

*Black and white, unite and fight for a*  
**WORKERS WORLD**

10¢

*Court-Martial Lynchings* p. 6,7

*Role of Force in  
Imperialist Crisis* p. 8,9

*U.S.-Japan Over Asia* p. 12

*Divided Korea* p. 13

**VOL. 11, No. 23**

**December 23, 1969**

**Fred Hampton**  
**Chicago Rally,**  
**October 7, 1969**



**Union Square**  
**Rally,**  
**December 13, 1969**



## Editorial

# People's War and People's Negotiation

When the chief delegate of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam walked out of the Paris negotiations on December 11, he made a powerful point.

This point should have been clear to everybody a year and a half ago, when the negotiations first began. But there were some self-styled revolutionaries who didn't get the point at all.

The Progressive Labor Party in particular did not get the point, and probably won't get it even now, when Xuan Thuy has made it so eloquently and with such perfect timing.

Just a few days earlier, Henry Cabot Lodge, chief negotiator for the United States, had walked out of the talks, claiming that they were getting nowhere and implicitly threatening that the U.S. might now break them off and again escalate the war, if the revolutionary Vietnamese did not give some concessions.

But instead of being intimidated by this implied threat, the Vietnamese coolly dealt the U.S. a diplomatic blow

of the same or greater magnitude. Xuan Thuy, the DRV's delegate, also walked out, saying that the U.S. was "downgrading" the talks and his own presence was therefore unnecessary. He thus called Lodge's bluff and in effect said to Washington:

"If you wish to escalate the war, start new bombing of the DRV, and increase the number of U.S. troops in our country — go ahead and try it!"

But of course the real point that Xuan Thuy was making for those who couldn't see it a year and a half ago was that the Vietnamese, north and south, were conducting revolutionary diplomacy with the imperialist United States and not capitulating to their enemy by virtue of negotiating with it.

Progressive Labor had said that the negotiations were a betrayal of People's War, that they were in and of themselves a retreat, that only revisionists would go to Paris for talks at all, and even that Ho Chi Minh himself was a "sell-out."

Their slanders were so extreme, in fact, that it seemed politically undignified to descend to answer them in any detail, except as a by-the-way. It seemed impossible that PL could really have believed its own arguments. But in the past year and a half, new tendencies have arisen in the U.S. which obviously do believe that negotiations have no place in the class struggle. What is obvious to the oppressed is not always so clear to some of the friends and would-be friends of the oppressed in the middle class.

It is true that negotiations do imply a certain amount of give-and-take. But so, usually, does war itself. Negotiations are a continuation of war by conference-table means. If the war is conducted by revolutionaries, then the negotiations to end it can be conducted by the same revolutionaries.

And until the final and complete victory of the world's oppressed over world imperialism itself, every war will end in some kind of negotiated

## Workers World

Editorial office:

46 West 21st Street

New York, N.Y. 10010

Editor: Vincent Copeland  
Manager: Dorothy Ballan  
Managing Editor: Fred Goldstein

Published Bi-Weekly

Vol. 11, No. 23 — Dec. 23, 1969

treaty or a more or less open understanding in which the oppressor is compelled to give some guarantees of peace, no matter how temporary and treacherous.

Had compromises and retreats been absolutely necessary, the NLF and the DRV would have made them. But Progressive Labor, of course, which is uncompromisingly opposed to retreating under any and all circumstances (that is, opposed to the Vietnamese doing so) would never have forgiven them in such a case.

However, the Vietnamese have not retreated. They have conducted negotiations with their mighty imperialist enemy for a year and a half under the most painful and barbarous difficulties. (One of the minor difficulties being the backbiting of people like PL.)

And they have forced imperialism to retreat.

## Is U.S. Plotting Fascist Coup in Italy?

What next in Italy? The question is important for the oppressed people here as well as there.

The current general political crisis gripping that country has pinned the centrist Italian bourgeoisie against the revolutionary tide of the working class, as well as the counterrevolutionary assault of a neo-fascist movement.

But the recent bank bombings in Milan and Rome, leaving 14 dead and over 100 injured, have all the earmarks of another Reichstag Fire in which the crumbling coalition government finds itself aiding the neo-fascists by conducting a witchhunt of revolutionary organizations.

Policeman in Rome raided the offices of the Association for Cultural and Friendly Relations with the Chinese People's Republic the day after the bombings.

Many leaders and members of other progressive organizations, labeled as "extreme left" by the government, have been arrested and held for interrogation. Already one prisoner, reported to be an anarchist, was brutally taken by police for intensive questioning and forced into a "suicide" by falling from the fourth floor of a police station in Milan.

Utilizing the bombings as a pretext, the weak and vacillating Italian government has taken near-martial law measures to prevent a new wave of strikes.

All political meetings have been banned since the bombings and the re-

formist leadership of the Socialist, Christian-Democratic and Communist trade union federations immediately postponed the scheduled strikes this week of industrial workers, railroad workers and government employees — the revisionist Communist Party having once again capitulated to the Italian bourgeoisie.

The largest wave of strikes, including several brief nationwide general strikes, has shaken the Italian capitalist class for the last six months and has provided almost enough power for a revolution. But since the workers' parties have failed to challenge the legality of the bourgeois state and make a bid for power, the rulers now are conspiring to solve things in their own way.

But hidden in the current Italian crisis is the role of U.S. imperialism and, in particular, the giant U.S. banks. The largest of the U.S. banks operating in Italy is the Bank of America, which finances many Italian industries.

With a possibility of a downfall of the present government in Rome, Washington and Wall Street may be maneuvering with sections of the Italian bourgeoisie backing the neo-fascist movement.

A NATO-organized military coup, as was carried out in Greece, may also be on the planning boards at the Pentagon if the Italian regime fails to hold political rule over the poverty-stricken workers and peasants throughout Italy.

An account of the attempt to restore capitalism under cover of "liberal reform."

## Counter-Revolution in Czechoslovakia

50¢

Order from Workers World, 46 West 21 Street, New York, N.Y. 10010.

## Unionizing the Military: Will It Merely Justify Militarism?

To the Editor:

About two weeks ago Channel 13 carried an interview with three or four anti-war GI's on the program "New Jersey Speaks for Itself." An ex-GI, who had been stationed in Germany and is now connected with a left-oriented coffee house near Fort Dix, when asked what he thought of the American Servicemen's Union, answered, "I don't want to put the ASU down. They've done some good things. But...."

He went on to say that the ASU organizes within the army, while his group intends to organize GI's on the outside, implying that his organization would be revolutionary while the ASU could only be reformist. Unionized soldiers, he said, could be sent to kill their brothers in Vietnam and Watts exactly the same way non-union soldiers are sent.

The facts prove this guy's statement to be 100 per cent wrong!

Among the 43 black GI's at Fort Hood who refused to go to Chicago to put down black and white demonstrators at the Democratic Convention of 1968, some were ASU men. They got in touch with ASU headquarters in New York, and three organizers flew to Fort Hood, talked to the guys, got lawyers, were jailed themselves, but managed to publicize the case so thoroughly the Brass went into a tailspin.

At the courts-martial that followed, many of the 43 were acquitted and the rest were given relatively light sentences. But the point is, none of the Fort Hood 43 ever let the army send them to Chicago!

At Fort Dix four black GI's, all ASU members, have refused to go to Vietnam. They are: Tom Tuck, Henry Mills, Isaac Barr and Jim Ghent. All four of them have been leaders in the

long struggle for GI rights that is shaking the foundations of the Brass' authority at Dix. Another ASU member, John Lewis, who is white, spent 78 days in the Fort Dix stockade for defending the rights of a black brother.

The mistake made by the ex-GI from the Fort Dix coffee house, and others who think like him, is an old and familiar one. They mistake form for essence. The word "union," to them, connotes fat bureaucrats who collaborate with the very same bosses the union members want to fight.

(Real-life bureaucrats, like Meany & Co., won't touch the ASU with a ten-foot-pole. They know the difference between form and essence. They are wily and experienced enough to know that the ASU is not their kind of a union, that it is poison for flag-waving, pork-chopping fakers like themselves.)

Much more essential to an organization than its name (after all, Hitler called the Nazi Party "socialist.") is its program and its demands.

One of the 9 demands of the ASU is "the right to disobey illegal orders — like orders to go and fight in an illegal imperialist war in Vietnam." There isn't any doubt about what this means. And ASU members are proving every week that they don't intend to go to Watts or Vietnam.

One thing a union within the army can do, that any outside organization is powerless to accomplish, is to enlist men who are already in Vietnam, in Korea, in Laos or on the high seas. Many times it's these guys, who find themselves trapped in a situation they never understood until now, who need a union most of all.

— E. Ross

## SUBSCRIBE NOW!

6 months.....\$1.75      One year.....\$3.50

One year via Air Mail within U.S. ....\$4.50

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Fill in coupon and mail to:

WORKERS WORLD  
46 West 21 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10010

# Wilmington 8 Fight From Behind Bars



By Larry Nicodemus

WILMINGTON, Dela. — Sisters and Brothers of Wilmington, Delaware, the Defense Committee for the Wilmington 8, has announced that an extension of appeal deadlines has been granted for eight black men who were railroaded into jail on frame-up charges stemming from the 10-month long, 1968 occupation of Wilmington by the National Guard.

These eight black men, given sentences of up to 15 years, were forced by the racist courts to be represented in their trial by what the eight call "court-paid" lawyers appointed by the judge. The committee explains that the 60-day extension of the original mid-December appeal deadline is necessary in order to obtain private attorneys of the defendants choosing for the appeal.

A further repressive act by the government, transferring the prisoners to five different prisons in five different states, has made it difficult and costly to confer with the eight and prepare the appeal. The NAACP Legal

Defense Fund is interested in the case and is considering entering it.

The eight brothers were charged with and found guilty (kangaroo-court style) of:

1. Assault on an agent (A) with a dangerous weapon, that is, a shoe on the foot.
2. Assault on an agent (B).
3. Conspiracy to help a prisoner escape.
4. Aiding a prisoner to escape.

These charges stemmed from an incident on October 29, 1969, when two FBI agents were supposedly arresting Kwame Wa Hakim, one of the eight, who was allegedly a deserter from the army. The two white men were walking to their car with the brother between

them. The agents testified that they were approached by five or six young men, that they were beaten, and that their prisoner escaped.

Immediately a dragnet was set up in the black community. Thirteen or more were arrested, resulting in the jailing of the eight. This du Pont-ruled city, with the help of the state troopers and National Guard, had for months been trying to destroy the young grassroots black leadership.

These arrests came after seven months of occupation and many attacks and arrests, most of them directed against the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Committee (WYEAC), a coalition of young black youth groups that worked in the black communities.

The eight prisoners are Nyeusi Wa Manyatta (15 yrs.); Balagun Olatungi

(15 yrs.); Hakim Farouk Bey (15 yrs.); El Hajj Malik El Shabazz II (12 yrs.); Onyango Wa Hakim (9 yrs.); Weysi Wa Pendeza (8 yrs.); Jomo Wa Kenyatta (Youth Act); Kaaba (5 yrs. probation).

Balagun Olatungi in a letter printed in the last issue of WORKERS WORLD stated, "We are not as well known as the Conspiracy 8 or brother Huey Newton, but I know we were 'railroaded' because of our same beliefs."

Black women and men from Wilmington have formed a committee that will defend the eight prisoners and publicize their case. Your help is desperately needed. Contact: Sisters and Brothers of Wilmington, Delaware, Defense Committee for the Wilmington "8", 1321 East 29th Street, Wilmington, Dela. 19802.

Ten Wilmington activists, eight of whom were framed for assaulting an FBI agent

KAABA

## Remember the Prisoners!

The list of political prisoners printed below is far from complete for there are thousands of men and women in U.S. jails for resisting racism and imperialism. We urge our readers to send season's greetings to these imprisoned comrades.

Martin Gonzales Sostre (41 yrs.)  
Box G, Wallkill, N.Y. 12589

Mrs. Geraldine Robinson (1 yr.)  
(Martin Sostre's co-defendant)  
Box D, Albion, N.Y. 14411

Eddie Oquendo 36062 SD (5 yrs.)  
(Black Draft Resister)  
P.O. Box 1000,  
Lewisburg, Penna. 17837

Joel Meyers 23429 (4 yrs.)  
(Draft resister)  
Pembroke Station  
Danbury, Conn.

Ahmed Evans  
511 Ohio Penitentiary  
Columbus, Ohio 53216

Huey P. Newton  
California Men's Colony  
Box E  
Los Padres, Calif. 93401

Bobby Seale  
San Francisco Co. Jail  
Hall of "Justice"  
San Francisco, Calif. 94102

### American Servicemen's Union Political Prisoners (partial list)

Ft. Leavenworth Military  
Disciplinary Barracks  
Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas  
Ken Stolte  
Dan Amick  
Pvt. Terry Klug  
Pvt. Bill Brakefield  
Pvt. Jeffrey Russell

### The Wilmington 8

Calvin Loper (15 yrs.)  
(Nyeusi Wa Manyatta)  
P.O. Box 1000  
Leavenworth, Kansas

William Robinson 36261 (15 yrs.)  
(Balagun Olatungi)  
P.O. Box 1000  
Lewisburg, Penna. 17837

Warren Mowbray (15 yrs.)  
(Hakim Farouk Bey)  
P.O. Box 1000  
Milan, Mich. 48160

Allen Steed (12 yrs.)  
(El Hajj Malik El Shabazz II)  
P.O. Box 5086  
Wilmington, Delaware

James Barber 33501 (9 yrs.)  
(Onyango Wa Hakim)  
P.O. Box 1000  
Petersburg, Va. 23803

Robert Tate 27274 (8 yrs.)  
(Weysi Wa Pendeza)  
P.O. Box 10000  
Milan, Mich. 48160

Steven White (Youth Act)  
(Jomo Wa Kenyatta)  
P.O. Box 1000  
Petersburg, Va. 23803

Robert Barber 33492  
P.O. Box 1000  
Petersburg, Va. 23803

### The Panther 21

Men's House of Detention  
Richard Moore (Analye Dahruba)  
Lee Roper (Shaba-um)  
William King (Kinshasa)  
Robert Collier  
Curtis Powell  
Lee Berry (Mkuba)

Bronx House of Detention  
653 River Av Bx, NY 10451  
Ali Bey Hassan  
John J. Casson  
Lumumba Abdul Shakur

1414 Hazen St E Elmhurst NY 11370  
Alex McKiever (Catarra)  
Edward Joseph (Jamal Baltimore)

Bkln Hse of Detention  
270 Atlantic Av Bkn NY 11201  
Walter Johnson (Baba Odinga)

Womens House of Detention  
10 Greenwich Av NY, NY 10011  
Joan Bird  
Afeni Shakur

1 Court Square, LIC, NY 11101  
Michael Tabor (Cetewayo)

### Connecticut Panther 14

Niantic State Farm  
Niantic, Conn  
Erica Huggins  
Lonnie McLucas  
Francis Carter  
Ida Walston  
Rose Smith  
Peggy Hudgins



## Nixon Hears Cry:

# "Avenge Fred Hampton!"

By Naomi Goldstein

NEW YORK—Thousands of young militants greeted President Nixon's visit here on December 10 with cries of "Avenge Fred Hampton!" as they poured into the streets to protest the nationwide government campaign to exterminate the Black Panther Party.

The revolutionary youth succeeded in turning what was scheduled to be another bourgeois-liberal Peace Parade Committee rally against the war in Vietnam into a demonstration against two wars—the war against the Vietnamese people and the war against the black nation here at home.

True to form, the New York City Police Department, with the open endorsement of "liberal" Mayor Lindsay, viciously attacked the demonstrators, beating and arresting scores on trumped-up charges, including riot, inciting to riot and felonious assault.

At least three demonstrators, Bob Reilly, Jonah Raskin and Terry Doyle, were savagely beaten by the cops in the police station. Their entire bodies were covered with injuries.

The police assault on the demonstration was clearly a response to the militant support shown for the Black Panther Party. The overwhelming majority of demonstrators had come to protest not only the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam, but also the Chicago massacre.

### YAWF Called for It

Immediately after Hampton's as-

sassination, Youth Against War & Fascism called on all revolutionary elements in the movement to demonstrate against the murder of the Panther leaders and condemn the war against Black America.

Liberation News Service, People Against Racism, the U.S. Committee to Aid the NLF, Columbia University SDS, Weatherman SDS, NYU Uptown SDS, and IKON Magazine co-sponsored the demonstration.

YAWF members carried large red, yellow and orange banners with Fred Hampton's face and the slogan which became the theme of the demonstration—"Avenge Fred Hampton!"

It began on Park Avenue at 48th Street and grew until it covered several blocks. A sharp differentiation in the crowd quickly became apparent. South of 48th Street, around the Parade Committee sound truck, were the bourgeois pacifists. In front of the Bankers Trust Building between 48th and 49th Streets were the revolutionary youth with banners and flags flying, chanting "Stop the war against the Panther Party" and "Avenge Fred Hampton!"

### Raise the Red Flag

The police immediately saw the difference and brought up a squad of mounted cops to ride into the young demonstrators whose ranks were overflowing onto Park Avenue.

While the revolutionary demonstrators hoisted a red flag on a pole in

front of the Bankers Trust Building, Parade Committee marshals were fighting with a group of demonstrators who had torn down the U.S. flag from their sound truck.

As one police official admitted to a reporter, he saw "red" when the flag of revolution went up and he ordered that it be taken down. A squad of club-wielding cops waded into the crowd to take down the red flag amid the vehement booing of the demonstrators.

Moments later the police, growing more vicious by the minute, pushed through the barricades they themselves had set up, crashing them to the ground. They stormed into the front ranks of the militants, clubbing anyone they could get their hands on. The bald head of a bystander was seen beneath the clubs of a circle of cops.

As the demonstration built to about 4,000 it became clear that the mood of the crowd was not in favor of staying isolated on Park Avenue to be lectured to by the Parade Committee speakers. Members of Youth Against War & Fascism carrying a black coffin draped with banners reading "Avenge Fred Hampton" began a slow march west on 48th Street. People walked and chanted in time with a drum beat.

About 2,000 demonstrators joined the march behind the coffin and banners protesting the murder of Hampton and calling for freedom for the New York Panther 21. The march turned north on Fifth Avenue and at 51st Street met the first police assault.

### Cops Charge In

Mounted cops and a phalanx of police charged the crowd, catching many people in doorways and on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral. The police were clearly on orders to club the people. Time and again youths and occasionally older passersby were caught and beaten to the ground by five or six cops at a time.

The demonstrators fled in several directions. Some north, others east to Madison Avenue and some west to Rockefeller Center. A window at Chase Manhattan Bank was smashed, and the windows in several plush stores on Fifth Avenue were broken.

For almost an hour the more obviously fascist police from the Tactical Patrol Force (TPF) attacked small bands of demonstrators in the midtown area, breaking their political banners and arresting groups at random on the streets.

It was reported that 61 demonstrators were arrested and 14 injured. In a further attempt to intimidate the protesters, New York City officials made a calculated decision to hold almost everyone overnight rather than arraign them in night court as is the usual procedure.

The Parade Committee later made a public statement against the police actions, but made sure to disassociate itself from the "violence" of the demonstrators.

two wars were so clearly linked, might be just the beginning of a more extreme repression, because it is part of a genocidal war against black America.

The repressive roles of the cops and of the ruling class that control them were linked to another area where both black and white workers defy the ruling class. Bill Kaessinger of Teamsters Local 10 and George Stryker of District 65 spoke of the role of the unions in relation to the war against black America and flailed some of the false labor leaders for their cowardice on this question.

The militancy of the rally—its chants of "Avenge Fred Hampton!", "Free the Panther 21!" and "Power to the People!"—combined with the militancy of the anti-Nixon demonstration on Tuesday, have set the tone for a movement to bring the real issue of the war against black America to the people and, in particular, the issue of the New York Panther 21.

As Key Martin, Chairman of YAWF, said in calling for the demonstration for the Panther 21, "The people must make the court shake to its very foundations in order to free the New York Panther 21!"



Veronica Golos raises clenched fist as police van removes her from demonstration.



## Union Square Rally

# "Avenge Fred Hampton; Free the Panther 21!"

The first rally called in New York City in support of the Black Panther Party since the murder of Fred Hampton took place in Union Square last Saturday. Despite the biting cold, about 400 people responded to the call of Youth Against War and Fascism to protest the fascist attempt of the government to destroy the Black Panther Party.

Jolly, the Panther speaker from San Diego, California, compared the conspiracy to destroy the Panther Party to the Nazi attacks on the Communists in Germany. He told of the predawn raids on the Panther headquarters in Los Angeles, the assassination of Fred Hampton and 27 other Panthers since January 1968, and the kidnapping of Bobby Seale and David Hilliard. He compared the frame-ups of the Panther 21 in New York to the Reichstag fire in Germany.

"We must be doing something good because the repression is coming down

so hard," he pointed out.

"Right on!" answered the audience.

The tone was set by the huge orange and red banners with the portrait of Fred Hampton on them, calling on people to "Avenge Fred Hampton."

### "Seize the Time"

Many came carrying similar smaller red flags from the Tuesday night anti-Nixon demonstration. Other banners read "Free the Panther 21," "Free Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Martin Sostre and Ahmed Evans." The Panther record "Seize the Time" by Elaine Brown mirrored the enthusiasm of the crowd.

Dave Axel of YAWF opened by drawing a comparison between the war in Vietnam and the war against black America. "The ruling class is trying to confuse the two wars in the minds of the anti-war movement," he said, "but they are the same! You can't fight against repression in one part

of the world and not in the other."

The rally was also a preliminary organizing meeting for the demonstration on Thursday in support of the New York Panther 21 (now 23). Each speaker pointed out the need of a campaign in New York City to free the 23 Panthers and the need to fight those who are waging a vicious war against black America, as we are fighting those who are responsible for the war against Vietnam.

### Black GIs Defended

Andy Stapp, Chairman of the American Servicemen's Union, described how the government, frustrated by its defeat in Vietnam and by the anti-war, anti-brass movement within the Army, is bringing the repression down especially hard on the militant black GIs.

Sharon Martin of YAWF pointed out that the police brutality at the anti-Nixon demonstration, where the



## Story of Hampton Murder

# What Really Happened at 2337 W. Monroe

It is the pre-dawn hours on Chicago's West Side. It is about 4 a.m., December 4, and the "search and destroy" mission to kill Fred Hampton has begun.

The immediate area of the Black Panther Party headquarters and the nearby home of Fred Hampton are cordoned off by the Chicago cops. The street lamps, which usually burn until daylight, are turned off by the cops and the streets are darkened. Telephone service in the area is also turned off under an arrangement with the Illinois Telephone Company. Overhead, more cops keep an armed watch on the black community from a helicopter. On the streets below, scores of them with everything from machine guns to vicious K-9 "attack" dogs are waiting for the assassination raid to begin.

A telephone company truck pulls up in front of 2337 West Monroe Street at about 4:40 a.m. This is the residence of 21-year-old Fred Hampton, chairman of the Illinois branch of the Black Panther Party. About a dozen cops emerge from the phone company truck and surround the house. The raid that will kill Fred Hampton and Mark Clark has begun.

### Machinegunned in His Bed

The Panther leader from Peoria, Mark Clark, was shot dead as soon as he unlocked and began to open the front door. The cops broke in through the back of the flat at the same time, and using a floor plan, directed machine gun fire into Fred Hampton's bedroom. Hampton was killed as he lay in bed by the cowardly, racist police force.

"The racist that killed the chairman admitted previously in a police investigation that he is a member of the Chicago area Ku Klux Klan," disclosed the Black Panther Party newspaper.

In an account of the gestapo raid, the paper revealed that two Panther sisters in the raided apartment "were lined up against the wall and one was sadistically shot in her buttocks by

those mad dogs (and) the other sister was shot in the legs and then thrown in the back of the paddy wagon. The pigs then lined up two brothers, Blair Anderson and our revolutionary Deputy Minister of Health, Ronald 'Doc' Satchell, and shot them in the stomach, back, legs, kidney and hands."

### "We Became Stronger"

Later that day in Chicago, Black Panther Bobby Rush spelled out the character of the pre-dawn raid to the thousands that had gathered in anger and outrage to protest the racist murders:

"The pigs undertook a search-and-destroy mission this morning in their relentless plan to destroy the Black Panther Party.

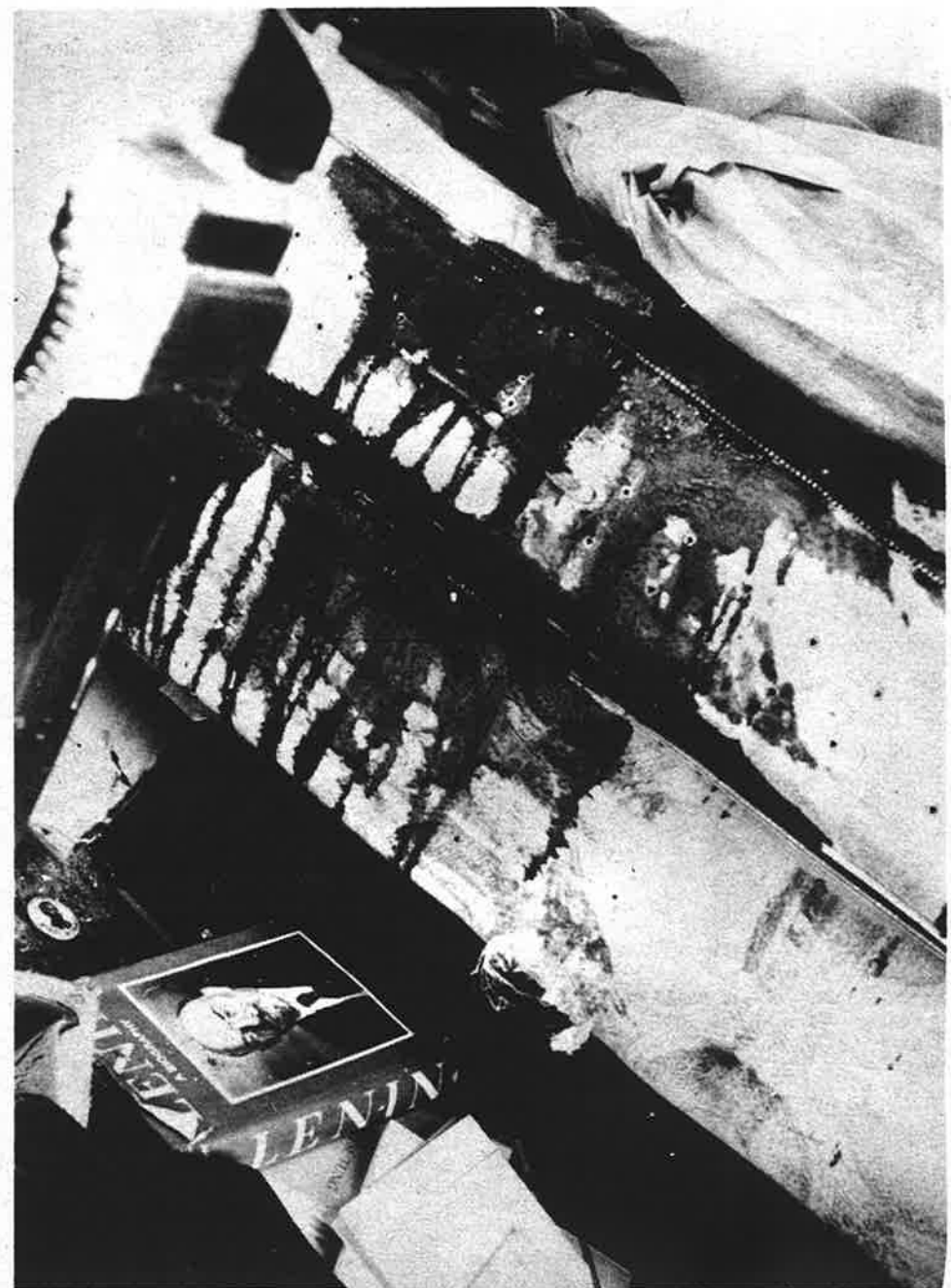
"The pigs have tried to burn us out and kill us in their determination to destroy the party.... The result is that we became stronger, and we will be stronger still because of the killings of Hampton and Clark."

All but the most vicious racists and those blinded by racism have recognized the murder of Fred Hampton as a massacre. In Chicago, protest rallies and outpourings of support for the Panthers by the masses have so frightened the rulers that some in the more "liberal" wing have begun to publicly regret the crudeness of the killing.

### Black Cops Expose It

All sections of the black people are moved to protest at the cold-blooded killing. Even the black policemen have joined in condemning it.

"An obvious political assassination," asserted the vice president of the Chicago Afro-American Patrolmen's League, Howard Saffold. Representing hundreds of black Chicago cops, the League conducted its own private investigation of the murder of Hampton and Clark. Renault Robinson, president of the League (which can be considered expert in the matter of criminal investigation), revealed the results of



The bed in which Fred Hampton was murdered. —LNS Photo

their examination of the evidence:

"We found no evidence that anyone had fired from inside the apartment.... The fact that the door wasn't broken down indicated that somebody let them in.

"If a two-way gun battle was in progress, there is no way possible that policemen wouldn't have been shot and killed."

### They Can't Kill a Revolution

Every day in Chicago, hundreds pass through the raided Hampton apartment and see the evidence "on the walls."

Students, workers, black, white, even the hostile press, all must confirm that another massacre against Black America has occurred there.

When Fred Hampton was murdered, many who had been reluctant to struggle against oppression could no longer stand aside. Bill Hampton, Fred's brother, is one example:

"We were very close and recently we made a commitment that if he died I would carry on. Tell those pigs, Daley and Hanrahan, that I, Fred Hampton's brother, will continue to struggle.

"You can kill a revolutionary, but not a revolution."



Left: Jolly, San Diego Panther, addresses rally. Center: Crowd shouts "Avenge Fred Hampton." Right: Dave Axel of YAWF chairs the rally. (Story on opposite page.)





By D. Stacey

The increasing number of military courts-martial of men who have fought back against the tyranny of the brass—men such as the Presidio 27, the Fort Hood 43 and most recently the Fort Dix 38—raises the question of what should be the political strategy of the defense.

Such a discussion is badly needed since most of the defendants are inexperienced and have been in no previous political struggles. Also, once they have been thrown into the stockade, their contact with the outside world is cut to a minimum and it is difficult for them to seek advice on how to proceed.

A military court-martial is an important political contest in which the brass measures its strength against the enlisted men. It should not be reduced to a mere struggle over legalisms. The military has a definite strategy in trying cases of political significance—especially those involving acts of rebellion by GIs against military authority.

### They Divide to Rule

Their opening attack is to disintegrate the unity of the defendants: to separate the cases, trying the men one by one in a procedure that can last for months. Not only does this demoralize the defendants who then feel more isolated, but it is also aimed at minimizing public support for the GIs. The mere logistics of packing the courtroom with supporters day after day for weeks on end becomes an enormous strain, especially since most military bases are miles from the nearest big city and the trials begin early in the morning on weekdays.

Thus, when the brass win on the technicality of separate trials, they have already won a significant political victory.

In addition, fragmenting the defense has the psychological impact of isolating the men, breaking up their unity, raising doubts about who might buckle, whose testimony might be used against the others, who will be offered a deal by the prosecution. It gives the public the impression that each man is out to

## The Political Strategy Turn the Court-Martial Around!

save his own neck, rather than united with his brothers against their common tormentor.

### Pre-Trial Dungeons

Another part of the military's strategy is to demoralize the defendants by keeping them in a long siege of pre-trial

confinement, often in solitary. Imprisoned without bail, his confinement entirely at the discretion of the company commander, the GI has plenty of time to think about the long sentence hanging over his head. By the time the trial takes place he has often spent five or six months in solitary confinement.

It is a common error of those inexperienced in political struggle to feel that a trial is merely a legal contest and has little political significance. This attitude is enforced by the advice of most lawyers, who want to confine the courtroom struggle to legal questions. But this is totally wrong. It leaves the field free for the enemy to get his political line across in the courtroom arena.

A court-martial has even greater political significance than a civilian trial because of the intensely political character of the military itself. Not merely an arm of the ruling class, the military is in many ways a carbon copy or the imperialist system itself.

### Bankers in Uniform

The high-ranking officers are bankers and industrialists in uniform, and their power over the proletariat, i.e., the enlisted men, has all the evils of the most intensive exploitive relationship without any of the ameliorations of bourgeois democracy.

The very word "court" comes from the ancient practice of a lord calling his serf or slave into the courtyard to face charges. Nowhere is this practice still as widely used as in the military, where the officers who exercise command authority over a GI also have the right to judge him.

Each court-martial, with its board of officers and lifers sitting in judgment over a young worker scarcely out of his teens symbolizes in microcosm the whole unjust military caste system. Out of these kangaroo courts come better than 95 per cent convictions, according to the Army's own statistics. The chance that justice will prevail—without the intervention of outside forces—is virtually nil.

### Lawyers Rely on Law

Even knowing all this, however, most lawyers behave as though this case will be the exception. They rely on legal arguments—which even in civilian courts result in few acquittals—and usually counsel the defendants to throw themselves on the mercy of the court.

The strategy of the defense in a political court-martial must be to turn all this around. In the first place, it must be pointed out that the military has no jurisdiction over men impressed into service because the war is illegal. They are pressed into involuntary servitude against the specific rules laid down by the U.S. Constitution, which states that armies are to be levied only in the common defense.

The next line of defense is to show that rebellion against the military au-

thority under these conditions is justified. This opens the door to a political discussion not only of the war itself, its illegality and imperialist character, but of conditions in the stockades and the immediate causes of rebellions such as at Fort Dix.

The military must be put on the defensive and legal devices found to bring forward the essence of what 99 per cent of these cases are all about: the brutal class oppression within the army and the imperialist character of its function.

### Mobilizing Mass Support

When the defense is put on such a basis, mass civilian support can be mobilized. This also has to be part of the defense strategy, and the lawyers must be made to understand this and press for schedules that will facilitate getting a maximum number of people to the trials. This of course means putting up a right to get the cases tried together.

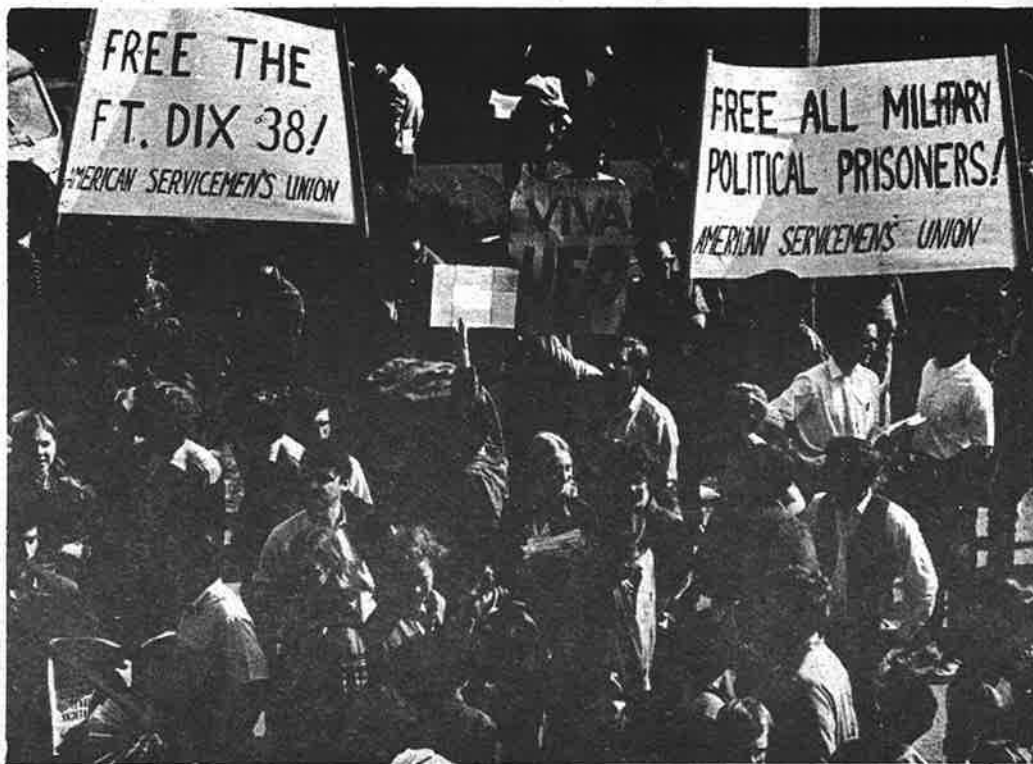
The Uniform Code of Military Justice which governs legal procedure in the military was enacted without the rank-and-file having any say in the matter. Supposedly a liberal innovation to ensure the rights of the men, it was passed without any public hearings where rank and file servicemen could testify as to their interests. Thus the very regulation under which armed forces personnel are brought before court-martial boards should be attacked as illegal and unjust.

These are some of the broad injustices which must be brought up in any defense. To merely accept the ground rules laid down by the oppressive Army brass is to be doomed in advance to the conviction mill, which is the function of most court-martial boards.

It must also be noted that there is abundant evidence to show that throwing yourself on the mercy of the court in order to get a lighter sentence is often an illusion. In the case of the Ft. Dix 38, the soldier who put up the most political defense was acquitted. There is no guarantee that such a fortunate outcome will occur, but there is also no assurance that just because a defendant eats crow he is going to get off light.

The massive demonstration of 7,000 civilians that got on base also had a healthy effect on the verdicts and sentencing. It is unfortunate that more couldn't have been done to get all the men freed and abolish the notorious stockade.

This can only be done to the extent that servicemen intensify their efforts at self-organization in each unit and each platoon. Only the organized might of the soldiers, sailors and marines can put an end to the oppressive rule of the military. Only the coordinated might of the civilians and soldiers can accomplish this task and put an end to the imperialist system itself.



ASU GIs and ex-GIs hold banners at Fort Dix. Chairman Andy Stapp, at left, under banner.

### The Brass Rely on Intimidation, Pre-Trial Confinement and Threat of Long Sentences



--LNS/Howie Epstein

The massive October, 1969 demonstration at Fort Dix had a healthy effect on the courts-martial of the Fort Dix 38.

# Victory for a Ft. Dix 38 Defendant

"This case was won because of solidarity: the solidarity of the guys in the stockade who refused to frame up Terry, the solidarity of his Union brothers, the solidarity of the 7,000 civilians who demonstrated at Fort Dix to demand the freeing of the Fort Dix 38 and the strength with which Terry Klug stood up to the brass." Andy Stapp, Chairman of the American Servicemen's Union, was speaking of the acquittal of ASU organizer, Terry Klug, at Fort Dix on December 8 after a week-long court-martial.

Union brothers and supporters who attended Klug's court-martial spontaneously rose and cheered as the surprise verdict was read. The audience was stunned with this victory not simply because 95 per cent of all GIs who are tried are convicted, but because Klug was one of the main defendants among the Fort Dix 38—the GIs who were framed on charges of riot, arson and destruction of government property for a rebellion against inhuman stockade conditions that broke out on June 5.

## Possible 30 Years

Four of the 38 GIs were singled out for the heaviest charges. Three of the four are members of the ASU, well known to the brass for their opposition to the war and the imperialist army. Klug, charged with riot, inciting to riot, arson and aggravated arson, was facing a possible 30-year sentence.

(Jeffrey Russell and Tom Catlow, who were tried before Klug, got three

## Terry's Statement

Statement by Terry Klug from the stockade where he is serving three years, after being acquitted on charges stemming from the Ft. Dix Stockade Rebellion of June 5th.

During the government's case against me the prosecution continually pressed: did I sympathize with the riot—rebellion of June 5th. Of course, I do and I did. I had made the choice to stand with the oppressed when I was put on orders to Vietnam.

Then I had to make the decision of compromising with the oppressive war machine or resisting its inhumaneness, the inhumaneness revealed by the recent exposure of the massacres in Vietnam. The recently revealed massacres are not isolated incidents, but the result of an oppressive force being used against a people struggling for liberation—those struggling for liberation in Vietnam as well as those struggling for black liberation here, in the confines of this country, as witnessed by the cop assassination of Fred Hampton (Panther leader killed by police in Chicago).

While in Europe, I dedicated myself to Resistance Inside The Army (RITA). Yet I felt that working outside the U.S. wasn't enough, and I returned as an active member of the American Servicemen's Union (ASU) to fight where I felt it would be most effective—to destroy the disease where it is most aggravated.

The stockade, which in all actuality can only be viewed as a concentration camp, is an expression of the racism and the oppression by the military establishment and the system which it serves. This system deprives man of his human dignity and for precisely the same reasons was the cause of the justified rebellion on June 5th.

Only up to a certain point will a man allow himself to be deprived of his humanness; then he will rebel in order to regain those things which he has been deprived of. Almost all of the witnesses called to testify against me and those men called in my defense testified to this struggle for freedom, my own freedom, their own freedom and the freedom of oppressed people, as opposed to the slavery imposed by the green machine.

My acquittal was due to the solidarity of the men, the offensive legal defense put up by my counsel, Henry di Suvero, and the political struggle waged by the anti-war movement, especially my union brothers who demanded the release of the Ft. Dix 38 on their bases.

I would at this time wish to extend my sincerest gratitude to those who in their own ways took it upon themselves to aid in my defense. This was a victory for me because of you, but there are many more political prisoners for whom we must all struggle. Absolute freedom will be our final victory!

December, 1969

signed Terry G. Klug

Pvt. TERRY KLUG



years at hard labor and a dishonorable discharge, respectively, on similar charges.)

Despite the fact that the racist brass were out to make an example of the political leaders in the stockade, they couldn't get Terry Klug.

When the prosecution called its alleged witnesses against Klug, five out of six repudiated previous statements they had been forced to make by the Army's Criminal Investigation Division (CID) implicating the ASU organizer. Pvt. Miguel Morales testified that CID threatened him with "indefinite detention" if he didn't accuse Klug.

But at the court-martial, Morales said, "Klug, Klug, Klug they kept asking about Klug. They put his name in my mouth."

In addition to the dramatic turnaround of the prosecution witnesses, guys who had been in the stockade during the rebellion and had subsequently gotten their discharges, came back to Dix to testify for Terry. GIs from the base were there, too, to witness the trial.

## But He Didn't Laugh!

Major Casey, who had been the commanding officer of the stockade at the time of the rebellion, admitted on the stand that he had passed Klug's segregation cell and told him, "I'll go to your trial and laugh and laugh." Klug has been kept in solitary since the June 5 uprising.

(He was originally sent to the stockade for three years because he refused orders to go to Vietnam.)

The total frustration of the prosecution in trying to get a case against Klug was revealed in the summation of Captain McNulty for the Army. "Private Terry Klug," he told the court-martial board, "is something

more than someone who blended in with the prison population. He was a leader in bringing about the riot of June 5.... With Private Chabot, he started a mass movement in the mess hall contrary to regulations.

"Klug has lied to you about the June 5 riot and Klug is a very clever liar. The GIs who testified in Klug's defense were his partners in crime, men who had also taken part in the rebellion and who don't want to see him punished. None of Klug's witnesses have exhibited friendship for the government.

"Although no one has actually testified that they definitely saw the accused set fires or throw footlockers through the windows, you did see the vehemence with which Klug expressed his views, not just his political views but his views on stockade conditions."

## Couldn't Hang Him

On the basis of an attack on Klug's political stand against the war in Vietnam, the massacre of the Vietnamese people and the brutal stockade conditions, the prosecution was asking for a conviction, but it had no concrete evidence to hang him with.

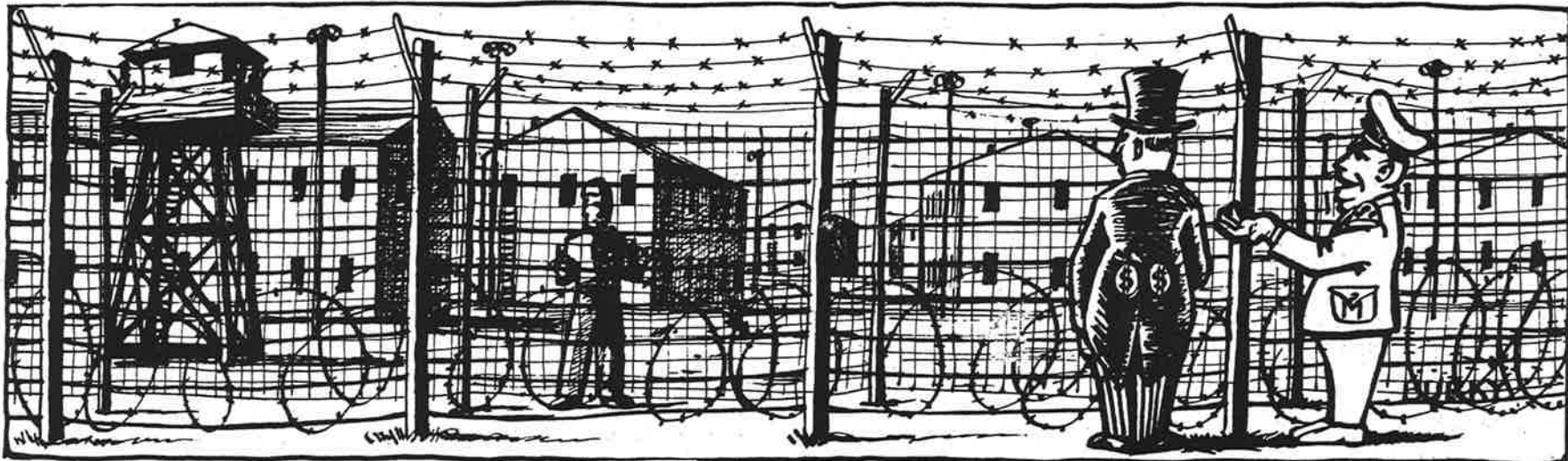
Attorney Henry di Suvero, of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, put up a political defense of Klug, by contending that the ASU brother couldn't have disturbed the peace in the stockade because there was already a virtual state of war going on there between the stockade officials and the imprisoned GIs.

"The real causes of the rebellion," said Andy Stapp after the courtroom victory, "were the overcrowding of 900 men into facilities for 300, the vicious racism of the brass and the brutality of the guards and officers in the stockade."

## Brakefield Gets 3 Years

BULLETIN—Pvt. Bill Brakefield of the Fort Dix 38 was sentenced to three years at hard labor and a dishonorable discharge on charges arising out of the stockade rebellion of last June.

After sentencing, Brakefield made the following statement: "It has been obvious to me from the start of these trials that the three ASU members who have been brought to trial with the results of Jeffrey Russell being sentenced to three years, Terry Klug being found not guilty and myself being sentenced to three years have been singled out by the government for our membership in the ASU, our political beliefs, and our refusal to go to Vietnam."



THIS IS THE STOCKADE. IT'S TO PROTECT FREEDOM. MY FREEDOM TO GIVE ORDERS. AND YOUR FREEDOM TO MAKE MONEY —From THE BOND



# The Role of Force and the Nature of the Imperialist Crisis

By Sam Marcy

It would be woefully wrong and extremely one-sided to regard the murder of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark as just another in the series of cruel and barbarous atrocities against the black people.

It is all that, to be sure, and more. The event, however, marks a certain turning point and discloses an objective orientation by the ruling class which must be taken by us as a point of departure for a more concrete, more accurate appraisal of the entire situation in the United States.

For one thing, it indicates that the ruling class has definitely abandoned, if it ever really entertained, the idea that a series of what it called "basic reforms," carried out over a period of time, would solve the fundamental problem of racist oppression and super-exploitation of the black people.

These measures, even in minimal form, have never really gotten off the ground. And what has been granted in the way of concessions, came in the wake of more than two hundred mass rebellions, and has been of such a meagre character that it has served only to enrage the mass of the impoverished population and to harden its determination for sustained struggle.

## Into a Blind Alley

The series of coordinated attacks by the Nixon Administration on the Black Panther Party in Chicago, Los Angeles, Connecticut and New York takes the Johnson policy a long, long step further into the blind alley from which the master class will never again emerge.

It shows that in spite of the fabulous, utterly incalculable wealth that the ruling class has accumulated, especially in the last few decades, it is less willing and less capable of carrying out the basic, elementary democratic reforms fully a hundred years after a protracted, bloody Civil War, in which these very issues were presumed to have been settled once and for all.

Instead, the master class has embarked on a policy of open, naked violence as the "final and ultimate solution."

The Nixon Administration hopes to "ride out" the storm of protest that the murders have evoked. It counts on the liberal bourgeois politicians to say their piece, to stage phony independent investigations like that headed by Goldberg, Clark and others, to pass harmless resolutions, present petitions, and engage in condemnatory orations against "excessive and unnecessary force" by the police—while at the same time more Panthers are jailed and more brutal assaults continue.

## But Repression Won't Work

But this time-honored approach of the possessing classes to the social problems they themselves created by their oppression and robbery of the poor and exploited has dubious value for them in the world of today. The use of mass repression by exploiting classes is not a new phenomenon; it has been characteristic of the domination of the ruling classes since the dawn of class society.

It has had, however, lasting significance only when the foundations of its social system were still relatively stable and firm. It is precisely this which is very much in question today. The truth of the matter is that the U.S. is now engulfed in an unparalleled social crisis. The crisis is of such proportions

that there is scarcely a leading political representative of the bourgeoisie who by his utterances, does not show his awareness of the acute character of the crisis.

For this crisis is unlike any that the U.S. has experienced. It is superficial and misleading to say that the crisis is caused by the Vietnam war, and that if this war were ended, the money expended on it would be used to improve the lot of the black people, other minorities, and the working class generally.

## Symptom of a Disease

The Vietnam war is merely a giant symptom of a malignancy which is ravaging the entire social fabric of the capitalist system. The crisis that the U.S. is passing through is a crisis of the whole system, not merely a cyclical, economic crisis as in the past. Nor is it a crisis which is exclusively geared to the effects of the Vietnam war.

Of course U.S. capitalism has experienced many grave and acute economic crises which in their time were soon accompanied by serious political struggles and which later were overcome by the bourgeoisie as a new cycle of capitalist development emerged.

But all of these crises were more or less resolved, especially those following the turn of the century, by outward expansion into the world markets and by subjugating Asian people (as in the Philippines), the Latin-Americans (as in Cuba, Puerto Rico, etc) and African people (as in Liberia).

The great economic crisis and subsequent stagnation of the early 30's was resolved by U.S. intervention in the Second World War and by its subsequent economic and political subjugation of practically the entire world, with the exception of the countries where the bourgeoisie had been overthrown.

## The Deadly Contradiction

The crisis in which the U.S. finds itself today is one where the area subject to its economic exploitation and political oppression is rapidly contracting precisely at a time when the productive forces at the disposal of the U.S. ruling class continue to expand at a staggering rate.

(The technological advances in electronics, aeronautics and space technology generally are only some of the well-known and outstanding examples. But perhaps of equal importance are the still secret advances in the research and development laboratories of the giant monopolies such as AT&T, Du Pont, GE and others—aside from those that are directly controlled by the research and development laboratories of the Pentagon, which are the collective technological storehouse for the bourgeoisie.)

This contradiction, namely the contradiction between the monstrous expansion of the productive forces and the ever sharper curtailment of markets and areas under political and military control of the U.S., is the most acute expression today of the general crisis engulfing U.S. imperialism. It expresses itself on the world arena politically as the struggle between U.S. imperialism and the liberation movements of the world and their supporters.

The Vietnam war constitutes an effort to resolve this contradiction in its favor by military means. What the U.S. does in the Middle East and in Latin America, as well as other areas, is the same thing, but accomplished by slightly different means.

## War's End Won't Change It

Soon the U.S. will have a gross national product worth a trillion dollars. Ending the war in Vietnam and transferring some of the money for concessions to the black people and the working people generally, would make only the smallest dent on this astronomical sum of money. Yet this is not at all likely to happen.

The avariciousness of the bourgeoisie when it comes to allocating any sum of money was illustrated just a short time ago by the most venomous opposition to a relatively piddling sum of 70 million dollars for such an imperious necessity as rat control in slum areas.

There is no reason whatever to expect the bourgeoisie to have a change of heart if they end the Vietnam war. For in their calculations, the ending of one war creates an imperialist peace which is merely a preparatory period for another imperialist war.

The bitter war that the U.S. is waging at home is only one aspect of a war that it is fighting on a world front against all the liberation movements. To prosecute this war as ruthlessly as it can, it must also in its wake, carry on a desperate undercover war of economic aggression, even against its closest imperialist allies, and sometimes on issues which, measured on the scale of world events, appear petty and avaricious in the extreme.

This best can be gauged by an example from the

way the Nixon Administration handled a decision that the U.S. should go ahead and build the SST (Super Sonic Transport). In the face of the well known objections of their imperialist allies, France and Britain, the United States decided to go ahead and build the SST because, Nixon said, "We must retain world leadership in aviation."

## Competition and Decay

The significance as well as the arrogance involved in this decision by Nixon, illustrates perfectly the sharpening contradiction between the need of U.S. monopoly capitalism to expand and at the same time the danger which it entails for it.

France and Britain are two of the oldest and most important allies the U.S. has. They are in fact blood brothers from the same monopoly capitalist family. It is true that both France and Britain have been reduced to somewhat of a semi-colonial status by the U.S., but they are still imperialist brigands themselves.

In view of the heavy reliance that the U.S. places upon them in the event of any major military adven-

# POW's for Panthers

## It's Been Done Before



Molina's mother and author celebrate Molina's release.



Mark Clark, assassinated in Chicago.

The author of this article was Secretary of the Molina Defense Committee and wrote the pamphlet, "The Case of Francisco Molina—Political Prisoner."

She also worked on the London Secretariat of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal helping to prepare for the Stockholm session. She is a national coordinator of Youth Against War & Fascism and a member of the editorial staff of WORKERS WORLD.



Police attack on L.A. Panthers shows turning point in ruling class policy toward the oppressed black nation.

ture the U.S. undertakes, logic would seem to dictate that the U.S. should make a minor economic concession to them in this instance even if it were only for the purpose of strengthening them as imperialist allies.

But, said Nixon, the U.S. "must" — and we repeat, "must" — retain world leadership" — even in a minor case like this. And there is not an aircraft company in the United States that would say otherwise.

## Hue and Cry of the Liberals

A sanctimonious hue and cry went up from many newspapers in this country berating Nixon for making the SST decision — especially from The New York Times. But would any one of those newspapers, each of which is an imperialist establishment in competition with others, cede leadership in its own industry to a competitor? Would The New York Times cede leadership in circulation or advertising to a competitor? On the contrary, it fights tooth and nail and as avariciously as any aircraft company to expand and retain its own leadership against any and all competitors.

(Continued on page 14)



By Deirdre Griswold

The demand for "Pilots for Panthers" that has been put forward by the Black Panther Party can be won. There is a historical precedent for just this sort of exchange taking place.

The present writer played a small part in this precedent and remembers it vividly.

The Black Panther Party is demanding that the United States government release Panther political prisoners in exchange for U.S. war criminals shot down while making murderous bombing raids over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Apologist for U.S. imperialism will say that this sort of thing just can't be done; that people imprisoned under the criminal codes of this country can't be freed in political exchanges.

People who don't really want to see the Panthers freed from the pig power structure will point to a lot of legalisms as to why such an exchange can't be made: the Panther brothers and sisters have been jailed on criminal charges, not political charges; the federal government, which would have to arrange such an exchange, has no jurisdiction over the Panthers who are held by the separate states; they have yet to undergo trial and sentencing, etc., etc.

But all this is really a lot of baloney. The U.S. imperialist government could free the Panthers tomorrow if they wanted to. Because just eight years ago, under almost identical circumstances, the pigs in Washington did agree to a prisoner exchange. This was in the case of Francisco Molina, who had been sentenced to twenty years but is today a free man.

## Molina a Frame-Up Victim

Francisco Molina was a young worker who lived in New York City. He was a passionate defender of the Cuban Revolution at a time when both the Cuban Republic and its supporters in the U.S. were up against the most vicious fascist attacks from Washington. Molina was framed up on a murder charge, and for weeks the papers screamed about "The Hook" (the name they made up for him because he had lost a hand working in a Queens toy factory) with the same kind of hysteria they use today against the Panthers.

Like the brothers and sisters today, who are in jail on bails that are impossible to make, Molina was held without bail so that he couldn't get out and rally support. Nevertheless, there was great support for him in the Cuban community and among North Americans sympathetic to the Revolution.

Like the Panthers in jail today, Molina was held on a criminal charge, but the real case made against him was for his politics. The U.S. Ambassador to the UN lost no time in charging the Cuban government itself with murder.

Editorials screamed that the city was in danger from armed Cuban guerrillas. But of course when the time came for his trial, the question of his politics was "irrelevant" — the lynchers wanted to have their cake and eat it too.

Molina was sentenced to twenty years for second degree murder. In the meantime, the real murderers — a group of Cuban counter-revolutionaries who had come from Miami to New York to start trouble — were flown to the trial from Guatemala where they were being trained by the CIA. It was their testimony that put the young Cuban worker behind bars for twenty years.

But history sometimes has a funny way of setting things straight. The men who helped the U.S. government put Molina in jail found themselves behind

prison bars just a few weeks later. Their Guatemalan training had been for the Bay of Pigs invasion, where 1200 counter-revolutionary worms were captured by the Cuban people. Among them were a couple of the thugs who had framed Francisco Molina.

## 1200 Captured in "Pigs" Invasion

The U.S. government found itself in a doubly embarrassing situation. First, the invasion had failed miserably leaving it obvious to the world that the CIA had planned the whole thing. Second, there were now the 1200 prisoners being held in Cuba. The U.S. had to make efforts to get them back.

It had already leaked out that the "leaders" of the invasion had been kept under lock and key at Opalocka Air Force Base by the CIA so that they wouldn't get in the way during the affair. If the U.S. didn't get the prisoners released, other embarrassing details of the "all-Cuban" invasion would surely be told.

The Kennedy Administration began negotiations with the Cuban government for a prisoner exchange. Cuba was asking for agricultural supplies and medicine in exchange for the counter-revolutionaries — goods kept out of Cuba by the U.S. economic blockade.

The kingpin captured in the invasion was Manuel Artime — the CIA had found him the most "tractable" of the Cuban fascists they were dealing with. Not only did Artime know all the intimate details of how the invasion was planned, but he was an important public figure built up by the CIA who might be needed for future adventures. The U.S. was anxious to get him back.

## Negotiate Molina—Artime Exchange

As Secretary of the Molina Defense Committee, I went in the fall of 1961 to visit Mr. James Donovan, a New York lawyer who was negotiating the prisoner exchange. His spacious office in the Wall Street area showed him to be a man with more than just a "humanitarian" interest in the exchange.

I explained to him about Molina, how his case was definitely political although the charge had nothing to do with politics, and that he had been framed by men who had then gone on to participate in the Bay of Pigs invasion. I asked that Molina be freed in the prisoner exchange.

Donovan's answer was that he could do nothing

in his regard, since Molina was under the jurisdiction of the New York State courts and was a convicted murderer.

But cables from Cubans by the hundreds continued to pour into our little office, showing the extreme concern of the Cuban people for their brother who had been railroaded to jail in New York. And our committee kept up a campaign to free Molina, picketing the court and Governor Rockefeller's office.

Finally, the deal was made to exchange the 1200 prisoners for food and medicine. Donovan signed an agreement in Havana with Fidel Castro. He was supposedly acting for a "private" group of Americans, but the Kennedy Administration made it clear that Donovan was, in reality an official, but secret, representative of the government.

There was one prisoner who was held in reserve by the Cuban government — Manuel Artime. In exchange for Artime, Cuba demanded the release of Francisco Molina.

## Legality Not the Obstacle

From a legalistic point of view, there were more obstacles in getting Molina's release than there are today in the Panther cases. Molina had already been tried and convicted by a jury; he was serving a 20-year sentence in a state prison for murder; it seemed that the federal government had no right to intercede. The Governor of New York was a Republican, while the President was a Democrat.

But all these legal problems vanished when the ruling class decided that they had to get Artime back. Governor Rockefeller signed a pardon, and within a day Francisco Molina was on his way to Cuba, Free Territory of the Americas.

Rockefeller's opponents in the ruling class didn't breathe a word in criticism. All the legal fol-de-rol was swept away because the Establishment decided it was in their interest to carry out the exchange.

The legal complications are not as great in the case of the Panthers, since the trials have not yet taken place. It is not a question of overruling a jury. The Panthers could be released immediately if the federal government urged the state authorities to drop the indictments.

The legal machinery to free the imprisoned Panther brothers and sisters can be found if enough pressure is brought to bear upon the ruling class Establishment. And while such a possibility may seem remote to some, the Molina-Artime exchange is a clear historical precedent.

The release of the Panthers by the pig power structure would certainly be a bitter pill for them to swallow, something they would have to be forced to do. But the determined struggle of the oppressed people has forced such concessions before.

The Molina case is not the only example of this. Who would have thought that the mighty U.S. imperialist government would get down on its knees before the Peoples Republic of Korea and confess to espionage? But that's exactly what happened when the U.S. signed a confession about the spy ship Pueblo.

The U.S. government doesn't want to admit that the Panthers are political prisoners, prisoners taken in the war against Black America. But the demand for a "Pilots for Panthers" exchange points this out clearly. They didn't want to admit that Molina was a political prisoner, either. But they were forced to admit it, not just on paper but by freeing him. They were forced to admit their crimes in Korea, and the struggle is going to force them to free the Panther prisoners.



Demonstrations complemented negotiations.



Collective production in South Vietnam liberated zone. Will it be mechanized by socialist powers' aid or Mr. Black's "aid"? —LNS (Photo)

ALTERNATIVE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Eugene R. Black, Foreword by Lyndon B. Johnson, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, \$5.95, hardbound, 180 pages.

This book written by a powerful banker would appear to be just one more volume apologizing for U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia. And to a large extent this is true.

But the formulation of U.S. imperialist policy in Southeast Asia, as viewed by this high financier, provides several insights towards understanding the course charted by the U.S. rulers in the coming period in that corner of the globe.

Eugene Black was high up in policy-making in the Johnson Administration

## A Banker's Eye View Of Southeast Asia

as Special Advisor to the President for Economic and Social Development of Southeast Asia. Up until 1962, he had been President of the World Bank. Black is currently on the board of directors of the Chase Manhattan Bank, the New York Times, IT&T, and the American Express Company. He also serves as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors of New York State.

This would strongly suggest that Black is in the Rockefeller camp of the U.S. ruling class, and in fact there are many similarities in the ideas of Black's book with Rockefeller's recent 135-page report on Latin America to President Nixon.

Behind all of Black's rhetoric about economic "development," the most telling statement in his book must be what he said on U.S. military intervention in Asia:

"...we will have to maintain a military presence of some kind in East Asia for many years to come. We still have two divisions in Korea nearly fifteen years after the cessation of hostilities there. I wager that we will have to keep a comparable force in or around Vietnam for at least as long." (Emphasis added.)

### Imperialist "Alternative"?

The latter excerpt must stand out in the reader's mind if he is to see through all of Black's demagoguery about "development" of the poor countries of Southeast Asia. The purpose of the book is to convince the middle-class intelligentsia, students, and youth in general that there is an imperialist "alternative" out of the Vietnam dilemma.

But Black, like Rockefeller, never breaks with the Nixon Administration on the all-important question of keeping U.S. troops in South Vietnam. Black only offers a shift in emphasis from "over-involvement" in Southeast Asia to more "diplomacy"; from "counter-insurgency warfare" to more "regional cooperation in development."

But Black still has to justify to his readers why the U.S. must stay in Southeast Asia, even if less visibly so. The U.S., says Black, has a vital "national interest" in Southeast Asia "to prevent the domination of Asia by a single power." If this is properly translated, it should read:

"The U.S. has a vital imperialist interest in Southeast Asia to prevent the domination of Asia by any single power other than the U.S."

What Black is urging in his 180-page book is for U.S. imperialism to retain control of Southeast Asia through more sophisticated diplomatic and economic means. This would be done by overhauling the present U.S. foreign aid program, already much discredited in many colonial countries, and channeling those funds through "international" or "regional" banks, such as the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank, which Black helped to design.

He would also have the State Department and its foreign service resurrected to its pre-World War II status in foreign policy-making, since Black admits that the Pentagon has been making more foreign policy decisions than the State Department. And key to Black's proposals is the promotion of "regional cooperation" among the Southeast Asian countries, which is just another smokescreen for the complete domination of these countries.

### Banker's Diplomacy

In banking terminology Black coins these proposals as part of "development finance," and according to the Chase Manhattan banker:

"The special business of development finance should be related to professional diplomacy."

But the essence of Black's "reforms" is only a face-lifting operation to save the U.S. empire in Southeast Asia, just as it was for Rockefeller's report on Latin America. As a banker, Black would like the World Bank, the IMF, or the Asian Development Bank to run the economies of the Southeast Asian nations so as to hide the fact that it is the U.S. banks and industrial monopolies that oppress the peoples of Southeast Asia.

What he carefully fails to mention throughout his essay, however, is that bankers have never yet imposed their will on poorer countries, no matter how lavish their "aid" without ultimately resorting to force. The nearly one million U.S. troops in Asia could all go home tomorrow if the U.S. bankers did not require their aid in forcing their "development" upon the Asian peoples.

P. Meisner

## Report on Arab-American Convention

### Two Trends in the Struggle for Arab Liberation

By Rita Freed, Chairwoman of The Committee to Support Middle East Liberation

DETROIT, December 7—The Association of Arab-American University Graduates devoted its second annual convention, held at Wayne State University this weekend, to the theme of "The Palestine Revolution."

The convention, which was attended by some 250 Arab-American professionals and students, as well as U.S. anti-Zionists, threw into relief the two political currents which have now clearly come to exist in the pro-Arab movement.

One stream, the moderate, "support to Israel is not in America's interest" approach, has dominated Arab-American anti-Zionist efforts since long before the 1967 Mideast war.

The second current, militant, anti-imperialist and visible more through physical actions than through memoranda to U.S. officials, is largely a product of the war and of the Palestine national liberation movement.

The impact of the Palestine struggle and the revolutionary spirit of its supporters was reflected by several aspects of the AAAUG Convention. Its members adopted a resolution of "solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people" and endorsed "the current necessary recourse of the Palestinian people to a war of national liberation of their historic homeland..." The opening speech of Prof. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Assn. president, even condemned those organizations which divert the struggle with "humanitarian" or "cultural" concerns

and do not take up the cause of Palestine.

### Revolutionary Solidarity

Expressions of solidarity with the world revolutionary battles of the oppressed were in evidence. Abu-Lughod and subsequent speakers referred to the link with "our Black Brothers in the United States, in South Africa, Rhodesia, and in Mozambique and Angola, (and) with the gallant fighters of Vietnam."

On the question of imperialism itself, and specifically U.S. imperialism, the convention was equivocal, however. The presidential address, for example, contained a reference to the "coalescence" of "Israel's empire and...the imperial interests of the United States," separated by only three paragraphs from the "danger to the national interests of the United States in the Arab World which pro-Israel policy is already producing."

The audience was urged to appeal to the "American liberal tradition" and to contest Zionist tax exemption through legalistic channels. A panel on the economic aspects of the Middle East conflict was told that the June war damaged the excellent economic relations the U.S. had with the Arab world.

### What About Oil?

No mention was made of the exploitation of Arab oil by U.S. oil companies; no one called for "Arab oil

for the Arab people." Most significantly, there was no panel to discuss the role of U.S. imperialism in erecting Israel at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs, or even of the U.S. aggressive role in the 1967 attack.

On Saturday, the convention audience gave an ovation to French author Ania Francos for her talk on Third World solidarity with Palestine. "We are all Palestinians," she declared.

Several hours later a demonstration took place outside the Sheraton-Cadillac hotel, where an Israel Bond campaign was being launched by Detroit industrialists and other Zionist supporters. The demonstration, organized by the Arab students at Wayne State, had been announced at the convention and all were invited to attend.

Nevertheless, few of those who attended the convention and none of its revolutionary-sounding speakers bothered to participate. The 300 demonstrators were drawn from the Arab students and from the working class Arab community of Dearborn. They marched for an hour, chanting "Long Live People's War" and "Bonds Buy Bombs" at the limousines and their befurred occupants arriving at the Sheraton.

### A Notable Absence

Notably absent from the picket line was the YSA, which was holding a regional conference just across from the AAAUG meeting at the University. Several leading SWP members attended the convention.

The actual split between the basical-

ly bourgeois Association line and the militant spirit of the youth came out at the Saturday night speech by Eqbal Ahmad.

The latter spoke instead of Tariq Ali, editor of the British leftist publication, Black Dwarf. Ali had been denied a U.S. visa because of his part

(Continued on page 13)





By Jim Miller

Wisconsin has long been noted as a place of "sifting and winnowing" ideas. It is an institution based upon the heritage of state-financed universities, where higher education can be gotten cheaply.

In the past two years, the University of Wisconsin has had to shed this liberal garb in the face of the growth of student radicalism. In the past year alone, the National Guard has been called up three times to head off the threat of student uprising, first during the black student strike in February, second during the welfare demonstrations at the State capital in September, and on a third occasion the streets were filled with tear and pepper gas as police and students fought for control of the community in the off-campus area last May.

In face of this, the University has

## Academic Freedom at Wisconsin U

made a series of blatant attacks upon the constitutional rights of protest, making conviction of any disruption on University property grounds for expulsion (the student being merely suspended until the conviction is brought). Other rulings have banned leafleting and picketing in front of any University building, topped by the recent complete ban on the use of sound equipment at any function on campus, except Homecoming.

During the Moratorium rally on November 13, three people were arrested for attempting to use such equipment. The University has also instituted I.D. cards which have to be in the possession of every student at all times, and they have moved to make it illegal for non-students to be on school property.

In addition, on December 9, the state of Wisconsin brought a restraining order against almost any form of protest by members of the Students for a Democratic Society. The order was issued after SDS members entered classes and asked for a democratic vote as to whether they might speak about the murder of Illinois Black Panther Chairman, Fred Hampton, the My Lai massacre and other issues.

These SDS'ers made no attempt to disrupt any classes and left if asked to. However, one professor ignoring the will of his class had three of them arrested, which eventually resulted in the restraining order.

This attempt to talk to classes was part of an SDS campaign against ROTC (which is a major institution at large state universities and provides 3/4 of all officers in Vietnam), the Army Math Research Center (which solves "technical" problems for the armed forces), and the Land Tenure Center (a CIA-funded organization which is involved in Latin America). The University clearly did not want these institutions to be attacked and had refused to meet SDS over the demands.

When a group of SDS'ers marched to the Army ROTC building December 12, police met them there using mace and blackjacks to beat any students they caught. A twenty-minute battle raged in which students attacked the building, driving the police back with a shower of ice. As a result, over 150 county sheriffs (wearing small American flags on their suits) were brought onto the campus.

The demonstrators, carrying NLF and North Vietnamese flags, later marched to the University's Administration building where windows were broken and several files of I.D. photos were scattered. The police were unable to follow the demonstrators.

Although the injunction was dismissed after a few days, once the threat of further demonstrations seemed over, its use here and at other campuses around the country, such as the State University of New York at Buffalo, shows the bankruptcy of the liberal ideal of the University.

## 1,000 Protest Frame-Up Of Panther 21 at NYC Courthouse

### YAWF Pamphlet On Indonesia

"The Second Greatest Crime of the Century," a pamphlet on the CIA-sponsored counter-revolution and massacre in Indonesia, will be published this month by Youth Against War & Fascism, through World View Publishers. The booklet reviews the unfolding of the 1965 coup, which was described in YAWF's earlier publication, "The Silent Slaughter."

A great deal of new material and analysis is now added, however. This includes a discussion of the policies of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and its allies. The U.S. economic takeover of Indonesia since the coup is documented, and the colonial history of this rich archipelago is described.

Very little literature is available on the tragic defeat of the Indonesian revolution and the decimation of one of the largest communist parties in the world. YAWF's contribution to an understanding of this subject is a valuable addition to the library of any revolutionary thinker and activist.

The pamphlet sells for fifty cents and will be available from YAWF, 58 West 25th St., New York City, and also from World View Publishers, 46 West 21st Street.

NEW YORK, Dec. 18 — Well over 1,000 persons participated in a demonstration today called by the Black Panther Party against the frame-up trials of 21 of its members. They picketed the Criminal Court building at 100 Centre Street in downtown Manhattan at 9:00 a.m. as the trials were scheduled to begin. The trials, however, were postponed until next February 2.

The main organizations represented were the Young Lords, the Young Patriots, Youth Against War & Fascism and several SDS groups. The most extensive preparations were made by YAWF, who handed out 100,000 leaflets prior to the demonstration.

All of the banners on the picket line were brought by YAWF, some of which read, "Avenge Fred Hampton" or "Free the N.Y. Panther 21" and "Power to the People!"

Meanwhile, Black Panther Party members filled up the courtroom as much as possible, since many police stooges had already taken many of the seats. It was not until the afternoon session, however, that the case came before the court and was postponed.

At about 11:30 a.m., the picket line outside moved to nearby Foley Square to hold a rally and hear representatives of the Black Panther Party, the Young Patriots, YAWF and the American Servicemen's Union (ASU). YAWF was represented by its national chairman Key Martin, while Andy Stapp, chairman of the ASU, spoke on behalf of his organization.



Photos by YAWF



# Nixon-Sato Agreement: War Pact Against Asian People

By V. Copeland

The New York Times gloated with only slight restraint in its front-page news story of November 22 that "U.S. forces stationed in Japan would have new freedom of action to fulfill American security commitments in South Korea, Taiwan and other countries of Asia."

But interestingly enough, not one Congressional or Senatorial leader in the U.S. including the whole imperialist "opposition" said a word in criticism of this new aggression pact with the nation that once pillaged so large a part of Asia and was so condemned by the United States.

And why did neither the Times nor a single one of the imperialist dove Senators or Congressmen, most of them able lawyers, highly skilled at reading the fine print of contracts, notice that Nixon virtually told the Japanese minister that the war in Vietnam might well last until after 1972?

Section 4 of the November 21 Communiqué explicitly says:

"The President and the Prime Minister...agreed that should peace in Vietnam not have been realized by the time reversion of Okinawa is scheduled to take place (1972), the two governments would fully consult with each other in the light of the situation at that time, so that reversion would be accomplished without affecting the United States (war) efforts..."

## Not a Peep From Doves

How could it be that no dove noticed these words — words which should have triggered alarm bells in his brain if he were the least bit serious about really getting out of Southeast Asia altogether?

The doves must have noticed all right. And they probably didn't like it, because they really are worried about the bad effects of the Vietnam war. (One of the worst of these bad effects is the loss of Asian customers and Asian good will as a result of U.S. barbarism.) But they went along with the Nixon-Sato agreement, which as a matter of fact may presage a much bigger military struggle than the one in Vietnam.

This alone is a proof of the treachery of the liberals and the temporary, transitory character of their present opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The reason for their quietness about the Japanese-U.S. agreement (which

## 10 Deadly Meanings of the Pact

The Nixon-Sato Joint Communiqué issued in Washington on November 21 either stated clearly or meant that:

1. U.S. imperialism is planning a new Korean war and Japanese imperialism is in on it. (Communiqué agrees that the "security" of South Korea is "essential to Japan's own security.")

2. Voluntary U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, if it occurs at all, is only an imperialist maneuver. (Communiqué suggests that 1972 may be too early a date for end of Vietnam war.)

3. The U.S. promise to "give Okinawa back to the Japanese" is a sham and a cover-up for cynical war plans against Asia — because —

4. The U.S. will still keep its military bases in Okinawa in spite of "reversion" to Japanese sovereignty.

5. And, in fact, U.S. military will now have further freedom of action on main islands of Japan too.

6. The nuclear bombs on Okinawa, supposedly to be removed by 1972, according to this pact, may be brought back "by mutual agreement."

7. —Or even replaced by Japanese nuclear bombs (only vaguely hinted in the actual communiqué, but spelled out by military and political commentators).

8. The U.S. and Japan are making a combined, direct threat against People's China, attempting to intimidate it by reference to the "maintenance of peace and security" in the Taiwan area.

9. The U.S. expects to make a great deal more profit inside Japan from now on and at the same time to step up the plunder of other Asian countries with the help of a wealthier and more heavily armed Japan as a junior partner.

10. The U.S. rulers hope that the Japanese may fight the next Asian war for the U.S. instead of against it, as the U.S. furnishes more weapons, planes and money. This is, of course, a large scale attempt to implement Nixon's demagogic and chauvinist program for "Asians to fight Asians" on behalf of U.S. imperialism.

has actually been in the making for many months, beginning during the Johnson Administration) is that it means billions of dollars in profit for both liberals and reactionaries. And the liberals think that the profits are much safer when guaranteed by a great Asian power as well as by U.S. military might in the area.

## To Be Business Partners

With Japan's phenomenally growing industrial strength, an exploitation of Asia in partnership with the United States provides the most tempting prospects to the imperialists — both dove and hawk — of both countries.

The agreement provides for a stepped-up economic cooperation with Japan, for increased U.S. investments in Japan itself, and for joint super-exploitation of South Korea and the rest of Asia. (Indonesia is not mentioned, but is very much in the picture as of course, is People's China.) This is what makes the liberals' mouths water.

The military provisions of the pact show an almost unbelievable cynicism with respect to the U.S. masses — and especially to the Japanese.

The agreement is to return the island of Okinawa to Japanese "sovereignty." And this was supposed to be the whole idea. Even now Sato is conducting an election campaign on the basis that he "won freedom" for Okinawa from the United States.

But the pact does not remove the 117 U.S. bases with 55,000 U.S. troops from Okinawa at all. It does provide for the removal of U.S. nuclear bombs, but only tentatively and fails to prohibit them absolutely.

## U.S. Troops Will Stay

The great and tempestuous movement of Japanese students and workers took it for granted that the return of Okinawa to Japan would mean that the U.S. would get out of it. But just the opposite has now become the case.

By a diplomatic sleight-of-hand maneuver, the U.S. and Japanese imperialists have drawn some of the teeth from the opposition in Japan by the "sovereignty" deal.

They have strengthened the U.S. occupation at the same time that they have also strengthened the hand of the Japanese militarist rulers whom the U.S. imperialists once fought (or rather, made the U.S. workers and poorer students, farmers, etc., fight against). After World War II, the U.S. com-

pelled Japan to renounce the use of force in foreign affairs, even writing it into Japan's new constitution. But ever since the beginning of the Korean war the U.S. has regretted disarming its old enemy and has schemed to rearm Japan as a partner in counterrevolution and imperialist plunder of Asia.

Sato showed that the reversal was now about complete when he told the National Press Club just before signing the Joint Communiqué that "Japan's self-defense capabilities are already filling an important role in securing the primary defense of Japan." And that these capabilities will be "increased."

What "self-defense" means in this case may be gauged by the approving statement of Herman Kahn, the advocate of nuclear war, that Japan will "surely become the sixth nuclear power."

The liberals, who used to recoil in horror from Kahn, have so far made no comment about this. (He made this statement on December 2, just ten days after the Joint Communiqué.)

And what is more fundamental, if not more horrible, the liberals said nothing at all about the interesting statement Premier Sato made on the signing of the pact on November 21: "We have entered a new Pacific age where a new order will be created by Japan and the United States," he said.

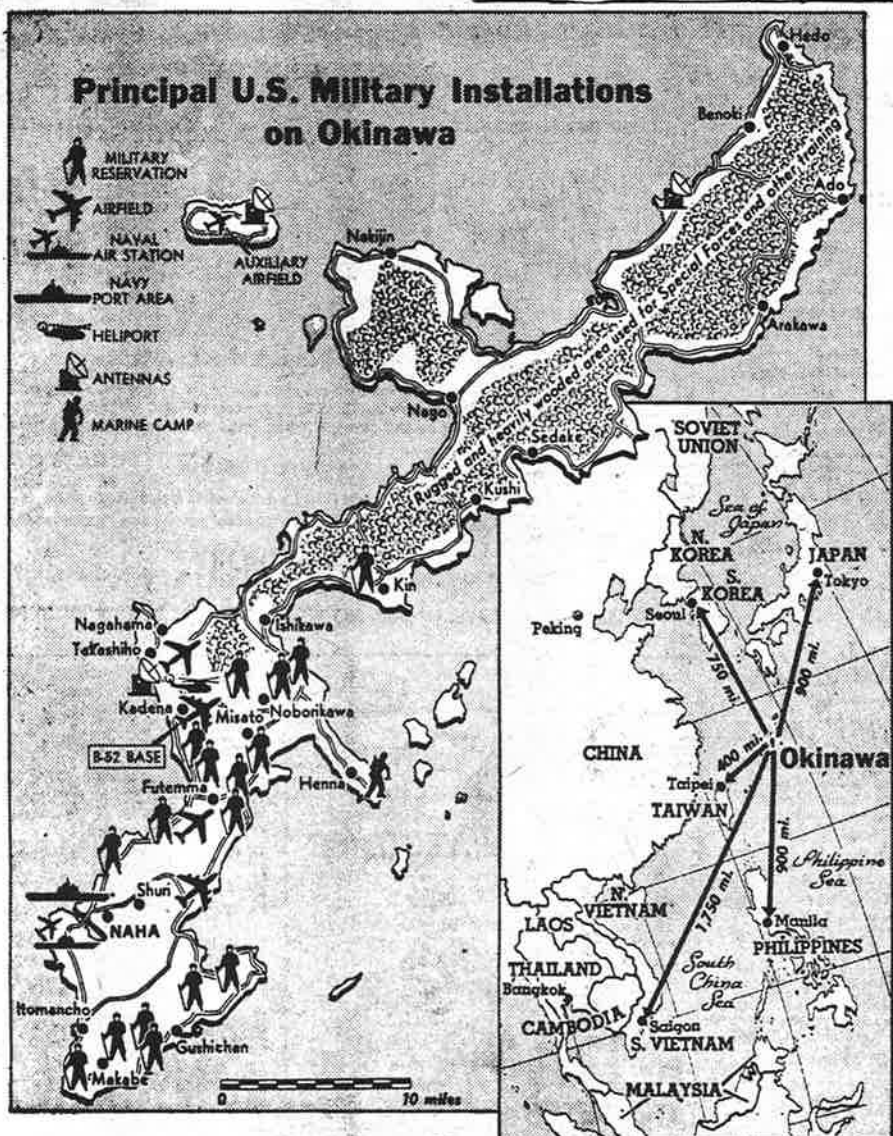
## A Nuclear "New Order"?

Perhaps they can kid themselves that the "new order" will be a peaceful one, in spite of the 117 U.S. bases on Okinawa and the rest of Japan, the bases on the Philippines, the 7th Fleet in the China Sea, nuclear bombs in Taiwan and South Korea and either Japanese or U.S. nuclear bombs — or both — on Okinawa.

But they know that the Japanese "new order" of 1937-45 was like the U.S. in Vietnam, only over a wider territory.

The U.S.-Japanese "new order" is even more plunderous, more oppressive and far more fraught with violence than the old-fashioned, pre-space-age, Japanese-only "new order" was.

And since modern development is so dynamic and the world involvement of the U.S. so complete, the people of Japan and the U.S. may learn the real meaning of the "new order" in a shorter time than we think — and along with the other people of the world, create a new order of their own.



The U.S. war machine has bases which cover nearly one-fourth of Okinawa. In addition to the 28 major bases shown on the map, there are 92 others. B-52 bombing raids against Vietnam are staged from Kadena airfield.



## Built-in War

# U.S. Occupation of S. Korea Divides Nation

By Kenny Lapides

"It is possible that all this will be destroyed if war breaks out. I say to my comrades that they should not think they can keep our nice theaters and things as they are now; they must realize that as long as imperialism exists, war may break out again. Especially as long as the unification of our country has not been achieved, things may be destroyed again." This is what Premier Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea told a visiting journalist in May 1967.

The division of Korea, in which the southern part is occupied by U.S. troops and exploited by U.S. corporations, is a historical event that the U.S. would like to have taken for granted, without an understanding of how it came to be. Since the U.S. rulers are preparing to launch another war to protect this division, or to expand the U.S. portion of it, Americans must know the truth behind the division of Korea.

## DPRK — From Colony to Socialist State

Before the Japanese imperialists were beaten for control of Asia and the Pacific by the U.S. imperialists, Korea was a highly exploited and oppressed colony of Japan. The Korean people were ruthlessly suppressed by the imperialist occupiers of their homeland. Untold numbers of Korean patriots died in the struggle to liberate Korea from colonial bondage.

On April 25, 1932, Kim Il Sung organized the first guerrilla unit in the armed struggle for Korean national liberation. This detachment of revolutionary workers, peasants and youth became, in time, the People's Revolutionary Army. For years, these guerrilla forces fought heroically against the Japanese occupation troops.

Near the end of World War II, after smashing Hitler's war machine in the West, the Soviet Red Army swept down from Manchuria, driving southward down the Korean peninsula to the 38th parallel. Kim Il Sung's army and the Soviet army cooperated in driving out or destroying the Japanese forces and smashing the imperialist occupation.

The People's Revolutionary Army, under the political and military leadership of Kim Il Sung, was able "to eliminate very rapidly the last vestiges of the power structure erected by the Japanese." In addition, relates Wilfred Burchett in his book, *Again*

*Korea*, "They were able to ensure a smooth transition to a socialist regime in which, not only the means of production, but effective power to defend them, were in the hands of the people."

## Counter-Revolution at 38th Parallel

What appeared to the Korean people to be their final liberation from years of colonial slavery was violently halted at the 38th parallel. At that line, the U.S. forced the Soviet Union to limit its forces and to divide the country between Soviet and U.S. control over the evacuation of the Japanese. Purported to be a temporary military boundary in the war against Japan, the 38th parallel was soon revealed to be the boundary of the new U.S. imperialist occupation.

Truman, MacArthur and the U.S. ruling class had no intention of allowing Korea any measure of self-determination. At the end of the war, all the old imperialist powers were either defeated or ruined, with the U.S. imperialists alone victorious, claiming all the spoils. For the U.S. rulers, the war would have been pointless if the newly won empire were to be relinquished.

Immediately following the liberation of northern Korea on August 15, and before the American landing on September 8, the Korean people in the south rose up and disarmed the Japanese occupation troops (except in Seoul and a few other cities). Throughout the country, "People's Committees" were formed to dismantle the Japanese colonial apparatus and prepare for self-determination and socialism.

When the U.S. troops arrived, they were used to disband and suppress the People's Committees. The Japanese imperialists were re-armed and returned to their positions in the old colonial apparatus—only this time under the authority of the U.S. Army! Leaders of the People's Committees were returned to the jails they had recently left.

## MacArthur Demands Law and Order

The Commander of the U.S. troops, General MacArthur, issued a warning to the Korean people. He said, in part:

"All powers of government over the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the people thereof will be for the present exercised under my authority.... Persons will obey my orders and orders issued under my authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public peace and safety will be punished severely.... For all purposes during the military control, English will be the official language. In event of any ambiguity or diversity of interpretation or definition between any English and Korean or Japanese text, the English text shall prevail." Anyone committing acts "calculated to disturb public peace and order, or prevent the administration of justice, or willfully does any act hostile to the Allied Forces, shall, upon conviction by a Military Occupation Court, suffer death or such other punishment as the Court may determine."

The U.S. was so fearful of the Korean masses and their drive for liberation that before U.S. troops landed, leaflets were dropped over southern Korea calling for obedience to "orders passed to you through the current Korean government" (the Japanese colonial regime). The U.S. even ordered, "Do not participate in any demonstrations against the Japanese or in welcome to American armed forces." It was under the U.S. military authority that Japanese troops opened fire on and killed a number of Koreans who had gathered at the dock to greet the U.S. soldiers!

The relations between the U.S. and Japanese imperialists, after years of bloody conflict cul-

minating in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, could not have been friendlier -- as soon as the Korean masses entered the political arena. The fear of socialist revolution by the oppressed masses made the most bitter imperialist rivals into cooperative partners.

The so-called U.S. "liberation" was revealed by Newsweek correspondent Harold Isaacs as a U.S. military occupation. In his book *No Peace for Asia*, Isaacs disclosed that as the U.S. troops "approached the Korean shore, the senior Japanese commander in Seoul radioed: 'Communists and independence agitators are plotting to take advantage of this situation to disturb peace and order.' He appealed for authority to keep troops on hand to back up the Japanese police. To this appeal the reply was promptly made:

"It is directed that you maintain order and preserve the machinery of government in Korea south of the 38th degree north latitude until my forces assume those responsibilities.... You are authorized and directed to retain in the Jinsen-Seoul area the minimum Japanese armed forces necessary to preserve order and safeguard property therein."

To this the Japanese commander replied: "Am extremely grateful to have received your understanding reply with regard to the keeping of law and order in Korea."

The giant landed estates, the factories and commercial establishments, the banks and the mines and the palaces that had all been owned by the Japanese imperialists were now all guarded by Japanese police until the U.S. bankers and generals could move in and provide their own police. (In the early days of the U.S. occupation, Japanese police patrolled the streets wearing armbands and in vehicles with the designation "USMG" -- for United States Military Government.)

Under Japanese rule, 91 per cent of the total investment in the Korean economy, excluding agriculture, was held by the imperialists in Tokyo. In industry the figure was 94 per cent and in banking, communications and mining, 99 per cent. In the North, these properties were taken back by the Korean people. The commander of the Soviet Army had formally turned over to the North Korean People's Committee all Japanese assets there.

In the South, according to a conservative estimate by the U.S. State Department, the U.S. was still holding in 1947 "former Japanese properties in 24 basic industries which amount to 80 per cent of the South Korean economy." Since then, vast amounts of American capital have extended the U.S. penetration and control of the South Korean economy.

## U.S. Blocks Re-Unification

The efforts by the Korean people to re-unify their country, under conditions of democracy, self-determination and socialism, were obstructed at every turn by the U.S. The universal demand of the Koreans for liberation of their entire homeland was responded to by the U.S. imperialists with an aggressive war against the liberated North, in an attempt to subjugate the entire Korean nation. The imperialists destroyed everything -- above ground -- in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, but could not conquer the defiant Korean masses.

The U.S. occupation of South Korea is the sole obstacle to the peaceful reunification of the country. Moreover, the imperialist occupation constitutes an armed camp of aggression that is preparing to attack the North again.

The Korean people, North and South, have every right to defend their nation from aggression and to expel the imperialist invaders once and for all.

# — Trends in Arab Struggle

(Continued from page 10)

in a London anti-U.S. rally in which a U.S. flag was burned.

Ahmad said U.S. support for Israel was not an aberration, but imperialist policy itself, part of the same policy which massacres Vietnamese and commits genocide against the Black Panthers and black people in general. He denounced the myth of "Zionist domination of U.S. policy" and listed U.S. aggressions in Vietnam, in Cuba, in Panama, in the Dominican Republic, in Laos, which had nothing to do with Zionists.

The convention chairman attempted to cut him off at one point, saying his time was up. The majority of the audience, applauding Ahmad's remarks vigorously, insisted he continue, and he completed his speech.

In opening the evening's speeches, the Association president had announced that the group would seek to avoid political positions which might polarize its members. At the conclusion of Ahmad's talk, the president said that the remarks of the last

speaker "or of any of the other speakers" represented only personal views and not those of the Association. At least half the audience booed Abu-Lughod's statement.

The predominance of bourgeois politics in the Arab-American anti-Israel movement is similar to the case of the anti-Vietnam war movement. The revolutionary line has been able to exert some influence in the former because of the national liberation character of the Arab struggle, and also to a certain extent because in the United States the radicals have been the most active allies of the Arab cause.

At the same time, the bourgeois elements which lead in groups such as the AAAUG will not forgo their efforts to keep anti-imperialism at a verbal — and even then, muddled — minimum. The spirit of the students and youth in combating these efforts and in acting together with oppressed Arab workers is a hopeful sign for the movement to support Arab liberation in this country.



U.S. occupation troops protect the U.S. colonial regime in South Korea. Above, U.S. soldier on bridge in DMZ between liberated North and enslaved South.



# The Crime and the Criminal

If we must die—let it not be like hogs  
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,  
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,  
Making their mock at our accursed lot.  
If we must die—Oh, let us nobly die,  
So that our precious blood may not be shed  
In vain: then even the monsters we defy  
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!  
Oh, Kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;  
Though far outnumbered, let us show us brave,  
And for their thousand blows deal one death blow!  
What though before us lies—the open grave?  
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,  
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

(from "Letters From Prison")

When you have spent a certain number of months in jail, the possibility that you will die there begins to take shape in your brain, even if you are very young, full of optimism, with a skin the same color as the guards and many friends on the outside who would be informed of your slightest injury.

If you are black and a thorn in the side of the prison authorities as well as of the state itself, the thought is more insistent. If you have already been put into solitary, if you have already known the inside of prisons for over twelve years, if you have been beaten even once, your thoughts are still more grim.

So it is common enough to think thoughts of the eternal night when you are in prison.

But what prisoner remembers the poem read in a previous prison library (the more ample one in Attica) and pens its lines to reassure his friends that he will still carry on the struggle and "nobly die" if he must die? Not a dope pusher, but only a revolutionary who has too deep a feeling for his people and his own destiny to be other than a fighter. He feels "pressed to the wall" as he still faces "the murderous, cowardly pack," but he wants his friends to know he will to the very end be "fighting back."

The poem is one which exactly corresponds to a feeling of temporary sorrow combined with exaltation in the life of a person thoroughly convinced that the

What was the crime of Martin Sostre? The police, the district attorney, the informer-junkie and the Buffalo newspapers all said it was the crime of selling narcotics to black people on Jefferson Avenue. But they sent him to jail for a far longer term than they usually send real dope pushers—when they punish them at all.

The crime was really a different crime altogether. It was not a crime against the poor; it was a crime against the rich. It was not a crime against the oppressed, but a crime against the oppressor.

On March 15, 1968, Martin Sostre wrote his friends from Erie County Jail and quoted—from memory—a poem about how to die.

"Being a revolutionary black militant," he said, "the only way I would hate to die is like a hog—as described by our militant black poet, Claude McKay, in his poem, 'If We Must Die.' His poem sets for us the standard for dying—if we must":

## — Force and the Imperialist Crisis

(Continued from page 9)

Such are the laws of imperialist competition. The growth of huge monopolistic dynasties, and the latest form that they take, such as conglomerates—has not softened the nature of the competitive struggle, but has made it more violent in character and subjected it to catastrophic solutions beyond the control of the capitalist government itself.

Sanctimonious editorials and preachments on the need for "reasonable concessions" in foreign policy carry about as much weight with the Pentagon as the same moral preachments and exhortations for "reasonable" concessions to the black people carry with Strom Thurmond and the entire racist establishment.

The foreign policy of an imperialist government is no more than an extension of its domestic policy. The murder of Hampton and Clark is a domestic version of the My Lai massacre.

### Repression and Strikes

The general intensification of the class struggle at home as evidenced by the attack against the General Electric workers by the GE oligarchy is bound to be repeated on a wider and more massive scale.

Boulwarism, the GE version of modern, space age strikebreaking, is merely a precursor of the tactic that the ruling class will apply on a more general and widespread scale as the crisis of the ruling class deepens. Boulwarism concretely takes its name from the GE unionbusting representative who has consistently pushed to establish a "new era" in "labor relations." His particular assault consists of submitting as GE's new "contract offer" to the union a take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum, and arrogantly stating that whether the workers like it or not, GE will negotiate no further.

The sheer gall of this pronouncement at contract expiration date, let alone the criminal indifference displayed to the many valid and unresolved grievances of the workers, is an obviously well-calculated provocation—a deliberate attempt to smash the unions and demoralize the workers.

### It's All One Policy

The Kennedy-Johnson-Nixon policy is merely an application of Boulwarism in U.S. foreign relations. It is a policy of the use of military force where threats and ultimatums have failed to intimidate the oppressed.

The action of the steel barons in shooting down the striking steel workers in the 30's was not an accidental, episodic event torn out of the context of

the historical development of heavy industry and high finance. Not more so than My Lai, Chicago, Los Angeles, Connecticut and New York.

By taking the broader historical view of the evolution of American finance capital, we can see that the architects who fashioned the My Lai massacre, the Chicago murders, the GE attack on its workers, have threads that reach down to the roots of the very nature of the capitalist system of exploitation.

The steel barons of today, even more so than those of the 30's, are inextricably tied in with the dynastic rulers of the auto, electric and space industries, all of whom have staked their destiny on world domination or "leadership" as they like to call it. Not one of these industrial, financial combines, whether it be based on the oldest or the newest modern technology, evinces any but the most aggressive, most vicious drive to control and dominate all the economic arteries of the globe.

And in truth, the bourgeoisie has little choice in the matter. Given their insatiable lust for super-profits and driven by the inexorable law of capitalist accumulation, the productive forces at the disposal of the capitalist class become ever larger, spanning continents and oceans, under water and in outer space. They can least of all be confined or reduced or driven back to their national borders.

### Force: Theirs and Ours

Force, which the bourgeoisie used so frequently and with such devastating results throughout its long and bloody history, was effective as long as the conditions of production (i.e., exploitation) favored it. But force alone has never been able to maintain the existence of a social system or the ruling class which dominates it when the material conditions for its existence are crumbling.

The contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the confines of capitalist private property is derived from another fundamental contradiction: that between the social character of capitalist production and individual private appropriation and ownership which is finally reaching the point in the United States of having fully matured.

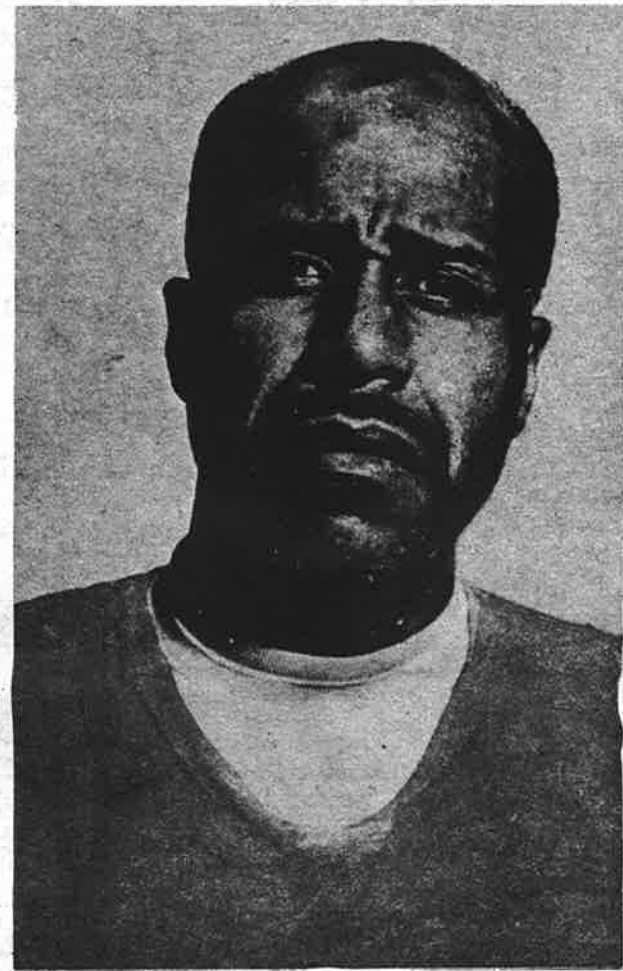
It is what Marx long ago called the rebellion of the productive forces, which are social in character, against the capitalist relations of exploitation that confine them. This heralds the coming of a proletarian revolution as the only rational solution to a social crisis threatening to devour society as a whole.

Force, however, is also as Marx said, "the midwife to revolution." A billion people on the face of the globe have learned that lesson well. This is a nightmare for the bourgeoisie. It is also the hope of the rest of mankind.

struggle will go on after he is gone and is determined to be a lasting example to those who come after him. It was written by McKay at a time when there was less hope for general victory in the black freedom fight than now. McKay had too well calculated the odds and concluded that the struggle must be undertaken, but death would be the outcome.

The real affinity of Martin to the poem is the affinity of the fighter to the fight. He originally must have memorized it as a more youthful prisoner first discovering the world of revolutionary heroism—reading stories about Toussaint L'Ouverture, Nathan Hale and Nat Turner, and dreaming of emulating these men. Not envisioning the victorious event, not actually expecting at that time to see the Promised Land himself, perhaps in a youthful spirit of abnegation thinking that he would, like Moses, die in the desert, only leading the struggle as far as he could possibly go before his death—and then after growing older, loving life more, wanting strongly to see his own dreams come true in his own lifetime, he thinks again about "how to die."

But the prosecuting attorney who told the jury that if they found Sostre innocent, they would have to believe that the cops "laid their hands on the Bible and lied," expects us to believe that such a man committed a crime against his own people, and furthermore that his ideas of liberation, his



Martin Sostre

The accompanying story is about Martin Sostre, a black liberation fighter who was framed on a drug charge after a black uprising in Buffalo, N.Y. He was at first accused of arson and riot as well as the sale of narcotics. But the former charges were dropped in the interest of greater public credibility for the latter.

books and poetry about it were the "front" for a different crime than the crime of Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Gabriel and Harriet Tubman.

No, the poem of Claude McKay is not admissible as evidence in the Martin Sostre case. And I suppose at some future time when the case is being tried again, a prospective juror may well be barred from serving as an impartial peer for Martin if he admits to having read this poem.

No, it is not admissible as evidence. I introduced it not to convince the judge and jury, but to convince the reader—to convince the reader that Martin Sostre sits in a prison cell condemned to stay there 30 to 41 years for a far different crime than that spelled out in the indictment—a crime that thousands have and millions more will commit, a crime the reader should ponder upon and judge, if he can, the criminal.

**Civilians!**

Subscribe to

**the BOND**

the newspaper of the

**American Servicemen's Union** \$3 for six months (Free to GIs)

156 Fifth Avenue  
New York City 10010



# Agnew Tells Us the News Is Slanted

## ...No Kidding?

By Elizabeth Ross

Agnew said one thing right: the TV networks sure do distort the news — but not in the way he complains of. They bend it out of shape in the opposite direction.

When 100,000 people demonstrated in New York City last year and the year before, and a group of pro-war counter-demonstrators numbering no more than 20 people heckled them, the New York channels gave as much coverage to the antics of the 20 as they did to the 100,000. And at no time did they show the size of the march, though it would have been very easy to take a picture looking up Fifth Avenue, with marchers stretching eight abreast as far as the camera's eye could see.

### Critical Shows Canceled

Most of us remember "That Was the Week That Was" — a satirical weekly on a national hook-up. It had a number of skits and comments that slyly cast doubts on the morality of the U.S. presence in Vietnam, and it was taken off the air. One that appeared two weeks before the demise of the program presented a picture of a handsome Vietnamese youth, while the voice of the commentator intoned, "This is a South Vietnamese. Note the candid eyes, the sensitive mouth, the expression of dedication. This is a freedom-loving youth, representative of the best traditions of Vietnamese liberation."

After a moment's pause, the same picture of the same Vietnamese youth

appeared on the TV screen, and the commentator's voice continued, "This is a North Vietnamese. Note the shifty eyes, the cruel mouth, the expression of cynicism. This young hoodlum represents the worst traditions of the Red terror." Many viewers wondered how long such a show would continue and were not surprised when it disappeared from the networks shortly thereafter.

The Smothers Brothers, though never so pointed or caustic, did show some opposition to the war in a mild and "peace-loving" manner. Their contract was canceled on the excuse that one of their shows was in "bad taste." (The kind of taste displayed in programs idealizing cops, gangsters and FBI men, or in commercials hinting that a White Owl cigar could give you an orgasm, has never been questioned.)

### Rin Tin Tin Uber Alles

When CBS telecast the Fulbright hearings in Congress in 1966, Dean Rusk's pro-war comments were broadcast in full, but during the time the anti-war senators had their say, CBS rebroadcast "I Love Lucy" and a Rin Tin Tin film.

True, some channels occasionally stage a half-hour panel discussion, where all shades of opinion on the war are supposed to be represented. (With interruptions every seven minutes for a three-minute series of commercials and moderators skilled in breaking in just as a point is being made, these programs have given

viewers little opportunity to hear anything but the frailest and scantiest of arguments.) When a speaker does manage to give a clear and uncompromising denunciation of the war or the brass, his words are most likely censored.

A flagrant case of censoring took place last summer when the National Educational TV network sponsored a debate at Yale on the military. Remarks by Mel Wulf of the ACLU and Andy Stapp of the American Servicemen's Union were cut out of the tape. Andy Stapp spoke five times during the debate — denouncing the class character of the Army, its racist practices and unconstitutional court-martial system. When the program appeared on Channel 13, Stapp was heard only once. Mel Wulf said during the debate that he had been an army prosecutor during World War II and that in his court there had been a 100% conviction rate. He mentioned that the military court always took the word of an officer as against that of an enlisted man. This testimony of Wulf's was also deleted before the debate was shown on TV screens.

Most of these panel discussions and debates are not "live," so that the public is unaware they have been censored. The only people who know for sure a program has been tampered with are those very few who were on the scene when it was made.

### Black Struggle Whited Out

The calculated way the networks (to say nothing of the press) distort news of the black liberation struggle, however, is even more sinister than their treatment of the war resisters. Because these lackeys of the Establishment sense that black rebellion is at the heart of a world-wide revolutionary movement, they are desperate to aid in destroying it. To this end they plan their programs carefully. Their attacks are devious, and they enforce a very tight censorship.

It has been fashionable lately to show a well-dressed, middle-class black man or woman chatting cozily in the home of a white neighbor on television commercials — giving the impression that segregation is a thing of the past and that blacks are now economically and socially on an equal footing with whites. Ghetto scenes from Harlem, Watts or Birmingham do not appear on commercials and seldom in news broadcasts.

Since the President's Commission on Violence handed in its report, on-the-scene shots of black uprisings no longer appear on TV newscasts. Viewers who don't read the newspapers (and hundreds of thousands do not) have no idea that last month in the state of Pennsylvania alone there were six black uprisings. Most significantly, this news is kept from the black population as well as the white.

Cold print remains cold, and is soon forgotten, but hot action has a way of leaving its impression on the mind of the beholder.

For this reason the big broadcasting companies are only too willing to cooperate with the forces of "law and order" and ban the truth from the air.



Women in liberated zone of South Vietnam march on puppet-controlled area to win over the Saigon troops. The image of people fighting for their liberation, and particularly women, is not the one conveyed in U.S. imperialism's news media. —LNS Photo

## You Don't Have to Go to the Moon To Find a Telephone That Works

The U.S. can send men to the moon, but it can't make the pay telephones work in Times Square.

Socialist Cuba, on the other hand, can't yet send a man to the moon, but the public telephones in Havana are in relatively good working order.

This may seem to be a very modest achievement. But when you remember that a good majority of the people use telephones and a good deal less than a majority go to the moon, it does seem a little more important.

Of course nearly everybody in Cuba knows that the U.S. put men on the moon, but hardly anybody in the United States knows that you can go to Havana and put through a phone call on Main Street without going crazy. And that ignorance might lead even the sympathizers of Cuba to believe that going to the moon proves something more important than making the telephones work.

But that just isn't so. There's a reason for the ignorance about Cuban telephones in this well-informed, even super-informed (by newspapers, magazines, movies, radio and TV) country.

The reason is that the U.S. government and the imperialist Establishment don't want you to know that the public telephones in Havana are FREE.

Yes, the socialist government discovered that it was more efficient to take the coin arrangement out than to be constantly repairing it.

In New York (and possibly in Havana, too, before the 1959 revolution), the main reason for pay telephone breakdowns is the constant attempt of people to rifle the coin boxes.

Whenever you want to get a public telephone in New York, you have to try two or three phones and lose 20 or 30 cents and twenty minutes of your valuable time before you get your party --

if ever.

Why can't the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. (AT&T) correct this situation the way the Cuban government does?

Surely it can afford to. Surely its treasury is far bigger than that of the whole country of Cuba. (Its assets, in fact, are now \$38 billion, with part of that sum being the money it took out of Cuba and the rest of the world over the last half century or so.)

But no, this unbelievably wealthy corporation that supplies statesmen to run the U.S. government when it isn't telling the other statesmen how to do it -- and claims to have more technical know-how in its stable of engineers than Cuba has in all its universities -- the mighty A.T. & T. can't afford the financial sacrifice to make the telephones work in Times Square.

On the other hand, it did supply many

NEW YORK, Oct. 15 — A New York Times dispatch said today: "A New York Telephone Company executive admitted under questioning yesterday that service in three central offices with 210,000 subscribers would probably be worse at the end of this year than it was at the end of 1968."

of the components of the trip to the moon -- at quite a large profit to itself. Perhaps after the American people pay out another 20 or 30 billion dollars for more moon trips, A.T. & T. will then be rich enough to make the pay telephones work by making them free?

It's more likely that they'd raise the price from a dime to fifteen cents. And then many of the people who don't own stock in the telephone company will try harder than ever to wreck the phones to get all that money.

And it will make more sense than ever to go to Havana to make your call -- and still more sense to do what the Cubans did -- and do it here.

# Children in Prison

By Emily Tarasov

Solitary confinement is considered by many prison reformers to be the most inhuman punishment known to man—yet it is being used on children between the ages of 7 and 18 in New York State's "training schools for troubled children."

The Citizen's Committee for Children of New York has just completed an eight-month study on the state's schools for "troubled" children. Its findings charged that the schools are "reformatories...unequipped to return children to normal community life, have inadequate training and education programs and (impose)...solitary confinement on their charges who range from 7 to 18 years old."

This cautiously worded report probably covers up more horrors than it reveals. But it reveals plenty.

The report states that few staff members have the educational, psychological or vocational training needed. The medical and mental health services are insufficient. Fifteen children are now in these reformatories at the request of the State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission, but no drug treatment program is provided.

Children can be committed to these reform schools for "simple disorderly conduct" and they can be committed by school officials for "behavior problems." This has important ramifications in connection with the student rebellions against inadequate education and racism in the public schools. It gives the racist school officials and Family Courts the right to put the student leaders of these rebellions in one of these reform schools for six months to a year, with the constant threat of solitary confinement.

It is no wonder that the report concludes "that a large percentage of the children in the training schools will get into trouble again." The schools, like the adult prisons, are not meant to "rehabilitate" the prisoners but rather to beat them into submission and acceptance of the racist system that oppresses them. These prisoners, adults and children, are not "troubled" or "criminals"—they are oppressed.

The tortures in adult prisons, which often result in suicides, have been making the headlines lately. Similar atrocities go on in reform schools, but go unreported—two boys, aged 12 and 14, hung themselves in a Minnesota reformatory last year, and on August 12, 1969, at the Adolescent Remand Shelter at Riker's Island, a 17-year-old Brooklyn boy, Rodney Brown, hung himself with his belt.

Even for adults, solitary confinement is the most terrible of punishments. Martin Sostre, a black liberation fighter who spent five years of his life in solitary confinement, recently brought Rockefeller and state prison authorities to Federal court, charging that solitary confinement is "cruel

and unusual" punishment and therefore unconstitutional (see Workers World, November 13). Sol Rubin, a bourgeois expert on prison reform, testified at this trial that the absolute maximum for solitary confinement should be fifteen days.

It is when Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans try to escape their oppression and rebel against the ruling class that they are put into jail. These reform schools and prisons are concentration camps and are purposely designed to break the spirit of resistance to oppression that characterizes the black, the Puerto Rican and all the oppressed people who make up virtually the entire prison population—both adult and juvenile.



By John Sullivan

The eerie strains of the Horst Wessel Lied filled the room as men, with uplifted arms, sang the official marching song of the Nazi Party. Their faces aglow with enthusiasm, their regalia shining in the semi-darkness, their eyes gazing into the past and (they hoped) the future, they intoned the fascist anthem.

Brown shirts? Stormtroopers? Hitler Youth?

No, these men were not the German fascists led by Adolf Hitler, nor were they the uniformed guard of the American Nazi Party.

They weren't decked out in the brown shirts of the stormtroopers nor the black of the SS, but clothed in well-pressed respectable business suits. And they weren't holding forth in a tavern in Munich. They were beginning a secret meeting of the Francis Parker Yockey Movement in Pittsburgh last January.

A joke? If it is, it's a grim one.

The men behind the Francis Parker Yockey Movement have been amassing political and financial power and they now control some 14 front organizations and an annual war chest of at least \$2 million.

Their main front organization is the powerful right-wing Liberty Lobby. An organization with 20,000 hard core contributors and 500,000 readers of its publications, Liberty Lobby is mostly known for its influence on Capital Hill with various members of Congress and even with the head of the so-called Subversive Activities Control Board. The organization is under the complete control of the neo-Nazi movement which in turn is controlled by one Willis Carto.

The Pittsburgh meeting was one of Carto's cherished projects, complemented by dozens of smaller meetings throughout the country. In Buffalo, New York, relatively bigger gatherings have occurred. And Carto expects hundreds of such meetings before very long.

The would-be feuhrer has no Mein Kampf of his own, but builds his ugly machine around the "ideology" of a Nazi book written in 1948 by a crazed fascist, now dead, named Francis Parker Yockey.

The book, called "Imperium," calls

## Another Candidate For Ruling Class' 'Man on Horseback'

for the liquidation of the Soviet Union, the elimination of "culture distorters" (Jews) and the establishment of worldwide Nazi dictatorship. Through his Noontide Press, Carto publishes various Nazi and racist tracts. His latest work is called "Myth of the Six Million," which claims that Hitler did not murder six million during World War II.

In 1968, Carto helped to form the Youth for Wallace, which after the election became the National Youth Alliance. In early 1969, the original leaders of YFW-NYA revolted when Carto revealed himself as a hard-core Nazi. The revolt was quickly suppressed and Carto not only expelled the rebellious leaders but subjected them to physical and verbal harassment by his henchmen.

The National Youth Alliance, a group of little strength but much influence on the right, is headed today by the former John Birch Society thugs, namely Louis T. Byers and Michael Russell. Both Byers and Russell are outspoken (in private) supporters of genocide and Adolf Hitler.

With Nixon already moving to the right, it might appear that the ruling class wouldn't even bother with such extreme rightist types. But such is not the case.

Carto and Liberty Lobby exert a great deal of influence in Washington. Through the United Congressional Appeal, Carto and his associates keep 12 rightist congressmen on the string.

And he holds a file of 52 congressmen and senators who are connected in one way or another with the Ku Klux Klan. It was recently revealed that Otto Otepka—head of the newly formed Subversive Activities Control Board—is openly associated with Carto and his neo-Nazis.

This Spring, the ousted leaders of NYA went to Otepka with sworn affidavits containing documentation about Carto's Nazi meetings and associates. Otepka took the affidavits and it was learned by a Washington reporter that they had been turned over, by Otepka, to Willis Carto.

In an interview with World Wide Features, Inc., Otepka stated his support for Carto and the Liberty Lobby. He claimed that there are no Nazis in the United States and stated that he was only interested in investigating Communists.

Since 1963, Liberty Lobby has spearheaded the drive to have Otepka re-instated with the Government.

Otepka was kicked out of the State Department in 1963 when it was revealed that he was leaking information to Senator Thomas Dodd. Since that

time, Otepka has been a martyr figure whose cause has been championed by most rightist groups. Rumor has it that Otepka is presently investigating the ousted NYA leaders for alleged subversive activities. Efforts by ousted NYA leaders to prevent Otepka's appointment by revealing this information to the Senate went without heeding... and the ultra-right Otepka was confirmed by the "moderate" U.S. Senate.

It is further interesting to note that Willis Carto, although he supported Wallace, received a set of official credentials to go as he pleased at the GOP National Convention in Miami. And he and his wife were among the guests at Richard Nixon's inaugural ball.

## Expanding Empire

by Vincent Copeland

The Global War Drive of  
Big Business  
And The Forces That Will  
Stop It

50 cents

WORKERS WORLD PRESS  
46 West 21 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## Read Workers World

.. and help to build one!

Subscription rates — 6 mo. only \$1.75; 1 yr. only \$3.50