

A Message From National Liberation Front of So. Vietnam

MONTREAL, Quebec — The Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam held here last week heard the impassioned pleas of the Vietnamese themselves. Major addresses were given by Prof. Hoang Minh Giam, the Minister of Culture of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and by the chairman of the Delegation of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, Nguyen Van Ba.

Mr. Van Ba's speech, partially reprinted here, exposed the continuing U.S. war moves behind its "peace" posture and called once again for the support of the U.S. progressives and working people against their imperialist government. He

was roundly cheered and the 1,800 enthusiastic guests from Quebec, Canada, Latin America and the United States gave him a tempestuous standing ovation.

Mr. Chairman, Dear Friends:

To begin with, our Delegation, on behalf of the people of South Vietnam, would like to thank you for the great dedication and energy with which you have organized this important Conference. We would like to wish that the Conference be a brilliant success.

Never before in the history of human society has there been a struggle that has received as much support and sympathy as that of the Vietnamese people

today. This fact attests not only to the just character of our struggle but also to the extraordinary clamor for justice that exists in our epoch.

In our struggle for the conquest of independence, liberty and peace, our people have the approval and the powerful support of the peoples of the entire world, especially of the progressive peoples of the Western Hemisphere. This approval and support constitute a great source of strength and contribute actively to the victories of our people.

We take this opportunity to send you, and through you the people of Quebec, Canada, the United States, and Latin America, a fraternal, friendly greeting and the

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Black and White, Unite and Fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

Vol. 10, No. 24

December 6, 1968

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A Further
Analysis**

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ORGANIZED ASSEMBLAGE: Students gathering on Howard Avenue, in Brooklyn's Ocean Hill-Brownsville area, under a banner of one of the groups opposing overtime at schools.



POLICEMEN UNDER ATTACK: Disorder broke out and policemen were showered with stones and bottles at scene on Howard Avenue. Pictures, captions, N.Y. Times

NYC Schools —

**High School Youth Now Take Up the Fight
For Black Control of Black Community;
Face Cops in Street Battles All Over the City**

NEW YORK — The rebellion of youth took on a still newer dimension in this city last week, as high school boys and girls struck against racist teachers, extra study time and racist cops in their schools.

The rebellion was far more proletarian in character than any of the college protests and fully as forceful.

The situation was created by the bad

settlement of the just-concluded racist teachers' strike here. Among other things, the children had to come to school a half hour ahead of time to "make up" for the lost strike time, although many of them had had highly adequate instruction from community-sympathizing teachers during the strike. (See W.W., Nov. 22.)

Both in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn and in Harlem, as well as in predominantly white areas in Queens, the militant youth paraded, picketed and refused to be disbanded by police.

U.S. WAR MOVE:

Israeli Jets Bomb Jordan

DEC. 4 — Israeli jet fighter planes attacked Northern Jordan 40 miles beyond the Israeli border today and bombarded towns in a one-hour-long assault. This was the heaviest and most destructive attack since the June, 1967 bombing of the grounded Egyptian Air Force planes at Cairo.

It was the third such attack in three days and was, of course, answered with artillery, anti-aircraft and other fire by the Arabs.

King Hussein, long regarded as a puppet for the U.S. as his father was for Britain, was compelled to make statements of support for his own people and at least in words, strongly condemn the Israeli attack. (His regime is so shaky that any milder position might result in its immediate overthrow.)

The Western press emphasized that today's attack was "only" against the

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The cops arrested dozens of demonstrators, beating some and roughing up others. But three policemen were reported injured outside Brooklyn Technical High and some in other places. At least one reporter (Village Voice) was hospitalized by police violence. Even the youngest students were harshly treated.

But the youth fought on, the struggle half-ending in one area only to erupt in another. And even though the youths themselves often denied that they were fighting for "Black Control of Black Schools" or for "self-determination," as such, the fact is that their fight was an almost direct continuation of the long community struggle for just those things.

See page 6 for an eye-witness account of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville events by a high school student participant.

2 Strikes, 2 Judges: Kangaroo Court for Hospital Union, Wink at UFT Racism

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

Union-busting has always been a favorite pursuit of the bosses and the bosses' servants in the courts. And the vicious anti-labor Taylor Law has several times been used by the state and courts with relish against civil service workers' organizations. However, last week workers in New York City found out that the bosses and their representatives looked quite differently upon a racist strike called by the UFT to deny black and Puerto Rican people their right of control over their schools and a strike against exploitation by District Council 50 of state hospital employees, the vast majority of whom are black and Puerto Rican.

While the state's case against Albert Shanker has dragged on and on in the

courts for over a month, two black officials of the hospital workers' union were summarily tried and convicted by Justice J. Irwin Shapiro in barely six hours. Mrs. Lillian Roberts, organizing director of District Council 50 of the State, County and Municipal Employees was given the maximum sentence of 30 days in jail and fined \$250. Robert Fuller, president of the Creedmoor State Hospital Local 69, was sentenced to 20 days and fined \$125.

Local 69 was also fined \$1,000 for striking in protest over Governor Rockefeller's illegal bargaining with the Civil Service Employees Association and demanding that the state government hold representation elections for state hospital employees so that 17,000 workers could choose their own union representatives.

The railroading of two black union leaders in one day as compared with numerous delays granted to the head of the UFT after more than a month of court proceedings was a blatantly racist and anti-labor move. So obvious was the inequity that the New York Times ran an entire article Nov. 29 by Sidney E. Zion just to explain away the sentencing of Mrs. Roberts and Mr. Fuller as due to differences in temperament of the two judges in the cases.

"Justice Shapiro," Zion apologized, "for example, is noted as a no-nonsense type of judge who likes to cut quickly to the bone and once having ruled will seldom hear further argument.

"Justice Blaustein (presiding over Shanker's case) is a patient, rather painstaking judge who explains his

rulings in detail from the bench and then permits arguments by counsel."

Not thoroughly convinced himself, the reporter added that "Some cases take longer and that is the way it is."

Of course, the truth of the matter is that the judges in each case get their orders from the ruling class and its representatives in the government. Shanker, who led the UFT into a strike to deny Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans their right to self-determination in their communities, had the backing of a section of the bourgeoisie. This strike, they felt, was not a strike against the bosses, but one against an oppressed people. And such a strike, which whipped up race hatred against the black people and endangered all future relations between the teachers' union and the black community, was in their interests.

Any real struggles of workers against the state have been swiftly punished.

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Seize the Coal Mines!

Murder in the coal mines is a grimly familiar story in this country. In fact, it is so routine that the capitalist establishment has evolved a standard technique for dealing with such situations. Each new mine disaster triggers a whole cycle of propaganda calculated to stall the miners and soothe the rest of the working class without interfering with the profit-lust of the billionaires whose negligence kills several hundred miners each year and causes suffering and premature death among thousands of others.

The big business news media orders full-scale coverage of the disaster. Reporters converge en masse on the location. They follow the death watch, interviewing miners, their relatives, town officials, and describe in sympathetic detail the suffering and hardships of the workers. However, these well paid reporters are careful to blend their sympathy with numerous references to "fate," "hope," "tragedy," "miracles," etc., as though they were reporting an act of god rather than the result of capitalist greed.

Soon, however, the facts of criminal negligence can no longer be suppressed and news of the safety violations, neglect and penny pinching begins to reach the light of day. A semi-scandal is permitted in the news media but it is carefully controlled. It focuses on conditions but discreetly screens out references to the bankers and financiers who own the company, to profits which could easily have been spent on safety, to corporate officials responsible and to legal and financial obligations of the company to the miners and their families.

Numerous private investigations of conditions take place, then usually a government hearing or investigation which drags on and on endlessly with no significant concrete results. Meanwhile the miners have to go back to work in order to live and finally the ruling class buries the whole issue.

Then comes the next disaster! More deaths, more grieving families, more phony sympathy from the ruling class,

more public outrage, more investigations, more whitewashes by the government, etc., etc., etc.

This cycle will never be broken as long as mine safety is left to the discretion of the coal barons and as long as enforcement of those safety laws which do exist is left to the government of the billionaires.

There is, however, one sure way for the miners to get action on their grievances — seize the mines! The miners have every legal right to occupy the mines, at least until such time as every possible safety measure is taken to their satisfaction — that is to the satisfaction of those who now risk their lives every time they go underground. The burden is on the bosses to make every mine tunnel safe.

If 82 per cent of the mines have safety violations and the companies have not fixed them by now, then the workers have every right to take over the mines until every last violation is taken care of. All other methods have failed. The companies showed long ago that they will never act in good faith but only under compulsion by the workers.

If the corporations can send space ships to the moon, can explore the depths of the sea, can split the atom — then they can surely devise ways to accomplish much more simple tasks like shoring up mine tunnels, sucking coal gas and coal dust out of the mines, and do all the things necessary to protect the men whose blood and sweat bring in the millions in profits.

In generations of struggle against exploitation by the mine bosses the miners have never taken a back seat to anyone in militancy and fighting spirit.

In recent years students have seized campuses to protest injustices, black people have seized buildings in the fight against racism and young people have seized draft boards to protest having to fight unjust wars. Certainly the mine workers have every right to seize the mines in order to protect their very lives!

Vietnam Peace and U.S. Treachery

The workers and peasants of Vietnam, organized into a disciplined revolutionary fighting force, sent the U.S. imperialist colossus limping to the negotiating table last April. Staggering under the repeated blows of the liberation forces, Washington has sought a respite in Paris and has now been forced to halt the bombing of North Vietnam.

But experience shows that nothing requires such careful and constant scrutiny as a wounded predator — especially an imperialist one. And while there is much talk about peace in Vietnam there is also much U.S. stalling at the Paris peace talks and a growing number of aggressive U.S. military provocations which indicate that Washington lacks seriousness about getting out of Vietnam.

The mock war of three weeks between Washington and its puppets was a delaying action. To the extent that the dispute went beyond a pure farce, its only validity was that of a proxy war between different factions in the U.S. Government. Furthermore, for the U.S. to insist on giving independent status to a group of insignificant quislings who would be wiped from the face of the earth in less than 24 hours were it not for the U.S. military machine, is a vile insult which must try the patience of the Vietnamese.

Placing Nguyen Cao Ky in charge of the Saigon delegation is a further act of sabotage by the U.S. Ky (whose hero is Adolf Hitler), has always been a crea-

ture of the extreme nawks in U.S. ruling circles. He was pushed into power in June, 1965 and was demoted at the end of 1967, which is precisely the period during which the Johnson Administration carried through the massive escalation of the war.

State Department stalling in Paris is being coordinated with provocations by the Pentagon in Vietnam. The imperialists act as if they had some right to be in Vietnam and the Vietnamese, on the other hand, had no right to fight the invaders. The high command cries violation every time the Vietnamese fire on them and the U.S. has bombed the DMZ despite the bombing halt. At one point U.S. Marines were sent into the DMZ. This constitutes a grave threat to the border of North Vietnam.

It is certainly true that Wall Street shows many signs of weariness in Vietnam and a desire to shore up other imperialist fronts which are now under siege from the liberation struggle by shifting some of its forces out of the fires of the Asian revolution.

But the imperialists are clearly of two minds on this score and they are engaging in all sorts of double-dealing in Paris and Vietnam. For this reason all partisans of liberation must emulate the vigilance and determination of the Vietnamese by keeping up the struggle and not stinting anything until every last U.S. soldier and gun is pulled out of the country for good.

YAWF Protesters Picket Plush Offices Of Murderers Of 78 Miners

A series of demonstrations against the owners of the Mannington, West Virginia, coal mine where 78 men lost their lives last month has been initiated by Youth Against War & Fascism, which charges the mine bosses with criminal negligence in the deaths.

In one of the first actions of this kind, the youth group picketed the offices of Continental Oil Co. in New York on Nov. 26. Continental Oil owns the Consolidation Coal Co. in whose mine the explosion occurred. Similar demonstrations were organized in Cleveland, Philadelphia and Buffalo.

The reason for holding the demonstration, explained YAWF chairman Key Martin, was to point out that mine disasters are not merely tragic accidents, but stem from the failure of mine owners to insure the safety of the miners. The same mine in which the 78 men were killed had experienced two previous gas explosions — in April 1955 in which four miners died and in Nov. 1964 when 16 were killed.

"The bosses are busy raking in profits. They don't want to spend money for the workers' protection," Martin said. He also told the press that Federal records show that 82 per cent of the mines in this country have major safety violations. And these are violations of standards set 30 years ago, before the introduction of new equipment which rips away the coal much, much faster, filling the air with coal dust and methane gas.

In addition to the constant danger of explosion, the coal dust inhaled by the miners causes an incurable lung disease. Four out of five miners suffer from this lung disease which could be prevented by proper ventilation and dust-absorbing sprays.

The New York offices of Continental Oil, located in plush Rockefeller Plaza, was an unusual location for a picket line. The signs, "Coal bosses profit here and in Vietnam," "Protest major violations in 82% U.S. mines," and "78 miners' deaths — not accident, but murder," were in sharp contrast to the huge bank windows and glittering Christmas displays of posh stores in the area.

Chants such as "Millionaires profit off miners' blood" attracted the sympathetic curiosity of passers-by. A large orange and black banner probably summed up the demonstration's point with the words, "Criminal Negligence — super-profits for mine bosses, death for miners."

Saigon Puppet Ousted By NYU Students

NEW YORK, Dec. 4 — The flag of the U.S. puppet Saigon government was ripped down tonight at New York University.

Over 200 militant anti-war youths broke into a meeting tonight at NYU where a representative of the Saigon government was scheduled to speak. While chanting "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, The NLF is Gonna Win," the youths forced their way into the meeting, ripped down the Saigon flag and raised the flag of the NLF. The U.S. lackey from Saigon was forced to leave the building, leaving his notes and literature torn and scattered on the floor.

With one victory under their belt, the youths used a couch as a battering ram and broke into another meeting in the building, where James Reston, Executive Editor of the New York Times, was speaking. The youths took the stage, raised the NLF flag, calling "Victory for the NLF, Down with the Bourgeois Press," and Reston left.

BUFFALO YOUTH

DEMONSTRATE, TOO

BUFFALO, Nov. 23 — Today, Buffalo Youth Against War & Fascism held a solemn picket line to protest the deaths of the 78 miners in W. Virginia. The leaflet prepared by the youth and distributed at the demonstration stated that this tragedy occurred as a result of treacherous working conditions that exist in mines in this country, and this mine in particular. The leaflet further explained that in 1931 safety techniques and devices had been developed to minimize the danger to miners. The mining bosses, at some expense, had only to institute these safety improvements. Obviously, said a spokesman for the group, these measures have not been taken.

The picket signs further emphasized YAWF's position on these deaths with such slogans as: "No More Industrial Murders — 82 % Mines Unsafe!"; "Unsafe Mines Equals Profit for Bosses!" and "78 Miners Die — Profits Come Before Safety in Mines."

The picket line was called for 2:00 and continued for an hour at Lafayette Square in downtown Buffalo. The reaction of the many shoppers in the area seemed to be one of surprise at seeing a demonstration against something other than the Vietnam War. One gentleman who said he had been a member of the old I.W.W. expressed appreciation to the picketers with such remarks as, "Bring back the Molly McGuire's" and "Down with the coal barons".

The picketers wore black armbands to further express solidarity with the families of the dead miners.

Heard on Sunday's ABC TV (Channel 7) news program at 11:00.

The most popular song amongst GIs in Vietnam is "I Wanna go home".

Film direct from South Vietnam showed troops massed around a makeshift platform singing along with a guitarist.

Ft. Hood Black GIs Get Light Sentences

Three black GIs who had demonstrated against being sent to Chicago for "riot control" duty during the Democratic National Convention last August were sentenced on Dec. 5 after general courts-martial at Ft. Hood. Joseph Jones, from Memphis, Tenn. and James DuBose, of Sumpter, South Carolina, received suspended sentences of one year and nine months respectively. Charles Wilburn, of Brenton Harbor, Michigan, a recipient of two bronze stars in Vietnam, was acquitted.

National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee lawyer Fred Cohn represented the men at the request of the American Servicemen's Union. Andy Stapp, ASU Chairman, characterized the result of the courts-martial as a "big victory for the union and the black liberation movement."

Of the 37 GIs tried in this case thus far, 13 have been acquitted and 24 convicted. Sentences have ranged from three months to 11 months confinement in the stockade.

Mr. Stapp noted that the maximum sentence allowable in the cases of Jones and DuBose was five years and attributed the relatively lenient treatment to "fear by the brass of the growing rebellion of Black GIs", which fear was "greatly magnified by the intervention of the union which takes a strong stand against racism."

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NLF Speech at Hemispheric Conference

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profound gratitude of the South Vietnamese people. Our people greatly appreciate the solidarity and friendship expressed by the peoples of the Western Hemisphere and the fine image of the sincere friends who have bravely fought for the just cause of Vietnam remains in the depth of our hearts.

The life-and-death struggle of our people has travelled many stretches of a difficult road and has achieved extremely important victories. But even now, the warmongers in U.S. Government circles persist in their perfidious aggression against our country. They continue to commit new crimes against our people, and this compels us to continue our struggle.

This important event marks a new step in the growth of solidarity and friendship between the peoples of the Western Hemisphere and the people of Vietnam. We are confident that the progressive forces and the people of the Western Hemisphere will give more and more energetic support each day to our people's struggle for national emancipation, until we achieve final victory....

It would be impossible to list here all the bloody crimes perpetrated by Yankee aggressors. These crimes grow each day, especially since the Spring of this year. Before, the policy was "To scorch, destroy and kill everything" in the rural and mountainous zones; now, since the beginning of 1968, this criminal policy is not only continued on these regions, but it is also being indiscriminately practiced in the cities, the rearward and safety zones of the aggressors and traitors themselves.

During recent months, they have indiscriminately bombed and destroyed more than 130 cities and provincial capitals in South Vietnam. In addition to the destruction and slaughter which the infantry and the police commit with impunity in the streets, U.S. cannons and airplanes, including B-52's, drop their bombs

over densely populated urban zones, day and night, murdering the inhabitants, destroying dwellings, pagodas, churches, hospitals, schools, cultural objects and historical treasures.

Saigon, particularly, the most populated city, the politico-military center and principal stronghold of the expeditionary and puppet armies, was brutally bombed by U.S. aviation.

The city of Hue, ancient capital of Vietnam, where there were many historic relics, cultural and artistic objects, was systematically attacked by U.S. airplanes, artillery and infantry, until it was left in ruins (according to a Reuters cable, February 13, 1968).

It is thus evident that in carrying out their war in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are not only committing a crime of aggression but also carrying out an extremely barbaric policy of genocide.

Dear Friends:

It is well known by all that Yankee imperialism has enormous economic and military potential, so overpowering, in fact, that White House and Pentagon leaders felt that taking over South Vietnam would be as simple as snapping their fingers. But the truth is that they have failed miserably.

In waging an unjust war, they have clashed with the invincible resistance of a people that does not know surrender, and has met the opposition of the people everywhere, including the United States. Without doubt, today victory belongs to the people of South Vietnam whose authentic representative is the National Front for Liberation....

However, the warmongers within U.S. ruling circles have still not given up their perfidious aggressive plans against Vietnam. They obstinately persist in carrying out actions that violate the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They continue to intensify their war in South Vietnam, using the lackey

puppet administration in an effort to maintain their neo-colonial domination in South Vietnam and perpetuate the artificial division of Vietnam.

After the United States began its policy of so-called "limited bombing" and, after it initiated the total cessation of bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the United States Government has not ceased proclaiming that it has "de-escalated the war" and proven its "desires for peace," etc. But at the same time it has continued to intensify the war in South Vietnam. It continues to bring in large numbers of U.S. fully equipped expeditionary forces.

At the same time they urge the Saigon puppet administration to recruit more men for the mercenary army. The facts belie the claims of the Yankee imperialists. The Vietnamese earnestly need peace, but it must be peace within the context of independence and liberty....

Dear Friends:

The war of resistance for national salvation that is being waged by the people of South Vietnam under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation has achieved great victories, and today it is approaching the final victory.

Those victories are the result of the tremendous sacrifices by the 14 million Vietnamese in the South; of the enormous aid by the 17 million Vietnamese of the North; and of the sympathy and support of progressive peoples the world over, an important part of whom, live in the Western Hemisphere, including the United States.

The people and the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam greatly esteem this sympathy, support and help given by their brothers and friends all over the world, and will do their utmost to fulfill their historic national mission to the nation and, by so doing, contribute, effectively, to the cause of the common struggle of the peoples for independence, democracy, peace and social progress.

The struggle for national liberation of the Vietnamese people will be victorious!

Long live the solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the Western Hemisphere!

Conversation in a Classroom (A Talk With Nguyen Van Ba)

By DEIRDRE STAPP

The following article is to appear in the next issue of the Partisan, Magazine of Youth Against War & Fascism. The author, Mrs. Stapp, editor of that publication, attended the Hemispheric Conference in Montreal with a delegation from her organization, and interviewed the man who made the speech printed above.

Nguyen Van Ba, representative of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in Havana, and a member of the NLF delegation to the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, is a serious looking man of forty. He has fought in two wars — first against the French, when they tried to reimpose their colonial rule on Vietnam after World War II, and now against the new aggressors, the United States.

He was cordial and decisive when a reporter from an Afro-American newspaper and I caught him as he emerged from a meeting with the Latin American Caucus. Could we get an interview? A moment's thought. "Yes, immediately."

We moved into a vacant classroom of the Externat Classique, the school on the outskirts of Montreal where the Hemispheric Conference was holding its concluding sessions.

My first question was on the war itself. Had the United States intensified its aggression in the South since the bombing halt?

"Yes," he answered. "The U.S. government has stopped the bombing of the North because they are defeated there. They are concentrating their bombers in attacks on the South. The main aim of the U.S. Government is to continue to occupy South Vietnam and colonize us."

"They have been defeated in the North and they will be defeated in the South too. The bombing drops in the South have increased in greater amounts than before. All the bombers that used to be used in attacks on the North are now being used in more attacks in the South. We, the people of South Vietnam, will continue to resist. We are fighting stronger and stronger."

This was the first time the NLF had sent a delegation to meet with the anti-war forces in North America. How did he feel it went?

"My impression is very good. The anti-war forces of the Western Hemisphere are strong, united and we think they will grow stronger."

My colleague asked, "How does the NLF look at the liberation struggle of black people within the borders of the

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NLF delegate hugs Black Panther in solidarity at the Montreal Conference.

Black Panther Leader Cheered With NLF at Montreal Meet

MONTREAL— Bobby Seale virtually tore the roof off the staid university that hosted the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam when he spoke there last Sunday.

In a fiery peroration punctuated by cheers, he linked the Vietnam liberation war with the black struggle at home and called for continuing revolution.

"Let's do like the Vietnamese!" he quoted Huey Newton as saying to him at the very founding of the Black Panthers in October, 1966.

He called for armed self-defense, for land, bread and housing. He said the oppressor could make no law the oppressed was bound to respect. And he called for a plebiscite for the black people to determine its own independent destiny.

Hundreds of raised clenched fists, stormy applause and cheers almost drowned out the speaker's conclusion, as Latin Americans and North Americans joined Afro-Americans in the last ovation.



Bobby Seale addresses Hemispheric Conference in Montreal.

Workers World Interviews Le Duy Van, DRV Leader and Delegate to Conference

The following brief interview with Le Duy Van, Secretary of the Vietnam Committee for World Peace of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, was given exclusively to the editor of WORKERS WORLD in Montreal on Dec. 1.

Mr. Van was a leading member of the Vietnamese delegation to the Hemispheric Conference held in Quebec over the Thanksgiving Day weekend. He graciously took time out from an unbelievably crowded schedule, and under many pressures, including those of political and personal security, he made the observations printed below.

His interpreter was Le Ky Gial, of the Vietnam Peace Committee.

Q. What would you say most sustains you and your compatriots in this long, long war against the tremendous material forces of imperialism?

A. First of all, our people have had a very long history of struggle for independence. We were dominated by the French colonialists for nearly one century. Through that period we never

ceased to struggle for our independence.

In 1945 our August revolution was successful in driving away the French colonialists. But in 1946 these enemies came back to invade our country once again. We carried out nine years of intense armed resistance against French colonialism after that. And through the long resistance (in the whole century) our people's patriotism was developed and increased.

Since 1954 the American imperialists interfered directly in our country, replacing the French imperialists and starting war against us.

But the American imperialists have met with the firm and unshakable will of the whole people of Vietnam. In addition to that, we have the clear-sighted and correct leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnam Workers Party. Moreover, we have enjoyed the sympathy and support of the laboring people and progressive people throughout the world, including the United States.

In the epoch of the triumph of socialism and national liberation movements our optimism has grown and our will is more unshakable.

Q. In regard to the Paris Talks, is it

correct to say that the imperialists are attempting to get an imperialist peace, and the Vietnamese want a socialist peace, a people's peace?

A. The imperialists are always provoking war in order to impose their domination and exploitation of peoples. As for us, we have to fight for our fundamental national rights. Now we are doing the same thing that every people has to do for its existence.

Of course we want peace. But that peace must be a genuine peace in independence and freedom.

Q. How do the Vietnamese people feel about the anti-war struggle in the United States? Is there any message from you that I can give to my party, Workers World Party, and to the progressive people we know?

A. We believe that the people of the United States will continue to give us all kinds of support in our struggle. We think the struggle is for the mutual benefit of the two peoples. And we are doing whatever we can to take into account all the peoples, all the considerations. The Vietnamese people have had one

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The USSR, Czechoslovakia and The Myth of "Peaceful Coexistence"

By Sam Marcy

It is now more than three months since the Warsaw Pact nations intervened in Czechoslovakia. Even if no substantial or abiding change in the internal situation of that country has occurred, it has at least stopped the counter-revolution in its tracks. Its international effects, which have only begun to sink in, are truly enormous.

We merely have to take a glance at the world scene today, and it becomes apparent at once that there has taken place a radical alteration in the attitude of the world bourgeoisie and of the U.S. ruling class toward the Soviet Union and its socialist allies. One only has to remind oneself how relations between the Soviet Union and the United States were regarded just a bare few weeks before the intervention to see how different things appear today.

Deluded Imperialists Thought That the Counter-Revolution Was Completely Safe

So certain was Harry Schwartz in July about this lasting cooperation between the USSR and the USA that he did not even mention the situation in Czechoslovakia! Since then Czechoslovakia has become a virtual obsession with the U.S. ruling class. The Times itself felt obliged to send to Moscow, in addition to its regular reporters, two of its top correspondents, James Reston, the executive editor, and C.L. Sulzberger.

When Schwartz, who is one of its top Soviet analysts, wrote his appraisal, he took it for granted, along with all others, that the truly scandalous cooperation he had alluded to forestalled any serious move by the Soviet Union to reverse the counter-revolutionary trend in Eastern Europe. Of course, Schwartz, as well as the Times, was not alone in his evaluation of Soviet-American relations. Indeed, practically all elements of the ruling class seemed to share the same view, especially in Western Europe.

On the basis of this evaluation they concluded that the Soviet Union would not intervene in Czechoslovakia and that the counter-revolution would not only continue unchecked in Czechoslovakia but perhaps take strong hold in the rest of Eastern Europe and maybe in the Soviet Union as well.

Even the U.S. military, which took a more cautious view of the situation, concurred. For instance, R. Rockingham Gill, the Pentagon's military an-

alyst for Eastern Europe, assured the Czechoslovak neo-restorationists in no uncertain terms that the chances of the Soviet Union intervening were minimal. (See "Czechoslovakia: Will the Soviet Army Intervene?" July 8th issue of East Europe, a CIA-State Department publication.)

After the intervention in Czechoslovakia it was the top cold war expert and former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, George Kennan, who started beating the war drums. Once again he tried to give the lead in a reappraisal of U.S.-Soviet relations; as he had done in 1947 with his infamous "Mr. X" article in Foreign Affairs, in which he laid out a blueprint for U.S. imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union, its allies, and the liberation movements of the world. Only now he sounded so frantic and irrational in his call for the deployment of "a couple of new U.S. troop divisions into Western Europe" to counter the Warsaw Pact nations that he could scarcely be regarded as serious.

While other spokesmen for the imperialist establishment were undoubtedly no less frantic, few could see the possibilities of immediately deploying one or more divisions as Kennan demanded, with the war in Vietnam going as it was and in the midst of an election campaign where the capitalist candidates were outdoing each other in peace demagoguery.

of the fascist regimes of Portugal (and its beleaguered African empire), Spain and Greece.

It should also be noted that the Warsaw Pact intervention has modified the character of the international situation even in areas which seem far removed from it. Thus, the recent monetary crisis in Western Europe, which reflects the sharpening struggle among the imperialists for markets, for new areas of exploitation, and for more intensified exploitation of older areas, was in part influenced by the intervention.

In a sense the intervention was public notice to the imperialists that the Czechoslovak economy was not "up for grabs" by the imperialists, as was assumed by them following the January coup by the Dubcek group of neo-restorationists. Czechoslovakia had already been looked upon as a lucrative market. Not only the U.S. but Britain, West Germany, France and all the rest of the European capitalist countries eagerly looked forward to getting their slice of the pie. It was a project which the imperialists had conceived and worked upon for a long time, which was at long last to bear some fruit.

Their severe disappointment could not but be reflected in their monetary dealings, which are all too frequently based on rising political anticipations, which are in turn, more often than not, as inflated as their currencies.

U.S.-USSR Collaboration Limited by Basic Irreconcilability of Two Social Systems

The new, more aggressive stand of U.S. monopoly capitalism does not necessarily imply a corresponding change in the direction of revolutionary policy by the Soviet leadership. But it does indicate that there is a limit to the kind of collaboration that the Soviet leaders have accommodated themselves to for so many years in relation to the U.S.

In particular it illustrates how far the Soviet leaders will go in the pursuit of the false and spurious doctrine of peaceful co-existence. They will abandon it only, it seems, when it becomes patently clear to at least some of the most authoritative of the Soviet leaders that its further pursuit will end up in the destruction of the socialist basis of the Soviet Union itself or, at least, become a great danger to it.

That is one of the most important lessons of the Czechoslovak experience, which at this writing is by no means a closed book.

The miscalculation of the bourgeoisie in relation to the Warsaw Pact intervention is based in part on the myth of the military omnipotence of the U.S., a myth which is slowly disintegrating under the impact of the Vietnam war. It is also based in part on the many years of accommodation of the Soviet leadership

to the demands and threats of U.S. finance capital.

As a consequence of this, bourgeois scholars, paid and unpaid government advisers and, above all, liberal and revisionist apologists for the status-quo-at-any-price elevated the Soviet leaders' championing of the theory of peaceful co-existence to a permanent and immutable feature of Soviet foreign policy, if not to an eternal category.

The Czechoslovak experience has exploded this reactionary panacea. In their rage, the ideological servants of the bourgeoisie are trying to make up for their bankrupt theory by spewing all their venom against the Soviet Union and conjuring up an image of the Soviet Republic as a new imperialist monster that has now adopted the same designs as the old Czarist empire.

In reality all that has happened is that the Czechoslovak experience has brought to the surface the underlying social and class antagonisms that separate the imperialist from the socialist countries. This has been covered up for too long a time by an overgrowth and predominance of bourgeois ideology, supported by the leaders of the Soviet Union as well as imperialist ideologists.

Can Predatory Monopolists Engage in "Peaceful Economic Competition"?

One of the basic assumptions in the theory of peaceful co-existence which lies at the core of this ideology is the idea that peaceful economic competition between the two social systems would undermine, and maybe eventually eliminate, the imperialist drive towards war.

"Let us compete in trade, in commerce. Let us engage in a race to build useful things for peaceful purposes. Let us not engage in a race for armaments!" This was a constant theme of Nikita Krushchev. His friendship with Cyrus Eaton symbolized this. But this theory is in violent contradiction to the real-life processes which dominate imperialist economics.

In the first place, there is no such thing as trade and commerce under imperialism which is divorced from its predatory politics. Its trade and commerce are completely interwoven and subordinate to the broad political objectives of imperialist finance capital. The use of terror, coercion, blackmail, duress, and even outright assassination to gain a purely economic (and even a narrow economic) end is part of the daily practice and routine of imperial-

ist monopolies.

Also it must not be forgotten that, even at this very late date in its development, monopoly capitalism still controls the major share of the world's resources and technology and exercises political hegemony (the right to exploit and super-exploit the majority of mankind) even at a time when the majority of mankind is in more open rebellion than it has ever been before in its history.

This is a weighty factor if one wants to consider so-called peaceful competition realistically.

According to the proponents of the theory of the peaceful competition between the two social systems, the socialist system would win out because it is a superior economic system. Indeed, it is! But the imperialist methods of conducting economic competition with the socialist countries have meant not only blockading and isolating them, but also strangling them economically and boycotting them where possible. At all times the peaceful competition phase of imperialism has been a preparatory period for the military phase of imperialist politics.

The U.S. Subjection of Western Europe, And the Lesson of Czechoslovakia

It is instructive to relate the experience of European imperialist powers with their benefactors and masters, the U.S. economic colossus. This experience illustrates the utter inability of the European monopolists to withstand the daily economic penetration — a more fitting phrase would be the daily economic assault — against the European continent by the U.S. monopolists. In his well-documented book, *The American Challenge*, J.J. Servan-Schreiber shows how the continent is gradually becoming an economic vassal of the U.S. In the opinion of some it has long been one.

A new book, *The American Take-Over of Britain*, by James McMillan and Bernard Harris confirms the same trend. At this moment Servan-Schreiber and many other European

economic analysts, scholars, and specialists of all sorts are meeting in Princeton, New Jersey, to discuss, among other things, the American economic relations to Europe. In reality Servan-Schreiber and the other liberal well-wishers for a U.S.-European "good partnership" are in Princeton to plead with the U.S. bankers and financiers to slow the U.S. economic take-over of Europe. Their pleading will fall on deaf ears. It is in the nature of the beast to take what he can, and he is only stopped by force.

The "let us compete peacefully" theory as it applied to Czechoslovakia meant in the final analysis opening the gates wide to the imperialist beast and his junior partners. That is the other lesson of the Czechoslovak experience.

Was Washington Behind Coup in Mali?

By P. MEISNER

For the 13th time in the last three years a military coup has toppled an African government. And again, the hands of the Western imperialist powers appear to have been instrumental in the overthrow of Mali's anti-

imperialist government headed by President Modibo Keita.

Alfred Friendly, the N.Y. Times' correspondent in Bamako, capital of Mali, reported on Nov. 23, four days after the coup:

"...cautious Western diplomats reacted with varying degrees of pleasure

luctantly with this determined and straight-forward man, who represented so much struggle and so much hope for the oppressed.

— Van Ba of NLF

(Continued from page 3)
United States?"

"We have met many black freedom fighters in Vietnam, Cuba and here. Black people in the United States are in the lead of the revolutionary struggle. They are the most exploited. They are the most revolutionary. And I think they will win victory. We consider the struggle of black people in the United States as part of our fight. We fight in the front but black people in the United States fight in the stomach of the United States Government. They fight inside; we fight outside ... two prongs to strangle the throat of the Yankee."

"What advice would you give black Americans struggling for their freedom?"

"We support their struggle, but we give no advice. Because conditions in the United States are different from those in Vietnam, like the cities are different from the countryside. And even within the United States, conditions in one state are different from those in another. So the tactics of struggle will vary.

"But we give the moral support of urging black people to fight on and not to get discouraged, because it will be a long fight. The fight against the American capitalist system is the same fight whether it is in Vietnam, Cuba, the United States or anywhere else. Although the way you fight may vary, it is still part and parcel of the same struggle."

It was time to go. We parted re-

— DRV Leader

(Continued from page 3)

big victory (the cessation of bombing of the DRV — ed.), which is also the victory of the United States people and the freedom-loving people of the world.

It is common knowledge that the United States imperialists are now intensifying their aggression against South Vietnam. They are committing barbarous crimes against our compatriots in South Vietnam — at the same time violating the sovereignty and threatening the security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In the face of this situation we are resolved to fight on to win our struggle for independence, freedom and national reunification. We know the U.S. people will continue their support.

Q. I see our time is up. Thank you very much for the interview, Mr. Chairman. And allow me to say for my party that we not only support the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people; we not only call for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam; we also have complete confidence in the DRV and NLF conduct of the negotiations in Paris. If they find it necessary to compromise, we shall support them; if they are able to win everything they desire, we shall of course support them in that, too. We are sure that the victory will be theirs. Thank you.

today to the formation of a Government to replace the leftist regime of President Modibo Keita, ousted in a bloodless military coup here Tuesday."

The same dispatch also revealed one reason for this "pleasure."

"A veterinarian, Zanga Coulibali, an enthusiastic supporter of the United States-financed poultry project here, has been named Minister of Production."

In a political situation similar to that in Ghana before Nkrumah's overthrow in 1966 by military puppets of U.S. and British imperialism, Keita had begun to organize a people's militia to check the pro-Western and pro-capitalist elements within Mali. Another "liberal" mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism, Newsweek, was quite jubilant over the coup:

"Moving in the pre-dawn hours, a clique of young pro-Western army officers arrested Keita.... And within hours, the nation's Red Guard-style militia — founded only last year by Keita with the aid of Communist China — was entirely disarmed."

The pro-imperialist leaders of the coup have already announced the end to Keita's program of collectivized farming and an appeal for the return of foreign investments into Mali. And significantly, the junta departed from Keita's foreign policy by immediately denouncing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Keita is the third progressive African leader out of the five leaders of the Casablanca powers to be overthrown. In 1961, five heads of African states, Sekou-Toure (Guinea), Nassar (U.A.R.), Ben Bella (Algeria), Nkrumah (Ghana), and Keita (Mali) met in Casablanca to denounce the criminal U.S.-U.N. invasion of the Congo which murdered another progressive African leader, Patrice Lumumba.

Ben Bella was the first to be overthrown, when in 1965 he had begun to give the Algerian masses political power with a people's militia. Similarly, Nkrumah was overthrown in

Overthrown by U.S.?



Modibo Keita: Another anti-imperialist leader in Africa is overthrown by pro-Western military.

1966, and now Keita in 1968. And it is no secret that the U.S., through the CIA, has attempted numerous coups against Nassar and his government. Also, Sekou-Toure has been a prime target of Washington for his anti-imperialist stand. Eliminating every progressive government in Africa has been and still is the objective of U.S. imperialism, as the Nov. 20 N.Y. Times dispatch from Mali clearly implies:

"Mr. Keita was one of the few remaining African leaders to openly encourage Soviet and Chinese aid and involvement.

"Mr. Keita set up a socialist regime that was tightly disciplined and relatively free of corruption."

Almost three years ago, one month before the coup that ousted Nkrumah, the N.Y. Journal American leaked a dispatch dated Jan. 7, 1966, about the U.S. role in the military coups in Dahomey, Upper Volta, the Central African Republic and the Congo:

"The much condemned U.S. Central Intelligence Agency seems to have done something right for a change.

"In recent weeks four African nations have undergone coups during which the military took power and turned against Communist China, and apparently it's all due to the CIA."

Social Democrats Warm Up to Bourgeois Fellow Traveler, Too

A General's Anti-Soviet Funeral Oration Delights Imperialists

By V. COPELAND

The most important anti-Soviet act in the Soviet Union recently, if the U.S. press is reporting at all comprehensively, was the funeral speech of Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko over the body of Soviet writer, Alexei Kosterin, in Moscow on November 15.

This was the first internationally publicized event of this kind since the Moscow demonstration against the restorationists in Czechoslovakia and the subsequent trial of the demonstrators.

The General's speech, emotional, anti-leadership and devoid of clear-cut class language, was admirably adapted for the broadest kind of anti-Soviet audience. The imperialist press took full advantage of this and of the sentiments that accompany sorrow for a deceased person. And, of course, the social democratic press followed suit.

Kosterin, the dead writer, had resigned from the Soviet CP in protest against the intervention in Czechoslovakia. And he was dropped from the Soviet Writers' Union.

"Did it ever occur to them (the Writers' Union)," asked Grigorenko of 300 supporters (1) at the funeral, "that they were not capable of removing someone from the ranks of writers? They forget that neither Pushkin nor Tolstoy was a member of the Union of Soviet Writers, and Pasternak was expelled."

But the General forgot that neither Pushkin nor Tolstoy was for the socialist revolution and Pasternak was openly against it — in his novel, "Dr. Zhivago."

The Writers' Union, incidentally, made a lengthy explanation, with highly illustrative quotations and a clear condemnation of the novel as counterrevolutionary in 1958, before expelling the author. The bourgeoisie gave it the Nobel Prize.

It is difficult to unmake a writer, as

Grigorenko implies. A writer is a writer, whether he writes pro-capitalist trash or pro-Soviet epigrams. But it is one of the subtleties of bourgeois thought that talent and articulateness, as such, are to be prized and worshipped by everybody, whichever way they are used.

This is something like a soldier saying the handling of a gun is equally wonderful in his enemy's hands or his own. No revolutionary general would say such a thing. But cultured servants of the ruling class are full of such abstractions, and particularly in the field of the arts.

(However, they give a Nobel Prize for the "pure art" in a book against the October Revolution and remove from Rockefeller Center and virtually destroy the Diego Rivera murals that were for the same revolution.)

General Grigorenko spoke highly of "freedom" and "democracy" — even "Leninist democracy" and he attacked the "bureaucratic machine" — all of which greatly thrilled both liberal and right-wing imperialists in the U.S.

And it equally thrilled the "democratic socialists" (i.e., bourgeois socialists) of the Socialist Workers Party, who printed a whole page in the Nov. 29 Militant on the General, heralding the coming of the new "democratic socialist" (in reality, bourgeois) revolution in the Soviet Union.

But the General, who has been demoted to the rank of private and discharged from the army, is very vague on what he means by "democracy" and especially "Leninist democracy."

Is he, for example, in favor of soldiers electing their own officers in the army? Is he for the abolition of the rank of general as in People's China or socialist Cuba? That was part of Leninist democracy in the early days of the Soviet Union.

Is he against the "bureaucratic machine" because of bureaucracy, as such? Is he against the four- to six-month delay in entering Czechoslovakia because he thinks it was due to the bumbblings of bureaucracy?

Of course not. He wants what amounts to capitalist restoration in Czechoslovakia, because it will help restoration along in the Soviet Union, too. He uses the word "bureaucratic" as a code word for socialist and soviet. The proof of this is his support for the Czechoslovak restorationists and his opposition to the progressive actions of his own army.

Is he against the "bureaucratic machine" because it did not back those Soviet generals who wanted to come to the aid of the Arab revolution in June, 1967?

Is he against the "bureaucratic machine" because generals get higher pay than privates in the Soviet Union? Is he against the "bureaucratic machine" because writers and generals get privileges — or because General Grigorenko and writer Kosterin lost their privileges?

Merely to ask the questions is to answer them. But, of course, the social democratic apologists for the "democratic" opposition in the Soviet Union are far too polite to raise such embarrassing questions.

This is because they are in the last analysis more favorably inclined toward "democratic" imperialism than toward the Soviet Union, People's China, or even struggling Vietnam. If this were not true, they could not so easily be taken in by every new opposition in the Soviet bloc, each one to the right of the last.

Now Workers World Party has made it plain, particularly in the case of the pro-restorationist writers Sinyavsky and Daniel, that it disagrees with the idea of imprisoning or physically vic-

timizing these petty bourgeois ideologists at this time. (See W.W., Jan. 18, '68.)

It disagrees, not out of sympathy with the offenders, but out of the conviction that the remedy won't cure the disease.

Surely it would be much better to conduct public polemics with such people, educate the masses and utilize Leninist democracy against the restorationists, rather than allow them to demagogically invoke Lenin, as the most venal politicians in the United States invoke Lincoln (the Republicans) and Jefferson (the Democrats).

Of course, this involves calling upon the workers, inspiring the real revolutionaries with the perspective of world revolution, fighting consistently for a genuinely communist society, etc.

The fact that this is not being done, fifty-one years after the October Revolution, is a very important sign that there is great weakness as well as conciliation in the Soviet Government. The near-panic proportions of the Soviet crackdown on some of the pro-bourgeois intellectuals show that the leaders themselves are a long, long way from the revolutionary boldness of Lenin, not to mention Lenin's custom of appealing to the revolutionary comrades against the more conservative and the revolutionary masses against the restorationists.

Of course, to the extent that the pro-restorationists are an immediate and pressing danger, they may have to be sharply dealt with. The question of the treatment of the anti-Sovietists should be just a question of tactics. And our disagreement is a tactical disagreement.

The bourgeoisie and their social democratic imitators make it a question of principle. This is because their primary interest is in overthrowing the Soviet power, whereas our interest is in preserving and rejuvenating it.

2 Strikes, 2 Judges

(Continued from page 1)

Mike Quill of the Transport Workers Union, John DeLury of the Sanitationmen's Union, and even Shanker himself (when he led a strike for better conditions and higher pay) were all sent to jail under the Taylor Law without the court paying any attention to the legal niceties.

However, during this UFT strike, Justice Blaustein allowed testimony to go on endlessly with the city required to prove that the union (along with the Council of Supervisory Associations) had violated the anti-strike injunction each day they were out (about 10 weeks). At this rate, the



Mrs. Lillian Roberts got 30 days. case could go on for several weeks more.

In the case of workers striking against the state in order to reject a company union, selected for them by Governor Rockefeller, the class attitude of the court was exactly opposite. Justice Shapiro showed his prejudice and utter contempt for the workers, the union and due process of law. He told the state and union lawyers before the trial that "he had no doubt the union had violated the court's injunction against striking" according to Zion's article. He warned them that he did not intend to hold a "lengthy" trial.

When the union offered to bring forward 40 workers as witnesses to prove that the underpaid hospital workers struck under circumstances of "extreme provocation" (such a strike is legal under the Taylor Law), Justice Shapiro ruled that the lawyer should instead take the stand to testify as to what the witnesses would have said. "It was short and sweet" commented Zion.

Naturally Shapiro did not find "extreme provocation" by the bosses, that is, by the state which is also

NYC High School Students Against the Cops

The following article was written by a student organizer for Youth Against War & Fascism, who goes to Stuyvesant High School and who participated in the student strike and the militant march on I.S. 271 in support of black control of black schools.

* * *

By JACK PLATSKY

NEW YORK, Dec. 2 — In response to the racist teachers' strike and the settlement in which both Ocean Hill-Brownsville and all New York City students suffered, a students' strike has developed in the city's high schools. After striking students held a rally of about 2,000 at UN Plaza last Friday, this week has brought new developments.

The strike grew on Friday, but the real test was after the weekend. Friday was one of the holidays lost because of the settlement and attendance was not mandatory. Because of these reasons, and the fact that the teachers were receiving double-time and a half for these hours, many students were angered and they struck. But now, on Monday the story is different. Today you had only those students who are quite certain about why they are striking and about their support for Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

After local actions at their high schools and neighboring ones, about 1,000 students converged on Washington Square where a rally was planned. Most of those turning out came from Brooklyn schools. Following the planned rally they called for a march to I.S. 271 to show solidarity with the community after their struggles earlier in the morning.

Taking the train from the rally, we rode to the school. On leaving the train at the station the students completely

filled the platform, leaving no room at all. Marching out of the station and into the streets we started toward I.S. 271. The students were headed off a block away by a thick wall of cops. Without stopping they kept going to circle around the next block.

Splitting into two groups, we marched towards the school from two directions. The students were again stopped by walls of cops from going to their schools. When the cops started to move to clear the students away they were met by bottles and rocks thrown by those determined to stop the cops from running their communities. Caught unaware by such determination, they called for hundreds of more cops who came immediately.

Then started several hours of battles between a literal occupying army and many more residents and supporters of the community. At first the bottles and rocks kept the cops at a distance, but as busloads of cops arrived the tactic changed. Walls of cops blocking the way of students were hit with bottles and bricks. They would then charge, almost all of the time being outrun, the cops returning to form a wall and again being hit with the objects.

During the battles at one point a banner was held up calling for a student strike but a police charge soon after left the banner in pieces. One small piece of the banner was carried through the rest of the day. At one time during a charge I observed one boy grabbed who was standing at the subway entrance. He was jumped by five cops, his head split open, beaten in the ribs and then arrested. This happened many times but not without reprisals. Besides the many police hit with the bottles and bricks, many roving police cars had their windows smashed and were sent running. Fire engines were also called during

the fights.

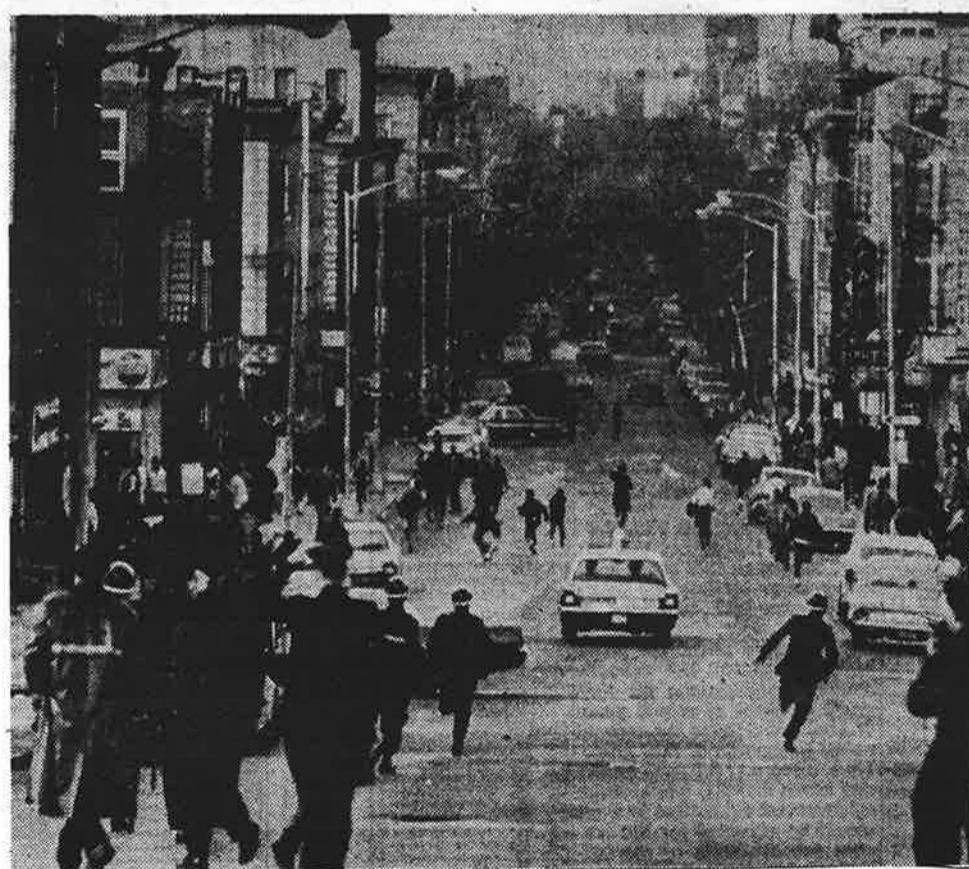
Police then started to station themselves on rooftops and at one point I heard gunshots. Shortly after that, an ambulance went by. It was then reported that they had shot one student. Although the students say they know that someone was shot it has not yet been reported by the press.

At this point, after a police charge any overexuberant cops that might have run a little too far and gotten separated from the rest of the cops, were sorry. At one point as a paddywagon was chasing a group of people down a street it ran into a barricade which had been constructed while the paddywagon came down the street.

Shortly after this, it was noticed that the cops were scattered and a march started again towards the school. With all the cops away from the school, now fighting on side streets, the march went unhindered right to the doors of I.S. 271. Only two or three cops were inside. They called over their walkie-talkies for reinforcements against those who had gotten through the occupied territory to go to their school. As cops came running from all over, the students entered the school and took seats in the auditorium to hold a meeting.

Representatives from the City-Wide Strike Committee, Black Panther Party, Black Caucus, former president of the P.T.A. and the Rev. Herbert C. Oliver spoke. The speakers pointed out the importance of what happened that day and said that while the students had taken care of business today, with rocks and bottles, the cops aren't playing and it was time to quit playing, get organized, get some discipline, and get some guns. This is what all the speakers said, except for the Rev. Oliver who thanked those in the school for their support and said that the governing board is still going to run the schools.

Police Invasion of Ocean Hill-Brownsville



Howard Avenue: Invading cops chase black youths who were protesting racism.

Some Revelations About U.S. Judicial Despotism

Under the U.S. form of bourgeois democracy judges are appointed for life or long terms and paid high salaries. Few are elected and there are no legal channels set up by which the public can remove a judge. This means, in effect, that the judiciary holds an inviolable position and each judge is invested with the power of a despot over the poor.

This fact is clear to any worker or oppressed person who has ever been dragged before a judge, but it is seldom publicized.

In one rare revelation of some of the crimes committed by the "criminal" courts, James V. Bennett, who was Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons for 27 years, told a Congressional Judiciary subcommittee in 1964:

"That some judges are arbitrary and even sadistic in their sentencing practices is notoriously a matter of record I know of one judge who continued to sit on the bench and sentence defendants to prison while he was undergoing shock treatment."

Bennett, who knows from firsthand experience about the gross injustices of the judicial system, only wants to iron out some of the more glaring inequities in the system which sends 14,000 defendants to Federal prisons each year.

For example, he favors legislation to make excessive sentences subject to appeal and review. However, a Washington Post article of Nov. 29 about Bennett's "crusade against penal inequi-

ty," reveals not only the arbitrary application of judicial power, which is Bennett's chief complaint, but also shows the extent of judicial tyranny over the poor.

For example, the article cites the case of "a 20-year-old Mexican... who became addicted to heroin while being treated for epilepsy. He sold some of the narcotic to a 17-year-old friend, who, it turned out, was a police informer. Convicted in Los Angeles of selling heroin to a minor, the Mexican was sentenced to life, with parole forbidden."

Review of excessive sentences, Bennett feels, would prevent cases like the one in which a Norfolk man recently got 10 years for stealing 87 cents, while price-fixers who rob hundreds of millions of dollars can only be fined up to \$50,000 a count.

However, no amount of legislation in a capitalist state can ever make a worker and a boss equal in the eyes of "the law."

The obvious bias of the courts on the side of the capitalist class was again revealed in the example of a young night club dancer who was sentenced to 15 years in Texas for possession of marijuana, while a Federal Court in Washington let off three pharmaceutical company scientists, who had falsified data on a drug that injured thousands of users, with six-month suspended sentences. (And what about indicting the bosses of the company, who were probably the masterminds of the

fraud?)

The absolute power of the judge over a defendant who isn't rich enough to have a battery of high-priced lawyers working for him was revealed in several cases by Bennett. For example, judges have the power of deciding whether a convicted person with several counts against him should serve his sentences consecutively (one after another) or concurrently (all at once). In one case, wrote the Post, "a bookkeeper was indicted on 31 counts of assisting in an income tax fraud. The judge gave him a year and a day on each count, specifying that the 31 sentences were to run consecutively." His sentence, which was over 31 years, could have been just one year had the judge merely decided to make the sentences concurrent.

In another case, a man was convicted of "conspiring to smuggle parrots" into

the U.S. from Mexico and sentenced to 11 years because the judge "felt he was arrogant and rude."

In 1964 Bennett told a Judiciary subcommittee that judges may even become senile or pathological and still hold their posts. But it is not the mental incompetence of individual judges which makes the judicial system so vicious and racist in dealing with its primary victims, the oppressed people. On the contrary, sympathy for the rich and ruthlessness to the poor is a job requirement for judges, who are hired by the capitalist Establishment. Naturally, with this type of conditioning, judges become drunk with power. It is the system of exploitation which determines that they will inevitably hand down cruel sentences against the working class and let the ruling class criminals go scot-free.

Mark Rudd Tells the Army: If Inducted, He Will Fight the Military From Inside



Mark Rudd reads statement at Hotel Diplomat...breaks officer's swagger stick. Andy Stapp, chairman of ASU, fields questions.



Below are excerpts from a press statement issued by Mark Rudd, leader of Columbia SDS, declaring his intention to organize inside the Army against imperialism if inducted. Undoubtedly because of his militant stand, the Army has now rejected Rudd for thirty days because of "undisclosed physical reasons."

On Oct. 21, 1968, Selective Service System Local Board #14, Irvington, N.J., reclassified me 1-A. Three weeks later, I filed an appeal for a 2-A deferment on the grounds that my occupation, revolutionary, is vital to the national interest. I have thus far received no reply from the Board, and my hopes of attaining a 2-A deferment are somewhat slim. I have been ordered to report to the Irvington draft board on Monday, December 2, for a pre-induction physical.

My stand on induction into the U.S. Army is as follows:

If forced to, I will enter the army; however, I will continue organizing within the Army as I have done outside, since my life is committed to the revolutionary movement for freedom, democracy, and peace. Though I understand and respect the thousands who have fled the country or have resisted the draft and submitted to long prison terms (almost always longer for blacks)

I will not choose either of those alternatives. I see organizing in the Armed Forces as an essential means of extending the movement which is growing now among students, Blacks, and other portions of the American people.

Organizing in the Army is significant for two reasons: First, the U.S. Armed Forces is the major tool for conquest and maintenance of the economic and political empire which is the goal of U.S. Big Business and government. Secondly, there is growing discontent among GI's at having to fight a brutal war they do not want, at being pushed around by the Brass and lifers, at being denied their elemental human and Constitutional rights (such as the right to political association).

I will enter the Army as many other revolutionary students are now doing, in order to help in whatever way I can another section of Americans who are being oppressed daily. Sons of Wallace supporters are radicalized by the Army every day; they are organizing resistance within the service. In this way, the movement broadens and deepens itself.

An army of men who think and make their own decisions based on their beliefs in democracy — including their opposition to the building of an American Empire — and who are organized in their own interests, is one of the most dangerous contingencies that faces the rulers of our country. As students

throughout the country have learned, the way to fight our own oppression is to unite ourselves and also to unite with other sectors of society. It is this union — a democratic revolutionary movement — that I, along with many others, hoped to further by organizing in the Armed Forces.

I have before me an officer's swagger stick. Not belonging to an officer of the British Imperial Army of sixty years ago, but an officer in the so-called "democratic" United States Army of 1968. Most Americans do not even know such sticks exist; veterans choose to forget them. But these sticks are the symbol of the arbitrary and brutal power of officers in our Armed Forces, power to discipline men without even a semblance of due process, power to force men to fight against their brothers in Vietnam, power to force men to lose their lives so that the power of the officers and the men behind them is maintained. It is this power, the power of the small class that controls and exploits our country, commits racist genocide in Vietnam, and the ghettos at home, murders thousands of Americans and millions of others, all in the name of Free Enterprise; it is this power that will one day be smashed by the power of the American GI's and American people fighting together for their freedom, just as this stick is broken.

ASU Member Refuses Order to Vietnam; Condemns Imperialism

At a teach-in on the military at Boston University, Nov. 21, SP/4 Gregory Laxer, a member of the American Servicemen's Union, defiantly refused to comply with the orders he had been given by the Brass to report for duty in Vietnam. Laxer told the audience of 400, "American napalm is now searing Latin American flesh as well as Vietnamese. I can no longer give sanction to these actions by my silence. I know from personal experience that many other GIs feel the same way. The time to speak out, brothers, is NOW."

"Now, when the American political system has degenerated to the point where a presidential election consists of trying to choose the least of three evils; now, when the President-elect is obsessed with the insanity of nuclear overkill and his running mate declares that the Montgomery bus boycott was 'overly militant'; now, when arsenals are being built for use against Black America; now, when future Vietnams lurk in Cambodia, Laos, Africa, and Latin America,

"There is no one in a better position to stop the slaughter than the GI himself. The Pentagon is deathly afraid of the power we could wield if we organized against the racist, imperialist system which sends us to kill and to be killed. We must seize this power. Now. Let's put the Pentagon up against the wall!" Laxer has been since taken into custody by the military authorities. He will be defended by Edward Rudnitsky, a Boston attorney.

The meeting was also addressed by Andy Stapp, Chairman of the ASU; Ed Sherman, a prominent civil liberties lawyer; Norman Gelnow, an ASU sailor on pass from the USS Randolph; and Bob LeMay, a Vietnam veteran and one of the editors of the American Servicemen's Union newspaper, The BOND.

The teach-in was sponsored by the New England Resistance.

Buffalo Student-Worker Solidarity In State Hospital Strike Victory

BUFFALO — What is certainly a good development for the labor movement in this country was demonstrated in the events surrounding the end of the strike by New York State mental hospital workers.

The workers at several hospitals had already gone out on strike, demanding that Rockefeller allow non-professional hospital workers the right to elect their collective bargaining representative and that Rockefeller cease bargaining with the Civil Service Employees Association, which is not a labor union and includes supervisory personnel. The strikes were called by Council 50 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (A.F.L.-C.I.O.), and Monday, November 25, Local 1069, of Buffalo State Hospital, joined the strike.

Before that, however, leaders from the local had requested help from the students of the University of Buffalo and Buffalo State College in the form of joining picket lines and gaining support for the strike.

The support came, and campus activists began showing up at the hospital gates at 4 a.m. Monday. Together with the workers, picket lines were formed, and scab cars were prevented from entering the gates. Several workers were promptly arrested by city cops, and as the shift change approached, state troopers came down on the pickets. As the lines got bigger and more scabs arrived, the troopers broke through the lines with their cars, speeding up to them and narrowly missing people. Finally one girl, a Buffalo State student, was hit by a trooper car, as it turned into the line, and the cop kept on going. On another line, a U.B. student was hit by a scab car and sent to the hospital.

The scabs had been placed on twelve-hour shifts, changing at 7 a.m. and 7 p.m., so that the idea was to make the lines strongest during the hours preceding and following those times.

Later that morning, several members of Youth Against War & Fascism went up to the U.B. campus and began trying to build support for the strike. Speakers were set up in the student union, over the objections of various school bureaucrats, and when students passed through, urgent speeches were made explaining the nature of the struggle taking place, and the importance for students to support the strike.

It was pointed out that Rockefeller, with the help of the press, has created an ugly distortion of the significance of the strike, trying to make it appear that one union is vying with another for power and making victims of helpless patients in the process. The reality of the situation, it was explained, is that the patients all along have been living under the most wretched conditions: cared for by far too few, and too inexperienced, attendants; fed the worst food, some of it literally full of worms; and provided with such inadequate psychiatric treatment that many have wasted their lives in these hospitals when adequate care could have prevented this.

Students were urged to join the picket lines at the hospital that evening, as the success of the strike would represent a victory for the patients as well as the workers and the involvement of students would create indispensable ties between the anti-war and labor movements.

Later that evening, toward the 7 p.m. shift change, a large number of students did join the lines. Scab cars and buses entered the gates under heavy police

escort, and the picketers hurled shouts of "scab" at them, and several scabs were spat upon. A YAWF member was arrested for allegedly refusing the request of an officer.

By the following evening, the decline in the number of scab workers was unmistakable. Some of the scab buses were completely empty, and others, it appears, had inexplicably succumbed to mechanical failures. In addition, a strike at Gowanda State Hospital was imminent.

Wednesday afternoon, the news came in that the Public Employees Relations Board had decided to come out in favor of the idea of an election to determine the collective bargaining representative — that Rockefeller had given in. A union meeting was called, statewide, and all the students who had been on the picket lines were invited to the Local 1069 meeting Wednesday evening.

At the meeting a union organizer from New York briefly explained the way things stood, making some humorous comments on how Rockefeller had met defeat: he gave in by having his own Public Employees Relations Board order him to meet the union demand.

A vote was taken, and it was decided to return to work. Pat Giallella, president of the local, thanked the students for all their help, then said that if subsequent bargaining did not bring the minimum \$6,000 annual pay demanded by the union, they would go right back out on strike, and this brought a ringing round of applause from the workers and students.

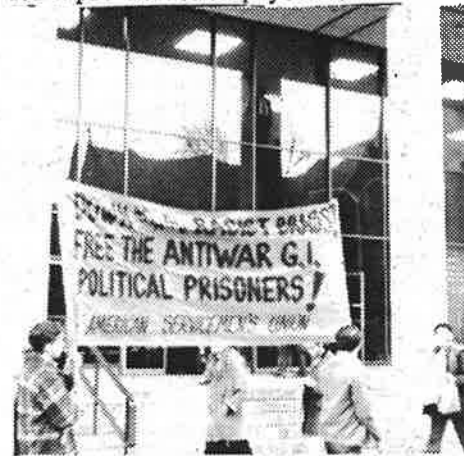
As the meeting broke up, refreshments were served, and students and workers conversed. The overwhelming consensus among the workers was that the students had been an enormous help in gaining the victory.



SP/4 Gregory Laxer.

ASU SUPPORTS MARK RUDD

Columbia SDS, supported by members of the American Servicemen's Union (below) picketed, 100 strong, at the Newark Federal Building, Dec. 2, in solidarity with Mark Rudd as he went for a pre-induction physical.



Israel Fronting for U.S. in New Attack on Arab People

(Continued from page 1)

Iraqi armed division that has been on Jordanian soil ever since June, '67. But well-informed observers contend that Israel would have made even more incursions into Jordan, possibly taking it over altogether, if the Iraqi division had not been there.

While the UN "peace" efforts under imperialist diplomat Gunnar Jarring are still going on and a big effort is being made to appear impartial about it all, the fact is that the U.S. is backing Israel, not the Arabs.

Both Nixon and Humphrey, as well as Wallace, took clear pro-Israel positions during the election campaign, although President-elect Nixon is naturally more cautious now and does not speak openly against the Arabs for fear of inflaming the situation prematurely.

The New York Times editorialized today that all signs point "toward a breakdown in peace efforts and an early renewal of large-scale conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbors."

The Arab people will hardly thank the Times or the rest of the U.S. ruling class for the "peaceful" sentiment, however, since little is said about the return of all Arab lands to the Arabs and still less about the return of all Arab refugees to equal citizenship in their own state.

Meanwhile, an apparently fantastic idea for Israel was raised today by Jonathan Bingham, Member of Congress from New York's 23rd District.

He said Israel should become a member of NATO!

But considering that Mediterranean Greece and Turkey are in the "North Atlantic" Treaty Organization, the idea is only arrogant and super-hawkish, not absurd or impossible of being implemented.

In reality, a NATO membership for Israel would only dot the already existing i's and cross the political t's more openly. Israel is a satellite of the U.S., largely dependent on U.S. economic aid. Much of the aid is funneled through Jewish organizations, many of whose members believe they are helping Jewish freedom, rather than imperialist oppression of the Arabs. But this only makes Israel's puppet role that much more effective.

The imperialists carefully noted an unsigned article that appeared in Pravda yesterday. The article indicated that the Soviet leadership wanted a political settlement and would not "permit" a resumption of large-scale fighting in the area.

But this was also pretty much the case with the Soviet leaders in June, 1967. And the Israelis attacked, anyway. Imperialism is never satisfied. Its drive for expansion is absolute. And Israel's expansion into Arab territory is far more an expression of this drive of imperialism than the dynamism of Jewish nationalism as such.

Finally, the Pravda article, in spite of its moderate tone, did say the Soviets would back the Arabs. This is in the national interest of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary interest of the Soviet workers and the oppressed masses of the world, including the most oppressed Jewish elements, too.



Israeli bombers destroyed this railroad bridge in Jordan last week in the heaviest bombing attack on an Arab nation since the June war. The bridge is a vital link between Amman and Aqaba, Jordan's only port.

Committee on Mideast Warns of U.S.-Israeli Aggression; Calls for Anti-War Preparations

Below are excerpts from the Newsletter recently published by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Middle East. The Committee was formed in New York in June, 1967, in response to the Mideast War and held one of the few demonstrations against U.S.-Israeli aggression.

The AHCME has published two pamphlets, "The War in the Mideast" and "An Israeli Worker's Answer to M.S. Aronson," and other materials as part of its effort to create a wider understanding of the role of Israel and imperialism in the Mideast.

Recent events at home and in the Mideast make it increasingly clear that a new onslaught against Arab liberation is in the making.

President-elect Nixon, who on Sept. 8 made the strongest pro-Israel statement of all the candidates (including one by the arch-racist Wallace), explained that his call for the balance of power to be "tipped in Israel's favor" was not just an election maneuver for Jewish votes. The critics, he said, "don't understand the American point of view."

The "American point of view," i.e., that of American business interests, was expressed on Nov. 7 when the U.S. Government agreed to the sale to Israel of 58 Phantom F-4 jets, costing \$3.5 million each. At the same time Israel was presenting a further listing of its territorial ambitions to UN intermediary Jarring.

The agreement undoubtedly did not

come altogether as a surprise to Tel Aviv. An Oct. 21 article by New York Times writer William Beecher, lamenting that "Israel's strategic position is much changed... Her greatest weakness in relative terms is her air defenses" continues: "Israel is known to be building new airfields in the Sinai... from which it could either defend against attack or raid military targets or even the Aswan High Dam... its water might flood a heavily populated area of Egypt."

The resumption of U.S. arms shipments to the Greek junta last month was part of a buildup of NATO in the Mediterranean. Greece, a stationing point for Sixth Fleet carriers during the June war, would be a key staging area for a new attack on the Arab countries.

The NATO buildup, a very real and physical threat aimed at the anti-imperialist Mideast countries, is now being unleashed in a somewhat different sense through Israeli spokesmen.

Deputy Premier Yigal Allon boasted that the U.S. would intervene for Israel in the event of Soviet military involvement on behalf of the Arabs....

A Nov. 15 exclusive Paris dispatch said that Radio Luxemburg learned of a NATO intelligence report given on Nov. 9 to Gen. Lemnitzer, which indicated that 20,000 Soviet troops would retake the Sinai up to the pre-June border following a "provocation."

This "provocation" story is of course itself a provocation... It is a time bomb in the growing propaganda arsenal

AL FATAH LEADER GIVES THE LIE TO "ANTI-SEMITISM" CHARGES

Abu Amar, leader of the Palestine liberation guerrilla group Al Fatah, gave an interview to New York Times Middle East writer Dana Adams Schmidt. In the interview, published Dec. 3, the commando spokesman communicated with Western readers the fighters' view of the Palestine struggle. Excerpts appear below.

"Our ideological theory is very simple," he said. "Our country has been occupied. The majority of our people have been kicked out by Zionism and imperialism from their homes."

"We waited and waited and waited for the justice of the United Nations, for the justice of the world and the governments gathering in the United Nations while our people were suffering in tents and caves. But nothing of this was realized. None of our hopes. But our dispersion was aggravated."

"We have believed that the only way to return to our homes and land is the armed struggle. We believe in this theory without any complications and with complete clarity, and this is our aim and our hope...."

"We believe that resistance is a legal right of all oppressed peoples," Abu Amar added....

And if you were to win, Abu Amar was asked, what would be your attitude toward the Jews.

"We are not against the Jews," he replied. "On the contrary we are all Semites and we have been living with each other in peace and fraternity, Moslems, Jews and Christians, for many centuries."

"We welcome with sincerity all the Jews who would like to live with us in sincerity in an Arab state as citizens having equal rights before the law and constitution."

"It is one of the aims of our movement to liberate the Jews themselves from the domination of Zionism, the Zionism which represents neo-Nazism, which is racial and is working for the monopolies."

"But when we achieve victory we will never throw anybody in the sea. This is what we are sure of. But we will do our best to find a solution for all problems, and for every case a humane solution."

Letter From Arab Tells of Torture By Israeli Police

The following is a translation of a letter which appeared in Hebrew in the Israeli weekly "Zo Haderach" on Nov. 11. The letter, which was also published in the French weekly "France Nouvelle," is by 18-year-old Muayad Osman Al-Bachaz, a student at the "Slaiya de Nablus" school in Israeli-occupied Schechem.

On the 12th of December, 1967 I appeared of my own free will at the Schechem Police station in order to clear up reasons for my being sought. I was arrested on the spot and charged with murder. During the interrogation I denied those charges. After this I was taken to a cell where I was interrogated on and off for a period of 54 days. They tried to extract from me a confession that I belonged to the resistance movement and was in possession of arms. Since I denied those charges I was threatened with transfer to a jail in the heart of Israel.

On the 24th of January, 1968, I found myself in Sarafand Concentration Camp.

In a five-foot square cell, "interrogators" began to "work" on me.

Here is a short description of what happened to me.

A) I was tied to the ceiling with my hands tied. From time to time I was lowered to the floor and they beat me with clubs until I passed out.

B) My hand and foot were chained together. They kicked me to make me jump in the yard, which was full of holes. As soon as I fell, they picked me up and forced me to continue this torturous running.

C) On my body and head wires were fastened through which an electric current was passed. Buckets of urine were spilled over me.

These were only some of the tortures I endured at Sarafand. Once while being tied to the ceiling the rope broke and I broke my left collar bone. I screamed with pain but the jailer who tortured me said "We will do it to your right collar bone as well!"

Since they did not obtain a confession I was returned to Schechem where the tortures continued. After that I was called before a Parole board, but at the last moment luck deserted me. I asked interrogator Fardi to tell the board that on account of the tortures my arm was crippled. He not only did not do so, but was influential in having the board decide against my release.

During the months which I spent in jail I was not allowed any visitors except, of course, the police.

I wish that my story will be publicized as much as possible in order that it will reach humanity at large, governments as well as ordinary people. I hope that progressives as well as the Democratic countries will find it possible to right a wrong and bring back justice.

of anti-Arab hysteria.

The "assassination plot" cases of Sirhan Sirhan, the Namers, and most recently of 18-year old Jordanian Sufian Naura in Detroit, are all calculated in the same way to be used in whipping up war frenzy. The deliberate hints linking the alleged plotters against president-elect Nixon, the Yemeni Ahmed Nahmer and his sons, to the accused assassin of Robert Kennedy are proof of it....

The drive of the Mideast peoples to control their own resources and their own lives is inexorable. The oil companies are now getting ready to defend their record profits....

In light of this year's mobilization by racism and by the right wing, it will be even more necessary for the anti-war and progressive forces to take a firm stand for Arab self-determination....

Many people are increasingly concerned about the Mideast now. The opportunity, and the need for publicizing the truth about Israel and the Mideast war are greater than ever.

We must become visible. Imperialism is not only to be understood, but to be fought, even on this most difficult issue, with literature, demonstrations, and any other effective methods.

Your support is urgently needed. Help by taking a \$1 subscription to the Newsletter, and by joining us in distribution of literature and other activities. Write: Ad Hoc Committee on the Middle East, c/o Rita Freed, 1430 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027.