

Struggle of Viet People Forces U.S. to Recognize the NLF

Whatever the immediate circumstances of the U.S. bombing halt, whatever politics or maneuvers of Washington and Wall Street may be involved, the move is a setback for imperialism and a victory for the socialist independence of Vietnam and for the liberation movement generally.

Workers World Party, like all serious opponents of the war, demands immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops. But the Vietnamese are

still compelled to struggle against troops that have not been withdrawn. And they are struggling brilliantly and heroically at the conference table, just as on the battlefield.

The Hanoi radio said on Nov. 2 that the U.S. was forced to end the bombing of the North because it was facing "great defeats in Vietnam and increasing condemnation and pressure from people throughout the world.... This is a great victory for the Viet-

namese people of both the North and the South."

The truth of this was underlined by the fact that all three capitalist candidates in the U.S. Presidential election were compelled to tip their hats to the bombing halt (Wallace even "prayed" that it would work!), in order to mollify the voters, who obviously want peace.

Of course, Johnson was accused of maneuvering for the election. And, of

course, the accusation was true.

But the maneuver itself was an admission that the masses want the war to stop, and by and large they don't think of gaining the material advantages out of it for imperialism that Johnson and his gang are after.

Moreover, Johnson undoubtedly wanted to make his play much earlier, in order to get the maximum benefit for his candidate, Humphrey. But the

Continued on page 3

Black and White, Unite and Fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

**Four pages of facts
on Czechoslovak
events—**

Magazine Section

Appeal Denied for Ed Oquendo, Black Draft Resister Serving 5 Yrs.



Edward Oquendo on a picket line outside Brooklyn Federal Court, where he was tried last winter.

The United States Supreme Court last week turned down a special appeal on behalf of Edward Oquendo, militant black draft resister, now serving the maximum sentence of five years in Federal prison at Danbury, Conn.

The court refused to give any of the reasons for turning down the appeal, nor did it indicate how many justices favored the denial.

An amicus curiae brief was filed with the court by Youth Against War & Fascism. The brief pointed out several gross violations of due process committed by the Selective Service System in its haste to railroad Mr. Oquendo into the service of U.S. imperialism. The court accepted the brief but refused to hear oral arguments by the attorneys in favor of the brief. This automatically nullified the appeal without explanation.

Attorneys are now working on a motion for a reduction of the five-year maximum sentence. One of the contentions in the plea for reduction is that the record shows that black youth in

general, and black militants especially, are receiving higher sentences in such cases than white defendants.

Mr. Oquendo is a founder of Blacks Against Negative Dying, a member of Youth Against War & Fascism and a strong anti-imperialist and militant fighter in the black liberation struggle. At his sentencing he affirmed his solidarity with the Vietnamese National Liberation Front and his refusal to go into an army which shoots down his black brothers on the streets of the U.S.

CZECH 'LIBERALS' PROTEST OCTOBER REVOLUTION

NOV. 7 — On the anniversary of the great October Revolution, crowds in Czechoslovakia's capital burned at least 10 Soviet flags, according to the Associated Press.

This painful news is most probably true. But one thing is indisputable. The action, taking place on this particular anniversary, had to be anti-revolu-

After the Election—

What's Going to Happen Next In U.S. and World Class War?

It has been reported that between 250 and 300 million dollars was spent nationally and locally on the just-completed U.S. election. Obviously only a candidate of big business would win such an election. And a candidate of big business — Richard Nixon — did win, although another candidate of big business — Hubert Humphrey — lost.

But all serious workers, not to mention progressives and revolutionaries, are wondering whether this particular election signals a further shift to the right in the way the U.S. is ruled.

It was already apparent in the rise of Wallace, the treatment of McCarthy, the murder of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King (both of them political assassinations), in the way the U.S. handled the Paris talks and in the reduction of anti-poverty funds that the drive to the right was slipping into high gear before the election, even though a dwindling faction of the ruling class was and still is, trying to put on the brakes.

But since Humphrey finally did try to win on the basis of an appeal to the masses, by soft-peddaling the racist "law and order" talk that all three candidates spouted, and by exploiting the bombing halt, the anti-war and anti-fascist vote for Humphrey showed Nixon and the whole ruling class that they'd better proceed cautiously — at least for the moment.

Of course, Nixon may patch up some kind of imperialist peace in Southeast Asia in order to free the General Staff's hands to make war somewhere else, such as in the Mideast. But such is the irreconcilability of the class forces in combat, such is the intransigence of the people's revolution in Asia, that Nixon is not likely to make a brilliant success where Lyndon Johnson failed.

There is an argument that a Republican Administration is not so likely to be attacked as being "soft on Communism" and may permit itself to make more concessions to the revolution, as some people — like Walter Lippmann — are now saying. But this disregards the depth of the international crisis and assumes that events are controlled by Washington alone.

It is far more likely that Nixon will embark on new imperialist ventures abroad — after making well-publicized attempts to quiet things down at home.

The first thing Johnson did after inheriting John F. Kennedy's job was to call in the best known leaders of the black people, the labor leaders and representatives of the elements who later were most bitterly against him — and promise them a government of "unity."

Nixon is doing the same thing with Humphrey and for the same reasons. Humphrey is helping him do it, and in the process is proving that fascist Wallace had a point when he said there's "not a dime's worth of difference" between the Republican and Democratic candidates.

There was much talk about a possible "constitutional crisis" that might be brought on by the Wallace electoral college maneuvers. But this talk disregarded what is most fundamental and what Wallace himself pointed out: that both Nixon and Humphrey belonged to

Continued on page 2

Rich Turn Out the Wallace Vote; Workers Turn Their Backs on Fascism

George Wallace conducted a classically fascist campaign, trying to convince the masses that he, the ultra-right totalitarian friend of the rich, was actually the friend of the poor and against the rich. But it didn't work.

According to an NBC computer analysis of the election on Nov. 6, some 26 per cent of high-income city dwellers voted for Wallace, about 20 per cent of middle-income city people, and less than 8 per cent of low-income voters.

The much-maligned poor, the blue-collar workers, the union members who were supposed to be Wallace's best friends virtually turned their backs on him.

It is true that many auto workers and steel workers had indicated they were for Wallace as little as two weeks or

less before the election. But they switched to Humphrey.

This means that it was Wallace's "little man" demagoguery and his false promises about kicking out the big shots that originally attracted the white workers — and not so much his racism. If the latter were the case, they would have voted for Nixon when they switched, since he was much closer to Wallace on "law and order" and against the black people generally.

But they did not; they voted in huge majorities for Hubert Humphrey in all the big cities, and especially the industrial centers.

The vote is all the more significant since the labor leaders were so afraid for so long to attack Wallace at all,

tionary and anti-Soviet as well as anti-Russian. It is not revisionism or bureaucracy that is being attacked, but the ideas of Lenin and the revolution itself.

— No imperialist American flags have been burned in Prague lately!

(See magazine insert for more facts on the counter-revolution.)

It shows that the workers had more sense than their leaders, once the real character of Wallace was pointed out to them.

Moreover, it indicates that the leaders, who are in the "middle-income" bracket themselves, if not the high-income, were probably more responsive to the 26 per cent of high-income people who actually voted for Wallace than to the workers in their own unions, when they first made their estimates of Wallace's strength.

It is also significant that these bureaucrats, who were so afraid of the backwardness of their own members on the race question (for which they themselves are largely responsible), finally began to attack Wallace — mildly — for

his racism as well as his true anti-labor role.

A letter of the United Steelworkers of America dated Oct. 21 and sent to all members, black and white, defended the "people on welfare (who) can't get jobs because there are no jobs, or they are victims of a poor education in a poor school and can't qualify for work.... What if they can qualify for work, but they can't work because of their color or religion?"

This letter also condemned Wallace for saying he would put troops on the streets to make them safe and for saying he would take people on welfare and make them work (for welfare wages).

Admittedly, this was all intended to get votes for Hubert Humphrey, Johnson's lieutenant and chief war salesman. But it did appeal to the workers' class consciousness correctly with regard to Wallace. And the workers responded to the appeal.

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The Racist "Strike"

To call it a strike is an insult to the struggles of the oppressed for the century and a half since the industrial revolution. It is a travesty on the countless dead, who have been shot, lynched and tortured in the long fight.

We are referring, of course, to the action of the leadership of the New York Federation of Teachers in carrying on the marathon "strike" against black control of black schools in Brooklyn.

If the teachers had been on a real strike for just two days, the ruling class would be hysterical, and there would have been pictures of pathetic little children deprived of their education. There would have been a lynch spirit against the union in press, TV, radio

and pulpit.

But the teachers have been out not two days, but two months, and they are treated with kid gloves and even given their pay-checks for most of the period. This is because the ruling class is even more racist than the worst of the teachers (although the rulers conceal it much better).

The teachers' union's racist "demands" are no longer worth explaining, nor their arguments worth refuting. In New York City it is now well understood by everyone that the action is directed not at the city, the corporations, or the Board of Education, but exclusively at the rights of the black people.

The strike is not a strike, but a giant scabbing operation on Black Freedom.

—After the Elections

Continued from page 1

the same Establishment. Their bosses would have seen to it that any deals made would have been deals with each other, not with Wallace.

The fact that Wallace is a fascist did not by itself create a social crisis in the United States. The election was not so much a reflection of a social crisis as the expression of a politicians' contest to see which could best serve the ruling class.

If Nixon had needed a couple of electoral votes, in the absence of an absolute domestic social crisis, the bankers would have had Humphrey give Nixon the necessary votes rather than call in Wallace, a non-establishment figure, and allow him to share political power when they feared his politics would get them into more trouble.

Some of the inside-track pundits are saying that Nixon will keep to the "broad center" of American politics and surprise everybody. And Nixon himself is trying to give that impression — now.

But if the ruling class is going to embark on any adventures abroad or extreme repressions at home, the last thing they are going to do is to tell us so. The very essence of imperialist politics is to deceive the masses.

One thing must be made clear above

all. And that is that no turn to the right, no amount of police action, is going to basically change the direction of rebellious youth or divert the freedom drive of the black people today. The masses are not going to be intimidated, or if so, not for long. It is far more likely that they will be further inflamed rather than subdued by a new policy of reaction.

These are very different times than those of the cold war and (Joseph) McCarthy period. A large part of the world feels that Nixon presents a new and puzzling problem. Perhaps. But the far bigger problem is that which the world presents to Nixon.

He'll never solve it.

Hanoi's Comment

The Hanoi radio declared today that the close U.S. election "shows the weariness and indecision of the majority of the American voters, who are fed up with various monopoly groups in power in both parties."

Nixon's Administration will become "entangled in deadlock and setbacks," it said, while "ordinary Americans step up their struggle to demand an end to the Vietnam war."

SWP, SLP REFUSE TO WITHDRAW IN FAVOR OF BLACK CANDIDATE

NEW YORK, Oct. 30 — The Committee to Free Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris distributed a press release today announcing a call by several groups to all the white senatorial candidates to withdraw from the ballot in favor of the Black Caucus candidate, Mr. Herman Ferguson.

The release stated that a letter was sent to all the candidates asking them to take a sincere stand against racism by withdrawing their names from the ballot. The letter was sent to Republican Sen. Jacob Javits, Democrat Paul O'Dwyer, John Emanuel of the Socialist Labor Party and Hedda Garza, the senatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

The letter, also signed by the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement, the Prospect Heights Women's Association, and Youth Against War & Fascism, began:

"The candidate for U.S. Senate of the Black Caucus, Herman Ferguson, currently faces a jail term of 3 1/2 to 7 years. He and 14 other Afro-Americans are victims of a massive police frame-up designed to break the militancy of the black community in this

city. Mr. Ferguson was forced to conduct 24 days of his campaign for Senator from New York from behind the bars of the Queens County Jail, along with his campaign manager, Arthur Harris.

"It is recognized by progressives everywhere that the question of black liberation is the foremost domestic issue in this political campaign. The major party candidates are unanimously threatening greater repression against the struggles of the black people in the name of 'law and order.'"

"You have taken a position in this campaign for the struggles of the black people. Running against you for the same office is a black man who is the choice of his community and also a foremost victim of racism. We ask you: Will you, in solidarity with Mr. Ferguson and the black community, and in protest against the legal harassment of black militants, resign from this contest?"

The Committee reported that no response was received from either of the capitalist candidates, nor from the SWP candidate, who was campaigning on a platform nominally supporting

Cleveland Militants at Court To Aid Dostal-Gass Defense

CLEVELAND, Nov. 4 — The cases of Ted Dostal and Dave Gass were postponed for a month and five weeks, respectively, when they appeared in court today. These two militant fighters are being charged with having assaulted a policeman at the demonstration against Wallace on Oct. 5. Even though the "assaulted officer" is unknown at this time even by the police, the judge did not order that the case be dropped. They will undoubtedly try to find an "assaulted cop." It is very obvious that the charges against the two are frame-ups.

The Dostal-Gass Defense Committee, which is getting out support for the defendants, had done much to give the case publicity and to get financial and organizational aid. So far, the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, the University Circle Teach-In Committee, Clergy and Laymen Concerned, the Kent State University chapter of SDS and Oberlin College Resistance have officially endorsed the case. In addition, many individuals have shown their support by contributions and by being on demonstrations of all kinds.

Before court opened, there was a picket line demonstration in front of the City Hall, organized by the Cleveland Section of YAWF. It was supported by a united front group consisting of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council and the Teach-In Committee. Andy

Stapp, leader of the American Service-men's Union, and Bill Smith, ex-GI, also of the ASU, joined the line as did other friendly persons. The SWP, YSA, and CP were conspicuous by their absence.

The picket line then disbanded and the pickets all went into the courtroom. Here they were confronted by cameras of local TV channel 61, a right-wing station owned by Kaiser Industries. The cameramen tried to get pictures of each individual present in the court. This open attempt at intimidation was countered by the wife of one of the defendants, who in turn began to take pictures of the cameraman. When he grabbed her camera, a fracas ensued, with all the supporters rushing out of the courtroom to Mrs. Dostal's aid. They put their hands in front of the TV cameras to prevent the fascist station from getting films.

However, both channel 61 and another local station, channel 8, showed scenes of the courthouse action this evening. The Kaiser station red-baited Dostal. Ted Dostal is a militant steel worker and rank-and-file organizer from Youngstown, known throughout the Ohio steel region.

The Defense Committee plans to use the additional time before the new trial dates to get further aid for the defendants and to help expose further the frame-up nature of the charges against them.

Philadelphia YAWF Protest:

"Racist Wallace, Fascist Pig!"

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 30 — George Wallace came to Philadelphia tonight accompanied by his fellow racists and defended by his strongest supporters, the Philadelphia police department.

While he was inside the Spectrum, an auditorium with a capacity of about 14,000, a mere 3,000 of his supporters listened to a repeat performance of his mockery of all that we know as true justice and order.

Over 400 people went to the Spectrum to demonstrate their opposition to Wallace's racist and fascist mobilization. Many came in response to a leaflet issued by the Philadelphia branch of Youth Against War & Fascism, which was the only call issued in Philadelphia for a demonstration against Wallace. Many also came independently, not knowing that a demonstration had been scheduled.

About 200 of the demonstrators were able to get inside the Spectrum and chanted against Wallace throughout his speech. A group of black militants defiantly stood with black-gloved clenched fists raised high in a gesture symbolic of Black Power and revolutionary solidarity.

Another group of over 200 who were

black liberation and self-determination for the black community.

The Committee subsequently learned that Miss Garza's campaign manager had told Arthur Harris that the SWP would not have run a candidate if the request had been made before the campaign began. However, explained the SWP, which claims to be the exponent of Malcolm X's ideas, which stands for self-defense in the black community, etc., etc., — on countless reams of paper — after all, they had worked so hard to get their candidate on the ballot that they just couldn't withdraw now.

not permitted inside remained at the doors of the building carrying signs and chanting "Racist Wallace Must Go," "Racist Wallace, Fascist Pig." Signs were supplied by the Philadelphia Youth Against War & Fascism. The most striking sign showed a Klansman with the caption "Law and Order, Wallace Style."

Everyone who came to the demonstration wanted to go inside, but most were stopped by the Wallace guards and police. Wallace's boast that he wants hecklers was once again proven false by the tight security and restrictions used by his campaign managers. Everyone who went inside had to obtain a ticket before the rally at Wallace's headquarters. Even though most of the demonstrators had tickets, many of them were ejected because they didn't look "right." One reporter also had difficulty getting inside.

The Wallaceites' answer to the presence of "undesirable" people with tickets was that the tickets were counterfeit. But the only counterfeit present was Wallace and his fascist movement's attempt to fool the American workers into thinking that he had the answer to their problems.

The Philadelphia "Civil Disobedience Squad" (Gestapo), mingling with the demonstrators, continued to insult, harass and attempt to intimidate the demonstrators.

When Wallace arrived at the Philadelphia Hotel, he was met by a small but militant group of black and white youths. Three large banners were held along the entrance to the hotel with slogans such as "Racist Wallace Must Go," "Free Huey — Smash Wallace." After about an hour and a half the demonstrators left exchanging strong handshakes of genuine solidarity.

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U.S. Forced to Meet With NLF in Paris

Continued from page 1

obvious explanation is that he could not get North Vietnam to agree to the kind of concessions he wanted. So he finally had to stop the bombing anyway.

The imperialist press and news media tried to create the impression that the bombing halt was something North Vietnam could have had at any time, if it weren't so stubborn. It blurred over the importance of allowing the National Liberation Front to have its own delegation. This was a new and basic concession by imperialism.

The news service, Agence France-Presse said on Nov. 1:

"North Vietnamese sources... said that the participation of the National Liberation Front in the Paris talks was a 'smarting defeat for the U.S. and a victory of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against aggression.'

"The Americans have been compelled to accept the Front as an independent and equal partner in the talks, and this constitutes a great victory for the Front, they said."

It is true that the North Vietnamese agreed to allow the puppet Saigon government into the negotiations.

But as Radio Hanoi asserted on Nov. 2, this did not mean North Vietnam

recognized the puppet regime. And the U.S. acceptance of the NLF as an equal partner in the negotiations is in effect a de facto recognition of the NLF as a force, if not the only force, in South Vietnam.

In the U.S.-Thieu camp, things are more complicated, although fundamentally the same as far as North Vietnam and the NLF are concerned.

The agreement to seat the Saigon puppets alongside the NLF revolutionaries is not a fundamental concession on the part of the Democratic Republic. Nor will it necessarily have the effect of solidifying the crumbling Thieu-Ky power structure.

It might have no more significance than the seating of a company-union committee alongside of real union representatives at a time of struggle for union recognition by the company.

This often happened during the rise of the CIO, when the companies did everything they could to confuse the issues and deceive the workers.

The company would come up with a phony committee to challenge the genuine committee of the workers. A lot of confusion would arise from this, but the general struggle was so strong that the company unions melted away.

The Saigon clique's reluctance to meet in Paris is one aspect of the complication. This reluctance is only meant partially to prove that the clique is not a U.S. puppet. It is also a reflection of the internal struggle in the U.S. ruling class at home. And it is meant to be a serious brake on peace negotiations.

This is accentuated by the letter of ten Saigon senators to Richard Nixon expressing their support for his candidacy.

One would think that the Johnson Administration might easily expose the whole maneuver and just stop the pay of these puppets for a week and bring them into line.

But the liberal wing of the ruling class has insisted almost as strongly as the right wing that the Saigon puppets are really a sovereign government and the U.S. is only its "ally."

In fact, Johnson has insisted this more often than anybody else. So it is very difficult for him to say this is not so now by slapping his puppets down. And the Republicans can take full advantage of this difficulty.

However, Nhan Dan, the official organ of the North Vietnamese CP, was probably right when it said on Nov. 4 that the Saigon clique would be forced

to negotiate anyway:

"No acts or deeds by the puppet clique to give a pretense of opposition to their master can deceive anybody," the paper declared.

Meanwhile Imperialist Duplicity Continues

Almost immediately after the halt in bombing the North, the U.S. planes redoubled their efforts to bomb the South and stepped up the formerly hushed-up bombing of nearby neutralist Laos.

Last Sunday, there were reportedly 601 bombing missions in South Vietnam.

Considering that South Vietnam is supposed to be an "ally" country, and the civilian population is supposed to be asking the U.S. to save them, this was a strange performance! But of course the truth is that the U.S. is warring against virtually all of Vietnam, except its agents and the paid retinue of mercenaries who formerly served the French imperialists.

Possibly this new bombing is "only" to pressure the Paris talks so as to get better terms for imperialism. And possibly it is a step toward blasting the peace talks apart altogether.

But the increased bombing outside of North Vietnam is also a sure sign that peace has nothing to do with U.S. imperialist politics.

It is perfectly possible that the U.S. is trying to free its hands for another war in the Mideast, or even in or around Eastern Europe. The intensified bombing is both a warning and a symbol — of the fact that under capitalism, "there is no peace."

Mme. Binh: 'Peace Cannot Be Separated from Freedom'



After arriving in Paris, Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, leader of the NLF delegation to the peace talks, made clear that the delegation was demanding the complete U.S. evacuation of Vietnamese soil.

She said on Nov. 3:

"The population and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam resolutely demand that the American government finally give up all encroachments on the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

"The population of South Vietnam ardently wishes peace, but this peace cannot be separated from freedom and independence," she said.

"As long as the American government does not give up its aggression plans, as long as it persists in intensifying the war in South Vietnam and clings to the puppet administration in Saigon, trying to preserve its neo-colonialist domination in South Vietnam and perpetuate Vietnam's split, the Vietnamese people will continue persistently their struggle up to final victory.

"We are profoundly convinced that the just and serious position of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam will meet the approval and firm support of the peoples striving for peace, justice and freedom in the whole world."

In 1868, at the beginning of the conquest of Vietnam by the French im-

perialists, a peasant patriot of South Vietnam, Nguyen Trung Truc, shouted in front of the enemy's firing squad:

"So long as there is grass on this land there will be men to resist the invaders."

Truc's soul-stirring prediction has been borne out by the millions. And by the women of Vietnam even more heroically than the men — more heroically, because women, being more oppressed, have to work and fight harder to achieve recognition and liberation.

Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, leader of the National Liberation Front's delegation in Paris, is one of these women.

Born in Saigon in 1927, she is the granddaughter of the patriot fighter Phan Chu Trinh and daughter of a civil servant.

The French imprisoned her for her activities in 1951 and did not release her until the Geneva Agreement of 1954.

Member of the Central Committee of the NLF for several years and fighter member of the South Vietnam Movement for World Peace, she began leading delegations to foreign countries in 1962.

The imperialist press has hinted that Mme. Binh's appointment to this position is an excellent public relations move on the part of the NLF, since she will certainly gain the sympathy of many millions of oppressed women in all countries throughout the world.

There is some truth to this hint. But it will also be proven that Mme. Binh's

1965 "Retaliation" Bombing Planned A Year Before

By now it is almost forgotten, but when the U.S. started bombing North Vietnam on Feb. 7, 1965, it was supposed to be a raid in "retaliation" for an NLF attack on U.S. troops in South Vietnam. The "retaliation" has continued for nearly four years.

There were about 40,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam in early 1965. (According to the Geneva Agreement, there were supposed to be no more than 566.) But even with that number, it was clear that the South Vietnam revolt against the Diem Government was going to win.

The socialist government in the North was probably helping its compatriots in the South with ammunition, etc. But only a couple of years before, the U.S. press had featured articles about the home made shot-guns, small village foundries making bullets, etc. There were even stories of some rebels using bows and arrows. At least one propeller plane came down with an arrow sticking in its fuselage during 1963.

Whole detachments of the NLF were often formed without any weapons at all. They armed themselves by disarming the puppet government troops, who had all the equipment of war (supplied by the Americans) except the will to fight.

We said at that time that the bombing of the North was an escalation of the war. The bombing was in effect a "preventive" air cover, under which the U.S. would send in thousands more ground troops to the South. And this was just what was done.

This was all coldly planned for many months in advance. As a matter of fact, the final plans for the bombing of the North and the big escalation were drawn up just about the time that Johnson was telling the people in his election campaign:

"I want to be very cautious when I start dropping bombs around that are likely to involve American boys in a war in Asia with 700 million Chinese."

It is now well known that Johnson then proceeded to carry out the very bombing program that he condemned his opponent, Barry Goldwater, for advocating. And he is properly hated

diplomatic skill is as well developed as her revolutionary intransigence.

And although her opposite number in the imperialist camp, multi-millionaire Averell Harriman, is a past-master at deceiving the working class of the world, he is not going to win in the conference room what imperialism cannot win on the battlefield.

for his duplicity.

But it is much less known that a large part of the ruling class and its agents were in on the war plans at the time of the false peace promises to the American people in 1964.

Last Friday, Nov. 1, the New York Times coolly reported the following:

"In the summer of 1964, unknown to the American public, President Johnson was told by his top military, diplomatic and intelligence advisers that unless the United States took decisive military action to bolster South Vietnam, the Saigon Government probably would collapse, permitting the Communists to take over....

"By early December, the decision was made on a contingency basis, again without the public's knowing about it, to bomb North Vietnam. The contingency was that if the military situation in South Vietnam did not improve, bombing should be undertaken."

The actual incident that supposedly provoked the bombing was given as the NLF attack on the U.S. base at Pleiku, where eight GIs were killed and about 100 wounded.

But "in early February of 1965," says the Times, "Mr. Johnson sent ... McGeorge Bundy... to make an on-the-spot recommendation on whether to bomb the North."

"Mr. Bundy's decision was made easier for him when, on Feb. 6, Vietnamese forces mounted four early morning attacks, two of them at U.S. bases at Pleiku."

It is too bad that every GI in Vietnam can't be given this information, because at least two points would be quite obvious to him.

1. That if "military, diplomatic and intelligence" advisers all were in on the plot in the summer of 1964, then it wasn't just Johnson that was the big deceiver. The publishers and editors of the New York Times and other big papers must have been in on it, too, since they have so many pipe-lines to the Pentagon and the State Department. It was just the people who have to fight the war and pay for it that didn't know about it.

2. That the bombing had absolutely nothing to do with defending U.S. troops (who got killed in constantly increasing numbers after this date). The U.S. war-makers wanted the Pleiku attack, just like they wanted the Tonkin Bay incident the year before, so they could enlarge the war. And it is just as possible that Bundy could have had the CIA or the Saigon puppets attack Pleiku, since "his job was made easier" that way.

Who Rules

Five Days
On Wall St.

the Empire?



An advertisement seen not long ago on New York City streets read: "If the world kept a diary, it would look like ... The New York Times."

The U.S. ruling class does in fact keep a diary, known as the Wall Street Journal. In it are recorded the processes which taken together make up the imperialist system. We have often on the pages of WW analyzed the economic and political actions taken by U.S. imperialism in pursuit of its vital profits.

The items below, selected from the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times for Oct. 21 through 25 — the dates were arbitrarily chosen — are presented as a profile, or cumulative portrait of what might be called "Five Days In The Life Of U.S. Imperialism."

A loophole in Ottawa tax laws is the basis for a \$100 million refinery planned to begin operation in 1970 under nominal ownership of the Newfoundland government through a "crown corporation" holding company. The plant will actually be operated by a subsidiary of Shaheen Natural Resources, Inc., a New York-based company owned by financier John Shaheen. The Newfoundland government plans to lend or guarantee \$30 million to the financier and then to sell its holding company for a token \$2,000 to Shaheen once the initial financing has been repaid. The New York company also plans to build a newsprint mill in Ottawa, although not on the same tax-exempt terms as the refinery. (WSJ 10/21)

U.S. investors have bought \$500 million worth of bonds to back the hydro-electric project at Churchill Falls, Canada. Bonds for the project, which will have twice the output of Grand Coulee in the U.S., were offered through Wall Street firm of Morgan Stanley and Co. (WSJ Oct. 25)

Pressures on U.S. domestic oil reserves, as well as the need to export capital, are responsible for the great "oil rush" in Canada's Alberta Province, which the New York Times of Oct. 21 compares to the gold rush of a century earlier. Findings of great reserves by Richfield and Humble Oil on the northern coast of Alaska have spurred other U.S. companies to undertake \$150 million worth of exploratory rigging in Alberta, three times more than last year.

Wall Street Journal of Oct. 23 notes that Shell Canada has withdrawn from the exploration of Alberta's Athabasca Tar oils. Presently producing are Great Canadian Oil Sands, Ltd., 82 per cent owned by Sun Oil of Philadelphia, and Syncrude Canada, Ltd., owned 30 per cent each by Atlantic Richfield, Cities Service, and Imperial Oil Ltd., and 10 per cent by Royalite, a British-American subsidiary.

The oil picture is not so rosy for all U.S. companies. Getty Petroleum, put under control by the Algerian government in the Mideast War of 1967, while it was still Veedol Oil, has had to accept a split partnership with the Algerian government company, Sonatrach. Getty gets 49 per cent. (For the Algerians, not yet a full victory, but a vast improvement over the old days.) (NYT, Oct. 21)

WSJ of Oct. 22 lists U.S. firms which dominate the Libyan oil scene. They include Standard Oil of New Jersey, Amerada Petroleum, Continental Oil, Marathon Oil, Mobil Oil Corp., Sinclair Oil Corp., W.R. Grace and Co., Texaco, and Standard Oil of Indiana.

Another oil company is having its troubles in Europe. Marathon Oil of Ohio subsidiary Deutsch Marathon Petrol sold 79 of its German service stations to Gulf of Pittsburgh subsidiary. (WSJ, Oct. 21) It sold 18 to the Italian state owned ENI in September. The Journal noted that "Marathon's retrenchment in retail comes when many U.S. companies are hotly competing for retail outlets for burgeoning supplies of crude oil coming to Europe, especially from New South African fields."

Continental Copper and Steel Industries, Inc. and its 98 per cent-owned Chilean subsidiary got the Chilean government approval for a \$32.5 million copper mine and plant in the north. This would make Continental the fourth largest producer in Chile. The Chilean government has an option to buy 25 per cent of the subsidiary, Compania Anonima Cuprifera de Sagasca, by 1969. Continental would then loan Sagasca \$7.5 million. A similar arrangement is contemplated for the Minera Andera mine, 75 per cent owned by Cerro Corp., and the Exotica Minera 75 per cent Anaconda-owned. Anaconda also has three wholly owned Chilean mines. Continental plans to export the copper to Europe. (WSJ, Oct. 21)

Elsewhere in Latin America, imperialism has cause for modest optimism: In Peru, despite the recent nationalization of the Standard of New Jersey-owned La Brea-Parinas oilfield, worth \$200 million-plus, bankers note that Gen. Velasco Alvarado is expected to relieve them from the pressure Belaunde Terry had exerted to "force foreign banks to increase their capital reserves in Peru." (NYT, Oct. 25)

In Puerto Rico, a full-page NYT ad proclaims, "298 new U.S.-owned plants were announced... the island's greatest natural resource is its large labor supply." (WSJ Oct. 22)

Litton Industries, the giant conglomerate, may have in mind the cheap labor and generally pleasant climate for investment that the fascist junta now enforces in Greece. The company will present the Greek regime with plans for a \$60 million tourist development in the western Peloponnese. (WSJ, Oct. 21.)

The amount of money either already committed or prospectively committed by U.S. companies in those of the above operations for which figures were given (fewer than half) totals \$700 million.

This formidable figure will of course be spread over several years. However, the five-day period covered in our review is not an extraordinary one. U.S. capital expands relentlessly in any given business week, and indeed day in, day out, through the year.

Returns on yesterday's investment become the surplus value which fuels tomorrow's expansion elsewhere, on an ever larger scale. The imperialist process of which these ventures are but a tiny fraction can be blocked, made to change focus, and so on, by its own contradictions and by the world's oppressed. The process, however, like the constantly regenerating tentacles of some giant octopus, can only be permanently stopped with the death of the beast — of the U.S. capitalist system — itself.

BUILD A
WORKERS WORLDBuy a Subscription
for a FriendBehind the Black Power
Racism and Exploitation

"Wouldn't it be a shame if baseball waited until the ball park is burned down before it stepped in and did things right?" — Larry Doby, Cleveland Indians.

During the Olympics in Mexico City this fall, Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised their black-gloved clenched fists in a Black Power salute. The defiant gesture was not only a show of solidarity with the black liberation struggle, but also a protest against the racist discrimination and injustice suffered by black athletes in the U.S.

By D. GORDON

"Every morning the world of sports wakes up and congratulates itself on its contributions to race relations... the cliché that sports has been good to the Negro has been accepted by black and white, liberal and conservative, intellectual and red-neck.... But Negro athletes do not agree. Almost to a man they are dissatisfied, disgruntled and disillusioned...."

These comments are made by Jack Olsen at the beginning of his five-part series of articles entitled "The Black Athlete — A Shameful Story," appearing recently in Sports Illustrated magazine.

"Black collegiate athletes say they are dehumanized, exploited and discarded, and some even say they were happier back in the ghetto."

Percy Harris, line football coach at all-black Du Sable High School in Chicago, when asked what he got out of four years of scholarship athletics, said: "Well, let's see... at the University of New Mexico I got a sweater. At Cameron State College in Oklahoma I got a blanket. At Southwestern State

I got a jacket and a blanket."

"Blacks are brought in to perform... in most cases their college lives are educational blanks," says Harry Edwards, the leader of the black athletes' rebellion.

Don Smith of Iowa was quoted: "Me and my white teammates never did anything together on campus. All the white players would go to parties together, but I was never invited to go with them."

"Black athletes are battling against enormous odds... because the cultural deprivation that is visited upon the Negro child from the cradle onward has had its inevitable effect by the time of college or job seeking." As Harry Edwards put it, "You talk about accepting responsibility. Well, I say to you, you take a new-born black child and you put him in a big, black box with a closed black top and when he's 21 and you say, 'Now, boy, you try to do my work', is it fair to expect him to measure up to a white child you never put in a box?"

The black athlete "endures unbearable agonies of alienation and fright in the white classroom" according to the author.

One of the few white coaches willing to speak candidly of the exploitation of black athletes is Tex Winter of Kansas State. "We go out and look for the exceptional Negro basketball player, and without regard to his background.... We bring him into a white college environment with one purpose in mind — to get what we can out of him as



Immediately following winners in the 400-meter Carlos and Tommie Smith

Electoral College Bad? Yes! W

Nov. 4 — Assuming that neither Nixon nor Humphrey gets 270 electoral votes, the Presidential election, according to the U.S. Constitution, will be decided in the House of Representatives.

Aside from the sharp constitutional crisis that such an event would portend, what does the possibility itself reveal to us about the Constitution? What does it tell us about capitalist democracy in the USA?

First and most obviously, as the capitalist press itself admits, it shows that the "founding fathers" were extremely worried about the masses of the people ever actually choosing the President.

The original idea of the Electoral College was that of a gimmick to give a small group of aristocrats the task of choosing the Chief Executive. The Constitution makes no provision whatever for the popular election of these electors, leaving that up to the states to decide.

"Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in Congress." (Art. II, Sec. 1)

As the masses began to assert themselves, however, and gain the vote more widely, one state after another began electing the electors by more or less popular vote. (But this did not include white women, black slaves or very many poor people of either race.)

Partly in order to restrain this somewhat democratic development, the ruling class created and perfected the "two-party system." This system, among other things, makes sure that all the electors of a given state commit themselves to the same candidate, although this is not provided for in the Constitution.

How It's Stacked

Thus, if a bare majority of populous New York State should vote for Nixon, he would get 45 electoral votes toward his 270. But if Humphrey were to get the total vote of Ohio (and this might well amount to more popular votes than Nixon's hypothetical majority in New York), Humphrey would gain only 25 electoral votes.

Thus a greater popular vote could turn out to give a considerably smaller electoral vote.

The schoolbooks tell us this doesn't

Power Olympic Protest: Exploitation of Black Athletes

a basketball player."

Harry Edwards said of black college athletes, "They don't get an education because their primary purpose is to compete.... At the end of four years they wind up with no degree, no job and no references." As Olsen says, "They were there as black hired hands to bring a national championship to the little-known school, and the matter of their education ranked second." A Big Ten basketball coach referred to the exploitation of black athletes as the "slave trade."

"...The essential character of the game, the ethics and folkways, remain white.... He (the black athlete) is a hired performer and he has a job only so long as he knows his place in the white game and stays in it," comments Olsen.

Olsen cites numerous examples, from up-south and down-south, of racism. The word nigger is commonplace in the athletic department of the University of Washington where the so-called "Huskie Way" is a euphemism for "the White Way." The "quota system" of playing only so many black players in the backfield or on the field at once is common practice. "The heroes are supposed to be white." "Stacking," which results in black athletes being allowed to play only in certain positions, is systematically applied.

Speaking of the professional black athlete, right off the bat the Olsen article says, "Black professional athletes say they are underpaid, shunted

into certain stereotyped positions and treated like subhumans by paleolithic coaches who regard them as watermelon-eating idiots."

Larry Doby, the first Afro-American to play in the American League, is deeply bitter over his experiences: "You know those junkyards along the highways in Jersey? Well, they have scrapheaps just like that for athletes — most of them black. Black athletes are cattle. They're raised, fed, sold and killed.... Baseball moved me toward the front of the bus and it let me ride there as long as I could run. And then it told me to get off at the back door."

Although the life of the average black professional athlete is a lot better than that of black college athletes, he still faces many of the same problems, racism on and off the field.

Olsen points out that despite the fact that more than half the players in the National Basketball Association, a quarter in the National Football League (the last All-NFL team was 40%), 25% in major league baseball, are black, the black athlete still finds he is playing "a white man's game run by the white man in the white man's front office and applying the white man's old stereotyped concepts."

More often than not the black man is in the outfield in baseball. Only a small percentage are pitchers, etc.

No black man was permitted to be quarterback in football, and there are

Continued in next column below



At the medal ceremony, Larry James, Lee Evans and Ron Freeman, who had been suspended from the U.S. team and deported from Mexico.

Why Did They Have It 178 Yrs?

happen "often" — just in 1800, 1824 and in a kind of murky way (amid lots of maneuvers and "miscounts") in 1876.

However, in a case where the candidates were to represent sectional interests, or where the social trends were very different in some states than others, this provision could be a strong obstacle to the popular vote having any effect.

Ideal for Horse Trading

Furthermore, the provision for an absolute majority of the electors being necessary to elect a President was originally the opening for a lot of maneuvering and horse-trading by the well-heeled rulers or their political agents in the electoral college.

This again was due to the electors being the aristocrats and "elder statesmen" who were supposed to choose the President out of their own wisdom.

Later, this provision was superseded, because of the assertion of some of the masses on the one side and the outgrowth of fierce factionalism in the ruling class (between slaveowners and capitalists) on the other.

In the case of Abraham Lincoln,

who was one of four "major party" candidates, a civil war broke out when he won. And the immediate cause of that war was partly the dissatisfaction over Lincoln's getting the electoral college majority, when he didn't get the majority of the popular vote. (He did get the plurality — the most votes — however.)

The fact that Lincoln represented historical progress, and in that sense was by far the best candidate, is another matter. This was one of the few cases where a decrepit institution of an outlived class, proved very helpful to a new class.

But it is also a proof that when an election is really serious, and not a tweedledee — tweedledum affair, the beaten faction is not so likely to abide by the "legal" results.

When It "Goes to the House"

In case no candidate gets a majority of the 538 electors (270), the election is then decided in the House of Representatives. Here the Constitution is even more undemocratic. For each state is allowed but one vote.

New York State, with 19 million

Continued on page 7

Jackie and Aristotle: In Love There's a Trust

There is a movement afoot to have the marriage between Aristotle Onassis and Jacqueline Kennedy annulled. An influential section of legal opinion holds that their marriage constitutes a violation of the anti-trust laws.

In fact, certain incurable legalists insist on referring to the blissful event as a merger. Eager-beavers in the accounting field have already begun speculating as to whether or not the newly-weds can qualify as a conglomerate.

The anti-trust case is quite convincing in certain respects however. According to finance-matrimonial experts, when half a billion dollars gets together with another half a billion, trust tends to suffer in the partnership. Under these conditions, say the experts, liquidation is a constant possibility, particularly in the case of an aging corporation.

There have also been other objections along different lines. For example: The Vatican is now working up a document which proves that the marriage is sinful, ecclesiastically unsound, and a violation of all that is holy. In particular, the Holy Father of Rome is devout in his belief that unity in the church of God comes before having to split the Kennedy pie with Athens.

Old Cardinal Cushing from Boston, however, who is closer to the situation than His Holiness, is engaged in a doctrinal dispute with Rome. Cushing is said to have created quite a stir in the Registrar's Office at Harvard the day of the marriage announcement. He is the oldest non-matriculated student in the school's illustrious history to sign up for the intensive crash course in ancient Greek.

There is no truth whatsoever in reports that the marriage is to be listed on the American Stock Exchange. Nor is there any validity to the entirely unfounded rumor circulating in the international trading community to the effect that President de Gaulle has invited the happy couple to join the European Common Market. Credibility is given, however, to reports of an invitation to grant the pair special status with the Outer Seven. Reliable sources indicate that this subject was seriously discussed at the cabinet level in Britain during a recent brain storming session on London's balance of payments deficit. Unofficial feelers were also sent, according to these sources, with the approval of Prime Minister Wilson, offering the couple a title of nobility and the county of Yorkshire, if they agree to live in it.

Aristotle is said to be an inordinately

passionate individual whose emotions are easily touched by beauty. Onassis took a long step up the ladder of love in 1938 when he got together with glamorous Athina Livona, the daughter of the biggest shipping baron in the sea-faring country of Greece. This merger ended in divorce.

By coincidence Jacqueline's family is also endowed with that same manner of beauty which Aristotle finds irresistible. Jackie's mother, Janet Auchincloss, is the daughter of James T. Lee, a lawyer-banker, who was a member of the Maryland branch of the Lee family which ruled Virginia during the slave days.

She married a wealthy broker named John Bouvier and when that broke up, she tried again with Hugh Auchincloss, the head of a Washington-based brokerage firm, whose family is said to be linked with the Rockefellers, Du Ponts and Mellons and a few other miscellaneous magnates.

Jet-setters filled with cynical envy have been passing snide remarks around the various rivieras insinuating all sorts of animal motives to Aristotle. They point to the rare beauty of his two wives and snicker knowingly.

But close friends of Aristotle's are indignant over these vile contentions and vigorously deny everything. They claim for the magnate, who grew up as a loner in the rough and tumble world of cut-throat capitalism, a simple and lifetime longing for the warmth and security of a family life. As proof, they cite during both marriages, his unexampled devotion and attention to his in-laws — oft times even to the point of total neglect of his spouse.

Contrary to much of the jealous sniping, Jacqueline is positively transfixed by her new husband's charm. It is true that he is 30 years her senior and his visage contrasts sharply with that of her late husband. But such surface qualities, which occupy the attention of gossips, are immaterial to Jacqueline who is drawn to her lover by innumerable points of interest.

Jackie is fully charmed by Aristotle's art collection. She is crazy about his island and the funny way in which he ties the crooked knots in his ties. They say she loves it when he lets her steer his aeroplanes and she was taken with his gallantry when he invited her to re-decorate the interior of his yacht. But most of all she adores his government. She says it's that Lee strain in her that makes colonels seem irresistible.

—Exploitation of Black Athletes

very few linebackers, guards or centers.

Says an NFL player, "Remember, the idea in pro football is to create white heroes to please the white crowd. Negroes play cornerback because cornerback isn't what you would call a heroic position. It works out fine for everybody's prejudices — fans and coaches." "Yassuh, white man boss," says one derisive NFL cornerback. "We ain't got the brains to play center, 'cause we can't count, but we can follow that flanker's ass all the way down the field, yuck, yuck."

One white player spoke openly and frankly of the racial prejudice. "The league reeks of it. The way the teams are composed. The way the locker rooms are laid out. The way Negroes are criticized more than whites. The way they're not supposed to know how to play certain positions. The way the white players are allowed to boss them around and criticize them."

In baseball as in other sports the racist rule of thumb that the black player must be twice as good as the white player was startlingly revealed in a statistical study by Aaron Rosenblatt in the sociological journal, *Trans Action*, that Olsen referred to. In the season of 1962 through 1965 the black major leaguer hit a fantastic 21.2 percentage points better than the white major leaguer. Approximately the same percentage pertained to the previous nine years. Olsen points out

in addition that "Of the top ten hitters in the National League last season only one was a Caucasian. When the black player stops hitting the 20 points better than the white, baseball is through with him — 'forever,' says Olsen.

There are almost no Afro-Americans in baseball's front office personnel. Only one black coach, and no black managers. In general, black players' salaries are lower and they get almost none of the fairly lucrative product-endorsement from advertising.

In the first article, Olsen had a good summing-up paragraph for the entire series: "Sports becomes a bridge out of the ghetto, but for how many? The number is terribly small. At most, sports has led a few thousand Negroes into a better life while substituting a meaningless dream for hundreds of thousands of other Negroes. It has helped to perpetuate an oppressive system." The situation could scarcely be better described.

Joe Black, one of the National League's finest relief pitchers 15 years ago, sums it up this way: "Sure, black athletes were given opportunities, but they used to be denied the right of dissent. They were forced to accept the status quo. Now black athletes are telling the sports world that those yesterdays are gone."

In Mexico City last week Tommie Smith and John Carlos with their black-gloved hands raised in the clenched fist, were also telling the world that those yesterdays are gone.

Black GIs Stand Firm at 'Riot-Duty' Refusal Trial

Racist Brass Nervous, Gives Light Sentences; ASU, ECLC Cooperate for Defense, See Victory

On August 24, 1968 electrifying news of a demonstration by over 100 black soldiers against possible riot duty in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention came from Fort Hood, Texas. Just after 6 a.m. that morning MPs were ordered to break up the all-night demonstration at Central Ave & 65th in the middle of the 40,000-man army fort. Forty-three black GIs were arrested on the pretext that they were missing reveille formation. Those arrested were later beaten by military police in the post stockade annex.

As soon as this news broke, the American Servicemen's Union called the Public Information Officer at Fort Hood and demanded to know the names of the men arrested. The PIO refused, but within a few hours the Union had obtained the names its own way. The men were contacted and legal defense arranged. When hearings began in September, ASU members went to Fort Hood and were arrested for "vagrancy" by local

and GI sympathizers awaited the verdict. The court (equivalent of a civilian jury) of 17 officers and non-commissioned officers — the latter are called "enlisted men" to pretend that the accused are before a jury of their peers — deliberated from 10:25 a.m. until 1:15 p.m. before declaring Smith, Frederick, Royal and Henry guilty of "wilfully disobeying the lawful command of a superior officer." Rucker and Bess were acquitted of the same charge.

Throughout the four-day proceedings, black and white GIs came to the courtroom to show their solidarity with the men on trial. They were subjected to constant harassment by the unsettled brass for doing so.

A black soldier in civilian dress, who was being separated from the Army and only awaited the final processing of his papers, was arrested for failure to salute during flag-lowering as he stood outside the court building. A white GI who pulled his car into the drive outside the building was ticketed for "blocking the roadway" although a jeep had passed him without trouble.

After the verdict was returned, defense attorney Michael Kennedy of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee called those convicted to the stand to testify on their own behalf.

Sp/4 Tollie Royal told the court he had studied biology in college for a year before beginning a two-year hitch in the Army. He was the outstanding soldier of his cycle in basic training and was assigned to the infantry. Royal is married and the father of three young sons.

Royal stood up and said with emotion, "I know I am innocent... Tell me how you found me guilty." The court was apparently stunned by this. Their eyes were averted and no one answered. After repeating his question, Royal was interrupted by the law officer (similar to a civilian judge), Col. Barry. Barry said the question was improper since the court was bound not to reveal how it reached its conclusion during secret deliberations, etc., etc.

SP/4 Albert Henry took the stand next. Henry, 19, was wounded twice in Vietnam, once while pulling a wounded comrade out of fire despite an order to stay behind. He told the court, "I know I was innocent but you found me guilty and I will accept your punishment... This won't stop anything. What is going on at Fort Hood is not right."

Pvt. Frederick let the court have it. "I'm no angel and don't claim to be one," he said. (His record, which included such "crimes" as taking an unauthorized Christmas leave, had been read to the court.) He defended the demonstration by black GIs and ended by saying, "I am not guilty."

Pfc. Guy Smith was the last to speak. He had spent two months in the stockade in Vietnam for refusing the order of a racist NCO who assigned him to guard duty when Smith was due for R&R after four months in the field. He told the court, "I demonstrated against Army policy here and in Vietnam.... There is racism and prejudice here. General Bowles said he would do something about it, but



At Fort Hood during their court-martial. (Left to right) Pfc. Ernest Frederick, Sp/4 Tollie Royal, Pfc. Guy Smith and Sp/4 Albert Henry.

nothing has been done.... There are clubs in Killeen (the base town) where black GIs can't go.... The black man has been held back because of his color. Your convictions add to the injustice." And he warned, "Too many black people are taking too much now."

In summing up the testimony for mitigation and extenuation, attorney Kennedy said, "The Army's racist policies are on trial. Indicate that you will work to end racism in the Army."

The reply of the prosecutor, Capt. Trammel, was very brief. "This United States Army, this United States," he said, "cannot survive without law and order."

Deliberation on the sentences took over three hours and it was dark when the court convened for the last time. Royal was sentenced to three months unconfined hard labor, reduction to lowest rank and fined \$75. Henry got the same sentence but with confinement for three months. Smith and Frederick got bad conduct discharges.

Morale was high as the men left the courtroom, shaking hands and gathering around the jeep that was to take Henry to the stockade. The relatively lenient sentences were a victory — not of justice, but of the strength and determination of the Black soldiers not to be used against their brothers.

If justice had figured in this at all there would have been no convictions to begin with since the prosecution's case was practically non-existent.

A Col. Cassidy was brought in to testify that he heard Col. Kulo, who was Provost Marshal of Fort Hood at the time, order the black soldiers to disperse. Col. Kulo then testified to that himself, although on cross-examination it appeared that the order was not really an order but merely an

instruction. An MP sergeant likewise said he heard the order and that it was an order. Lt. John Baker, who was on duty at the stockade when the 43 prisoners arrived, read the blotter entry indicating the names of the men on trial today and the charges against them. On questioning by Kennedy it was revealed that the charges listed on the blotter were not the charges for which they were on trial. Furthermore, only one of the men on trial was identified by prosecution witnesses.

The defense then made a motion to throw the whole case out on the grounds that no evidence had been presented linking the accused with the charge — violation of Art. 90 — for which they were being tried. The motion was denied by Col. Barry just as he consistently denied numerous defense motions.

Early in the proceedings Kennedy had put the prosecutor on the stand and asked why 19 men, including his six clients, were referred to general courts-martial when 22 others had been tried by special courts. Capt. Trammel said it could be because of previous convictions or the records of the men. But when Kennedy asked him to compare the record of one GI given a special court-martial with Sgt. Rucker's record — Rucker had a much better record than the other man — Trammel hemmed and hawed and stammered. It was apparent that the brass thought these six men were leaders of the protest and tried to hit them harder with general courts-martial, but were afraid to say so. Col. Barry finally rescued the prosecution by saying that it was up to the discretion of the commanding officer as to what kind of court-martial a soldier gets and that was that.

Ft. Hood 3, ASU Members Cheered at GI-Week Rally

NEW YORK, Nov. 2 — A crowd estimated at 3,000 people gathered today at the corner of 48th St. and Park Ave. where a rally, sponsored by the 5th Ave. Peace Parade Committee, was being held as part of GI Week. Reverend Thomas Hayes of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship chaired the rally and lined up GIs and civilian supporters to speak before an open microphone.

Jimmy Johnson and Dennis Mora, two members of the Fort Hood Three, who were just recently released from Federal Prison at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, where they had served 22 months of a 3-year sentence for refusing orders to Vietnam, were among the featured speakers.

Bob Lemay (no relation to the war-monger, Curtis), recently discharged from the Army and Dick Wheaton, both members of the American Servicemen's Union, spoke to the crowd about the Union, anti-war organizing inside the Armed Forces and of the ASU's role in organizing the legal defense of the 43 Black GIs at Fort Hood who were court-martialed for demonstrating against going to Chicago to suppress their brothers in the ghetto.

Bob Lemay spoke of his experiences in Vietnam and read the eight demands of the ASU, to which he received enthusiastic applause.

Dick Wheaton made a call to all GIs present to organize themselves into a force which would put an end to the oppression of the enlisted men by the officer class and an end to the war in Vietnam. "If we can get together on the streets of New York to air our grievances," he said, "we can organize ourselves in the barracks to DO something about them."

Another GI, who was arrested during the anti-Wallace demonstration last week, thanked the crowd for the support they were showing for GIs and finished his talk by stating: "I've never seen a congressman's son in the U.S. Army, and I've never seen a big businessman's son in the U.S. Army. And you and I know why."

Joel Myers, a draft resister who was sentenced to four years for refusing induction, took the mike and expressed his solidarity with "the courageous GIs who are struggling within the Armed Forces against racist oppression at home and the U.S. imperialist war against the Vietnamese people." He also spoke of Ed Oquendo, a Black draft resister who is presently serving 5 years for refusing induction, and who played a major role in supporting the struggle of Andy Stapp, an anti-war soldier, in the summer of 1967. Mr. Oquendo was also a member of the Committee for GI Rights.



Sgt. Robert Rucker with Bill Smith, Vietnam editor of The BOND.

cops in collusion with the military.

The following account of the trial of six black GIs is written by Ellen Catalinotto who went to Fort Hood with representatives of The Bond and the A.S.U. to show support for the men singled out for more serious general courts-martial.

By ELLEN CATALINOTTO

FORT HOOD, Texas, Oct. 25 - The court-martial of six black GIs who demonstrated along with 100 others against racism and riot control duty ended here tonight after four days. Two men were acquitted, two got sentences of three months hard labor and the others received bad conduct discharges. The sentences, considerably less than the maximum, were an indication of the Army's fear that harsher punishment might back fire and lead to open rebellion.

The convictions were the expected outcome of military "justice," so the real climax of the trial came when the convicted men took the stand and put the Army on trial for racism.

The six men on trial today — Pfc. Guy Smith, Sgt. Robert Rucker, Sp/4 Tollie Royal, Pfc. Ernest Frederick, Pfc. Ernest Bess and Sp/4 Albert Henry — were the first of 19 soldiers who face more serious general courts-martial which can hand down maximum sentences of five years hard labor and a dishonorable discharge. Twenty-two others were tried by special courts-martial, in which six months hard labor and a fine is the maximum penalty. Civilian lawyers for all the men were arranged for by the American Servicemen's Union so the accused would not have to depend on Army officers to "defend" them, as is customary.

Tension built up outside building 2230 - Fort Hood Courtroom - this afternoon as the defendants, civilian supporters from the Committee for GI Rights, The Bond and the Oleo Strur,



Author, Ellen Catalinotto at Fort Hood here with Roger Vaughn (center) of Life magazine and Frank Denton, New York Times Austin correspondent.

Greek Fascists Designated by U.S. To Play Key Role in Mideast Aggression

"The military junta now running Greece evidently believes it will get a new lease on office out of the Arab-Israeli crisis on the ground that the possibility of war in the Middle East may make stability in Athens more important to Washington and its NATO allies than the restoration of democracy in Greece."

So began an editorial on May 30, 1967, in the New York Times six weeks after Colonels Papadopoulos, Patakos and Makarezos had staged a coup and put the Greek people under a fascist dictatorship.

This editorial was written five days before the Israeli attack on the Arabs. During the pre-war period and the war itself the Greek fascists did yeoman's duty for the U.S. oil monopolies. Now that the Mideast situation is moving headlong towards a new clash between U.S.-Israeli forces and the Arab liberation struggle, Washington is rushing to ply the puppet colonels with arms.

Clearly the Greek fascists have long been designated by the Pentagon to play a key role in the war of U.S. big busi-

ness against the oppressed peoples of the Mediterranean and the socialist countries who support them.

"Just last week," reported the Wall Street Journal on Oct. 21, 1968, "... NATO set up a new combined command under which U.S., British and Italian air units will work together to keep a sharper watch on Soviet ships in the Mediterranean." This came within days of the announcement that full military aid to the Greek regime would be resumed by the U.S. and would include planes, tanks and ships in addition to spare parts, small arms and ammunition that have been sent all along. A month earlier, the military leadership of NATO had gathered in Athens for an inspection tour of the alliance's southern forces.

When the 1967 Mideast war broke out, "Greece was loyally helpful," wrote C.L. Sulzberger, an editor of the Times who opposes the junta because he prefers the monarchy. "Strategically, America depends heavily on Greece because of the need for access to its ports and airfields now that such facilities have been taken away from the U.S. in most Arab lands."

Before and during the war, Sixth Fleet ships, including two aircraft carriers, were stationed off Crete, a Greek island only 370 miles from Port Said on the Suez Canal and 540 miles from Haifa, Israel — less than a day's travel for the fast-moving vessels. And thousands of U.S. citizens who were evacuated from the Mideast were flown to Athens.

While the U.S. government supposedly grieved over the passing of democracy in its birthplace, the Pentagon and State Department were helping the fascists along. Admiral Rivero, U.S. commander-in-chief of NATO forces in southern Europe, entertained Papadopoulos on the flagship Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"In this delicate game of guiding the internal politics of an ally," admitted the New York Times on Sept. 10, 1967, "the U.S. influence is considerable, for in the Byzantine world of Greek politics, American diplomats and CIA agents often play as important a role as the Greek politicians themselves."

In October, 1967, a bill was passed in Congress authorizing the loan of 17 destroyers and submarines to eight countries, including Greece, despite objections by some congressmen to aiding the junta. The Evans & Novak column revealed on Nov. 2, 1967, that Daniel H. Brewster, State Dept. "desk officer for Greece in Washington and the major formulator of U.S. policy on Greece, is an unabashed friend of the colonels."

On Dec. 14, the U.S. suspended relations with Greece following an abortive counter-coup by King Constantine which ended with the King, who is legal head of state, fleeing to Rome. But six weeks later diplomatic relations were restored. As Newsweek had written just after the King went into exile, "Washington... would surely put its primary emphasis on maintaining the integrity of the NATO alliance" in the event of having to choose between "democratic" King Constantine and the fascists.

The embargo on heavy arms, in effect until last month, caused concern among U.S. officials that Greek NATO forces were being weakened. (Although some military men indicated that the supply of spare parts and ammunition, never halted by the Pentagon, was more vital to military strength than new tanks, etc.) Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, in his first public committee session since his appointment, urged resumption of full-scale arms shipments to Greece.

Two days after the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, C.L. Sulzberger recovered from the loss of the King and had sudden high praise for the junta. It had, he said, "faced the Cyprus problem squarely, taken decisions no predecessor dared contemplate and paved the way for strengthening NATO in the Eastern Mediterranean."

The last reason is so vital to U.S. imperialism that the U.S., in addition to aiding and abetting the Greek fascists, is a prime suspect for engineering the coup.

The coup itself was accomplished by the military using a NATO internal security plan code-named "Prometheus." One vital part of "Prometheus" was the rounding up of 7,000 to 45,000 (the numbers vary — Newsweek gives the higher figure, the Times the lower) suspected Communists and Communist sympathizers. Thousands are still in island concentration camps almost two years, and several "amnesties," later.

Elections, which had been scheduled for the month following the coup, were cancelled. Laws passed during the Nazi occupation were revived. A constitution presented after much delay had provisions for taking away all the rights it supposedly guaranteed. In addition to the thousands of leftists sent to the desolate islands of Yiaros and Leros, army officers, publishers, politicians and even bankers considered suspect were imprisoned by the Ministry of Public Order.

TEL AVIV STEPS UP ANTI-ARAB ATTACKS

The most recent acts of belligerence by Israeli forces have caused great alarm throughout the Arab world, but at the same time have brought about greater resistance and preparation by the Palestinian liberation movement and the Arab nations. Attacks deep into Egyptian and Jordanian territories have characterized Israel's new aggressive stand.

On Oct. 27, Israeli troops bombarded the oil refineries at Port Suez. The refineries process about 80 per cent of Egypt's oil. Israeli missiles also bombed the Egyptian town of Port Taufiq, killing and injuring a number of civilians. The Israeli aggressors even turned their guns on the most moderate of the Arab countries, Lebanon. Israeli soldiers fired across the Lebanese border, also on Oct. 27, wounding two Lebanese soldiers and damaging three houses.

Israeli war planes bombed a bridge and a power station on Nov. 1 in upper Egypt near Luxor, killing one civilian and wounding two others. The same planes also dropped bombs in the vicinity of Nag Hammadi, a sugar cane center.

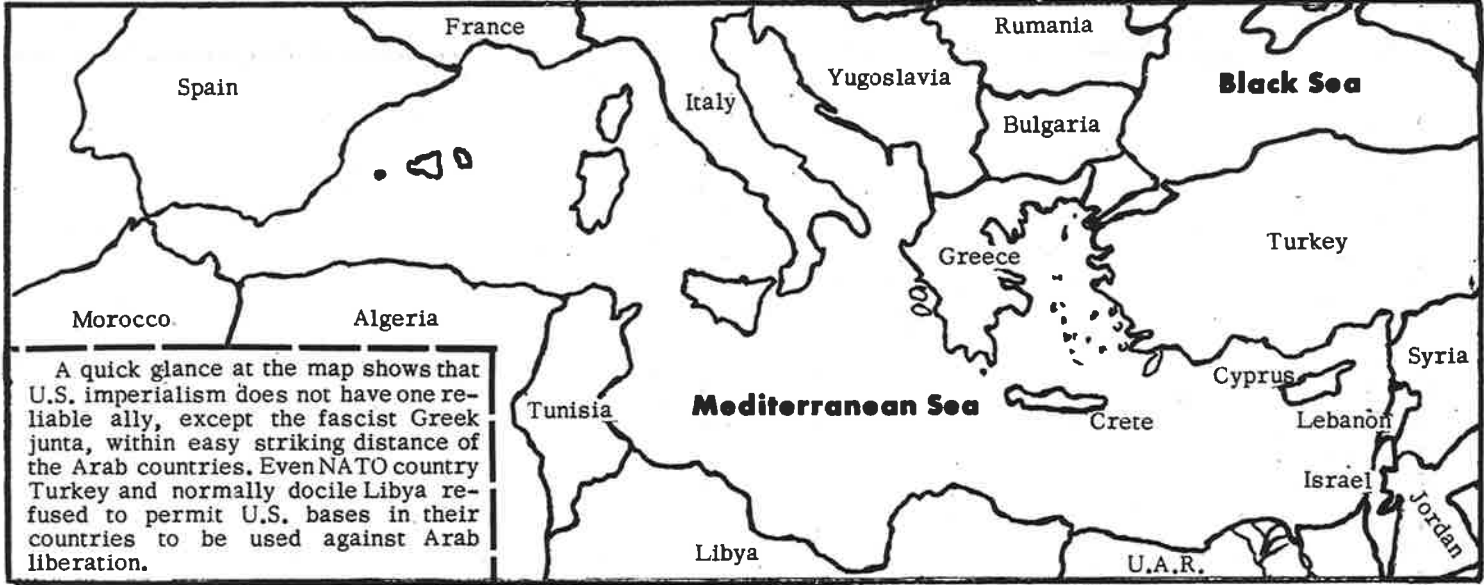
Also on Nov. 1, Israeli troops attacked a transformer station and two bridges on the Nile between Aswan and Cairo, deep inside UAR territory. According to a New York Times dispatch filed on Nov. 1 by James Feron from Jerusalem:

"The raid, probably the most daring in two decades of strife between the two countries, was expected to increase tension between Jerusalem and Cairo." (Note the Times reporter's slip — "Jerusalem," instead of Tel Aviv — which reflects the expansionist mentality of the U.S.-backed Israeli rulers.)

Israeli authorities seized 15 stores in Jerusalem on Nov. 2 in "retaliation" for an Arab shopkeepers' strike protesting the 51st anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, in which Britain gave the green light for the formation of an exclusively Jewish state within Palestine. But in Amman, the capital of Jordan, over 15,000 Jordanian demonstrators pelted the U.S. Embassy and scaled the embassy garden wall to tear down the American flag. At least a dozen windows were broken before Jordanians ended their protest of the Balfour Declaration.

In light of the recent aggressive acts by the imperialist-backed Israeli regime, the UAR's Cabinet, in a four-hour session, mapped out the role of the newly formed civil defense forces and decided that security measures be tightened. Both Jordan and Syria have also been the objects of aggression by Israeli forces and are likewise sharpening their military defenses. And the Palestine guerrillas have also vowed to continue their struggle for Palestinian liberation, despite the Israeli repressions in Israeli-occupied Arab territory.

But, actually, the disparity in popula-



—Electoral College Rotten for 178 Yrs.

Continued from page 5

people, gets one vote. And Nevada, with less than a half-million, also gets one vote. Even without any sectional or basic class differences between New York and Nevada, there is such an obviously wild disparity that the people are guaranteed not to have a voice, even if big capital was not maneuvering behind the scenes.

That is, of course, the big corporations would line up all the politicians in the House of Representatives to choose the President, just as they have lined up the Congressmen for pork-barrel politics for the past hundred years or so. But their job is made infinitely easier by the archaic Constitutional election processes.

Even those who do not believe that the Congress is ever tainted by big money cannot possibly believe that the above-described constitutional provision is remotely democratic.

Now the original reason for this particular undemocratic provision was not so much to take the power away from the people (other provisions were designed for that) as it was to conciliate with the less populous states and hold them in the Union.

But, actually, the disparity in popula-

tion was not so great then. It was a time of great difficulties in communication and travel.

And above all, the big social differences between Northern and Southern states, and the lesser ones between New England and the Middle Atlantic states, between them all and the Frontier, etc., made it necessary to assure each state of "equal" representation.

But the fact that this provision of the Constitution has never been changed is another indication of the extremely undemocratic bias of the modern rulers, rather than the "founding fathers."

Constitutionalism— And Unconstitutionality

A great deal can be said about the limitations and aristocratic bias of the makers of the Constitution, including the fact that half of them represented slaveholders.

But the modern rulers have had 179 years to adjust matters. And they have done remarkably little.

An almost exactly opposite provision illustrates this very sharply.

This provision is part of the Fourteenth Amendment, passed by Congress

in 1866 and ratified in 1868. It provides that any state which denies the vote to any of its citizens shall have its representation in the House of Representatives reduced accordingly.

This means that every U.S. law passed during the last 91 years is unconstitutional.

Why?

Because ever since 1877, the Northern ruling class has agreed to close its eyes to the Southern rulers' refusal to allow black people to vote. And state after state was allowed to have more than its constitutionally correct representation in Congress.

This raises the additional question: Why is it that the ruling class is so punctilious about observing the Constitution with respect to some of its clauses and so negligent or callous with respect to others?

Considering that the capitalists don't seem at all ready to embark on a course of fascism, it would appear that they might ignore Wallace's constitutional challenge, if he is able to make it this week.

But on the contrary, they would be thrown into the most extreme confusion by it.

The reasons for this go far deeper than legalisms, even constitutional legalisms. And if the event transpires that way, we shall discuss these reasons in a separate article.

Independence Is Real Target in Puerto Rican Draft Trial

By P. MEISNER

The upcoming trials of 85 draft resisters beginning Nov. 12 in Puerto Rico represent a critical point in the severe campaign of political repression currently being waged against the pro-independence forces by the U.S.-puppet regime. The colonial government has been desperately trying to halt the growth of an already powerful independence movement which recently held a giant centennial celebration of the "Grito de Lares." On Sept. 23, 20,000 powerful independence militants honored the anti-Spanish liberation fighters of 1868 as well as the 1968 liberation fighters of today against Yankee colonization known as the Armed Commandos for Liberation (CAL).

Another 25 cases will be tried in the same San Juan court over the arrests of students who took part in the Sept. 27, 1967 demonstration at the University of Puerto Rico. The demonstration was viciously attacked by the colonial police. That day, students battled policemen for seven hours during which the police murdered an onlooking taxi driver. Popular sentiment was so much against the police that no arrests were made by the police until seven months later when an anti-draft student strike was organized for April 25 by the Pro-Independence University Federation (FUPI). Almost the entire FUPI leadership was arrested in an attempt to crush the strike. As many as five charges on each in-

dividual were handed out, including conspiracy, inciting to riot, arson in the first and second degree, and malicious damages to private property.

Most of the 25 arrested for the Sept. 27 events are also among the 85 draft resisters, and it is obvious to all that the colonial authorities want to connect the two groups of defendants in order to bolster up their weak legal case for the Sept. 27 charges. One of the defendants on Nov. 12 will be Florencio Merced, Secretary of University Affairs for FUPI, who is currently in the United States to raise support for the defendants. Mr. Merced told this reporter:

"In trying to destroy our growing independence movement, the colonial government is using methods of political repression. In addition to the 85 draft resistance cases, there are still 115 draft cases pending before the courts. The police have also framed up a member of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI) on a charge of conspiracy to bomb Barker's department store, an American-owned business in Puerto Rico. Other militants of MPI are continually harassed by the police and sometimes held and interrogated for days."

Despite the persecution, support for the Puerto Rican draft fighters is growing rapidly throughout Puerto Rico. On October 30, the 18th anniversary of the Nationalist uprising led by Albizu Campos, a march of 4,000 students was



Despite a wave of government repression, pro-independence forces held a mass rally in front of the San Juan draft board and federal court.

held from the university in Rio Piedras to the draft board in the old San Juan district. At least 500 draft cards were turned in by the Puerto Rican youth and wrapped up in a Puerto Rican flag to be sent to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

On Nov. 12, the day the trials are scheduled to open in San Juan, the New York branch of the MPI will hold a picket line in front of the offices of the Puerto Rican Commonwealth government in Manhattan to protest the draft trials. Another demonstration will be held by progressive North American organizations and individuals, including Youth Against War & Fascism, chapters of SDS, the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement (CO-AIM).

A march will go from the Selective Service headquarters on 42nd St. and 2nd Ave. to the Times Square Armed Forces recruiting station.

The New York MPI branch issued a strong appeal for support of their

courageous compatriots in Puerto Rico in an Oct. 28 press release:

"Young Puerto Ricans today are more aware and there is a strong resistance against the compulsory draft for Puerto Ricans and against the American intervention in Vietnam. This has frightened the decaying capitalist structure which seemed to regard us as passive and docile. They are frightened because they did not expect to hear the voices of 110 young Puerto Ricans resist this inhuman atrocity.... You must help these young men. The Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico, which is organizing the resistance, desperately needs your support. Please contact the MPI office in New York at 106 E. 14th St., Tel. 473-9764 or P.O. Box 241, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, N.Y. 10009, immediately."

DEMONSTRATE NOV. 12 FOR 110 DEFENDANTS!

The following is a press release from the Movimiento Pro Independencia calling on all progressive people to demonstrate against the victimization of Puerto Rican militants in the liberation struggle.

* * *

NEW YORK, Nov. 5 — On November 12, 1968, the courts of Puerto Rico will begin the trials of the 110 young Puerto Ricans. Of the 110, eighty-five (85) will go up for trial for refusing to serve as cannon fodder to an imposed military draft. The other 25 face very serious charges that could bring them up to 20 years in prison cells for the

incidents that took place at the University of Puerto Rico on September 27, 1967.

The chapter of the M.P.I. (Movement for Puerto Rican Independence) in New York is calling for a massive picket on November 12, from 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. in front of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Office 322 West 45th Street. We will be protesting the persecution in Puerto Rico against the youth that refuse to serve in the U.S. Army and the silence of the colonial government of Puerto Rico.

For more information please write Mission Vito Marcantonio, P.O. Box 241, Peter Stuyvesant Station.

New Atrocities in Iran By CIA-Backed Shah

The following are excerpts from a leaflet published by the Iranian Students Association in the U.S.

"According to recent dispatches from Iran, ten freedom fighters who have been staging guerilla warfare in Western Iran have been captured, shot to death and then hanged in the public square. The slain patriots were all young (in their twenties). They included a University of Teheran student who had recently joined the Kurdish guerrillas of Western Iran.

"Such an event contains no surprise to those familiar with the contemporary Iranian scene. For example, the infamous bloody days of June, 1963 in the city of Teheran saw the mowing down of thousands of people by the U.S. backed and equipped army of the Shah and is still alive in the memories. The heavily equipped army serves only one purpose; to keep the people of Iran down on their knees.

"Well remembered is, also, an uprising of the Southern Iranian tribes that engaged the central government's army from 1962 to 1965. The protracted rebellion almost bogged down the totality of the Shah's modern army and it required an abundance of men and material and intense aerial support to crush the just aspirations of those courageous nomads. American jets, supplied with napalm and directed by U.S. advisory teams, saturated whole regions with carpets of fire causing death to women, children and destroyed crops and cattle. It was only through

this barbaric method that the CIA-U.S. operated campaign was able to subdue the mountain insurrection in the Fars province.

"The dictatorial regime of the Shah has always strived to hide and camouflage such news. It has always made serious attempts to prevent the leaking out of the bare and harsh realities of his dominion. Behind the facade of a 'democratic prince and popular monarch' there hides the ugly face of a dictator, his iron hands stained with the blood of two generations, during 27 years of almost unobstructed rule.

"The above mentioned freedom fighters were captured by superior forces and possible treachery. They were accused and charged with armed banditry. They were tried secretly and executed immediately. Such reaction is a blatant proof that they were engaged in a struggle for freedom and their open trial would have added to the scandalous position of the publicity-seeking CIA-directed Persian dictator.

"The I.S.A.-U.S. loudly condemns the Shah's tyrannical procedures in the recent execution of the Iranian Kurdish youth. We uphold the right of the Peoples of Iran to answer the violence perpetrated by the American supported local tyrant with resistance and revolutionary warfare. May the memories of the patriotic youth whose blood was shed in the province of Kurdistan cement further the solidarity of all Iranians in their forward battle to free themselves from subjugation and exploitation."

'U.S. Oil Monopolies Get Out of Iran!' Say Iranian Students

NEW YORK, Oct. 3 — The Iranian Students Association in the U.S. (ISA-US) held a demonstration today in support of the Iranian peasant guerrilla struggle. In a leaflet announcing the action, the student organization called for a protest against the recent murder of ten guerrillas in Iranian Kurdistan (West Iran) and an anti-imperialist solidarity demonstration.

A group of fifty members of the ISA-US, supported by Youth Against War & Fascism, began the demonstration by picketing on Fifth Avenue east of Rockefeller Plaza. Their signs drew the attention of Sunday strollers with such slogans as "Human Rights for Iran," "Support Kurdistan Liberation" and "The Shah Is a Murderer!"

The demonstrators filled the block from 50th to 49th Street with an open-ended picket line. The unusual tactic caught police off guard, and they stood by silently until the group began to chant "Freedom for Iran," "Down With the Shah," and "U.S. Get Out of Iran." At this point the cops limited the demonstration to half the sidewalk. The picket continued for a while and then became a march heading south along Fifth Avenue. A banner reading "U.S. Oil Monopolies Get Out of Iran/Down With the Shah" was unfurled at the head of the group.

The Iranian youths kept spirits up despite the grey, drizzly weather by singing an Iranian student anthem as they marched.

At Washington Square a member of the ISA-US spoke briefly to the group and to the spectators who had collected.

How Many Lives Saved By Vietnam Bombing?

Johnson said on October 31 that he couldn't stop the bombing earlier because it "would endanger the lives and safety of our troops." And this was the line of the whole ruling class, including to some extent the imperialist doves like McCarthy, who either accepted this argument or refused to demolish it.

But if bombing the North was done to save American lives (Vietnamese lives are not supposed to be saved), then the most logical question to ask is: How many Americans were killed before the bombing, and how many killed during the bombing?

In the whole year 1964, the U.S. official statistic for GI battle deaths was 136. In the year 1965, with the steady bombing inaugurated on Feb. 7 of that year, the official total battle deaths were 876, an increase of 544 per cent.

During 1966, 1967 and 1968, with the big bombers working every day that weather and anti-aircraft fire permitted, each dropping from 10 to 20 tons of bombs on a small country with no airplane production and a miniscule air force -- over 27,000 GIs were killed in battle, according to the U.S. command.

He said that the liberation movement was growing despite the Shah's U.S.-armed terror and that the guerrilla movement of which the ten murdered men were martyrs was just a beginning and would triumph.

Deirdre Stapp of YAWF recalled that the very first anti-Vietnam war demonstration in 1962 was smaller than this one and predicted a similar growth in international solidarity on the Iranian struggle, saying that the Iranian student anthem would become familiar to American youth. The rally concluded with a chant of "Unity, Struggle, Victory."

A Workers World Supplement

More Information About Trends In Czechoslovakia

The transformation of Czechoslovakia into a socialist republic in 1948 enraged imperialism and was largely responsible for the formation of NATO. For two decades the bourgeoisie has never ceased trying to recapture this key industrial country. In the months that followed the ouster of Antonin Novotny last January, it seemed as if they had totally succeeded. The intervention of the Warsaw Pact countries put a halt to this trend.

In previous issues we have explained the theoretical and political reasons why it is essential for the working class and the oppressed people to support

The Facts Today

First 6 Months of Dubcek Regime Began the Restoration of Capitalism

Below is a collection of facts as related in the bourgeois press during the first months of the Dubcek Government. We print it because of popular request for additional information which we received after the publication of our original "Fact Sheet" in the August 22 issue of WORKERS WORLD.

On April 11, 1968, just after the ouster of Antonin Novotny and the formation of a "liberal" Cabinet in Prague, a New York Times editorial expressed U.S. imperialism's sympathy for the new brand of "Socialism" in Czechoslovakia:

"With the induction of the new Cabinet headed by Premier Oldrich Cernik and the publication of the long-awaited 'action program' of the Communist party, the remarkable peaceful revolution in Czechoslovakia has completed the initial phase of its development. The Novotny gang has been swept from the commanding heights its members once monopolized, and the basic principles for what many Czechs and Slovaks hope will be a new, genuinely democratic road to Socialism have been spelled out.... The framers of the new document wisely sought to guard against Muscovite military or economic pressure by promising to remain in the Soviet bloc. But Prague has now given notice that it expects to exercise genuine sovereignty in this alliance.

"The immediate need is for the West, including the United States, to take concrete economic steps that show an understanding of the new Czechoslovakia and that provide meaningful aid now when that aid is most needed."

The Times editorial appeared the day after the Dubcek government had released its "action program" for carrying out "liberal" reforms. The program asserts that Czechoslovakia had entered a new stage of development in which "there no longer exist antagonistic classes and the main feature of internal development is becoming the process of rapprochement of all social groups of our society."

It should hardly be necessary to explain that the classless society here referred to -- and so joyously greeted by the imperialist press -- is not the last stage of socialism, but the planned first stage of restored capitalism.

When leaders in the midst of a campaign to reduce wages say, "There no longer exist antagonistic classes," we are not dealing with a theoretical error, but with the monstrous hypocrisy and monumental deceit of capitalism itself!

In this new stage of development, the program continues, "there has been a progressive change in the nature of our intelligentsia, which has become a people's Socialist intelligentsia.... (There must be a) basic change in existing cadre policy, where for years the aspects of education, qualifications and abilities have been underestimated....

"Democratization of the economy," continues the program, "includes in particular the realization of independence of enterprises and enterprise groupings and their relative independence of state bodies, the full and real application of the right of the consumer to determine consumption and his style

Continued on page M-2

"The economists speak of the excessive equalization of wages, which permits a mechanic or a truck driver to earn more than an engineer or a doctor

"To remedy this situation, the economists -- under the leadership of Ota Sik -- have been trying to introduce a major reform that would restore the profit incentive, force factories to get rid of their numerous superfluous workers, and stimulate managers to improve the quality of their products."

—Harry Schwartz, N.Y. Times, March 31.

that intervention.

We have also explained on these pages that the relative success of the capitalist class, both inside and outside Czechoslovakia, in undermining the workers' state has been, in large measure, the result of the failure of the revisionist leadership in the USSR and Prague to carry out political policy in a revolutionary Marxist manner based upon confidence in the working class.

This sad fact, however, should not cause any class-conscious worker to shrink from taking measures necessary to save Czechoslovakia from the grasp of imperialism.

Who Was Masaryk?

1918 State, Led by Masaryk, Founded By U.S. as Bulwark Against Socialism

One of the hallmarks of the so-called reform movement has been the revival of the principal figures of the pre-1948 period, such as Thomas Masaryk, his son Jan Masaryk and Edward Benes as political and national heroes. Furthermore, these developments take place within the context of the glorification of the first republic of Czechoslovakia founded in 1918.

The attempt is being made to transfer to the first republic and its president, Thomas Masaryk, the aura of independence in the revolutionary context of the independence of oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America today. By extension, Masaryk is held up as a national liberation leader.

In view of this fact, it is both worthwhile and necessary to take a concrete look at the Czechoslovak Republic of 1918, at its leaders, its relationship to imperialism and its relationship to the

oppressed, that is, at its class character.

Such an examination should be helpful to determine the class character of those who are trying to create the cult of Masaryk and the adoration of the First Republic -- especially since the champions of the pre-1948 days are not removed from the old regime by even one generation and could not possibly misunderstand the concrete significance of longing for the past.

Czech State Carved Out at Versailles

The most important fact about the first Republic of Czechoslovakia of 1918, with Masaryk as its President and Benes as Foreign Minister, is that it was founded by the Allied imperialist powers. The Czech state was carved out of Central Europe at Versailles as part of the redivision of the world by the victors.

It is true that both Masaryk and Benes worked hard from the very beginning of World War I to convince the Entente countries that it was in their imperialist interest to create a Czechoslovak state. It is also true that both men worked feverishly to see that the Czech bourgeoisie came away from Versailles with as many concessions and as much booty as they could get from Anglo-French and U.S. imperialism. And it is undeniable that Masaryk used his national prestige to steer the country from the camp of the defeated Austro-Hungarian oppressors directly into the camp of the Western empire builders.

In the above sense, Masaryk and Benes are indeed fathers of Czechoslovakia. But nevertheless the real "founders" of the Czech state, as it was constituted in 1918, were the Bourgeois bankers and Wall Street.

To tell the complete truth, Masaryk and Benes, the great fathers of Czechoslovakia, never once publicly opposed the Hapsburgs until mid-1915, after the Czech regiments began to surrender en masse to the Entente in protest against having to fight for their oppressors in Vienna and Budapest. Until the very outbreak of the war, the "leaders" had always placed their hopes on working out increased privileges for the Czech bourgeoisie within the framework of the Monarchy.

Only the war, and the opportunity of making an alliance with Western im-

Continued on page M-3

TWO REACTIONS TO 1948 REVOLUTION



Jan Masaryk: Getting the news in 1948.



Workers of Prague listening to Gottwald proclaim the socialist republic in Wenceslas Square, Feb. 25, 1948. Their attitude differs from that of Masaryk! They themselves had just seized the factories. Washington and Wall Street considered this the crime of crimes and invented NATO to counter it. (Gottwald shown on M-3.)

Hallmarks of "Reform" — Down with Equality; Turn to West

Continued from page M-1

of living, the right of a free choice of working activity, 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.... It is indispensable to adopt the line of gradually drawing the prices of the home and world markets closer together."

Bringing Back the Capitalist Market To End the "Absurdity" of Equal Wages!

Much of the emphasis of the "action program" is on the economic reforms proposed by the "liberal" economist Ota Sik, who was made Deputy Premier after the fall of Novotny. The "reformers" charged that Novotny had "sabotaged" attempts to "reform" the economy, that is, to put it back on a decentralized, market-oriented and profit basis. In September of 1967 Novotny had cut back on decentralizing control of the economy when these "reforms" led to a rapid inflation of 29 per cent in wholesale prices.

Nevertheless the privileged groupings, which include the intellectuals and professionals who were unhurt by such price rises, clamored for further "reforms." Fortune Magazine of June 1968 put the case of the "democratic-minded" reformers this way:

"(Ota Sik) 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."

After Novotny's fall, the drive to completely dismantle the socialist economy was swift. Following are some of the proposals and programs of the Dubcek regime.

On May 14, Premier Oldrich Cernik and Deputy Premiers Ota Sik and Gustav Husak announced to a press conference in Prague some aspects of the economic reforms. According to the New York Times of the following day, they said that "Czechoslovakia would welcome foreign investment in industry." In addition, Ota Sik said that "one of this country's goals... was achievement of convertibility for Czech currency — the crown," i.e., convertibility with the currencies of the Western imper-

alist countries which would facilitate investments by the U.S., West Germany, etc.

According to the Times report some of the programs included: reorganization of the economy "to become competitive both domestically and in Western export markets"; "complete decentralization of industry and management, with full autonomy in state enterprises... to compete in credits and markets"; "free enterprise will be permitted in 'personal services'" in which a private businessman could hire "apprentices"; unprofitable enterprises would not be subsidized (This, Ota Sik admitted, would cause "social problems and some unemployment."); "Czechoslovakia would accept Western capital for industrial 'joint ventures' with state enterprises" (It would be up to each enterprise to negotiate with the capitalist companies); and on questioning Ota Sik replied that "This country might consider a relationship with the International Monetary Fund."

The day after these reforms were reported in the New York Times of May 15, an editorial appeared in that newspaper chiming in with the charges that Novotny had "sabotaged" a "change to a more market-oriented economy." To show their supreme satisfaction with the turn toward capitalism, the editors generously suggested that Congress "extend most favored nation tariff privileges to Czechoslovakia" to help batter down the walls of socialism in that country.

In addition, the Times suggested that the U.S. return \$20 million in gold which the Nazis stole from Czechoslovakia during the war. Although the sum is insignificant, the alert watchdogs for U.S. finance capital point out that "the political case for a reversal of attitude (towards returning the gold) now is overwhelming."

over the fact that Novotny "received thunderous applause from the workers when he visited the C.K.D. machinery factory in Prague in February. To counter the hostility to the reforms, therefore, the government began to make a concerted effort to win the support of the workers and, as the Times of May 29 put it, get them to "swallow the bitter pill of temporary unemployment and social disruption as a price for liberalization."

One Czech writer told the Times reporter that "The workers in Ostrava (the center of heavy industry) are not on the whole quite clear about the social demands of democratization.

The fight for democracy has been concentrated in intellectual circles. Perhaps the workers have not quite dealt with the problem." The Times article of May 29 further noted:

"The new planners contend that the excessive goals for heavy industry must be cut down in favor of consumer goods. But this policy shift may pose a job security threat to the 1,600,000 inhabitants of the Ostrava region, the center of Czechoslovak heavy industry." As one Czech editor said, "As to the intellectual freedom within the framework of threatened jobs, I just don't know."

Reviving the Roman Church — Freedom of Worship — No, Reinforcement for Reaction!

One of the clearest signs of the reaction which took over Czechoslovakia in January was the active support of the "reforms" by the Catholic Church which is notoriously and openly engaged in counter-revolutionary activities in all of Eastern Europe.

On April 17, the Times reported that Bishop Frantisek Tomasek, leader of the Czech Roman Catholics, affirmed: "It is now practically speaking, freedom. Freedom for the word of God, not only for men."

In March, the Church had already handed a set of demands to the Dubcek Government.

"The Roman Catholic Church demanded today," wrote the Times of March 25, "the return of Josef Cardinal Beran, who was forced from his see as Archbishop of Prague 20 years ago.... Bishop Tomasek made his demand in an appeal for a restoration of religious freedom as part of the broad program of liberalization."

By "religious freedom" the Bishop meant freedom for the Church to organize the masses against "atheistic Communism."

The demands in the letter included: "the rehabilitation of all priests, monks and laymen jailed for performance of religious functions and amnesty for those still in prison, legalization of religious instruction for children and the removal of obstacles in the way of youths who want to study for the priesthood."

"The new freedom," reported the

Times of March 25, "was strikingly illustrated this evening on the state television network when a Catholic priest was interviewed with great frankness and portrayed in an unusually sympathetic light."

On June 22, the Times reported that The Most Rev. Josef Hlouch was allowed to return to his diocese in Ceske Budejovice in South Bohemia, 16 years after he was removed from the bishopric in March 1952. (Hlouch is only one of many priests returned to their posts after many years of exile.)

"Three Government officials also attended (his first mass), the Bishop said, and were most courteous."

Bishop Hlouch "shared his place of enforced residence with other prelates, including Josef Cardinal Beran, Archbishop of Prague....

"He hopes to make his first trip to Rome in August, to report to Pope Paul VI, after having become reacquainted with his diocese. The Government has assured him permission to travel, the Bishop said."

The link between the counter-revolutionary organizations formed after January and the Catholic Church was made clear in a Times article of April 1, which reported on a meeting of Club 231. (See below.)

"A Roman Catholic layman called, amid great applause, for the return of Josef Cardinal Beran to his see (in Prague). The prelate is in Rome, after many years of house arrest in Czechoslovakia."

"Reform" Was Just the Polite, Lying, Bourgeois Word for Counter-Revolution!

Ever since the advent of the Dubcek regime in January, the U.S. bourgeois press has scarcely been able to hide its delight with the clearly anti-Communist tone of the "liberal reformers." The New York Times of January 20, 1968 posed the following rhetorical question:

"The great unanswered question in Prague this week is why the government-controlled television network devoted a full hour to a documentary on the Petschek family."

"The Petscheks were, from the end of the 19th century until the late nineteen-thirties, the equivalent of the Rockefellers here. They sold most of their interests — their fortune was based on mining and banking — and went to the United States just before the Nazis took over in 1938."

If the TV producers of the post-January counter-revolution were busy glorifying a big capitalist, the journalists and writers were equally busy bringing back to life the bourgeois "father of Czechoslovakia," Thomas G. Masaryk. On March 18, the New York Times ran an article headlined "Masaryk's Grave Is a Shrine Again."

On Sept. 24, 1967, the New York Times reported:

"Mr. Masaryk, whose name has been almost totally absent from the pages of the Czech press except in a derogatory context, was paid a warm tribute Sept. 14, the anniversary of his death. An article on the front page of Literarni Noviny praised his contribution to the nation, dismissed the fact that he was anti-Communist as irrelevant, and contrasted his human values with the lack of values to be found nowadays in Czechoslovakia."

On May 19, 1968, the Times ran the

following quote from a history professor, Bohumil Cerny on Masaryk:

"After 300 years of Austro-Hungarian suppression, Masaryk was the first and only man to realize what had to be done to make a state. A towering figure, humane, a philosopher who knew his Plato, a cosmopolitan in the best sense. Our youth worships him..."

March 10, 1968, the Times wrote:

"Communists and non-Communists here raised the possibility today of peaceful changes that could substantially weaken the Communist Party's power monopoly in Czechoslovakia. The Socialist party ... published a resolution calling for different political parties to be allowed to try to win support."

By April, several counter-revolutionary organizations had been formed. On March 31, reported the Times of the next day, 3,000 men and women met to found Club 231. The members, revealed the Times, "were the political elite of Czechoslovak democracy, Socialists and Liberal Democrats, united in their support for Thomas G. Masaryk, the founder of Czechoslovakia, and his successor as President, Eduard Benes."

"They were arrested mainly in 1948 and 1949, tried on charges of treason and espionage, and sentenced to long prison terms." (Note, these are not Communist Party members who were imprisoned during the 50's, but opponents of Communism who opposed the workers' dictatorship from its inception in 1948.)

A law professor, Ivan Svitak, who represents another counter-revolutionary organization, the Club of Committed Nonparty Members, was reported in the New York Times of

Continued on page M-4

The Czech Bourgeoisie Also Sold Out



The Western imperialists agreed to let Hitler march into Czechoslovakia. But the Czech ruling class also decided not to resist even though the U.S.S.R. had agreed to defend Czechoslovakia if the government in Prague would fight. The masses were ready to fight but President Benes said no and then went off to London to make new deals with the same imperialists who had just encouraged the Nazis to take Prague.

Not So Easy to Convince Workers That Speed-Up and Layoffs Are Good for Them!

If the new "people's Socialist intelligentsia" (as Dubcek's action program put it) were wildly enthusiastic about the return to the inequalities of the past, the working class remained passive and often hostile to the unfolding reforms.

The New York Times of May 18

reported that Dubcek unquestionably has the support of the urban middle class, intellectuals, journalists, artists and students, but is most vulnerable in relation to the workers and peasants who, they admit, will be hurt by the reforms.

The Dubcek clique was concerned

Czech State, Set Up by West, Was Imperialist at Birth

Continued from page M-1

perialism, emboldened them to think in terms of a separate republic. And even then they did not dare declare it in public until having scurried back and forth collecting support from Rome, Paris, London, and Washington. Such were the initial activities of the "fathers" of Czechoslovakia on behalf of the "liberation" of the Slavs.

Real Fighting Done By Czech Workers

This is not to minimize the valiant role which the Czech working class played during that period. In fact, in the actual struggle for liberation, the workers were far ahead of the leaders, and all the declarations against the Hapsburgs, so much celebrated by the "reformers" in Czechoslovakia today, were carried out against a background of workers' demonstrations, strikes, and mutinies against the Austrian and Hungarian armies.

The famous Epiphany Declaration, which amounted to nothing more than all the Czech deputies of the Empire gathering to demand a seat at the robbers' table in Versailles, was carried out under the protection of a general strike in Bohemia.

One hundred fifty thousand workers came out in Prague on January 6, 1918 to support the struggle for national independence against Vienna. And in return the Czech bourgeoisie demanded the right to go to Versailles where they would secure the privileges of exploitation over the workers—to be guaranteed by French bayonets.

The May 30, 1917 appeal by 222 Czech intellectuals to the Czech de-

erable time in the U.S. before WW I.

The declaration of Czechoslovak independence was made, not in Prague, but in Washington, on October 18, 1918, and was handed out to the press by Masaryk himself.

Benes, who spent most of his time during the war organizing the Czech National Council under the guidance of French Foreign Minister Pichon, read a copy of the declaration in Paris.

The same day, Woodrow Wilson announced that he was elaborating the tenth point of his demagogic 14 Points, to specifically include the right of the Czechoslovaks to deal with the Hapsburgs themselves.

Czech Legions, Kolchak Against Bolsheviks

The largesse of U.S. imperialism was not motivated by charity.

The first republic was born in the struggle against the Bolshevik revolution and the party of Lenin. While Masaryk was in the United States, the Czech Legions, which he had just helped to organize in Siberia, were fighting side by side with Kolchak's White Guards and overthrowing soviets in the Volga region. The so-called revolt of the Czech Legions was one of the most serious threats to the Soviet Republic and hastened the formation of the Red Army.

Masaryk and Benes had maneuvered to organize the Czech Legion from captured war prisoners in the Allied countries in order to have some forces to put at the disposal of imperialism. The French were spurring them on to put forces in the field against Germany. In

list powers permitted the Czech bourgeoisie to include in its domain 2.25 million Slovaks, 500,000 Ruthenians, 80,000 Poles, 700,000 Hungarians, and 3.5 million Germans. Czech borders were established at gunpoint, with Czech Legions under the supervision of French officers.

Benes led the Czech delegation to the Paris peace talks. Pichon sat at his side throughout the talks. No doubt under Wilson's slogan of self-determination for the Czechs, Benes grabbed the Polish railroad junction and coal fields of Teschen. French and Czech troops marched into Hungary to add a large slice to Slovakia. The imperialists had to restrain the voracious Czech "democrats" in Poland and Hungary.

Masaryk and Benes refused to permit the Sudeten Germans to reunite with German Austria, thus laying the foundation for Hitler to become their national "liberator."

"Father of his country" Masaryk's greatest betrayal as an imperialist was the betrayal of the Slovaks who had agreed at the Pittsburgh convention to a federation of equal states with Slovaks having their own courts, schools, parliament, etc.

Within the Hapsburg empire the Slovaks were super-oppressed by the Magyar aristocracy. When the Czech state was established, it was run entirely by the Czech bourgeoisie from Prague under a centralized state with no national rights whatsoever for the Slovaks.

Revolutionary Storm—Masaryk to the Rescue

If the Czech leaders were pawns in post-war imperialist power plays, were tools against the Bolshevik revolution, were oppressors of national minorities, Masaryk, Benes and Co. were, above all, reactionary with respect to their own working class.

One of the supreme achievements of the Masaryk regime in the eyes of world capitalism was to halt the spread of proletarian revolution in the industrial heartland of the disintegrated Austro-Hungarian empire.

East and Central Europe were swept by revolutionary working class uprisings under the impact of the Russian revolution. Soviets sprang up in Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The bourgeoisie was on the defensive everywhere and had to hide its face behind the right wing of the socialist movement which had turned renegade and had supported the imperialist war.

To the Czech proletariat, independence was supposed to mean independence from misery and exploitation.

This was not what the Czech bourgeoisie had in mind, although Masaryk was full of socialist demagoguery. Within six months, the "founding" government, which was openly bourgeois, was discredited and dissolved in favor of the Social Democrats.

Crushing the 1920 General Strike

The Czech working class, deeply inspired by the Bolshevik revolution, carried out strikes and protests all during 1919 and 1920, which culminated in the general strike of December 1920. Factories were seized in industrial centers. Workers declared them socialized and kicked out the managers. Peasants and soldier detachments gave the workers guns.

Revolutionary committees were formed under the leadership of the left socialists who wanted to affiliate with the Third International.

A New York Times dispatch from Prague gives a hint of the temper of the struggle:

"The danger of a Communist Government throughout the Republic of Czechoslovakia, which twenty-four hours ago appeared to be at an end, has suddenly flared up again. The greatest part of the country is under martial law and Prague is strongly held by troops.

"Parliament met this afternoon, the

building and the immediate neighborhood being guarded by a large contingent of mounted and unmounted soldiers and police.

"When Prime Minister Cerny appeared to make a statement in behalf of the government, Communist Party Deputies shouted 'Old Austria Lives' and 'Murderer of Workers!'" (At Brux, five workers were killed and 18 wounded at a Communist rally.)

"The most serious aspect of the trouble throughout the country ... has



Premier Klement Gottwald in Prague Feb. 25, 1948, proclaims the workers' republic. "Liberals" put no flowers on his grave.

been the passivity of the troops.

"At Goeding, for instance, the local force allowed the Communists to seize the Post Office, the railway station and two factories. Another force of military was sent to the town, but it allowed itself to be disarmed. The resident-commandant was so badly assaulted that he lost consciousness and was saved with difficulty from being hanged on a lamppost. Armed with rifles and machine guns the mob began to plunder until a third military force arrived and occupied one of the factories. It took a fourth contingent to restore order. Many people were more or less badly wounded.

"At Kladno and Brunn, where the Communists are strong, soldiers also refused to act even though they were fired upon....

"From other district centers come reports of fighting between troops and strikers.

"Fearing that most of the trouble would be encountered in Slovakia, the Government, when the disturbances first broke out, sent most of its troops there. Now they are being rushed into trouble centers in Bohemia, 20,000 men being directed on Kladno, Meinly and Reichenberg....

"All public buildings in Prague are occupied by troops."

Down With Lenin's "Great Red Crusade"

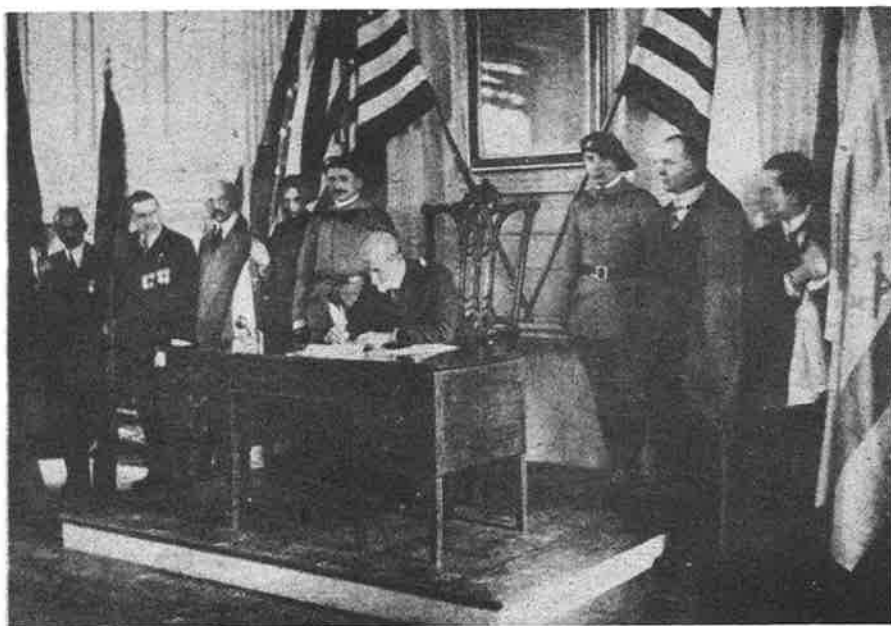
The "founding fathers" answered the workers' demands with gendarmes. Martial law was declared. Strikers were killed and wounded in struggles at the plants and at demonstrations. Every public building in Prague was occupied by government troops. An attempted march from Kronstadt (in Bohemia) to Prague, in imitation of the Bolshevik march to Petrograd, was put down by troops. Revolutionary committees were smashed and hundreds of leaders arrested. After a week of fighting, the uprising was crushed.

The New York Times editors gloated over the victory of the Czech government in an editorial of December 26, 1920:

"There was another setback for the great Red Crusade recently and at a point of considerable strategic importance... A Bolshevik revolution here (in Czechoslovakia) would have unsettled all Central Europe and had serious repercussions everywhere east of the Rhine...."

The Social Democrats were in con-

Continued on page M-4



Oct. 26, 1918, in Philadelphia's Independence Hall, Thomas Masaryk signs the declaration of "independence" of Czechoslovakia. Declaration was made eight days earlier in Washington in collaboration with the White House.

puties to demand national rights for the Czech people was made with the support of 20,000 workers who struck in support of national liberation.

Founded at Pittsburgh; Declared in Wash.

It is significant that the first written agreement for the establishment of the Czechoslovak state was signed in Pittsburgh at a conference of Czechs and Slovaks in June 1918, after discussions between Masaryk and Woodrow Wilson.

Masaryk had just arrived in the U.S. from Russia for discussions with Secretary of State Lansing, Colonel House, the chief strategist of Wilson's imperialism, and Charles R. Crane, a Chicago industrialist and banker who was a fund raiser for Wilson.

Crane had been in Russia on a special mission for Wilson where he also had discussions with Masaryk. They were just "old friends," according to Masaryk.

Masaryk had been to Washington several times before 1918 and was introduced to American high officials by his American wife, Charlotte Garrigue. His son Jan, later to move into the Czech Foreign Office, went to Boston University and spent consid-

fact, a legion of Czechoslovaks was formed in France even before Benes arrived there in 1915.

There were 90,000 Czech troops in Soviet Russia. They were to be transferred to the French front according to a previous agreement with Kerensky. After the Bolshevik revolution, the French decided against the transfer and left them at Vladivostok to fight the Bolsheviks. Masaryk left for the United States.

When, on September 3, 1918, Lansing wrote a letter to Benes in Paris extending semi-recognition to the "de facto" government thus recognized for the purpose of waging war against the common enemy.... the last phrase referred more to the Bolsheviks than to the virtually defeated armies of Berlin and Vienna. Similar praise for military service "in the allied cause" came from Pichon and Balfour.

'Liberators' in Prague, Oppressors of Millions

Another extremely important fact about the great republic so much celebrated by the modern-day Czech counter-revolutionaries is that it was an oppressor state.

For services rendered, the imperia-

- Masaryk vs. the Workers

Continued from page M-3

trol of the government. The workers, under the influence of the left, demanded affiliation of the party (which meant the government) with the Third International. That struggle precipitated the general strike.

"President Masaryk believes in letting such questions be argued out" wrote the Times, "and argument was plentiful. The extremists, however, were not content with argument."

The "extremists" were over half the working class, who could hardly live on arguments. They wanted socialism and got bullets instead from "President Masaryk," who understood that "a Czech republic was preferable to a proletarian dictatorship. The Czech democracy was left to fight its own battle against international communism and it won..."

"In Czechoslovakia the opposing groups came to a show of strength... The failure of the general strike was not only a landmark in the progress of a brilliant young nation, but an event of considerable importance to the history of world Bolshevism."

Bourgeois Republic vs. Workers' State

The central objective of all ruling classes throughout history has been to obtain the right to exploit the working masses. The rights of social parasitism is hardly a program around which to rally masses of people. Consequent-

ly the bourgeoisie, even during its most progressive period, was always obliged to conceal its aims behind vague but popular slogans.

Such slogans and symbols have always been composed of elements which are, on the one hand, socially inspiring to the general population and on the other hand specifically identifiable as slogans of the bourgeoisie as distinct from other contending classes.

If the capitalist class had to resort to such subterfuge even when they were smashing down the walls of monarchy and feudal reaction, how much more necessary is it for them to engage in symbolism and deception in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution—and even more so within the confines of a workers' state which has attained its existence by the overthrow of the bosses.

Taken from an abstract point of view, a bourgeois republic is progressive in relation to a feudal monarchy. But in relation to a workers' state, the most democratic bourgeois state is reactionary as far as the interests of the working class and oppressed people are concerned. This is an elementary generalization of Marxist sociology based upon historical experience.

But when you proceed from the abstract to a specific examination of Czechoslovak history, the reactionary meaning of the nationalistic cult of Masaryk and the first Republic, among the learned Czech "liberals" who know history well, becomes vivid.

Whose Dictatorship — Workers' or Bosses'?

Continued from page M-2

April 11 as having said, "Democratization never is and never has been the political objective of the new set fighting for power... the whole Stalinist apparatus remains. 'We must liquidate it or it will liquidate us.'"

On April 28, the Times reported that Svitek told the Club for Independent Political Thought, "Today we are a club, tomorrow we are a force, and the day after tomorrow we shall be an equal with the Communists."

At a rally of 5,000, the Times of May 19 reported, Dr. Jan Stepanek told the Club of Committed Nonparty Members that the "group was based on the ideals of the founders of the republic 50 years ago. Equally, he said, it is based on the principles of political liberty, social justice and human rights of the United Nations."

One writer, Jan Benes, previously sentenced to five years for publishing stories and articles in an anti-Communist Czech emigre publication in Paris, was released by the Dubcek government. According to the New York Times report of April 6, "Mr. Benes is pessimistic about whether his nation's drive toward greater democracy can continue. 'It's the Communist party' he said."

Similarly, a student rally in Prague on May 3 turned into an anti-Communist tirade. According to the New York Times article of May 4 one student called for "a small Czech democracy... (and) legitimization of an opposition

party." There was also "a call for Czechoslovakia to resume diplomatic relations with Israel," and one proposal for condemning "Soviet imperialism." (Sound equipment for the rally was provided by the mayor of Prague.)

One month earlier, the Czech students showed which side of the class barricades they were on when, on April 27, demonstrating North Vietnamese students in Prague tore down the U.S. seal and an American flag at the American Embassy. According to T.V. reports and the Times report of the following day, "Czechoslovak students and policemen tried to wrest the emblems from the Vietnamese and a scuffle ensued."

When the flag was not found, "a delegation of Charles University students took a small substitute flag... and presented it to an American diplomat with apologies for the behavior of the North Vietnamese."

By May the counter-revolutionary nature of the "reforms" in Czechoslovakia had become so clear that one New York Times reporter wrote on May 28:

"Such is the importance of the (elite intellectuals) in shaping the 'new path to Socialism' that the jocular talk here is that the Communist 'dictatorship of the proletariat' has been replaced by the 'dictatorship of the intellectuals and journalists.'" (Of course both the writer and the rumor he quoted referred to bourgeois intellectuals.)

"Freedom" From World Socialism — To Become a Satellite of the United States

Another feature of the Czech "liberalization" which has delighted U.S. imperialism is what the New York Times editorial of April 11 called "genuine sovereignty." In practice, the drive for sovereignty within the Warsaw Pact countries has meant a drive toward alliance with the capitalist West.

Three days after Novotny's ouster as First Secretary of the Party on Jan. 5, the Times editorial read:

"The fact that the unpopularity of Novotny's rigid policy toward West Germany was a significant element in his ouster will also play a role. Inevitably, therefore, this episode must strengthen the independence-minded elements in all Eastern European countries. In addition, it gives new encouragement to the Bonn regime in its recently stalled efforts to build new bridges to the East against the frantic opposition of Walter Ulbricht, who must be one of the chief mourners at Novotny's political demise."

Within two weeks of the January takeover, the Times of Jan. 21 reported:

"The arrival this week of the advance party of a West German trade mission represents a significant weakening of the 'Iron Triangle,' the unofficial anti-Bonn alliance linking East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia." In the "hopes of obtaining long-term Western loans," the Times continues, Czechoslovakia sees West Germany "as the most logical source of such credit."

The drive for "independence" went so far that at a student meeting March 21, even the very popular "liberal" leader, Josef Smrkovsky, was jeered and booed for defending the alliance with the Soviet Union.

One of the first tasks of the new "independent" Czech leaders, hinted the Times the day of Novotny's fall, was to cut international assistance to the working class movement. The economic crises, it was held, were due to the fact that "with Mr. Novotny's

FORTUNE MAGAZINE'S FAVORITE 'REFORMER'



After Warsaw Pact intervention, Ota Sik (above) went to Switzerland to study "economic problems."

Fortune Magazine June 1, 1968 article: "Report from Prague"

"Sik even proposed a departure from Marx's maxim 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.' For it he substituted a radically different concept: Everyone gets what he earns... who works gets more, who is lazy gets less."

"The reforms menaced that great socialist boon, job security, and so immediately aroused the enmity of many workers and trade-union leaders."

"Some enterprises that produce for export now will be permitted to sell their products directly to the foreign

customer, instead of to a state trading company. Thus the survival of the producing companies depends on their selling abilities. This is the trade program Ota Sik has been recommending for years."

"A source close to Sik suggests that 'the country is ready to invite in foreign capital as long as the investment is no bigger than our own.' And Zdenek Mojzisek, general manager of Chemapol, the chemical and pharmaceutical trade organization, sounds for all the world like an old-style entrepreneur in hinting broadly that such a deal with an American company would not be prima facie dismissed as impossible."

tacit approval, the Czechoslovaks began fulfilling many of the Soviet Union's commitments of food and weapons to Cuba and several undeveloped countries." (In other words, break with the USSR on the most reactionary basis possible.)

Aug. 11, the Times wrote: "Influential Czechs have indicated that they want to reassess the foreign assistance this country has generously been giving to regimes and movements abroad, and put their support on an economic rather than on an ideological basis." (A thinly veiled way of suggesting withdrawal of aid to liberation struggles around the world!)

To facilitate the rapprochement with imperialism, the Czech party, as reported in the New York Times of May 26, "has relinquished its close supervision of the Foreign Ministry." This decision "set the Foreign Ministry free to make foreign policy." The decision also "adds stature to Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek, who is thought eager to improve relations with the West, including the United States."

"Independence" Czech style has also meant a move toward the abandonment of the Arab liberation cause. On June 30 the Times reported:

"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 and why Czechoslovakia should resume diplomatic relations with Israel that she broke off last June during the Arab-Israeli war."

In the same issue of the weekly magazine, Student, was printed an "announcement by the founding members of a new organization called the Union of Friends of Israel."

In April, Ladislav Mnacko, a pro-Israeli Czech writer was rehabilitated. Mnacko had been expelled from the party and lost his citizenship in August of 1967 for going to Israel to protest the government's support for the Arab nations in the June war. According to the Times of Aug. 17, 1967, Mnacko scrapped the manuscript for a book he was to write on Vietnam and began work on a book about Israel.

According to the Times of May 6, the Dubcek Government granted permission for the Jewish Community Council to hold "large-scale festivities" June 5 to 8 to mark "the thousand-year jubilee of the Jewish settlement in Prague." June 5 is the first anniversary of the U.S.-Israeli imperialist attack on the Arabs.

On May 2, the New York Times quoted Robert J. McCloskey of the State Department as saying:

"We are watching with interest and sympathy recent developments in Czechoslovakia, which seem to repre-

sent the wishes and needs of the Czechoslovak people."

No doubt, to serve the "wishes and needs" of the Czech people, "Pan American Airways reopened its offices in Prague... with the blessings of the Czech Government, 18 years after the office was closed under Communist pressure," reported the Times of May 21. In fact, to encourage travel from Prague, Pan Am accepts Czech crowns for flights as far as London, the Times related.

"The re-orientation" of the Czech economy has become the code word for

"Reform" Means Mass Unemployment

"Novotny was not entirely lying when he warned the workers of the possible adverse effects upon them of the economic reform. To make Czechoslovak factories more efficient and to cut their costs, tens of thousands of unneeded workers should be discharged. What is to happen to them? The economists speak glibly of shifting the surplus people from factories to service occupations. But can that be done with old workers, with people living in coal-mining towns who do not want to move elsewhere and the like? Moreover, one of the features of the planned changes is an effort to make Czechoslovakia's unions once again genuine defenders of the working class. Will real unions sit idly by and permit the drastic readjustments the economic reform calls for?"

—New York Times Magazine, March 31, 1968, by Harry Schwartz.

a new orientation towards capitalism and imperialism. On May 13, the Times wrote:

"Prof. Vaclav Kotyk, a director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics in Prague, affirmed that one of Czechoslovakia's major foreign policy goals was to increase cultural, trade and political relations with non-Communist countries."

"Prof. Kotyk wrote his analysis of East-West relations for the current issue of The Journal of International Affairs, published bi-annually by the School of International Affairs of Columbia University." (Note that this school is virtually a branch of the U.S. State Department.)

May 9 the Times also revealed: "Underlining the Dubcek leadership's attempts to reorient its foreign trade was the announcement today that Prague had negotiated to buy \$200-million worth of Iranian oil. Czechoslovakia has imported oil almost exclusively from the Soviet Union since 1948." (Iranian oil is totally U.S.-controlled.)