

SPECIAL 4 Page Section on Czechoslovak Crisis

Black and White, Unite and Fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

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Ten Cents

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Chicago Convention Rigged — Like Whole U.S. Electoral System!

'Democratic' Convention And Police State

While 2,600 delegates assemble in the hog palace to pick the already chosen Democratic candidate of big business, about 12,000 uniformed cops roam the streets of Chicago, most of them in the vicinity of the convention hall. Their aim is to quiet the voice of real democracy and prevent the people from asserting their rights.

Who best expresses how this country is ruled? — The leather-lunged speakers inside that hall, or the armed thugs "keeping order" on the outside?

In ordinary times, the spellbinders, the gilded liars of Congress and the White House may keep the majority in line for the billionaires with false promises, TV speeches and a minimum of force. But whenever the people want to actually exercise the rights they are supposed to have, the most skillful politicians and ablest liars are insufficient.

It is then that the police are called in.

The demonstrations at the Democratic convention provide one of those times. Like the Black uprisings and like big strikes and general strikes, this demonstration might challenge the "right" of the ruling class to rule in the way it wants to — and this in spite of the electoral illusions that many of the participants might have.

Who are these 12,000 cops? And how is it that every single one of them knows that he is supposed to shove, bully and otherwise discipline thousands of people who have sacrificed their time and spent their hard-earned money to come to Chicago, and knows that he is supposed to protect the paid-off members of a scandalously rigged convention from even the sight of the demonstrators, if that is possible?

The police, who murdered 32 Black people in Watts, hundreds more last year, and in one week last April shot 41 Afro-Americans to death (and were praised for their "restraint"!) are in fact the final resort of the imperialist ruling class. They are the iron hand in the velvet glove. They are the gun behind the curtain of parliamentary bull-sessions. They are the essence of the state, itself.

If a single person is arrested in the Chicago demonstrations, he will shortly learn that the proceedings in the convention hall are almost entirely irrelevant to his plight. Neither the judge who sets the bail nor the warden who watches the prisoners is worried about the electoral process — at least, not as far as he, the prisoner, is concerned.

With all the talk about "free elections," did anybody ever elect a cop?

Did anybody ever vote for the police to carry Mace, as the Chicago police started to do on April 1, 1968 — specifically for this week's event, as well as to "handle civil rights demonstrators"? Was there ever an election to determine that they should purchase three helicopters, which they got this summer, also for use in the convention demonstration? Did anybody vote for the shotguns and the armor-plated tanks they are buying?

In lots of towns, they let a man run for dog catcher. But in how many big cities is the powerful office of Commissioner of Police ever listed on the ballot?

No, the police are not elected, and everybody knows it. And yet the whole 12,000 Chicago police force, right down to the last shaker-down of pimps, is marshalled out against the many thousands of protesters. And the protesters are infinitely more representative of the U.S. people than the assorted ward healers and politicians' relatives pre-

Delegates to Elect the Bankers' Candidate And Peddle Him as the "People's Choice"

There is a built-in LIE in the American electoral system.

All the politicians of the imperialist establishment lie. They lie about their intentions to free the Black people from virtual slavery. And they lie about their plans to bring peace to Vietnam.

But there is a more fundamental lie in the election itself.

Today, when the battle is already in the streets, when the Black people have begun to take up arms in defense of their liberties, when the youth are boldly seeking confrontations with the ruling class' police, the national election is a means to steer the revolt into safer channels for the ruling class.

That is why so many high-paid reporters attend the conventions and why the papers give acres of newsprint

to boring stories about second-rate people and tenth-rate maneuvers.

That is why millions of dollars worth of TV time is devoted to the conventions. And that is why Eugene McCarthy became a candidate in the first place — to get the people off the streets, to restore their belief in the electoral lie.

The big built-in Lie of the U.S. electoral system is this:

The American people do not choose the President of the United States. And they never did.

But it is vitally necessary for the hawks and doves of the imperialist war machine to convince the people that they do. And it is even more necessary for the billionaire operators of the machine to peddle this lie to the restless masses of the country.

At best, the people have the power to decide between two hand-picked, carefully groomed spokesmen of the imperialist establishment. And even then, the one with the most TV exposure, newspaper, pulpit and Hollywood backing — in other words the most support from the ruling class — usually wins.

The Rigged Convention

Everybody says the Democratic convention is being rigged. Yes, it is rigged. Just like the Republican convention was rigged and like every major party convention for generations has been rigged.

The big party conventions are carefully rigged for months in advance by cynical experts who are in turn owned body and soul by the biggest banks and industrial corporations of the country.

The Democratic convention seems less rigged, because there is usually more contention there.

This is due to the fact that the Democratic betrayers of the people are closer to the masses than the Republican betrayers.

The Democratic convention is "different" than the Republican. It has the sell-out labor leaders, the city ward healers, the neighborhood priests, the big shot liberals — all those who are skillful demagogues, but safe and supple servants of the establishment, rather than rigid butler-like attendants, like many of the Republicans, who are self-confessed friends of the rich and enemies of the poor.

Some people are hoping for an "open" convention in Chicago. Those who are honest and in good faith about this have to be ignorant of the obligations of the delegates who attend the convention, who must do what they promised and obey the dictates of the political straw bosses of big business, who stage-manage the show.

If McCarthy, for example, were to get the nomination from this convention, it could only be because the U.S. ruling class decided that Humphrey was no longer useful as a candidate. It could only be because McCarthy was going to do exactly what the decisive section of big business wanted him to do (which he will do, in any case) and because he could do it, in their opinion, better than Humphrey.

Huey Newton: Prosecution Case a Fraud



August 21—As we go to press, a tangle of contradictory testimony by key government witnesses has clearly revealed that the trial of Huey P. Newton, a leader in the militant Black Panther Party, is a police frame-up.

One key witness, Henry Grier, who was mysteriously produced by the prosecutor at the last minute, contradicted himself when he fingered Newton as the killer, despite the fact that he had told the grand jury that the man who killed Patrolman Frey was "small built" and "no more than five feet" (Newton is 5'10"). He also gave two different stories as to the position of Frey's body.

Another "star" witness for the go-

vernment, Dell Ross, who told the grand jury that Newton had kidnapped him after killing Frey, refused to testify at all on the grounds of possible self-incrimination. Thus, the prosecution has been forced to drop the kidnapping charge against Newton and is now left without a witness to corroborate that Newton had a gun.

Newton's lawyer, Charles Garry, further exposed the frame-up when he produced a taped interview with Ross in which the man denied everything he had told the grand jury. He explained to Garry, "I was too frightened" and said he had given the answers that had been desired (i.e., by the cops), not the truth.

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- Convention and the Police State

(Continued from page 1)

tending to "deliberate" over Wall Street's choice in the convention.

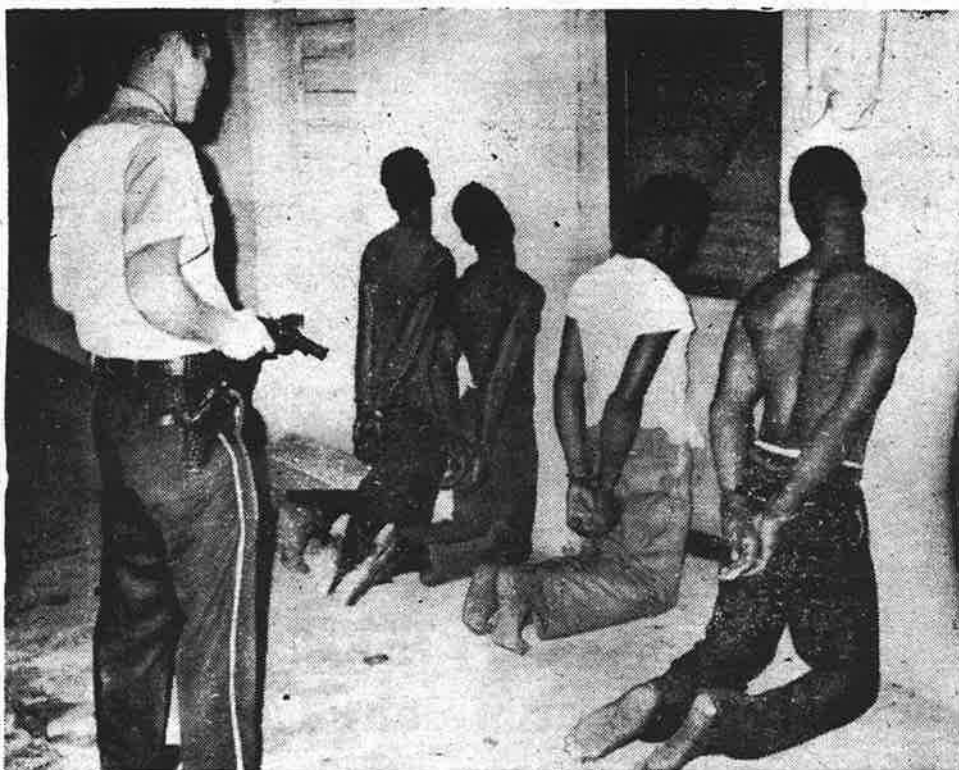
Not a single one of these armed-to-the-teeth murderers, armed and paid at the people's expense, refuses to do his "duty" — that is, chooses the side of the oppressed, rather than the oppressors. That's because they are trained to be the unthinking guardians of imperialist white supremacy and the billionaire establishment rather than the people's servants. They are the essential arm of the imperialist state

that is employed by both Republican and Democratic officials against the masses.

The idea that there can be a "democratic" convention, guarded by the murderers of thousands of oppressed people (far, far more than mentioned above) is preposterous on the face of it. Such a convention should not just be picketed; it should be abolished.

That will be done, of course. But abolishing the police is a tougher and longer job. Ask any demonstrator who has ever been arrested.

No Vote Will Ever Stop This; Struggle Is the Only Answer



Tampa cop holds gun on Black youths after they fought back against police murder.

Co-AIM Denounces Convention

The following is the text of a statement issued by the Steering Committee of the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement (Co-AIM) on the Democratic Party Convention in Chicago.

August 20, 1968 New York City
For Immediate Release

The steering committee of the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement has agreed that Co-AIM will be present in Chicago. We all agree that the election is a farce. This is true not only if some particular candidates are nominated for this election but the whole election process is a fraud. We are against all the candidates over there because they all are representatives of the imperialist power structure.

We are going to Chicago not because we think that the Democratic convention is a significant political event — it isn't.

Nbr do we believe the Democratic Party can be changed either from inside or outside. As a matter of fact, it is our duty to patiently explain to those who may be coming to the demonstrations with such parliamentary illusions that neither of the twin ruling-class parties should be considered as a means to obtain any progressive end.

We are going to Chicago because there will be thousands of rebellious youth there who are fed up with the entire racist big-business system in this country and who are interested in a program of anti-imperialist struggle. We will teach what we can teach and learn what we can learn.

Dave Axel
(For the steering committee)
Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement

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Lindsay in NYC: "Pity the Poor Cop"

"Rank-and-File" Police Revolt Reflects Ruling Class Racism

By V. COPELAND

The New York City police "rank-and-file" last week appeared to defy the Mayor, the Chief of Police and the imperialist establishment of the world's wealthiest city.

What really happened, and what did it mean?

On August 12, John Cassese, president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Assn. (PBA), announced that the police would disregard all orders to refrain from arresting violators of the law. He said he was issuing "guidelines" to his men, calling for arrests "regardless of what orders we may get from any superior officer." This, he said, would reverse City Hall, which he claimed had instructed cops to "turn the other cheek" in certain cases.

He obviously was not referring to the extreme police brutality at Columbia University or to the arrests at Washington Square last April, when even the head of the New York Civil Liberties Union was arrested while observing the demonstration and arrests of 100 others. Nor was he referring to the day-in, day-out brutality of cops on the beat in Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant sections of New York, or to the innumerable police station beatings. Nor did any of the consequent manifestoes from City Hall mention such things either.

No, Cassese was talking about the right of protest and free assembly. He was talking about a crack-down on civil rights and civil liberties. He was advocating more arrests and persecution. He was making politically explicit what is always spiritually implicit in the makeup of a cop — the drive to fascism.

Now the ruling class did indeed give orders to the police to "cool it" after the assassination of Martin Luther King. And the blue-coated fascist servants of the democratic imperialists "only" killed 41 Black people in the near-uprisings that followed King's death throughout the country.

Tens of thousands of U.S. troops were either put on riot duty or on special alert during this period. But the news media generally called it a time of "restraint" and complimented the cops for their relatively few murders.

Similar considerations caused New York's rulers to "moderate" the police more recently too.

(The reason for the "moderation" was that the imperialists well understood that a really open assault by the cops would most probably inflame a far bigger uprising and even possibly spark general armed rebellion.)

But Mayor Lindsay, who is considered an outstanding liberal, not

only failed even to chide Cassese for his position, but actually apologized for the police. He said the day after Cassese's announcement:

"The real source of the problem is the grinding pressure, the tension and the enormous difficulties that go with being a policeman in any American city.... So let us recognize honestly what the policeman is up against. He is the target of much unrest, the friction and tension which comes from unmet needs and unsolved problems."

During the week's charges by PBA and defenses by City Hall, it was alleged that the Mayor's aides were the ones who had directly told the police to lay off in certain cases.

But at the end of the week, although Cassese modified his position, it became clear that the officials would not do this again.

While Lindsay showed such understanding and the liberal press made purely formal noises about the importance of "civilian control" (meaning that the ruling class should keep its cops properly in line), an unnamed police officer made the following statement to the press on August 15:

"Within the framework of the PBA, Cassese is, of course, a moderate. The alternative to Cassese is far worse than anything we can imagine."

There has been no investigation of this "alternative," nor of Cassese's defiance, and no call for such an investigation by the liberal press which is so hot for "civilian control."

It would be quite wrong to say that the cops are really dictating to the ruling class, or that they are really out of control, or that they are fascist in the strict sense of being an independent armed force, vying for recognition by the rulers.

The police have always been the indispensable instrument of the ruling class in keeping the oppressed classes down. And that is what makes the police the natural enemies of the Black and Puerto Rican peoples, not to mention the strikers and anti-war demonstrators. Police sadism, their response to "grinding pressure," their corruption, etc., are just extra added wrinkles. And no doubt the cops' justified personal fears of the wrath of the oppressed add to their interest in cracking down on them.

But the fact that the police now can demand — with impunity — that they be "unleashed" not only proves their own fascist mentality, but reveals the tendency of their liberal masters to flirt with fascism, too.

Chemical MACE Comes to New York

Chemical Mace was used for the first time in New York State August 14 when Suffolk County police sprayed a crowd of about 70 Afro-Americans in front of the community center in Center Moriches, L.I., according to a New York Times report of August 16. Scores of persons, including small children, were disabled by the painful, blinding chemical.

To the cries of protest raised by the Black community against this unprecedented racist attack, Police Commissioner John L. Barry replied:

"It's a humane way to stop trouble. We will use it again if we must."

Under the pretext of "containing an outbreak" the cops sprayed the crowd after the Black people had objected to cops arresting a man in front of the Community Action Center.

This new attack with a chemical that instantly incapacitates a person, and which cops deliberately spray into the victim's eyes to cause blindness and extreme pain, marks a serious escalation of police terror against the Black community.

Chemical warfare has been outlawed internationally. The cops and their corporate bosses have committed a new war crime against Afro-Americans for which they will be paid back in full.

Listen, Brother!

By ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

35¢

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By VINCENT COPELAND

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Martin Sostre: Sentenced to 41 Yrs.



Book Burning Marks New Attack on Sostre Defense Harassment by Buffalo Subversive Squad

In July, 1967, Buffalo firemen on orders from the police turned their hoses on the books in the Afro-Asian Bookstore, a center for militant Black youth run by Martin G. Sostre in the heart of Buffalo's Black Community. One year later, with Martin Sostre in prison under a 41-year sentence, the racist authorities in Buffalo have again resorted to "book burning," this time in an attempt to silence the Martin Sostre Defense Committee.

On the night of August 1, a collection of books and pamphlets belonging to the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Exile on the University of Buffalo campus was burned. The bookstore was set up on campus by students in the Martin Sostre Defense Committee to publicize and carry on the case of Martin Sostre, a Black liberation fighter who was framed on a trumped up dope charge and sentenced to 31 to 41 years. By arresting Mr. Sostre just after the Black rebellion in Buffalo in June 1967, the authorities hoped to make Sostre a scapegoat for the rebellion and at the same time silence one of the Black people's most articulate and militant leaders.

According to the Buffalo University newspaper, \$200 worth of literature, including the Autobiography of Malcolm X, works on Afro-American history, anti-war and anti-imperialist pamphlets from Hanoi and the National Liberation Front were burned by a janitor who took the boxes of books from their overnight storage place in the student union and threw them into the campus incinerator.

At the same time, the Buffalo subversive squad had carried out a continuous campaign of threats against the members of the Sostre Defense Committee and their families. Members of the committee have received threatening letters and two detectives from the police intelligence unit made late-night visits to the defense committee secretary and her elderly mother, who lives alone and is not involved in the committee.

(Recently, Buffalo authorities, along with HUAC and the FBI, tried to undermine the Defense Committee by launching a vicious red-baiting campaign and front page stories in the Buffalo press about the committee and its members.)

When the case was brought to the attention of William Worthy, a prominent Afro-American journalist, he began to publish articles in the Baltimore Afro-American and Boston Globe to popularize Martin Sostre's struggle, which has been systematically censored out of the bourgeois press. Mr. Worthy also appeared on National Educational Television on a Newsfront program to tell Martin Sostre's story.

An extortionate bail of \$50,000 was originally set on Mr. Sostre and was subsequently "reduced" to \$25,000 and then to \$12,500 cash. Throughout his

trial whatever news the Buffalo press did print was viciously slanted to cover up Sostre's leadership role in the Black liberation movement in Buffalo. The original political charge of inciting to riot against him was quickly dropped in favor of a narcotics frame-up by the notoriously corrupt Buffalo narcotics squad.

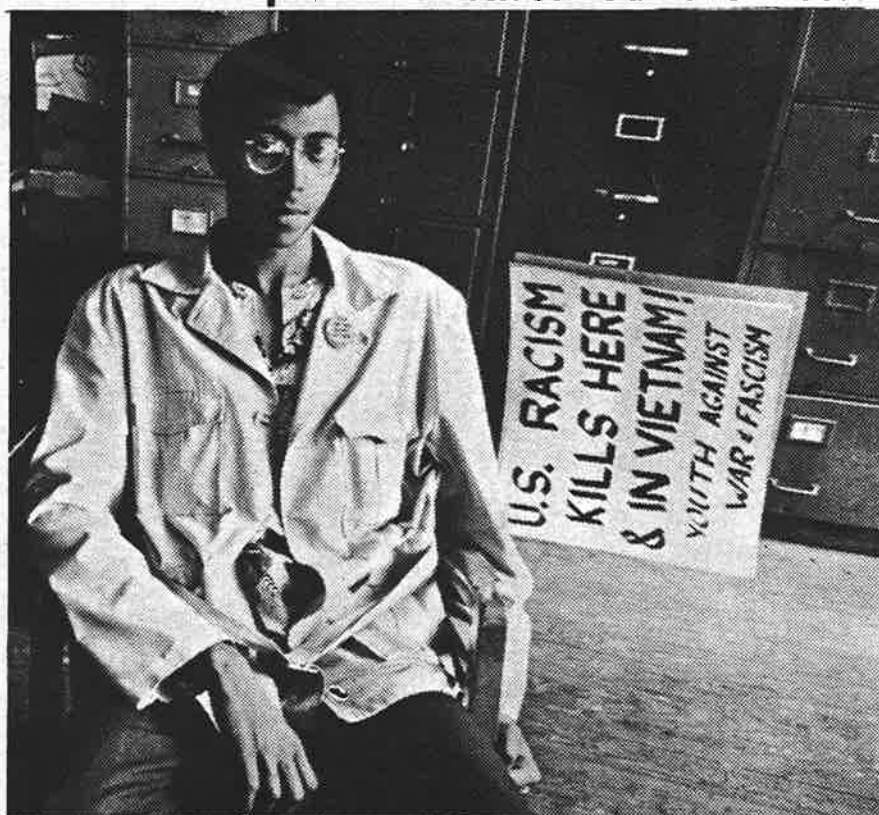
During the eight months Mr. Sostre was imprisoned in Erie County Jail before his conviction by an all-white jury last March, he carried on an unrelenting struggle (acting as his own lawyer) to defend not only himself, but the Black liberation movement which the U.S. ruling class has tried so hard to crush. He denounced the war of aggression against his brothers in Vietnam and fought presiding Judge Frederick M. Marshall at every turn to bring out the political nature of his case.

"It is up to us to resist oppression and racism with all facets and weapons," he said at a pre-trial hearing. "All U.S. superiority in weapons — none can prevail against will and determination. Racism and militarism are two claws of the same hawk!"

So intent was the court to intimidate the Black militant that he was brought to his hearings and trial in

(Continued on page 4)

Edward Oquendo: Sentenced to 5 Yrs.



Railroaded to Jail Without Bail

Oquendo Fighting Appeal Case

In November of 1967, Esquire Magazine featured a story by Afro-American journalist William Worthy on Black militants. Accompanying the article was a full page picture of Edward A. Oquendo. The article began:

"One warm night a year ago last July, two F.B.I. agents approached Edward A. Oquendo on a Brooklyn street and asked him to get into their car 'for a talk.' Oquendo, who had refused to take a physical examination for the draft, tells the story, 'I refused and said that if we had any talking to do we could do it right there. I spoke in a manner which caused the neighbors to gather.' Surrounded, the agents hastily left. When they finally arrested Oquendo, it was early in the morning before anybody was on the street, and this time there were four agents, two cars and handcuffs."

Today, Ed Oquendo is in the Federal Correctional Institution in Danbury, Conn. serving a maximum term of five years for refusing to be drafted into the imperialist U.S. army.

At the time of his sentencing last December 16, while still fighting for continuance of bail during the appeal, Eddie Oquendo unequivocally denounced the "racist system of oppression" in the U.S. which was imprisoning him and thousands of his Black brothers. He boldly told the Court:

"I want to make it clear that I support the National Liberation Front in

their struggle against 500,000 troops armed with the most barbarous weapons the world has ever seen. Long live their struggle!"

The young Afro-American from the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn has been a militant fighter against the enslavement of his people in the Black community, and he expressed his feelings about it in that same pre-sentencing speech before racist Judge Zavatt:

"I support all the oppressed around the world. I feel with the oppressed people. A man who goes into the army if he is Black, is asked to kill his mother, brother, sister, like in Detroit and Newark — I say, Hell No, I Won't Go!"

Ed Oquendo is a founding member of Blacks Against Negative Dying and is also a member of Youth Against War & Fascism.

Mr. Oquendo was invited to debate several pro-war army officers last January 14 on a one and a half hour radio program about the Black man and the draft, which was broadcast on radio station WWRL which is listened to by the Black community of New York City. At that time he predicted, "The Nuremberg laws will some day be used to prosecute the war criminals in the U.S."

Having served three months of his sentence, Black draft resister Ed Oquendo symbolizes the militant struggle Black youth all-over the U.S. are waging against the racist military system. The youth surrendered himself on May 27 to the Brooklyn Federal Court to begin his prison term, but not before a militant demonstration took place inside and outside of the courtroom by more than 150 of his supporters from Blacks Against Negative Dying (BAND) and Youth Against War & Fascism.

When guards began to take Oquendo out of the court, he turned to the room packed with his supporters and defiantly raised a clenched fist. At this the courtroom was rocked by chants from the crowd of "Free Ed Oquendo!" and "Jail the racist judge!" The protesters then marched out of the courtroom still chanting in the huge marble halls of the court building. When they reached the exits, federal marshals began to push them. As the demonstrators protested this provocation, marshals began to swing their blackjacks. During the scuffle in which the demonstrators tried to defend themselves, two of Oquendo's supporters were arrested on charges of assaulting a federal marshal, including Sandra Oquendo, Mr. Oquendo's younger sister.

Two petitions before the Supreme Court to restore bail for Mr. Oquendo have been denied, although in most cases bail is granted to defendants awaiting review of their appeals before the high court. However, attorneys representing him are pursuing a third petition with a stronger possibility of obtaining freedom for this courageous Afro-American freedom fighter.

1 Million Poor Lose Medicaid

By ELLEN PIERCE

NEW YORK, Aug 15 — More than a million people have been cut off this city's Medicaid rolls since July 1, announced Social Services Commissioner Jack Goldberg today. This reduces by half the number of New York City residents eligible for medical care provided by city, state and federal funds.

Thousands of other people throughout New York State will also be denied Medicaid since the State Legislature made drastic reductions in the program's budget last April 1.

Adults between the ages of 21 and 64 will no longer receive free medical care no matter how low their incomes — the only exception being people on welfare. Also, the maximum income a family of four could have and still be eligible for Medicaid (for children and those over 65 only) was reduced from \$6,000 to \$5,300.

While cutting a million people off the Medicaid rolls to cut costs, the state is actually increasing health care costs by paying nursing homes 20 per cent higher fees. The cost is further inflated by giving physicians fees of \$6.50 for the first visit and \$5.00 for each following visit to Medicaid patients in hospital wards for just supervising the young resident doctors who take

care of the patients. (Doctors are already among the highest paid people in the country with an average annual income of \$30,000). Expensive red tape is also involved in re-certifying and issuing new cards to the million people still eligible for Medicaid. And many people are so confused by the whole thing that they don't know if they are eligible or not.

All this comes during pre-election campaigns full of speeches professing concern for the poor in America, eloquent words about the quality of life, and candidates' mutual reproaches about making promises to the people that are never fulfilled.

In addition to the contrast between politicians' talk and fact, is the contrast between the treatment of a million needy New Yorkers and certain wealthy Texans.

General Eisenhower, for instance, suffering from a series of heart attacks, has been treated at Walter Reed Army Hospital at no cost to him. President Johnson recently visited Brooke Army Medical Center in San Antonio for a check-up and X-rays that he received gratis.

The ruling class makes it clear that men who can finance their illnesses are entitled to free medical attention, but anyone who can't afford to pay all the bills just better not get sick.

Who Rules?

Wall Street Brokers
Taking Stock of Brazil

the Empire?



The stock market in Rio de Janeiro is not doing very well, according to an article in the financial section of the August 4 New York Times. It seems that the Brazilian capitalists are entirely deficient in the techniques of swindling the urban-middle classes, and everyone else who has a spare cruzero, into turning over their money to help the rich expand their powers of exploitation.

"But help is on the way" assures Robert Cole of the Times, "with the close cooperation of the Graduate School of Business Administration of New York University, dozens of Wall Street financial houses... and the Agency for International Development, which administers the United States foreign aid program."

"At present 98 students are enrolled in Brazil under N.Y.U. auspices" learning the mysteries of how to spread the profit lust. "Intensive training in the English language was as much a part of the training as economic theory." Mr. Cole tells us, and a close study of the history of the "United States capital market" was a key part of the curriculum.

This endeavor to teach Brazilian "bankers, brokers and economists alike" efficient ways of stirring up the gambling fever — i.e. of "popularizing the stockmarket" — has been dubbed by the State Department as "an Alliance for Progress Program for training stock market personnel." Two dozen Brazilian financial experts will be at N.Y.U. Graduate School next February to take advanced courses in "capital markets training."

The only "progress" which the Wall Street financial houses want to see from their unholy alliance with the comprador bourgeoisie of Brazil is a strengthening of the capitalist dictatorship over the Brazilian masses and a method of raising domestic capital for all the U.S. corporations and their subsidiaries in Brazil — i.e. to get Brazilians to help finance the U.S. enslavement of Brazil.

The connection with the Graduate School of Business of N.Y.U. does not flow simply from a general desire of imperialism to educate its satellites in the spirit of capitalism. It serves to link the future administrators of the Brazilian stock exchange (if the revolution doesn't sweep them away) with some of the largest investment banks and corporations in the U.S.

In the first place, the Graduate School of Business is not on the N.Y.U. campus but right in the heart of Wall Street, a stone's throw from the financial and corporate headquarters of the cream of U.S. big business.

Among the directors on the board of

N.Y.U. rank such names in the world of finance capital as Mrs. W. Vincent Astor, John M. Schiff of the banking family, Robert Lehman of Lehman Bros., John Loeb of Kuhn & Loeb, the latter two representing two of the richest investment banks in the country.

The actual advisors of the Business School are Henry M. Boettinger from AT&T, Henry L. Duncombe from General Motors, George W. McKinney of Irving Trust, among others.

These representatives of the cream of U.S. big business will have an inside track on a host of Brazilian financial contacts. In politics it's what you would call subversion.

Fostering the stock exchange in Brazil would be a great asset to the U.S. billionaires and would not only help them put Brazilian savings to work for U.S. profits, but would also keep dollars from flowing out of the country.

Brazil is already an economic colony of U.S. companies who admit to owning \$1.2 billion or 40 per cent of all foreign capital invested in Brazil. At the opposite pole of the great wealth of U.S. investors is the mass of the Brazilian people who are among the poorest in the world. (Brazil was registered "poor" which was the lowest category in a UN study listing.)

A series of subsidiaries of W. R. Grace & Co., whose shipping lines form the core of a huge Latin American corporate empire, specialize in industrial chemicals all over Brazil. Xerox, whose former head was Sol Linowitz, now in charge of Latin American affairs in Washington, has captured the market in five cities in Brazil.

The poverty of the workers contributes to the wealth of such U.S. giants as General Motors do Brasil, which has a huge plant in Sao Paulo. Ford do Brasil turns out Galaxies in Brasil. Sears Roebuck put up its first foreign outlet there. Cyanamid International is going to build three plants there and Borden, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer, Union Carbide, G.E., Dow Chemical, Ray-O-Vac are building plants there now.

This is just a small sampling of the U.S. monopolies which run from ESSO to U.S. Steel to the First National Bank of Boston, whose agents swarm like locusts over the Brazilian terrain looking for ways of funneling Brazilian wealth into U.S. corporate coffers.

In the pursuit of foreign plunder Universities like N.Y.U. serve as training grounds and innocent sounding but nevertheless perfect links in the global chain of imperialist exploitation.

Behind the War in Biafra: A

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

How could the ruling circles in this country, who are so cruelly unconcerned with the hunger and grinding poverty of millions at home, suddenly be gushing with sympathy for the people in Biafra?

The answer is that Washington doesn't care one wit more about the suffering of the Ibos than they do about the agony of Black people who are under economic and military siege everywhere across the U.S.

In fact, overwhelming evidence indicates that the prime responsibility for the suffering in Biafra rests with U.S. big business, and the oil monopolies in particular, who with the assistance of the CIA, tried to tear the oil rich heart out of the most populous country in Africa.

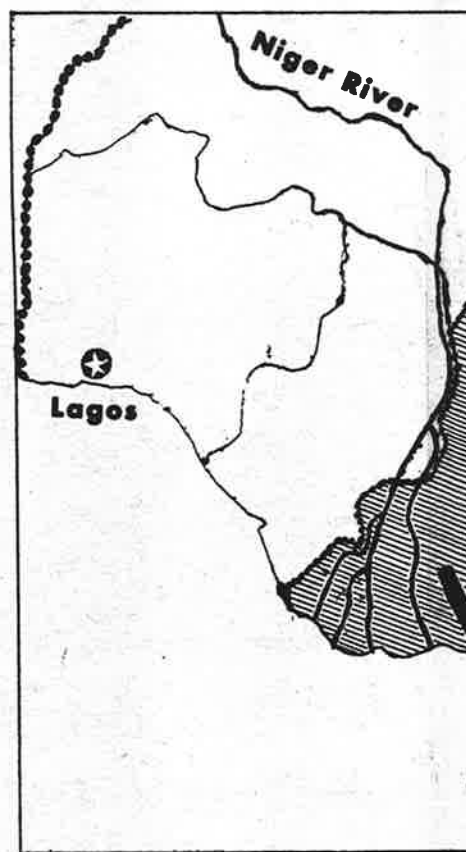
A quick survey of the wealth of Nigeria will reveal what prompted this giant U.S. land grab.

Oil was only discovered in Nigeria in recent years and it is already the 10th largest oil producing country in the capitalist world. Current normal production is 560,000 barrels-a-day and the oil monopolies expect it to go up to 1,000,000 barrels, or almost double, by 1970. Furthermore, it is rich in sulphur-free oil which is at a premium because of mounting air pollution by industry everywhere in the capitalist world.

In addition to having oil, Nigeria is sixth in tin production, leads the world in peanut production, produces one-seventh of the world's cocoa, exports rubber, palm oil, cotton, timber, has coal and iron ore and a thriving fishing business. (U.S. News and World Report, May 8, 1967)

Much of this wealth is located in what used to be the Eastern Region, that is, the area which was declared independent under the name of Biafra and where "the right to self-determination" is now being upheld by the oppressor of all nations and peoples in Washington.

Most importantly, Biafra contains two-thirds of all the oil being produced and most of the oil fields which are under development for future production.



According to the Wall Street Journal of June 23, 1967 the principle oil companies who expect to be producing in Biafra by 1970 are such U.S. giants as Mobil Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Standard of California, Texaco and Tenneco among others. U.S. News and World Report reported that there were no less than 50 U.S. oil companies operating in Nigeria, most of them in the East.

It is no wonder that, according to the same article, "Washington is committed to spending \$225 million" in Nigeria, and has "a bigger program of technical assistance here than in any other country." The CIA-ridden Peace Corps alone had a \$2.5 million budget for Nigeria which included "760 volunteers, many of them in the Eastern Region."

3-Way Deal in Steel: Workers

Two Who Starred

You've heard of art for art's sake? Well last month's "fight" between President Johnson and the Steel Industry was a pure case of art for profit's sake. It was a play in three acts, with Johnson playing the outraged protector of the public interest and the Steel Barons playing the Big Business tamed after "settling" for "moderate" increases which are going to cost the captive audience, the public, an admission price of \$400 million annually, just to start with.

A silent, but absolutely pivotal part in the farce, was played by I.W. Abel, the labor-faker head of the United Steel Workers Union, who went along with the plot to fleece the working class and to crackdown on the steelworkers themselves.

The above is the inevitable conclusion which must be drawn from a lengthy analysis out of the horses mouth, The Wall Street Journal.

"The labor (steel) agreement and the price increases seem to be the key elements of a smoothly written script," wrote Albert Karr from Pittsburgh, in the August 14 issue, as he described how "industry and Government had a happy meeting of the minds on widespread price increases that will undoubtedly lead to higher cost of a significant number of consumer goods."

How did it all come about? Well, according to the WSJ, President Johnson told the steel barons that "he didn't want a steel strike." Obliging enough "the steel industry said okay" but only "on the condition that after the settlement the United Steel Workers Union would forego complaining about automation's accentuating layoffs...and the Government would allow substantial price increases."

The USW bureaucrats promptly fell



I. W. Abel, USW President and J. Con

in line when they were promised that they could bring back a 6 per cent yearly cost package to the rank and file. This is what the mis-leaders calculated they needed to stop a revolt in the mills. The catch is that the bosses gave relatively high wage increases and low fringe benefits. "The six per cent settlement wasn't something (the steel bosses) were so dead set against."

The reason? Because "one saving factor in the high wage portion of the new pact is that wages are the easiest to automate away," fringe benefits, on the other hand "often linger on" after layoffs. But Abel and Co. have agreed in advance not to complain. Furthermore, wage increases won't be hard for the bosses to take this year as "steel operations — and employment — will be down sharply as customers liquidate strike hedge inventories."

The "down to the wire" bargaining

Martin Sostre and Book Burning

(Continued from page 3)

shackles. At one point in the proceedings Judge Marshall even had Mr. Sostre gagged after an interchange in which Sostre asked the judge "how come you didn't let in the Afro-American people outside and turned them away with armed guards during the trial" and told Marshall "you are going to get another Vietnam right here."

After Mr. Sostre was sentenced by Judge Marshall to 31 to 41 years, he was whisked away from Buffalo and his supporters and family and sent to Green Haven State Prison near Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

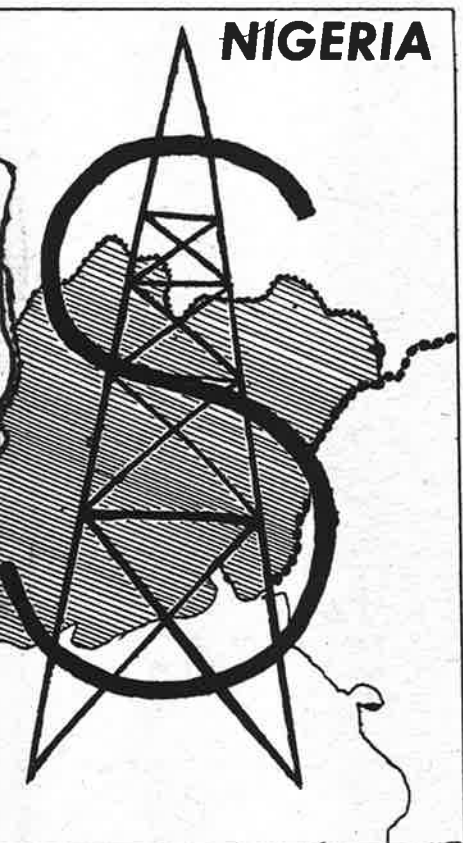
There, too, he has been constantly harassed. The law books he was using to help prepare his appeal have been confiscated, his mail and visiting privileges have been denied and on July 23, his attorney, Miss Joan Franklin, was illegally denied permission to visit or correspond with him. In addition, Mr. Sostre has been in solitary confinement since June 25 under the outrageous pretext he is

practicing law without a law degree.

The ruling class, in harassing Mr. Sostre and his supporters this way, has gone to extraordinary lengths to silence him. However, Mr. Sostre is an extraordinary leader. Like Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver, he became a revolutionary Nationalist while serving a prison sentence. During 12 years at Attica State Prison Sostre studied law and led the battle to win for the Muslims the right to hold religious services in prison.

The burning of the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Exile marks a new round of harassment of the Sostre Defense Committee by the Buffalo subversives squad. Significantly, it comes at a time when the Buffalo authorities are nervously awaiting the publication of a pamphlet by the Defense Committee entitled "Letters from Prison" which contains the writing of Mr. Sostre himself. This pamphlet, which the Defense Committee intends to circulate widely in the Buffalo area, will go a long way to expose the system which lynched Martin Sostre.

U.S. Oil Monopoly Land-Grab



NIGERIA

Journal of June 23.

Biafra's special envoy to the U.S. had come to Wall Street to meet with 20 representatives of the top oil companies in Nigeria "to explain Biafra's position." In an interview with the WSJ Francis Nwokedi said that "Biafra's position" was that "Biafra will do everything possible to ensure the continual flow of oil and continued development of the oil fields, because that's of benefit to the people of Biafra as well as the oil companies involved."

Nwokedi also told the oil companies that Biafra, if it succeeded in getting "independence," would suspend for one year the new tax increase (passed by Lagos in January of 1967) and after one year would, re-negotiate on more generous terms to the oil companies the entire tax structure. (One part of the tax law which was to be suspended was the Lagos demand for taxation based on posted prices which are much higher than prices actually received by the companies. The difference can be from 5 to 10 cents a barrel which, at 1,000,000 barrels a day can amount to an additional \$100,000 a day in gravy for the oil companies.)

Mideast Oil in Danger When Biafra Seceded

It has never been mentioned in the capitalist press that on the day, May 30, that Lieut. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu (the son of one of the few African millionaires in Nigeria) declared the secession of Biafra, the Mideast war was looming up. The same oil companies operating in the Niger River Delta, were threatened by an anti-imperialist upsurge across the Arab world which endangered their oil holdings and the gateway to Africa.

After the war and the closing of the Suez Canal, and the growth of the liberation struggle there was and still is intense pressure to acquire an oil source which does not require expensive shipping around Africa. It was very likely that the build-up of Israeli troops on the Syrian border on May 30 (the day of the secession)

(Continued on page 8)

There were at least 1,000 Americans in the Eastern Region just before the war broke out in June of 1967. Most of them were attached to the oil companies. In fact, when the U.S. embassy ordered that civilians be evacuated, it was the Mobil Oil Company which organized the evacuation.

There were 700 relatives of oil technicians evacuated on June 4, 1967 and "most of those leaving tended to identify with the secessionist cause," wrote Lloyd Garrison in the June 5 edition of the New York Times.

Biafra Comes to Wall Street

The reason that the oil companies "tended to identify" with the "cause" of secession was that it was their cause as was clearly illustrated by the same report in the Wall Street

U.S. SHEDS CROCODILE TEARS OVER PUEBLO CREW BUT...

South Korean Sailors Held as Prisoners in NY Harbor

27 Near Starvation: U.S. Creditors Hold Ship

Remember the Pueblo and the hue and cry which went up over the safety of the seamen aboard? Well that was a spy ship, on a hostile mission, which was caught in the territorial waters of another country. The North Korean Government was only exercising its legal prerogative by detaining the crew (which is being treated rather well despite the fact that many of them are trained spies).

After all those crocodile tears over "our boys" it is informative to see how the U.S. treats crewmen who come from a country which is presumably its bosom ally — that outpost of free enterprise — South Korea.

Twenty-seven South Korean seamen, living on the verge of starvation, are being held as virtual prisoners in New York Harbor as human security for payment of debts by the owners of a cargo ship.

Like medieval serfs attached to the land of the lord, the sailors have been forced to remain aboard the Indonesian Star "which has been kept at anchor by more than 30 of its owners' creditors since February 26" according to the July 25 edition of the Staten Island Advance.

"The ship, her crew and cargo are being held in the harbor until back bills and cargo damages and losses are made good" to the banks and financiers by the owners, Galveston Merchant of Panama City and Galveston Steamship of Galveston, Texas.

If the creditors regard the sailors as serfs, the American owners are treating the Koreans as less than slaves. They get a dole of \$1.25 a day on which to stay alive (they have not been paid their wages since April 30).

One member of the Seamen's Church Institute in New York, Van Wygerden, visited the ship and declared that "conditions aboard the Indonesian Star are the worst I have ever seen."

"I found so little food on board it would hardly feed an American crew of

that number one meal. The Koreans will stretch it to four — at two meals a day."

The ship has no supply of meat or vegetables, no soap and a "dwindling water supply."

Van Wygerden's report continues: "Roaches move in solid brown sheets across the kitchen and barren store-rooms. There are thousands of them.... There are no insecticides to kill the roaches...."

The Koreans were virtually shanghaied by the ship owners who flew them to the vessel in Mombassa, East Africa after the Spanish crew deserted because of poor living conditions and unpaid wages. They were flown direct from the South Korean "outpost of democracy" (where the average annual income is about \$110).

"Most of the men are young, all are married and have an average of four dependents each" reported Van Wygerden, but the owner and the creditors regard the South Koreans as being worth less than the mahogany and rubber cargo on board. The crew is suing to have the ship owners fly them back home.

But meanwhile, according to the report, "letters, months old, have arrived, telling of the death of fathers and mothers, the illnesses of wives, the financial problems that have forced children to leave school."

It is truly ironic that such a medieval crime against a captive crew from South Korea should be perpetrated by the same imperialists who made such a noise about the freedom of their own spy crew.

The incident also serves to illustrate that the government of South Korea is a complete puppet of the U.S. No government which is sovereign would ever tolerate such criminal behavior towards its own citizens on the part of another government without even making a protest.

Workers Were on the Losing End

ed in First Act

Did a Solo for Bosses



Conrad Cooper, Industry Bargainer

was strictly an act to dupe the rank-and-file steel workers. "Some USW officials cooling their heels in the William Penn Hotel were grumbling (during the final negotiations) that 'the whole thing was wrapped up weeks ago,'" according to Karr.

After having gotten the sellout artists heading the USW to play their part against 400,000 workers in steel, the bosses then had Lyndon Johnson do a command performance solo to help them fleece the whole working class.

The very morning after the settlement, Bethlehem Steel announced an across-the-board price increase of 6 per cent. The White House thundered, in accordance with the "smoothly written script." But "despite the brief public sparring between Washington and steel makers," continued Karr, "the mills had little trouble in putting across some immediate sweeping price increases."

Several days later, after a back and



Lyndon B. Johnson

forth mock war of press releases, U.S. Steel announced "selective" increases, whereupon Johnson "proclaimed that the price pattern set by U.S. Steel, not going as far as an across-the-board set of increases attempted by Bethlehem Steel Corp., was in the spirit of moderation that the Government wanted."

But the "selective" pattern set by U.S. Steel "covered 63 per cent of the industry's product mix." This comes on top of "increases of 4 per cent last spring (which the Administration didn't utter a peep about — ed.), which covered about 72 per cent of steel items last year and nearly half of the industry's line in 1966." Big steel sure has had a friend in the White House.

The "spirit of moderation" will cost the public about \$400 million more a year at present rates "and U.S. Steel has as much as said that more increases will be coming."

Tractors for U.S. War Prisoners, Cambodia Follows Cuban Example

In 1961 the revolutionary government in Cuba demanded that the U.S. trade tractors for the return of over 1,000 U.S.-trained prisoners captured during the Bay of Pigs invasion. Fifty-three million dollars worth of goods paid for their release. In 1968 this dramatic form of trade with U.S. imperialism has been revived by the Cambodian government.

An AP dispatch of August 15 disclosed that the Cambodian government was demanding "14 bulldozers as part of the price for returning a United States landing craft and its crew of 11 Americans and one South Vietnamese."

An article in the Washington Post of August 16 further disclosed that the 14 bulldozers to be exchanged for the boat and crew were compensation for 14 Cambodian peasants "gunned down" by U.S. helicopters June 29.

The boat and crew were captured on the Mekong River in Cambodian territory on July 17. While the State Department has claimed that the boat inadvertently strayed out of South Vietnam, the Cambodian Government charges that this was another in a long series of U.S. provocations against Cambodia.

According to the AP dispatch, the State Department seems to be unwilling to pay in socially useful goods for its socially harmful war criminals.

Generals with 3 Cars

A South Vietnamese major, reported the New York Times of Aug. 12, thinks that the whole problem in getting the South Vietnamese Army to fight better is a matter of leadership:

"What do you think of generals," he asked, "who have three cars at home and never leave their headquarters?...What do you think of generals who use aircraft for themselves, for their own pleasure, while soldiers in the field cannot get supplies or ammunition or food?"

"In the VC," he continued, "the commanders are the same as the soldiers. If the VC commander has sandals, the soldiers have sandals. The commanders eat the same food as the VC. Everything is the same. With us — too much difference."

In other words, if the U.S. wins in Vietnam, the generals will continue to have three cars, private planes, etc. But if the NLF wins, the leaders will distribute the wealth among all the people.

LETTERS FROM PRISON

This pamphlet contains letters from Martin Sostre, framed Black liberation fighter under 41-year sentence. It is a first-hand account of Sostre's struggle against the racist system which oppresses Black America.

Published by the Buffalo University Philosophical Society

Available at:

Martin Sostre Defense Committee
P.O. Box 382, Ellicott Station
Buffalo, New York 14205

Minimum contribution: \$1.00

The Whole U.S. System of Elections Is a Fraud

(Continued from page 1)

They Love Nixon, but They'll Settle for Less

The U.S. ruling class might secretly favor Nixon more, because he is closer to their racist hearts than either Humphrey or McCarthy. (He is closer to their pocketbooks and treasuries, too, and wants to take the money from the poor and give it to the rich!)

But they are perfectly willing to settle for either of the other two in the interest of the Big Lie, in the interest of deceiving the masses more effectively and ruling them more flexibly.

Some of them think the carrot may work better than the club, especially in the present situation of seething discontent. And the people's feeling that they have actually elected their own oppressor and then are responsible for their own miseries when he betrays their hopes is of inestimable psychological value in holding back the coming inevitable mass struggles against the imperialist establishment.

With all the demagogic bows to the anti-war movement, to the Black people and to the working class, not one of the major candidates has really supported Black Freedom any more than he has fought for the unhampered right to strike.

And when the U.S. Army was sent to Detroit last year to shoot down the Afro-Americans, not one of them protested.

In the more recent massacre of 41 Black people after the murder of Martin Luther King, when the Army was sent to several cities and U.S. troops were

stationed on the Capitol steps, not one of them protested, either.

Could Eugene McCarthy's protestations of sympathy for the Vietnamese people be taken seriously when he showed no sympathy for the people at home?

Humphrey, War Salesman

Humphrey is Johnson's chief war salesman and no matter what sudden "peace" maneuvers are cooked up to sell him as a lover of mankind, he is correctly understood to be deeply responsible for the present U.S. war policies.

Such is the character of imperialist politics, however, that this character could say to the New York Times on June 21:

"I have worked with Sen. McCarthy all my political life. If he's the nominee of our party, he'll have my support. Now let me just make that crystal clear."

Humphrey was only doing what any opportunist politician would do—laying the ground for getting McCarthy supporters to support him, since he did not expect McCarthy to win the nomination, anyway.

But it is difficult to understand how a pro-war politician could make this statement about an anti-war politician—unless he understood that the distance between the two is shorter than the more innocent McCarthy supporters think.

For a "peace" demagogue, McCarthy has been unusually clear in showing that he really is in favor of imperialist war, and not merely because he returned Mr. Humphrey's favor by saying on May 21 that "if he could not get the

nomination, he might eventually support Vice President Humphrey, providing Mr. Humphrey change his position on Vietnam." (New York Times, May 22.)

This was before the Kennedy assassination and before the New York State delegate fight—before McCarthy's own hopes were lifted so high. But his faith in pro-war Humphrey at that time was eloquent testimony to his own lack of real commitment. It showed, however, that he understood the tactical and episodic character of both his and Humphrey's positions. It showed that he viewed the whole matter as a quarrel inside the ruling class over the advisability and value of this particular war to the best interests of U.S. big business.

In a major press interview on June 13, he told assembled New York Times editors and reporters:

"Well, I think we have firm commitments with reference to India for example, and Japan and South Korea and Taiwan.... We have a limited obligation in Southeast Asia (but) our commitment in the Middle East is a clear one."

This was a cool statement assuring the ruling class, if it needed assuring, that McCarthy was "not only for war (if necessary for U.S. business) over Japan, Korea, Taiwan and India, but the oil-rich Middle East as well, and maybe some further "limited" war in Vietnam, in the bargain.

He added in the same interview that he did not agree with Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and others who wanted to withdraw U.S. troops from Europe, thus implying that he was more in favor of a European war than

an Asian war.

"Our policy toward Europe has simply been adrift," he told a Milwaukee audience on March 27 and lamented the "half collapse of NATO."

He had voted for all previous Vietnam war resolutions, supporting Johnson completely, and when he became the "lone candidate" in the New Hampshire primaries, the big business newspapers were extremely kind to him.

"All Alone?"

Hundreds of columnists, TV announcers, magazine writers and other publicists told 200 million Americans how "lonely" and brave McCarthy was. They cultivated and built up an underdog image that was beamed into every living room in the country. The McCarthy candidacy became the lightning rod of the growing storm of anti-war protest, grounding much of the real opposition, as a gilt-edge representative of the ruling class preached the wrongness of a war that the U.S. was losing.

This was a conscious campaign by the big business news media. It was a conscious propagation of the lie in the attempt to fortify the Big Lie of the imperialist election process itself. It was designed to "bring our children home" as some of the ads quite frankly said at the beginning of the campaign.

Whether the war was slowed down, whether McCarthy presided over the slowdown, whether the U.S. had to retreat or not, the big issue was to quiet the people down, to get them off the street and into the election booths, get them thinking about the quadrennial circuses and forgetting about the grim and terrible repressions of the oppressed people at home and the constant policies of wars of intervention abroad. Get them thinking of the smooth savior, the soft-spoken politician of a hundred compromises and a thousand sellouts.

But the plans of the plunderbund may not have gone so well after all. The Big Lie is becoming undraped, and here and there even a little child can see that it has nothing on.

McCarthy himself opposed the demonstration at the Chicago convention and perhaps for good reason.

The idea of appealing to this convention to change the imperialist nature of the Democratic Party is as unrealistic as appealing to hardened old crooks to become flower children. But the resort to the streets again, the confrontation with the warmakers, the exposure of McCarthy's own half-witted and essentially subservient position may yet set off a movement against the election fraud, a movement to overthrow the warmakers themselves.

Peaceful laws and peaceful decisions among mankind are, of course, preferable to violent ones. But the two fundamental actions from which all progressive elections and progressive decisions and laws ever came in this country were the First American Revolution and the Civil War.

The fact that nothing good comes out of Washington today or out of the Republican or Democratic conventions is an infallible sign that it is time for a new and equally fundamental struggle, one whose first skirmishes have already begun. It is time to abolish the Democratic national convention and the reactionary institutions that father it.

If this cannot be done today, it can be done tomorrow. But the time to start organizing the struggle is NOW.

ANSWER to M.S. ARNONI

.25

By MIKE RUBIN

AND

THE WAR IN THE MIDEAST

What Are The Forces Behind It?

.25

These booklets are available from the Ad Hoc Committee on the Middle East, c/o Rita Freed, 1430 Amsterdam Av., N.Y. 10027.

Gen. Abrams Oversees Vietnam Torture



Col. George Patton, son of the WWII general, explains latest in a series of armored attacks on Chanhluu, for Gen. Abrams. Holdout village may be razed.



A captured Vietnamese liberation fighter awaits interrogation by the enemy.

"Rows of bound men and women crouched in an open storehouse. Some were muddled. A few looked clean, wet and pale. They had been through what is called the water treatment, a favorite form of interrogation in Vietnam. Water is poured on a prisoner's face to make him talk.

"Weapons and grenades were added to a growing pile in the center of the market place. Senior allied generals strode around, including the U.S. Commander in Vietnam, Gen. Creighton W. Abrams."

These are the words of Washington Post reporter Peter Arnett in an article of August 12 from Chanhluu, South Vietnam.

"The people of Chanhluu village," the article begins, "squatting on their heels in the market place, watching impassively.

"The thud of fists on flesh in a rear room of one stucco house indicated that a battlefield interrogation was in progress. An armed guard pushed an

old man, his hair matted with mud, into the main village square. His daughter followed, tied to a rope behind him."

The village of Chanhluu, 25 miles north of Saigon, has been raided every few weeks recently as part of a U.S. attempt to terrorize its 6,000 inhabitants and break their allegiance to the National Liberation Front. The failure of this brutal policy, which is being personally supervised by Gen. Abrams, was clearly revealed in a neatly printed message painted in English on several buildings in the town:

"Stop terrorist raids. Lay down your arms. Cross to our side. You will be safely repatriated."

When the troops invaded Chanhluu, surrounding it with 67 tanks and armored carriers, the people hid their comrades in tunnels and holes under the beds, bathrooms and banana groves, according to this report. Although 132 suspects were captured, the Post report admits that the U.S. military officials

know that as soon as they leave, the liberation fighters will return. "The same is happening in hundreds of hamlets throughout the country."

In the face of such persistence on the part of the people and the liberation army, the U.S. war criminals are now suggesting that Chanhluu be ploughed into the ground.

"This solution to the Chanhluu problem," continues the article, "would be consistent with Allied policy in many areas of Vietnam. Hamlets and villages that continually fail to respond to Allied overtures have often been destroyed and their population resettled in more secure areas."

Despite the efforts of U.S. medical teams, South Vietnamese propaganda groups and so-called security teams, the people of Chanhluu know who the real enemy is and have remained loyal to the struggle for the liberation of all of Vietnam from imperialist terror and domination.

9 Jailed in Police, FBI Attack: Local YAWF Chrmn. Held

Draft Resisters Defy Buffalo Crackdown

BUFFALO, Aug. 20 -- The militant struggle of anti-war youth rocked this city yesterday when two draft resisters and seven of their supporters were arrested by Federal Marshals and Buffalo police who forced their way into a church where the draft resisters had taken sanctuary since August 7. Bail was set on the nine arrested youths at \$10,000 each.

The Courier Express today covered the story with banner headlines and front page pictures of one of the most militant anti-war struggles in this city to date.

At about 2 p.m. yesterday, U.S. Marshals, FBI agents and Buffalo police pushed their way through a crowd of supporters in the aisles of the Unitarian Universalist Church at Elmwood Avenue and W. Ferry Street and dragged Bruce Beyer, 19, and Bruce Cline, 20, down from the pulpit where Beyer was addressing the crowd. Beyer was thrown to the ground and kicked and several supporters roughed up as cops arrested seven in the crowd. Others greeted the cops with chants of "Hell No, We Won't Go!" and "gestapo pigs."

Among those arrested was Gerald Gross, chairman of the Martin Sostre Defense Committee. Buffalo cops have carried on a campaign of harassment against members of the Defense Committee for the framed Afro-American militant now serving a 41-year sentence at Green Haven State Prison. (See story, page 3.) Gross was fingered by cops during the demonstration.

The seven arrested spectators along with Beyer were charged with assaulting Federal Marshals and resisting



Buffalo cops, Federal marshals and FBI men attack draft resister Bruce Beyer. arrest. They were arraigned Monday afternoon before U.S. Commissioner Edmund F. Maxwell who set the extremely high bail.

Beyer and Cline, who are charged with refusing induction, were taken from the church to the U.S. Court House in Niagara Square. Anti-war

supporters followed them there and set up a picket line in front of the Court House, carrying signs and chanting, "Hell No, We Won't Go." The draft resisters were arraigned before Judge John O. Henderson. During their arraignment, the demonstrators filled the courtroom to capacity to show solidarity with them.

4,300 'Non-Hostile' Deaths: Pentagon Thinks Nothing of It

One out of every seven American GIs who dies in Vietnam is killed by accidental strafing or shelling, burns, faulty equipment, disease and other "non-hostile" causes, as the Pentagon puts it.

At least 4,300 GIs have died in Vietnam of such causes so far in the war. Statistically, this means that of 1,000 men who spend one year in Vietnam, 3.5 are expected to meet "non-hostile" deaths.

This cause of 14 per cent of the war fatalities does not bother the Pentagon much.

"There is nothing dramatic or astonishing in the Vietnam figure," an unnamed official said on August 13, according to the Associated Press. "At best it is only an indication that things aren't going to pot."

Rather than being embarrassed at the disclosure that the military brass kill GIs out of carelessness and callousness, the Pentagon is proud that the "non-hostile" death rate in Vietnam, 3.5 per thousand as mentioned above, compares with 3.7 during the Korean War and 3.9 in World War II.

They might even call that progress to console the families of the dead soldiers. But the truth is that those "extra" 4,300 GIs, and their 30,000 dead buddies, were killed by the real hostile forces — the banker-generals in the Pentagon.

Army Union Organizer Silenced by NBC

NEW YORK, Aug. 15 — The American Servicemen's Union was too much for Bill Mazer on his show this evening. Having invited the union's chairman, Andy Stapp, for an hour's interview from 5 to 6 p.m., he cut Mr. Stapp off the air at 5:12.

Probably with malice aforethought, he started to red-bait the union representative from the very beginning, with references to the Hungarian counter-revolution, People's China, the Soviet Union — everything, in fact, except the subject of the interview, the Servicemen's Union.

When he contended that the army of the USSR has a union, but "it is as much a dictatorship as the U.S. Army," Stapp replied that Soviet GIs were not fighting an imperialist war ten thousand miles from home.

So Mazer asked the 64-cent question, "are you a commie?" to which the union leader replied, in the only dignified way possible, by accusing him of red-baiting and reminding him that the subject was the organization of the U.S. military and not that of any other country.

After asking Stapp "would you be allowed to say these things in Russia," Mazer proved that you are not allowed to say them on NBC.

"I'm going to exercise a prerogative I rarely use," quoth Mazer.

"Censorship?" asked Stapp.

"I'm putting you off the air," said the relentless civil libertarian.

And he did.

NEW YORK, Aug. 20 — In accordance with its apparent policy of censorship with respect to information concerning the American Servicemen's Union, the National Broadcasting Company today informed Andy Stapp, Chairman of the ASU, that his planned appearance on the Today TV Program, scheduled for the near future, was cancelled. No explanation was given.

great pressure from below, in the broadest social sense, was what affected the decision in the first place. The trial did truly reflect some of the changed atmosphere both in the country and in the armed forces.

And finally, after a two-to-one "guilty" verdict, the court did grant a defense motion for a mistrial. This was based on a violation of the rules by one of the court panel.

Lieutenant Gordon Friedmann had consulted a military manual during the trial, and this is prohibited by Naval law.

The effect of declaring a mistrial was to grant limited freedom to Apprentice Patrick, since there is some doubt that the Navy will venture upon a second court-martial in this case.

Anti-War Youth Stands Firm in Navy Court

BROOKLYN, Aug. 15 — Unionizing the Navy and refusing to obey orders against one's conscience were both important issues in the court-martial of an airman apprentice just held at the Navy Yard here.

Fred Patrick, tried for unlawful absence (AWOL) and contending that the Vietnam war is "an aggressive war and against my conscience," brought out on the stand yesterday that he was a member of the newly formed and still "controversial" American Servicemen's Union.

Asked by Lieutenant Babbler, prosecution officer, (the "Court Counsel") what organizations he belonged to, Patrick answered, after mentioning

such before going in the service.

(He did file on June 6, when he surrendered himself at the Third Naval District Headquarters at 90 Church St., New York. At that time a group from the Committee for GI Rights and the ASU's newspaper, The BOND, accompanied him when he walked into the Naval offices along with Andy Stapp, president of the Servicemen's Union, and Michael Kennedy, Emergency Civil Liberties attorney, and turned himself in.)

He testified that he was against war, but that he was for self-defense; that he was against the U.S. war in Vietnam, but that he was for the right of the Viet-

"If you were working for Cosa Nostra and you wanted to quit because you found out they were a bunch of crooks, do you think they'd let you go?" Patrick answered him.

Attorney Kennedy, who conducted the defense with the assistance of Lieutenant Zellman, moved at the outset that conscientious objection be ruled as a valid defense for refusing to obey orders, making clear as he made the motion that he would then attempt to prove that Patrick was indeed a conscientious objector.

The Naval court granted this motion.

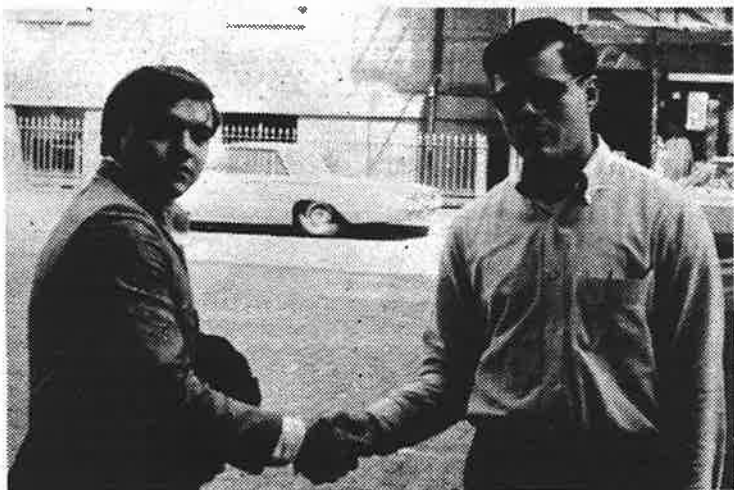
The resulting hubbub was most probably initiated in the Pentagon itself, especially since the New York Times carried the story to the admirals' breakfast tables, if the Brooklyn brass did not. "This is believed to be the first time," said the Times, "that any American military court has recognized objection to war as a defense for unauthorized absence." The implication was made that this would open the gates for millions of servicemen to refuse orders and would play havoc with the whole imperialist war machine. In view of the fact that conscientious objection is being defined in some quarters as personal conviction rather than simply religious belief as such, there is some substance to this.

However, after a whole day's testimony, the three-officer court granted a motion of the prosecution to strike all the testimony from the record and reversed its previous position on admitting conscientious objection as a defense.

The court was composed of three young officers in their late twenties or early thirties, two male and one female, all of whom are apparently returning to civilian life in a few months. Attorney Kennedy had succeeded in excusing some from the original panel who may have been "lifers." And whether or not the remaining three were under the immediate influence of the big brass in each of their decisions, they apparently leaned to a more liberal interpretation of military law than is customary in special courts-martial.

But the court's precedent-making decision of Tuesday — on conscientious objection — was reversed on Thursday.

While great pressure from above must have been brought to bear in one way or another to make the reversal,



Sailor Fred Patrick (left) shakes hands with BOND editor and GI Union organizer Andy Stapp just before turning himself in with a defiant refusal to be part of the war machine.

several others, "Youth Against War and Fascism and the American Servicemen's Union."

The 21-year-old youth also volunteered that he had signed up for the Union 14 out of 30 fellow inmates in the restricted quarters where he had just been held. This caused a little stir among some of the officers present, since the airman had been at the base barely two months, with 18 days of that time in solitary confinement.

Patrick had been AWOL from El Centro, California, April 26 to June 6, according to the Navy, and he based his defense on the fact that he was in reality a conscientious objector, although he had not formally filed as

nameless people to defend themselves against U.S. aggression; that this position was the result of his education and his conscience and therefore he should be treated as a conscientious objector.

The prosecution asked him if he would defend the United States if it were attacked, and he answered that he would defend "any country attacked by imperialism," then proceeded to define imperialism as the seizure and operation of colonies for exploitation and profit for big corporations.

"Why didn't you ask the Navy to let you leave, instead of leaving without permission?" Lieutenant Babbler queried him.

100,000 Mexicans Protest Diaz Govt. Police Terror

By F. REED

After almost three weeks of bloody government attacks on the student movement, more than 100,000 students and sympathizers took over downtown Mexico City on August 13 in a massive protest against President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz. The demonstrators, carrying torches and chanting "Death to Diaz Ordaz!" met with no police resistance. When a number of students climbed to the first floor windows of the National Palace, the guards retreated to the interior, shutting the windows as they fled.

Confrontations leading to the apparent backdown by the Diaz Ordaz government began on Friday, July 26, when Mexico City police brutally dispersed a demonstration celebrating the 10th anniversary of Fidel Castro's Moncada attack against Batista. Students fought back and the Army was called in to reinforce what quickly became an orgy of police violence. Within three days, over 1,000 were arrested and 300 injured. Students are demanding the removal of Mexico City police chief Luis Cueto for causing 25 deaths. The charge, denied by the government, has public support in the light of indiscriminate clubbing and rifle-whipping of students, photographers, and passersby.

The demonstrators barricaded themselves behind commandeered buses, which were painted with anti-Diaz slogans. Others successfully resisted a tear gas barrage inside the National Polytechnic School, until the Army broke the door in with a bazooka shell and paratroops charged with fixed bayonets.

This violation of university autonomy for the first time in forty years, sparked demonstrations throughout the country.

In Villahermosa, Tabasco state, protesters demanding the resignation of Governor Manuel Mora fought for possession of Tabasco University with army troops throughout the day on July 30. For a while, student forces were able to hold the radio station. In Jalapa, Veracruz state, youthful demonstrators seized twenty interstate buses and demanded reparation to the families of students killed in an earlier bus accident.

On Aug. 1, 50,000 students marched in Mexico City in a protest aimed

at Police Chief Cueto and led by the rector of the National University. The following Monday 20,000 rallied under demands for the release of prisoners, the resignation of Cueto and the dissolution of the riot police, "granaderos", who initiated the attack on July 26. After the rally, many protesters rode home in about a dozen buses "liberated" from their usual route.

The youthful demonstrators have broken precedent by the size and boldness of their actions as well as by their target. Reports of the Mexican events stress that the students are ignoring tradition in personally attacking Diaz Ordaz. One reason may be that the President has had less success than his predecessors in throwing the mantle of the never-completed 1910 Revolution over the oppression of Mexico's masses and the exploitation of the country by U.S. imperialism. In fact Ordaz, since taking office in 1964 for a six-year term, has been concerned primarily with pleasing U.S. big business — which had more than \$1 billion invested as of October, 1967.

With the Olympics scheduled to begin in a few months, Diaz Ordaz had to hold back the cops on Aug. 13, and he may indeed have won some time. But among the anti-Ordaz caricatures and slogans in the massive demonstration were pictures of Che, and placards saying "We Don't Need Olympics — We Need Revolution!"



Student demonstrators marching with picture of revolutionary hero Che Guevara.

Sixth Fleet, Puppet Govt., Under Attack

Turkish Anti-U.S. Tide Rises

By PETER STORCH

The anti-U.S. struggle in Turkey has developed so fast since the Mideast war, that ruling class elements in Washington and Wall Street are seriously discussing a cutback in U.S. military forces in that nation, which have always been a constant provocation to the Turkish people. C. L. Sulzberger, one of the most hardened right-wingers on the N.Y. Times editorial staff, wrote on August 9 from Ankara:

"Despite Pentagon insistence that the American troops here are essential and that their dependents must be with them, the number should be swiftly, drastically cut." Only the most critical development in Turkey could have made this die-hard anti-Soviet pro-NATO reactionary call for such a far-reaching pullback from this strategic Mediterranean nation. In fact a summary of recent dispatches from Hsinhua News Agency gives a glimpse of the brewing crisis which has Sulzberger and the State Department running scared in Turkey.

On July 15, several hundred students demonstrated in Istanbul against the "visit" of five ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet. The demonstrators shouted slogans against U.S. imperialism and threw stones and paint at American sailors and eventually beat up a number of them, including a colonel who was soundly thrashed by the people in a street of Ankara. The students also destroyed four cars and dumped the cargo of a supply truck for the U.S. vessels into the harbor. Some 33 students were injured that day, while 29 were arrested.

The U.S. vessels had come for a 10-day "rest" but instead were met by the most powerful anti-U.S. struggle ever waged by the Turkish people. The demonstrators also attacked buildings of the Agency for International Development (AID), the United States Information Service (USIS), Pan American Airways, and of the Turkish-American Bank.

The puppet Turkish regime then unleashed a bloody repression for the rest of the 10-day stay of the U.S. ships which resulted in the murder of a student by the local police. The angry students retaliated for the death of their comrade by staging a street demonstration 2,500 strong which developed into a full-scale street battle between students and police. The next day, July 25, 5,000 students turned out to protest the brutality of the police and rushed the Istanbul City Hall. Again they clashed with the police and many were injured on both sides.

The Turkish government was so alarmed at the sweeping anti-U.S. storm raging throughout Turkey that a National Security Council meeting was called by the Turkish President, Cevdet Sunay, for July 27 to discuss behind closed doors measures for "coping" with the situation.

Favoring a reduction of the U.S. military strength in Turkey, Sulzberger of the N.Y. Times concluded:

"If we don't start soon to pursue such a course the situation which today is still easily controllable could become perilously explosive."

After the Truman Administration crushed the 1948 Turkish revolution, the U.S. regarded Turkey as its most stable NATO anchor. But after having so openly manipulated the Turkish puppet regime to quiet the crisis over Cyprus, and especially after the last crisis in 1967 when Cyrus Vance was sent back and forth from Washington and Ankara to keep the Turkish government in line, the anti-imperialist struggle has begun to surface. The U.S. was shocked when the puppet Ankara leaders had to refuse the Pentagon the use of Turkish air bases during the Mideast war last June.

The latest demonstrations against the U.S. big stick in the Mediterranean, i.e., the Sixth Fleet, are the largest and most militant since the student demonstrations which overthrew the pro-U.S. Menderes government in 1960.

-Biafra

(Continued from page 5)

and the Arab counter-mobilization precipitated the war in Nigeria, which broke out into actual fighting just days thereafter.

Machine Guns, Airplanes, Oil— And the CIA

There is evidence that the oil companies and the CIA prepared the groundwork for the Biafra cabal long in advance. As far back as October 9, 1966, a DC-6 airplane on its way to the Eastern Region from Rotterdam crashed in Cameroon with seven tons of machine guns aboard. The pilot was an American citizen named Arthur Wharton who had another American aboard. The U.S. denied any involvement at the time. But the Nigerians were not convinced and they were right because Wharton was later revealed to have had connections with U.S. spy agencies.

In November, 1966 the New York Times had gone to great lengths to show that Arthur Wharton was not connected with the U.S. but a year later, on Nov. 5, 1967 to be exact, the Times revealed in fine print that its previous reports were lies.

Buried in an article which was supposed to prove that Portugal was helping Ojukwu was the following information:

"At least one U.S. aircraft dealer is obtaining aircraft for the Lisbon based African operations." That one dealer was International Aerodyne,

based in North Hollywood, Calif. It had purchased 11 Super Constellations on August 9, 1967 for the airlift of arms to Biafra and the head of the flying crew was one Arthur Wharton who "escaped" from jail in Cameroon and was heading the crew which carried arms to Ojukwu. If the New York Times knew of it, the State Department did also and no such shipments could take place over a long period of time without the consent and cooperation of Washington.

The earmarks of a CIA operation were so prominent that on February 5 of this year, the chief spokesman for the State Department, Robert McCloskey was forced to issue an official denial of the charges in "recent press dispatches claiming CIA support for Biafra."

Biafra "Larger than Pennsylvania"

Lloyd Garrison, writing in the November 14, 1966 edition of the New York Times reported that a month after the crash in Cameroon "Nigerian-American relations" were "seriously disturbed" and "rumors persisted" that "nefarious American oil interests" are secretly backing an Ibo plot to secede.

Garrison summed up the sentiment of front page editorials which appeared in the Nigerian press during that period.

"Is not the country's richest oil producing area in the Eastern Region? Nigerians ask. Would not American oil companies prefer to deal with a small, pliable nation of roughly 13 million Ibos instead of a strong federal government representing ... 55 million

people?"

Garrison gave the official U.S. denial at the time. But six months later the same reporter, who was undoubtedly working with the oil companies, put forth the very arguments in favor of a U.S. takeover which he had denied in his earlier report.

"With 47,500 square miles and nearly 14 million inhabitants, the Eastern Region is larger than Pennsylvania in both size and population" wrote Garrison on the day of the secession. "As a state in Africa (and in the U.S. empire) it would outrank such nations as Algeria, Morocco, Kenya and Ghana."

"In addition to petroleum deposits, the area exports rubber, timber and has growing industry."

Thus Garrison pleaded the cause of the oil companies, urging the rest of Wall Street to get behind the secession. Incidentally, it was just about this time that Garrison and the New York Times discovered the great "cultural resemblance" between the Israelis and the Ibos!

(On June 9, Garrison was arrested by the Central Government in Lagos while he was sending a dispatch to the New York Times. He was held for two days and then expelled from the country. He went to Ghana and from there made his way back to Biafra, where he has been until recently.)

Tribes or Profits?

Much has been said in the capitalist press about tribal rivalries between the Ibos and other tribes and the persecution of the Ibos. Certainly during their long rule in Nigeria the British imperialists did their best

to stir up tribal animosities. And of course there are deep differences in culture among the various tribes who were forcibly impressed into an artificial political entity according to the needs of British capitalists.

But the same can be said of many places across Africa and Asia which were carved up by the imperialist powers. What explains this particular war? Why are the U.S. news managers trying so hard to force the tribal interpretation on the public when so much profit for U.S. corporations is obviously at stake? Could it be for any other reason than to conceal their hand?

Mobutu and Tshombe were in different tribes, but Mobutu was willing to let the U.S. take over mineral-rich Katanga while Tshombe was working for the Belgian-based Union Miniere. If Washington really wanted to feed refugees in Biafra they would get the food to them the same way they got food and weapons to their mercenaries in the Congo. They didn't ask anyone's permission then.

The military defeats of the Biafrans may have caused the U.S. billionaires to back down from supporting a lost cause — i.e. their attempted land grab may prove unsuccessful for now. But that should not obscure the origins of the so-called "tragedy of Biafra."

No leader who wants to sell his country to the U.S. oil companies as Ojukwu did has "self-determination" as his goal. And whatever the final outcome of the civil war, the suffering in Biafra was caused by Wall Street who instigated the secession for profits' sake and profits' sake alone.

Draft Statement on The Crisis in Czechoslovakia

To Be Presented for Discussion at WWP National
Labor Day Conference in New York: Begins Aug. 31

Counter-Revolution Not "Reform"

In evaluating the intervention of Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia on August 21, it is first necessary to evaluate the situation that led to it.

Under a smokescreen of "reform," and to the accompaniment of cheers from the "democratic" imperialists of the West, a counterrevolution has been taking place in that country for at least eight months.

The political basis for restoring the inequalities of the past, speeding up the workers and making organic ties with capitalist countries was laid by the victory of the group led by Alexander Dubcek last January. The economic basis was laid three months later by the proposal to reintroduce the capitalist market, particularly the re-penetration of the world market into the Czech economy, by surrendering the socialist state monopoly of foreign trade and simultaneously inviting foreign monopoly corporations to join in exploiting the Czechoslovak workers.

The profits and privileges of a new capitalist aristocracy such as that of the United States (but on a junior level) were in the offing.

The World Bank and the International

Monetary Fund (both controlled by the U.S.) were approached by the Czech "reformers." New pacts, some of them still secret, were being negotiated with the U.S. satellite, West Germany, an imperialist state which has never given up its drive to subjugate socialist East Germany and take over the economy of Czechoslovakia, too, along with the rest of East Europe.

(It was the dynamic capitalist economy of German imperialism that set Hitler on the road to war, and the same imperialism, minus Hitler, is now attempting to do the same thing "peacefully.")

This has all taken place under the leadership of Alexander Dubcek, who replaced Antonin Novotny as First Secretary of the Communist Party in January, although the tendencies toward capitalist restoration had already existed for years.

The Dubcek group must be described as capitalist restorationist, while the Novotny group, in spite of its revisionist character and its undoubted mismanagement of the economy, was the leadership of a workers' state, with its social roots in the nationalized economy.

East Germany Endangered

The German Democratic Republic, which has stood for two decades against a revival of imperialist Germany's expansion, and against the revival of Hitlerism, has been placed in an extremely precarious position by the intrigues of the Czech restorationists with the West German imperialists. The proposed Czechoslovak recognition of West Germany and the increased trade and other relations with it would seriously undercut the GDR (which West Germany does not recognize and is trying to isolate) and greatly strengthen the political position of the West German capitalists over East Europe, in general.

This is more important and more fundamental than the plots of a few revanchists for immediate military attack against Czechoslovakia. It is reason for serious alarm about the future military and political situation of the Warsaw Pact countries and is one of the most pressing causes for their present military intervention.

The U.S. press is bleating about the Soviet Army entering Prague and is making the false parallel of Munich, 1938, and Hitler's subsequent invasion of Czechoslovakia. To do this, it has to cover up the fact that it is precisely

Hitler's former backers who are now in the process (along with U.S. big business) of trying to make an economic colony out of Czechoslovakia all over again!

In turning their backs on East Germany and welcoming West Germany into their country, the Czech restorationists were in fact as conciliatory to the present German imperialists as many of their bourgeois parents were to Hitler in 1938. This is perfectly well understood in Washington. But since U.S. imperialism has been building up the German neo-Nazis as a bulwark against the Soviet Union (in spite of all their talk about "coexistence"), such a policy on Prague's part is highly desirable to Washington.

The Czech restorationists thus endangered the actual existence of the German Democratic Republic and seriously weakened the whole East European bulwark against the imperialist West.

There are now cries of outrage from the slaughterers of Vietnamese peasants against the armed intervention by the Warsaw Pact countries. The outrage is largely because their neo-Nazi junior partners have had a setback

Plots and the Social Forces

The movement toward imperialism is unfortunately a mighty one. The plots of capitalist restoration are not mere cloak-and-dagger affairs. They are not restricted to CIA agents and Czech Nazis, even though such gentlemen do play an important role. They are not primarily the actions of little groups of faceless men, but the reassertion of broad capitalist tendencies (which are international) in the workers' state and their legitimization by a new group which has usurped political power.

This group is the political expression of thousands, perhaps tens of thousands of middle class individuals (who have hundreds of thousands of friends and supporters) striving to increase their privileges at the expense of the masses. Since these are the people who are radio announcers, reporters, teachers, lawyers, etc., as well as engineers and administrators, they, as the repositories of Czechoslovak culture, can easily appear to speak in the name of the whole Czechoslovak nation.

(Without the intercession of imperialism and the pressures of the world capitalist market, this group would have been helpless, however.)

The workers, less articulate, not yet raised to full socialist consciousness—although it was they who made the 1948 revolution in the first place—have not been able to find their own independent class role in the difficult situation. The misleadership of the past, the falsely posed national question of the present, combine to confuse the workers, and may even force some of them to accept the leadership of the restorationists.

The restorationists want to legalize their stolen privileges and increase them. They have neither the patience, the faith in the abundance of world socialism, nor the will to world revolution required for middle class loyalty to the workers' state. A genuine, popular revolutionary workers' leadership would have held them in line, at least to a very great extent. But as matters stood, they not only got out of line, they took over the government.

With the aid of the capitalist West, they all but completed a "cold" counterrevolution and laid the political basis for a restoration of capitalism, with all capitalism's miseries, inequalities and tendencies to war and depression.

Short Road from Liberalism to Fascism

As in Hungary in 1956, the liberal capitalists of the United States have already begun to tell heart-throbbing stories about idealistic people in Czechoslovakia, spiritually crushed by the Warsaw Pact intervention. These stories are calculated to prove that the struggle is really between "liberalism" and "dictatorship."

But also, as in Hungary, Czechoslovak capitalism provides a slender reed for Czech liberalism. Just as the right-wing Communists and the Social Democrats quickly gave way to the bourgeois Smallholders Party in Hungary and the latter began to step aside for Cardinal Mindszenty and the fascists—so Czechoslovakia would have gone, and would still go, under Dubcek. Capitalist liberalism needs stability

first of all. It needs a more or less contented middle class, with a powerful and wealthy capitalist class, well able to use bribery on a large scale so as not to have to resort too often to police measures of repression.

This could hardly be the case with Czechoslovakia, especially since the workers would become more and more restless, with layoffs, new wage policies, piece work, etc., etc., and would inevitably begin actions to regain their lost rights.

Czechoslovak capitalist restorationism would thus not have the liberal democratic embroidery that the U.S. capitalists pretend to love so much—at least not for very long. Its dynamic and its historical logic both point in the direction of ... fascism.

Washington's Role

The role of U.S. money, capital, culture and diplomacy in Eastern Europe has been far greater than that of West Germany, although it is the latter country that may profit more directly and economically, at least for the moment, from counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia.

At one time, when Czechoslovakia was truly revolutionary, the U.S. put a tight economic noose around it and led an international boycott campaign against it. The U.S. bankers also froze Czechoslovakian funds which were in the United States at the time of the Feb. 1948 workers' revolution. But during the present counterrevolution, all kinds of financial assistance are openly discussed.

For the past year or so, the popular phrase in Washington has been "building bridges to the East." This is a favorite slogan of the strongly anti-communist Johnson himself. The slogan does not refer to coexistence as such, but to imperialist economic penetration of East Europe in particular. The idea of unfreezing the Czech assets here, for example, is part of that "bridge building."

Many trade items have now been taken off the "strategic" list. Discussion on loans and other economic aid has begun. The Voice of America has been toned down to de-emphasize the antagonism of social systems and put the accent on harmonious collaboration. Restorationist trends inside the Communist parties were encouraged by the more sophisticated imperialists as the best

method of penetrating the East, instead of "liberating" it at tremendous cost.

This bridge-building policy was really the European version of the new China policy that Fulbright tried to launch last year. The idea was to appeal to the revisionists in the Chinese leadership, to appeal to their hunger for privileges and profits, to wean them away from the genuine communism of equality—from the idea of communes, from the building of the socialist future.

The Chinese people, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, defeated this campaign by means of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They aimed against privilege and profits and incidentally prevented the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolution.

This was better and more effective than the present military intervention into Czechoslovakia, because it aroused the masses, clarified the issues and created a popular basis for continuing the historic struggle for world socialism.

But the liberal bourgeoisie in the United States is especially outraged at the Warsaw Pact intervention, because they thought they could win by infiltration and subversion ("building bridges") in Eastern Europe what they cannot win by force in Vietnam. Their present hysteria is not only a calculated new anti-Soviet campaign, but also a roar of pain and frustration that presages the ultimate doom of both their anti-popular wars and their anti-communist maneuvers.

"Democracy" and Democracy

It is a monstrous lie to describe any movement that introduces inequalities in wages and salaries—as the present Czechoslovak "reform" movement has done—as a movement toward democracy.

Only if one accepts the U.S. imperialist definition of democracy as the right of billionaires to be parasites and the right of the people to slave for them can one consider this in any way "democratic."

It is true that the Czech newspapers have been "free" to attack the Soviet Union, and intellectuals have been "free" to demand more Western culture and less sacrifice for the socialist allies and for countries struggling for their liberation.

But there has been little freedom to advocate more socialism, more hostility to U.S. imperialism, more material aid for Vietnam, more workers in the

(Continued on page M3)

What Led to Warsaw Pact Intervention?

How Dubcek Regime Opened Door to Counter-Revolution

The following is a reprint, in full, of an article which appeared in the August 1 edition of Workers World. It was written during the Cierna meeting between the Soviet and Czech leaders.

* * *

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 consummated which goes far beyond almost anything seen in Eastern Europe with the possible exception of 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 re-

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

Intervention Statement

NEW YORK, Aug. 22 — Sam Marcy, chairman of Workers World Party, announced the organization's support of the Warsaw Pact nations' intervention into Czechoslovakia today and made the following statement to the press:

* * *

The worst possible thing that could happen in Czechoslovakia would be the triumph of the counter-revolution and the restoration of capitalism. This would inevitably mean open or covert domination by U.S. imperialism and for the masses a return to the slavery of the past.

The victory of the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia would encourage all the counterrevolutionary elements of Eastern Europe and those in the Soviet Union as well. It would place in doubt the

very existence of the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, where the forces of reaction were most recently evidenced by the reactionary thesis of Professor Sakharov, who is supported by the same elements who sponsored the Czech counterrevolution.

We would prefer a revival of Leninism in Czechoslovakia and a return to the road of genuine communism, full and complete. But there is no existing revolutionary alternative to the present contending forces in that country.

We do not support the political policies of the Soviet revisionists, because they themselves are responsible for unleashing many of the restorationist forces. But as against the bourgeois counterrevolution, we support the Warsaw Pact intervention under present circumstances.

Dubcek Wanted to Go Farther than Tito



Tito, during recent visit to Prague, shaking hands with Dubcek.

verse 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 26 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

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.

"Freedom" to Laud the West

There is no freedom for genuine revolutionaries 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

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.

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.

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 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. 66

"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 de-leveling 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

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...."

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

Did THEY Want to Improve Czech Socialism?



Lyndon Baines Johnson



Harold Wilson



Charles de Gaulle

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

— Draft Statement

(Continued from page M1)

universities, or more intellectuals in the factories. On the contrary, there is a lynch campaign against anyone who advocates such things in Czechoslovakia.

Of course, genuine democratic reforms are always in order. But the kind of reforms that U.S. imperialism applauds in Czechoslovakia as democratic are hardly the kind that would thrill genuine revolutionaries. The democracy of the oppressed differs from the democracy of the oppressor as a Black Freedom fighter differs from a cop.

Proletarian democracy is not only desirable; it is mandatory — for the accomplishment of the socialist transformation of humanity. And it cannot be said that proletarian democracy prevailed or flourished to any great degree under the previous Czechoslovak regime. The point, however, is that the tendency of the Dubcek counterrevolutionaries was and is away from proletarian democracy, not toward it.

There is no such thing as abstract democracy for all classes, and there never was. It is true that in the cracks and crevices of bourgeois democracy, the proletariat may by diligent and heroic efforts occasionally express its own point of view. But as soon as it oversteps the bounds of safety for the rule of the master class, such "democracy" is always abrogated — by the police, the National Guard, the clamping down of martial law, or in extreme cases, a military dictatorship.

The word "democracy" is well understood in the United States (except by the more gullible of middle class intellectuals) to be a synonym for American capitalism and The American Way of Life. And in that sense, it is indeed democracy that has been coming to Czechoslovakia. That is why Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and the most extreme right wing reactionaries are overjoyed about it.

Only the unrelenting prosecution of the proletarian revolution and the world conquest of power by the proletariat will, by abolishing imperialism, root and branch, institute the true democracy of the masses' unhampered rule, and the true freedom of man to do what he wants without doing harm to his neighbor.

In the meantime, it is not a question of democracy in Czechoslovakia at all. And only dupes and liars can say it is.

It is a question of which class is going to prevail, and it is a question of which social direction Eastern Europe will take in the immediate future. The situation in Czechoslovakia is temporary and episodic, with the fundamental classes and basic antagonists only battling in the form of indirect agents, so to speak. But their identity is quite clear upon closer inspection. One only needs to know the difference between capitalism and socialism, between oppressor and oppressed, to understand that Dubcek was really leading the capitalist counterrevolution.

Standard Oil, Radio Free Europe Praise "Economic Reform"

Of all the imperialist corporations in the U.S. groupings, few can rival the giant oil companies in gathering foreign intelligence and in political experience on a global scale. It is significant that the largest of them all, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, saw fit to take the initiative in pressing the big business world to step up its subversive efforts in Eastern Europe at the beginning of this year.

In fact, it was just after the accession of the Dubcek government to power that Standard Oil, on its own stationery, sent out an open letter to U.S. big business urging broad support of Radio Free Europe, as a vital weapon in the war of subversion to restore capitalism in the area. Below is a photostatic copy of the letter that went out under the signature of the chairman of the board. No one has ever accused Standard Oil of not knowing how to foster its own interest.

STANDARD OIL COMPANY

(INCORPORATED IN NEW JERSEY)

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

MICHAEL L. HAIDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

February, 1968

TO AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN:

It is my firm conviction that Radio Free Europe is engaged today in one of the most significant struggles of all time—the struggle between the conflicting ideologies of Communist totalitarianism and our own Western traditions of human dignity and freedom of choice. Moreover, it is my belief that the people of East Europe, reinforced by the information they receive from the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, are slowly winning this struggle.

Right now in East Europe, we are witnessing gradual, grudging, but significant changes in the very nature of communism. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland are moving toward increased decentralization of decision-making, with new incentive programs and some acceptance of the profit motive. Along with these economic changes, the countries of East Europe—led by Rumania—have begun to reassert their national identities and to form policy decisions without seeking the advice or approval of the Soviet Union.

These developments are indeed encouraging, but I am convinced that the political and economic renaissance of East Europe has just begun. It can be helped along by an increasing flow of information to East Europe, information that reinforces trends and pressures toward national self-assertion and independence, toward individual and group self-expression, toward freedom and full participation in the world community.

I can assure you that Radio Free Europe is doing everything possible to broadcast such information in an objective, truthful way. Economic reform is a recurring broadcast theme. And RFE has increased its special programming for youth, to keep well-informed that great mass of people under 30 who make up nearly half the population of East Europe. Increasingly, these young people will continue to be involved in leadership decisions that will determine the future course of East Europe. We owe it to the people of East Europe and to the interests of our own nation to see that this work is carried on now and for the immediate future.

In 1968, Jersey Standard intends to increase its support to help assure that RFE will continue its job. I sincerely hope that you will continue to lend support at the same or at an even higher level than you have in the past. In addition to the company contribution, I intend to contribute personally because of my deep-felt conviction that Radio Free Europe is an organization of exceptional worth and importance.

Sincerely,

Michael L. Haider
Michael L. Haider
Chairman, Radio Free Europe Fund

Editor of Rude Pravo, Jailed by "Reformers" Wrote of Dubcek's Hollow Promises to Working Class

Following are excerpts from an article by Oldrych Svestka which appeared in Rude Pravo, the Czechoslovak Communist Party publication, on July 14 this year. The author, who might be described as a moderate revisionist, was attacked by the Dubcek faction for writing these pro-working class words.

His article was characterized as "making use of deep-rooted myths, ambiguity and innuendo, half-truths and untruths" by Karel Stregl and Jiri Slama, the latter being one of the signers of the famous "Action Program" of the counterrevolution.

Svestka was deposed as editor about a week before the Warsaw Pact troops came in and was reportedly jailed by Dubcek and freed by the Soviet Army.

... The fundamental charge which is made against the workers (by the Dubcek counterrevolutionaries — ed.) is that they are passive. I believe that the workers are only seemingly passive, and that at this moment a contemplative mood prevails.

Why should this be so?

First, because the present process has begun and to a large extent run its course without regard to the fact that the workers are still the main force in establishing values in society. In spite of all the efforts made by the leading Party bodies the workers have been "side-tracked" in this process, they

20 years, however, we can see that if anyone lost on the so-called "workers' policies," it was chiefly the working class that did so....

The workers faced the problem of continuously tightened work norms and of constantly increased intensification of labor....

On the other hand, these past policies gave them something of great importance and this was — generally speaking — social security....

As a result of the fact that every member of the family had an opportunity to join in the production process and to work, the family's standard of living also improved. These and other related benefits ... were dearly paid for, but they made life relatively secure ...

Can anyone imagine a worker's family becoming enthusiastic today about the prospect, which is frequently bruited about these days, of the women staying at home? (Apparently "bruited about" by the Dubcek faction — ed.) An unemployed woman very often means the loss of half the income in a worker's family. Can a woman — and not only one in a worker's family — afford not to work under such circumstances? ...

High wages among the workers are quite often a topic of discussion. (Among the counterrevolutionaries — ed.) It is true that some groups of workers earn excessive wages. These workers were,

Dubcek Prefers.....Him.....To Him



Alexander Dubcek

Kurt Kiesinger

Walter Ulbricht

have not been supplied with additional opportunities and platforms as envisaged in the Party's Action Program, so that they may freely elect and select.

At the same time they have certainly been "worked upon" without being given an opportunity for direct participation in politics; they have often been misinformed; more simply, they have not been counted on from the beginning of this "game."

Everybody has felt for a long time that a crisis was building up, a crisis which the workers were the first to point out, but which was not given due attention, and thus they were pushed into an attitude of passivity on productive and political matters....

Until now, the political struggles have taken place outside their immediate sphere, and have not provided clear answers to most of their fundamental questions. As a matter of fact, the present political struggle has obscured many of these questions instead of clarifying them....

At present the working class is as differentiated as the rest of society, but is generally united by its distrust of words which have not as yet been confirmed by actions. The inclination of the whole class to take a "wait-and-see" attitude is still very apparent.

Certain trends, which may be interpreted as deliberate, are fairly strong in the factories. This cannot be disguised by any differentiation among the workers, by the setting up of committees for the defense of the press, etc.

...Much was said in the past years about the achievements of the workers. Even now one may read about "enormous wages," and about all that the workers have and how comfortably they live. (i.e., in the press of the Dubcek faction — ed.) If we look at the past

or are, working in unusual work places which often endanger their health excessively. However, the average wage of workers in factories, at the conveyor belts and the automatic machines, is unsatisfactory.

A high degree of intensification in many of our factories; low wages, particularly for women; insufficient care for children — these are legacies from the past, but they continue to exist. And now, the idea of even greater social uncertainty or of social shocks (as a result of introducing capitalist methods and market norms into the economy — ed.) — this is too much for the workers who have had to bear the major part of the burden of the mistakes of the past, and who have paid and must still pay the cost.

No one denies that there was a corrupt element among the workers. However, some members of the intelligentsia and some white collar workers were corrupt too. Seen from the workers' viewpoint ... it was precisely the lower sections of the intelligentsia and of the officials who were to blame for the mistakes....

Finally, once more we ask the question: Is the working class conservative? It is not. But it cannot be set in motion by words about democracy and freedom alone, although it understands that these phrases must be converted into facts in real life. The workers want to assert themselves as a creative and recognized force in society, as the exponents and active creators of major values, who have a right to manage their own affairs.

The cautious and prudent attitude of the workers can only be regarded as a wise one. In the last resort the workers are the most progressive force, and they will decide and ensure that there shall be no retreat, and that society will not sway from ditch to ditch, but go steadily forward.

Three Who Mourn for Dubcek



Clark Clifford
Defense Secretary
Of Du Pont, etc.

George Ball
UN Ambassador
Of Lehman Bros.

Dean Rusk
Secretary of State
Of Rockefeller Foundation