

# WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

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## Cleveland Community Control Sets Historic Precedent

**After East Side Gun Battle White Cops, Guard Barred for 24 Hrs. on Black Leaders' Demand**

CLEVELAND — Leaders of the Afro-American community here demanded and got what is perhaps the first genuine measure of Black control over a Black community in this country since the days of Reconstruction.

For almost 24 hours, beginning on July 24th, white police and whites from the racist communities adjoining the East Side were barred from the community while Black leadership took responsibility for safety in the neighborhood. This followed the dramatic early morning gun battle which focused world-wide attention on the embattled Black community.

This brief and embryonic, but nevertheless historic precedent was pur-

chased with the blood of the heroic martyrs who gave their lives in the early morning on that fateful Wednesday to raise the struggle for Black liberation to a new level.

Contrary to the impression given by the ruling class media, Mayor Richard Stokes did not initiate the idea of community control but gave in to the demands from below only after a heated argument with Black leaders.

The Black leaders had demanded full responsibility for their own community to show that the occupation and provocations by the racist police were the cause of death and violence to Black people.

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## Czech Leaders Open Door To Counter-Revolution

**Aim is to Dismantle Socialist Economy, Turn to West: Fruits of Soviet Revisionism**

By SAM MARCY

July 31, 1968 — This article is being written while the talks between the Soviet and Czech leaders are still in progress. Regardless of the outcome of these talks, it is plain that a counter revolutionary turning point in Czechoslovakia has been reached. Only the speedy and determined intervention of the Czechoslovak working class can reverse this process. Unfortunately, this seems to be very unlikely at the present because the very leadership presently at the head of the workers has done most to accelerate the process of bourgeois restoration in Czechoslovakia. This took root a long time ago.

It was the January meeting of the Czechoslovak CP leadership that brought everything to a head. Very little has come out in the way of detail of what happened at the meeting except that Novotny, himself a moderate revisionist, was replaced by Dubcek, a more extreme revisionist.

At first it seemed only a change in degree, a substitution of an old-line revisionist for one that would take one or two more steps in the process of bourgeois restoration. What happened since January, however, is that a virtual political counter-revolution seems to have been culminated which goes far beyond almost anything seen in Eastern Europe with the possible exception of

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## Govt. Moves to Cripple Martin Sostre's Appeal

**Lawyer Barred from Seeing Black Militant As Date Nears for Appeal of 40 Yr. Sentence**

Below is an article written for the Baltimore Afro-American by William Worthy, a well known journalist who has travelled to 28 countries including the Peoples Republic of China and Cuba.

The story exposes the latest deprivation of the rights of Martin Sostre by the New York State authorities.

Those wishing to make contributions and/or inquiries concerning the case should send them to the Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P.O. Box 382, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205.

By William Worthy

Governor Nelson Rockefeller will enter the Republican convention in

Miami with a racial-ethnic albatross named Martin Gonzalez Sostre around his neck.

The short-fuse time-bomb issue is one that can easily be exploited by the Nixon-Reagan camps to demolish the Rockefeller image as the pro-civil rights candidate.

In an unprecedented administrative decision by Rockefeller's Commissioner of Correction, Paul McGinnis, Sostre, a prisoner since March in Green Haven State Prison in Stormville, New York, has been cut off from visits and correspondence with his attorney, NAACP assistant staff counsel Joan Franklin, and also with his family and Defense Committee.

On Friday (July 26), McGinnis also denied this correspondent permission to visit Sostre, who has been in solitary confinement since June 25.

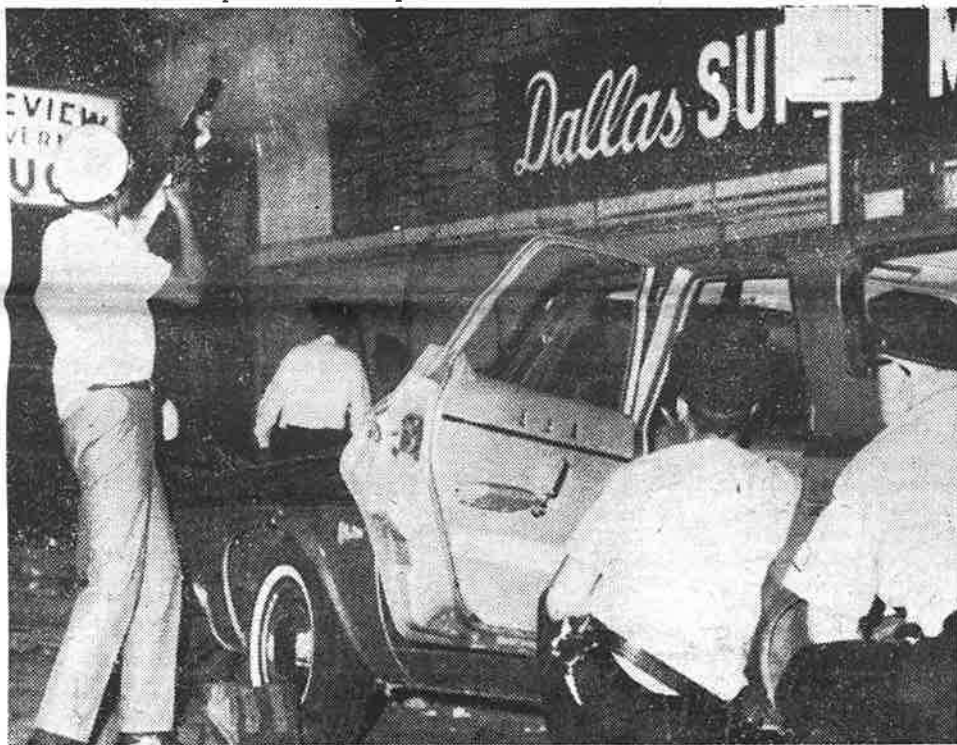
Miss Franklin, who was retained by Sostre after conferring with him for two hours at Green Haven in mid-May, was unexpectedly barred on Tuesday (July 23) from a second visit on the grounds that she is not a practicing New York attorney. Miss Franklin, a member of the Michigan bar, handles numerous NAACP cases around the country.

She has branded the prison decision as "purely arbitrary and capricious". Warden Harold Follette kept her waiting for three hours on Tuesday before informing her that her 2 1/2-hour early morning drive from Manhattan was in vain.

Sostre, who is half Puerto Rican, was sentenced in March to 31-41 years as an alleged second offender after police had testified that they found heroin in his Afro-Asian Bookstore.

His vocal supporters in the Buffalo ghetto and at local campuses, including law professors at the University of Buffalo, brand the arrest, trial and conviction as a "political frameup" in reprisal for his political views and

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Killer cops fire at building in Black community in Cleveland.

## Syrian Government Charges CIA Coup Plot

By F. REED

JULY 27 — Syrian Premier Yussuf Zayan disclosed today that a plot against the Baath Socialist government had been uncovered, and hinted that imperialist agencies might be involved.

In a speech broadcast from the Mediterranean port of Tartus, terminal site of a new 400-mile oil pipeline, he mentioned "mercenaries used by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, British Intelligence and Arab reactionaries." Those arrested will be publicly tried.

A new attempt against the Syrian government was to be expected since the July 17 right-wing coup in Iraq, where the Aref regime had been moving, like Syria, towards independent exploitation of Arab oil, the key to economic and political independence from imperialism.

The Syrian government has had to defend the gains of Arab independence

against CIA-reactionary machinations several times in the past.

Since it took power in February, 1966 the leftist Syrian regime has been a thorn to the oil companies and therefore a target of conspiracy attempts. In August of that year the Attassi government capped a series of nationalizations and verbal attacks on imperialism by demanding a 50 per cent pipeline transit fee raise from the Iraq Petroleum Co. (partly owned by two Rockefeller companies.) Shortly afterward, an attempted coup by pro-U.S. Baathist officers was crushed when armed workers were mobilized to protect the regime.

Several months later, armed oil workers guarded the shut-down IPC pipeline under the slogan "Arab Oil for the Arabs!"

Israeli "Arab affairs expert" Eliezer Ben Moshe, in a January 9, 1967 interview following an Israeli tank attack on Syria, explained that

Syria would soon be "another Cuba" and, for that reason, "American counter intelligence had been trying to topple the Damascus government..."

The CIA was to have accomplished this with the complicity of Hussein, using the exiled Baathists who had fled to Jordan from Syria after the earlier coup failed. The plan was exposed by a Jordanian major involved in it, who defected to the UAR. (See Workers World, June 9, 1967.)

When the conspiracy was crushed, the oil companies went to war — using Israeli troops — to try to protect their investments.

The Syrian government, however, did not fall. In the wake of the June War it has continued to be militantly anti-imperialist, and is regarded as especially dangerous by Washington and Tel Aviv because of its support to the Palestine liberation guerrillas.

# Black Community Control

(Continued from page 1)

After having demonstrated their point, the leaders voluntarily relinquished their control in order to avoid any mistaken impressions that they were going to do the dirty work of the ruling class. They took over only in order to underline the fact that Black people are capable of taking care of themselves. Thus they showed that the only function of the police is to oppress.

In fact, the police oppressors whom they wanted to keep out had killed at least four known nationalists the night before by setting fire to the house they were in on Lakeview Ave. and then shooting them dead as they came out. The cops were itching to go back in and ravage the Black community.

Wilbur Grattan, a leader in the Circle of Afro-American Unity, was on the scene just after the fighting broke out. He told of how a 17-year old Black youth was stretched out full of police bullets. One bullet had entered his spine and he was paralyzed but still alive. Grattan, Alfred Ware and Harlell Jones, also leaders in the Circle of Afro-American Unity, were in a group that tried to get the youth to a hospital. The cops beat them off with rifle butts because they wanted to let him die. The group was driven off and finally got some Black cops to go in and get the youth out.

Fred Ahmed, a nationalist, has been charged with all three murders. Black leaders are suspicious of police reports of his confession because he had no lawyer when he was alleged to have made it. Furthermore, there are many suspicious circumstances suggesting police conspiracy to provoke the Black people into reprisals. In particular, several carloads of cops were seen directly in the area shortly before the

outbreak. They pulled away as suddenly as they appeared. The sending of uniformed police to tow away a car was also suspicious. At any rate, the feeling is widespread that the victims of police aggression did what they had to do and there is solid support for Ahmed, who is a long-time victim of ruling class harassment on account of his nationalist position.

Early that morning Mayor Stokes met with 109 leaders of the Black community representing all shades of political opinion. Stokes wanted to put a curfew on the Black community. Wilbur Grattan and other militants told him to put a curfew on the white racist section of town. Stokes said he couldn't. The militants demanded that all security forces in the Black community be Afro-Americans with a predominantly civilian force under the organization of the Black leaders themselves. Grattan made this proposal in answer to Stokes, and after the militants won the body to the proposal, the Mayor finally gave in.

During the time that the community leaders were in charge, i.e. on Wednesday, there were no casualties in the Black community. On Thursday, when the cops and the guard moved back in full force, an Afro-American folk singer, Ted Browne, was killed.

Early Thursday, when the question of whether or not to continue the patrol came up among the leaders, it was decided not to continue because, first of all, they were not equipped to do it adequately and because they didn't want to be misunderstood by the rest of the community who might think that they were simply guarding property.

This brief experiment in community control, which originated from below and was the direct demand of the Black people, was a foot in the door of self-

## A TRUE "CAPTIVE NATION"

Below is a news release from African American Liberation Front for Captive Africans in the U.S. dated July 16, 1968.

"Today at 11:30 a.m. Queen Mother Moore, respected leader of the Harlem community, was forcibly ejected from the Captive Nations Ceremony at City Hall, N.Y., N.Y., by two goons on orders from Deputy Mayor Costello's office. Queen Mother who is near seventy years of age and an outstanding activist in black liberation for fifty of those years, was there as a representative of the African American Liberation Front and was addressing Deputy Mayor Costello on the plight of captive Africans in America for the past 400 years, when someone shouted 'shut her up!' At this point, unnamed persons went into the Mayor's office and came back out with the order to throw her out

bodily. The two goons from the office then lifted Queen Mother Moore up by the arms and threw her out.

"Representatives of the 'Captive Nations' who fostered this action are right wing immigrants to this country from the countries of Cuba, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine, Russia, Albania, Lithuania, etc. They had gathered to receive an official proclamation from City Hall declaring Captive Nations Week as a protest against the popular governments now in power in their respective countries. Obviously, they could not tolerate a representative of a truly captive nation — such as Queen Mother Moore for Afro-America.

"The Black Community will no longer tolerate this kind of oppression."

## Daily News Decries "Independent Black City"

The racist and pro-fascist New York Daily News in an article July 26 candidly stated the naked thoughts of the ruling class about the historic precedent set in Cleveland last week.

Headlined, "Cleveland Reannexes Its Black City," the article begins:

"The flag of the City of Cleveland fluttered as usual over the Public Square in the heart of the downtown section today.

"But a few miles to the east, a 75-block area had in effect won its independence. As such it frightened the ruling class and at the same time gave the bosses and the masses a glimpse of the inevitable future.

pendence from the rest of the city.

"For 24 hours, the Glenville area of Cleveland, where 10 men died in Tuesday night's violence, was an independent black enclave. During this time, it was no longer subject to law enforcement by national guardsmen and white policemen, who remained outside its perimeter."

"There was speculation," continues the News article, "that the white establishment of the city had vigorously protested to the mayor at the setting up of a 'black state' within the boundaries of the city."

"But for separatists. . . black independence had been a heady brew. Once enjoyed, it was difficult to give up."

# A Black Leader Tells What Really Happened in Cleveland

CLEVELAND, July 28 — The story the people hear and read is seldom the true story — especially if it's in the imperialist press and it's about Black people.

The story of the latest Cleveland uprising is no exception. And that goes double for the story of the Black patrol that kept the peace for 24 hours after the first night of shooting.

Probably the one person — or at least one of the five or six persons, at most — capable of giving the true facts from the end of last Tuesday night's (July 23) first gun battle to Thursday's re-invasion by the establishment's racist cops and troops, is Wilbur Grattan, a leading figure in the Circle of Afro-American Unity and a well known liberation fighter in this area.

Calling on him today, we saw a middle-aged, raw-boned bearded man, laconic of speech, but willing to talk — about oppression and rebellion and self-rule for Black people.

We asked first about the big gun battle itself. Was he at the scene of the shooting at Auburndale and Lakeview when the three cops were killed, allegedly by snipers from the top of a frame building there?

"Yes, some friends and I went over as soon as we heard the shooting was going on," he said. "Several of the Mayor's staff went there at about the same time. It was almost as dangerous for them (they were black and the cops white) as it was for us.

"The cops had set the building on fire to smoke out the people. They put the torch to it to burn them out. They couldn't dislodge them any other way. When they came out, the cops shot them down.

"Three Black guys were lying on the corner, two of them dead and one looked like he was dying. Alfred Ware, Harlell Jones and I tried to save the brother that was still alive. We went to him and the cops fought us back with rifle butts. I got pretty banged up by one of them."

Did he know the wounded man?

"Yes, he was a 17-year old youth. We used to call him — kiddingly — 'Non-Do.' It got to be his nick-name. His last name is Latham."

"The cops said 'leave that nigger to die, he's responsible for three white policemen getting killed.'"

Who started it all? What was the reason for it?

"They say the nationalist militants shot the three cops. And they talk about a 'conspiracy.' But the conspiracy came from the police department like it always does.

"Why was it necessary to have two cruise cars full of policemen at that particular corner, two hours before the incident took place, for instance?

"And you have to add to that the plain panic of the cops too. They shot each other up when they all started pulling their guns, making a 'crossfire' that hit some of their own men."

We asked him if he had anything to say about the men who were actually on the roof, the men who were killed, and those who allegedly had bandoliers of ammunition.

"Whatever our people did," he replied, "they had a right to do. Whoever the cops say were aggressors were not — they were the victims of aggression.

"As I said on television here yesterday, the dead brothers were our comrades. They did what they had to do and we will eulogize them, just as the racist whites will eulogize the racist policemen. And if they can fly their flags at half-mast, we can fly our flags at half-mast."

Ahmed is now being charged with three murders (the three cops who were shot to death, apparently by other men than Ahmed). Where does Ahmed stand now and what will his defense be?

"They're making Ahmed the fall guy. The newspapers say that he bragged that he organized the attack on the cops. But there was no lawyer present in the police station when he was supposed to have said this. They're planning a big frameup.

"Ahmed is basically a peaceful man. The people know that. But he's been pushed around an awful lot. He wants the right to live. He wants the right to his own name, not his slave name. He wants to wear his beard and say what he thinks. And they're framing him. That's all."

Discussing the fierce character of the battle and the attitude of the community, we wanted to know what was really behind the 24-hour truce in which nobody was hurt and the cops were kept from wreaking vengeance on the Black community. What about the Black force that guarded the six square mile Hough area for 24 hours?

"We kept the peace ourselves," he said proudly. "The 109 organizations that met with the Mayor Wednesday morning a few hours after the big battle, demanded that all white cops and national guardsmen be taken out of the area."

Then Mayor Stokes didn't initiate this Black police idea as a gimmick to end the uprising? we asked.

"Oh, no, it was us. And the Mayor agreed, for his own reasons.

"We kept our guys from getting killed. We did our job and we proved that with proper organization, we could take care of our own community.

"We said to the Mayor that the Black community is the Black man's land. And the Black man can police it himself.

"The Mayor demanded that there be a curfew. We demanded a curfew for Murray Hill, Glenville and Central (white neighborhoods). There was constant harassment from racist whites on the north side of Superior Avenue.

"The Mayor refused to curfew the white neighborhoods so we refused to have a curfew in ours."

And did you get away with this, we asked.

"During the 24 hours we policed our own neighborhood, there was no curfew."

Why was it just for 24 hours?

"We knew there were people who

didn't understand what we were doing," he explained, "and we thought it better that we just make our point and end it there."

"This is the first time since reconstruction, as far as I know that Black people really ran their own community. We proved that with proper organization, proper functioning, proper equipment, we could do our job.

"But we didn't want any of our people to think we were protecting the property of racist bloodsuckers, either.

"We had a second meeting on Thursday afternoon, where I said to approximately 100 people that we should cut it short at 24 hours for those reasons. We had kept guys from getting killed and had minimized destruction. But we weren't going to be used for stooges of the racist power structure."

In other words, you didn't want to be in the position of stopping any actual uprising that might be in the making, but mainly wanted to make your point about home rule and self-determination, we asked.

"That's right. Some of the group actually wanted to plan a second round of 24 hours, but we decided to end it."

And when the troops and racist cops returned on Thursday — did they keep the peace?

"No, they or some vigilantes killed Ted Browne, a folk singer, and hurt other people, too. All their racism is coming out."

Of course, the 24-hour Black militia will be called a "noble experiment" of Mayor Stokes by the liberals and an outrage by the outright racists. How should we really sum it up?

"It was mixed I guess, and might mean different things to different people. But it was the first time since Reconstruction that Black people kept the peace in their own community on such a broad scale. And this happened at a time when the police were seeking vengeance, and we had no curfew.

"I guess you can draw your own conclusion on what the Black people ought to do and ought to be able to do."



2,000 Turn Out to Protest Humphrey \$500-a-Plate Dinner

# CO-AIM at Waldorf: 'Politicians Lie While GIs Die'



Mrs. Deirdre Stapp addressing the crowd



Robin Palmer, chairman of the rally, was later arrested on charges of "rioting."

## Demonstration Against "Election Frauds"

### Marks Advance for Anti-Imperialist Forces

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

NEW YORK, July 23— "All the major candidates—whether they have tactical differences on Vietnam or Black America—all of them are for imperialism, exploitation and profits. We're against imperialism and profits.... We're here to build an anti-imperialist movement... a movement to overthrow imperialism!"

With these words, Mrs. Deirdre Stapp wound up the opening speech in a rally of 2,000 demonstrators, gathered to protest Hubert Humphrey's appearance at a \$500-a-plate dinner at the Waldorf Astoria today.

While Humphrey was dining inside the Waldorf, hundreds of youths marched on several picket lines outside, reaching from 49th to 47th Street and extending west on 48th Street. The chants went from "Politicians Lie, GIs Die" to "Ho Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is Going to Win." Colorful banners and cloth signs were everywhere. One banner read "Up Against the Wall, War Criminal Humphrey." Another read "Get U.S. Out of Vietnam and Black America." Several signs demanded "Free Huey." The flag of the National Liberation Front flew on the speakers' platform.

A small contingent of about 25 pro-McCarthy pickets were very distressed by the revolutionary slogans of the demonstration and fled to the other side of the street to differentiate themselves from the anti-imperialist line.

The revolutionary slogans of the pickets and the militant anti-imperialist speeches at the large rally were a first for the anti-war movement in New York City, which up until now has been led by pacifist and bourgeois radical elements who control the New York Peace Parade Committee.

The demonstration was called by the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement (CO-AIM) not only to protest the candidacy of the U.S. "War Criminal No. 2," as Humphrey was designated, but to expose the fraud of "free elections" in the U.S., which includes the campaign of Eugene McCarthy, Rockefeller and all the other capitalist politicians who are now vying for power.

The chairman of the rally, Robin Palmer of the Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, explained to the crowd that CO-AIM had been formed in opposition to the moderate leadership of the "peace" movement in the National Mobilization and Parade Committees. CO-AIM boycotted the April 27 rally in Central Park in solidarity with SNCC, which pulled out of the rally after its organizers invited Mayor Lindsay to speak.

Speakers at the rally tonight, in addition to Mrs. Stapp of Youth Against War & Fascism, were Jerry Rubin of Youth International Party (YIP), Dave Slavin, a leader in the SDS Columbia Strike Committee, and Ralph Poynter, Black militant and head of the Teachers Freedom Party.

The rally was highlighted by one unannounced speaker, Audrey Rowe of the Black Panther Party. As she and two Panther brothers went to the speakers' platform, the crowd chanted loudly "Free Huey Now! Free Huey Now!"

Miss Rowe addressed the crowd to tell them of a police attack on the New York Chapter of the Black Panther Party which was recently formed. "We were passing out literature saying 'Free Huey Now' when the pigs began to harass us," she told the audience. Two of their brothers were arrested on charges of armed robbery and held in

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## 'Inciting Riot' Charged to YAWF Chmn; \$1,000 Bail for 4, 36 Arrested

The New York City government has escalated its police attack and legal frame-up of the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement (CO-AIM) by charging prominent members of the Coalition with inciting to riot and rioting during the latest Waldorf Astoria demonstration against Vice President Humphrey.

Key Martin, Chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism and a leader in the Anti-Imperialist Coalition, was arrested during the anti-Humphrey demonstration July 23 and charged with inciting to riot and two counts of disorderly conduct.

Robin Palmer, of the Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam and chairman of the rally at the Waldorf, was arrested one day later while he was in court to support the others who were arrested. On the testimony

of one cop who claimed that Palmer had been arrested the night before, and without any warrant, court guards dragged Mr. Palmer before the judge. He was charged with rioting, inciting to riot and escape. Sharon Krebs, an activist in the anti-war movement and formerly of the Free School SDS, was also charged with rioting, which is a felony.

In addition, Bob Rodriguez, a young militant who is a freshman at New York University, was charged with resisting arrest and felonious assault. He was charged with resisting and assault because as the cops pushed him into the police van, the pole he was carrying got caught on the van and he fell backwards, knocking over one of the cops behind him.

These defendants, who were among 36 arrested during the demonstration, were held overnight and released on \$1,000 bond each.

Particularly serious are the charges against Mr. Martin who has a string of previous arrests and one conviction for which he served six months in prison. In the past year Mr. Martin has been repeatedly fingered and illegally arrested by New York cops. In December he was arrested by police at the Stop-the-Draft Week Whitehall demonstration while waiting outside a phone booth to make a call. The trumped-up charges against him were later dropped. This arrest came just after he was released from jail in Oklahoma where he had served part of a six-month sentence for attempting to attend the court-martial of Pvt. Andrew Stapp and two other anti-war GIs at Fort Sill.

Mr. Martin was remanded back to jail in February to serve the rest of the six-month sentence. He was released on April 25, and two days later, on April 27, he was again spotted and picked up by police during the anti-imperialist demonstration in Washington Square. At the time of the arrest, Mr. Martin was across the street from the demonstration and not a participant.

He was again harassed by New York cops after the Coalition participated in a protest against the pro-war "Green Berets" movie. Mr. Martin, along with 12 other demonstrators, was arrested by city police and Bureau of Special Services agents (the secret police) while in a subway station 20 blocks from the demonstration.

The latest arrests of CO-AIM members involve the most serious charges yet to be used by the Lindsay Administration to frame up anti-war militants.

## Cuban Film Showing Celebrates July 26

NEW YORK, July 27— In celebration of the 15th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada barracks in Cuba, the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement (CO-AIM) sponsored two nights of free outdoor showings of Cuban films.

CO-AIM showed the films on Friday and Saturday nights in Tompkins Square and Washington Square, both heavily used public parks. The free showing of Cuban films to the general public set a precedent in this city for the radical movement and represents a unique experiment in mass political education. Organizers of the action also distributed leaflets to the audiences telling the people about the gains of the masses in revolutionary Cuba.

Last night the films were viewed by several hundred residents of the Lower East Side in Tompkins Square. The largely Spanish-speaking residents of the neighborhood enthusiastically watched the struggles and accomplishments of the Latin American brothers in Cuba. Tonight the portable film equipment was set up in Washington Square Park where several hundred viewed the Cuban films.

The first movie to be shown tonight was "NOW!", a series of short films clips and photographs of police repression of the Afro-American struggle for liberation.

Also featured was a film about the U.S. unsuccessful attempts at preventing Cuban athletes from competing in

an international athletic meet in Puerto Rico several years ago. The crowd cheered and shouted "Viva Fidel" when Premier Fidel Castro appeared on the screen.

Also included in the film showing was a documentary of the guerrilla struggle in Colombia and a movie called "Hanoi 13." During the movie about Vietnam, the audience again cheered when the North Vietnamese people shot down an American plane which was bombing their land.

Throughout the film showing a defense guard surrounded the projector with poles to protect it from attack. Guards also stood by the screen. At one point a man in the audience tried to pull down the screen. He was tackled to the ground by the defense guard. The police immediately rushed in, clubbing viewers left and right, and tried to disperse the crowd, using the incident as an excuse to break up the film showing. However, the Coalition leaders told everyone to stay and that the movies would continue. The crowd sat down and applauded when the films were resumed.

The man who attacked the screen was taken away by the cops but was never arrested. The police captain present tried to convince him to swear out an assault complaint against Jack Godoy of the Vets and Reservists who was defending the equipment.

## Who Rules

Lehman Bros.  
UN Ambassador

## the Empire?

Unlike previous "doves" who either quit or were kicked out of the Johnson Administration, George Ball, who left the post of Under Secretary of State in 1966 is back as UN Ambassador.

"Ball will probably have more real influence on the making of policy" said a July 21, New York Times Magazine article, "than any of his predecessors." Evidence, says Washington insider Joseph Kraft, is that Ball, unlike Arthur Goldberg, "has been invited to attend the President's intimate Tuesday foreign policy luncheons" with Dean Rusk and Clark Clifford.

What Kraft didn't mention, of course, is that "dove" Ball has "the complete confidence" of hawks like Johnson and Rusk because he represents the Lehman corporate empire which orbits around the powerful Wall Street investment banking firm of Lehman Bros.

Ball just came back from a nine-country tour which focussed on the Middle East and included meetings with Eshkol, Dayan and the entire political and military in Tel Aviv. An unusual task for a lowly UN ambassador. Ball was chosen not just because of his Lehman connections or because his father was President of Standard Oil of Indiana, but because his former law firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen and Ball has long represented U.S. oil monopolies in Venezuela which include Creole Petroleum (Standard Oil of New Jersey), Gulf, Texaco,

## SOME MEMBERS OF THE LEHMAN EMPIRE AND THEIR HOLDINGS

## \*Robert Lehman

Gimbel Bros.  
Associated Dry Goods Corp.  
Pan American Airways  
Southern States Land & Timber  
20th Century Fox Film Corp.  
United Fruit Co.  
New York Stock Exchange - Member

## \*Alvin W. Pearson

Cheesebrough-Pond's, Inc.

## \*Lucius P. Clay

Allied Chemical Corp.  
Chase International Investment  
Standard Brands  
Continental Can Co.  
American Express  
U.S. Lines Inc.  
Central Savings Bank, NYC - Trustee  
Aerospace Corp. - Trustee

## Ernest R. Brooch

Trans World Airlines  
Rexall Drug & Chemical Co.  
The One William St. Fund, Inc.

## Howard L. Clark

American Express Co.  
Cluett Peabody & Co.  
Wells Fargo of Arizona  
Amer. Express Warehousing Ltd.  
Wells Fargo Armored Svce. of Fla., N.Y., Tenn., Miss.  
Wells Fargo & Co. - Chmn.  
Coin Auditing Systems  
Wells Fargo Latin American Co.  
Hertz Corp.  
Rexport Corp.  
Wells Fargo & Co. Express - S.A.  
N.Y. Chamber of Commerce - V-P  
U.S. Trust Co. of New York - Trustee

## \*Paul L. Davies

FMC Corp.  
Caterpillar Tractor Co.  
IBM Corp.  
Southern Pacific Co.

## A. N. McFarlane

Cheesebrough-Pond's, Inc.  
Marine Midland Grace Trust Co., N.Y.  
Corn Products Co. - Chmn., Chief Exec. Officer

Mobil Oil, Standard of Calif., Phillips Petroleum, among others.

These are the same companies which have about \$2.5 billion in the Mideast and Ball has personally lobbied in Washington to keep import quotas up, with great success.

The total European orientation of Ball's corporate law career goes a long way to explain his "dovish" posture on the Vietnam war. During WWII he was in charge of the Lend Lease Agency which was an important vehicle by which the U.S. got an economic stranglehold on its "allies." He was also in charge of the Office of Economic Warfare and the director of Strategic Bombing and decided which German factories would and which would not be bombed.

Ball used his position as a springboard to become one of the architects of U.S. "Atlantic" imperialism, helping to mastermind the Common Market. His law firm represented the largest U.S. corporations through its offices in Brussels, Paris, Washington and New York.

When he entered the Johnson Administration in 1961 Ball broadened his contacts and was put in charge of taking over the Congo. He was also "responsible" for Ghana, South Korea and the Dominican Republic.

When he joined Lehman Bros. in 1966 Ball said he "didn't know a thing about banking." He didn't have to!

## Clarence Francis

Air Reduction Co.  
Mutual Life Ins., N.Y.  
Lillard Syndications Inc. - Chmn.

## Donald P. Kirchner

Singer Corp.

## \*Paul M. Mazur

Federated Dept. Stores, Inc.  
Collins & Aikman Corp.  
Radio Corp. of Amer. (RCA)  
NBC  
One William St. Fund

## \*Frederick L. Ehrman

Beckman Instruments, Inc.  
Greyhound Corp.

## B. Earl Puckett

Federal Reserve Bank, N.Y.  
Allied Stores Corp. - Chmn.  
(26 of the largest dept. stores across the country)  
Wayne Petroleum Co. - Pres.

## John W. Reavis

National City Bank of Cleveland  
Jones & Laughlin Steel  
Diamond Shamrock Co.  
Anchor-Hocking Glass Corp.  
Midland Ross Corp.  
Weatherhead Co.  
Gray Drug Stores  
Westinghouse Electric Corp.

## Charles B. Thornton

MCA Inc.  
United Calif. Bank  
Union Oil Co.  
Cyprus Mines Corp.  
Trans World Airlines  
Western Bank Corp.  
Radio Free Europe Fund - Member

## Frazer B. Wilde

Conn. General Life Ins.  
Conn. Bank & Trust  
Bankers Trust Co., N.Y.  
Holyoke (Mass.) Water Power Co.  
Holyoke Power & Electric  
Conn. River Watershed Council  
Comm. for Economic Development

\* Partner in Lehman Bros.

## S. Vietnam and China; T

The Village of Ben Suc. By Jonathan Schell. A Vintage Book (paperback). \$1.65.

Report from a Chinese Village. By Jan Myrdal. A Signet Book (paperback). 95¢

These two factual accounts — one of the destruction of a South Vietnamese village by the U.S. Army, the other of the building of a farmer's cooperative in a small village in China, present a glaring contrast. The one gives a stark picture of the brutal and decadent forces of Imperialism in its final stage. The other opens a door through which the reader catches a glimpse of the new world in birth.

Jonathan Schell, a student of Far Eastern history, and reporter for the New Yorker, was in Ben Suc, a prosperous and peaceful village thirty miles north of Saigon in Jan. 1967 when the American Army launched operation "Cedar Falls." This prettily-named undertaking was intended to drive the National Liberation Front from the Iron Triangle area, and "win the hearts and minds" of the village populations.

Ben Suc had been under NLF organization for at least two years, but — "solid VC ever since the French pulled out," said an American official. Not only the 3500 regular villagers of Ben Suc were living there, but hundreds of refugees from near-by bombed-out villages had come there seeking shelter.

The American plan was to reverse the seek-and-destroy tactic of earlier operations. Now they would destroy first and seek the "Vietcong" afterward in the interrogation tents.

Of course the people were warned several hours in advance that they would have to get out of their homes. Typical of the leaflets that the U.S. Psychological Warfare Office dropped on Vietnamese villages was Leaflet No. 1B-246, which read in part:

"Each day, each week, each month... you are shelled more often... You



The "pacification" program in South is being "protected" from the North by U.S. troops

are tired, you are sick. Your leaders tell you victory is near. They are wrong. Only DEATH is near. Do you hear the planes? Do you hear the bombs? These are the sounds of DEATH: Rally now to survive."

The job of reaching the "hearts and minds" of the people of Ben Suc, as well as the organization of the "temporary" camp they were all to live in was relegated to the ARVN — Saigon's puppet army. The Americans felt that this delicate operation should not be handled by foreigners. The U.S. would concentrate only on the military aspect. "One of our most important jobs is to teach these people to stand on their own feet," said an American official. The only difficulty was that no one knew how many ARVN personnel were really "VC" in disguise. Therefore the whole operation

## Israel Since 1948: The For



Arab Israeli student leader Khalil Toame, sentenced to 18 months by a Military Court for "harboring" a fellow Arab.

The growing Arab liberation struggle has forced the New York Times to reveal in an article of July 28, that the 312,000 Arabs left in Israel have lived under separate military governments from 1949 to 1965. In 1965 the laws were finally limited after a great protest. But the spirit still remained and has been reinforced a hundred-fold since the June war.

The issue of apartheid and racism in countries such as South Africa and Rhodesia has long been a favorite subject for protest among bourgeois liberals in the United States. As a matter of fact, racism in far-off lands is always easy to decry. Yet even at that, the plight of the oppressed Arab people who live inside Israel under conditions approaching complete apartheid has until now, never come under the scrutiny of the imperialist liberals.

A pass system, as



# Two Villages, Two Worlds



Vietnam. The population  
national Liberation Front



Chinese People's Liberation Army assisted Tachai  
people in building this irrigation project. Now the  
paddies yield an unprecedented two crops a year.

was kept strictly secret from the ARVN  
until 20 hours before the attack.

The fate of at least 4,000 people  
was put into the hands of a notoriously  
corrupt, inept and inexperienced orga-  
nization that didn't even know of its  
responsibility in advance!

A ten-acre, barbed-wire-enclosed  
field some 20 miles from their village  
was chosen as the "new home" for  
the astounded townspeople of Ben Suc.  
American Army trucks in convoys of  
ten carried the villagers, who were  
allowed to take with them anything  
they could carry. On the way, other  
smaller villages were burned down,  
and their surviving inhabitants crowded  
into the army trucks.

By the time they all arrived at the  
campsite they numbered nearly 6,000!

For shelter from the fierce sun of  
day and the 50-degree cold of night,  
five or six pieces of gaily colored

nylon, each 100 feet long, were  
stretched on bamboo poles 10 feet  
in the air. Visible from the entrance  
to the camp, two latrines were  
constructed — 2 parallel ditches, each  
15 yards long. Since Vietnamese value  
personal privacy as much as any other  
civilized people, most of the 6,000  
camp-dwellers waited until dark and  
relieved themselves outside the  
barbed-wire. The rice-ration was so  
inadequate, many families complained  
of going without food for 2 or 3 days  
at a time. An American, Colonel White,  
on inspecting the camp is reported to  
have said enthusiastically, "This  
is wonderful! It's the best civilian  
project I've ever seen."

In the "interrogation tent," after  
days of intimidation and torture,  
American intelligence admitted,  
"They're not telling us much." — And

(Continued on page 8)

# gotten Military Dictatorship

racist as that in South Africa, was  
set up in 1949 whereby all Arabs  
were forbidden to travel to certain  
designated "defense and security  
zones" without a pass from the mili-  
tary commander.

"Military courts," continues the  
Times article, "were established in  
the Arab districts. All trials were  
summary and could be held in closed  
session."

The military commanders in the  
"Arab areas," as the Times chooses  
to call the segregated sections, have  
the power to "limit individual move-  
ments, impose restrictions on employ-  
ment and business, issue deportation  
orders, search and seize at will,  
and detain a person up to one year  
(without a trial) if it was deemed neces-  
sary to maintain security."

These regulations, which deny Arabs  
most elementary democratic rights,  
making them de facto prisoners in their  
own land, are still in effect. Although  
the Israeli government claims to have  
lifted the military government from the  
Arab sectors in 1965, since the June  
war, it has given up all pretense of le-  
gality in dealing with the Arab people,  
and rules by force and violence.

In addition, the Arab communities  
were occupied by units of the border  
police during the war last June. Since  
the war the government has continued  
to round up Arabs as "spies" and  
guerrillas. In addition to the Arabs  
of Israel proper, nearly one million  
more Arabs are now subject to severe  
Israeli military rule as a result of  
the seizure of Arab territory during

the June war.

The Arab people of Israel, like the  
Afro-American people in the United  
States, are victims of racist oppression  
— discriminated against in job oppor-  
tunities and education, denied equal  
representation in the government, and  
treated as socially inferior.

The Israeli state was created by  
British and U.S. imperialism in 1948,  
after a war which left over one million  
Arab refugees. The Israeli govern-  
ment passed a "land acquisition" law  
which provided for the expropriation  
of all land owned by Arabs who had  
fled the country. Even if an Arab  
returned to his land, the property was  
appropriated by the state. This ex-  
propriation of land was not for the  
progressive purpose of land reform,  
but rather to deprive the Arab people  
of their livelihood. In all, 1.6 million  
acres of land owned by the Arab people  
was taken this way and given over to  
European settlers.

The colonialist manner in which the  
Israeli government treats the Arab  
people is also demonstrated by the fact  
that the adviser on Arab affairs to the  
Premier is a European Israeli. So is the  
head of the separate Arab section of the  
Histadrut, the powerful federation in  
charge of labor affairs in Israel.

These facts about the status of the  
Arab people in Israel are nothing new.  
However, whatever bits of information  
are finally being revealed in the press  
in this country have only come out  
at a time when the U.S. imperialists  
are fearfully watching the growth of  
the Arab liberation movement.

# A Deserter Who Found a Home

## Footnotes to the Story of a Killer

If you burn your draft card, refuse  
induction or leave the U.S. Army to  
escape from having to kill Vietnamese  
peasants and workers fighting for their  
liberation, you will promptly and loudly  
be branded by the U.S. Government as  
a traitor who has deserted the fight  
for freedom and democracy.

But not all "deserters" look so  
bad in the eyes of Washington. In  
fact some, like those described above,  
are to be jailed while others should  
be assisted.

Take, for example, Angelo Angelof  
who recently made headlines when he  
was shot by police after killing a  
woman in New York's Central Park.

Angelof was a deserter — only he  
deserted from the Bulgarian Army in  
May, 1965 at the age of 19. When he  
was killed last month the ruling class  
reviled him because it was part of  
their campaign to get gun control.

Washington once thought he had a lot  
more promise than he showed in Central  
Park.

When Angelof deserted from the  
Bulgarian Army his country was at  
peace. It wasn't attacking the people  
in Vietnam, or in the Dominican Repub-  
lic or in the Congo or in Cuba. In  
fact the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria  
wasn't attacking any oppressed people  
anywhere. In fact it was giving aid to  
oppressed people in Vietnam, Cuba  
and elsewhere.

So the reason that Angelof left  
Bulgaria was not to escape an army  
of aggression or pacifism or even  
for fear of getting killed. Angelof left  
out of disappointment — disappointment  
over the fact that Hitler had lost  
World War II. Instead of the Nazis  
imposing fascism in Bulgaria the  
bosses were put out of business and  
socialism was installed. (New York

Times, July 6.)

Angelof jumped across the border  
to Greece. When he got there he was  
taken to a special camp at Lavrion  
reserved for defectors from Eastern  
Europe and the Mideast. Upon his  
arrival he found the clergy waiting  
to save his soul. Only not the Greek  
clergy as one would expect in Greece,  
but the American representative of  
the World Church Services. After  
a close examination given to all such  
deserters (the real kind) it was decided  
not only to save Angelof's Nazi-loving  
soul but also his body and he was  
given a free trip to the U.S.

He told the Immigration Department  
in February, 1966 that he left the  
Bulgarian Army because he wanted  
to live in the "free world" which  
was then in the midst of a giant  
escalation of the Vietnam war.

Unlike Bulgaria, the "free world"  
had such attractions as George Wallace  
(whose picture Angelof hung on his wall  
next to Goebbels) and the KKK, the  
CIA, the Green Berets, the Birch  
Society, etc., ad nauseum. So great  
was the variety of choices in this  
land of freedom that Angelof was even  
able to locate a New Jersey Chapter  
of the Bulgarian National Front, des-  
cribed as "the legionnaires who sided  
with Hitler in WWII," which he promptly  
joined.

So you see, not all "deserters"  
are taboo in Washington. There are  
some, who don't want to be forced  
to commit the Pentagon's war crimes,  
who are to be hounded and hunted by  
the authorities and imprisoned by the  
rigged courts. And then there are  
the special kind who worship the fascist  
heroes which the U.S. government was  
supposed to have been against in WWII  
and who just want to make their lives  
in the "land of the free."

## Japan Students Block U.S. Arms Shipments

July 27 — Zengakuren students  
armed with rocks and sticks fought  
with police in an attack on the U.S.  
arms depot at Kitakyushu today. Six-  
teen police were injured. The students  
were part of a larger group advan-  
cing on the depot after attending an anti-  
U.S. rally of 5,000.

In a simultaneous action, 60 students  
of Hiroshima University temporarily  
blocked a U.S. munitions train on its  
way to Kitakyushu, by sitting on the  
tracks in Kure station. The port of  
Kure, where U.S. ships discharge the  
material of war against Vietnam, is  
about 10 miles from Hiroshima.

## Be There!

Anti-Imperialist Feeder March to the  
Hiroshima Day Demonstration.

Starts: Herald Square (34th Street  
& Sixth Avenue)  
Saturday August 3, 12:30 PM

Sponsored by:  
The Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist  
Movement (Co-AIM)

Coalition were also fingered and framed  
on serious charges. Key Martin, Chair-  
man of YAWF was charged with in-  
citing to riot and Robin Palmer and  
Sharon Krebs were both charged with  
rioting.

Despite several police attacks, a  
contingent of over 100 demonstrators  
reached Avenue C and St. Marks Place  
on the lower east side to show their  
solidarity with the Puerto Rican people  
of the neighborhood who are under  
attack by Mayor Lindsay's Tactical  
Patrol Force. As the demonstrators  
dispersed, the helmeted troops of the  
TPF could be seen in force, standing  
on each corner of the occupied com-  
munity.

## -Co-AIM

(Continued from page 3)

\$1,000 cash bail each. Hats and helmets  
were passed around and filled with dol-  
lars to help free the framed Panther  
prisoners.

Dave Slavin greeted the crowd with  
a clenched fist and, "Hello, Comrades."  
He characterized participation by some  
"so-called Marxists" in the elections  
as "an illusion" and "an excuse for  
abandoning revolutionary activity." He  
got a rousing hand when he ended his  
speech with a quote from Lenin, "Turn  
the imperialist war into a civil war."

Ralph Poynter ended the rally with  
the message that the Black liberation  
struggle was going to "even out the  
score.... The man has been violent  
for a long time. We're going to have to  
pay back some of that violence."

## From a Rally to a March

After the rally, the crowd marched  
west on 48th Street, taking to the streets  
on Fifth Avenue and chanting "Hell No,  
We Won't Go!" The march turned west  
and then down Sixth Avenue chanting  
"The Streets Belong to the People."  
The police, caught off guard by the de-  
cision to march, did not attack the  
hundreds of demonstrators. When the  
cops finally massed a force of squad  
cars around 42nd Street, the demon-  
strators turned east. At 26th Street and  
Third Avenue, the cops and plain-  
clothesmen began to make arrests,  
chasing and clubbing demonstrators.

## Police Charge "Rioting"

Thirty-six demonstrators were ar-  
rested during the march. Most were  
charged with disorderly conduct. How-  
ever, one youth, Bob Rodriguez, was  
charged with "felonious assault on a  
police officer." Several members of the

## Why Does U.S. Cheer on New Prague Leaders?

## Some Hard Facts About Czechoslovak "Reform"

The quotations and paraphrases given below should supply a factual picture of what the Czechoslovakian reform movement is all about. The only subject that is left out of this survey is that of "democracy" and "freedom," as such. But the material here should give a concrete, factual guideline of concrete facts showing who will benefit and who will suffer from the kind of freedom and democracy the Czech reformers have in mind.

## Equality

"It is not possible to permanently blunt economic policy by taking from those who work well and giving to those who work badly. Therefore it is necessary to objectivize value relations so that differences in the income situation among enterprises express the real differences in the standard of their work....

"Democratization of the economy includes in particular the realization of the independence of enterprises and enterprise groupings and their relative independence of state bodies.... the right and real possibility of different groups of working people and different social groups to formulate and defend their economic interests in creating the economic policy."

— from Reform Program of Czechoslovak CP  
— The "Action Program"

"Ota Sik (deputy premier) urged the creation of a realistic price system based on the market, and an end to wage practices that made Czechoslovakia one of the world's most egalitarian nations — and led to absurdities such that a taxi driver made more money than an architect or a doctor, and workers more than managers."

— Fortune Magazine, June, 68

"During 1965, the average pay of administrative employees was only 64.3 per cent of workers' pay, whereas salaries of engineers and technicians were only 30 per cent higher than

workers' pay. (This was in the form of a complaint that the reform movement is now answering.)

—Techniky Tydenik, Prague, Aug., 56

"One of the most frequent opinions concerning the de-leveling campaign (initiated by the 'reformers') has been the conviction (of the workers) that 'one gives raises to the higher-ups, whereas the workers are left out.' (Our emphasis.)

—Rude Pravo, July 20, 67

"Since 1966, the average salaries of engineers and technicians increased by 5.2 per cent, those of administrative employees by 6.2 per cent, whereas wages of workers rose by only 1.4 per cent."

—Rude Pravo, July 22, 67

"They want a much sharper differentiation in wages. They realize that inefficient firms will suffer.... A high official in the Ministry of Foreign Trade avowed that 'a little unemployment would be a good thing.'"

—Ross Terrillin in New Republic, May 18, 68

"From the point of view of the workers, the economic reform seems to be yielding quick payoffs mainly to their superiors while the prospect of ultimate benefits for workers appears remote. Workers have, of course, failed to respond to the deleveling proposals with much enthusiasm."

—Vaclav Holeslawsky, a pro-capitalist professor writing in the magazine East Europe

## Independence, Sovereignty and Foreign Policy

"Cooperation of Czechoslovakia with capitalist countries is not influenced by interference from COMECON (East European and Soviet trade association) as a whole or from individual states."

—Premier Oldrich Cernik, press conference of May 14, 68

"We are examining the possibility of joining the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (both controlled by the USA — ed.)"

—Deputy Premier Ota Sik, same press conference

"One year ago, Prague was telling Western diplomats: 'You will be able to meet your colleagues from West Germany in Prague when in your capital we can meet our colleagues from East Germany.' But Prague is no longer so solicitous of the interests of East Germany. Last year Czechoslovakia stressed that imminent exchange with West German trade missions would not in itself stimulate the evolution of political ties. But Cernik, now Prime Minister, stated after the arrival in Prague of the Bonn representative that the exchange of trade missions represents 'an important step toward the normalization of relations.'"

—New Republic, May 18, 68

"The new Czech leaders wish to make moves in concert with other 'small powers' of Europe, such as Belgium, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries. They will, it will soon become clear, be less eager to aid revolutionary forces and regimes in the Third World. The feeling is strong that the burden has been more than the Czech economy can bear. The fruits, notably in the Cuban case, have been disappointing."

—New Republic, May 18, 68

PRAGUE, June 29 — "An official of the Israeli Foreign Ministry was accorded the better part of page one of a widely read Czechoslovak magazine this week to explain why he thought Prague's attitude toward Israel wrong....

"The same issue of Student also published an open letter to Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek protesting his recent statement that relations with Israel would not be restored until Israel evacuated the occupied territories."

—New York Times, June 30, 68

On April 24, Deputy Foreign Minister Vaclav Pleskot told the United Nations Economic Council for Europe in Geneva:

"We think that the objective conditions have entered the stage when the elimination of military blocs is taking on the weight of historical necessity."

—Rude Pravo, April 25, 68

Czechoslovakia "hopes to gradually open the Czechoslovak national economy to the influence of the world market."

—same speaker as above

Dr. Snejdarek, director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics, and a major spokesman on German questions, made this extraordinary statement in an interview with the trade union paper, Prace:

"It would be dangerous for Czechoslovakia not only if West Germany should absorb East Germany, but also vice versa, since the latter would call forth a terrible crisis in Europe."

—New Republic, May 18, 68

## The Intellectuals

"What specifically is involved? Nothing more than the demand for complete rehabilitation of all non-communists, who have had to suffer for many years."

"In a word, I believe that it is no longer acceptable or possible to continue to look at this nation from the point of view of the February (February, 1948, socialist revolution — ed.) conflict, which of course applies to both opposing camps of that time.... Full political and moral recognition of the noncommunist position is by no means a simple matter, and the rights to be regained thereby will not fall from the heavens..."

—Playwright Vaclav Havel in Literarni Listy April 4, 68

"Are we experiencing a revolution or a revolt?..."

"The possibility of revolt leaves us completely indifferent. We have no reason to be enthusiastic about a

(Continued on page 7)

tual collaboration and after describing his "humanism," which he identifies with the culture and outlook of the U.S. ruling class, he turns to the situation in Peoples China.

"The reader will understand," he says, "that ideological collaboration cannot apply to those fanatical, sectarian and extremist ideologies that reject all possibility of rapprochement, discussion and compromise—for example, the ideologies of fascist, racist, militaristic and Maoist demagogy."

Thus bracketing fascism and communism, but nowhere mentioning U.S. fascism or U.S. support for the fascist regimes of Greece, Spain, Brazil, etc., he adds:

"...the Chinese people are now in much greater need of help from the world's democratic forces to defend their rights than in need of the unity of the world's communist forces in the Maoist sense, for the purpose of combating the so-called imperialist peril somewhere in Africa or in Latin America or the Middle East."

He says that "demagogy, villainess, cruelty and violence have seized" Peoples China, and that country is now cursed with the atmosphere of "anti-humanism," again attempting to lay the ideological basis for a war of the "humanists" against the "anti-humanists," among whom he lists Hitler, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung.

Even the paper of the revisionist CPUSA—The Daily World—has repudiated Sakharov. But it took the editorial line that he was really just an ass, rather than any kind of threat of capitalist restoration, bloody counterrevolution or imperialist war.

## Soviet Physicist's Recipe for Restoration

## Co-Existence and Counter-Revolution

By V. COPELAND

Andrei Sakharov, a Soviet physicist, was given three full pages of the New York Times last week—not to expound his ideas on physics—but to outline a program for a coexistence of the Soviet Union and the United States that includes the actual fusion of their antagonistic social systems. All this, plus a broad hint for both countries to gang up on Peoples China.

His arguments are so primitive that it is difficult to take them seriously in the field of high politics. Or else they are so reactionary that he should be picketed rather than answered, although like many bourgeois publicists, he is for reaction and war under the cover of "humanism" and "freedom of thought" and it may be useful to at least separate his real thesis from all its trimmings.

The very fact of the big bourgeois publicity for his alleged thesis indicates that it has political importance.

Whether Sakharov, or a whole restorationist cabal, or the CIA really wrote it, is, for example, far more important than the actual arguments. But that question must be left until later developments clarify it.

The clearest indication of Sakharov's pro-capitalist approach in simple economic terms (after about 9,000 words of obfuscation) is the following:

"The presence of millionaires in the United States is not a serious economic burden in view of their small number."

Having given a theoretical justification for imperialism with almost record brevity, if not profundity, he then says with impeccable logic that "a socialist revolution" just wouldn't be good sense at all. It "would be likely to halt economic progress for more than five years," he informs his readers. And the "capitalists are actually using the social principles of socialism," anyway, he adds.

He practically stands on his head to forgive the U.S. ruling class for its racism. The "problem" of 22 million Afro-Americans in the United States is "not primarily a class problem, but a racial problem involving the racism and egotism of white workers, and the ruling group in the United States is interested in solving the problem."

He says nothing at all about the "ruling group's" record for the last 350 years. And in his haste to blame the white workers, he fails to mention that the "ruling group's" police and troops have openly killed several hundred Black people in recent years. He implicitly calls upon the Black masses to leave the "problem" of their emancipation to the "ruling group," who have apparently convinced him they are on the verge of solving it.

He is all out for the Czechoslovakian "reform" movement and thinks a "multi-party" system in the Soviet Union might be a good idea, too. He nowhere suggests a new communist party, however.

And like his Czechoslovak counterparts, he is for more inequality, rather than less. He is against "the setting of income ceilings for party members" in the Soviet Union and for the establishment of "unified wage rates based on the social value of labor and an economic market approach to the wage problem." He says, "Higher wages benefit society if they are deserved."

Of course, the pearls of counter-revolutionary wisdom we have quoted here are placed in a setting of contrasting gems, like "democracy," "freedom of thought," "morality," "humanism," and other excellent sentiments, so as to fill up three pages of small print in the New York Times and convince the already anti-Soviet liberals, not to mention fascists, that this potential hot warrior is somehow on the side of the angels.

He also has a great deal to say about the horrors of nuclear war (which is supposed to be his own scientific specialty). But he has considerably less to say about the horrors of a conventional war for those on the receiving end of the conventional bombs.

After considerable discussion of mu-



# Czechoslovak Leaders Open Door to Counter-Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

Yugoslavia. If matters continue the way they are proceeding right now Czechoslovakia may move farther in the direction of capitalist restoration than even Yugoslavia.

Under the mask of "liberalization" and "democratization," the Dubcek leadership has taken giant steps to dismantle the socialist basis of the economy, has widened and deepened the capitalist free market in the country, has indiscriminately generalized material incentives to the upper, privileged layers of the population and has in effect substituted bourgeois economic methods of distributing the national income for what were strong socialist economic beginnings. The capitalist market is now to be the primary lever in running the economy and the socialization of industry and centralized planning is to be subordinated to it if not abolished. This is not said in so many words, but that is the direction in which events are moving, and they are moving fast.

## "Experiment" a Cover-Up for Restoration

Much of this has to be covered up by assurances that it is "only an experiment," that the new leaders are merely "innovating," that they are trying "creative methods," trying to use imagination instead of sticking to old dogma and so on and so forth. But this is merely a cover-up to transform the basic features of the economic system.

The Cubans too are interested in imaginative ideas, in new methods, and in discarding old dogmas which hinder the development of socialist construction and release the creative energies of the masses. So are the North Koreans, the Vietnamese, the Albanians, the Chinese and the East Germans. It is strange that the world bourgeoisie should not praise them and welcome them with

open arms the way they do with the Czechoslovaks.

True, there is still public ownership of the basic means of production in Czechoslovakia. But all or almost all of the political power is now in the hands of a bourgeois intelligentsia which is bent on dismantling the whole system built by the working class since 1948, when power was seized from the bourgeoisie.

Not only are almost all the organs of political power strongly oriented toward the Western type of capitalist economy, but they are in constant and irreconcilable struggle with the socialized sector of the economy—that is, with the basic industries such as steel, iron, power generating, chemical and engineering industries which are still legally owned by the state and were developed by the sweat and blood of the workers into the strongest pillars of a socialized economy.

However, the whole struggle of the bourgeois intelligentsia, especially the technical intelligentsia, is to sabotage the further socialist growth and development of the basic means of production and to slowly dismantle them fragment by fragment, using one deceptive device after another to fool the workers.

The complaints of the so-called reformers that they have to return to capitalist free enterprise in order to reverse the disproportion between heavy industry and light (consumer) industry is nonsense. The entire Western bourgeoisie would not have become cheerleader to the Dubcek regime on that account alone.

## What Caused the Economic Crisis?

This has inevitably brought on an acute economic crisis. Nothing has so vividly and graphically pointed up the character of the crisis as the admission by the new regime on July 26th

that the country faces a "grave economic disequilibrium." (New York Times, July 28, 1968) This is a fancy word for a full-scale economic crisis.

What is the cause of the so-called "economic disequilibrium?" The cause lies squarely in the efforts of the bourgeois intelligentsia and its political tool, the Dubcek leadership, to wreck the socialized economy. Having done it only half-way has created confusion and chaos, but has not hidden the hand of the saboteurs.

The cause of the "economic disequilibrium," as they call it, is utterly unlike any of the economic crises which plague the Western capitalist system. These, as is well known, are caused by overproduction, due to private ownership of the means of production, and producing for private profit rather than public need, in a blind market. The economic crisis in Czechoslovakia which the new leadership was forced to admit exists, is an artificial one, a so-called "man-made" economic crisis, a crisis which does not grow out of the automatic processes inherent in the system, as is the case in a capitalist economy, but an economic crisis that has its roots in a gradual take-over by the bourgeois intelligentsia and in their attempt to re-orient the economy to bourgeois market relations.

Just as a workers' government, after it seizes power, encounters great difficulties in re-orienting toward a socialist economy, in the same way the new restorationist leadership in Prague is facing an economic crisis in attempting the economic transition from socialism to capitalism.

The difference is, however, that while the difficulties experienced in the formation of a socialist system are mere birth pangs, the transformation of an incipient socialist system into a capitalist system means an eventual return to economic chaos and imperialist enslavement.

It is no wonder then, that the Dubcek regime was forced to admit in the official economic report for the first six months of 1968 that the rate of economic growth during the past half year, that is, the half year that began with his January political coup at the Central Committee meeting, was slower than in either the entire year of 1967 or 1966. And that probably is a gross understatement!

The economic report also admits the "existence of strong inflationary pressures" and that "many consumer goods are entirely unavailable." Even while the Dubcek leadership was meeting with the Soviet leaders, the economic ministry was forced to announce price increases on consumer goods. The economic situation created by the mismanagement of the new governing group must indeed be critical if they had to announce it at this particular moment.

The economic chaos caused by the swiftly developing political counter-revolution has put in total jeopardy the basic gains of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

There is no freedom for genuine rev-

olutionaries to sound the alarm and arouse the workers through the public press of Czechoslovakia. Nor is there any room in the press of Czechoslovakia to expose the counter-revolutionary character of the so-called economic reforms, or to engage the political leaders in a genuine debate over the new road which they have embarked upon. But there is plenty of room, plenty of freedom to deride Marxism, to paint up the face of Western imperialism, to cozy up to the neo-nazi regime of West Germany, to attack the German Democratic Republic and, it goes without saying, to rehabilitate the symbols of old capitalist Czechoslovakia: Masaryk, Benes, & Co.

Of course, because the political counter revolution has not yet succeeded in bringing about the full social and economic counter revolution, the full capitalist restoration has not yet been really effected. That is to say, the restorationists are in the seats of political power, but while the property relations are being reversed, they have not yet been fully reversed. It is possible that there might be a temporary leftward reversal under pressure from the Soviet Union and its allies. However, only the revolutionary intervention of the Czech workers from below will bring about any fundamental changes of a truly progressive character.

## Role of Soviet Bureaucracy

Any analysis that bases itself exclusively on the internal forces in Czechoslovakia without taking into account the role of the Soviet liquidators of Marxism would be completely false and one-sided. It is scarcely possible to believe that the tragic events which are now unfolding in Czechoslovakia would be taking place were it not for the fact that the Soviet leadership is, in the main, responsible for these very events. It is the Soviet bureaucracy which abandoned Marxist-Leninist principles in the first place and began not only to encourage but to demand a revisionist course in politics and economics from its socialist allies. What has happened is that the Czechoslovak events have gone far beyond what is even safe for the Soviet bureaucracy itself.

The difference between the Czech "reformers" and the Soviet bureaucracy is that the latter is deeply rooted in socialized production, whereas the former are a combination of the old bourgeois intelligentsia and elements of the new technical bureaucracy that have no great stake in the socialized economy. They are akin to the old Czarist intelligentsia that was engrafted upon the new Soviet regime, but later superseded.

The very same reactionary forces which have reared their head in Czechoslovakia and are now confidently marching on the political stage there are also slowly rising to the surface in the Soviet Union. These forces are a powerful current in the Soviet Union and the bureaucracy has encouraged and nourished them. As in Czechoslovakia only the mass intervention on a truly historic scale of the revolutionary working class can stop the creeping counter revolution. Only the working class, by taking destiny into its own hands, can sweep it away.

## -Sostre's Appeal

(Continued from page 1)

for the revolutionary anti-colonial literature that he sold in his bookstore.

Early in July, Miss Franklin received a letter from Sostre in which he recounted the background of his solitary confinement:

"... On June 25 I was summoned to the warden's office where he told me that the motion for stay of trial pending application for removal (to federal court) would not be allowed to leave the prison.

"He further told me that I was practicing law without a law degree...

"The warden also told me that he would not give me your latest letter and that he would not allow you to bring your secretary.

"He then placed me in 'segregation' (see correction law section 140) and took all my legal papers, law books and all property..."

Miss Franklin told this reporter Friday she will file within a few days a petition for a writ of habeas corpus, attacking the "completely

absurd" rationale for Sostre's solitary confinement, the decision cutting her off from all contact with her client, and "other matters".

Miss Franklin indicated that the "harassment" of Sostre appears designed to isolate him totally at the time that his appeal is being prepared. "Access to counsel for extensive consultation is critical right at this time," she declared.

If normal judicial procedure is followed, oral argument on the habeas corpus petition will take precedence on the Dutchess County Supreme Court calendar and will be scheduled before a sitting judge on approximately the opening day of the GOP convention.

Thus Rockefeller will be in the awkward position of having his white prison officials subpoenaed as defendants in a civil liberties court action back home while he in Miami will be seeking the crucial support of Negro and liberal Republican delegates.

The trial testimony of the Buffalo and state police is so replete with "contradictions and inconsistencies", Miss Franklin told the Afro, that the Sostre case is "explosive", racially and politically.

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## -Hard Facts

(Continued from page 6)

change of persons... We must liquidate this dictatorship or it will liquidate us."

—Lecture by Prof. Ivan Svitak, School of Philosophy, Charles Univ., Prague in Student, April 10, 68

## Voice of Counter-Revolution

"Dubcek is a figure of transition. His fundamental dilemma is that solutions that are required are not provided for in accepted Marxist dogma. The more effectively the new team tackles outstanding tasks, the more it will contribute to the final disintegration of communist rule."

—Hanus J. Hasek, member of staff of Radio Free Europe

## AN ISRAELI WORKER'S ANSWER to M.S. ARNONI

.25 By MIKE RUBIN

AND

## THE WAR IN THE MIDEAST What Are The Forces Behind It? .25

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Johnson, Clifford, Harriman Talk Tough as...

# U.S. Escalates Its Losing War

By PETER STORCH

In spite of the Paris peace talks and the U.S. election campaign, the Johnson Administration is escalating the war in Vietnam day after day. The recent Honolulu conference between Johnson and his South Vietnamese lackey, Nguyen Van Thieu, only confirmed this more aggressive drive by the warmakers in Washington.

By meeting with Thieu, Washington served notice that it will continue the pretense that the Saigon government still represents something other than the U.S. But even more menacing was the report given to Johnson by Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, who told Johnson that the U.S. can "without a doubt" achieve a firm upper hand, or a "limited victory" in 18 to 24 months.

During his visit to South Vietnam two weeks ago, Clifford assured the Saigon puppets of the U.S. that the American factories would turn out M-16 rifles especially for the South Vietnamese army "at a substantially more rapid rate as we get into the end of this year." Other large quantities of ammunition and equipment would also be given to the Saigon military by the Pentagon.

Although Clifford's statements were geared to fool and appease the imperialist "doves" in the U.S. by giving the impression that the war would soon be turned over to the Saigon regime, they were obviously camouflaged to hide the intended further escalation of the war by the Pentagon.

Nguyen Thanh La, spokesman for the North Vietnamese delegation at the Paris talks, said at a news conference a day after the Honolulu conference:

"The final communique mentioning new arms for Saigon demonstrated that the primary objective of the meeting was to intensify the war."

U.S. bombing missions over North Vietnam, despite the current restrictions in territory, have been rapidly increasing in intensity. The number of missions, for example, increased by 35 per cent from March to May. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam reported that over 13,000 missions were flown by U.S. bombers in the three-month period of April - June. U.S. sources admit to 10,800 missions for this period, which

is still 1,000 more missions than in the same three-month period last year.

Typical of the massive bombing raids over North Vietnam were those conducted on July 1 and July 2 when 75 B-52s carried out "saturation raids" each day dropping about 54,000 pounds of 500- and 750-pound bombs.

The escalation policy of the U.S. imperialists is also reflected in the latest statements from both Johnson and Averell Harriman, chief negotiator for the U.S. in Paris. Harriman is virtually demanding the surrender

of the Vietnamese to the U.S., as he implied in a television interview on July 14:

"I wouldn't say that the reduction of the escalation which they have been engaged in since March 31 could be considered some sort of restraint."

Johnson's speech to the Governors' Conference in Cincinnati on July 22 was just as arrogant and belligerent against any kind of settlement of the Vietnam war short of Vietnamese surrender: "But we are not going to impose a

## Cuba Sounds Alarm Over U.S. Threats to N. Korea

The following article is reprinted from the July 21, '68 issue of Granma, the Cuban government English language newspaper. Cuba is presently celebrating one month of solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The preparations for war overtly being made by the United States in the portion of Korean territory occupied by U.S. forces for the last 22 years are indicative of the worsening situation along the 38th Parallel. There is plenty of evidence of this.

The most outstanding incident in 1968 was the one involving the USS Pueblo, a spy ship captured with its crew of 83 men after it had violated North Korea's territorial waters on several occasions.

The capture of the USS Pueblo brought on a veritable barrage of statements and threats from Washington. As soon as news of the capture was made public, military movements increased in the zone: the United States increased the number of its warplanes in South Korea and staged a showy display of seapower along the coast of the DPRK, while Johnson himself promised Pak Chung Hee, the South Korean dictator, that he would increase his "aid" and would modernize the puppet army.

The latest news is that the United States is building new air bases on South Korean territory, expanding the

ones already established there and enlarging runways and airfields to handle F105 and F4C Phantom pursuit planes and even B-52 superforts, which are to be transferred to South Korea from their bases in Guam and Thailand.

All this in addition to the countless number of direct attacks against the DPRK with machine guns, rifles and field artillery. As was to be expected, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, faced with such preparations for war, has proceeded to prepare its People's Army and the Workers' Militia. The latter has been equipped with the most modern weapons to repel any attack.

The measure has alarmed the Pentagon, whose officials in South Korea have protested against the increase in North Korea's defensive weapons, despite the fact that U.S. weapons of every type — including nuclear bombs — constantly flow into the territory of South Korea.

There is no doubt that a war is in the making. It seems that the Yankee imperialists have forgotten how Koreans react to aggression. In case they have forgotten the 1953 lesson, let them remember the words of Kim Il Sung, leader of the Korean people: "We do not want war, but we are not afraid of it. Our people and our People's Army will answer the Yankee imperialists blow for blow and total war for war."

coalition government — or for that matter any kind of government — on the people of South Vietnam. Nor are we going to let the totalitarians impose a Communist government of their direction either."

To put it more simply, the Johnson-Harriman line is either the Vietnamese people surrender to the fascist Saigon regime or the U.S. escalates the war. Unfortunately for U.S. rulers, the Vietnamese are not falling for the "talk peace, escalate the war" trap of the imperialists, as the latest battle reports from Da Nang Air Base show.

## Pentagon Covers Up First Attack on U.S.-Thai Air Base

The first attack on a U.S. military base in Thailand was reported last week. On July 26, guerrillas in north-eastern Thailand wounded four U.S. troops and damaged two planes when they attacked the U.S. Air Force headquarters at Udorn, according to Pentagon reports. The air base is used for staging bombing raids against North Vietnam and is also used for spy planes, transport and rescue aircraft.

Pentagon officials refused to divulge the details of the attack, its true effect, the nationality of the attacking force, the size of the raiding forces, etc. However, according to the UPI dispatch of July 27, "military sources" admitted that the attack "had been aimed at crippling raids into North Vietnam."

The U.S. embassy in Bangkok tried to dismiss the attack as insignificant and carried out by "a small group." According to this report, the battle lasted about half an hour, on the base where between 5,000 and 6,000 U.S. troops are stationed. The Pentagon failed to explain how an insignificant "small group" could sustain an attack for a full half hour against a base with 5,000 men and damage two planes in the process.

American officials in Thailand are trying to play down the significance of this new assault. Although they claim to have captured one of the guerrillas, the identity of the attackers is still being kept secret.

Nevertheless, it is well known that the liberation army of the Thai Patriotic Front has been operating in north-eastern Thailand and has grown much stronger in recent months. The U.S. base at Udorn is also located close to Laos, where the Pathet Lao has been carrying on guerrilla warfare against the U.S. imperialists and their puppet government.

## — Two Villages, Two Worlds

(Continued from page 5)

how were the "VC" separated from the "innocents"? — If the palms of a man's hands aren't calloused enough to prove him a farmer, he must be a VC! If his bare feet are muddy, he must have come out of a VC trench. If he was found hiding in a bomb shelter, he must have been guilty. If he was found hiding behind a bush, he must have been near it in order to conceal a gun there. If no gun was found, — "You don't think he's dumb enough to let us find it, do you?" — The captured weapons count stood at 49 after a two-day search.

Meanwhile bulldozers leveled the village of Ben Suc to the ground. Houses, barns, schools, hospitals, temples, theatres, town halls, flower and vegetable gardens, trees, streets, foot-paths — the result of centuries of slow growth and toil became an unbroken waste of mud and rubble.

Jonathan Schell views his subject with the cold eye of a camera. He expresses neither passion nor opinion, but piles facts and details one upon another to form a solid structure which cannot be wished away or forgotten.

Five years before Ben Suc was

destroyed, Jan Myrdal, the world-famous sociologist, lived with his wife for a month in the village of Liu Ling, just south of Yenan, Shensi Province, in China. Myrdal chose Liu Ling, because it was a typical village of 50 families, "where the first agrarian revolution had been carried through on a local basis. The leading communists were old peasant revolutionaries, who had carried out their revolution before Mao Tse-tung came to Shensi."

Report from a Chinese Village is, for the main part, a series of taped interviews with men and women of Liu Ling who had lived through the revolution. It is a tale of grinding poverty, starvation and despair under the feudal landlords and money-lenders of old China; of the long struggle against the landlords' armies, against the Japanese invaders, and finally against Chiang Kai Chek's American-supplied forces, who were defeated in 1949.

It tells of the village's rebirth and gradual climb out of poverty toward abundance — not as a result of new techniques and modern tools; there were none — but because the oppressor was gone. The villagers of China had destroyed the landlord class and re-

organized their work and their lives.

Feng Chang-yeh, a herder at the age of 7 and a full-time farm laborer at 12, tells how it was: "In January 1954, we discussed turning our labor group into an agricultural cooperative. In general, one can say that those whose land was not good were for the idea; and that those who had good land down in the valley were against it. My neighbor, Chao Teh-pa, for example, said: 'I have good fertile land, and this agricultural co-operative won't pay me. I can manage by myself... I'll hire people.' We told him that would become rather difficult. There would be no day laborers or farmhands to be had once we had formed our collective. 'You want to hire people to work for you. That's exploitation. Why do you want to become rich on other people's work? Choose how you want to be. Do you want to be rich alone, or do you want us all to be well off together? Think about it.' He thought about it and joined.

"...There still were people who farmed on their own here and there. We had ten of them. That year we helped them as well. In that way they too had better harvests.... We did not take payment for this. They wanted to pay all right, but we would not accept anything. We did it to help them, to increase the output for the district and to give them practical

proof of the power of collaboration. The next winter all the households in our area had joined Wangchiakou Agricultural Co-operative."

The strongest women in the village caught fire from the revolution. They demanded equality with the men and broke with the traditions of their elders. They refused any longer to be sold in marriage "like cows or pigs." They learned and taught reading and writing, rules of hygiene, birth control, and scientific midwifery. And they fought their way into the councils of the men. It was a woman who, against the more conservative arguments of some of the men, persuaded the co-operative of the wisdom of joining the district commune.

As Myrdal says in his introduction, this is not the whole of China. But it is the part which most profoundly affects the whole. The villages are the backbone of Chinese society, and the gains they have made through such toil and anguish, they will never forget nor surrender.

It is possible to predict that youthful survivors of Ben Suc, among hundreds of thousands more who have survived the rape of Vietnam, will one day defeat their own oppressors. Inspired by the experience of thousands of Liu Lings striving to be born, they will add their own creativity to the socialist world of tomorrow.

—ELIZABETH ROSS