolies Too!

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

Abe Fortas is a longtime friend and close adviser to Johnson. This fact is well known and much publicized in the capitalist press. But the most important factor in Fortas' selection as Chief Justice is not his friendship with Johnson, but his long and devoted service to big business.

To begin with, it is interesting to note that Fortas, before his appointment to the Supreme Court in 1965, was the director of the following corporations: Greatamerica Corp., Federated Department Stores (Cincinnati), SuCrest Corp., Madison National Bank (Wash., D.C.), Franklin Life Insurance Co. (Springfield, Ill.), Braniff Airlines (Dallas), Carnegie Hall Corp. (New York), and Carnegie Hall International.

Of course it is not surprising that a person with such heavy judicial responsibility should have high corporate connections. But it is educational to learn how Fortas acquired his holdings.

When the carpenter's son from Memphis, Tenn., entered the Supreme Court in 1965 he resigned from the Washington law firm of Fortas, Arnold and Porter which represents the giant monopolies. The firm is composed of a trio of renegade reformers, Fortas, Thurman Arnold and Paul Porter.

FROM "TRUST-BUSTING"  
TO TRUST SERVING

All three partners started out separately in the New Deal government apparatus, allegedly to battle the power of the monopolies whose chaotic pursuit of profit had brought disaster to the system. Thurmon Arnold as an Assistant Attorney General in charge of the anti-trust division of the Justice Department became well known as a "trust-buster." He wrote books exposing the practices of the monopolies.

Paul Porter worked his way up from being in charge of regulating rents in the Office of Price Administration to the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and finally became head of the OPA.

Fortas came out of Yale law school to serve on the crucial Securities Exchange Commission at its very inception. He was at various times the assistant director of corporate reorganization and director of the public utilities division. He was also general counsel for the Public Works Administration and in charge of the Bituminous coal division. He was the director of the Division of Power in the Interior Department and was finally appointed Under Secretary of the Interior by Roosevelt.

All three men spent over a decade presumably regulating the monopolies, trust-busting, watching out for the "public interest" and pioneering the New Deal. However, in 1946, the minute the New Deal was over and the Cold

War began, the three of them turned around, formed a corporate law firm and went right to work representing all the billionaire contacts they had made during their so-called "regulatory" activities.

## LEGAL IMPERIALISTS

The members of the Fortas firm were not just local, small time opportunists. They have global experience in looking after the broader imperialist interests of their clients.

Arnold the "trust-buster" was the legal adviser to the U.S. Governor General of the Philippines during the 30's, and his specific job was to look after the interest of the sugar trust (which he presumably forgot to "bust.")

Porter, in 1946, was appointed by Truman to head the American Economic Mission to Greece with the rank of ambassador. Thus, Fortas, Arnold and Porter played a key role in the first U.S. counter-revolutionary offensive of the Cold War. Porter also represented the firm and its big business clients on the Palestine Conciliation Committee in 1949.

Fortas himself was deeply involved in developing the legal and political smokescreen by which the U.S. retained its imperialist stranglehold on Puerto Rico after World War II. He calls the island his "second home." He was on the President's Commission to Study the Organic Law of Puerto Rico in 1943 which worked out the fraudulent "commonwealth" status for the island colony.

No doubt Fortas' experience in Puerto Rico qualified him as Johnson's principal adviser in crushing the Dominican uprising of 1965 and engineering the election of the pro-U.S. former Trujillo servant, Balaguer.

## JOHNSON LIKES FORTAS

To explain the Johnson-Fortas "friendship" much has been made of the episode in which Johnson fixed the 1948 Senatorial election in Texas, was caught and thrown off the ballot only to be rescued when Fortas got former KKK member Hugo Black to put Johnson back in the running.

But perhaps the most valuable piece of advice Fortas ever gave Johnson was to stop him from appointing an all-Texas committee to investigate the John F. Kennedy assassination. Fortas, knowing that Johnson himself was a principal suspect in the killing, got him to appoint a commission which would get all sections of the ruling class in on the cover-up.

## BIG BUSINESS LIKES THEM BOTH

The capitalist press in general has greeted the Fortas appointment with satisfaction and called him a reliable friend of the "business community."

NLF Flag (Real One) on Stage;  
8 Arrested in 'Green Beret' Protest

NEW YORK, June 30 — The Green Berets, a movie glorifying U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, was picketed yesterday by nearly one hundred anti-war youths. To further dramatize the protest four youths raised the flag of the National Liberation Front inside the theater. The demonstration, sponsored by the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement, was a follow-up of a similar protest held two weeks ago on the film's opening night.

The action started on 43rd Street near Seventh Avenue, where the demonstrators assembled. Carrying colorful banners and the flags of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the protestors marched up Seventh Avenue. Their chants of "Big Firms Get Rich, GIs Die," could be heard for several blocks. On the way uptown, a few friendly soldiers joined the line for a short distance.

When the demonstrators reached the theater where the film was playing, police in force prevented them from marching in front of the theater. March leaders quickly decided to evade the cops and took to the streets, turning west on 47th Street. They proceeded to Eighth Avenue and went north, chanting all the way.

By now, a strong contingent of police was alongside and in back of the march, preventing the demonstrators from turning east to get back to the theater. At 49th Street, cops charged the line on the sidewalk and arbitrarily arrested four men, swinging their clubs viciously in an effort to break up the march. To prevent the cops from breaking up the demonstration, it was decided that the protesters would walk back to the theater on Broadway and 47th Street in small groups and then gather for a picket line.

While the picketers outside were chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is Gonna Win," and "Green Berets Must Go!" inside the theater, four youths also staged a protest. About five minutes after the movie had begun, they walked up the aisle of the theater right to the screen, unfurled the flag of the National Liberation Front and chanted "John Wayne Gets Rich, GIs Die" be-

In fact, from his earliest New Deal days, Fortas has never stopped trying to ingratiate himself with the monopolies. In fact he has modernized the theoretical justification for monopoly itself by developing the "theory" that "bigness alone" is not an evil! He has dissented from the Warren court on anti-trust cases.

It is a measure of the man that, having come up the ladder with the New Deal crowd of "trust-busters" he is now devoting himself to serving the monopolies along with his fellow renegade reformers. Much is said about Fortas being a friend of Johnson. But why shouldn't he be? Johnson has always been a friend of big business too.

fore the cops and plainclothesmen in the theater could stop them.

As the cops dragged them out of the theater, they chanted, "Stop this fascist film," and "This film is a racist disgrace." They were taken to a side exit and forced to stand with their hands up against the wall while they were searched. They were then handcuffed and taken away. As the demonstrators left, a contingent of 50 more cops rushed into the theater. A busload of police was also brought in to cordon off the front and sides of the theater.

After the picket line, about 25 demonstrators went to night court to support those who were arrested. The four youths arrested at 49th Street were paroled and charged with disorderly conduct. However, those who had staged the inside protest were charged with criminal trespass and disorderly conduct. Bail was set at \$500 each and they were held overnight.

After the arraignment supporters in the courtroom clapped in solidarity with the arrested youths as they were leaving the court. The judge became infuriated and standing at the bench, began to yell, "Get them back in here!" The court clerk ran out screaming, "Stop, you're all under arrest!"

Fifteen demonstrators were then lined up before the judge who was still standing and fuming. He threatened to charge everyone with contempt of court and give them a 30-day sentence and a \$250 fine. "You have no respect for law and order. I'll teach you to respect the law!" he raved.

After the lecture on proper court demeanor, everyone was released. But no one seemed to be convinced that they had not done the right thing.

## PROTESTS IN CLEVELAND

CLEVELAND, June 28 — Demonstrators marched in Central Square today to demand the release of 4 GIs being held political prisoners by the U.S. armed forces.

The youthful demonstrators chose the height of the shopping hour to protest the jailing of Black Marines PFC George Daniels and Cpl. William Harvey who were given 10 years and 6 years in jail respectively for saying "Vietnam is a white man's war." Also protested was the sentencing of Pvt. Ken Stolte and PFC David Amick who got 4 years each for passing out GI union leaflets.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Cleveland chapter of Youth Against War & Fascism.

\* \* \*

JUNE 26 -- The opening of the pro-fascist war film the "Green Berets" was picketed here at the Embassy Theater. Members of Youth Against War & Fascism carried signs denouncing "Wall Street's Propaganda."



# William Worthy's TV Address on the Martin Sostre Case

The following news commentary, in slightly abridged form, was given by William Worthy, correspondent of The Baltimore Afro-American, on Friday evening, June 28, 1968, over the second half of the Monday-to-Friday NEWS-FRONT program of the Eastern Educational Network.

William Worthy has been in 28 countries including Peoples China, Cuba and Indonesia.

Among other subjects, he has lectured on:

\*Langston Hughes: Prophet of the Black Revolution

\*"Black Power and World Revolution"

\*Newark, Detroit and Vietnam: The Common Thread

MARTIN GONZALES SOSTRE:  
POLITICAL PRISONER

Tomorrow's Cause Celebre  
By WILLIAM WORTHY

Until a year ago, Martin Sostre of Buffalo, New York was the proud and defiant owner of the local Afro-Asian Bookstore.

Before that, he had been a Black Muslim — a religious-political convert while serving 12 years in Attica, New York, State Prison.

Years before that, he had been a youthful peddler of narcotics and had entered prison while in his twenties.

Today Martin Sostre, age 44, is in prison in Green Haven, New York, near Poughkeepsie, almost a hundred miles from his Buffalo home and supporters. The charge: possession and sale of her-

oin. The sentence this time: from 31 to 41 years, plus 30 days. On the vehemently outspoken Sostre the judge, Frederick M. Marshall, imposed that extra month for supposed contempt of court.

Recently at O'Hare Airport in Chicago I happened to run into the Harlem attorney who, earlier in this decade, helped Martin Sostre establish the le-



William Worthy

gal right of Black Muslims to hold their own religious services behind prison walls. The warden and state correction officials had all refused the right with

every weapon of punishment at their command, but Sostre's persistence led to an important First Amendment victory. Sostre himself did much of the legal work in the state and federal courts after having studied law while in Attica State Prison.

When the Attica officials were compelled to produce Sostre and his fellow plaintiffs in court, they took them there in chains. In a memorable photograph, Sostre appeared in the line in the Black Muslim newspaper. The scene looked medieval.

"Martin Sostre," said the lawyer as we talked between planes, "is the most extraordinary personality I have ever met. He operates somewhere in the area between brilliance and genius."

To his friends and legal counsellors, there is no question that Sostre's personal rehabilitation was complete and permanent years ago as a consequence of his conversion to the puritanical Black Muslim faith. Though no longer a Muslim because of his personal and political beliefs, he still doesn't smoke, drink or eat pork. When Malcolm X in 1964 parted company with the Muslims, Sostre, an admirer of Malcolm, broke too.

After coming out of prison that year, he worked for \$146 a week in the Lackawanna steel mill, saved what he could, and solicited and borrowed additional money to fulfill a dream: the opening of an Afro-Asian Bookstore in the Buffalo ghetto. Shortly before his arrest in July 1967, he took the gamble of giving up

his only sure income in the steel mill and began devoting 14 hours a day to the store which, without any pretense, was a lively center of radical political ideas.

Sostre featured the works of Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, Robert F. Williams, LeRoi Jones, James Baldwin, Richard Wright and others. From foreign continents he imported such periodicals as China Reconstructs, African Opinion and Peking Review. He sponsored classes in Black nationalism and Negro history.

As the son of a Puerto Rican mother, Sostre is strongly anti-imperialist. He got oblique warnings from the Buffalo police radical squad whose members frequently visited the bookstore.

Late last June, shortly before Newark and Detroit erupted, Buffalo had its own racial upheaval. In subsequent testimony before Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee, Police Commissioner Frank Felicetta blamed Sostre for much of the trouble. At the height of the riot, according to passers-by, police and firemen used the pretext of a fire next door to sack the radical bookstore and to turn their hoses on the literature shelves. Not a book burning, but book watering.

Nevertheless, Sostre reopened the store, only to be raided at midnight two weeks later. He was arrested and beaten up. Originally he was held in \$50,000 bail on the heroin charges as an alleged second offender. Charges of arson and

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## — HUAC, Hoover Attack WW

(Continued from page 1)

countless releases sent out by the Defense Committee before and during Sostre's "narcotics" trial which explained the political character and importance of his case.

There was a total press blackout for almost one year on the story of the Afro-Asian bookstore, run by Sostre, which was the chief center for the dissemination of cultural and political literature relevant to the lives of Black people and their struggle against oppression. There was not a line in the Buffalo Evening News or the Buffalo Courier-Express about how the cops and the firemen destroyed the bookstore during the rebellion. Not a word was printed about how they planted heroin on Sostre and how he was railroaded for life on the say-so of police

on Sostre at the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in August, 1967. Only this time he brought in YAWF leaflets, collected by the FBI and the Buffalo subversive squad, distributed during a demonstration in Lafayette Square at the height of the rebellion calling for "Solidarity with Our Oppressed Black Brothers." Also used as "evidence" of the "plot" were leaflets distributed by YAWF for a demonstration outside Erie County Jail calling for the release of Black prisoners who were being rounded up wholesale at the time.

Statements by J. Edgar Hoover attacking YAWF and Workers World were read into the record by Charles Smith, counsel for the Committee. Felicetta read from the July 7, 1967 issue of Workers World which described the rebellion as a completely justifiable answer by Black people to the racist system, and was caused by the ruling class enforcing its regime of exploitation and oppression.

Also named in the attack was Mr. Charles Provost, a prominent individual in Buffalo. Mr. Provost is the former leader of the Buffalo Progressive Citizens. He is a former school teacher who has been very active in numerous progressive causes.

The principle objective of the HUAC-FBI attack, and the well-harmonized red-baiting smear campaign in the Buffalo big-business press, is to cut off the oppressed Black community from militant aid and assistance by fraternal organizations and genuine allies in the struggle for liberation. That is the reason why the only three organizations which have militantly and most consistently supported the Afro-American struggle in Buffalo have been singled out by Washington for attack.

The Martin Sostre Defense Committee, whose chairman is Gerald Gross, issued an answer to the charges by HUAC and Felicetta (not printed in the press) which concluded:

"This lousy frame-up will not stick! The Martin Sostre Defense Committee — its friends and supporters — will continue unrelentingly in the struggle to free Martin Sostre!"

## SOSTRE DEFENSE COMMITTEE ANSWERS HUAC AND FELICETTA

Below are excerpts from two press releases responding to the witch-hunting articles in the Buffalo press which carried the news of the HUAC-Hoover attacks on WW and YAWF and the Martin Sostre Defense Committee.

BUFFALO, June 20 — Once again the Martin Sostre Defense Committee condemns the flimsy, racist, unfounded statements against Martin Sostre made by Buffalo Police Commissioner Frank N. Felicetta before the illegally constituted House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington, D.C. today.

Just as in his equally flimsy statements before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on August 4, 1967 when he stated that "Martin X planned to use the fires to force white owners to sell out to him cheaply" and that in a "July 15 search of the man's house (Sostre) that narcotics squad detectives uncovered 'substantial evidence of arson and rioting.'"

The Martin Sostre Defense Committee would like to set the record straight! Martin Sostre — when first

arrested and framed was charged with sale and possession of narcotics, assault, riot and arson. The latter two were quickly dropped, and the cops proceeded to concentrate their efforts in making the frame stick with the first three charges....

Martin Sostre — a courageous and outspoken critic, activist and militant fighter against the oppression of his people... was fingered, framed, "tried," convicted and sentenced to 41 years, 30 days.

Martin was framed... in an effort to hide the true facts — mainly that it is poverty, racism, police brutality, unemployment, ghetto housing, inadequate schools, daily "looting" by white merchants, etc. etc. that cause the Black people to rise courageously in rebellion....

This lousy frame-up will not stick! The Martin Sostre Defense Committee — its friends and supporters — will continue unrelentingly in the struggle to free Martin Sostre!

Martin Sostre is currently in Green Haven Prison at Stormville, New York; the case is being appealed.

## ...SO DOES YOUTH AGAINST WAR & FASCISM

BUFFALO, June 20 — Yesterday, Buffalo's police commissioner, Felicetta, during his self-serving testimony before the infamously racist House Un-American Activities Committee, testified that YAWF and Workers World Party were agents behind the June-July rebellions which broke out in Buffalo's Black ghetto last year. In his fervor to please the bankers and industrialists for whom he works, the patriotic commissioner failed to point out the following facts:

1. The June-July rebellion in Buffalo's ghetto was caused by Felicetta's own bosses, whose inhuman system oppresses and exploits the Black and poor white people.

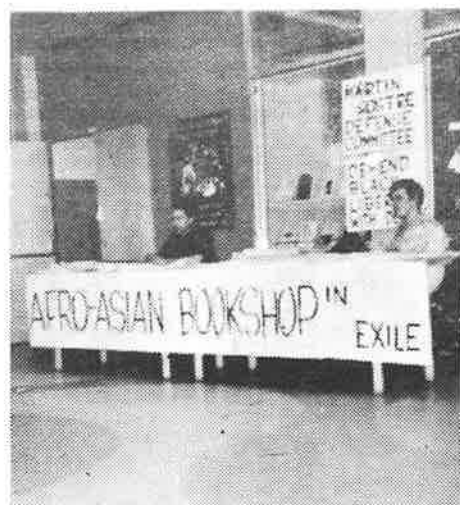
2. Felicetta's strike-breaking goon squads who routinely terrorize the Black and poor white people of Buffalo were one of the biggest factors in in-

citing the rebellion.

3. The racist politicians and cops, searching for scapegoats to cover up their own gypping and looting, their ruthlessness and deceit, cynically framed Martin Sostre, proprietor of the Afro-Asian Bookshop.

4. Now, in conspiracy with the notorious HUAC, the racists of the U.S. Congress, and upon orders from his corrupt bosses, Felicetta is seeking to find further scapegoats in YAWF and Workers World Party, since only a blind fool would believe his original story, that one man, even as inspiring a figure as Martin Sostre, could move thousands of otherwise contented people to revolt.

Clean up the racist and fascist scum in Buffalo! Jail the slumlords, not the Black and poor! No more frame-ups, free Martin Sostre now!



Gerald Gross, chairman of the Martin Sostre Defense Committee (seated left), at the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Exile on the Buffalo University campus.

and police agents.

Suddenly, on the orders of HUAC and J. Edgar Hoover, Felicetta, the Evening News and the Courier decided to publicize Martin Sostre with a barrage of lies and slanders.

Felicetta's testimony was along the same vicious lines as the attack he made



## — Worthy

(Continued from page 4)

rioting were dropped. Even when bail was reduced to \$12,000 cash, he could not raise that sum and remained in jail for eight months until his three-day trial in March.

The head of the Buffalo police narcotics squad told the press that the same Martin G. Sostre who didn't have the money to bail himself out of jail had been earning a profit of \$5,000 a week from selling narcotics. In England, that detective would have been jailed for prejudicial, inflammatory press comment before trial. And any editors who published such remarks would have been jailed too.

The Martin Sostre Defense Committee in Buffalo labels his case "one of a chain of frame-ups." They cite what they call a nationwide pattern of legally harassing those in the freedom movement with leadership qualities and charisma: H. Rap Brown, who will be tied up in bail bonds, trials, appeals and probably jail for years to come, Cleveland Sellers, long an activist in SNCC in the South; the New Haven militants who are accused of conspiring to dynamite public buildings and to overthrow the local government; Huey Newton of the Black Panthers in Oakland, California; Max Stanford of Philadelphia; and author-activist Eldridge Cleaver, who was just released June 11 from a California prison after a San Francisco judge ruled his parole had been recently revoked for purely political reasons; and others. In Buffalo, the trial of Sostre's co-defendant, Mrs. Geraldine Robinson, who was his bookstore assistant, is yet to come.

For a northern industrial community, Buffalo is exceptionally conservative. The pattern of repression there tends to be more raw and more unabashed than one might expect in the Empire State. If Martin Sostre is even half the remarkable person that all who know him say he is — and I myself do not know him — his removal at this time from the Buffalo ghetto and the closing of his bookstore will be a serious intellectual setback to the local movement, even if a year or two from now the higher courts release him from prison on appeal.

He could be freed now on bail if New

## New Jersey Governor Hughes

# He Talks Against Fascists But Acts Against Black Community

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

New Jersey has the most "stringent" gun control law in the U.S. And the behavior of Governor Hughes in the enforcement of that law is one of the most illuminating examples of how those laws, if enacted, would be applied by the capitalist government.

For almost a year now, New Jersey authorities have permitted an armed vigilante group to terrorize the Black community in Newark. Last week, Governor Hughes finally got around to "deploring" the storm trooper organi-

zation, saying that Anthony Imperiale, head of the North Ward Citizens Committee and member of the Ku Klux Klan, was a "potential threat to peace and law and order in New Jersey." So far, Hughes has done nothing more than ask the state legislature for "stiffer penalties" for persons engaging in "paramilitary" activities of "vigilante" groups.

But this same governor last July 19, on merely a report that 46 stolen rifles were in the Black community,

sent 300 heavily armed state troopers and national guardsmen into the Black community in Plainfield to search for the guns.

At that time, Hughes didn't waste a minute asking for legislation. He just declared the city to be in a state of disaster, suspended civil rights (for Black people) and ordered a house to house search in a mile-square area of the Black community, without a single search warrant. Houses were totally ransacked and their occupants brutalized by the troopers — all this because 46 guns were reported to be in the hands of the rebellious Black community.

Obviously Governor Hughes is not at all afraid of guns in the hands of white fascists. In fact, over the last year the racist organization has enjoyed the cooperation of the Newark police department in carrying out nightly vigilante patrols in the city. (A New York Times article of June 24, 1968 even admitted that the committee sometimes "helps the police search for suspects.")

To be sure, the political servants of the ruling class in New Jersey may have some tactical differences with Imperiale's group. Out of self-preservation they don't ordinarily threaten wholesale murder of Black people Imperiale does. However Governor Hughes' record for last summer's bellion is quite clear — 24 dead, 1,200 wounded and 1,275 jailed.

As long as the program of the ruling class is one of counterrevolutionary violence against the Black people, as has been proven again and again in Newark, Detroit, Buffalo, Washington, etc., Imperiale and his like will have friends among the police, in the courts and in the government.

Ruling class policy toward the growth of violence is: "deplore" the violence of the right; disarm the oppressed by any means necessary!

### No 1st Amendment for Poor

The First Amendment to the Constitution reads in part:

"Congress shall make no law... abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

The New York Times of June 25, in an attempt to justify the mass arrests of the poor people who tried to march to the Capitol, explained: "Special laws applicable only to the Capitol and its surrounding grounds and buildings forbid any 'parade, demonstration or picket' and any 'processions or assemblages.'"

Similar laws apply to the Supreme Court building and there are strict regulations against demonstrations applying to the White House.

In other words, the poor people have the right to "assemble and petition the Government for the redress of grievances" except in front of the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature!

society when it permits *de facto* reign of the police mentality and right wing brain.

# Black Liberation Fighter Returns to the Motherland

## Mae Mallory Tells of Trip Through Africa On Her Way to See Rob Williams in Tanzania

Below is the first of two articles by Mrs. Mae Mallory on her views and impressions of a visit to Africa. Next week she will tell about her meeting with Robert F. Williams in Tanzania, the first since 1961 when he was driven from Monroe, N.C. into exile and she was jailed for a year in Cleveland on a false kidnapping charge.

It is impossible for one to write about Africa without expressing a great deal of emotion. Africa means so much to me, much more than America ever could. I am well aware that the Africa I love is in danger as long as the citadel of monopoly capitalism, the U.S.A., exists. Nevertheless, I am more elated over every victory for Africa and more despondent over any set-back of Africa than I am of any comparable development in the U.S.A. In other words, I identify with Africa.

America means slave ships to me, cruel overseers, large plantations with rich lazy white bosses and poor miserable Black slaves. America is large farms owned by whites with poor Blacks sharecropping — overworked, underpaid, and hopelessly in debt. America means inferior educational opportunities, poor jobs or no jobs. America means white lynch mobs and burning Black victims. America means sit-ins for coffee, instead, you get spit in your face. America means picket lines to buy fried chicken cooked in the kitchen by Black hands, but Black people's heads bashed in with base-

ball bats. Call the cops — and the victims of the abuse are arrested and the abuser goes to the capitol as governor.

America has cut deep grooves into my very soul. These scars are the result of an economic system that exploited the world, but more than that, made slaves of the sons and daughters they stole from the African shores. Scars were lashed in my grandfather's back by the whip of a vicious overseer. Scars melted my grandmother's breast when she was a young girl. This heinous deed was done by a jealous white mistress, who didn't stop to consider my grandmother had no control over how her body was used or who used it. Why, America?

Why did you commit these crimes. Because we are Black, because we are Africans.

Nothing in the world could spoil Thursday, May 23, 1968 for me. I defied God and/or all the gods that would cause any problems for me. This is the day I'm going home, home to Africa, at last.

I chose the Pan American air route particularly because I wanted my first stop to be in Africa. It was important to me to have the very first stop any place in Africa.

Dakar, Senegal was my first stop. Home at last. I felt like dancing, laughing, crying, jumping up and down or even kissing the ground.

It was 7:30 a.m. when I reached



Robert F. Williams (left), President, Republic of New Africa, Jacob Nyaose, Labor Secretary, Pan-African Congress (PAC) of Azania (South Africa) and freedom fighter, and Atty. Milton R. Henry, first V.P. of Rep. of New Africa.

Dakar, Senegal. The air was fresh, the day young, and I'm home in Africa.

The second stop was Monrovia, Liberia, the one and only great letdown and total disappointment. Liberia is a huge Firestone plantation, settled by mispatriotic Negroes who are loyal to their American slave masters. The airport at Monrovia, Liberia looks like a giant field. Airports are usually the most modern part of any country. The airport gives a feeling of looking forward to a future. I sincerely hope that the appearance of the airport in Monrovia is not an indication of the future of that nation.

Accra, Ghana — I used to lie awake in my jail cell and dream about Accra, Ghana. I used to dream that I was in Accra having a heated political dis-

cussion with Julian Mayfield. Julian Mayfield was actually in Accra, but I thought that the only way I'd ever get to Accra would be in my dreams. Now here I am — Friday, May 24, 1968, in Accra.

Fourth stop is Lagos, Nigeria. From the books I've read and the lectures I've heard, it appears that most of us are supposed to have come from this area. It is quite natural, I think, to look around to see if the people of this area bear close resemblance to the Africans in America. In my estimation, these Africans look no more or no less like any other Africans, whether they were born in the U.S. or Africa. As far as my own appearance is concerned, I look like all Africa.

(Continued on page 7)

# Brazilian Students Defy Military Rulers, Vow to Bring Down U.S.-Installed Regime

By PETER STORCH

An upsurge in the Brazilian student movement has plunged the neo-fascist rulers of Brazil into a grave political crisis. Since early April, students have been battling the Brazilian police and military throughout the country and calling for the overthrow of the military dictatorship.

Four years ago, tanks rumbled through the cities as the U.S.-inspired Brazilian general staff seized control of the second largest country in the Western Hemisphere (population 85 million). Unions were smashed. Left wing and even the mildest progressive political activities were outlawed. Working class and peasant leaders were hunted down and jailed.

Today students defy fascist terror and the pendulum is swinging to the left after four years of reaction.

## NATIONAL STUDENT UPRISING

The student struggle broke out when Brazilian police banned demonstrations in the Rio de Janeiro area. The demonstrations were organized by students attacking school conditions. A student was killed by the police during the protest.

On March 31, while students carried the body of their fallen comrade in a march on the National Assembly, the Military Police shot down two more students. The next night students retaliated and wounded 17 policemen and forced the government to call out the marines to save its cops.

The events in Rio de Janeiro sparked student rebellions in the state of Goias where bloody battles took place between students and police, and resulted in casualties on both sides. Demonstrations were also held in Sao Paulo where more than 30 people were arrested. Police trying to stop demonstrations in the state of Minas Gerais were held at bay by a barrage of rocks thrown by students. They had to be rescued by a counter-attack with tear gas

grenades. Students in Porto Alegre repelled a police attack and set fire to a police car.

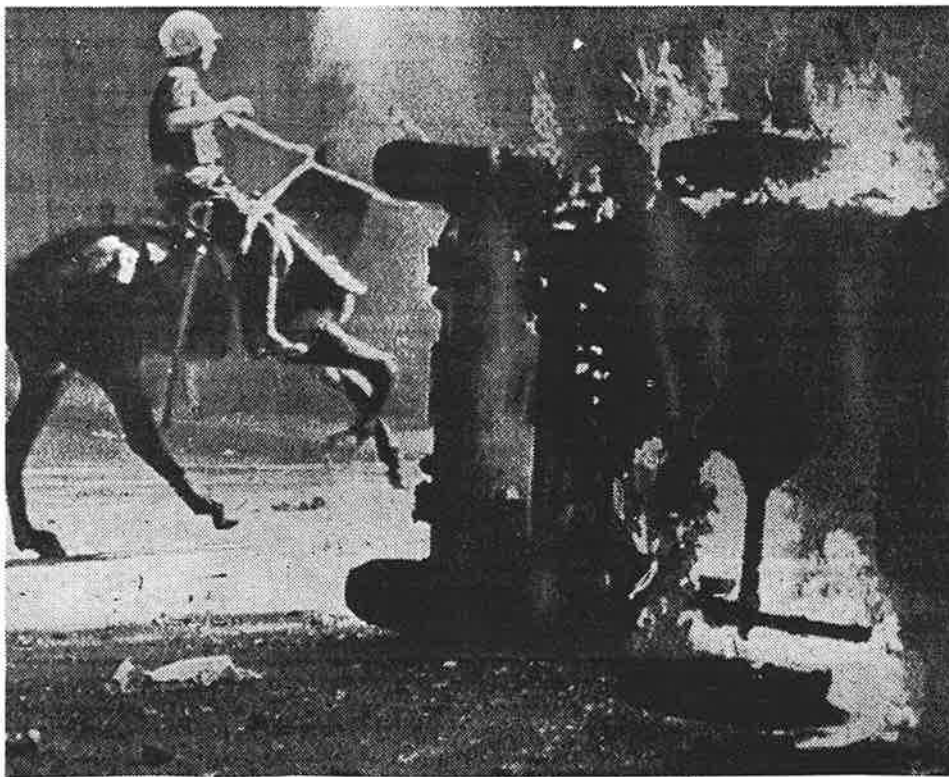
In the state of Ceara, students destroyed the headquarters of the U.S. Information Service. In Brasilia, students and police battled fiercely over the control of university buildings.

By April 3, many state governments had declared a "state of emergency." So vicious were the Brazilian police and military troops that the attacks inspired sympathy for the students among the general population. Even government-

controlled newspapers began to publish opinion polls showing mass opposition to the military dictatorship under Costa e Silva.

## U.S. A MAIN TARGET

Demonstrations continued into the month of May as students and workers stoned the Governor of Sao Paulo during a May Day rally in Praca de Se. On May 31, 600 students seized the Engineering School University in San Bernardo del Campo. In the state of Ceara, five bombs exploded in the Federal



Students in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, defied state and city police in massive street demonstrations supporting demands for more funds for universities. They burned an Army car and a truck, and smashed two Government cars. Police arrested eighty youth.

School of Economic Sciences just when McGeorge Bundy, President of the Ford Foundation, was speaking as a special invited guest.

On June 21, over 2,000 students again took the streets and stoned the U.S. Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. Two students and one policeman were killed, while dozens of others were injured. Students shouted "Down with Dictatorship!" The students made it a point to denounce the semi-secret agreement between the Brazilian Ministry of Higher Education and the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID).

Police repression only backfired on the shaken fascist regime, as an even larger demonstration was held on June 26 with teachers, artists, priests and nuns joining students and workers in Rio de Janeiro and demanding the ouster of the Costa e Silva government. Well over 20,000, according to the June 29 edition of the N.Y. Times, shouted "Down with the Dictatorship!" and "Power for the People!" The powerful mass demonstration frightened the local branch of the First National City Bank into closing its heavy brass doors when the demonstrators approached.

The military regime, installed in April 1964 by the CIA and the U.S. military missions in Brazil, took power in a coup d'etat against the liberal government of Joao Goulart, President of Brazil from 1961 up until the 1964 coup which overthrew him. He had made too many concessions, as far as the U.S. corporations were concerned, to the Brazilian masses on land reform and on expropriation of several U.S. oil companies and I.T. & T., although more than 50 per cent of Brazilian industry remained in U.S. hands. The giant U.S. monopolies, who would not tolerate even such mild liberals as Bosch, Frondizi, Illia, or even their own president, John Kennedy, made no hesitation in overthrowing the Goulart administration, which at best was taking away only a tiny fraction of U.S. imperialist profits in Brazil.

The U.S.-puppet military regime banned all political parties and all other forms of opposition upon taking power in 1964. But the Brazilian students have tolled the bell marking a new round in the struggle to free the Brazilian people from the government of the CIA-trained generals of Brazil.

## Argentine Workers, Students Battle Ongania Dictatorship

June 28 - Argentinian revolutionaries let the U.S.-backed military regime in Buenos Aires know how the people of Argentina feel about the Ongania dictatorship by exploding several bombs, causing heavy damage to three government buildings. The occasion marked the second anniversary of the coup d'etat that brought President Juan Carlos Ongania to power.

Later in the evening, tens of thousands of Argentinians were in the streets of Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Mendoza, Rosario, and La Plata, demonstrating against the fascist regime, despite a government ban on street demonstrations. Police battled workers and students, as hundreds were reported arrested. The mass demonstrations were called by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and were supported by the University Federation of Argentina (FUA).

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# Workers Go on General Strike as Inflation Runs Wild U.S. Behind Economic Crisis in Uruguay

A rapid deterioration in the standard of living of most Uruguayans has precipitated the country's worst economic and political crisis in recent history. Waves of strikes, especially among government and banking employees, and dock workers in Montevideo, have been aimed against the banking, commercial, and government bosses, all of them lackeys of the Western imperialist powers, who have held wage increases far below price increases.

The strikes reached their peak after the panicky government had declared "emergency security measures" and a 24-hour general strike was called on June 18 by the National Workers Convention in Montevideo. As many as 500,000 workers were in the streets denouncing the security measures, which banned all public gatherings, all union meetings, and provided for censorship of the press.

On June 26, over 90,000 government workers began a three-day strike also protesting the security measures. In an obvious futile and desperate measure, the imperialist-controlled government of Uruguay declared a "wage-price freeze" on June 28.

Inflation in Uruguay has been so rampant that emigration has reached the level of 1200 a month. Three years ago the Uruguayan peso was worth 4.2 cents (U.S.) It is currently worth less than half a penny. Under the supervision of imperialism the country's trade

balance has gone from \$170 million (favorable) to a deficit of \$540 million since 1953.

This devastating economic disintegration is by no means an accident or just mismanagement. The phenomenal increase in the cost of living in Uruguay is basically the result of the peso devaluations ordered, not by the Uruguayan Finance Minister, but by the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund (IMF). Last October the Finance Minister was actually forced to resign when he opposed the IMF decision to have the peso further devaluated. The result was Uruguay's biggest devaluation, 102 per cent.

Consequently, the price of Uruguayan exports has gone sharply downward while the price of imports, has gone way up, producing greater hardships on the people of Uruguay. The U.S. and Britain, who purchase two-thirds of Uruguay's exports, made a killing. The catch is of course, that prices must be kept down. The IMF demanded a wage freeze and the government is using force to implement it.

In trying to maintain their superiority in the world market, or in other words, trying to solve their current monetary crisis, the U.S. and British imperialists manipulate the currency of colonial countries such as Uruguay, to squeeze out more profits and to shift the economic burdens further onto the backs of the poor. This, of course, is in addition to the

super-profits British and U.S. monopolies take from their direct investments in Uruguay.

The Uruguayan people can not take much longer the super-exploitation and further impoverishment of their country at the hands of a few imperialist powers. The workers, farmers and students of Uruguay have a shining example of how to get out from under the Yankee Achilles Heel — the Cuban Revolution.

## — McCarthy

(Continued from page 1)

But really more important than money and maybe more significant than who gives it, are the sentiments of the insiders of U.S. politics.

One of the clearest was that of former Kennedy supporter, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who said on June 25 that both Republican Governor Rockefeller and Republican Mayor Lindsay would make "more competent" Presidents than either McCarthy or Humphrey.

Governor Rockefeller agrees with Schlesinger. He said on the same day: "If it becomes clear that Senator McCarthy cannot win the Democratic Presidential nomination," then he, Rockefeller, "would hope" to win most of the young people who have worked for McCarthy.

That makes it unanimous.



## An Analysis of the French Elections

# CP-CGT Leaders Should Have Boycotted Gaullist-Rigged Poll

By SAM MARCY

### A Dress Rehearsal for the Coming Revolution

It seems only yesterday that the entire structure of capitalist France was tottering and on the verge of utter collapse. The ruling class was reeling under the blows of the student rebellion as well as the most massive and most widespread general strike in Western European history.

Has the so-called landslide election which gave the Gaullists a sweeping majority changed all this? Indeed not! Only those who are victims of parliamentary cretinism, only those who view the truly great revolutionary significance of the May-June class struggle of the French workers as some sort of psychological aberration can take the election figures for good coin or as a true reflection of the living reality of France today.

None of the deep-seated economic issues have in any way been resolved nor is there any reason to believe that they will be in the future. The so-called "massive" wage increases, which everyone is talking about, are of purely nominal character and are at the mercy of a galloping rise in the cost of living (which, of course, Pompidou promises to "control"). The acute class antagonisms which are at the bottom of the struggle and which broke violently through the surface in May can at best be muffled for a short period of time but can never be eradicated or resolved.

Of course, the massive majority whipped up by the Gaullists has significance, but only if it is properly understood in the light of the living struggle of class forces. Gaining a parliamentary majority became the issue in France only because the CP-CGT leadership permitted de Gaulle to take the initiative of calling for elections without a struggle. Naturally the bourgeoisie would triumph in an election rigged by the Gaullists.

However, the issue should not have been whether the police dictatorship of de Gaulle could muster a majority of the electorate to vote for his regime, but whether it was proper for the leadership of the CP and CGT to urge the masses to participate in a farce whose outcome was a foregone conclusion.

But was there an alternative choice left open to them? Yes, indeed. A boycott of the elections, even if it went badly, could scarcely have caused as much damage as *did the participation in the electoral fraud in which the masses were dragooned to cast their votes for de Gaulle.* To begin with, the CP-CGT leadership and its allies among the masses had every legal right to boycott the election and disrupt the election machinery.

### Election Held Under Threat of Gaullist Military Intervention

Why? First of all, this was not a general election in accordance with the constitutional provisions. It was a special election decided upon by de Gaulle, himself. Moreover, and this is far more important, the election was called and arranged by de Gaulle under duress and the threat of the use of force. Nothing could fly in the face of bourgeois legality more than the threat of the use of force on the eve of an election. Such an election is considered rigged. Participating in such an election is validating a fraud.

It is instructive to recall the manner in which de Gaulle prepared for the election while the events are still fresh in the minds of the millions. At a time when the revolutionary strike wave was at its height with the economy virtually in the hands of the workers, de Gaulle suddenly disappeared. Where did he go? He went to confer with one of his principal co-conspirators in the military, Gen. Jacques Massu. He is the general who commands the French forces in Germany and who worked with de Gaulle during the Algiers period as a captain. De Gaulle's departure to meet Massu and other fascist generals was deliberately leaked to the press to threaten and intimidate the leadership as well as the masses with military force.

### Election Illegal

The holding of an election under these circumstances is constitutionally illegal. The CP-CGT leadership and its bourgeois allies among the politicians pride themselves on standing for "law and order."

Well, the conspiracy of de Gaulle with his military chiefs in Taverny was a most flagrant breach of bourgeois legality. Why didn't the CP-CGT leadership take advantage of that? This breach became open and most impudent when he began to move tanks toward the capital. If this is not conducting an election under duress, then nothing is. From then on the CP-CGT leadership had every right, on the basis of elementary bourgeois law, not to submit to military threats by a conspiracy of the fascist generals with de Gaulle at its head.

### Union Vote in U.S. "Under Duress" Illegal

The case for denouncing de Gaulle's election maneuver will be easier understood by American readers who know contemporary American labor history and



the struggle of workers to win collective bargaining rights. It has now become well settled law governing U.S. labor relations that a collective bargaining election which takes place during a period when the employer uses threats, coercion, intimidation and duress is invalid and the union has every right not merely to boycott the election but to call a strike to avoid casualties and demoralization in the plant.

Employers do not want collective bargaining elections when the spirit of the workers is high. Rather they seek to dampen that spirit by the use of all foul methods including bribery and intimidation of the leaders to demoralize the workers and then have a rigged election. How many times has this been repeated in contemporary labor history in the U.S.?

### Lenin and 1905

Marxist tactics and strategy governing boycotts of parliamentary elections were discussed by Lenin almost fifty years ago in his famous book "Left-Wing Communism" and is considered ABC today. Lenin gives two pertinent examples from Russian history relating to parliamentary elections; when to boycott and when not to boycott.

The boycott of the parliament in 1906, said Lenin, was a mistake because no extra-parliamentary struggle of great dimensions was taking place at the time. On the contrary, there was a definite recession of the struggle. However, says Lenin, the boycott in 1905 was correct.

"When in August 1905," says Lenin, "the Tsar announced the convocation of an advisory 'parliament,' the Bolsheviks — unlike all the opposition parties and the Mensheviks — proclaimed a boycott of it." What was the objective situation in 1905 according to Lenin? It was "one that was leading to the rapid transformation of mass strikes into a political strike, then into a revolutionary strike and then into insurrection." Commenting on this later, Lenin says: "we see that we succeeded in preventing the convocation of a reactionary parliament by a reactionary government in a situation in which extra-parliamentary, revolutionary mass action (strikes in particular) was growing with exceptional rapidity."

Of course the situation in 1905 in Russia and the situation in France in May-June 1968 are different in many respects. However, the essential characteristics of an objective situation making a boycott not only desirable but obligatory prevailed in France in May-June 1968 just as in Russia, 1905.

In other words, the Tsar, like de Gaulle, decided to convene the parliament in the midst of a revolutionary situation. The Bolsheviks, even though they felt that the revolution might not be successful, decided to boycott the elections because the main struggle was in the street and around the factories. All the other

parties, including the Mensheviks, participated thereby showing their preference for bourgeois parliamentarism over revolutionary struggle.

Had the CP-CGT leadership tried "to prevent the convocation of a reactionary parliament" by the reactionary de Gaulle government in a situation in which there was so much absolutely unprecedented revolutionary mass action, de Gaulle would not be where he is today.

## — Mae Mallory in Africa

(Continued from page 5)

The airport at Lagos is modern. I made a special friend at Lagos, a ground captain who smiled at me in a special way of appreciation. More and more, I was falling in love with my homeland. More and more, I began to feel real patriotism for the first time. I tried to recall some of the news reports that I had heard about the airport and the fighting there in Nigeria. Deep in my heart, I hope the hostilities will cease in Nigeria and the Biafrans can go about the business of fighting the real enemy.

Now the flight went deep into the interior of Africa to Entebbe, Uganda. Here we cross the Equator. If you are supposed to feel any special sensation about crossing the Equator, I did not. My whole body was completely wrapped in the ecstasy of actually being in Africa. In 1960, I recall a young African man telling me he was going home to fight for his country's freedom. In the event that I did not hear from him, I was to assume that he had died. John Kole, my young friend, did die. He died in a plane crash. East Africa appears to have quite a lot of legendary Freedom Fighters. I wished that John Kole was alive today so that I might stop in Entebbe and visit him.

Nairobi, Kenya — Kenya, the home of the Mau Mau. The whites told stories about the Mau Mau that they thought would make us ashamed. Instead, our chests rose proudly at the report of each racist head that was felled off his shoulders by a hard-swung panga.

Kenya, home of Oginga Odinga, Jomo Kenyatta. Now I am thinking about my jail cell in Cleveland. From September 1961 until March 1963, I certainly never dreamed I'd see Kenya except in some racist movie.

Next stop and final destination was Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. Six hundred miles per hour was not quite fast enough for me. I actually pushed that plane a little faster until I could see the lights of Dar-es-Salaam. Finally, oh finally, I'm going to walk on real African soil and not just airport concrete. What should I do? I can't just walk through customs like the other passengers, that would not be a fitting return after four hundred years. Should I take off my shoes and let the sand run through my toes? Should I burst out singing, laughing, or crying?

## Saigon Democracy

Vietnamese and Americans are dying on the battlefields and cities of Vietnam in a war which Washington insists is being waged to defend "freedom and democracy."

The latest example of the South Vietnamese government's commitment to "freedom and democracy" came in the form of an edict by Premier Tran Van Huong. The Premier declared, according to a N.Y. Times report of June 29, that "an immediate court-martial and imprisonment at hard labor awaited those who directly or indirectly espoused what he called pro-Communist or neutralist causes."

Apparently, the Saigon "government" feels that a military trial (no jury) with a pre-arranged verdict and sentence (of undisclosed length) is the democratic way of handling dissent. Is this what the U.S. government means by "freedom and democracy" when it demands we defend the Saigon junta with our lives and our tax money?

The Times reporter, whose story had to pass a military censor, reveals the not-too-surprising fact that "in South Vietnam, pro-Communism and neutralism cover a wide field and often are interpreted by the Government to mean almost any opposition to its policies."

## First Demonstration in 11 Years in Bangkok

# Thai Students Protest Phony "Constitution"

In defiance of strict martial law and bans on public assembly, thousands of Thai students demonstrated and clashed with police in the streets of Bangkok June 22 in the first political demonstration in that country in 11 years. The students were protesting the institution of a new constitution, drawn up by the government on orders from the U.S. to give the Thai ruling military clique a more democratic cover.

Protesting the "constitution," which allows for the continuance of martial law and which gives virtually no real power to any elected officials, the students marched from Thammasat University to Bangkok's central park where three anti-government speakers had just been arrested for defying the law against public assembly.

Thousands of students, walking 50 abreast, carrying signs and shouting anti-government slogans, then marched through the city to the National Assembly building where the puppet parliament will sit.

The Times of June 22, trying to give the Thai government some semblance of democracy, boasted that more than ten political parties had emerged

recently. However, the leader of the most powerful opposition party had to admit in an interview that "he was a candidate, but 'only running to preserve the form' and that he regarded his party as a 'suicide squad.'" (Of course, the Times doesn't mention the only real opposition, the Thai Patriotic Front for Liberation, which the military clique did not dare to legalize.)

The government has instituted repressive martial law in provinces all over the country in an attempt to crush the national liberation struggle. In addition, the U.S. has sent in 46,000 troops, many of whom are directing the battle against the liberation army—and still the insurgency is growing.

Thus, while everyone knows that the constitution is not worth the paper it's written on as far as democratic rights and representation go, U.S. Embassy officials, together with the Thai government, are looking desperately for a way to stem the tide of revolutionary struggle. The Times article of June 22 points out that officials recognize "the benefits it (the constitution) might have as a safety valve."

Months before the constitution had been drawn up, reports in the bourgeois press already indicated that it would only be a maneuver to bolster up the failing military regime. A New York Times report of April 22 quoted one Thai "constitutional scholar" as saying, "The constitution is a method to continue the status quo and liberalize it at the same time. You can be sure it will keep the ins in."

### Talk-Fight U.S. Style

The following appeared in the New York Times of June 21:

"Pentagon figures show that the number of American bombing missions against the North actually increased by 35 per cent in May over March. The number of American troops in Vietnam has risen from 516,000 at the time of the President's March 31 peace initiative to 534,000 today."

Apparently talk-talk, fight-fight policy is okay sometimes, that is, when the imperialists do it.

# NLF Leaders Set Record Straight on U.S. Lies in Paris Talks

Statement Issued by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam Concerning the False Allegations Made by the United States, During the Official Talks in Paris, on the Problem of South Vietnam

For nearly a month now, in the course of official talks in Paris between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States, the representative of the United States has been repeating ad nauseam allegations whose purpose is to camouflage US maneuvers and aggressive action, debasing the sacred anti-American resistance for the national well-being of the South Vietnamese people, and eluding the question of the unconditional halting by the United States of bombing raids and other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front deems it necessary, on behalf of the people of South Vietnam, to express their indignation with respect to the continuing aggressive designs of the United States, and to refute categorically these outrageous assertions....

The Saigon puppet administration is nothing more than an instrument of aggression, set up illegally by the United States, and representing no one. The South Vietnamese people in their entirety are resolutely opposed to this administration. It is condemned by all progressives everywhere. Without American dollars and arms, this administration—from Diem-Nhu to Thieu-Ky—faced with the vigorous indignation of the South Vietnamese people, could not have survived more than a day. The commitments made by the United States and their traitor puppets, commitments between aggressors and traitors, have no validity whatsoever and can in no way mask the outrageously aggressive character of the United States.

### VIETNAM IS ONE

Vietnam is one. The Vietnamese people are one. The American imperialists have attacked the

South, waged a war of destruction against the North. The entire Vietnamese people are endowed with the sacred task and legitimate duty to stand shoulder to shoulder, to unite their forces in opposition to the common enemy. In their task of liberating the South, the South Vietnamese people, counting essentially on their own forces, are within their rights to accept the help, in every field, of their compatriots in the North.

The United States have committed aggression against South

including aid in weapons and volunteers....

The South Vietnamese people ardently desire peace, but it must be peace in independence and freedom. The United States must stop its aggression, withdraw its troops and those of its satellites in South Vietnam and leave the people of South Vietnam free to settle their own internal affairs, without foreign intervention, in accordance with the National Liberation Front's political program.

## Every Vietnamese Has the Right to Fight U.S.



North Vietnamese farm workers toil in the fields with their rifles stacked and ready to be fired at the U.S. planes which bomb their land.

Vietnam. They must put an end to that aggression. The United States have bombed North Vietnam, violated the independence and the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They must stop all acts of war and have no right to demand any conditions whatsoever. Moreover, the United States must not use their allegations concerning "reciprocity" in order to demand that the Vietnamese people stop fighting the aggressors....

In the past as in the future, the people of South Vietnam reserve the right to call for and accept aid in all fields from their friends throughout the world,

As long as the United States continues its aggression in South Vietnam, the South Vietnamese people will continue to fight, determined to reconquer their sacred national rights. The population and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam fully support the correct position, based on the very just cause, of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as expressed in the statements made at the Paris talks by Minister Xuan Thuy.

This position reflects the aspirations and the sacred interests of the Vietnamese people as a whole. The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam severely

condemns the obstinate and tortuous attitude of the United States. The National Liberation Front demands that the United States stop unconditionally all raids and other acts of war against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

### THANK OUR NORTHERN BROTHERS

On behalf of the South Vietnamese people, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam expresses its profound gratitude to the 17 million compatriots in the North and to the Vietnamese living abroad for their efforts and sacrifices, for their warm sentiments in support of the sacred task of liberation of the South.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam energetically supports the statements made by the Royal Government of Cambodia and by the Neo-Lao-Haksat in protest to the American proposal to discuss problems concerning Cambodia and Laos at the talks between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States. The National Liberation Front pledges to contribute actively to the strengthening of the union of the Indochinese peoples against the American aggressors and their puppets.

### CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam calls upon the armed forces and people of the South to ever increase their determination to combat and their vigilance, and following on the spate of victories, to launch generalized attacks and uprisings, so as to achieve total victory in the glorious mission of the liberation of the South, of the defense of the North and the peaceful reunification of the homeland, thus contributing to safeguarding peace in Asia and in the world.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam calls urgently upon all governments, organizations and peace-loving people of the world and the progressive people of the United States to support and aid still more actively and energetically, in every way, the task of anti-American resistance of the South Vietnamese people.

South Vietnam, June 10, 1968