

# The Case of Martin Sostre

**The Amazing, Untold Story of a Dedicated Black  
Liberation Fighter Railroaded to Prison for 41 yrs.  
In 1967 in the Wake of the Buffalo Rebellion**

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*Black and White, Unite and Fight for a*

## WORKERS WORLD

Vol. 10, No. 25

December 27, 1968

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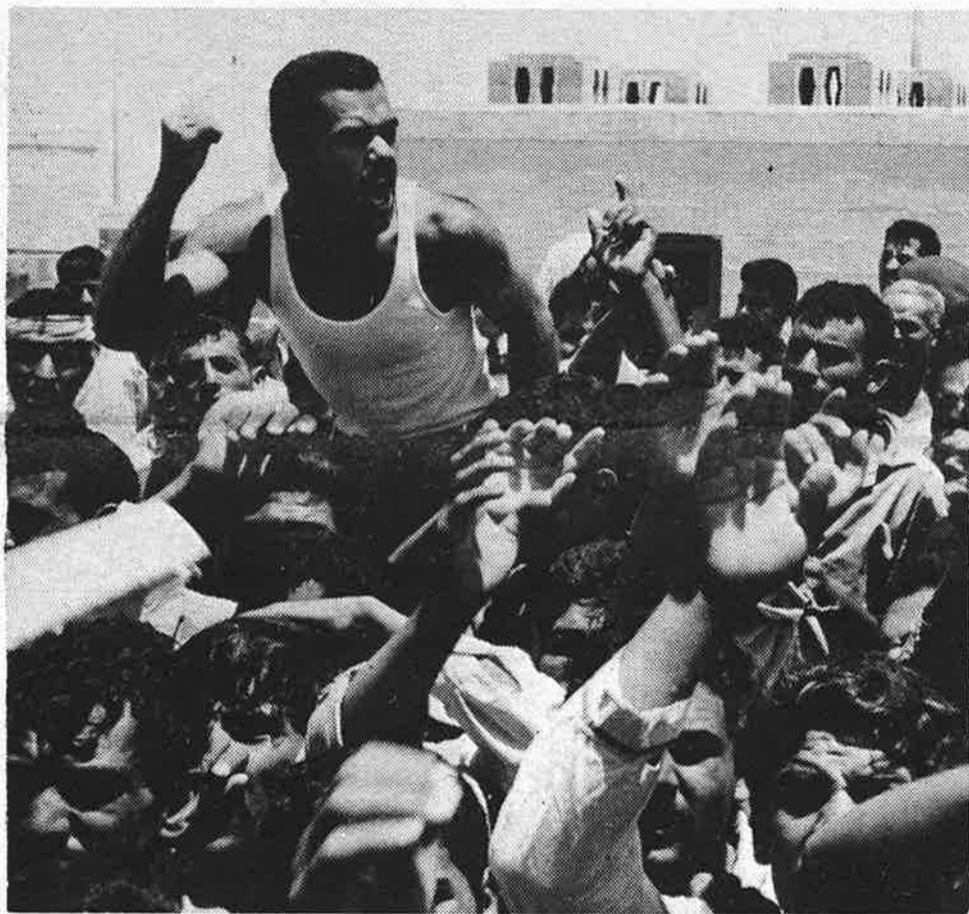
### Pueblo Lt. Reveals Bucher Lies About "Inhumanity"

The chief executive officer of the Pueblo has given the lie to his commander's stories of "inhuman treatment" and "solitary confinement" by the North Koreans. Lieut. Edward Murphy, speaking at a press conference on arrival in California, said that he thought "the captured Americans had lived under better conditions than average Koreans."

Murphy told how the daily routine of the officers, which Commander Bucher had described as solitary confinement, included a common exercise period in the morning, eating meals together and a couple of hours in the evening for playing cards and other recreation.

Bucher, a super-patriot whose favorite magazine is the National Review, described Korea as a "land devoid of humanity." Yet his idea of inhumanity, for spies captured in the act no less, is treatment that is far better than that afforded by the "humane" U.S.A. to thousands of prisoners, black and white, suffering in jails right now for crimes far less severe than acts of international espionage. (See editorial on page 2.)

## U.S. Rulers Steering Toward Mideast War; Lack of Anti-Imperialist Outlook a Danger



Palestinian refugees demonstrate against U.S.-Israeli attack.

(Hsinhua News Photo)

By SAM MARCY

Slowly but surely, the U.S. government is orienting the people toward a new war in the Middle East. "The Middle East is all set to blow again. Peace looks far away. More fighting is a virtual certainty with each dawn." The quotation is from the December 16 issue of U.S. News and World Report. "The first testing area of Soviet-American relations under the Nixon administration," writes C. L. Sulzberger in the Nov. 29 New York Times, "may well be the Middle East."

Scarcely a day passes without there being one or another type of grim warning of the steady deterioration of U.S. influence in the Mediterranean area and of the "growing peril" of Soviet naval strength and of the need of the imperialist allies for a unified front to counteract it.

As always in the past, the ideological preparations for imperialist war are preceded by loud warnings of an "imminent trend towards isolation" and the dire consequences of such a course for the fate of finance capital. And as always in the past, the warnings against isolationism are followed by swift moves towards intervention.

Thus when Secretary of State Rusk unburdened himself on December 1 of his much publicized warnings against isolationism, the Pentagon followed up by dispatching into the Black Sea two U.S. destroyers in violation of the Montreux Convention of 1936 which prohibits the entry of warships into the

(Continued on page 6)

## Shanker Takes Time Out From Racist Drive to Support NY Anti-Labor Law

Dec. 19—Albert Shanker, President of the United Federation of Teachers, this week further exposed the right-wing character of his leadership in proposals made before a hearing of the Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions. Suggesting that the Taylor Law, New York State's version of Taft-Hartley which forbids public employees from striking, be amended, Shanker proposed that a mandatory cooling-off period be written into the law for strikes that "threaten to create emergencies." In other words, this so-called "labor leader" actually asked for the strike-breaking law to be strengthened!

Shanker tried to excuse this stand on the grounds that "society has a right to protect itself" against strikes that would endanger health and safety. But he is no political innocent, and understands much more than most rank-and-filers that it is capitalist society he is

talking about. State and municipal employees are forced into striking as a last resort because the capitalists are so contemptuous of their needs.

Often the lowest paid, and drawn from the oppressed minorities in the cities, public employees are fed up with subsidizing the opportunist politicians who draw fat salaries at their expense. They also sense that in the division of the tax dollar, tremendous priorities are given to the military and political goals of the rulers, while workers in vital services get what's left at the bottom of the barrel.

Of course, Shanker is hoping that by putting himself on the side of the anti-labor politicians and bosses, his union will be exempted from this kind of treatment. He actually told the Committee that he hoped they would make a distinction between strikes that "merely inconvenience" the public and "those

that threaten the community's health and safety," and said he would approve of sanctions in the latter case.

Shanker said he would leave the classification of which strikes threatened the community to a "top official or the courts" or some other person or agency designated by the Legislature.

This means, for example, that Shanker would throw hospital workers, sanitation men and maybe even truck drivers who carry essential supplies to the tender mercies of the courts. But he expects these same courts to be understanding when it comes to an "inconvenient" teachers' strike.

It seems almost too much to believe even of Shanker that he has so quickly forgotten how the courts treated him and the teachers' union a few years ago when the teachers were on strike against the city. However, now that Shanker has lined up with the most re-

actionary and racist elements and led a strike against the black community, he thinks he can count on these same courts as his friends.

There is no doubt that Shanker has fully committed himself to the role of the union leader who will spearhead the bosses' policies against the black people. This intervention on behalf of the Taylor Law, and his efforts to single out largely black unions for punitive actions by the State, just reinforce his recent efforts to scuttle community control of the schools.

But there is a bitter irony here. The experiences of the labor movement show that when the misleaders of the unions play the bosses' game, the result has always been tragedy for the workers. The number of public employees has risen to the astonishing figure of 11 million in this country. The bosses who indirectly run the Federal, State and municipal apparatuses want firmer control over these workers. Any concessions made by the union bureaucrats, and especially for the right-wing purposes of Mr. Shanker, on the question of the right to strike can mean only that it will be even more difficult in the future for any of these workers, including the teachers, to win better conditions in a progressive struggle.

# WORKERS WORLD

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Vol. 10, No. 25—December 27, 1968

PUBLISHED BI-WEEKLY



## The Pueblo and Ruling Class Morality

U.S. diplomatic behavior during the release of the Pueblo crew has momentarily thrust into public view the kind of brazen, cutthroat politics which Washington customarily manages to conduct behind the curtain of secrecy conveniently provided by government news managers. Only the courage of the North Korean Government in braving the wrath of the U.S. Seventh Fleet and Air Force has forced the robbers out into the open.

Bent on the destruction of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which Washington unsuccessfully tried to destroy in a previous genocidal war, the imperialists sent a military spy ship to prepare for new aggression. The crew, which was under orders to violate North Korean waters, was caught in the act. The pro-imperialist morale of the crew was not very high and they confessed to every detail of their mission. Not only did they sign on the dotted line, but they even explained matters at a world press conference.

For purposes of military intelligence and for political reasons, the U.S. was so desperate to retrieve the crew that the government was forced to admit to its crimes and put its signature on a document promising not to repeat them.

But the truth of U.S. secret warfare against the DPRK is so sordid that the imperialists do not dare acknowledge their own acts. Hence Dean Rusk had to lie once more before the world and declare that the truth was a lie! A stipulation for the release of the crew was that the U.S. admit its crime. Instead of admitting to the crime, Rusk denounced its intended victims.

The entire episode reeks of a type of double dealing gangsterism which

might make the Mafia blush. Such diabolical behavior in an individual would place him in the category of a criminal psychopath. But such Machiavellian criminality is the normal modus operandi for the kings of finance capital whose behavior, both at home and abroad, is dictated solely by their insatiable profit-lust.

Every day of every year from one end of the U.S. to the other, the servants of big business preach morality to the masses of people. From the pulpit, in the schools, in books, in the mass media flows a steady stream of moral indoctrination in which the ordinary individual is exhorted not to kill, steal, cheat or lie.

But no less a body than the U.S. Government, the executive committee of the entire ruling class, felt not the slightest moral inhibition about cheating and lying in the case of the Pueblo, which was on a military mission whose purpose was to make it easier for the U.S. to murder the Korean masses in the future.

Moral injunctions flow freely from all avenues of bourgeois propaganda whenever the capitalists want to strike down a threat to their rights of exploitation. But when the ruling class has to murder, steal, lie and cheat to serve its own interests, bourgeois moralists fall silent or switch the topic of discussion.

The total lack of moral criticism by the bourgeois establishment of U.S. diplomatic lawlessness in the case of the Pueblo shows once again that morality is not an abstract code which exists independently of man but an ideological weapon in the class struggle which the ruling class uses to its maximum advantage.

## Revolutionary Cuba Starts Its Tenth Year

The Cuban people and the progressive masses of the world are about to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. It is a remarkable event for many reasons.

Cuba's sheer survival in the face of U.S. imperialist hostility is awesome. The plots to destroy this first socialist republic in the Western Hemisphere have been legion, and they have all emanated from and been nurtured by Washington. One invasion was attempted; many efforts at sabotage and subversion have been carried out. An American President was assassinated partly because of the deep intrigues to regain Cuba for U.S. monopolists.

Yet in spite of this, the Revolution has not merely survived. It has done much more than that. Cuba has taken a leading role in demonstrating what a revolutionary domestic and foreign policy should be.

Cuba has had to contend with block-

ade, boycott, the heritage of a one-crop economy and the flight of many skilled persons to higher-paying jobs (or so they thought—some were disappointed) in the U.S. These problems have made the basic job of constructing a socialist economy a gigantic task for the Cuban people.

But the internal needs of the Cuban Revolution have not pushed aside its international responsibilities. Cuba's attention is turned outwards, and even while the people tighten their belts, all observers report the highest interest in the liberation struggles around the world.

The Cuban Revolution, like the heroic Vietnamese struggle, has destroyed the myth that imperialism is all-powerful. It has revived the hopes of the young everywhere in a socialist future for mankind and confidence in the integrity of leaders who show self-sacrifice and devotion to the oppressed.

Sostre proclaim, "I am a Black Vietcong." Youth take to the streets with the red, yellow and blue banner of the NLF. For an ever growing legion of fighters on the side of the oppressed, the heroic Vietnamese are the standard-bearers to be emulated.

This eighth anniversary of the NLF can in every way be considered a victory celebration. For while no one can be sure how long the war will continue, it is now a fact that U.S. imperialism has suffered a tremendous political defeat in Vietnam, while the National Liberation Front has emerged from the years of warfare politically intact, unified and with a vast fund of dedicated allies.

## Viet GIs' BOND Story Reprinted by DRV Brass Policy Kills Vietnamese And GIs—You're Expendable

The Viet Nam Courier of Oct. 21, put out in Hanoi, reprinted the following article from The BOND, the U.S. servicemen's newspaper. The Vietnamese are evidently very interested in what the anti-war GI has to say, and have republished several other articles from The BOND written by servicemen and veterans. (For further information write to 156 Fifth Ave., New York City, 10010.)

In May, 1967 I was assigned to Duc Co, west of Pleiku and near the Cambodian border, as place consisting mainly of a Vietnamese village, a U.S. Special Forces camp and two artillery batteries, all crowded within one perimeter. Beside my bunker was a ramshackle quonset hut used as a "hospital" for the Vietnamese. I went in there one day and saw a few patients on bare bunks just lying there untreated. Medicine for them amounted to aspirins and band-aids. One of the patients was a seventeen-year-old girl suffering from hepatitis, which she'd contracted from bad water. A few days later she died. Why hadn't she been properly treated and her life saved? It's evident the Brass didn't care. I was angry.

A few weeks before, about 40 miles northwest of Pleiku the Brass had big 8-inch howitzers and 175 m.m. guns thoroughly shell an "enemy" underground hospital all one day and night.

Yet according to Washington we're in Vietnam to help the Vietnamese.

Later I was engaged in a cordon search of a Vietnamese village, a routine occurrence. Bright and early the unsuspecting inhabitants were roused and herded like cattle into two separate groups at the edge of the village, one of men and boys, the other of women, girls, and babies. All day

the search lasted, meager belongings strewn all over, yet the Brass found nothing they were looking for. The villagers, including old people and children, were not allowed to eat all day, nor was any other consideration given them. I saw an Army intelligence agent shove his foot in the groin of one man. Villagers were intimidated.

The GI's who are used as instruments of brutality against the brave Vietnamese are not given much consideration either by the Brass. A rank-and-file G.I. is considered expendable by the officer class. This was plainly demonstrated to me when a guy from my home town was used as tracker and point man into a dangerous area instead of the team which was trained specifically for such a purpose. The Brass can't afford to lose a Labrador retriever nor a broom, both of which are non-expendable.

The blood and guts of GI's and Vietnamese alike are strewn all over the little country while fat corporate executives sit back home raking in the bloody profits and listen on their color tubes to reports of the slaughter and the Brass gloat over falsified successes and plan future battles with companies and battalions of GI's and Vietnamese as chessmen.

Military Intelligence called me in for the third time the other day and tried to intimidate me with certain references to my wife. Many other GI's have been called in by M.I. It's high time for us rank-and-file GI's to say enough of this blood and intimidation and demand our human rights.

ON WITH OUR G.I. UNION!

SP5 Robert A. Lemay RA 1146 22 90  
B Btry 1st Bn, 18th Arty Fort Sill,  
Oklahoma

## Former Czech Banker Has A Friend at Chase Manhattan

What have a former director of the Czechoslovak State Bank and a former chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank got in common?

Plenty, it seems. Both were in attendance at a seminar at Princeton last week, and their views turned out to be remarkably similar. Dr. Eugene Loebl, who left Prague for the U.S. after Warsaw Pact troops halted the counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia, found little on which to disagree with his old friend, John J. McCloy.

Loebl, who had been given life imprisonment in the early fifties under the Gottwald regime, was one of those who were "rehabilitated" in recent years. He was so well rehabilitated, in fact, that he became director of the state bank, and instrumental in many of the economic "reforms" by which the restorationist elements hoped to hand Czechoslovakia back to capitalist domination.

This man, who until a few months ago had immense control over the wealth created by Czech workers and farmers, makes no bones about his sympathies for U.S. imperialism, or his disdain for the proletariat.

"The proletariat is becoming the regressive force," he told a reporter for the Newark Evening News on Dec. 4. "Wealth is not created by the exploitation of men but by the exploitation of nature."

The Newark News went on to say: "Eugene Loebl... asserted the U.S.

is closer to the 'ideals' of socialism."

One representative of Wall Street-style "socialism," Chase Manhattan's John J. McCloy, sat at a nearby table, nodding thoughtfully. McCloy tries to keep out of the news, but the reader may remember that he was one of the three top advisers Johnson consulted before resuming the bombing of North Vietnam in the winter of '65-'66. Loebl should find no fault with that, since the "socialist" U.S. was only bombing the "regressive" workers of the DRV.

Loebl's associations with McCloy go back to the days before he was imprisoned, when he was lobbying to have Czechoslovakia join the Marshall Plan. The U.S. banker met Loebl in Washington, where they drew up plans to bring Czechoslovakia into the multi-billion dollar program that has today turned even the proudest imperialists of Western Europe into satellites of the U.S.

John J. McCloy, as High Commissioner of Germany, was an architect of the Marshall Plan, and had as his specific assignment pulling Eastern Europe, and especially Czechoslovakia, into the U.S. orbit.

The post-war plans of McCloy and his partners failed, at least for the time being, but Dr. Loebl's "rehabilitation" and the subsequent rise to power of this blatant believer in capitalism show how far the schemes of U.S. big business had progressed before August 21, 1968.

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## 5,500 COAL MINERS KILLED SINCE 1951!

## Class Collaboration vs. Class Struggle

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

The mine disaster which killed 78 men in Mannington, West Virginia, has brought to light the perilous conditions under which the 150,000 coal miners in this country labor for their existence. The criminal negligence of the bosses, the complacency of the boss-controlled government and the inadequacy of safety legislation, have all been dramatically demonstrated in the weeks since the deadly cave-in.

But all this will be for naught in the long run if a much less publicized enemy of labor is not also dragged out into the light — the corrupt, class collaborationist policy of the sell-out leaders in the AFL-CIO!

It has been revealed in, of all publications, *Business Week*, Dec. 14, that since 1951 no less than 5,500 men have been killed in the coal mines, that is, an average of over 320 men a year. The magazine of big business did not mention how many thousands have been injured and crippled nor how many tens of thousands suffer from fatal black lung disease.

The year 1951 was chosen as a point of measure because that is the year in which the so-called "friends of labor" in Congress passed the last Coal Mine Safety Act.

In the past few decades a policy of so-called "business unionism" has prevailed. This means the abandonment of class struggle methods in favor of trying to build the influence of the labor bureaucracy within the ruling class establishment in order to be in a position to bargain, without having to go beyond the most limited struggle with the bosses.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats have spent millions upon millions of dollars of the workers' dues to build fancy modern office buildings in Washington. They have spent many more millions on supporting the election campaign of the so-called "friends of labor" in the political parties of big business. Paid "labor lobbyists" spend their time in Washington trying to get the ear of bourgeois officials to get this or that law or regulation enacted. Union treasuries are invested in order to finance

these activities.

What does it all add up to for the workers? What good did the Coal Mine Safety Act do for the 5,500 men who



I. W. Abel of the United Steel Workers with "friend of labor" Sen. Randolph of W. Va. (right) where the 78 men were killed. On left is Sen. Tydings of Md.

never got out of the mines alive? What good did the congressional "friends of labor" do for the 350,000 miners permanently thrown on the junk heap since 1949?

Maybe George Meany, Walter Reuther and Tony Boyle have built enough "influence" with the bosses to be invited to sit at their banquet tables — but lack of struggle has led to the enormous erosion of class consciousness among the rank and file and the weakening of the labor movement to the point that the bosses can literally get away with murder in the mines year after year without suffering retaliation by the working class.

If the Mannington disaster shows anything, it has underscored the total bankruptcy of the class-collaborationist policy of the labor bureaucracy. The time for implementing class struggle methods has long since arrived!

## Two Top Scientists Go to GDR Protest W. German Militarism

Dr. Ehrenfried Petras, a leading microbiologist, and Herbert Patzelt, an atomic energy expert, have separately gone to East Germany in recent weeks in protest against the intensifying military character of their work in West Germany.

Dr. Petras' reasons for leaving his job of nine years with the Institute for Microbiology in Graftschaff, Sauerland were relayed in a Reuters dispatch of November 23. The 38 year-old scientist told an East German television audience that he had defected because "he had been working on bacteriological and chemical warfare projects financed by the West German Government but felt he was being misused for the preparation of war."

"He said he had asked the East German authorities for political asylum so he could put his experience 'to the service of peace,'" the Reuters dispatch explained.

"Dr. Petras said he was prompted to quit West Germany after a reorganization of the Institute early this year that gave the Defense Ministry almost unlimited control over research projects."

One of the chemicals tested at the Institute was a substance called VX, a drop of which applied to the skin of animals killed them immediately, he said.

Herbert Patzelt had much the same experience in his field, according to a separate Reuters story in the *Christian Science Monitor* of December 11.

He had worked in the Luxembourg section of EURATOM and at the Karlsruhe, West German nuclear research center, where, according to the Reuters dispatch, he said particular attention was paid to the development of the plutonium cycle.

Asked if this was an essential ingredient in the production of nuclear weapons, he replied, "Yes, that is undoubtedly true."

Mr. Patzelt said that in the course of his work with West German nuclear research projects "I began more and more to doubt whether my knowledge and work was being put to the right use."

Finally, after telling his employers that he had to attend to urgent family

business, he gathered his family together and moved to East Germany.

These two West German scientists have not had the fanfare of publicity in the capitalist media that has accompanied defections of equally skilled men to the West. In truth, most of the scientists who have left Eastern Europe are a special type of defector from socialism. They are part of the

(Continued on page 6)

## 2 Militants Framed in Police-Spy 'Conspiracy' Ferguson and Harris Ask Help

Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris are two black defendants who were railroaded to jail in the period following the Newark and Detroit rebellions. The ruling class took advantage of the hysteria that it itself had created to frame them on the charge of "conspiring to murder moderate civil rights leaders." When their trial began, just at the time of the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, his name was conveniently added to the list of supposed victims.

Ferguson and Harris have both been connected with the campaign to gain community control of black schools. Mr. Ferguson was an assistant principal in the I.S. 201 district before his arrest. He ran for U.S. Senator as a candidate of the Black Caucus, making his major plank the separation of the Black Nation.

The following are excerpts from an appeal for help addressed to the readers of *Workers World*:

On October 3rd, Arthur Harris and I were sentenced to 3 1/2 - 7 years, the maximum sentence for conspiracy to commit murder. Though all news media at one time or another reported that we were free on bail, we were remanded to Queens House of Detention on October 3rd, and remained there until October 18th. On October 16th, the State Supreme Court granted a certificate of reasonable doubt, and set bail. Despite this order from the judge

we were shipped to Sing Sing Prison in the early morning hours of October 18th. On October 24th, Arthur Harris was released on bail and I was released on October 26th, after overcoming unbelievable obstructing tactics on the part of certain prison officials who refused to release us in the face of a judge's order. All of this is behind us, and we are grateful for the support of the black community that effectuated our release.

Our imprisonment at the height of our Senatorial campaign, the loss of 25 vital campaign days, of course short-circuited our efforts to present our point of view, articulate our program and bring to the people of New York State in open public forum a presentation of the issues as they affect the lives of black people...

Black people today instinctively are moving to an awareness of our separate existence, and we are planning and pushing at all levels for control of all the institutions that affect our lives. We see the formulation of the black caucus as an independent political party, we see the bitter battle for community control of schools, the birth of the Black Panthers as the self-defense arm of the black community, the expansion of the Nation of Islam as a religious force, the uprisings of black servicemen at home and abroad. All of this is evidence of a growing political sophistication and awareness of black America. An awareness whose ultimate conclusion is the demand for separation and the formation of an independent black nation...

## 2 Black Children Arrested in Georgia, Jailed a Week

By ELLEN PIERCE

The forces of racist law and order in Sylvester, Georgia, virtually kidnapped two young black sisters early in December to terrorize a handful of Afro-American parents who send their children to formerly all-white schools under a so-called "freedom of choice" plan.

Apparently in concert with school officials, a deputy sheriff arrested the sisters, ages 11 and 14, at their respective schools, for alleged delinquency and took them to a juvenile detention center 20 miles away. When the girls did not return from school that day and their parents began searching for them, the deputy sheriff who had taken them to the Albany, Ga. jail told their mother he did not know where the children were.

It was not until late the following day, Thursday, Dec. 5, that the parents — both of whom are active in local civil rights groups — located the girls. Authorities then refused to allow them to visit their children until Sunday. A lawyer's appeal for release of the sisters in the custody of their parents was also denied by Superior Court Judge J. Bowie Gray.

After a week in prison, the girls were brought before Judge Gray for a hearing. The charges were that the older girl was "in a state of delinquency and neglect" because she had used "vile, obscene, and profane language knowingly and wilfully without just cause." The specifics of this charge were that she said "damn" once and "God damn" another time!

The 11-year-old was charged with failure to obey "the rules and orders of Max Odom, (white) school bus driver," and also "physical attack on other juveniles." The allegedly violated "rules and orders of Max Odom" was a punishment — never applied to white children — in which the child was assigned to a seat and not allowed to move from it. She was also accused of slapping a white boy who had kicked her younger brother.

The hearing on these charges, which was held in secret session, lasted all day. The girls were then released until the hearings resume on Dec. 23.

Obviously there is more involved in the incident than just a cracker deputy sheriff: The school officials who allowed the girls to be taken out of their classrooms and then did not even notify the parents of what had happened; the legal brain who concocted the charges; the judge who refused to release the girls in their parents' custody (as is usually done); and finally the silence of the Federal Government which could bring charges of conspiracy to violate the children's civil rights if it was fundamentally different from the racist kidnappers.

We must raise \$225,000 for appeals of the conspiracy to murder charges, and we are to go into court on January 10th, around the conspiracy to commit anarchy, etc., indictment. For this reason we personally will be involved in fund raising efforts, and we ask you during this western holiday season to make your customary get togethers political in nature by charging admission or accepting donations in the names of Harris and Ferguson. On January 26th the Black Student's Union (made up of black student groups from N.Y.U., Long Island University, Columbia University, Hunter College, St. John's University, Brooklyn College, Queens College, CCNY, etc.) is sponsoring a fund raising affair at Long Island University at 2:00 p.m. Details will be announced later. You may contact us by calling 523-9717. Continue to send your contributions to the National Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 821 - Jamaica, N.Y. 11431

# Come to D.C., Give Nixon the Inauguration He Deserves!

Demand that he bring the troops home from Vietnam; get the cops out of Black America; and get the Sixth Fleet out of the Mediterranean!

Events Jan. 18, 19 and 20 sponsored by Mobilization to End the War, Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement (Co-AIM), Youth Against War & Fascism, and many others.

## Who Rules

A "Hard-Core"  
Finance-Capitalist

the Empire?



In 1917 in Russia, in the year of the great Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin wrote in the preface to his book *Imperialism*, "A handful of monopolists control all the operations, both commercial and industrial, of the whole of capitalist society."

The capitalists have attempted to conceal this truth from the masses with an unceasing campaign of lies. And yet, when they think no one will overhear them, in the privacy of their club rooms and executive suites, they gloat over the facts of their domination. The truth of Lenin's thesis was corroborated in the August, 1968 issue of *Fortune Magazine*, which is meant as reading for the ruling class, where the following statement appeared: "The hard financial core of capitalism... is composed of not more than 60 firms... owned or controlled by some 1000 men."

But what is, concretely, the "hard financial core of capitalism"? And who are the "1000 men" from "60 firms"? According to the article in *Fortune*, these men "raise, directly and indirectly, an estimated 75 per cent of the \$40 billion in fresh capital needed each year to fuel the long-term growth of the industrialized nations." A full three fourths of the annually produced wealth (produced by working people) of the capitalist countries is managed by a private club of 1,000 men. This private club, which manages the financial affairs of the capitalist countries, is itself directed by a small group within. Highly placed in this elite is one Mr. Andre Meyer, of Lazard Freres of New York.

## Wall Street-Washington Axis

Despite the European-sounding name, Lazard Freres is an investment-banking firm that was founded in New Orleans in 1847. As Lazard Co. moved higher in the financial world, it settled down in the financial center of the capitalist world: Wall Street, where Meyer now has his offices at number 44. Lazard Freres has branches in London and Paris, which Meyer has organized into a web of international connections that give his company an "unrivalled position in the world of international finance."

From his Wall Street address, Meyer maintains close relationships with the highest governmental officials in the U.S. As *Fortune* reported, "Meyer's close friends include Robert McNamara, the new president of the World Bank, and Henry Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury. He is a confidant of Eugene Black, former head of the World Bank, who is now a financial adviser to the U.S. and the U.N. (Black's son is a Lazard partner)... He is not only a personal friend and adviser to Jacqueline Kennedy, but is also a trustee of Joseph Kennedy's estate. Lyndon Johnson consults him regularly. And he is a joint investor with David Rockefeller in several real-estate ventures."

If anyone ever doubted the existence of the Wall St. - Washington axis, Meyer is living proof.

His connections penetrate deep into the corporate world. Among his clients are such giants as I.T.T., RCA, Chase Manhattan Bank, Corning Glass Works, Royal Dutch/Shell Group, and Engelhardt Minerals and Chemicals. Meyer sits on the board of directors at RCA and Allied Chemical. His services to his clients include managing between \$3 billion and \$4 billion each year in investment deals..

## West European Satellites

But Meyer's connections are not limited to the U.S. (They would not be what they are if they were limited to the U.S.) *Fortune* noted that "Jean Monnet, the father of the Common Market, and Jacques Rueff, de Gaulle's key adviser on monetary policy, are old friends.... Maurice Couve de Murville, France's new Premier, is a friend of 30 years' standing."

Nor are Meyer's connections limited to France. Lazard Freres acted as intermediary for Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing when it bought the Italian company of Ferrania. "Ferrania, a producer of photographic material, was owned by the Agnelli family, probably the best-known and most influential family in European industry." And, as *Fortune* revealed, "Giovanni Agnelli personally invited Meyer to become a member of the Fiat board and looks upon him as the company's 'periscope on the U.S. industrial and financial scene.'"

Meyer is the only U.S. investment-banker who is a partner or director of major investment-banking houses all over the world. Lazard Freres (Paris) has a major interest in the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, which in turn reaches deep into the French economy. Lazard is also the largest foreign stockholder in Mediobanca of Milan, the powerful bank that has handled the affairs of every major Italian corporation.

According to sources quoted by *Fortune*, Meyer is the "single most... influential figure now operating in the capital markets of the free world."

## A Meyer (U.S.) Pipedream— "Lazard Peking"

Firmly entrenched in Europe, Lazard is seeking to further penetrate the economies of the neo-colonial world. Meyer played a "major role in the birth and growth of the Industrial and Mining Development Bank of Iran and in the Ivory Coast's Banque Ivoirienne de Developpement Industriel." But for Meyer and "friends", the real prize remains beyond their grasp. *Fortune* concluded its article on Meyer with a pretty sobering statement for those who have doubts about the expansionary urge of U.S. imperialism:

"Now Meyer and his partners are working with several major U.S. and Japanese banks in an attempt to launch a new industrial bank for Asia. Meyer confidently expects that the new Asian bank will help accelerate economic growth in the Orient and, perhaps, pave the way for a Lazard of Tokyo — or even, someday, Lazard, Peking."

— KENNETH LAPIDES

## Jobless; Goes to Cuba

The U.S. press used to have a propaganda hey-day every time a plane-load of Cuban refugees left Cuba for Miami. The bourgeois press ceaselessly shed tears over the former bankers and businessmen who fled Cuba's workers' state.

Recently, however, almost each week has brought news of a U.S. plane making an unscheduled stop in Havana. Needless to say, the U.S. press has little good to say about those who wish to flee to Cuba.

On Dec. 19, an Eastern Airlines Flight 47 took an Afro-American, Thomas Washington, and his three-year-old

daughter, Jenifer, to Havana. One of the stewardesses on board reported that Washington began to cry and said "he was getting out of this country because of the hatred and prejudice.... He said he had tried to get a job every place in America and couldn't."

## MEETING TO PLAN FOR NIXON

GIVE NIXON the kind of INAUGURATION he deserves! Help Co-AIM build Washington demonstration. 1st organizing meeting SUNDAY, JAN. 5th at 7PM. 58 W. 25th St., one flight up.

## U.S. Presses to "Keep Biafra

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

On August 22 of this year, WORKERS WORLD ran an article on the war in Nigeria and the forces behind it. At that time we wrote:

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

In the three months since that time, the hand of imperialism in attempting a huge land grab in Africa has been even further exposed, along with the rivalries among several imperialist nations — Britain, France and the United States — to gain possession of Biafra, with three quarters of Nigeria's oil, and deposits of uranium, coal, tin, gold, and precious titanium, essential to the production of supersonic aircraft.

Furthermore, the well-financed drive in the U.S. to drum up support for Biafra, in the name of tens of thousands of starving children, has added to the confusion over the war in that country. Young people who sympathize with the plight of oppressed people have been cynically misled in this campaign. (The U.S. government has already spent approximately \$17 million on "relief" to Biafra). They have been led on candlelight marches and steered into innumerable Biafra relief committees by a ruling class which sits by and watches millions of black people at home live on the edge of starvation.

When Moise Tshombe was hired by the Belgian mining monopoly, Union Miniere, to tear Katanga with its vast wealth of copper from the Congo under Lumumba, the class lines between an oppressed nation struggling for independence and imperialist interests were clearly defined. In Nigeria, where the situation is strikingly similar, with Biafra holding much of the mineral wealth of Nigeria, the imperialist forces have used the plight of the starving Ibos in Biafra to obscure their own nefarious role. For it was the imperialist monopolies' land grab which caused the starvation in the first place.

(It is interesting to note that while Moise Tshombe is the son of one of the few millionaires in the Congo, Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu, head of Biafra, also rears from one of the few millionaire families in Nigeria.)

Well meaning young people who wear, "Keep Biafra Alive" buttons, should know that the Organization of African Unity, which met in Algiers in Septem-

ber, urged an end to the Biafran secession. The Nigerian government got "a resounding vote of confidence," according to the New York Times of Sept. 30. "Biafra was left almost without friends or meaningful support in Africa." The vote against Biafra and for the Federal government in Lagos clearly was not a vote in favor of starvation and bloodshed, but rather was a rejection of the imperialist-inspired secessionist movement.

If Col. Ojukwu could find no friends among the African nations, he did find other means of sustaining the secession of the Eastern Region of Nigeria.

## OIL COMPANIES MAKE

## DEAL WITH BIAFRA

In 1966 the Lagos government had demanded of the oil companies operating in Nigeria "most favored African

U.S. IN SHIFT, MAPS  
\$20-MILLION PLAN  
TO RELIEVE BIAFRAAdministration Decides on  
More Active Role in Effort  
to End Nigerian WarBy BENJAMIN WELLES  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14 —

The Johnson Administration has drawn up contingency plans for a vast sea, land and air emergency relief operation in Biafra, Government sources here report.

Col. Ojukwu and  
his aides stooges for

nation" treatment. This meant that Nigeria would get as high a share of the taxes on oil as the oil companies had granted to any other African nation. The British companies operating in the Eastern Region, Shell & British Petroleum, were not happy with the demand. One of the U.S. companies there, Gulf Oil, refused outright to pay such taxes. All three were counting on getting a better deal from an "independent" Biafra.

In June of 1967, Biafran representatives came to Wall Street to assure the oil barons that "Biafra will do everything possible to ensure the continual flow of oil and continued development of the oil fields," according to the Wall Street Journal of June 23. An "independent" Biafra, they were promised, would suspend the new tax for a

## The Brain Drain: A Tactic of

By V. COPELAND

The so-called "brain drain" is actually a process by which U.S. imperialism bribes a host of foreign technicians and scientists to leave their respective countries and devote their knowledge to the services of Dow Chemical and similar U.S. corporations.

The most common example of this brain drain is the influx of scientists from Britain, where the same language and general background make matters much easier for the draining operation.

Up until 1961 an almost equally common example was that of professionals leaving East Germany for West Germany and getting a considerable hike in their salaries.

In the last few weeks the term has again been featured in the news — this time in reference to the situation in Czechoslovakia.

In East Germany the situation was considerably improved by the famous "Berlin Wall." (This Wall was instrumental in East Germany rising to the status of ninth industrial country of the world, even by the admission of the anti-Wall New York Times.) In

Czechoslovakia it is being handled by careful checks at the customs and emigration points — or "closing the borders," as the imperialists call it.

One would think from the U.S. commentators that these actions were the most horrendous and unjustified of measures.

Naturally there should be no closed socialist world. And there won't be. And even in the present divided world there is a strongly distasteful aspect about any borders at all, much less closed borders. Even the most loyal Communists in the German Democratic Republic and in Czechoslovakia can hardly be glowing with joy about the necessity for them.

But the "brain drain" from a socialist country is more important, more fundamental and more counterrevolutionary than that from a capitalist country like Britain, and it is much more important to plug it up.

The imperialist British calculate that their total economy loses so many tens of thousands of dollars each time a young scientist "escapes" to the U.S. But in the socialist countries, it is

# "Alive" for Monopolies

year and then re-negotiate the tax structure with the oil companies. (These tax reductions could give the oil companies an extra \$100,000 a day!) Such U.S. giants as Mobil Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Standard of California, Texaco and Tenneco were planning to produce oil in Biafra by 1970. Soon after the Wall Street meeting, on July 3, Shell and British Petroleum agreed to pay \$700,000 in revenue to Biafra.

French imperialism, too, was trying to carve up an empire in Nigeria. An Agence France-Presse dispatch of Aug. 8, 1968 reported that President de Gaulle had declared that "the right of people to self-determination should form the basis of any solution of the Nigerian crisis." DeGaulle's high-sounding declaration, however, did not mention the fact that the French state-owned oil company SAFRAP had gotten, for \$15 million, oil rights from the Biafran leaders. In August, 1967 the

radio had announced breaking relations with Wharton and accused him of having been a U.S. CIA agent (although they were content to take arms from the CIA for two years). According to this report, Wharton had earned \$5.6 million flying arms to Biafra. Supposedly the split came when Wharton insisted that the Biafrans owed him \$1 million more.

But Ojukwu did not have far to look for a replacement. Taking Wharton's place flying arms and munitions to Biafra by way of Lisbon was a group of Cuban exiles working out of Miami. It was these Cuban exiles who were trained by the CIA to launch the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and who were used again by the U.S. as mercenaries in the slaughter of the Congolese people. It is also worth noting that the airlift of arms to Biafra was centered in Portugal, a fascist country which has carried on a bloody war against the independence of Mozambique and Angola. This is hardly the ally of any African liberation struggle.

## FRENCH IMPERIALISTS SEND ARMS AND MERCENARIES

The French imperialists, who were pushed out of Nigeria by British imperialism long ago, had nothing to lose by aiding the Biafrans and had much to gain if the secession succeeded. Where the U.S. and Britain were reluctant to openly send arms to Biafra, the French government stepped in and is now sponsoring an airlift of arms to Biafra from Gabon. Lloyd Garrison, a New York Times reporter who, earlier in the war, had championed the Biafran cause, wrote in a November 18 dispatch from Paris that French mercenaries had recently arrived in Biafra to serve Col. Ojukwu.

The most revealing information in Garrison's article, however, was that pertaining to the kind of mercenaries who had flocked to the Biafran cause. They are the same kind of cruel, racist, hired killers as the Belgians paid to do their dirty work in the Congo. Their leader, Liet. Col. Rolf Steiner had served in the French Foreign Legion. With him were a core of English-speaking mercenaries from such notoriously racist countries as South Africa and Rhodesia. Others came from Britain and Ireland. These were certainly not men interested in self-determination for the Ibo people.

Col. Ojukwu finally expelled Steiner and four mercenary officers in November, apparently because of growing hostility between the arrogant and privileged mercenaries and the Biafran army commanders. Steiner's group was quickly replaced by the French mercenaries.

In the course of the war the Biafran secessionists have lost one major city after another and their territory whit-

(Continued below)



and Congo's Moise Tshombe: two million- for imperialism.

French branch of the House of Rothschild had also bargained for rights to exploit the rich resources of Biafra — columbite, coal, uranium, tin, among others.

## HAND OF THE CIA

While the oil companies were making deals with Biafran emissaries, one Andrew Wharton, a U.S. citizen, had been flying arms to the Eastern Region since 1966. This shady character continued to operate an airlift out of Lisbon, Portugal after the secession of Biafra on May 30, 1967. In this venture Wharton had either the active support or the tacit approval of the U.S. State Department.

On Oct. 31 of this year, the New York Times revealed that the Biafran

## The Pentagon, Racism and The "Idleness Factor"

You may not have known it, but the hardliners in the Pentagon are worrying about social problems, just like the rest of the imperialist Establishment.

In fact, there exists in Washington a little known office belonging to what is fraudulently described as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Rights. This contradictory title is currently borne by one Jack Moskowitz.

Mr. Moskowitz is not just a Pentagon bureaucrat who got a cushy, high-sounding job through pull. On the contrary, he is a former Army man who worked his way into his present position by virtue of his expertise in the field. He combines a gifted sense of the authoritarian needs of an imperialist army with an obtuse and callous disregard for Afro-Americans. These two traits are blended in Mr. Moskowitz in that harmonious ratio which marks him out as the perfect individual to be in charge of civil rights in a racist army.

Mr. Moskowitz returned from Vietnam only last month after having journeyed there to do an on-the-spot investigation into the causes of black troop rebellions, particularly the ones at Longbinh and Danang, and to analyze the problems underlying the rebellions. He spent an entire week in Vietnam, Oct. 12 to Oct. 18, practicing his specialty, talking to GIs, both black and white, and of course to the brass. After ruminating over his data for a month in private, he finally decided to unveil his findings in a rare public appearance.

"Idleness," pronounced specialist Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Rights Moskowitz, "has always been the devil's workshop in race-relations — and is proving to be in Vietnam."

This stunning conclusion, along with certain subsidiary material was recorded for posterity by George C. Wilson, staff writer of the Washington Post and recounted by the same, without a blush, in the Nov. 15 edition of that pro-Government, profit-seeking propaganda machine.

## The Problem: Not Enough War

Having reduced the problem of racial oppression against black GIs to a level congenial to the mentality of an ante-bellum Mississippi plantation owner, the Chief of civil rights plodded ahead to elaborate his thesis.

"The idleness factor was present in the white vs. black fighting in Longbinh jail and in service clubs in Danang," he explained. "When you've got a stand-down (period of limited military action) you've got a problem," and the "problem" is "in the rear areas where troops have time on their hands."

With analytical acumen, the man who is in charge of stopping racism in the army then boldly predicted, "that racial incidents among the troops in Vietnam are likely to increase as the fighting decreases."

Then came the punch line.

"The problem is not at the fighting fronts in Vietnam" he declared, however "race relations in combat (are) nothing short of inspirational."

The racist Deputy Assistant easily made his way from the "idleness factor" to the clear implication of the "keep them worrying about survival" method — or "they can't do too much about racism when they're ducking bullets."

Only the inflexible authoritarian requirements of the imperialist banker-generals, who regard all GIs, and black GIs especially, as their prisoners, could have caused even so dense and docile a servant as Moskowitz to permit such incredibly anti-black, anti-GI thoughts to escape from his biased mind into the public domain.

Unfortunately for the Pentagon's solution to the race problem, perpetual Vietnam combat has been temporarily ruled out by virtue of the fact that Moskowitz's superiors lost the war. Therefore, his investigation had to pay a certain amount of attention to causes of a lower order than the "idleness factor," — e.g. rampant racism.

## It's The "Little Things" That Matter

For example, Moskowitz explained with characteristic sensitivity that it was "usually the little things that flared up" and caused black rebellions.

Typical "little things" which occurred in Vietnam, where black GIs are told that they are dying for democracy, were recited by Moskowitz, such as when a racist security guard "stopped and questioned a truck carrying six Negro servicemen but let another truck of white servicemen pass"; or how in a public eating place white racist soldiers "told a waitress not to wait on a Negro"; and how "Longbinh jail was heated to the flashpoint because of overcrowding and the militant (i.e. black, ed.) nature of the prisoners."

In other words, rebellions were caused by just "the little things" like leaving a racist society at home and finding yourself trapped in a Wallaceite hell-hole in an army whose racist general staff expects you to die at their command. Or the minor irritations like being stuffed into an overcrowded stockade run by racist guards and being treated like an animal.

Moskowitz did not venture to describe the "big things."

It is a tribute to the great power of the Black Liberation struggle that it was able to scratch some faint impressions on this bureaucrat's slender and remote neural regions.

"The young Negro servicemen" said Moskowitz, as he plunged headlong into the depths of the sociology of liberation, "is expressing his black awareness and wanting to be respected." (A new development among black people, to the mind of the overseer!) Moreover, "he is not going to be sloughed off. He is not going to suffer indignities."

As a matter of fact, said the expert, for the enlightenment of all, "even the display of the Confederate flag in Vietnam offends the Negro by symbolizing the days of slavery(!)"

One got the distinct impression that it would take something exactly the opposite of the "Confederate flag symbolizing the days of slavery" to offend this racist automaton of the military-industrial complex — probably something along the lines of civil rights for black GIs.

## 'Keep Biafra Alive' for Monopolies

(Continued from above)

tled down from 29,000 to 5,000 square miles by September. With these setbacks the imperialist monopolies have begun to doubt the possibility of secession. The British imperialists, who are anxious to safeguard their many investments in Nigeria, seem to favor a peace settlement. The U.S., which is the second largest investor in Nigeria proper may be taking a similar position.

One of the chief obstacles of the imperialist land grab in Biafra has been the support given the Federal government by the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic during the war. On Nov. 21 the USSR and Nigeria signed their

first economic and technical-assistance agreement. The USSR pledged Nigeria \$140 million in long-term credits. The USSR has also supplied Lagos with 23 MIGs, scores of jeeps and bombs for the war.

Of course, even if one were not familiar with all the above machinations by the U.S. and its junior imperialist partners, one would be safe in concluding on the basis of the U.S. record of slaughter of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America — in Vietnam, Indonesia, The Congo, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere — that the U.S. interest in Biafra was in imperialist booty, and not self-determination for the Ibo people.

## Counter-Revolution

much worse.

Britain has an outlived economy, largely dominated by the U.S. And it's on the skids, anyway. The socialist countries are still struggling for economic independence of U.S. imperialism and trying to build a new and more bountiful economic system, besides.

In Britain, it is not directly the work and sacrifices of the proletariat that educate the scientists. In the socialist countries, all of them less industrialized than Britain (this is for historical reasons, not reasons of politics or economic systems), all the scientists get a free education at state expense.

The scientists, who incidentally are often the sons and daughters of the former middle class and aristocracy, especially in Eastern Europe, not only have doubts about the importance of building socialism, they want to make more money than the socialist state is willing or able to pay them. So they have a tendency to leave the country. (The Warsaw Pact entry into Czechoslovakia accelerated this tendency;

it did not initiate it.)

The socialist country, however, needs them very badly, even though they are hostile to socialism. After educating them, the workers' government feels entitled to first call upon their services.

These technicians are paid more than the workers (which is bad enough, since the workers' state educates them), but still not nearly as much as they can get in the United States. Therefore, the "brain drain." And therefore, the efforts to stop it.

The question arises of course: Why can't socialism, which is a superior system to capitalism, solve this problem, and solve it without such Draconian measures?

The answer is that it can, but only on a world basis — i.e., on the basis of a world-wide socialist system. In such a system production would be so easy and material wealth so abundant that the idea of selling out for a 1968 automobile and a house in the suburbs would be as ridiculous to the average person as it is now repulsive to the best rebel youth.

# U.S. Imperialists Steering Toward New Mideast War

(Continued from page 1)

Sea if they are equipped, as these ships were, with guided missiles. But lest this appear too warlike a move, the diplomatic advisors to the new administration found ways to soften the severity of the war atmosphere and put on a pacifist mask to deceive public opinion.

Like Rusk's neo-isolationist alarms, Scranton's "even-handed" remarks following his trip to the Arab countries and to Israel were also calculated to deceive the broad masses of people at home and abroad. Scranton, it will be remembered, set out on Dec. 2 on a ten-day mission on behalf of Nixon, which took him to Iran, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Israel. He held a press conference in Jericho at which time he announced that it was important for U.S. imperialism to become more "even-handed" in dealing between the Arab people and the Israeli puppet regime. The remark was widely interpreted to signal a change in U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. This remark appeared even more authoritative when he repeated it at a press conference following his meeting with Nixon several days later.

## Lippmann "Moderate" Camouflage

This meeting with Nixon took on special significance—first, because Nixon refused to disavow Scranton's statement and secondly, because the Nixon advisors took special pains to have it publicly known that Walter Lippmann was sitting in on the proceedings. Lippmann's presence was calculated to convey the impression that the Nixon administration was turning towards a policy of moderation in foreign affairs. Lippmann, it must be remembered, was considered a primary opponent of the war against Vietnam in the camp of the bourgeoisie and an advocate of so-called moderation in the Mediterranean area.

Lippmann's presence served the same purpose as Rusk's phony alarm about neo-isolationism. Even the meeting of Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan with Nixon a little later could not quite erase the impression left in the public mind that the new administration was indeed seeking a new approach to war through Scranton's "even-handed" policy.

## U.S. Declared "Neutrality"

### 24 Hours Before June War

One has, however, to see the Nixon-Scranton ploy in the light of the fateful day preceding the launching of the U.S.-Israeli aggression against the Arab people on June 6, 1967. For on that day, a bare 24 hours before the murderous assault launched by the Israeli Air Force, the State Department made a special announcement that has historical significance and exceptional relevance in relation to Rusk's neo-isolationist maneuvers as well as the Nixon-Scranton "even-handed" approach. The State Department on June 5, 1967 released through its spokesman Robert McCloskey, a statement that the United States government was "neutral in thought, word and deed."

Any Arab leader who took the statement at face value was certainly bound to mislead his people. A more insidious, a more treacherous approach by the architects of U.S. imperialist diplomacy is scarcely conceivable in light of what followed in the next 24 hours. There is nothing in the record of U.S. foreign policy to indicate that the same crafty servants of the U.S. monopolists who concocted the McCloskey deception are not doing the very same thing today with the Nixon-Scranton Middle East remarks.

## Gromyko Visit Stirs Speculation

World-wide speculation has been aroused by the sudden visit of Andrei Gromyko to Cairo allegedly bearing a so-called "peace plan" which imperialist journalists believe can be imposed on the Arab people with the support of the U.S., Britain and France. Whatever the case may be, it is the duty of the Arab

liberation movement to seek and obtain assistance wherever they can get it. It is also their duty to retain an independent revolutionary policy towards imperialism and towards those who seek to conciliate with it. These two aspects of the anti-imperialist struggle are indissolubly connected.

Aside from the flagrant deception that is involved in these maneuvers, there is yet a more dangerous aspect to them because of the manner in which the formulation of the issue is framed.

The U.S. is represented as a sort of outside friend of both the Arab and Israeli people, and as desperately trying to mediate issues that concern them exclusively. The U.S. has no stake at all in the area. Therefore, it logically follows—if U.S. foreign policy were "even-handed" between the Arabs and the Israelis, the issue could be resolved. Once again, as in the decades since the establishment of the Israeli state, the conflict in the Middle East is presented as one between the Arabs and the Israelis.



The house of the parents of a suspected grenade thrower in Hebron. The family is protesting the destruction of their home. (Photo and caption from Zo Ha Derech, leftist Israeli weekly.)

Even the U.S. News and World Report, which is more outspokenly imperialist than other Wall Street spokesmen, remarks with a straight face that "the oil interests are vitally concerned that everything be done to prevent an outbreak of major war in the area." Of course, the oil monopolies are in a certain sense interested in preserving the peace in the area, provided that their vital interests are not threatened. This, however, is just the point.

## The Marxist Criterion:

### Who Is the Oppressor?

It is utterly impossible to liberate the Arab people without ejecting the imperialist monopolies from the Arabian peninsula. The importance of Israel in the

struggle lies in the fact that it acts as a base for imperialist attack wherever and whenever the Arab liberation movement seeks to tear the mass of the people free from the imperialist yoke.

Bourgeois liberals who disdain to look upon the struggle in the Middle East from a class point of view, invariably look at it either from the viewpoint of "tiny Israel" struggling for existence against the millionfold armies of the Arab nations, or view it in light of purely legalistic formulas as to who is the aggressor—such as "Who shoots first?"

The criterion for a Marxist is not who shoots first, but who is the oppressor! Which class or nation is the oppressor, and which class or nation is the oppressed? It is the duty of the oppressed to seek their liberation by any and all means which will accomplish the purpose.

## Lack of Protest Against

### U.S.-Israeli Aggression

The most dangerous aspect of the developing imperialist aggression in the Middle East is that there is so little understanding of the Arab cause here and even less sympathy. In no area of imperialist endeavor has the U.S. propaganda machine succeeded so well in capturing the minds of the millions on its side as it has in this case.

When the U.S.-Israeli aggression broke out 18 months ago against the Arab people, there was scarcely any protest at all in this country. Some account for it on the basis of the preoccupation of the anti-war movement in this country exclusively with the Vietnam war. But that is a false analysis. The real answer lies in the fact that the Vietnam anti-war movement has not taken on an anti-imperialist character—has not really fought against the Vietnam war as a war of imperialist aggression, a war that grows out of the needs of monopoly capitalism to expand and dominate the earth in its insatiable appetite for profit.

## Principled, Anti-Imperialist

### Position Vital

The Ad Hoc Committee on the Middle East, however, did hold a demonstration in New York. And Youth Against War & Fascism held one at the U.S. Mission to the UN at the very height of the hostilities. With the exception of actions by Arab students, these are the only sympathy demonstrations we know of in the United States.

It should also be noted that the Conference for New Politics held in Chicago over the 1967 Labor Day weekend introduced a strong resolution defending the rights of the Arabs. It matters not what the future evolution of this organization may be; this was a highly progressive act.

A principled struggle against imperialism also implies invariably unconditional support to all the liberation movements that struggle against imperialism. The Arab liberation movement is an integral part of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle, and there is no reason whatever to regard the Arab liberation struggle as different except in national and cultural matters from the liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression in the Arab lands is as vital and as necessary as the struggle against the imperialist war against Vietnam. The difference between the role of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, Santo Domingo or the United Arab Republic is only one of degree, not of kind. This is what has to be brought home to the anti-war movement most urgently and speedily.

# —Scientists

(Continued from page 3)

"brain drain" which affects even imperialist countries like England.

They would rather come to work for U.S. corporations and government agencies where they are promised high salaries and la dolce vita than serve the working class. In return they are expected to give carte blanche to their employers to decide what purpose their intelligence will be put to. Increasingly, they find that they are working on Pentagon-dominated projects whose aim is to devise ever more fiendish methods of oppression.

But Dr. Petras and Mr. Patzelt are from a new breed of scientists, who are concerned with the results of their work and its effect on humanity. They have chosen to ally themselves with the socialist sector of the world because they have seen through personal experience that West Germany's research programs are geared to the U.S. and its

vast war machine. For this reason, you have not seen their pictures in the paper, met their families on TV programs, or been subjected to the barrage of propaganda ad nauseum that is automatically turned on when men of such prominence defect to the West.

When Einstein died a bitter old man, he said he would rather have been a plumber than the man whose supreme contributions to theoretical physics made development of the atomic bomb possible. Many scientists, embarrassed by the military applications of their work, philosophize that man has become a slave to the machine.

But these two West German scientists have reaffirmed the belief that man masters the machine and the products of his creation. They have also underscored the fact that it is class society that perverts the scientist's quest for knowledge, and not the process of scientific investigation itself.

A man doesn't have to renounce science and become a plumber in order to oppose the destructive drive of monopoly capitalism. But he does have

to break his ties with the oppressors and join the cause of the oppressed.

By doing just that, Dr. Petras and Mr. Patzelt have made a significant crimp in the Bonn-Washington war

machine. Perhaps they are symptomatic of a rising social consciousness among men of science who have been mere technicians in the service of the master class far too long.

## COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

An Account of the Attempt  
To Restore Capitalism Under  
Cover of "Liberal Reform"

50¢

This booklet is a compilation of editorials and articles that have appeared in Workers World, including four analytical pieces and an afterword by Sam Marcy, chairman of Workers World Party. Articles analyzing the counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia date from March 15, 1968, before the Warsaw Pact intervention.

Order from: World View Publishers  
46 West 21st Street  
New York, New York 10010

## Philadelphia YAWF Leader Indicted as Draft Resister

PHILADELPHIA — Larry Nicodemus, co-ordinator of Philadelphia Youth Against War & Fascism, was indicted this week by a Federal Grand Jury on charges of refusing to submit to induction. His name appeared in the Philadelphia newspapers last week along with the names of several other draft resisters who were indicted.

An activist in the struggle against the war and racism, Nicodemus has been harassed by local and federal authorities for his strong stand against the Vietnam war and because of his organizing efforts in support of anti-war GIs. He was one of the principal organizers of a demonstration sponsored by YAWF against George Wallace's visit to this city during the election



Larry Nicodemus

campaign.

Nicodemus also helped in organizing a rally in support of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) defendants here in September of 1967. The rally was sponsored by YAWF to protest the frame-up of several militant black men on outrageous charges of conspiracy to blow up City Hall, poison the entire police department, etc., etc.

On April 1, 1968, Nicodemus refused induction stating, "I will not be part of this imperialist war machine which is every day murdering the people of Vietnam and Black America, and is threatening the whole world with imperialist war."

Nicodemus took with him to induction evidence from three well-known specialists and surgeons stating that he has a double inguinal hernia which by Army medical standards should defer him from service. When the Army refused to accept this evidence Nicodemus told them, "This is just one more proof that the Army is only interested in making cannon-fodder of America's youths in order to preserve a system of exploitation and profits of the U.S. ruling class."

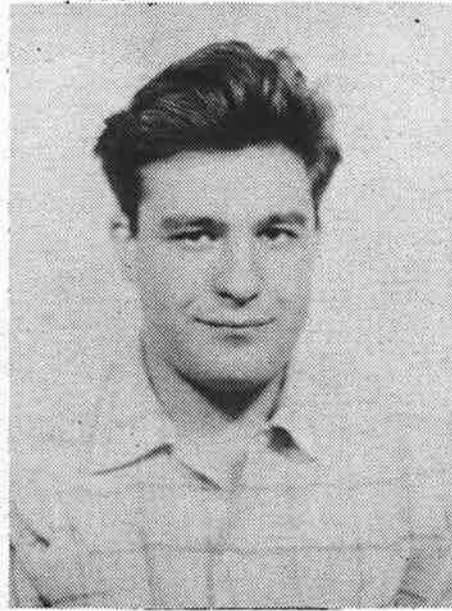
The Army not only disregards its own rules of medical standards, but in their haste to impress young men into the armed forces, disregards their own procedures and formalities in screening draftees.

One month before Nicodemus was to report for induction, he was given the pre-induction physical. At this time he refused to answer questions pertaining to "subversive organizations" on

## YAWF Activist Fights Draft Case

## Appeals 4 Yrs. Sentence

NEW YORK, Dec. 12 — An appeal on the draft conviction of Joel Meyers, a 24-year-old anti-war activist, was heard today by a three-judge panel in the Foley Square Federal Court here. No ruling on the conviction or four-year sentence has been handed



Joel Meyers

grounds that the questions were unconstitutional. Any time anyone refuses to answer these questions the Army, according to its own rules, is required to give that person a full security investigation. No security investigation was made in Nicodemus' case. The government was in such a rush that it simply handed down the indictment without making the investigation.

down yet by the appeals court.

Joel, a member of Youth Against War & Fascism, was ordered to report for induction on May 4, 1967. When he arrived at the processing room at Fort Hamilton in Brooklyn, he began handing out leaflets to his fellow inductees and explaining his views on the Vietnam war to the other men. The leaflet stated in part, "It is an imperialist war of aggression, and as soldiers in that war we will be ordered to commit atrocities as hideous as those of the Nazis...."

After heated debate with the Military Police on his right to leaflet, he was forcibly taken from the room to the office of the post Provost Marshall, who ordered him off the base. (In his "Diary of an Anti-Draft Activist" Joel gives a blow-by-blow description of all this.)

Two months later, FBI agents broke into Joel's apartment before dawn and arrested him. The charges were "failure to report for and refusal to submit to induction" and also "disrupting the induction process" — the same process he allegedly failed to report for. Each charge carries a possible five years imprisonment.

His three-day trial began on April 3, in the Brooklyn Federal District Court. Attorneys Thomas Baer and Al Levine of the American Civil Liberties Union acted as defense counsel. Closely cross-examining government witnesses, Baer forced them to admit that Joel had reported to Fort Hamilton as ordered and that the "disturbance" was in fact caused by military authorities who panicked when they saw a hundred inductees reading anti-war leaflets.

## BOND Supporter On West Coast Frame-Up Victim

The crackdown by government authorities on the West Coast against anti-war activists and supporters of the black liberation struggle has reached one of the founding members of The BOND, an anti-war servicemen's newspaper, and a white supporter of the Black Panther Party.

Shirley T. Lee, 30, of Oakland, Calif., was arrested October 9, along with eight men, when police attacked a group of youths near the Berkeley campus. She was charged with inciting to riot and interfering with a police officer when she objected to the police attack on a crowd of students. She had been on her way to a meeting and stopped when she saw the cops harassing the youths.

On Dec. 17, Miss Lee was found guilty of the charges in a case built on police allegations that she had incited 300 students and street people to attack plainclothes cops and mounted police. Sentencing will be January 7. The charges could bring up to two years in prison and a \$1,000 fine.

The trumped-up charge of "inciting to riot" against Miss Lee is significant in that it is a charge which the police have begun to use against political activists. This frame-up, which carries a heavy penalty, was concocted by city authorities with the full knowledge of Miss Lee's long record of political and militant struggle.

She is known in the Oakland area for her activities against the Vietnam war and was on the original staff of The BOND, an anti-war newspaper for GIs, when it was published on the West Coast. Miss Lee continues to be a strong supporter of the GI newspaper which is now the organ of the American Servicemen's Union. All last summer, Miss Lee helped give out anti-war literature to young men at the Oakland Induction Center, getting there before 6 in the morning and then working an eight-hour day.

In addition to her support for the struggle of anti-war GIs and youth opposed to the Vietnam war, Miss Lee has been active in building support in the white community for Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party. Recently, she helped to organize a mass vigil at the home of Eldridge Cleaver when Oakland police were threatening to arrest Cleaver and return him to prison.

## Framed on Assault Charge During Anti-Wallace Protest

## Cleveland Area Support for Dostal-Gass



Ted Dostal

Two Cleveland organizers of an anti-Wallace demonstration face three-year jail sentences. Their frame-up on assault charges and the progress of their campaign for support are described in this news release of the Dostal-Gass Defense Committee.

As you may already know, Ted Dostal and Dave Gass are the two demonstrators who were both clubbed and arrested by the cops at the anti-Wallace demonstration on October 5th. Although charged with assault on a police officer, no victim of the alleged assault by Dostal was produced by the prosecution in the two months between the arrest and the trial date. But suddenly on December 2nd, a police "victim" and a police "witness" mysteriously appeared. A postponement was obtained until January 27, 1969, allowing the defense attorney time to investigate the obviously trumped-up new developments in the case.

Dave Gass's case was before the court on December 9, and here, too, the prosecutor came up with another "new" policeman who is to testify. The defense asked for a postponement and the new trial date is likewise set for January 27.

Although many other demonstrators were clubbed by the cops on October 5th and several others arrested, only Dostal and Gass were charged with any

law violation. Both these men have been very active in organizing demonstrations, mostly against the war in Vietnam, but also against the KKK, the ultra right, and in support of the black liberation struggle.

Furthermore, Ted Dostal, a former high school teacher for eight years and militant steel unionist for 26 years (now retired) has long been known as a consistent opponent of the Establishment. Dave Gass, a student at Cleveland State University, is head of Youth Against War & Fascism in this area and is a close associate of Mr. Dostal.

They have undoubtedly been singled out with the intention of isolating them as "radicals" and penalizing them for the protest action of over 800 people who made their objection to Wallaceism known publicly on October 5.

Support for the defendants has come from many people and organizations, not only from the listed sponsors, but from dozens of other individuals. Nearly a thousand dollars have been received to pay for legal fees and other necessary expenses.

Among the organizations that have shown their support are: Cleveland Area Peace Action Council; Clergy & Laymen Concerned; Steelworkers Local Union #1330; Andy Stapp — leader of the American Servicemen's Union; Youth Against War & Fascism; The SDS chapters at Kent, Cuyahoga Community College, and Cleveland State University; The Resistance at Oberlin College; The University Circle Teaching Committee; members of the Catholic Peace Movement; and Metropolitan Affairs Commission of Council of Churches of Christ of Greater Cleveland.

Your assistance is needed, too.

If you were a witness to the police action at the Public Auditorium and if you can testify to any facts relating to the cases, it is important that you meet with Attorney Walter Haffner.

You can arrange for the defendants to speak at meetings and influence organizations to support them.

You can be part of a delegation of concerned individuals calling on the Mayor and the Safety Director in Jan-



Dave Gass

uary to lodge protests against the frame-up charges.

You can send financial contributions to the Committee. Please make checks payable to Betsy Davis and mail to her at 2026 E. 107 St., #308, Cleveland, Ohio 44106.

The Defense Committee feels that this victimization is part of a general campaign to intimidate the anti-war movement as a whole and frighten white friends of the black liberation struggle. We must continue to organize against such intimidation and stand firm and united against those who would silence and divide us.

### 680 G's No Crime

From the New York Daily News, Dec. 4 — Roger P. Sovak, 31, secretary-treasurer of the Lafayette Bank & Trust Co. in Suffern, who had pleaded guilty to conspiracy, embezzlement and false book entries in an asserted \$680,000 swindle from the bank, won a suspended sentence yesterday in Federal Court. Sovak had testified as a star witness for the government against a co-defendant, Stephan J. Radochia, 48, an auto dealer. Radochia was given a five-year term on Oct. 8.

# U.S.-Backed Brazilian Generals Move To Stem Anti-Imperialist Upheaval

By P. MEISNER

The Brazilian military dictators installed almost five years ago by the CIA are undergoing their most severe political crisis to date. So reactionary and unpopular is this neo-fascist regime that opposition has come from the largest newspapers of Brazil, high officials in Brazil's Catholic Church, the governor of the state which includes Rio de Janeiro, who was a key collaborator in the 1964 "gorilla" coup which overthrew the Goulart government, and even Deputies (equivalent to Congressmen) of the official government party, the National Renovating Alliance.

While Washington is giving full support to its Brazilian puppets, some U.S. ruling circles are fearful of an

imminent collapse of the military regime, which would seriously threaten the huge U.S. investments in Brazil. This attitude was reflected by Time Magazine, whose Dec. 20 issue was banned in Brazil by the junta's generals:

"... a solemn-faced Justice Minister, Luiz Antonio da Gama e Silva, interrupted radio and television broadcasts to announce that the President had signed the Fifth Institutional Act, giving him full dictatorial powers in 'defense' of the necessary interests of the nation'...."

"With parliamentary democracy suspended once again, the wind of popular resentment may well increase in velocity. What Costa e Silva may have

overlooked is that in classical drama the fifth act is also usually the last."

The latest crisis was precipitated when the Costa e Silva government was voted down in the Chamber of Deputies in its attempt to revoke parliamentary immunity from Deputy Marcio Moreira Alves so as to try him before Brazil's Supreme Court on the charge of treason. Costa e Silva immediately dissolved the parliament and declared absolute military rule. Alves had been the chief liberal critic of the military regime and had urged Brazilians to boycott the military parades scheduled on Independence Day last September. This immediately put a price on his head, but the military legally had to get the approval of Parliament before it could put him on trial. Alves also had written

a book entitled Tortures of the Tortured, a study of the brutal manner in which Brazil's military deal with their political opponents.

But the current crisis has its origins in the militant struggles of Brazilian students which began in April of this year and have yet to subside. Reflecting the mass revulsion for the fascist generals, the students waged fierce street battles with policemen, as they called for the overthrow of the military dictatorship. Support for the students has come from workers, peasants, and from many professors, intellectuals, and priests.

Scores of opponents of the dictatorship have been arrested including trade union leaders, newspaper editors, and even two North American priests, who were charged with "subversive activities." Washington has become more nervous ever since the Archbishop of Recife made a bid to divert the anti-imperialist struggle in the direction of the Church. He denounced the Brazilian government as well as the U.S. in a public rally in the city of Belo Horizonte. The Archbishop Helder Pessoa Camara attacked the regime for terming itself "the champions of national sovereignty while being in league with a foreign power."

That Wall Street and Washington are still manipulating their puppet generals in Rio de Janeiro was admitted inadvertently by Brazil's Finance Minister Antonio Delfim Neto, when interviewed by the imperialist New York Times on Dec. 18:

"He (Delfim Neto) said that he expected no change either in relations with the United States or in the level of its aid.

"He also pointed out that no restrictions had been put on foreign investment. 'Investors want profits, security and freedom of movement,' he said. 'Brazil has all three.'"

Meanwhile, the military dictators are desperately trying to crush widespread resistance throughout Brazil with massive round-ups and beatings. But the political support for the generals now is so thin that the regime's only ally is outside of Brazil — their imperialist bosses in the U.S.



Students demonstrate against Brazil's repressive regime in June — and get the "Chicago" treatment.

## Peru: Where Washington Dislikes Junta

Where U.S. imperialism has had a hand in determining the fate of neo-colonial governments throughout the world, Washington has, in most instances, been behind a military government rather than a civilian one. But love or hatred for democracy and civilian governments is not what really makes the U.S. ruling class choose between military and civilian regimes. In fact, the U.S. rulers back whichever form of government will maximize profits from their foreign investments.

One country where the U.S. favored the civilian government over the military regime now in power was Peru. The coup on Oct. 3 was basically the result of a humiliating capitulation by the civilian Belaunde Terry government to Standard Oil of New Jersey over a pact reached in August on oil production in Peru. However, the military leaders led the coup, not on behalf of the impoverished Peruvian masses, but for the Peruvian bankers and businessmen, who feared that the further penetration of U.S. oil companies and U.S. banks into Peru threatened their own survival as an economic class. The N.Y. Times sent one of their specialist reporters on economics, H.J. Maidenberger, to Lima and reported on Dec. 1 that:

"Foreign bankers are not minimizing the sharp attacks against them by newspapers controlled by the handful of wealthy Peruvian backers of the military, who also control most of the important domestic banks."

The military coup was also prompted by the inability of the Belaunde administration to stop the gradual take-overs of Peru's domestic commercial banks by U.S. and European banks. The lack of Peruvian-owned commercial banks put Peru's entire economy in the hands of imperialist bankers. The Times' Maidenberger also reported this significant development:

"As the junta view the situation of foreign concerns, the steady take-over of domestic commercial banks by foreigners has reduced the amount of

credit available to Peruvian businessmen because the overseas bankers are said to favor foreign companies operating here."

The oil agreement reached in August between the Peruvian government and the International Petroleum Company (I.P.C.), a Canadian subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, "gave Peru title over the company's oil field at La Brea-Parinas, but reserved privileges related to equipment, sales and prospecting for the company." The I.P.C. was also granted "authorization to expand its refinery at Talara and to develop other properties." Standard Oil could hardly lose much profit under this arrangement, the only real change being that the oil field would be rented rather than owned by Standard Oil.

Belaunde also conceded on another vital part of the pact, that is, that the I.P.C. would purchase crude oil supplies from the Peruvian state oil company with Peruvian currency, rather than with dollars, as had been called for originally. This would enable Standard Oil and other foreign monopolies to make payments to Peru's government in a currency which just a year ago was devalued 55 per cent and could very easily be devalued again through the pressures of the big U.S. banks, the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund and the Inter-American Development Bank, a branch of the World Bank. This would have hurt Peru severely from the point of view of being deprived of highly needed dollars, necessary for all countries under the domination of the dollar, in order to trade within the world capitalist market.

Perhaps the greatest source of irritation to the Peruvian upper classes was that the oil agreement cancelled a \$140 million tax claim against the I.P.C. going back to 1924. The leaders of the new military regime have also claimed that another \$800 million is owed to the government of Peru and that warrants for the arrests of many

of the company's officials have been issued on charges of tax evasion, fraud in declaring production figures, and similar crimes.

Meanwhile, Belaunde's Finance Minister, Manuel Ulloa, a financier with Wall Street training in international banking, had just instituted tax reforms that would increase individual income taxes based on salaries and stock dividends, and establish for the first time a tax on urban and rural property (just after the I.P.C. had given up title to the oil field).

That the military junta has no progressive or radical intentions are evident by the fact that the huge U.S. investments in Peru's mining, manufacturing, agriculture, transport, and communications are virtually untouched (Total U.S. investments in Peru amount to more than half a billion dollars.) Also, no agrarian reform is planned for the peasants of Peru and no changes for the better are expected for Peru's working class.

### ECUADORIAN RULERS WANT NEW DEAL, TOO

The recent nationalization of a U.S.-owned oil field in Peru has already influenced another Latin American government, Ecuador, to demand a better deal from the U.S. oil monopolies which rob from the people of Ecuador every day.

Texaco and Gulf have just discovered two new oil fields with high quality petroleum in the Ecuadorian jungles just south of the Colombian border. But in the wake of the Peruvian events, the three-month-old Ecuadorian government is now demanding a renegotiation of a five-year contract with Gulf-Texaco which expires in March, 1969. This may slow down the giant oil companies' plans to go ahead with laying down pipelines from the oil fields to the Pacific Coast.

As in Peru, the government repre-

sents the privileged classes of that country. Besides doing the bidding of U.S. imperialism, they are more inclined to obtain concessions for their oligarchies than for the Ecuadorian masses. But even to achieve the former, some attack on the highway robbery of Ecuador's natural resources by the U.S. monopolies must be launched by Ecuador's oligarchy.

It is by now obvious that the U.S. is not really concerned whether the Ecuadorian government survives as a civilian government or whether the Peruvian government remains a military state. What the U.S. oil giants and other big monopolies fear most is the threat of a cancerous growth of nationalizations of their highly profitable ventures throughout Latin America.

# The Case of Martin Sostre

"Although to some the struggle of a Black high school drop-out acting as his own attorney against the massive coercive power of this State may seem like a futile struggle, there is no doubt in my mind of the ultimate defeat of my oppressors. I am like the brave and resolute people in Vietnam who are also struggling against the common oppressor. As a matter of fact, I consider myself a Black Viet Cong. Black Power!"

— Martin Sostre

## A Liberation Fighter in Court: The System Was Put on Trial

The trial of Martin Sostre in Buffalo, New York, is perhaps most graphically described by the way in which the defendant was brought to court. Surrounded by guards, the black political prisoner entered the courtroom chained around the waist and arms and handcuffed. He was without a lawyer or any witnesses for his case and faced an array of paid police informants as prosecution witnesses. Yet each time Martin Sostre left the courtroom, he raised his clenched fists to his supporters in the audience and told them to "keep resisting."

Faced with such a defendant, the hangmen who sit on the bench in Buffalo's court went to extraordinary lengths to intimidate and silence the liberation fighter. On Dec. 10, 1967, Judge Frederick Marshall, who tried the case, even had Sostre committed to Meyer Memorial Hospital for "psychiatric observation" because he had refused a court-appointed lawyer and insisted on defending himself. Sostre responded to this vicious treatment, however, by exposing the use of mental institutions as another weapon of oppression against the black masses.

The kangaroo court trial of Martin Sostre began on March 4, 1968. Ten court guards brought the defendant to court. All motions made by Sostre for a reduction of bail (by now, \$12,500 cash), so that he could be free to find four witnesses who were in his store at the time of the police raid, were denied by Judge Marshall. Sostre declared that he would not participate in the legal lynching and during his "trial" directed all his remarks to his supporters in the courtroom.

### SOSTRE: "RESIST OPPRESSION"

"This is an example of fascist America and a kangaroo court," he told them. "Everyone remained silent in Germany but I don't intend to make the same mistake. I want to be a personal example of how you can resist a legal lynching. They will not succeed when you resist them!"

"It is up to us," he continued later on, "to resist oppression and racism with all facets and weapons. All U.S. superiority in weapons -- none can prevail against will and determination. Racism and militarism are two claws of the same hawk!"

The D.A. then picked an all-white jury and told the jurors that the witnesses for the prosecution would all be policemen or police informers. Sostre, because he had been in jail since July, could not find his witnesses, some of whom the police had intimidated into silence.

Supporters in the courtroom spontaneously rose and applauded Martin Sostre as he was taken out of the courtroom with his handcuffed fists raised. "This is how we're going to

resist," he told them.

On March 8 the all-white jury brought in the expected verdict of guilty against Martin Sostre. A week after the conviction, a second trial was held to establish that Sostre was a second felony offender.

During this trial Sostre again militantly defended himself.

"We are resisting. Now we have our Black Cabinet — Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister, and our Defense Minister, Huey Newton, in prison — this is war and you know it. You are going to get another Vietnam right here."

### BLACK MILITANT GAGGED

"Sit down and shut up," Marshall ordered. When Sostre refused to be silent, saying again, "This is war," Marshall shouted to the guards, "Get a gag!" Six guards took Sostre out of the courtroom and returned him in handcuffs with a white towel tied across his mouth. As soon as the gag was removed, however, Sostre again defiantly spoke out against the illegal

(Continued on page M-4)

## Was Schooled in Prison Like Malcolm X, Gets 41 Yrs. in Major Political Frame-up

In every struggle of an oppressed people to throw off the yoke of colonial rule, the colonial nation has used long and brutal prison terms against liberation fighters as a means of crushing the people's rebellion. U.S. imperialism, which oversees an internal colony of 22 million Afro-Americans, is no different in its methods of colonial rule. And, as in all liberation struggles, in the United States it has been the most militant and defiant freedom fighters who have been singled out for special persecution.

Along with Huey Newton, Robert F. Williams (in exile), Herman Ferguson, Arthur Harris, Edward Oquendo and many other unnamed heroes, a black political prisoner in New York State has received one of the severest sentences handed down by the courts to any liberation fighter — 31 to 41 years, a life sentence for a man of 44.

Martin Gonzales Sostre, like several other black liberation fighters and anti-war activists, was framed on a trumped-up narcotics charge. The ruling class has used this type of

frame-up in many instances in an attempt to deprive highly political cases of a political defense and to hand down harsh sentences to militants. Knowing this, Martin Sostre fought at every turn to bring out the political character of the frame-up.

"The main question in this case," he told Judge Colucci during a hearing for bail reduction, "is U.S. oppression of the black people." The issues of the black liberation struggle and the Vietnamese liberation struggle were the two main issues in his case, he repeatedly told the court.

### LEGAL WORK PRETEXT FOR SOLITARY

Martin Sostre, at this writing, is going into his seventh month in solitary confinement at Green Haven Prison in Stormville, New York. Prison authorities put Sostre in solitary last June 25 under the pretext that he was "practicing law without a license." His law books were confiscated to prevent him from working on his appeal, he was held virtually incommunicado for some time, and his mail and visiting privileges have been denied. The prison warden even went so far as to bar his lawyer, Miss Joan Franklin, from seeing him for several weeks. In addition, a 40-page handwritten brief which he had laboriously worked on to send to his attorney was confiscated by Warden Harold W. Follette (see accompanying article).

"The real reason for the obstruction of the legal document," wrote Sostre, "is to conceal ... the vicious Nazi-like tactics employed by the racist political power structure of New York State through its police, judicial and correction departments to frame-up, legally lynch and put in prison any persons who actively oppose their policy of black repression at home and militarism in Vietnam."

### THE AFRO-ASIAN BOOKSHOP

And in Buffalo, New York, Martin Sostre did "actively oppose" repression and militarism when he opened the Afro-Asian Bookshop in the heart of the city's black community. This bookstore was, in Mr. Sostre's words, "the only outlet in Buffalo for books and periodicals on African and Afro-American history, culture and the struggles for liberation of the oppressed Afro-American and Asian peoples." Soon Sostre's shop became not merely a bookstore, but a gathering place for black youths to talk and learn about their own history and heroes and the heroes of the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

All this did not go unnoticed by the Buffalo police.

Several months after Sostre had

(Continued on page M-3)



From Solitary Confinement at Green Haven Prison

Martin Sostre vs. Nelson Rockefeller

Following are excerpts from a legal brief handwritten by Martin Sostre while in solitary confinement at Green Haven Prison in Stormville, New York. Sostre wrote the brief on his own behalf to protest the vicious racist maltreatment he has been subjected to since his imprisonment there.

Sostre wrote another brief, not included below, on behalf of his co-defendant, Geraldine Robinson. This brief was confiscated from him in June when he tried to mail it to his lawyer, Miss Joan Franklin. However, Sostre reproduced Mrs. Robinson's brief from memory, down to the tiniest legal detail. The warden had Sostre put in solitary on June 25, on the pretext that he was "practicing law without a license." And he remains in solitary to this day.

\* \* \*

United States District Court  
Southern District of New York

Martin Sostre,  
Plaintiff

v.  
Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, Paul D. McGinnis, Commissioner of Correction of the State of New York, Vincent Mancusi, Warden of Attica Prison and Harold W. Follette, Warden of Green Haven Prison,  
Defendants

1. This is an action under the Civil Rights Act to redress the deprivation under color of state law, ordinance, regulation, custom or usage of plaintiff's rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution of the United States or by any act of Congress providing for equal rights of citizens or of all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

2. The jurisdiction of this Court is founded under Title 28 U.S.C. §1343 (3) and Title 42 U.S.C. §1983.

3. The plaintiff is an Afro-American citizen of the United States and is a political prisoner serving a sentence of 40 years in Green Haven State Prison solely because of his political activities in the Black Liberation Movement....

8. On March 18, 1968, plaintiff was sentenced to Attica State Prison by Erie County Court after a kangaroo court jury trial — which was conducted without the aid of counsel, without allowing plaintiff his constitutional right to serve as his own counsel and prepare his defense, and without allowing plaintiff to obtain his witnesses — found him guilty of a police-manufactured sale of narcotics and sentenced him to 30 to 40 years.

**"YOU'RE LUCKY IF WE DON'T KILL YOU"**

9. Upon arrival at Attica State Prison on March 18, 1968 — within two hours after being sentenced — plaintiff requested the prison officials to mail to Supreme Court Erie County an application for a Certificate of Reasonable Doubt which he had in his property already notarized and ready for mailing. The reply he received was as follows: "With all the trouble you gave us, you son of a bitch, you're lucky if we don't kill you or bug you." Whereupon plaintiff was isolated in a dark cell away from the population.

10. The term "bug you" mentioned above is prison colloquialism meaning to be committed to the Dannemora State Hospital for the criminally insane, the State's worst insane asylum notorious for the frequent killing of patients by its vicious, sadistic guards. Many militant prisoners who have stood up for their rights have been committed to this insane asylum by the warden in collusion with the prison psychiatrist, the local state judge and two local psychiatrists chosen by the judge — even though the "bugged" prisoners were not mentally ill.

11. The next day, March 19, 1968, the plaintiff was transferred from Attica Prison to Green Haven Prison where he again requested prison officials to allow him to mail the application mentioned in Paragraph 9 to Supreme Court Erie County. This request was denied.

12. Within an hour of plaintiff's arrival at Green Haven Prison he was subjected to punishment in solitary confinement on short rations pursuant to Section 140 of the N.Y. State Correction Law; and although he informed the prison officials that all he had eaten the entire day was three sandwiches and an apple during the 400-mile trip by station wagon from Attica Prison — which he had to eat while handcuffed and with leg irons which were never removed until he arrived at Green Haven Prison — he was not fed that day.

13. The punishment to which plaintiff was subjected on March 19, 1968, consisted of being locked in a cell on reduced food rations without any of his property whatsoever, not even his toothbrush, and forced to sleep on a dirty, bare mattress, fully clothed to avoid the tormenting itch of the rough

prison blankets against his skin, without sheets, and on short rations while locked in the cell the entire 24 hours a day without exercise, earphones, books, or anything to read to occupy his mind. On the wall directly over the head of the bed is a shatter-proof glass window one foot square through which the guards shine a powerful flashlight into plaintiff's face every hour from 10 p.m. til 6 a.m....

**DEFENDING HIS LIFE WITHOUT A LICENSE**

16. Plaintiff immediately mailed his application for a Certificate of Reasonable Doubt to Supreme Court Erie County, but it was returned to him by prison officials with the notation "No stamps," although plaintiff had \$1.17 in stamps when he arrived at Green Haven Prison. His letters addressed to his sister were similarly returned.

17. Although all inmates in N.Y. State prisons are permitted to correspond with one or two friends and those with co-defendants are permitted to correspond with them about legal matters — even when such co-defendant is incarcerated in another prison — plaintiff was denied the right to correspond with a friend, Mr. Gerald Gross of 241 Trenton Ave., Buffalo, N.Y., and with his co-defendant who was jointly indicted with him, Miss Geraldine Robinson of 15 Storz Ave., Buffalo, N.Y.

18. Plaintiff's numerous written requests to defendant Follette to place Miss Robinson and Mr. Gross on his correspondence list, which is a prerequisite to being permitted to write them, has gone unanswered; and plaintiff's numerous letters to Miss Robinson and Mr. Gross were returned to plaintiff by prison officials with the notation "Not on approved correspondence list."

19. Thereafter and on May 17, 1968, plaintiff received a visit from Miss Joan Franklin, an attorney from the NAACP, 1790 Broadway, New York City, with whom he discussed his and co-defendant's case, to acquaint the attorney with facts necessary for handling the appeal, co-defendant's case and other collateral proceedings. The attorney suggested that plaintiff mail her any additional facts or information relating to the case which would aid her in preparing and defending the action. Plaintiff agreed to send her a detailed memorandum of law and facts setting forth all facts he deemed important.

20. On June 24, 1968, plaintiff mailed to his attorney Joan Franklin a letter to which was stapled the following documents: (1) Indictment No. 33508 entitled: The People Etc. Against Martin Sostre and Geraldine Robinson; (2) a law memorandum in the form of a motion and application for a Change of Venue entitled The People of the State of New York Against Martin Sostre and Geraldine Robinson; and (3) an order of the Appellate Division 4th Department entitled People Ex Rel Martin Sostre v. B. John Tutuska, Sheriff of Erie County Jail.

21. On June 25, 1968, the plaintiff was taken to the warden's office where the warden told him that he would not allow plaintiff's memorandum motion and application entitled The People of the State of New York Against Martin Sostre and Geraldine Robinson to leave the prison on grounds that plaintiff "was practicing law without a license."

22. The plaintiff then informed the warden that his mailing legal documents to his attorney does not constitute "practicing law without a license"; that no such law, rule or regulation exists prohibiting him from mailing to his attorney legal documents pertaining to his and co-defendant's case; that plaintiff has a constitutional right to mail to his attorney legal documents and data pertaining to his case; and that the refusal to mail the legal document to plaintiff's lawyer constitutes an unlawful and unconstitutional obstruction of plaintiff's legal mail which would be challenged in the courts. The warden replied: "You can do anything you want to. This document is not going out...."

**TREATED WORSE THAN PRISONERS OF WAR**

28. Although 80% of the 2,000 inmates of Green Haven Prison are non-white, only 2%, or a token 6 or 7 guards, out of a force of over 300 are non-white — none of which have the rank of lieutenant, captain, assistant or principal keeper, or deputy warden.

29. The same situation prevails in Attica Prison with one or two Afro-American guards employed there while 75% of the inmate population is non-white; Clinton Prison's inmate population is 80% non-white, yet has no Afro-American or Latin-American guards on its staff. All other state prisons show almost identical situations. The total combined figures of all state prisons reveal that while 70% of the 16,000 inmates of New York State Prisons are Afro-Americans and Latin-Americans, only 2% of the entire guard force of over 2,000 is Afro-American and Puerto Ricans — all of which as assigned to inferior posts. None of this class has ever been appointed Commissioner, Deputy of Assistant Commissioner of Correction or Warden or Deputy Warden of any state prison, nor has any Puerto Rican ever been appointed to the New York State Parole Board.

CIVIL ACTION  
FILE NO.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

MARTIN SOSTRE,  
PLAINTIFF

v.

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,  
PAUL D. MCGINNIS, COMMISSIONER OF CORRECTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, VINCENT MANCUSI, WARDEN OF ATTICA PRISON AND HAROLD W. FOLLETTE, WARDEN OF GREEN HAVEN PRISON,  
DEFENDANTS

COMPLAINT

1. THIS IS AN ACTION UNDER THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT TO REDRESS THE DEPRIVATION UNDER COLOR OF STATE LAW, ORDINANCE, REGULATION, CUSTOM OR USAGE OF PLAINTIFF'S RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES, OR IMMUNITIES SECURED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OR BY ANY ACT OF CONGRESS PROVIDING FOR EQUAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OR OF ALL PERSONS WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

2. THE JURISDICTION OF THIS COURT IS FOUNDED UNDER TITLE 28 U.S.C. §1343 (3) AND TITLE 42 U.S.C. §1983.

3. THE PLAINTIFF IS AN AFRO-AMERICAN CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES AND IS A POLITICAL PRISONER SERVING A SENTENCE OF 40 YEARS IN GREEN HAVEN STATE PRISON SOLELY BECAUSE OF HIS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

4. THE DEFENDANT NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER IS THE GOVERNOR AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF THE STATE

30. These practically all-Black misnamed state prisons are run exactly like the concentration camps which they are — not like concentrations camps of enemy prisoners of war which under Geneva and United Nations agreements must treat prisoners fairly and accord them basic human rights (these agreements being enforced by self-interest since any mistreatment of enemy prisoners will subject prisoners in enemy hands to like treatment), but exactly like the Nazi concentration camps operated by Hitler's Germany for the detention and elimination of Jews and others labeled undesirable or opponents to the Nazi Regime.

31. The relationship existing between the white racist and sadistic guards and officials and the largely non-white population of New York State Prisons is identical to that which existed between the Nazi guards and the Jewish inmates and which now exists between the white guards and the Black victims of the Black detention camps of Rhodesia and South Africa. Only the last-named victims of vicious racist oppression and the Afro-American oppressed people who are innocent victims of the similarly vicious American racist society can fully know what it means to be victimized by sadistic bigots suffering from the mental disease of racism; only these victims are aware and feel the full significance of the ugly curl of the lip accompanying the racist sneer of hatred and contempt....

**CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GENOCIDE**

34. In Green Haven Prison, the apex of brutality was reached in December, 1965, when during a peaceful protest against the above-named injustices and the denial of "good time" about 400 inmates were stripped naked and brutally beaten by being forced to run between two rows of sadistic guards who viciously clubbed them as they ran past on their way to solitary confinement, this brutal repression of a peaceful legitimate protest was ordered and supervised by Warden Follette with the sanction and acquiescence of the Commissioner of Correction and Governor Rockefeller.

35. When to the above-described brutal and inhuman treatment is added the unwholesome food served at Green Haven Prison consisting mostly of boiled potatoes and tasteless flour gravy served practically every day, soup made by adding water to leftovers, "meatballs" which contain so much bread, peanut butter which is stretched with cottonseed oil until its consistency is like syrup, fruit preserves stretched with water, etc.; the inadequate clothing and threadbare, used blankets supplied the inmates, the rusty tin cans used in place of salt shakers, and the broken and antiquated water pitchers in the mess hall, and the fact that not even a water glass from which to drink water in their cells is supplied the inmates, it is obvious that New York State Prisons are to its Afro- and Latin-American inmate victims de facto concentration camps into which they are thrown by the racist and vindictive American society to be brutalized and oppressed by sadistic and bigoted prison officials....

39. Another and more sinister aspect of the racist concentration camps of New York State is the current massive construction program expanding its detention facilities, covertly being undertaken — without one word appearing in the newspapers — by the racist ruling political administration for putting out of circulation the increasing number of Afro-American, Latin-American and white militants now being framed up and set up on bogus charges, solely because of their opposition to the fascist, racist and militarist policies of the ruling administration.

40. Under the guise of the recently enacted and little known Article 12-C of the State Correction Law entitled State Detention Facility, purportedly designed to detain parolees and to transfer thereto inmates of state institutions on summary warrants of detention issued by state correction officials, the racist power structure is enlarging and preparing its concentration camp facilities for the mass detention of thousands of Afro-American ghetto patriots now collectively resisting the racists policy of Black genocide.

# "Free" Press vs. Sostre — Black Militant a "Non-Person"

From time to time, either sandwiched in between the ads, the stock reports and the news from Washington or given with a smile and the hint of a wink at the end of the TV newscasts, the mass media come up with what is known as a "human interest story."

It could be about a kid rescued by cops from some kind of predicament, or the "just plain folks" side of a celebrity, or of how his community rallied behind Joe Blow and raised the \$30,000 needed for his wife's operation. There was one of these stories that made the wire services and all the major networks not too long ago about how the gray-haired shoe-shine "boy" of the Capitol building was retiring after having worked there for about 70 years. He was black, of course.

Papers from both sides of the Mason-Dixon line eagerly seized on this story. They splashed it on their front pages as an antidote to the news about the virile Black Liberation struggle.

It isn't often that the press finds much "human interest" in the story of a black man, even an old man who has been ground down all his life eking out a living on Congressmen's dimes.

The monopolized news industry hasn't found anything to write about another black man — Martin Sostre. Yet there's so much they could say.

## Slavery Not So Dead

There are a few very old people still living who remember slavery, and their reminiscences of human beings being bought and sold in chains are printed once in a while to remind us how much better things are today. Martin Sostre can't remember chattel slavery, yet he's been in chains a number of times. He was brought into the courtroom gagged and shackled at his trial in Buffalo. And he was chained to other Black Nationalists in his youth at Attica Prison. But this is the 1960's, not the 1860's. No human interest here.

Martin Sostre ran a book store. For a year or so, he worked a full shift at the Bethlehem Steel Plant just so he could make his stock of Afro-Asian and revolutionary literature available to the black community. Finally, he made the store a going concern, but only by keeping it open 15 hours a day and earning half what he had made at the steel plant.

Surely there's a tale here? No one expects you to be sympathetic to Sostre's politics, Mr. Huntley and Mr. Brinkley, but have you not one word to say about a man with such drive, such determination?

Thrown in jail, into solitary con-

finement, Martin Sostre fights on. From his lonely cell, he handprints a brief that he has composed for his appeal — forty pages closely written in pencil. Everything is there, his story, told in the legal language demanded by the court. Martin Sostre labored long to write these pages. Can you find not one line to type about him, Mr. Drew Pearson?

You keep telling us, Messrs. ABC-UPI-Timelife, that under this great and democratic system there's no telling where a man with drive, determination, persistence and hard work will end up. But you don't mention Green Haven Prison as one of those places there's no telling about.

What is the key that would unlock the airwaves and bring the story of Martin Sostre into 40 million living-rooms? Or, it might be more practical to ask, how can just the most elementary news about Sostre's case be made to pierce the curtain of silence?

## Sostre's Politics Avoided

Take his trial. All the sensational things that happened there — Sostre's political accusations against the whole court system, the judge's order to have him bound and gagged, his cross-examination of the psychiatrist who was used against him — these were spectacular events in a news-starved

town like Buffalo.

But the press handled his case at the court's bidding, as a simple "narcotics" charge. His supporters, from both the community and the University campus, picketed outside the court. Not a word about the demonstrations in the papers.

This wasn't true when the Buffalo Establishment wanted to link Sostre to a "plot" to rouse the black community. Police Chief Felicetta, testifying before HUAC and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee long after Sostre had been railroaded to jail, named Sostre and some of his supporters as conspiring to bring about the June 1967 rebellion.

The demonstrations for Sostre and other black political prisoners, which had never been mentioned in Buffalo at the time they took place, found their way into the papers only through the distorted eyes of top cop Felicetta.

## Only Globe Article

Because Martin Sostre is a revolutionary who is fighting for his ideas, and not a merchant just interested in selling books for profits; because Martin put his people and their need for liberation ahead of his personal comfort; because his adversaries were the police, the representatives of the Buffalo ruling class, and not the customers of his Afro-Asian Bookshop; because Martin Sostre used his great energy, persistence and brilliance to fight for the collective good of the oppressed instead of for his individual self — for all these reasons he has failed the human interest test of the bourgeois press.

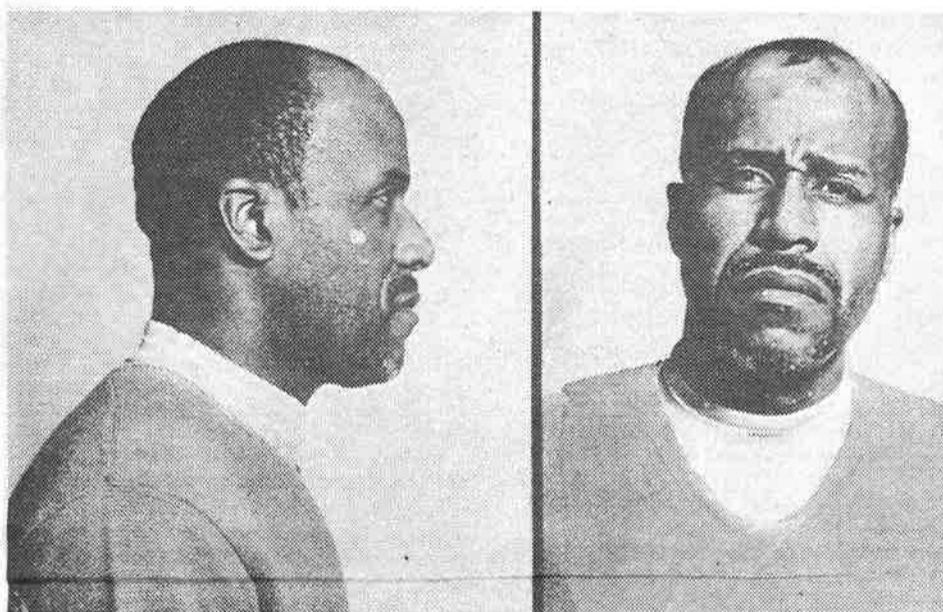
The papers won't write about him, except to slander him. One memorable exception was the article written by Afro-American journalist William Worthy in the Boston Globe. But when Worthy told some of Sostre's story in two parts over the NET educational TV network, the first program was scheduled so that it would not appear in the Buffalo area. Only after local protests did the second part appear.

But Sostre's story is finding its way, even without the benefit of the seemingly all-powerful ruling class media, into the consciousness of the oppressed masses. The monopoly on truth can't suppress the Sostre story forever, because the truth is so different from the soupy stories of the syndicated columnists. And the truth about a great man like Martin Sostre will survive because it tells people who are struggling what they need to know.

## Boston Sunday Globe

New England's Largest Newspaper

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1968



Buffalo police mug shots of Sostre.

## Sostre in Solitary

**His friends swear that black radical Martin Sostre has been framed by Buffalo authorities as part of America's colonialist suppression of black revolution.**

Story by William Worthy

This 4-page magazine feature in the Boston Globe's Sunday supplement was the only mass-media article to appear on Sostre.

UNTIL July 14, 1967, Martin Sostre of Buffalo, New York was the proud and defiant owner of the local Afro-Asian Book Store.

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

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

Today Martin Sostre, age 44, is in Green Haven State Prison near Poughkeepsie.

## — 41 Years in Major Political Frame-up

(Continued from page M-1)

opened the bookstore, two city detectives visited the shop and threateningly told him, "Nice place you got here, Marty. You're doing alright for yourself since you got out of prison. What are you doing now behind this bookstore front?" When Sostre objected, he was told, "OK, Marty, have it your way."

Martin Sostre, who grew up in Harlem, had been imprisoned on a narcotics charge as a youth and spent 12 years in Attica prison near Buffalo. His prison experience was like that of Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver. While there, he became a revolutionary Nationalist, deeply committed to the black liberation struggle. In prison he also studied law, and it was Sostre who waged the legal struggle which resulted in a court ruling that for the first time gave Muslims the right to hold religious services in prison.

## THE JUNE REBELLION

Despite the threats, Martin Sostre kept his store open for two years. He gave up a good job at Bethlehem Steel to keep the bookstore open 15 hours a day, seven days a week. In this way he eked out a living until a rebellion in the black community rocked all of Buffalo at the end of June, 1967.

"During the three nights of revolt," wrote Sostre in a letter from Erie County Jail, "when all the shops in my area — both black- and white-owned — closed early, I stayed open until 3 a.m., thereby providing a refuge (from the tear gas being indiscriminately sprayed into the streets by the police) for many passers-by and freedom fighters. The shop stayed packed and the cops outside didn't like it, but there was nothing they could do." Sostre talked to the black people in his store about the police brutality and showed them books like Robert F. Williams' "Negroes with Guns" and works by Malcolm X.

The police response to Sostre's activities was to call in firemen who, under the pretext of putting out a fire next door, turned their hoses on the bookstore, smashing the windows and shelves and destroying most of the literature.

Sostre fought back by boarding up the windows and pasting up articles and photos of the revolt and anti-Vietnam war articles. By adopting the techniques of the Chinese Red Guard wall posters, Sostre's store was again attracting much attention in the black community. Sostre was also just about to launch a newspaper for the black community, the Afro Freedom Fighter. He had bought a

second-hand mimeo machine and had gotten together a staff of militant black youths to be writers and reporters, when the police crack down came.

## SOSTRE ARRESTED, LIBERATION BOOKSHOP SACKED

On July 14, Buffalo cops invaded and sacked the Afro-Asian Bookshop. Martin Sostre and Geraldine Robinson, his assistant in running the store, were beaten and accused of arson, riot, possession and sale of narcotics and assault. Despite the fact that Police Commissioner Frank Felicetta told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that Sostre was a leader of the black rebellion in Buffalo, all the political charges were dropped and Miss Robinson and Sostre were faced with a narcotics frame-up. Bail was set on Sostre at \$50,000, making it impossible for friends to pay for his release.

At a time when the black community in Buffalo was still recovering from the police onslaught during the June rebellion and when the white radical community was too intimidated or uninterested in the case of the black liberation fighter, friends of Sostre in the Philosophical Society at Buffalo U. and Youth Against War & Fascism set

up a Martin Sostre Defense Committee which was later on supported by students on the university campus.

When the police offered to release Sostre if he would go back to the black community to "cool it," he refused. Thus Sostre began eight months of imprisonment in Erie County Jail before he was convicted by an all-white jury on March 8, 1968.

During those eight months, Martin Sostre was kept separate from the other inmates in a dimly-lit, dungeon-like cell. This made it extremely difficult for him to read or write. He was denied use of the library and could not get newspapers to help in the preparation of his case.

Although the Martin Sostre Defense Committee had retained a prominent civil rights law firm, his attorney resigned from the case on October 5, on the pretext that the committee had failed to meet "the very minimum financial requirements" for the case, despite the fact that he had been paid \$550 and spent only four hours in court. There was no other law firm in the city of Buffalo which would stand up to the pressure of the ruling class in this "Pittsburgh of the North." To defend Martin Sostre was to defend black liberation in Buffalo.

In spite of the inhuman conditions he suffered in jail, Martin Sostre continued to work on his case, defend himself in the Buffalo courts without a lawyer, and also defend all the black liberation fighters in the struggle against the racist U.S. ruling class.

# The Story of Mrs. Geraldine Robinson Strong Supporter of Sostre, Mother of 5, Harassed by Gov't., Faces Frame-up

Geraldine Robinson was, until the night of July 14, 1967, an assistant in the Afro-Asian Bookshop. Along with Martin Sostre, she devoted much of her time to selling the literature of the black liberation struggle to the Afro-American community in Buffalo. Today she is Martin Sostre's co-defendant, accused of sale of narcotics and resisting arrest. Mrs. Robinson and her five children are the six other victims in the Buffalo frame-up of the black militant.

Sostre, in a brief written in his prison cell on Mrs. Robinson's behalf, described the police raid on his store: "On July 14, 1967 around midnight and while the defendant (Mrs. Robinson) was in the bookshop, about a dozen white federal, state and city police rushed into the bookshop without announcing their purpose or authority and punched and assaulted defendant and seized her pocketbook, assaulted and blackjacked the owner Martin Sostre when he tried to aid defendant. Three customers present were forced against the wall.

"The defendant, who never in her life has been involved in any criminal activity or arrested for a crime or violation of law, was charged with sale of narcotics and resisting arrest. The owner of the bookshop was charged with sale of narcotics, inciting the riot of two weeks earlier, arson and assault. The three customers present were charged with narcotics offenses; and the Afro-Asian Bookshop was sacked and totally destroyed by the white police agents of the racist power structure."

Mrs. Robinson was only able to win her release on \$5,000 bail when friends and relatives put up the money. However, she has been subjected to the same kind of cruel harassment

which Martin Sostre suffered in jail. In addition to being hounded by the courts, this fall, welfare authorities in Buffalo filed papers to have Mrs. Robinson's five children taken away from her on the pretext that she is "responsible for their neglect." Among other things, the welfare worker blamed Mrs. Robinson for not having proper food in the house on the day after her welfare check was supposed to arrive, but didn't; blamed her for not painting her flat, but did not provide the money to do so; blamed her for keeping the children home on the first day of school, because they needed clothes and she was waiting for the same welfare check to pay for the clothes.

The welfare worker, who admitted that he did not have one witness to substantiate the charge that Mrs. Robinson neglected her children, insidiously added to the list of charges the implication that she was involved in drug pushing:

"Mrs. Robinson is presently under indictment as part of the Sostre case of 1967, for frequenting a place where narcotics are sold, and resisting arrest." (Mrs. Robinson has not yet been tried, and is therefore, even according to bourgeois law, supposed to be assumed innocent until proven otherwise.)

But in the eyes of Buffalo authorities, she is guilty — guilty of being a fighter for black liberation. So the harassment goes on. Recently, Mrs. Robinson was informed that her daughter would have to leave the federally funded Headstart Program she was in because there was no longer any room for her. When letters of protest were sent to the officials responsible, the child was reinstated in the program. Other forms of petty harassment, such as holding up her

food stamps, have also been used in an attempt to break her spirit and will to defend her cause.

Mrs. Robinson's court appearances were filled with the same kind of vicious, racist treatment. On Dec. 18, 1967, Judge Marshall, the same



**Geraldine Robinson**

judge who sentenced her co-defendant to 31 to 41 years and showed his bias throughout Sostre's trial, threatened to have Mrs. Robinson sent to a mental institution (as he had done to Martin Sostre). The judge made this threat after Mrs. Robinson refused to take a court-appointed lawyer and asked to defend herself.

In February, the D.A. handling the Sostre-Robinson case made a motion to separate the cases. On February 19, 1968, Martin Sostre appeared in court before Judge Colucci to challenge the D.A.'s motion, arguing that the D.A. had no grounds for severance of the two cases. Sostre argued that the

courts were attempting to divide the two defendants from one another in order to apply pressure on them separately. In spite of the defendant's arguments, the cases were severed.

Nevertheless, Martin Sostre himself has continued to work on Mrs. Robinson's case, and recently he wrote a brief on her behalf, asking that her trial be moved from Erie County on the grounds that she cannot receive a fair trial there.

Mr. Sostre's arguments cite the fact that her case is still referred to as the "Riot Case" because of the barrage of prejudicial propaganda released to the press by Police Commissioner Felicetta just after her arrest.

Felicetta (a notorious racist who, Sostre notes, openly flaunts a Wallace button on his lapel) publicly linked Mrs. Robinson to a "small band of Black Power fanatics" responsible for the June rebellion. He stated that "substantial evidence of equipment for arson and riot-incitement" was found in Martin Sostre's home; that Martin Sostre trained "youthful arson squads" and made \$10,000 a week pushing heroin. All these prejudicial statements, for which not one single solitary scintilla of evidence has been presented, make it impossible for Mrs. Robinson to get a fair trial in Erie County.

Sostre also cited the obvious bias of the courts against his own case and the de facto white racism existing in Erie County which make a fair trial by an impartial judge and jury impossible.

After being without a lawyer for over a year, Mrs. Robinson is now represented by Attorney Charles McKinney, whom the Martin Sostre Defense Committee obtained through the aid of the NAACP. The Sostre Defense Committee, which has raised all the funds for legal fees and publicity for Sostre's case, is equally dedicated to the defense of Mrs. Robinson and has declared that it is determined to continue to battle until both Martin Sostre and Geraldine Robinson are free.

## SUPPORT THE SOSTRE DEFENSE COMMITTEE



At Martin Sostre's suggestion, his defense committee has set up an Afro-Asian Bookshop in Exile on the University of Buffalo campus (seen above). This bookstore has helped to raise funds for Sostre's defense and has popularized his case. To aid in the struggle to free Martin Sostre, send contributions to: The Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P. O. Box 382, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205.

## — A Revolutionary on Trial

(Continued from page M-1)  
proceedings and denounced the racist judge. (At the time of sentencing, Judge Marshall imposed a 30-day sentence for contempt of court for Sostre's bold statements.)

On the last day of the trial, March 18, Martin Sostre told the jury in his summation:

"You have just heard the evidence and have seen the methods the fascist state uses to destroy all those who oppose it...you have seen the crude methods used by the racist white power structure to frame up black men.... They either plant dope or a pistol or anything to get rid of the dissenters against the state."

"I am facing 30 or more years," Sostre continued later on, "because I had a bookshop that sold literature against the system. I am facing 30 years because I went against the sys-

tem.... The War Crimes Tribunal at Nuremberg originally affirmed that it is one's duty to oppose unjust law...."

### "DISSENT HAS COME TO THE COURTROOM"

Sostre urged the jury and the courtroom audience, "We must expose fascism. Dissent has come to the courtroom, just as it has come to all levels of society, in the streets, in the universities, in the homes.... Black militants and their white allies have been framed up because they dissented from the rule of fascist goon squads."

"I will waive your right to summation," Marshall shouted. Mr. Sostre replied, "Waive my rights, just like you are waiving the rights of the dissenters, framing up those who oppose the rule of fascism."

Marshall then ordered the D.A. to



— A compilation of Martin Sostre's correspondence from Erie County Jail, Buffalo, New York, and Green Haven Prison, Stormville, New York.

Order this pamphlet from: The Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P. O. Box 382, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205. Donation: \$1.00.

begin his summation. When the prosecutor was done, Marshall sentenced Sostre to 31 to 41 years and 30 days. Before court guards could rush him out of the courtroom handcuffed, Martin Sostre, in his usual defiant gesture, raised his clenched fists and said to his supporters, "Keep resisting!"

One hour after sentencing, Martin Sostre was whisked out of the Erie County Jail and sent to Attica State Prison. The next day he was transferred out of Buffalo, away from his defense committee and family, to Green Haven Prison in Stormville, New York. There he was immediately put into solitary

confinement on short rations for three days.

Since that time, Miss Joan Franklin, formerly of the legal staff of the NAACP, has devoted much time to preparing the appeal for Sostre's case. Despite the fact that Martin Sostre is still in solitary confinement and is cut off from all communication with his supporters, friends and family, his defense committee reports that the black liberation fighter continues to work on his appeal and that of his co-defendant Geraldine Robinson and his spirit in fighting his racist oppressors has not flagged.