

## The Revolutionary Situation in France Which Road for the Mass Struggle? — To a New Bourgeois Coalition, or Workers' Power?

### French Student Strike Sparked Great Proletarian Rebellion



By V. COPELAND

The French railroad worker who declared "the students were the fuse; we (the workers) were the powder keg," said a revolutionary mouthful last week.

The explosion in France was a big one, so big that it jarred the whole repressive apparatus of a formerly

confident ruling class and raised the question of which class should have state power in a dramatic way that everybody could understand.

It began spontaneously, the workers taking fire from the students (see page 4) and against the will of their conservative leaders, transforming episodic although fiercely militant

(Continued on page 4)

By SAM MARCY

MAY 22, 1968 — There can be absolutely no doubt that as of this writing, France is in the throes of one of the deepest and most profound of revolutionary crises. And France, it must be remembered, has had more of them than any other Western nation to date.

What gives this truly great revolutionary upheaval exceptional and extra-

### COLUMBIA STUDENTS STAND UP TO COPS IN NEW REBELLION

By DANNY LUCE

A Columbia Student

NEW YORK, May 22 — The Columbia campus resembled the Left Bank in Paris early this morning — a rubble-strewn scene where students had engaged in pitched battles with invading police over barricades and sections of the campus.

Some 5,000 students carried out night-long demonstrations, utilizing mobile tactics in support of our demands against the university administration. But as of now, the police have virtually taken over the campus and the administration has turned the university into a little police state.

It began yesterday when the administration wanted to talk to the four suspended leaders of SDS and we said they would have to talk to all of us — at that time, about 400 to 500 students.

At about 3:45 the Student Strike Coordinating Committee had called a rally to protest the summoning of the four students to the Dean's office to discuss the punishment set for their participation in campus demonstrations of the past few months.

(Continued on page 6)

ordinary significance is that it has the very real potential — more than previous crises — not only of ousting the de Gaulle government, but of overturning the entire rotten edifice on which the French capitalist system is built.

Such an event, of course, would not only change the character of the international situation, but would also light the flames of a new revolutionary conflagration that inevitably would sweep all of Western Europe. This in turn would surely mean a reworking of the bonds of class solidarity between the western proletariat and the revolutionary liberation struggles waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

These bonds, first forged by the victorious October socialist revolution in Russia and the western proletarian uprisings that followed, were brutally severed by the triumph of opportunism and liquidationism which now hold sway in the USSR, Eastern Europe and most of the CPs.

When one considers the rising tide of rebellion in America today, along with the momentous resurgence in Europe, it is inconceivable that the revolutionary contagion would not also greatly affect the mood as well as the direction of the rank and file white American worker and cement a genuine alliance with the Black liberation movement against the U.S. imperialist Establishment.

The above prognosis, our cynics will tell you — and they are an international breed — is a revolutionary pipe dream that won't come true. Perhaps. It is instructive to remember, however, that these very same cynics were telling us only yesterday, how stable, prosperous and safe from any revolutionary disorders capitalist France was, under de Gaulle, and that the French workers had become so thoroughly bourgeois that they were beyond revolutionary redemption.

Now, it is plain to see that the French working class, in alliance with the revolutionary students and other social groupings, have what amounts to de facto power in their hands. They have not only paralyzed the economic life of the country — they virtually have it in their hands.

The real issue is whether what they have in their hands will be returned to the absentee owners. This class of ruthless exploiters, a tiny minority of the French people, is now literally at the mercy of an aroused and revolutionary people.

And yet, the ruling classes of Europe and America, while greatly alarmed at the magnitude of the social and political upheaval, seem confident that even if the de Gaulle government is eventually forced out, a new set of leftist politicians will take over, grant a minimum of concessions, a maximum of false promises, and through the medium of the French CP leadership, return the plants back to their "rightful" owners and the workers to exploitation.

A long and protracted parliamentary crisis will then ensue with the cabinet being shuffled and reshuffled and bourgeois, radical, socialist, and communist ministers going in and out of

(Continued on page 5)

### IN OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE AND ALL BLACK COMMUNITIES...

## The Right of Self-Determination Means The Right to Control the Schools

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

NEW YORK — The struggle which recently broke out between the governing board of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district and the Board of Education over the right of the local board to transfer 13 teachers and six administrators from the district has quickly developed into a struggle by the Black people to take over the schools as a fundamental part of their struggle for self-determination.

The question of better education for the Black people has been a burning issue in Afro-American communities for years. The Black people have now decided that the only way to rid themselves of the mis-education and white chauvinist system which oppresses Black children is to take the power

from the boss-controlled Board of Education and do the job themselves. This includes the demand for their right to hire Black teachers and administrators and fire white teachers, many of whom have taken on the racist attitudes of the leadership of the United Federation of Teachers, the Board of Education and the whole ruling class.

On this crucial issue of self-determination, the entrenched union bureaucracy has joined with the city administration, the Board of Education and the Council of Supervisory Associations to sabotage the communities' attempts at control.

In a calculated racist attempt to discredit community control in the schools, the Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers lined up behind the transferred teachers de-

spite the fact that Superintendent of Schools Donovan admitted, according to a New York Times article of May 14, that some of the 19 had requested re-assignment before the present struggle began.

But the real attitude of the Board of Ed, Mayor Lindsay and the UFT (all of whom have claimed to be for "decentralization") was clearly revealed when the Black community actually instituted real local control by taking over JHS 271 last week. The unanimous response was to denounce the action as illegal — Mayor Lindsay called the situation "anarchy" — and call in the cops.

On Monday and Tuesday, May 13 and 14, community leaders and parents successfully blockaded Junior High School 271 and kept out five dismissed teachers

(Continued on page 10)

# WORKERS WORLD

Editorial office:

46 W. 21st Street, New York, N. Y.

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

Vol. 10, No. 11 — May 23, 1968

PUBLISHED BI-WEEKLY



## Neither Democratic, Socialist, Nor Revolutionary

The "democratic socialist revolution" in Czechoslovakia is in reality counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist and not very democratic, except insofar as right-wing critics of the regime are getting more and more freedom to sound off on behalf of capitalism and imperialism.

In an internationally publicized press conference on May 14, Deputy Premier Ota Sik told reporters that Czechoslovakia would accept Western capital for industrial "joint ventures" with state enterprises, and that it would be up to each state enterprise to negotiate with the capitalist companies.

This almost amounts to giving up the state monopoly of foreign trade and undermining socialized property altogether. Wherever foreign capitalist production is more efficient, due to greater wealth, machinery and more intensive exploitation, its product will compete directly with the socialist product and socialist labor will be indirectly exploited by Western capital.

Inviting private capital from the West does not in and of itself destroy socialism. But under conditions of decentralizing the economy, establishing more and more friendly relations with capitalist countries and individual capitalists, permitting these capitalists to negotiate separately with the individual factories and factory combines, it certainly tends to batter down the socialist economy.

The Czechoslovak Government also announced flatly that it would cooperate economically with the West, break away from the economic pattern of the socialist bloc and try to make its currency convertible with the dollar instead of the ruble.

Politically, the new Czechoslovak leadership has made it clear that it wants more conciliation with the West, that it opposes even the mild Soviet support for the oppressed Arabs and sides with the U.S. satellite, Israel, in the Mideast.

It wants to be friends with the Pope; it rehabilitates Czech imperialist politicians as national heroes; it idolizes U.S. hegemony at the very moment most of the world wants to overthrow it.

Whatever slight opposition these leaders may express to U.S. intervention in Vietnam, the whole logic of their position is to sabotage the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people. They have already made clear that they oppose the "old course" of

sending material aid to countries fighting for their liberation.

They, like the revisionists in the Soviet Union, whom they have sociologically outstripped, want "the good life." Instead of helping the oppressed abroad, they are going to concentrate on exploiting the workers at home to get this "good life."

The Czechoslovak workers, who are scheduled to be speeded up, where they are not actually laid off (so this bunch of parasites can have more "consumer products"), have not yet been heard from.

It is possible that due to bureaucratic treatment of them in the past, they may be confused and temporarily accept the "new nationalism" as a genuine form of socialist autonomy, rather than the neo-capitalist restorationism it really is.

But in any case, it is not the workers who are talking about "democracy." It is not workers' democracy the new leadership is talking about. And it is not the workers who are forming Catholic and pro-capitalist political parties; it is their would-be bosses and exploiters.

It is important to emphasize that the neo-bourgeois restorationist stratum has been nourished for many years under the wing of privileged bureaucrats who should have been ousted by the workers long ago.

If some of the bureaucrats, compromised by past crimes, are unwilling or unable to call upon the workers, they may try to adjust themselves to the growing counter-revolution. Others may succeed in linking themselves to the workers in a genuine struggle against the revival of capitalism.

But it is not necessary for us to have to delineate the complete pattern of events.

Czechoslovakia, like Vietnam, the U.S., France and Germany, — is part of the world. And the great revolutionary events in the world are driving in quite another direction than the Czechoslovak "liberals," the petty-bourgeois orphans of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, seem to imagine.

These "democrats" are really gambling on the definitive victory of the imperialist United States, just as the imperialist Czech bourgeoisie in 1938 gambled on the victory of Hitler.

They are gambling, not just against the power of the Soviet ruble (in favor of the tottering dollar!) but against the strength of awakening mankind and the sweep of world revolution.

The least Premier Ceausescu could have done in solidarity with the French masses was to cancel the visit and give de Gaulle the back of his hand.

How can the Rumanian leadership be for the Rumanian workers, if it is so insensitive to the needs of the French?



On April 26, the day of a nation-wide student strike to protest the war in Vietnam and racism at home, the Milwaukee Organizing Committee led a march of over 200 people to the Federal Building where they met student anti-war protesters from Marquette University. After picketing for about 30 minutes, the demonstrators (left) marched on the City Hall to protest to Mayor Maier the racist "shoot to kill" order passed by Chicago Mayor Daly.

At the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, students burned an effigy of LBJ (lower right).

Also participating in the demonstration were high school students and several local anti-war organizations.

## Afro-Asian Bookstore in Exile Aids Jailed Liberation Fighter

BUFFALO — For over a month now, the Afro-Asian Book Store in Exile has been set up several times a week on the University of Buffalo campus. Members of the Martin Sostre Defense Committee are staffing it and arrangements have been made with several publishers who are replacing stock of Martin Sostre's original store which was destroyed by the police.

Martin Sostre, as Buffalo's leading Black militant, posed a serious threat to the racist power structure here. It was not really surprising, therefore, that last summer they singled him out for a vicious frameup and have now sentenced him to prison for 31 to 41 years in an attempt to silence him.

While the struggle to free Sostre goes on at full steam, a parallel struggle to reestablish his book store which was ransacked and gutted by the Buffalo Gestapo, also continues.

The response on the part of students, the working staff and professors has

been excellent. The money made so far has helped with legal expenses connected with Martin's appeal. Another value of the book store is that it helps to keep Martin's case alive in the minds of the people who see it and it serves as a continuing reminder to the white bosses who own Buffalo that they have not really succeeded in suppressing Martin's voice.

In the future the Committee hopes to be able to take the Book Store to other campuses in the area and eventually, perhaps, Martin will return it to its rightful location: the political center of Buffalo's oppressed Black Community.

Send inquiries and donations to the Martin Sostre Defense Committee  
P.O. Box 382  
Ellicott Station  
Buffalo, New York, 14205.

## BLACK STUDENT LEADER FRAMED; BAIL NEEDED

To the Editor:

Brother Sam Jordan has been arrested by Lancaster, Pa., police.

He is a student at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster and is past president of the school's Afro-American Society. Sam is being held on four charges with bail totaling \$32,000. He was arrested at 2:42 A.M. Friday, May 10.

The excessive bail seems intended to set an example of Sam and keep him jailed until his trial.

Money is urgently needed to cover bail and legal defense. We cannot

give out more information at this time for fear of jeopardizing Sam's legal defense. We will send more information as soon as possible.

Students for a Democratic Society and other campus groups are aiding in fund raising. Contributions are urgently needed.

Money should be sent to:  
Sam Jordan Defense Fund  
c/o Students for a Democratic Society  
Box 148  
Franklin & Marshall College  
Lancaster, Pa., 17604

## Rumanian Revisionists Welcomed de Gaulle As French Workers Rose Up Against Him

French workers and students were all but making a revolution against de Gaulle and the imperialism he stands for. But in Rumania, the revisionist "communist" leaders were hailing de Gaulle as a visiting hero and playing The Marseillaise when he arrived at the airport.

The least Premier Ceausescu could have done in solidarity with the French masses was to cancel the visit and give de Gaulle the back of his hand.

How can the Rumanian leadership be for the Rumanian workers, if it is so insensitive to the needs of the French?

### SUBSCRIBE NOW!

A 6 mo. sub to WORKERS WORLD for only \$1.25 — 1 yr. for \$2.50.

Fill in coupon and mail to:

Workers World, 46 W. 21st St., N.Y. 10, N.Y.

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....



## YAWF Militant Given 4-Year Sentence; Denounces Ruling Class Courts

## Draft Resister Sentenced; Hails NLF, DRV

Ed Oquendo ,  
Sentenced 5 Yrs. ,  
Appeal Denied

BROOKLYN, N.Y., May 17 — "Whoever the judge, the prosecutor and the jury, these frame-ups are organized as tools of the same moneyed interests who profit... from the blood of GIs."

Thus Joel Meyers, a leading militant of Youth Against War and Fascism, again defied the U.S. Army and U.S. Government today, telling a Federal Court he would not fight in Wall Street's war.

After 40 of his supporters had marched up and down in front of Brooklyn District Court, shouting, "Joel won't go; we won't go!" Mr. Meyers led them into the courtroom at 10 a.m. Judge Bruchhausen was to pronounce sentence at that time for the defendant's "crime" of distributing leaflets and making a speech condemning the Vietnam war before his fellow inductees on May 4, 1967. (Mr. Meyers had been found guilty on April 5 of this year.) The exact charge was "failing to report for and refusing to submit to induction."

The Civil Liberties Union attorney, Baer, otherwise a competent trial lawyer, insisted that the crowd leave the courtroom immediately without witnessing the proceedings (!) and indicated he would drop the case then and there if they did not do so.

Mr. Meyers strongly objected to this and the group stayed.

The class-prejudiced judge could not refrain from lecturing the audience about "demonstrations" but had to admit that "you have a right" to be present.

## Joel Meyers' Statement to Federal Court

"The sentence should not be passed because I did not get a fair trial. It is true that the jury was not of my peers, and it is true that its prejudices were played upon by both the prosecution and the court. But what is even more important is the fact that whomever the judge, the prosecutor and jury, the frame-ups are organized as tools of those same moneyed interests who profit so extensively from the blood of the GIs who are sentenced through an induction notice to defend the investments of the bankers whose properties are scattered around the world.

"These courts do not hesitate to trample on the constitution when big money is threatened. For example, they uphold the slave-labor draft law. The courts exist within the framework of the imperialist system which uses

such unconstitutional laws to force the youth of the country to fight a war against the Vietnamese people over there as well as the Black people over here. In both wars, the courts are willing frame-up tools. In these courts there is no such thing as a fair trial.

"Finally, I would like to take this occasion of my sentencing, which confirms all that I have just said, to declare my solidarity with all the anti-imperialist fighters at home and abroad and especially the heroes of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the miraculous vanguard of this struggle who are a glorious episode in the history of resistance to both national and individual slavery, and who are winning their land and the fruit of their labor through their inspiring struggle.

"we won't go!" as they left the courtroom.



Before the judge gave the sentence, Mr. Baer emphasized that the defendant was not "a common criminal and should not have to go to jail," where he might lose his chance of ever being a "good citizen," etc. Mr. Meyers explained the frame-up character of the imperialist courts and solidarized himself with those who fight against imperialism at home and abroad.

The judge gave him four years, but the conviction is being appealed.

Mr. Meyers' statement was roundly applauded, and the whole group shouted

## "University Authorities" Exposed, Denounced at Buffalo U.

## Big Character Posters Work in U.S. Too

BUFFALO — The idea for adapting the *dazibao* (big character) wall poster media to the American political scene, as both a method of political expression and a counter to the controlled mass-media, was first conceived of and put into practice by Martin G. Sostre, a Black Liberation Leader who was recently framed-up and sentenced to 41 years because of his political activism in Buffalo, New York.

Martin Sostre operated the Afro-Asian Bookstore at 1412 Jefferson Avenue in the Black Ghetto of Buffalo. During the Black revolt in June 1967, the Buffalo firemen in collusion with the police broke out his windows and played two high pressure fire hoses inside the bookshop, under the pretext of putting out a fire which occurred in the tavern next door (although the fire never got near Sostre's shop). Although he suffered extensive water damage, Sostre, following the example of the Red Guard in China, put up articles of interest to the Black community on a plywood bulletin board outside the store.

The community responded well and the poster method of spreading news was in effect until Sostre was jailed.

Members of Youth Against War and Fascism who had been close to Martin Sostre and active in his Defense Committee put forward the idea of utilizing the *dazibao* media up at the campus of the State University of N.Y. at Buffalo — along the lines initiated by Martin Sostre. The wall posters could be a mode of political expression for the anti-war students as well as a weapon for political agitation. Along with friends in the National Reality Front, a new campus group, wall posters were carefully written and preparations made for a wall poster campaign.

A large bolt of white poster paper, wall-paper paste and brushes, water-

proof black ink and ink pens, masking tape, etc. were purchased by the Wall Poster Committee. Sound equipment was purchased for a follow-up rally in the student union.

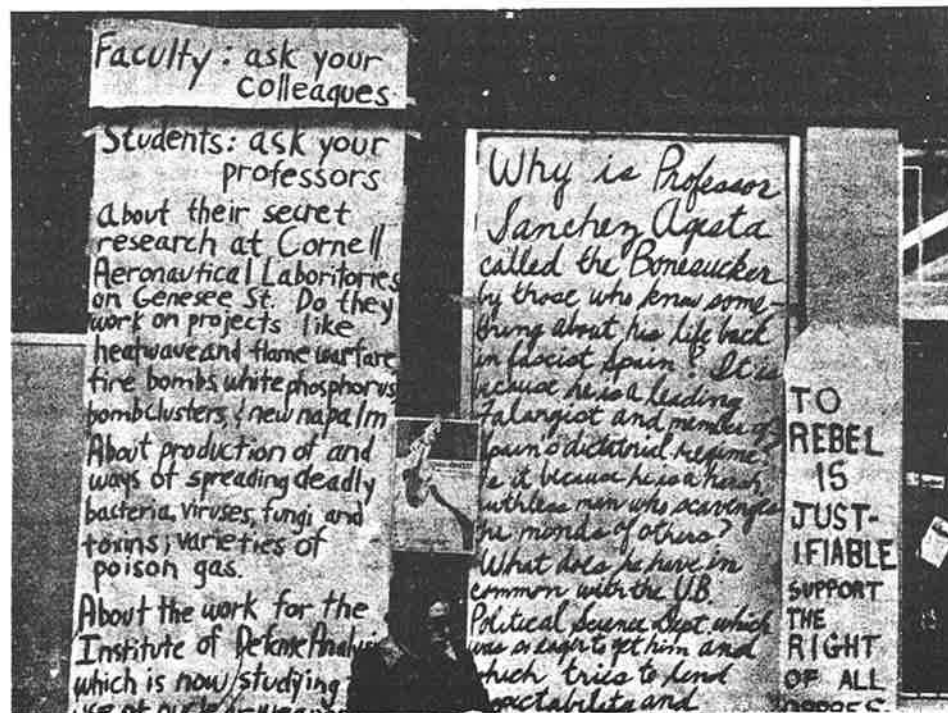
Wednesday evening, April 25th, about twenty students met and made wall posters from prepared research that had been typed onto cards by the committee. Some wall posters spelled out the corporate and banking ties of the university trustees and administrators.

Others pointed an accusing finger at specific professors employed at the university who were admitted fascists,

either under Franco or Chiang Kai Shek. Still others were of anti-war statements and cartoons or "from the horse's mouth" statements like Eisenhower's "Tin and Tungsten" statement of 1953.

The next morning the group met again and put up all the large wall posters in the student union and wall-papered some outside on the concrete surface of the union itself. By noon, the union was filled with students looking at and discussing the new wall posters.

Soon the rally was begun. Speakers



Wall posters at Buffalo University denouncing the school's connections with the Institute of Defense Analysis and exposing fascist professor. Similar posters were put up around the campus.

from YAWF, the NRF, and the International Student Strike Committee explained to the student body the concept of the wall poster media as a means of political expression outside the scope of the established and administration-controlled "student" news media.

As the rally was ending, a fist-fight broke out in the corridor where hundreds of students were milling about around the 20-foot wall posters. A small group of rightists tried to pull a wall poster down, but many more students had placed themselves in front of the posters protecting them. University officials separated the combatants and, in a concession to the anti-war left, announced that the wall posters would not be taken down.

The most controversial posters were those based upon research into the corporate power structure of the university. They spelled out the class rulers of Buffalo and of the New York State University system. Another one was of Robert F. William's poem, "The Black Madonna of Harlem Square."

The next night more posters were prepared and groups went out at night putting them up on the outlying buildings. Campus cops with police dogs, along with rightist elements of the football team, took the posters down as soon as we had put them up. But the posters in the student union remained up and new ones were added during the week.

It was evident that the wall poster medium was extremely powerful. One could not ignore the poster whereas one could easily ignore a leaflet or an issue of the underground newspaper. They were bold and their message could not be missed.

Whether or not the adaptation of the Red Guard Wall Posters by Black militants or student activists will become another weapon along with the others for developing a revolutionary consciousness in the people is hard to tell at this point. Nevertheless, the utilization of wall posters by activists in the U.S. will give them a much better understanding of what the struggle of the militant Red Guards in China is all about.

# -Working Class Solidarity Threatens French Bourgeois Order

(Continued from page 1)

actions into a nation-wide general strike.

Beginning with the Sud Aviation plant in Nantes, where they welded the plant gates shut on May 14, and leaping to the complex of Renault auto plants around Paris where the workers ran up the Red Flag, by May 20 over 6 million workers had tied up the whole of France.

With hundreds of thousands of students occupying every major university in the country and the majority of the minor ones, as well as broad action by still more hundreds of thousand of high school pupils, the French working class seized and occupied scores, possibly hundreds of plants. They often kept their bosses, the executive servants of the ruling class, imprisoned as they insisted on wage increases, shorter hours, etc.

Premier Georges Pompidou, acting in President de Gaulle's absence, implicitly threatened the use of troops.

But troops could not be moved on the closed-down railroads. Nor could they use the telegraph or telephone for communications. Were they to move in jeeps and tanks from their bases, it was questionable where they would concentrate their attack, since the strike

had hit every city.

Mines, mills, steel and auto plants, rubber, textile, chemical and every industry imaginable was on strike. Finally, the army itself was made up of the brothers and sons of the strikers. Unlike the National Guard regiments of Jersey City being sent to Newark, or white troops being used against Black Americans, the French Army was not necessarily "reliable." It was almost a classical revolutionary situation.

And yet as late as May 17, Georges Seguy, Secretary General of the CP-controlled General Confederation of Labor (CGT), stated specifically that he was against a general strike!

But the general strike was already on (later to be rubber-stamped by Seguy) and it had already shown its revolutionary possibilities.

Pompidou proved this when he accused the movement (on May 16) of trying to "destroy the nation and the very foundation of our society."

True, the workers, unlike the more articulate students, had only demanded modest wage increases and the shortening of their 45-50 hour work-week. But their deeds infinitely surpassed their words.

The CP leaders were at first utterly opposed to any action at all and termed

the student uprisings a "provocation." Then, embarrassed by the events, they tried to utilize them to force the "leftist" bourgeois politicians into a "popular front" with them.

Even the "Non-Communist Left" (the same liberal bourgeoisie with whom the CP was trying to merge) was ahead of the CP in asking for the resignation of the de Gaulle government, although this, of course, was a purely parliamentary demand and would settle nothing of substance.

Playing out their parliamentary farce against the backdrop of what was essentially a revolution or at least an attempted revolution, the CP leaders' most consummate strategy was to make a motion for the censure of de Gaulle!

This was over de Gaulle's position on the student strike and came at least two weeks late.

It was as though the battles of Lexington and Concord had produced a petition to King George III instead of the Declaration of Independence — as though the storming of the Bastille had been called off in favor of a verbal protest against Louis XIV — or the October Revolution postponed in order to censure Kerensky, just when the masses were in the process of overthrowing him.

But by May 23 nearly 10 million workers were on strike — a fifth of the total population. It was as if 40 million U.S. workers (there are only 17 million organized in labor unions) had downed their tools to bring the country to a standstill.

The workers' leadership was compelled to supervise the flow of food and vital services in the interest of the very workers who were striking. This underlined the revolutionary character of the action and emphasized to the leaders as well as to the ranks that the essential power was really in their own hands.

The bourgeoisie was helpless. Even de Gaulle, who has been constantly portrayed as a giant, looked remarkably like a dwarf in this situation, as he scurried back to Paris from his almost triumphal tour of Rumania.

At last reports the CP leaders were waiting for an announcement of concessions from this threadbare Napoleon.

The workers were waiting to see if the CP leaders would replace him altogether.

A greater portion of government workers was on strike than ever before in history and an unprecedented number of farm workers as well. White collar and blue collar, all joined to show that labor was everything and the ruling class was superfluous.

## It All Began With the French Students

By F. REED

The great French uprising of 1968 began in the following way:

On Friday, May 3, several hundred students protested the closing of Nanterre University and the jailing of their leaders for an action asserting student rights and reform of the archaic university system.

They were attacked, tear-gassed and arrested by cops called out by the Interior Minister, Fouchet. And clashes spread in the university area. By nightfall, the Latin Quarter was a battlefield, with 500 arrested and 100 injured.

The following Monday, demonstrators, who arrived at the Sorbonne shouting "Free our comrades," found 2,000 riot cops waiting at the shut-down institution.

That afternoon, police charged a marching group and once again resistance spread in street fighting which a police official called "the worst since Liberation."

Students used motorcycle scouts to avoid police attacks. They made barricades of overturned automobiles; they threw paving stones and bricks when the cops did attack them. When the night was over, 432 had been arrested and 700 injured — not all of them students.

On May 7, a demonstration of more than 20,000, called by the National Union of French Students and the National Union of Higher Education (teachers) took police by surprise when it crossed the Seine to the Arc de Triomphe.

The marchers, chanting "de Gaulle, Assassin!" "Free Our Comrades" and "Fouchet, Assassin" hung a red flag on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Speakers demanded amnesty for the prisoners, freedom for the leaders originally arrested, and the removal of the police from the Sorbonne.

When Education Minister Peyrefitte (the super-Grayson Kirk of France) announced on Wednesday, May 8 that classes might resume at both universities, the students' and teachers' organizations declared they would strike, since none of their demands had been met.

The strike idea quickly met with

support from students in all provinces throughout the country, at the high school as well as the university level.

On Thursday, May 9, high schools and universities were partially shut by strike at Clermont, Rouen, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Strasbourg and Nantes. At Dijon, 4,000 striking youths and workers paraded, called out by the Student

students in the life of their schools, and recognition by the high school administrations.

As a result of their active support of the general student rebellion, Education Minister Peyrefitte warned school administrators that "in particular, they must not in any way recognize student committees which



Students battle police in Paris during early stages of struggle.

Union, the teaching unions and the Central Labor Union. A similar number of student youth and workers marched at Lyons. At Rennes, 500 students occupied the Science Building.

Thousands of French teenagers belong to the High School Action Committees, which have grown out of national Vietnam Committees and have been active since late 1967 in demanding freedom of political discussion in school, participation of high-school

might be constituted."

Before the workers' revolt, the major battle occurred in Paris on Friday, May 10.

Five thousand high school students were the first group to gather with their teachers at Place Denfert-Rochereau. Then came the college faculties, "medicine at the head...secondary and superior professors marched elbow to elbow with their students..." (Figaro, May 11-12)

The combined crowd, now about 10,000, marched to the Santé prison, where several of their comrades stretched hands out from behind the bars.

All bridges across the Seine were closed off by police. Shouting "Libérate the Sorbonne!", the demonstration leaders ordered the peaceful occupation of the Latin Quarter. Negotiations with the Ministry of Education resulted in no agreements on amnesty or the other demands. The students began to erect barricades of cars and paving-stones ripped up by hand and by pneumatic drills. Sixty barricades were built in all, and manned by helmeted defense guards. The FER, anarchist students, joined at 1 A.M. and planted their black and red flags on a barrier.

At 2:15 A.M. the police charged as ordered, with clubs, tear gas, and as demonstrators and union officials later claimed, sulphur, chlorine, and other types of noxious gas grenades. The "clearing-out" operation included the beating of first-aid personnel, and the pursuit of the wounded into adjoining courtyards. A member of the first-aid team stationed at the Franco-Lebanese center said: "We had to tear the wounded from the police who were still beating them." There were 367 wounded, 460 arrested and 188 cars burned.

The following day student strike activity continued throughout the country. Students refused to take exams while other students were imprisoned. Cops tear-gassed a demonstration of 300 in Paris.

The Student Union called for further struggle: "The government will yield. The weapon of victory is unity in the struggle of the students, high school students, young workers and the working class." (Figaro, May 11-12)

A joint student union-workers' union call went out for a general strike on Monday, May 13. A million persons were estimated to have participated. At Nanterre, the teachers prepared to replace the "bankrupt existing institutions."

On Tuesday, May 14, the Paris students took possession of a Sorbonne emptied of police. On Wednesday, they took over the state Theatre and closed it "to bourgeois audiences." But now, workers were themselves occupying their plants. The struggle of the French students was now a struggle of the French people.



# - Towards A New Bourgeois Coalition or Workers' Power?



**Renault Auto Factory Occupied 1968**

(Continued from page 1)

the cabinet as through a revolving door. In the end it will be just another case for the French bourgeoisie "doing business as usual during alterations" of their government.

Such a prognosis would have much to recommend it if viewed strictly in the narrow framework of the historical precedent of the 1936-39 Popular Front period, and also the period immediately following the end of World War II. The French proletariat was armed and might have taken destiny into their own hands were it not for the SP and CP leadership which disarmed them and returned them back to capitalist slavery.

The present confidence of the French bourgeoisie is based on its conviction that substantially the same type of leadership of the French working class movement will do a repeat performance and thereby save the bourgeois social order (of which the CP and, to a less influential extent, the SP are considered to be firm pillars). So much are these working class parties considered part of the capitalist Establishment that the world press, including some of the French, openly and unashamedly speak of them in such terms.

This certainly is a possible variant of development especially in the light of the two terrible historical precedents referred to.

However, if we look at the revolutionary situation in France today in the light of the entire historical development of the class struggle of the proletariat in France against the bourgeoisie, through all the preceding significant stages, and not merely the last two, one can project an entirely different prognosis.

Such a different prognosis is re-enforced when the struggle in France is viewed in the concrete historical context of world relationships as they exist today and not as they existed in 1936-39 or 1945. Aside from anything else, while the French workers in those two phases of the previous struggle seemed or actually were more revolutionary or more class conscious, they certainly were less well organized than they are today. This is absolutely incontestable.

And as a class — not merely as an economic category in the bourgeois system of economics — the working class has a lot more popular support and sympathy from other class strata and groupings than it had in previous times. Enjoying such support in a revolutionary period is extremely valuable. Hence, the sense of isolation with which the leaders tried to frighten the masses in the earlier periods is certainly not a factor today.

Finally, the sense of dependence on the leadership is no longer an overriding factor as it was then. The unstinted and unquestioning devotion of the very best sons and daughters of the French working class to the CP leadership has given way to a healthy scepticism, if not yet to open resistance, on a mass scale.

Moreover, a proletarian revolution which seemed so much like a utopian dream in the previous period, must now, after the great Chinese Revolution, the Cuban Revolution and the heroic example of the Vietnamese people, seem not merely a possibility, but an attainable objective entirely within its grasp.

Every French worker knows that there are at least 13 nominally Socialist states even if the political leadership of some of them are as questionable as his own party and union heads. The sense of isolation felt during the Popular Front period when the Soviet Union was an isolated fortress and all of Europe lived under the shadow of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco is not at all a factor today.

Whereas the confidence of the French bourgeoisie in maintaining their system of exploitation rests almost

exclusively on naked terror and on the ability of the CP and SP leadership to return the masses to the domination of the capitalist Establishment, the confidence of the working class, on the other hand, is instinctively based on larger and more significant historical factors.

The role of the working class as a producer, as the key factor in the system of social production, is what in the final analysis has given the French workers, as it will ultimately give all workers, the boldness and audacity to storm the citadels of the bourgeoisie. Even if the class consciousness and revolutionary elan has been watered down by the systematic corruption of the leadership, the working class has gained so much numerically and in other ways that it cannot help but sooner or later emerge as the decisive force in society, become its organizer and its master.

In this connection, it is very important to note that the French proletariat is a unique detachment of the Western working class. The French working class historically has fought its wars against the class enemy always to a finish. True the battles were lost in the end, but they were fought valiantly with courage and determination.

This is even true of the Great French (bourgeois) Revolution of 1789-93 to the extent that the French working class was involved at that early period. It was also true in the proletarian insurrections of 1848 and needless to say, in the Paris Commune of 1871.

The long period of so-called peaceful capitalist development that followed in France after 1871 has as its political foundation the decisive defeat of the heroic Paris Communards who literally fought to the last man.

But the great struggle of the late 30's in France and the revolutionary situation that it ushered in were never fought out to the finish with the bourgeoisie. This is a fact of pre-eminent importance. The Popular Front which was nothing but a new name for an old bourgeois coalition, merely paralyzed the workers but did not end in a decisive defeat of the working class by the bourgeoisie.

In this very important respect, the situation of the French proletariat differs markedly from the decisive defeats which occurred in Spain, Austria and Germany. In these latter countries fascism triumphed completely by destroying the working class organizations and ushering in an epoch of historic reaction from which they have not yet significantly recovered.

The French working class maintained its confidence in itself and retained its political organizations and trade unions. The struggles which began with the great strikes of 1936 have only been interrupted and muffled but not really finished. They have now re-emerged apparently stronger than ever.

Bourgeois scholars may not see anything at all in the unique character of the French working class as compared to that of the German, the Spanish, the Austrian and even the Italians. But those French working class leaders whose objectives are proletarian revolution cannot but fail to appreciate its deep significance.

During the Popular Front period the extreme Right seemed far, far stronger than the Rightist elements of today, whose man incidentally is de Gaulle. In 1936-39 it was the Popular Front politicians who discredited the cause of the workers by their failure to accomplish anything worthwhile. The Right capitalized on the political bankruptcy of the Popular Front. Today, however, it is the Right that is discredited because it has, in the person of de Gaulle, held power for ten long years and brought nothing but misery to the broad masses of the people.

The so-called prosperity and stability that the de Gaulle regime brought to France has proven to be a gigantic fraud. De Gaulle has only been able to paper over the crying class contradictions inherent in French capitalist society. Not only has he been unable



**Barricades in the Paris Commune 1871**

to resolve them, but on the contrary, he has brought these acute class contradictions to the bursting point.

Certainly there has been prosperity for the capitalist class but as all of the capitalist newspapers now virtually admit, it has been a prosperity based upon more intensive exploitation of the working class, the city lower middle class, and the rural poor. The domination of a handful of monopolists has served as the base from which de Gaulle has sought to mount "greatness" in imperialist French foreign policy.

What it has meant all along, as far as the French working class and the poor and deprived are concerned, is more armaments taken out of their hides. Because the working-class leaders kept quiet about it and refused to heed the grievances of the masses, the bourgeois lie that the workers are "satisfied and happy with their lot" was taken for good coin.

It wasn't so long ago that Southern senators in the U.S. would get up on the floor of Congress and roundly denounce anybody who so much as hinted at the oppression of the Black people by repeating the lie that "the Negro people are happy with their lot." Just as the great mass rebellions in the Black communities gave the lie to the talk about the "happy lot" of the Black man in this country, so the revolutionary upheaval in France today has given the lie to all the propaganda of the bourgeoisie, the social democrats and their lackeys.

It is said that all the French workers want is the rectification of some grievances and that their demands are only economic and do not go beyond the limits of the present bourgeois order of society. True enough. But this is the least of all the significant factors in the situation. The demands of the Russian workers and peasants of 1917 were even more modest. Their slogan was bread, land, and peace.

Any important strike is an embryo revolution. That is a basic teaching of Leninism.

The scope and breadth of the current strike in France, encompassing as of today eight to ten million workers, poses a truly revolutionary threat to the existing social order. It is not the modest character of the demands that is decisive but the manner in which the workers seek to get them achieved. And the manner in which they have gone about it thus far, with speed and with such utter spontaneity, makes it truly characteristic of a revolutionary situation.

However, no revolutionary situation can be considered fully as such unless one also takes into account the situation of the capitalist class and of the reciprocal relationships between all the classes of contemporary French society. The French ruling class is confronted by a series of economic demands just at a moment in its history when the political representatives of the ruling class were seeking to further encroach on the living standards of the people.

It is as though the workers in a certain factory came to the conclusion that their situation was so intolerable that they demanded an immediate raise in pay just at a time when the boss had decided that what was needed was a further cut in pay instead. Economically speaking, this is the situation that prevails on a nation-wide scale in France.

Gaullist economists, radical and bourgeois politicians and the misleaders of labor have all done their share in hiding the true anatomy of class relations in present-day France. That is what is so incredibly wonderful about the manner in which the French working class has put an end to this gross deception. In no other way could it have been brought to the attention of world public opinion, or to the French public generally.

As has happened so many times in history, it took the students to spark the movement, but the students

(Continued on page 10)

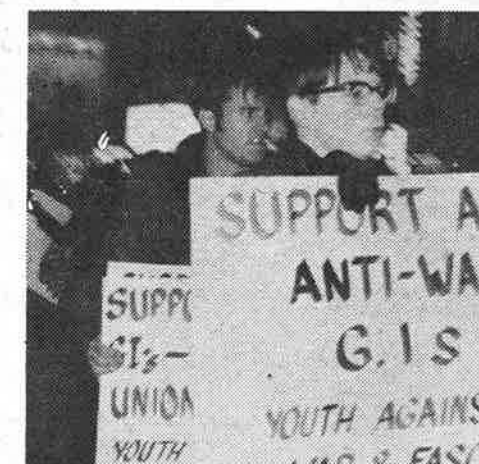


# 'Sorbonne, Sorbonne!' CU Students Cry as They Battle Cops

(Continued from page 1)

The charges made against them stemmed from their leading a delegation of 500 students bearing the signatures of 1,500 students and faculty members demanding that the university sever its ties with the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) headed by Gen. Maxwell Taylor and in which the University trustees and some personnel and facilities play a prominent role.

They, with two other SDS leaders, were singled out of the delegation to be disciplined by the university administration. The demand that charges against them be dropped was one of the three demands over which five university buildings were occupied a month ago. The others were for an end to the proposed Apartheid Gym to be built in Morningside Park, one of Harlem's few parks, and for a severance with the imperialist war research facility, the IDA.



Danny Luce, Columbia activist, on picket line supporting anti-war GIs.

In keeping with the policy of the strike committee, the students refused to report to the Dean's office, an action which the administration said would bring automatic suspension from the college.

The demonstrating students refused to cooperate with or prettify these disciplinary hearings where Alexander Platt, the Assistant Dean for Discipline, was to act as prosecution, judge, and jury, as well as being the paid representative of an illegitimate university authority, a part of a small minority of extremists bent on usurping control of the university for the benefit of the huge banks and corporations and the U.S. war drive.

We were addressed by leaders of the SDS and the Students Afro-American Society (SAS) and by Mrs. Grossner, the mother of Morris Grossner, one of the four students. The other students were Mark Rudd, Ted Gold, and Nick Freudenberg.

From the rally, the parents of the four students were accompanied by lawyers from the National Lawyers Guild and two thousand students. We marched to the Dean's office in Hamilton Hall to protest all disciplinary actions.

After the protest delegation of parents and lawyers emerged from the Dean's office at 5 p.m., Dean Platt announced the suspension of the four. Half of us remained within the building and occupied it, re-naming it Nat Turner Hall. The rest remained outside in a demonstration of support.

We constructed barricades at the entrances to the building, including some at the underground entrances which connect the buildings with one another.

For a number of hours we discussed the best course for our actions. There were two groups among us. One group felt that we had to occupy Hamilton Hall. They felt that this was the only way to dramatize our demands with the force of our previous actions. The other group argued that we should use mobile tactics to keep the campus free of a police invasion. I was in the latter group. We wanted to build barricades in order to occupy the entire campus. We could

move from building to building, seizing them for a time and moving on, keeping mobile so as not to give the police a stagnant, set-piece situation in which they could mobilize overwhelming force.

Eventually we divided into two groups, with those of us advocating the use of mobile tactics joining the support demonstration outside Nat Turner Hall.

During our discussions CBS and the New York Times tried to enter the building and cover the meeting. We unceremoniously kicked them out since they were mouthpieces for the same clique which controlled the board of trustees. In fact, the Columbia Trustees and these companies' respective boards of directors overlap.

The police invaded Nat Turner Hall from the underground tunnels from the 119th Street service entrance to the University located between the Schermerhorn Biological Sciences Building and the Engineering School, at about 2:30 this morning.

This entrance forms a 30-foot deep pit in the campus and was filled with police buses and wagons. About 130 students were quietly taken through the tunnels and loaded into vans at 115th Street and Amsterdam.

Students had fanned out throughout the campus to construct barricades at both 116th Street entrances to the campus, the main access from the Broadway and Amsterdam Ave. sides of the campus.

At about 3:45 a.m. the police began to use a truck to bulldoze the Amsterdam Avenue barricade and came pouring into the campus by the hundreds.

And then there really began what I can only describe as a police riot or a police pogrom.

The police occupied the campus in operations which resembled a miniature of the Vietnam war. The students resisted the police invasion, at many points rushing the police and forcing them to retreat. In some sections of the campus, the bricks and black stones were torn up from the sidewalks in the midst of battle. Many windows were broken.



Mark Rudd (center) Columbia student leader, gives victory sign during first rebellion. Rudd was arrested by police spy after latest uprising.

It was also reported to us that several hundred students had gone up to the north end of the campus to the pit where the police trucks were parked and dropped bricks and paving stones on them from the campus level.

It was also reported over WKCR, the campus radio station which had a number of reporters around the campus, that all the windows in the west side of

Low Library, containing "President" Kirk's offices, were smashed by bricks. The mood of the students was one of angry rebellion, coupled with a confidence in the ability to resist.

For example: After the students in Nat Turner (Hamilton) Hall were busted, there were about 500 of us left in Van Am Quadangle, which is bounded by that hall and three dormitories (Hartley, Livingston, and John Jay), with John Jay opposite Nat Turner.

Most of the other students had left for other areas to build barricades, when a line of cops appeared in front of John Jay Hall.

In a normal demonstration that might provoke some panic or fear. But not here.

We rushed the police in a mass. They retreated into John Jay. We pursued them inside, through Livingston Hall and out through the gate into the street. They locked the gate, the same one they had taken the arrested students out of, behind them so as to separate themselves from us.

All this time, powerful chants could be heard echoing back and forth across the campus: "Cops Must Go!" and "Sorbonne! Sorbonne!"

Our barricades were built out of benches, steel poles, wire mesh and wooden snow fences which the University had used to protect its bushes, parts of police barricades with which the cops had conveniently supplied us, miscellaneous pieces of steel, wooden beams, trash cans, and bricks.

Most of us moved out to the Amsterdam Avenue barricades which were already hotly contested in a pitched battle between students and police who were trying to invade the campus.

They were built to reinforce the 15-foot high so-called "ornamental" gates which had been built a few months ago to enclose what had previously been wide-open entrances to the campus. Perhaps they were intended to keep us out and certainly they were intended to keep Harlem out so as to maintain their lily-white island atop Morningside Heights (originally called Harlem

They were unable to exit from any of the windows due to the huge iron bars which were intended originally to keep people out.

However, they were busy wrecking offices and classrooms and throwing debris out onto us on the barricades below.

I personally watched cops in rooms on the second or third floor on the North side of the building smashing chairs on the radiators and throwing objects down. Afterwards many of the professors had reported their offices and files rifled or destroyed. And just like the last time, they tried to blame the students instead of the cops.

Kirk, speaking through Dean Platt, ordered the campus cleared at 4:00 a.m. All students on the campus and not confined to their dormitory rooms were told they risked arrest and expulsion. We responded to his loudspeaker message with chants of "This is our campus." We refused to leave.

The strike committee put it pretty accurately when they said, "Police then charged through the Amsterdam Ave. barricades and began a series of assaults against the students, herding them off campus and into dormitories. Later, they charged into the dormitory lobbies and halls, beating students with blackjacks and billy clubs. Fifty plainclothesmen, of whom many were in evidence, charged Fumald Hall with blackjacks and drawn guns."

The operations of the Police could only be described as "search and destroy missions" against us. When they cleared College Walk, the open area between the Amsterdam and Broadway barricades, they put a line of helmeted TPF cops, three deep, strung from Nat Turner (Hamilton) Hall, to Journalism, severing the campus, while, in the language of their own communique, they conducted a "sweep" to clear the Northern half of the campus.

I was in a group of ten students. At one point we were being chased by a group of plainclothes cops. Unfortunately, one of us fell behind, straggling. He was seized by the cops. We turned around and rushed toward them in order to free our brother when one of the cops pulled a gun, saying "Don't anyone come near me!"

We didn't argue with the barrel of a gun.

We retreated into Fumald where, after a short while, we were subjected to an invasion of cops. They burst into the lobby and began beating and attacking people left and right. I only escaped because the cops near me were so busy ganging up on guys near me that they didn't seem to notice me.

All who could get away headed for the stairs. A few jumped out the windows onto Broadway, a good ten-foot jump. From the mezzanine we could see at one point 15 "brave" cops beating up one student. They blackjacked him so mercilessly that the blood gushed out all over him.

As the cops pursued us up the stairs, many of us were taken in by dorm residents. I finally cooled it for a while in a room on the sixth floor. A WKCR reporter across Broadway said he saw some students crawling out on the roof as a refuge.

While they eventually drove us out of the main buildings of the campus, it took them a long time and it was done more on an equal basis than before. The mobile tactics reduced the casualties considerably. And there were a number of cases where some vengeance was wrought on the enemy.

But the ferocity of the ruling class' response to even a square inch of liberated territory has produced an anger and a consciousness the likes of which have never been seen on Columbia's campus. A great many serious students deeply feel that their struggle has only begun.

# Where Does Columbia Begin And the Imperialist Gov't End?

By PETER STORCH

What makes the Columbia University upheaval so significant is that this great "educational" institution is in effect a microcosm of the U.S. imperialist establishment itself. The student uprising has brought out into the open Columbia's multi-million dollar real estate holdings, its huge military research contracts from the Defense Department, and a staff of professors who moonlight for the State Department.

In 1965, Columbia U. was listed as the 4th ranking university (\$15.8 million) according to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, in total dollar value of all contracts received from Military Prime Contract Awards for Research, Development, Test and Evaluation Work. In 1966, of a total budget of \$120 million, Columbia's military contracts were worth \$16.2 million. Out of Columbia's entire research budget (that is, military and non-military), a full half is financed by the Defense Department, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (which is really a subsidiary of the Air Force).

Included in these "research" projects are testing nerve gas for the Defense Department at Columbia's Medical Center, among other projects on Chemical and Biological Warfare (CBW). Also, the Electronics Research Laboratory holds Defense Department contracts for work on ballistic missile tracking systems.

This same university also shuttles back and forth some of its super-professors between Columbia's School of International Affairs (SIA, not CIA) and the State Department. Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, for instance, is director of Columbia's Research Institute on Communist Affairs, and was appointed two years ago to the State Department's Policy Planning Council. These "educators" frequently obtain leaves of absence from the university to serve for the State Department and eventually return to the Columbia campus.

Last July, Columbia formed a new branch of the SIA, the Southern Asian Institute. The director of this new department is Dr. Harold Wiggins, a staff member of the National Security Council and also a member of the State Department's Policy Planning Council. The director of the SIA, Andrew W. Cordier, is a long-time consultant for the State Department and for the Ford

Foundation, and also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, as well as the Director of the Foreign Policy Association, the latter two institutions being merely appendages of the State Department. Cordier was the special representative to the Secretary General of the U.N. during the Korean War and during the massacre of the Congo in 1960.

Another member of the Southern Asian Institute is Roger Hillsman, former Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, and former head of the State Department Bureau of Intelligence.

And who runs Columbia University for the benefit of the warmakers in Washington and Wall Street, rather than for the benefit of its students? None other than Wall Street itself, that is, a board of trustees, almost all of them on the board of directors of the largest banking, industrial, insurance, and utility monopolies of the world.

## STRIKE COMMITTEE TELLS OF FASCIST POLICE RAID; VOWS TO FIGHT ON

Below is a press release issued by the Strike Coordinating Committee of Columbia, dated May 22.

Last night the Columbia administration, with the New York police, escalated their fight against the Columbia strike. Throughout the evening there were deliberate attempts to arrest and brutally attack the leadership of the Strike Coordinating Committee.

Mark Rudd, though not beaten, was arraigned on three counts and bail was set for him at \$5000; it was later lowered to \$2,500. Ray Brown, one of the leaders of the Student Afro-American Society, one of the original groups which began the demonstrations on April 23, was beaten by unidentified students and then arrested on three charges; his bail was set at \$500. Martin Kenner, one of the leaders of the Math Commune, was arraigned on the charge of "conspiracy to commit murder" — this charge arose out of Mr. Kenner's statement over a bullhorn, upon seeing two plainclothesmen, "There go two plainclothesmen. Let's get them." Ed Hyman, an SDS leader, was arraigned on charges of conspiracy to commit arson, and both criminal and misdemean-

## A STATEMENT OF INDIGNATION

# She Worked for Boss Columbia, But Joined Student Rebellion

The following is a statement by Shirley Jolls who worked in the Columbia University Personnel Office for eight years. She stayed out in support of the student strike at the time of the first police repression on April 30 and has since worked with the Strike Coordinating Committee.

Every boss, in every strike, knows that if he's really up against it, he can call in the goons to break the strike — and Boss Columbia has done just that twice in the last four weeks.

I was on the Columbia campus during the latest bust on May 21 and saw the brutal police sweep ordered by Kirk and his administrative flunkies against hundreds of students and members of the community. The students and youth fought against terrific odds, barricading

their campus against the TPF goons for several hours. And when the cops began their stormtrooper attack, the youth continued to fight, even charging the lines of the helmeted, club-swinging cops.

Columbia's racist owners have used the university for years as a tool of the military and a technician-factory for U.S. big business. The 3,000 janitors, clerks and kitchen workers, many of them Black and Puerto Rican, have



Shirley Jolls

always known these people as the Boss, for they have directly felt the oppression over the years.

In the last few weeks, more and more people have begun to see what the University is, and have branded it as an institution of the war-making and racist Establishment. This growing recognition of the University's role has pushed the struggle to new levels.

It is clear that Columbia can't stand for the students' challenge to its rule, but it is equally clear that the youth will not let up the pressure. So it has come to a showdown on Morningside Heights, with the cops playing their usual role as strike-breakers.

Every progressive person must commend the heroic struggle of the students and support their six just demands, while condemning the university's police-state reactions to this momentous youth movement.

on leaders, but on issues; and that the Movement will only end when its demands are satisfied.

## YAWF Activist Tells Real Story

# Students Had Right to Seize Building To Fight Racist Brooklyn College

Below is an interview with Myron Jefka, a member of the Student-Faculty Coalition Against Racism, and Student Coordinator of Youth Against War & Fascism. Mr. Jefka was one of 42 arrested for seizing the registrar's office in Boylan Hall at Brooklyn College, on May 21.

Q. What is the basic issue behind the seizure of the registrar's office?

A. The issue is the racist policy of the School Administration which runs a college in Brooklyn, a borough with a huge population of Black and Puerto Rican people, and yet has only a handful of Black and Puerto Rican students. This campus belongs to them as much as it does to anybody else. Why can't their kids go here? They have the right as members of the community, as taxpayers, as workers who built the schools. No matter how you look at it they have the right to go here and yet they can't get in because they have been victimized on a lower level by the racist public school system. That's racist discrimination no matter how you slice it.



Myron Jefka

Q. How did the actual conflict with the Administration develop?

A. The student strike on April 26 raised the slogan "Against Racism." The demand for the Administration to add 1,000 Black and Puerto Rican students was a way of concretizing the general demand raised during the strike. We are also demanding more classes in Afro-American history.

The Administration didn't even want to talk about it. They couldn't care less

about the needs of Black and Puerto Rican people. So it was decided to seize the office to force the issue.

Q. Then it was definitely a seizure and not a sit-in as some of the press has claimed?

A. Right. The Registrar's office was occupied at 11:00 in the morning and the doors were barricaded with filing cabinets. The Registrar's office is actually a complex of about 5 offices and all the filing cabinets in all the offices were used. That's not a sit-in. The Columbia students really showed the way in tactics.

Q. How did the Administration handle the situation?

A. They still refused to talk about the demands. First the word came down that everyone sitting in would be suspended at 3 o'clock and expelled at 4 o'clock. After 4 we let Dean Broglia in through the window — you saw his face on the front page of the New York Times — and he wouldn't discuss the demands for a minute. He just told us that we would be suspended at 7:15 and expelled at 8:15 and that was it.

Everyone inside was strong and when

the Administration saw that they got scared and closed down the entire building, cancelled night classes, and closed down the campus for the night. They were afraid that the entire hall would be seized. The barricades really shook them.

Q. Is that when they decided to send in the police?

A. I think so. We all decided that if the cops came we would force them to break in and get us. We weren't going to move the barricades. When the police came it was the Tactical Patrol Force. There were hundreds of them. They filled the halls and surrounded the building. They kept sympathizers outside blocked off from us.

They smashed the glass doors and pushed away some of the filing cabinets which were high up and climbed in through the holes in the door.

The Administration worked the whole thing out with the cops. They got 20 professors to "observe" the arrest. They were all smiles just because the cops didn't pound us.

When we got to court they threw 28 guys into a cell so small that we had to stand. The judge yelled like a fascist and hit everyone with excessive bail.

Q. Did the Columbia example have any effect on the students?

A. This should be seen as a second front with Columbia in the fight against racism by college administrations

(Continued on page 11)



## ANTI-IMPERIALIST COALITION SAYS:

# "We Went Back to Washington Square—and We Won"



— Photo by Howard Harrison

The march begins down East Fourth Street.



— Photo by Howard Harrison

Key Martin, YAWF Chairman, addressing Union Square rally.

## CP, SWP: "LEFTIST" CHEERLEADERS FOR LIBERALS

### Some Lessons of Washington Square

The original attempt to hold an anti-imperialist march from Washington Square on April 27 was either villified or censored by the official mis-leaders of the anti-war movement.

Various reasons have been given by different organizations in the New York Peace Parade Committee for refusing to support the anti-imperialist march, but the basic questions are quite simple and unambiguous.

First of all, the original dispute between the groups forming the anti-imperialist coalition and the Parade Committee involved the basic question: should a pro-war imperialist politician be invited to an anti-war rally? To anyone who is against imperialism, even in words, the answer is contained in the question.

However, matters became even more clear-cut in concrete terms, and the need to make a choice became more urgent when SNCC called a press conference to announce its withdrawal from the Sheep Meadow rally in protest of the invitation to Lindsay.

At this point, the choice was simple. Either side with SNCC against a racist enemy of the Black people or with the bourgeois liberals in the right-wing Parade Committee and Lindsay.

The Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist March made its position clear by announcing a total boycott.

The CP and SWP, on the other hand, also made their position clear by supporting the rally, both in deed and in word.

In an attempt to reconcile their supposedly anti-imperialist words with their bloc with Lindsay, these so-called radicals raised a hue and cry about not isolating themselves from the masses and denounced the Coalition.

But any genuine sympathizer with oppressed people should know that there comes a time when basic principles come before immediate tactical advantages. This was one of those times.

Refusing to bloc with a dedicated imperialist politician (who incidentally, days before the rally enacted laws to put Black people in detention camps) is a question of principle.

The Parade Committee and their left-wing cheerleaders in the CP and SWP, on the other hand, not only did not "isolate" themselves, but on the contrary, turned the anti-war masses into captives for Mayor Lindsay. This was an unprincipled concession to the imperialist Establishment.

(It is interesting to note that the Progressive Labor Party not only attended the rally in Sheep Meadow, but also wrote an editorial attack on "provocateurs" in Washington Square.)

The people at the Central Park rally (Continued on next page)

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

NEW YORK, May 18 — The flag of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam flew from the Washington Square arch today while 1,000 demonstrators surged through the streets of the lower east side, chanting anti-imperialist slogans in defiance of police orders.

Three weeks ago, 100 people had been arrested in Washington Square Park for attempting to hold a similar march without a police permit. That demonstration, like today's, was called by the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist March. Many of the participants in the original demonstration, including most of those who were arrested on April 27, returned today, determined to fight for the right to hold an anti-imperialist march without police permission. The demonstrators marched a total of about 2 miles today. They had no permit.

Tension began building early as demonstrators gathered in squads around the fountain in the center of the park. Few police were evident in the park itself, but everyone who came to the park reported police detachments ringing the park in every direction. The heaviest concentration of cops was on Fifth Avenue and 10th Street, three blocks north of the main entrance to the park.

Shortly after 2:30, about 250 people began circling the fountain in Washington Square Park with banners and NLF flags flying. Hundreds of other people who had been milling about, spontaneously formed into a ring of spectators surrounding the marchers.

A cheer went up from the crowd

as a huge NLF flag suddenly appeared draped over the south side of the arch. A 20-foot banner reading "The Streets Belong to the People" was hung on the north side facing up Fifth Avenue and could be read from 14th Street according to later reports.

Shortly after the flag appeared, a small feeder march appeared moving northward from Greenwich Village. As it turned east on Fourth Street, the main groups stopped circling and marched south toward Fourth Street, with hundreds of spectators watching anxiously to see what would happen.

A police captain ran toward the head of the column with a bull horn shouting a message similar to the one shouted at the demonstrators on April 27:

"You are now leaving the park without a permit. This is illegal. If you interfere with pedestrian or vehicular traffic, you will be in violation of the law and will be arrested."

The captain finished his proclamation just in time to watch the tail end of the march go rushing past and out of the park onto Fourth Street chanting "The Streets Belong to the People."

At this initial victory hundreds of people, who had been anxious spectators up until then, rushed out of the park, taking to the streets, to join the march.

The initial tension was broken, and the march instantly doubled in size to about 500. Meanwhile, reports were filtering back to the head of the march that the police were waiting in ambush. But the march swept east toward Broadway, picking up great momentum as it went.

By this time, it was clear to all —

(Continued on next page)



The Movimiento Pro Independencia contingent.



The cops waiting at St. Marks Place. They never got their chance.



# "The Streets Belong to the People; Stop Police Rule!"



## —Wash. Sq. Lessons

(Continued from preceding page)

were taken by surprise by the last minute invitation to Lindsay and, of the 80,000 who came to Sheep Meadow and were forced to listen to Lindsay, the vast majority are against him. It was not the anti-war movement which was for Lindsay speaking, but the ruling class and their collaborators in the Parade Committee.

The opposite side of refusing to bloc with imperialism is showing the way to struggle against it.

The Anti-Imperialist March, which called for the destruction of the racist system and support for Black and Vietnamese liberation, was calculated to do just that. This was not a question of isolating themselves or not isolating themselves from the masses. The Anti-Imperialist Coalition tried to point the way toward carrying on the struggle in a militant and politically correct manner.

The fact that the police (commanded by Mayor Lindsay) broke up the March on April 27 with a violent sneak attack only emboldened the Parade Committee elements, especially the CP and SWP, to politically attack the march.

The police attack was supposed to "prove," according to the so-called radicals, not that Lindsay was afraid of an anti-imperialist march which exposed him in particular, but rather that the marchers were "isolated from the masses."

At any rate, the Anti-Imperialist Coalition did a service to the anti-war movement if only by exposing the Parade Committee "radicals" for selling out on such a relatively small issue. It is vital for the masses to know the truth in advance so that they won't trust false leaders in the future when larger issues are at stake and the pressure from the ruling class to sell out will be even greater.

## —'We Went Back'

(Continued from preceding page)

both the cops and the demonstrators—that there would have been a major confrontation involving mass arrests, had the cops attacked the demonstration. The marchers were there to assert their refusal to submit to police rule, and threats alone would not do the trick.

The police backed down at that moment, and the march kept building as chants of "The Streets Belong to the People" shifted to "Hey, Hey, Viva Che," and then "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh."

One squad car drove through the middle of the demonstration and was surrounded and almost engulfed by the marchers. The driver was forced to slow down when two demonstrators lowered a banner in front of the windshield, partially blocking his forward vision.

The demonstration turned north on Second Avenue, in the streets all the time, and headed uptown. Cars coming downtown turned off the avenue

as the march doubled again to at least a thousand and spanned the width of the avenue. Hundreds of spectators, reporters and photographers kept pace on the sidewalks.

People leaned out windows; many waved. An Afro-American GI in Army uniform gave the march a V for victory sign.

Peering down the avenue, one saw a sea of color. The red, blue and gold of the NLF flag. Banners of red, orange, blue and white bearing militant slogans denouncing Mayor Lindsay and the "racist cops." One banner read, "Long Live the Black Rebellion"; another, "Abolish the Tactical Patrol Force." Still another demanded the cancellation of the "racist emergency laws." Flags and banners were held aloft on cardboard poles while many marchers carried smaller cloth banners which could be folded up and put in their pockets in the event that greater mobility became necessary.

Chanting all the way, the marchers picked up steam, turned east on 14th Street, marched back downtown to Sixth Street and began back uptown toward a portable speaker's platform which had been made ready for a rally at Eighth Street.

Deputy Police Chief Sanford Garelik, who had been in charge of the Washington Square police attack on April 27, had refused permission to allow the march (which he claimed was illegal anyway) to gather on Second Avenue. He demanded that the rally be held on a side street lined with paddy wagons. Then he ordered a cordon of

cops to block the avenue. (The cops had their operational H.Q. in the Democratic Party headquarters on Second Avenue.)

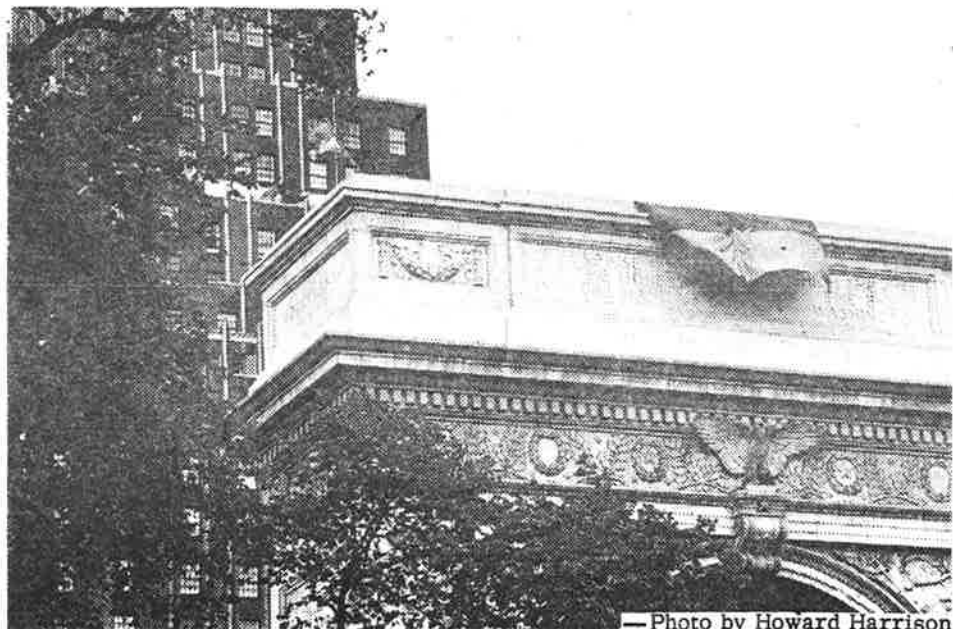
Fearing a trap, the march swerved west down Seventh Street and made its way to 14th Street and Third Avenue and then marched west through the streets past thousands of shoppers to Union Square Park.

At the park, Key Martin, chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism, jumped up on a wall facing 14th Street and gave a brief speech.

"We're here to show that the streets belong to us. Workers built these streets—not cops," said Mr. Martin. "We're here as a second front in the struggle of the Columbia students against the imperialist domination of their campus; as a second front in the struggle of the French workers and students; and in support of the Black people and their rebellions against the intolerable conditions in the Black communities."

As he spoke, the Tactical Patrol Force began gathering behind the crowd, and Mr. Martin pronounced the day's achievement a victory, and the crowd dispersed.

The day did not end until about midnight when over 40 people cheered Dave Hughey who was paroled at the Criminal Court at 100 Centre Street. The youth had been arrested for putting the NLF flag on the arch. The exhausted demonstrators vied with one another to shake his hand, and everyone left the court building cheering and clapping.



—Photo by Howard Harrison

NLF flag atop the Washington Square Arch. Dave Hughey at upper left holding smaller flag.



Waiting in Washington Square Park for the march to begin. Many others joined later when the demonstrators reached the streets.

## SHANKER ENEMY OF BLACK PEOPLE AND TEACHERS TOO

## -Self-Determination Means Control of Schools

(Continued from page 1)

who were told by the Board of Ed and UFT to return to the school. One of the leaders of the Black people who had blockaded the school was Ralph Poynter, head of the Teachers Freedom Party, which militantly supports Black control of Black schools.

On Monday, several police vans filled with cops were rushed to JHS 271, but the city administration temporarily backed down from a confrontation with the community, and JHS 271 and PS 137 were closed.

Tuesday morning, as threats from the ruling class authorities escalated, Black parents took over JHS 271, barricading the doors with iron bars and checking all those who entered the school. A sign in one window read, "Black people control your schools." Meanwhile, several hundred cops waited outside the school. About 40 teachers, mostly Black, did go into the school, despite a UFT call for a racist boycott unless the five were admitted.

According to the New York Times of May 15, the Board of Ed asked the police department at 11 a.m. to begin making arrests. The order, however, was soon reversed, and none of the five dismissed teachers were allowed in.

By Wednesday, the city administration had decided to regain control of JHS 271 and sent over 300 cops to cordon off and seize the school. But with cops holding their school, the Black people refused to go inside. So the five dismissed teachers were escorted into an empty school. Rhody McCoy, head of the local board, then ordered all eight schools in the district to close, in protest against the police seizure.

The sudden concern on the part of the Board of Education for the rights of teachers is clearly caused by their desire to sabotage Black control of Black schools. The Board fights teachers when they want salary raises, improved classroom conditions, smaller classes, better equipment, etc., etc. It fires teachers who don't strictly conform to the rules. Suddenly the boss is trying to pass himself off as a defender of the workers' rights!

By the same token, the union leadership was in reality motivated to raise the false issue of due process because



Racist Fred Nauman, chapter chairman of UFT, stopped from entering JHS 271 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

it is acting as the cat's-paw for the ruling class authorities in New York City who are opposed to genuine Black control of Black schools.

Where was Shanker when the Board of Education illegally revoked John F. Hatchett's license last March because he took school children to the IS 201 memorial for Malcolm X? There was no such hue and cry raised to protect his rights — no attacks on Lindsay, no talk of "witch hunts."

UFT President Shanker didn't threaten a teachers' strike to support Hatchett; nor did the union bureaucrat demand that Lindsay call out hundreds of cops to escort Hatchett back to his job, as the union leader did during the struggle in Brooklyn.

conviction of the workers that the Assembly is nothing but an instrument of the ruling class and should be completely ignored — that they, the workers should move on toward resolute, determined mass action to insure their victory.

And some already sense that if the general strike ends without an attempt to politicize and validate the power they have won, if the general strike remains only a general strike, it will end in mere disruption for French capitalist society and frustration for the French masses.

"The entire people is aroused," says Waldeck-Rochet, the French CP leader. True! What then should be done since "the entire people," as Waldeck-Rochet puts it, "is aroused"?

Galvanize them to keep the power they have already seized and declare themselves to be the political power of the country — or bring them back to the fraudulent politics of the National Assembly, which is a dead-end street for the working class?

If "the entire people is aroused," the CP-SP leaders should ignore the National Assembly and declare the aroused people to be the power in the country through a New National Assembly, composed of workers, students, the rural poor, and the lower middle class of the cities.

The students (if the newspapers in this country reported it correctly) put forward a call for a "New Estates General." This may not be exactly

Last year when teachers in New York City went on strike, the union leaders totally disregarded the feelings and demands of those in the Black and Puerto Rican communities for local control and better education.

Instead of pledging support for the efforts of the parents to take over the schools, instead of establishing good relations with the community whom they should serve, the union leaders inflamed the feelings of the Black people against the teachers by calling community control groups strikebreakers and "vigilantes."

Shanker viciously compared the Black parents in Harlem who were trying to enforce their will on the racist Board of Education to the racist mobs

what is necessary for the French working people, but it seems to be an attempt to call for a new political power to replace the old one.

Everybody in France knows that it was the Estates General that acted as a rallying point against the established royal power and ultimately resulted in the establishment of the Convention as the revolutionary power — the real power — in the country. But the very idea of posing an alternative to the reactionary bourgeois parliamentary power today has not even been mentioned by the leaders of the CP or SP.

The alternative that is needed is a national organization of Workers' Councils, Peasant Councils, Poor Peoples' Councils, and Student Councils. That is the real alternative to the discredited National Assembly.

That would be a true Popular Front of the masses, a true coalition of the various strata of the oppressed and exploited peoples — and not a coalition with the bourgeoisie, as Waldeck-Rochet proposes. That would be Dual Power, and only "dual" as long as the old regime of the exploiters could survive it.

The masses have to establish independent organs of power to validate the possession of the means of production that are presently in their hands and take over the political destiny of the country. Only in this way will they put an end to the reign of the monopolies which breed poverty, reaction and imperialist war.

Teachers Picket  
Racist UFT Leaders

NEW YORK, May 16 — The offices of the United Federation of Teachers on Park Avenue and 21st Street were picketed today by teachers who oppose the racist policies of the UFT leadership and support the struggle of the Black community in this city to control their own schools.

The demonstration was called by the Teachers Freedom Party and the New Coalition, a group of teachers from IS 201 and several other demonstration project schools in the city. Much to the dismay of the UFT bureaucrats who came downstairs to see what was going on, over 50 teachers picketed and carried signs which read, "Protest UFT Racist Policies Against Black and Puerto Rican Children and Communities," "Self-Determination for All Communities," and "Teachers Support the Community."

Ralph Poynter, head of the Teachers Freedom Party and a leader in the struggle for Black control in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district, said the demonstration was called to expose "the lie being perpetrated by the educational establishment and all its lackeys who are willing to sell out for less than complete community control."

Poynter denounced the Bundy proposal as "a gimmick to co-opt community control," and charged that none of the official plans offer the "right of the community to control the lives of the children." The UFT, he charged, raised the false issue of fair hearings for teachers to stir up feeling against the Black community.

in Little Rock who attacked school integration!

After the strike was over, he further insulted the Black community by instructing teachers in the five Harlem schools in the IS 201 complex not to submit to screening by what he called "vigilante committees" of parents and community leaders.

After the community successfully took over JHS 271 on May 14, Shanker charged that Mayor Lindsay had failed to uphold "law and order" — a phrase well known in the Black community to be the password for racist violence.

To destroy the confidence of the teachers in self-determination in education for the Black and Puerto Rican people, Shanker has carried on a racist campaign, insidiously suggesting to teachers at a UFT Delegate Assembly on May 15 that the Black community is their enemy, waiting to attack them and take away their jobs en masse. In reality, the union leaders, by accelerating the antagonisms between teachers and the community, are the worst enemy of the teachers in the long run.

The reactionary record of the union leadership has naturally strengthened hostility in the Black community towards the UFT rank and file. From the very beginning of the project last year, Shanker opposed the appointment of Rhody McCoy as unit administrator of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district. And last November, when the Council of Supervisory Associations asked the State Supreme Court in Brooklyn to prohibit the Board of Ed from appointing administrators and principals approved by community groups in the demonstration projects, Shanker filed a petition supporting the supervisors' demand.

The feelings of the Black community in this struggle for self-determination were summed up by one Afro-American who was near JHS 271 on May 15, when hundreds of cops sealed off the school and had Fred Nauman, UFT chapter chairman at the school, OK all those who would be allowed to enter.

The enraged Black observer shouted at Nauman, "This is an outrage to the community. You are in a Black community and you are going to say who goes into a Black school?"

## -Workers' Power?

(Continued from page 5)

alone, no matter how heroic and self-sacrificing, cannot accomplish the fundamental social change that the workers can, because it is only the workers who operate the basic machinery of society. The student struggle is a symptom of the developing general struggle.

In a true sense, the students acted as a vanguard and initiated the splendid class action of the whole French working class.

But now the question is: how can the struggle be resolved? By parliamentary trickery? By a new bourgeois coalition of left-wing bourgeois politicians in alliance with the CP and the SP à la Popular Front days?

This is to tread the old beaten path, the path of treason to the French working class. A call for a so-called referendum embodying some token concessions while maintaining the old system would be a fraudulent device no less vicious than the corrupt political maneuvering of the National Assembly.

Even as these words are being written, the news comes over the radio that the cynical and unrepresentative Assembly refused to censure de Gaulle (May 22).

The failure to pass even a censure vote in the Assembly will reinforce the



# Israelis Press On With Aggression Against Arab Masses

## Military Parade Flagrant Provocation, Meant as Threat to Liberation Struggle

The 20-year history of Israel has been one long provocation against the Arab world, particularly against the dispossessed Palestine Arabs.

The May 2 parade through occupied Jerusalem, however, was an especially blatant insult to the Arab victims of Israel's U.S.-sponsored June aggression. And even the imperialist New York Times called it "an unfortunate provocative act."

The parade was supposed to commemorate Israel's "freedom" and "independence." (Israel is actually a satellite of the imperialist United States.)

But it actually was a conscious and calculated insult to the Arab peoples. The question of the parade route going

through the Arab section of Jerusalem (which was never ceded to Israel) had been brought up and was discussed for weeks before the event!

It was as though an all-white National Guard or U.S. Army division were to march through Watts, Harlem, Newark or Black Detroit with white supremacist banners flying, just a few months after slaughtering thousands of the inhabitants.

The accompanying story, an account by no means complete, of the suffering of some of the Palestine Arabs in the wake of Israel's aggression of June, 1967, will show the careful reader just why the parade was such a provocation.

## Destruction of Villages Apes U.S. in Vietnam

The following excerpts from an open letter distributed anonymously in Israel shed some light on the brutally harsh, 11-month occupation suffered by thousands of Arabs — and celebrated by the Tel-Aviv government:

"In the three villages 'Amo'as, Bit-Nouba and Yalou in the Latrun district there were living about 10,000 people. Right after the end of the battles the villages were ruined to the base by bulldozers.

"The author Amos Keinan published his testimony against the destruction: 'By noon the first bulldozer arrived at the first house at the edge of the village... Within 10 minutes the house was a waste... When the first three houses were ruined, there arrived the first row of refugees from Ram'allah — old men, old women, small children. The children were crying for water.

"The row was holding white flags... more and more arrived, their number reached hundreds. They didn't understand, why did they tell them to return and now they don't let them... A delegation from the three villages appeared before the Israeli Military Governor in order to get permission to return, at least to pick the olives. The Governor replied, No'....

"The Giptlick is a fertile area, previously populated by 15,000 inhabitants. During the war the majority of the population ran away... These are the words of the British Economist in

December... 'I have seen Israeli soldiers burning the villagers' houses. Women were sitting beside the road, their possessions around them, looking dazedly at the ashes of their houses... It is possible to tell more. About the destruction of the Mougrabis Quarter in the Old City, and the destruction of Bit Awa near Chebron, where 396 houses were destroyed, etc.

"... In order to cut off the resistance to the occupation, the blowing up of houses became a system as a means of deterrence... one of the purposes of these acts of terror is to bring the population to a mass exodus... mainly from the Gaza Strip, to Arab states...

"The men in Bit Chanin and 'Absan (in the Strip—ed.) were taken out of their villages, in pajamas, among them old men, and were forced to stand the whole night in pouring rain. They were also forced to bark like dogs, and some of them were thrown into puddles..."

A Jan. 25 Manchester Guardian article corroborated the Israeli's report, detailing collective punishments — in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention — against Gaza residents: a five-day curfew at Shati, population 35,000, without access to water, latrines, or for four days, to UNRWA food; the demolition of 12 houses, upon 10 minutes' notice, when a firecracker was thrown in Wahda Street; the destruction of nine fishermen's storehouses and several fishing



Israelis search the bodies of two dead Arab guerrillas in Jordan killed for "infiltrating" their own homeland.

boats.

The Guardian article concludes: "...during four years as a prisoner of war in Germany... the Germans never treated me as harshly as the Israelis are treating the Arabs of Gaza Strip..."

The New York Times noted on Apr. 28 that more than 2,000 Arabs have been arrested, suspected of "anti-occupation activities... They are tried in military courts, but in many cases only after months of incarceration."

Arrests such as the Times mentions are based on the British 1945 "Emergency Regulations." They are administrative acts requiring no specific accusation. The regulations have been invoked to deport Arab notables to the West Bank, among them the Chief Judge of the Jerusalem Moslem Court, a noted Arab lawyer and a Jordanian M.P. Others, such as the Druse poet and Communist, Sami Al-Kassem, are subject to administrative house detention. Israeli Arab law student Khalil To'ame was recently sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment

because of his open association with a Palestinian friend.

The Military Government has even invoked a racist law, which "even in the darkest days... the British didn't dare to use..." against marriages between "occupied" citizens and Israeli citizens.

Under such circumstances, Arab resistance to occupation has been increasing. The Palestine liberation groupings consolidated early this year, and have been receiving growing support from the refugee encampments. Al Fatah reports 50 young men volunteering per day. The March 21 Israeli raid against Karameh was surprisingly costly to the attackers. The week before the Jerusalem parade, a protest demonstration of middle-class Arab women was broken up, and the arrests were protested by 6,000 other Arab women.

Captured tanks may have rumbled down the parade route on May 2, but Israeli soldiers posted on rooftops — and the Tel-Aviv government — were hearing quite another kind of rumbling.

# U.S. Billionaires Court New Vietnam in Thailand

The other day the New York Times described the Thai people as "on the whole, a happy, homogeneous people, devoted to an attractive king and queen and not so far inclined to be restive under the benevolent authoritarianism of an intelligent military oligarchy (1)"

It is rare that the editors of the Times speak with such candid warmth

## — Brooklyn

(Continued from page 7)  
against the Black community.

The Administration has charged us with criminal trespassing but our right to seize the office flows from the right of the Black and Puerto Rican people in Brooklyn to go to college and get the same education as whites. They have that right and we, the students, have the right to fight for them to do so, in any way necessary. They have been denied that right for too long, by the Administration — it is the racist Administration authorities who are the criminals.

Q. Thank you.

about a king and a military dictatorship. The enthusiasm prompts one to ask why these well camouflaged "liberals" should show their reactionary nakedness at the very moment they are trying to find a "liberal" solution in Vietnam.

Not by coincidence, the editorial came just after a visit by a 58-member mission of Thai businessmen who met with the Far East American Council of Commerce and Industry at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York (an organization in which the owners of the New York Times are well represented).

"We want to develop still more," said Dr. Amnuay Viravan, head of the mission, "and we feel that the best way is to visit American companies and arrange to have their executives visit Thailand."

The "investment incentives" offered "benevolent authoritarianism" (benevolent to U.S. big business, that is) include "a profit return of 25 per cent and more per year, tax concessions, low labor costs" and

enforcement of these conditions by the "attractive king and queen" and the "intelligent military oligarchy."

U.S. monopolies already profiting from the plunder of the Thai people include the Bank of America, Firestone Rubber, Union Carbide, Esso, IBM, Caltex, Colgate-Palmolive, Menck Sharp and Davis, among others.

U.S. investment in Thailand has gone from \$25 million in 1960 to \$195 million last year, and U.S. troops there to help protect these investments have similarly skyrocketed from a few advisers to 47,000.

All those U.S. troops are there, it seems, because 99 per cent of the Thai people have lost their "devotion" (which they never had anyway) to the U.S. puppets in Bangkok. Under the leadership of the Thai Patriotic Front, there is a full-fledged guerrilla movement which has successfully begun a people's war in 29 provinces. Only a few weeks ago the ruling class in this country was gloomily speculating about whether or not Thailand would become another Vietnam.

## ANTI-ARAB HAWK

Senator McCarthy opposes the Vietnam war only because the U.S. can't win it.

Proof?

On May 17, the "peace" candidate said that the U.S. had been too "neutral" in the Arab-Israel war of last summer and implied that the U.S. should have intervened more openly.

"It was wrong for the Administration to say when the (Israeli-Arab) war broke out that we were neutral in word, deed and thought," he told a Miami audience and called for "military assistance, if necessary" to back up "our moral and political commitment."

All the announced presidential candidates have taken pro-Israel positions. But McCarthy's is the most openly hawkish so far.

It is instructive to note that the New York Times, which has been pessimistic about the U.S. chances for winning in Vietnam, is now dedicated to supporting a stooge government indistinguishable from the government of Ngo Dinh Diem which will require similar "protection" from its own people as Diem did. The bourgeoisie can learn from history all right — but they cannot avoid it.

# The Coming Class Showdown in Steel

By MOSE PETERSON

**YOUNGSTOWN** — The eyes of every steelworker are now on the calendar and the clock. Union contracts in all basic steel plants expire at midnight, July 31, a deadline now approaching at seemingly breakneck speed.

There is a growing understanding and conviction among the steelworkers that, regardless of the outcome of the contract negotiations, August 1 will be a crisis date for all the men in the mills.

An accumulation of problems that have been swept under the rug for the past 5 years will be uncovered by the expiration of the 1968 contract and will exert an urgency that can no longer be denied attention.

The approach of a steel strike finds the workers divided roughly into two groups. The largest of the two is the "old" men hired prior to the first

Eisenhower recession in 1954, and then there are the "young" men hired since the Viet Nam war boom beginning in 1964. The expiration of the contract poses a special problem for these young men.

If the union should negotiate a new contract by August 1, there will still be mass layoffs of thousands of young workers while industry uses up its accumulated steel stockpiles.

In a general sense and in the interests of equality of sacrifice, a strike would be preferable to the young men since all the steelworkers will be out on the bricks together.

To the steelworkers in general the most urgent need is for a wage increase to restore a loss in real wages which have been whittled away by inflation, increases in taxes and Social Security deductions and a nagging erosion of incentive earnings in the past few

years. This is the way it looks from a short term view and from the point of view of immediate interests.

Of far greater importance, however, and a far more ominous threat to the future of several hundred thousand steelworkers is the rapid completion of a number of new steel plants which operate with basic oxygen furnaces and the continuous casting process. These innovations threaten to eliminate whole plants now in operation.

Consequently the demand for a reduced work week is the only demand that can maintain intact a sizeable portion of the present working force in basic steel. There is a feeling of helplessness among the workers and a growing reluctance on the part of the union to come to grips with this problem because the union misleadership knows that winning a major concession on this point will require

a genuine mobilization for class struggle.

The history of the past year should encourage the feeling that the young men and especially the Afro-American steelworkers hold a decisive position and have the most to gain from a fight to retain and improve their jobs. The strike of the independent truck drivers and the merging of the Memphis sanitation workers' strike with the civil rights struggle show that there is a link that can be forged to make the steel union the powerful force for social progress it should be.

If the strike starts on August 1, it means the Steel Barons have declared civil war on us. The union should prepare to answer that challenge. The slogan for the thousands of young steelworkers who have everything to gain and nothing to lose should be — For Your Jobs — For Your Future — For Your Life — Prepare to Fight!

## New NYC Police Frame-Up of Black Militants

**NEW YORK, May 17** — Launching a new frame-up campaign in the persecution of the Afro-American people, police arrested six Black youths here yesterday and charged them with conspiring to commit "indiscriminate" killing of cops.

The DA's office claimed that this alleged "indiscriminate" assassination plan would have gone into effect last night, had it not been for "the quick work of the Police Department."

Hinting at an attempt to tie the defendants in with other frame-up victims in a super-"conspiracy" dragnet, some police complained that they made the raid and arrests too quickly to disclose any connection between the arrested men and Black groups "such as the Revolutionary Action Movement" (RAM).

RAM has been accused of conspiring to assassinate Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and Martin Luther King. (Several alleged RAM members have served a total of over a year in prison merely waiting trial on these fantastic charges, while the actual white racist murderer of Dr. King has not even been caught.) RAM has also been accused of a plot to poison hundreds of Philadelphia cops at one fell swoop.

Max Stanford, U.S. leader of RAM, looks up to Robert F. Williams, now residing in People's China and a nominee of at least two important groups for president of a Black republic in North America, as spiritual leader of the organization.

The six arrested yesterday are charged with conspiracy to commit murder, conspiracy to commit burglary, conspiracy to commit robbery — and possession of explosives.

The total bail (which they do not have) is \$102,000. They are thus being held in jail without being charged with any overt act (except the "possession" of explosives and, in the case of one youth, alleged possession of a "dangerous weapon"). And they are held in prison without having been tried by a jury of their peers or anybody else.

The six are Hannibal Thomas, 21; Lloyd Butler, 19; Ebb Glenn, 22; Wallace Marks, 23; J. Preston Lay, Jr., 23; John Garret, 23.

There will be a court hearing on May 27.

Everything points to an attempt to whip up still greater racist hysteria, not only against the new defendants, but against the Black people, generally.

But Harlem residents and others were quick to point out that the "long hot summer" already began with the racist murder of Martin Luther King and its aftermath. The police are only turning up the heat with this new frame-up, instead of "cooling it," as they and their ruling class bosses imagine.

# Rob Williams' New Pamphlet Published Here

## Black Exile Writes to U.S. Brothers From China

**NEW YORK, May 17** — Rob Williams' latest work, "Listen, Brother," was published here today and already appears headed for the best-seller list of the Black Freedom movement.

It is a passionate appeal to the Black soldiers to turn their guns on their real oppressors instead of on their Vietnamese brothers. And whatever welcome it may or may not receive among the literary critics of the bourgeoisie, it will surely be hailed as a genuine classic by the Black masses. (A review will appear soon in Workers World.)

Mae Mallory, a collaborator of Mr. Williams when he was in Monroe, North Carolina, has written an introduction outlining a few of the main features of his long struggle against the U.S. white supremacist oppression.

World View Publishers announced that the initial printing of a few thousand will be vastly augmented in a short time, if sales continue as promised.

Advertisements are being placed in Afro-American papers throughout the country, and a number of Afro-American bookstores have expressed interest. But World View says it is the kind of book that is most likely to have its greatest success along the lines of word-of-mouth advertising and will be publicized most by the masses themselves.

The main purpose of the author, as of the publishers, is to reach the Black soldiers in Vietnam. To that end, there are mailing instructions on the flyleaf, indicating how to get a copy to a soldier.

Mr. Williams achieved fame in this country primarily as an organizer, mass leader and an effective advocate of self-defense for the Black people. (He organized the first modern Black defense guard in Monroe, N.C., in 1957.)


But he also has an unusual gift for literary expression and "Listen, Brother," an outstanding product of this talent, is expected to prove an artistic triumph, as well as a powerful instrument of the Black revolution.

The author is now a resident of Peking, China, a refugee from U.S. white supremacist "justice." He was framed on a so-called "kidnapping" charge in his home town of Monroe, threatened with lynching in the courthouse square, and finally forced to leave the country with his wife and children in August, 1961.

He went first to Cuba and then to People's China. Both these countries welcomed and honored him, as well as

35 cents

# Listen,



# Brother!

By ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

affording him facilities for printing and publishing. The U.S. still treats him as a criminal, even going so far as to pressure Western European countries against admitting him through their borders for lecture tours.

"Listen, Brother" sells for 35 cents. Quantities of six or more are 20 cents each, post-paid within the United States.

It may be ordered from World View Publishers, 46 West 21 Street, New York, N.Y., 10010.