

Black and White, Unite and Fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

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Ten Cents

Paris Talks p.3

Mideast.....p.3

Ed Oquendo.....p.6

Rap Brown.....p.8

Fascist Violence and the Kennedy Assassination

JUNE 6 — The assassination of Robert Kennedy must be seen against the background of a wave of recent assassinations and in the context of the growing resort to fascist violence at home and military adventure abroad by a decadent ruling class desperately trying to save its crumbling system of imperialist exploitation.

The assassinations of Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and John Kennedy have proven that political assassination has become characteristic of the ruling class and that the burden is upon the billionaires to prove that they were not behind the latest murder. Until such time as they produce that proof, the masses should give no credibility to ruling class propaganda in the case.

Each of the previous assassinations was inspired by virulent political reaction. Each one involved a conspiracy in which elements of the ruling class guided the hands of the assassin. And in each case, the rulers conspired to cover up their own tracks and to shift the burden away from themselves by focusing public attention on an individual or two.

But all previous efforts to quiet the anxieties of the masses and to conceal the growing right-wing tendency in the inner circles of the ruling class of this country have been discredited. In particular this is true of the fraudulent Warren Commission Report which was so crude a cover-up that even the rulers themselves have suggested a new whitewash be carried out to take its place.

It is obvious that the assassin of Martin Luther King required highly organized assistance to get back and forth through police lines and to completely cover his tracks. The murderer of Medgar Evers was put up as a candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi. Certainly visible in the murder of Malcolm X was the hand of the CIA, which increasingly pervades every aspect of society.

All these killings have been the result of ruling class intrigue. With such an infamous record, why should the masses believe them now?

Mayor Yorty, Los Angeles Police in Control

When it was announced in 1963 that the assassination of John Kennedy had taken place in Dallas, Texas, one of the notorious breeding centers of fascism, everyone in the country with even a modicum of political intuition instinctively, and properly, assumed that it was a ruling class plot. This suspicion was strengthened immediately after the assassination when Dallas Police Chief Curry and District Attorney Wade took charge of all aspects of the case, with well-known results.

But, among the ruling class, Southern California is solid Goldwater country, and Los Angeles is the West Coast capital of the forces of violent jingoism and racism. (Witness the regime of Ronald Reagan and the recent victory of Birchite Rafferty.) Mayor Yorty himself is an extremely reactionary bourgeois politician, and he has taken charge of the investigation. Yorty, it must be remembered, was the architect of the Watts massacre. He and Police Chief Reddin have physical custody of the suspect and are presently in control of the flow of all information on the case.

This racist has already red-baited the suspect and sought to stir up anti-Arab sentiment. At this writing, little detail is available in the case, but the authorities are desperately looking for a way to find a "left-wing plot."

Yorty was a political enemy of Robert Kennedy, from the right, and he is the instrument of a substantial section of the ruling class which found Kennedy's assertions on Vietnam and the Afro-American struggle unpalatable. (Not that they had any fundamental differences. But the tactical dispute was nevertheless sharp.)

In short, Yorty and the Los Angeles police are certainly prime suspects themselves!

(Continued on page 8)

Hour of Decision Nears in France

Workers Stand Firm: CP, CGT Leaders Capitulate

By SAM MARCY

JUNE 4 — The key question in the French Revolution of 1968 is the role of the leadership of the working class in the unfolding events. All other questions really merge into this one.

As these lines are written, press reports indicate a back-to-work movement of the French workers following deGaulle's ultimatum and his threat to use force. Nevertheless, all the basic conditions for the success of the revolution still exist. In fact a more favorable political situation for a proletarian revolution during peace time could scarcely be hoped for.

It is fully two weeks since the workers began to take over the large plants — which is a long time in a revolutionary situation. Almost all of the economic arteries of French national life are still in the hands of the working class.

De Facto Power of Workers

Despite the admonition to the workers by the CGT trade-union leaders to accept the government's wage offer; despite Gaullist threats of force and violence, military conspiracy, parliamentary trickery; despite all these factors, the de facto power, as of today, rests squarely in the hands of the working class.

Even at this late date, June 4th, the much touted back-to-work movement which the capitalist press throughout the world has hailed with so much advance publicity appears to be a trickle as against the vast number of strikers.

The fundamental political problem in

(Continued on page 4)



Red flag flies at GM (Paris)

Mayor Lindsay Draws Up War Budget Against the Oppressed

3,000 COPS ADDED TO NYC FORCE; 10% RISE

NEW YORK, May 28 — Another escalation in the war against Black America was announced yesterday by Mayor Lindsay who submitted a \$6.1 billion budget to the City Council and Board of Estimate. The budget for 1968-69 can best be described as a war budget. It calls for a sharp increase in the occupying troops to be used against the Black community and the growing movement of rebellious, left-

wing youth in this city.

While the darling of the doves and so-called liberal Establishment emphasized the need for an "austerity" budget and slashed away at funds for education, Lindsay proposed a \$53 million increase in the budget for the Police Department, bringing the total appropriation to \$474 million. This would include a \$25 million allocation (the only major new program in the budget) to increase the burgeoning New York City police force by 3,000 to 31,938 cops. That's the equivalent of more than two full U.S. Army divisions.

Lindsay, as vice chairman of the commission on civil disorders, did a lot of fine double talking about the need to improve conditions in the Black community. But his new budget, with its provision for beefing up the most repressive and brutal forces at the disposal of the ruling class, has revealed in dollars and cents just what the real priorities are. The first thing this racist and reactionary servant of the bankers did was to demand "emergency powers" to suspend constitutional rights and clamp down martial law on the city in case of a rebellion.

The "emergency laws," passed unanimously by the City Council April 23, empower the Mayor to declare a state of emergency for up to 15 days. During this time he could impose curfews, suspend all rights of assembly, indoors and out, ban the sale of gasoline except for use in cars, prohibit the sale of firearms, ban the possession of rifles or shotguns in

(Continued on page 8)

house in March, 1966. He received a sentence of up to 4 years and 2 years probation.

It has been customary in recent years for the Supreme Court to reverse rulings which restrict (formal, or legal) liberties, but this time the Warren majority cracked down on the appellate court for defending an elementary right.

Warren arrogantly rebuffed all considerations of free speech by declaring that the law "on its face deals with conduct having no connection with speech. It prohibits the knowing destruction of certificates issued by the Selective Service System, and there is nothing necessarily expressive about such conduct."

Warren says that burning draft cards does not "necessarily" involve expression and therefore the law does not

(Continued on page 7)

to prosecute them.

But even more importantly in the long run, the 7-to-1 decision, which was written by Chief Justice Earl Warren himself, marks a new crackdown on civil liberties by the U.S. ruling class. The Court has been considered the great bastion of bourgeois democratic rights within the government during the post-McCarthy period, and this sharp turn to the right must therefore be regarded as significant.

OVERRULED FROM THE RIGHT

To begin with, the Court made a rare departure from recent practice by heavily-handedly overruling the First Circuit Court of Appeals from the right. The Appeals Court had ruled the law unconstitutional as a violation of the right of free speech in the case of David O'Brien who burned his draft card on the steps of the South Boston Court-

Supreme Court Draft Card Ruling Marks Crackdown on Anti-War Movement

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

MAY 27 — The Supreme Court cracked down hard on civil liberties today. It did so by overturning a lower court decision which ruled that the right to burn draft cards is protected by the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech.

The top U.S. Court thus rendered an ominous decision which ratifies the repressive and retributive law against draft card burning. The law was initiated by the ultra-right in 1965. Its aim was, and is, to crush dissent, and it was passed purely in the spirit of reprisal against the anti-war and anti-draft movement.

The immediate consequence of this reactionary ruling is to make hundreds of young men who burned their draft cards in protest against the war in Vietnam liable to 5 years in prison at any time the government should choose

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THESE DOORS NEVER OPEN TO THE OPPRESSED



MAY 29 — It is unlawful to make "any harangue or oration, or utter loud, threatening or abusive language in the Supreme Court building or grounds." So reads Title 40 Section 13 of the United States Code.

But the sanctified image of the Supreme Court was rudely shattered today by American Indians, Mexican-Americans and Afro-Americans who pounded on the locked doors of the Supreme Court Building and smashed several windows in protest against a recent court ruling which denied Washington State Indians their fishing rights.

Denouncing the court, which has by its decision added to the long history of genocide against the American Indians, one Indian leader said, "The door is not open. It's never been open to an Indian."

Several hundred demonstrators — Indians and their supporters — chanted "We want justice, we want justice," when they found the doors locked.

In short, the "highest court in the land" was closed, as it always has been, to the petitions of the oppressed.

Kangaroo Court Begins Trial of 15 Afro-Americans Accused

NEW YORK, June 5 — The government began its attempted legal lynching of Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris in Queens Criminal Courthouse this week. The prosecution immediately launched into an extravagant racist frame-up, using police spies to link the defendants to several so-called assassination plots.

The two Black militants, among the 15 Afro-Americans Accused arrested last June, are charged with "conspiracy to commit murder in the first degree" and face up to 56 and 40 years respectively.

The trial began June 3 with the selection of an all white, male jury. Jean Condon, the defendants' attorney,

brought up numerous motions to dismiss the case. However, Judge Balsom, working hand in glove with the DA, denied each motion.

As the trial proceeded, the DA brought in cops and paid police agents to testify that Ferguson and Harris had conspired to murder Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young and had also hinted at murdering President Johnson and Robert Kennedy. (The RFK part was only brought in after he was shot.)

The government's "conspiracy" case is based entirely on the hearsay evidence of cops and their informants, without one overt act having been committed.

Demonstration to Demand Freedom For GI Political Prisoners

NEW YORK — On Thursday, June 6, at 5 p.m., a demonstration will be held at the Times Square Recruiting Booth to protest the frame-up of four anti-war GIs. Sponsoring the demonstration is The Bond, a servicemen's anti-imperialist newspaper.

The four servicemen, Daniels, Harvey, Amick and Stolte, have received a combined total of 24 years in prison just for speaking out against the war. PFC Daniels and Cpl. Harvey, Black Marines, were charged with "disloyal words" under 2387, Title 18 of the U.S. Criminal Code which says it's a crime to "advise, counsel, urge, cause and attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, and refusal to duty by members of the Armed Forces."

Harvey and Daniels were convicted for taking part in barracks discussions where they are alleged to have stated, "Vietnam is a white man's war. A Black man should not fight in Vietnam because after the war he would have to come back and fight the white man in the U.S." The officers advised them not to get a civilian lawyer. "Just let us handle it and you'll get off easier," they were told. They had a Naval officer as a defense attorney at this quietly arranged kangaroo court. And as you might guess, they got the works — ten years for Daniels! Six years for Harvey!

But the Brass had the audacity to claim they were giving the defendants a break. The judge told Daniels (who had been convicted on eight counts, each of which can carry ten years), "I could have given you eighty years." They are now being held at the Naval Disciplinary Barracks at Portsmouth, N.H.

Last February, Pvt. Ken Stolte and PFC Dan Amick issued a leaflet at Ft. Ord, Calif. They said, "We are uniting and organizing to voice our opposition to this war. If you really want to work for Peace and Freedom, then join us in our opposition. We are organizing a union to express our dissension and grievances."

On Monday, May 22, Pvt. Ken Stolte and PFC Daniel Amick went on trial for circulating this leaflet, charged with subversion and conspiracy to cause disaffection among the other troops. Four of the seven officer jurors wore arm patches signifying past engagement in Vietnam. The law officer (judge) had also returned from Vietnam. According to an eyewitness, the following exchange took place toward the end of the first day between defense counsel Francis Heisler and a prosecution witness. The exchange typified the rigged atmosphere of the trial.

Heisler: "Why did you set out to apprehend these two men?"

Witness: "For passing out propaganda."

Heisler: "Anything anti-war and pro-peace is propaganda?"

Witness: "Yes, the leaflets were not in line with the policy of the United States Army."

Heisler: "What in the leaflet is not?"

Witness: "... express our dissension..." That means to commit mutiny."

Amick and Stolte testified how they were taught in school that they were brought up in a free country, with rights other people don't have, including the first amendment freedoms. Stolte thinks, "All human beings have a right to express feelings. A GI more than anyone should be allowed to question policy because he's sent to kill or be killed."

The trial lasted three days. The deliberations of the jury took ten minutes. Amick and Stolte were found guilty: reduction to the lowest rank, forfeiture of all pay, four years in prison, and a dishonorable discharge for each.

Two days after The Bond's June 6 demonstration in Times Square, a second protest action will be held in Seattle to demand the release of the four servicemen. Such demonstrations will escalate both in size and frequency until all the Pentagon's political prisoners have been released.

Bklyn College Students Fought Racism: Suspended

By Myron Jefka, one of the 42 arrested in seizure of Registrar's office at B.C.

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — The May 17 seizure of the registrar's office at Brooklyn College was a heroic act which advanced pre-revolutionary consciousness among progressive students to new heights and was in the mainstream of the vanguard youth activity in this country against the racist ruling class and their university stooges.

We, the students, felt that we had the right to seize the registrar's office since it was supposed to serve us and the Brooklyn community.

Thousands of Afro-American and Puerto Rican students had been denied admission due to biased standards which do not take into account the gross inequalities of grade and high school education. Thousands of Brooklyn students signed a petition to admit a thousand Afro-American and Puerto Rican students but the racist administration deliberately turned a deaf ear.

We were therefore forced to take an action which would seriously confront the administration with our demands. We followed the example of the Columbia rebellion and of the Sorbonne.

Instead of taking cognizance of our demands, the administration had us arrested by Lindsay's Tactical Patrol Force, brought us before a fascist judge who levied excessive bails (\$25 for B.C. students, \$500 to \$2,500 for non-students) and charged us with "criminal trespassing." But, in truth, it was the racist administration which was criminally trespassing: by

usurping the office of admissions from the Brooklyn community to whom it rightfully belongs.

We were expelled and given a phony appeal hearing in order to provide the facade of "due process."

Instead of taking advantage of such a hearing to indict the administration publicly and collectively, as proposed by myself, several militants in SDS and several independents, the DuBois Club led the fight to go along with an administration demand for individual and private hearings. The administration won half the battle by preventing an open forum which would have exposed its racist nature. The appeals committee has recommended suspensions but their decision is not binding.

The struggle, at present, is on a legalistic basis in the framework set by the administration. With the help of William Kunstler and other attorneys, we are trying to take out an injunction against the administration.

Demonstrate Against the Shah of Iran!

Protest the Shah's \$600 million dollar arms purchase from the U.S.

MONDAY, JUNE 10, 12 NOON
WALDORF-ASTORIA
(50th St. & Park Ave.)

Called by:
IRANIAN STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
IN THE U.S.

750 8th Avenue, Room 602, NYC

Thuy Exposes U.S. "Mutual De-Escalation" Fraud

North Vietnamese Defines True Reciprocity: 'Don't Bomb Vietnam, We Won't Bomb U.S.'

By PETER STORCH

Military reports in the capitalist press show beyond a shadow of a doubt that the hard-hitting offensive of the Vietnamese people has the Pentagon on the ropes. Partisans of Vietnamese liberation were also strengthened by the revolutionary manner in which the North Vietnamese have used the Paris peace talks as a forum to expose U.S. imperialism.

The latest and most imaginative instance of this was the reply to the chief U.S. negotiator, Averell Harriman, who demanded "reciprocal restraint" in return for a U.S. bombing halt. The leading North Vietnamese delegate, Xuan Thuy, ripped apart the fraudulent

U.S. request for "reciprocity" by stating:

"If you insist on the idea of reciprocity, then we will be only able to proceed in this fashion — we will both publish the following joint communique:

"The United States henceforth commits itself to cease definitively the bombardments and all other acts of war over the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The D.R.V. commits itself from now on, as in the past, to refrain from bombing and all other acts of war on the entire territory of the United States."

The U.S. has repeatedly harped on the idea that Vietnamese from the D.R.V. are "infiltrators" if they try to

help their brothers in South Vietnam and has demanded that the D.R.V. "acknowledge" such "infiltration." Thuy in his opening remarks to the conference threw that argument back into Washington's teeth.

"Vietnam is one country, the Vietnamese people are one.... When the United States commits aggression against Vietnam, any Vietnamese has the right to fight them, and that on any portion of his dear country's territory. This is a sacred and inalienable right."

Replying to the U.S. line on North Vietnamese troops "invading" South Vietnam, Mr. Thuy said:

For All the World to See



North Vietnamese representative Nguyen Thanh Le holds up fragment of U.S. bomb and "anti-personnel" weapon.

Harriman the Vietnamese!

Averell Harriman, the highly experienced chief negotiator for the U.S. in the Paris talks, revealed an arrogance as much insulting to the Vietnamese as his colonialist mentality. Harriman had told the North Vietnamese delegation that there was "no basis for your claim to speak for all Vietnamese." North Vietnamese spokesman Nguyen Thanh Le quickly answered Harriman:

"Is Harriman a Vietnamese? Is he a South Vietnamese? All self-respecting Vietnamese have yellow skins and more or less flat noses, which is not the case with Harriman. In fact, Harriman acts like nothing more nor less than the governor general of South Vietnam."

Robbers Prefer Secrecy

Remember how the First World War was fought to "make the world safe for democracy" and put over Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points?

One of those Points was "Open Treaties, Openly Arrived At."

Seems as though Lyndon Johnson and Averell Harriman are in an awful sweat to get away from "open treaties, openly arrived at" in the Paris talks with the Vietnamese. They keep saying that the conferees should get down to business in "secret sessions" and eliminate Hanoi's open talk, which they call "propaganda."

What do they want to hide?

U.S.-Israeli Imperialism Fears Growing Mideast Liberation Struggle

Every Arab a "Suspect" in His Own Homeland

5 Arab High School Girls Wounded As Israelis Machine-Gun Crowd

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

Last week, Israeli soldiers armed with machine guns rounded up hundreds of unarmed Arab men near Gaza. Armored personnel carriers full of Israeli troops patrolled the principal roads of the Gaza Strip as the occupying forces sealed off the area, with its 350,000 Arab inhabitants, to all Arab traffic.

The Tel-Aviv satellites of the U.S. oil billionaires organized this reprisal because of militant protests by Arab women against Israeli terror tactics. Liberation fighters and their sympathizers (to the Israelis every Arab is a "suspect") have been rounded up wholesale in the manner of a U.S. "pacification" project in Vietnam. (Moshe Dayan, Israeli Defense Minister, spent a year in Vietnam studying under the tutelage of the Pentagon.)

According to a New York Times dispatch of May 28, a group of 200 women and high school girls linked arms across a two-lane highway in Muzirat, 10 miles south of Gaza, blocking traffic and chanting anti-Israeli slogans. The demonstration lasted for about 20 minutes, according to this report, before Israeli troops converged on the group of women. Two days earlier, on Sunday, another

demonstration by Arab women was violently broken up when an Israeli fired a submachine gun into the crowd. According to the "objective" New York Times report, "five high school girls were slightly wounded" in the attack. (It is unbelievable that anyone could be "slightly wounded" by a submachine gun — let alone 5 people!)

In an attempt to crush the growing movement of resistance to the Israeli occupation, the Israelis imposed a general curfew in the Gaza Strip. All journalists were barred from the area for three days. By May 28, the central prison in Gaza was overflowing with hundreds of Arab prisoners being held for "interrogation." (No doubt the "interrogation" methods of the Israelis are similar to those used in Vietnam by their U.S. patrons or by the U.S. cops in the Black communities.)

The most recent demonstrations by Arabs against their Israeli oppressors were sparked when Israeli authorities rounded up several thousand Arab men, Wednesday May 22, allegedly to investigate an explosion which killed two Israeli farmers the day before. In what is now known to be standard practice with the Israelis, they ordered all men between the ages of 18 and 70 in the Saja Reyeh quarter of Gaza to assemble in the central square.



Arab youth arrested and tied by Israeli military policeman for attempting to liberate his own land.

The men were held there under armed guard all day and night. On Thursday when their wives arrived with food and water, the women were abused by the soldiers and refused entry into the square. The women then threw the food to the ground and hundreds marched to the military governor's office where the Israeli authorities threatened the crowd with a water cannon.

On Saturday, hundreds of Arabs, including many high school students, defied a curfew and held a demonstration in Gaza's main street. Sunday,

Arab students struck four high schools in the strip and marched in the streets for several hours before Israeli troops broke up the demonstration.

The spreading protests against Israeli rule continued on Monday, May 27 when students battled with Israeli soldiers for 20 minutes in the courtyard of the Palestine Secondary School. According to a New York Times report, the youths had attempted to barricade the street adjacent to the school.

It was the next day, May 28, when Arab women continued to protest the Israeli occupation, that the military authorities sealed off the Gaza Strip.

In a similar incident on May 5, the Israeli occupation authorities punished the west-bank town of Ramallah for organizing a complete strike in protest against the provocative Israeli 20th-anniversary parade in Jerusalem. Military officials sealed off the town, setting up checkpoints south of Ramallah to prevent most of the residents from going to Jerusalem where many are employed. Trading with Jordan was also restricted to punish Ramallah merchants who helped the strike.

The latest repressive measures taken by the Israeli authorities against the Arabs of the Gaza Strip follow a pattern of brutal repression used against Arabs in all Israeli-occupied territories. The destruction of Arab homes, the expropriation of Arab land, the bombing of houses as reprisals for Arab uprisings, the random arrests and roundups suffered by the Arab people, the 1,500 Arabs being held without trial for months as "suspected terrorists" — all these crimes have added to the smoldering anger of the Arab people and have only made their liberation more urgent in the short run and more certain of success in the long run.

The Hour of Decision Nears in French Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

France concerns the relationship between the general strike and proletarian revolution.

By all accounts, the general strike is the strongest, most wide spread and best organized of any in the history of the modern working class movement. Indeed it has few parallels.

The great French strikes of 1936 encompassed at most about three million. As of yesterday, it was ten million and probably more. It exceeds in numbers, depth and revolutionary intensity the only other general strike in Western Europe which brought a country to an almost complete standstill. And that was the British General Strike of 1926.

Although no one doubts the power of the present French General Strike, until just a few days ago it was questioned as to whether it had any revolutionary significance. By now, however, it is almost universally admitted that the strike has posed a revolutionary threat to the regime.

In fact it has put on the order of the day the proletarian revolution. What is a proletarian revolution? It is a transfer of power from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. Is this what is happening in France?

Capitalist State Helpless

The New York Worker of June 2nd stated flatly that there were "ten million strikers who held in their hands the actual power of the French Republic, having paralyzed economic life and rendered the state helpless." The account in the Worker is based on reports from Paris. We quote the Worker because it is a close friend and political ally of the French Communist Party.

If, as the Worker states, "the strikers hold in their

the workers seized the plants. It is entirely possible that even the most revolutionary leadership could be taken by surprise by a spontaneous revolutionary outburst of the working class such as in France.

Revolutionary or Reformist Leadership?

But a revolutionary leadership is distinguished from a reformist, bourgeois type in that it would welcome the revolutionary situation and seek to turn it into a full-scale assumption of proletarian power.

Indeed if the capitalist "state is rendered helpless," does it not follow as night follows day that the workers should set up their own state since they already have de facto power in their hands?

Instead, however, the leaders are desperately trying to reduce the struggle to a narrow economic one, and while seeking some concessions from the government and the employers, they are in reality desperately trying to abandon the revolutionary struggle of the workers for state power.

Parallel with British General Strike

The general strike is often regarded as a mere economic weapon launched for economic objectives and not as a revolutionary struggle aimed at the regime and social system itself. The apologists for the CP-CGT leadership in France are trying hard to draw on the tragic experience of the British General Strike of 1926 to bolster their reformist thesis.

The parallel with the British General Strike is indeed instructive, but it thoroughly refutes their thesis.

In 1926 the British working class tied up the country when three million workers walked off their jobs in protest against a government recommendation which

This is the true lesson the British General Strike. There has been nothing like it since. But there are important differences between the 1926 strikes, and the great French sit-downs in 1936 and the present strike which clearly shows how much more favorably situated is the present leadership of France than were the British leaders in 1926 or the French in 1936. In Britain there was no revolutionary movement of the students that generally reflected the discontent of vast middle class elements. Equally important was the absence of a parallel protest movement in the rural areas and towns of Britain, unlike present day France.

Nevertheless, all historical accounts of the Great General Strike of 1926 by working class observers put the failure of the strike on the shoulders of the leadership.

The British General Strike came in the midst of a general political awakening of the British working class. There were evident signs that the empire was beginning to crack. According to the ruling class, the way to salvage the empire and save Britain's position in the world as a great imperialist power was to take it out of the hides of the workers just the way deGaulle and his cohorts want to do. Prime Minister Baldwin was, like General deGaulle, trying to preserve the grandeur of British imperialism's world position.

One of the lessons of the general strike was that while its origins and objectives were economic and while it didn't necessarily aim to go beyond the confines of the capitalist system, its very scope and momentum posed a revolutionary threat to the power of the ruling class. Because it successfully tied up the economic life of the country, it also showed the workers that their economic strength could, under the circumstances of a general strike, turn into political power for the working class. This was an objective to which the leadership of Cooke and Purcell of the General Council of the British Trade Union were wholly opposed — just like the present CP-CGT leadership.

French Peasant Rebellion

How different is the situation today in France! It is scarcely possible to find a more favorable political situation. For the first time in many decades the working class struggle coincides with the profoundest and deepest discontent of the rural population. Take the demonstration in Auch, France, on May 24th just to give one of many examples. Thousands demonstrated in this farming area of Southwestern France. Riot police used tear gas grenades to stop the demonstrators from breaking into the capitol building. Their slogan was "down with deGaulle." "We are the serfs, the slaves of the modern era," shouted a young farm leader from the lowland hamlet of Carbonne. Many of the marchers sang the Internationale.

Under these circumstances it is easy to see that the objective conditions for an alliance between poor peasants and workers is all but guaranteed, if the leadership of the working class organizations has the courage and determination to take advantage of it while the opportunity lasts.

One of the fundamental objective conditions for the failure of the Paris Commune of 1871 was the lack of support from the countryside. Now the countryside is seething with rebellion. DeGaulle's common market scheme has meant misery for the rural poor no less than deGaulle's anti-labor policy has meant increasing deprivation for the broad masses of the working class.

After the Paris Commune, Marx said that what would be needed for the victory of the French proletariat was "another edition of the Peasant War" of the preceding century. As one reads about how the peasants are now waving pitch forks and chanting "Pompidou resign," the situation seems to be ready made for a true revolutionary alliance between peasants and workers.

Action Committees

L'Humanité of May 24th reports the existence "in many Departments of Action Committees for setting up a government that would rely on the alliance of all Left forces and be guided in its activity by a program meeting the interests of the mass of the people."

This is incontrovertible evidence of the embryonic existence of proletarian power. These Action Committees in alliance with other elements of the rebellious population can function as organs of workers power, especially if they can ally themselves with the students and rural poor.

To effectuate the transition to proletarian power by the Action Committees and other revolutionary forces, it is necessary to make a complete break with bourgeois parliamentary trickery. It is a foregone conclusion that the type of election scheduled by the Gaullist dictatorship to take place late in June is merely a maneuver calculated to divert the attention of the masses and make them oblivious to the fact that they

(Continued on following page)



Workers put red banner on roof of Flins auto plant in Paris. (Hsinhua News Photo)

hands the actual power of the French Republic and render the present capitalist state helpless," is this not a proletarian revolution in the making? But even if we were to disregard the conclusions of the Worker, there are literally scores of reports in the capitalist press which substantiate the same conclusions.

For instance, Max Lerner, who was in Paris at approximately the same time, states that "the rebellion which was sparked by the students became a revolt, when the unions seized the factories and it became a full-fledged revolution when they decided to turn down the general strike settlement which their own union leaders had reached with the government and other employers." (NY Post, June 3rd)

But aside from any and all assertions and analyses, the objective facts speak for themselves — the workers, the farmers, the students are in a state of utter rebellion. The sea of red flags that hang over the factories is clear and unambiguous evidence of a desire not merely for economic change but for proletarian revolution.

The key question relates to the role of the leaders of the working class organizations. From the very beginning, they were taken completely by surprise when

would have cut the wages of the coal miners. As in France today, all dock workers, steel workers, building workers were out. Everything was down — all transportation by rail or bus, all shipping, and all newspapers with the exception of those published by the British workers for the workers.

Prime Minister Baldwin and

General deGaulle

Like the deGaulle-Pompidou Government, Prime Minister Baldwin and Winston Churchill launched a monstrous red-baiting campaign. It did not measurably influence the workers. On the contrary, it strengthened their resistance. Like deGaulle, Prime Minister Baldwin launched a series of maneuvers including the calling up of the army reserves, demonstrations of the armed forces in London, then followed by a series of arrests.

Nevertheless the strike continued strong. It was the leadership, fearing for the existence of the capitalist system, that suddenly caved in and surrendered. Thus was ended the most revolutionary initiative of the British workers since the Chartist Movement of 1848.

Workers Stand Firm, CP-CGT Leaders Capitulate

(Continued from preceding page)

already have power in their hands and oblige them to transfer it back to the bourgeoisie.

The masses already have spoken by their deeds. The CP and CGT and whatever other allies they have should boycott the elections as a fraudulent device, calculated to deprive the masses of the fruit of their victory. By admonishing the masses to accept the wage agreement in the first place, the leadership showed that they were entirely out of touch with the masses. Fortunately the negotiations were broken off with the government and the employers.

When deGaulle announced that he would schedule a referendum, the hostile reception he got from the general population further enhanced the revolutionary mood of the popular masses. From this a section of the ruling class drew the conclusion that perhaps deGaulle ought to resign. So great was the clamor of the masses for the ouster of the deGaulle regime that a virtual split took place in deGaulle's own cabinet.

Under the revolutionary pressure of the masses, the bourgeoisie became more isolated and sought to overcome the crisis by resort to naked military threats and conspiracy with the reactionary military camarilla.

All of this was designed to intimidate the CP-CGT leadership and get them to drive the masses back to work and return the plants to the exploiters.

While, on the one hand, rumors of deGaulle's resignation were carefully planted, on the other hand, military maneuvers were widely publicized to intimidate the leaders in the hope of paralyzing the masses.

Then came deGaulle's carefully planned counter-offensive. This was an open appeal to the anti-communist, anti-working-class and pro-fascist elements, with a strong threat of open civil war, which was meant to serve as an ultimatum to the revolutionary masses to accept still another parliamentary fraud in the form of general elections.

As of now, June 4th, the apparent agreement of the Communist Party leaders to participate in the election and the reported agreement of the CGT leaders to recommend negotiations with the deGaulle Government, especially after both organizations made the resignation of the Government a demand of the workers, indicates a capitulation to the threat of the use of force and a surrender of the revolutionary struggle of the workers in favor of the same old fraudulent bourgeois parliamentary hoax.

As the New York Times of May 31st pointed out, "deGaulle's present tactics are designed to cover his defeat at the hands of the workers." What a revealing admission! DeGaulle's aim, this Times editorial affirms, "is to get the strikes ended and the French middle class activated to vote the Gaullist ticket." Then the Times significantly adds, "the electoral system will help."

Role of Middle Class

Indeed! So far as the middle class is concerned, it is well to remember Marx's classic analysis of it which remains true to this very day. It is a socially heterogeneous and politically divided social formation. It is torn by a thousand inner social contradictions, but it has no independent standing in bourgeois society. It stands in the middle, between two great classes in contemporary society, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

In time of acute class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat such as is taking place now in France, the middle class continually vacillates between the two great class camps. Invariably as throughout all its history, its decisions will be made on the basis of which class shows the greater determination and the greater power in the struggle. If matters are left to be decided by bourgeois parliamentary methods and not by a decisive bid to reconstruct society on the basis of the power the workers hold now, unquestionably a large section of the middle class will line up with Gaullism.

Every Strike an Embryo Revolution

The occupation of the plants and all industries by a phenomenally successful general strike is only a transitional step to the next phase of the struggle. Every strike is an embryo revolution. The occupation of plants is a threat to private property. The occupation of the plants on a nationwide scale is a threat to the entire bourgeois social order and is a precursor to collective ownership by the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie cannot help but recognize this. The occupation of the plants is a symptom of dual power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Such a state of affairs cannot endure indefinitely.

Either the proletariat takes over the plants completely, expropriates the bourgeoisie and sets up an alliance with the students, the rural poor and the white-collar workers in the urban centers for the purpose of transforming society or the bourgeoisie may well crush the working class. The rock bottom issue

in France is proletarian power or ultimately an anti-labor, reactionary bourgeois dictatorship with a military clique to rule over all of France.

Bourgeois vs. Proletarian Democracy

According to L'Humanité as quoted in the Worker of May 28th: "Conditions are rapidly ripening to end the Gaullist power and create a real democracy conforming to the interests of the French people."

But democracy does not exist in the abstract. There is bourgeois democracy based on a bourgeois parliamentary system as it exists in France today — or a proletarian democracy based upon the popular masses, the working class, the rural poor, the students and the white-collar workers. Nothing could do more to deceive the French working masses than to put up such a fraudulent formulation of democracy.

Alongside this formulation L'Humanité adds: "This democracy will open the road to socialism." A proletarian democracy based on the proletarian ownership of production and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie will indeed open the road to socialism, but a bourgeois democracy based upon a bourgeois parliament where the bourgeoisie is sure to predominate as it always has is nothing but a new name for an old fraud.

That this nonsense about democracy in general opening the road to socialism, which is being spouted by L'Humanité, should emanate from the land of the Paris Commune, is the worst of all ironies. For it was the Paris Commune which showed that a democracy under Thiers (i.e., deGaulle) was really a bourgeois dictatorship while the class rule of the Paris Communards was a proletarian democracy.



A strike meeting inside the worker-occupied Orly Airport, Paris. (Hsinhua News Photo)

Popular Front Coalition

— On What Class Structure?

L'Humanité's solution to the present crisis is a Popular Front. This is a coalition with the leftist section of the bourgeoisie such as with Mitterand and others of his stripe. A coalition with capitalist politicians, on the basis of the present parliamentary system, which is based on the bourgeoisie as the possessing class, is a class betrayal of proletarian interests. It will simply be a modern version of the coalition between the liberals and the Labor Party of Britain and will mean that leaders of the working class parties will hold office (even high office) in the cabinet. But they will only be office holders.

This is the most important of all the important distinctions between bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy. In a bourgeois coalition based on a bourgeois parliamentary system the cabinet ministers are mere office holders. Power — real power — rests with the class that owns and controls the means of production — in this case, the bourgeoisie which runs the social system and determines the destiny of society as a whole.

But it would be altogether different if the CP and CGT proposed that the Mitterands and colleagues first help the workers expropriate the bourgeoisie and let the workers not merely possess but own the means of production, the peasants the land, the students and teachers the schools and universities and so on and so forth. If the Mitterands and Mendes-Frances accept this kind of a coalition on the basis of proletarian rule, that might serve a progressive purpose. It might in fact be a step in the direction of socialism and a transitional stage to the abolition of all social classes and exploitation of man by man.

It would be wrong to say that we are against a coalition with the Mitterands under any and all circumstances. A coalition with them on the basis of the class rule of the proletariat and its allies may serve a useful purpose, especially if they join in disarming the bourgeoisie and dismantling its military and police apparatus.

Arming the Workers

All of this is well and good, we are told, but there is one element that we have consistently left out of the situation and that is the role of the military and the fact that the French proletariat is not armed. It is basic to Marxist-Leninist strategy that no proletarian revolution can succeed without having arms in its possession.

It is true that the French working class is not armed in the sense that it does not now have a formal armed workers' militia. But the workers are armed in the sense that they control the means of transit, the means of communication and the plants that produce arms and ammunition. Furthermore it is not true to say that the French working class is totally disarmed.

Thoughtful revolutionary young leaders have undoubtedly given much consideration to just such a revolutionary situation as exists today. The army, that is, the army and police as presently constituted, is a small percentage of the population and can exercise great power only if the working class and its allies are apathetic and politically indifferent, confused and without perspective.

But an aroused proletariat having vast popular support among nonproletarian masses, as does the French proletariat, will succeed in arming itself and will disarm the bourgeoisie and its mercenary forces. Those leaders that seek to scare the people with frantic shouts that the workers aren't armed should be asked why the leaders didn't arm them. Some of these very same leaders acquiesced in the disarming of the French Partisans at the request of this very same deGaulle they are now fighting. They should be made to answer rather than to ask questions about arming of the masses.

At any rate, the true answer to the arming of the workers and the prosecution of the proletarian revolution lies in the old maxim "Whoever wills the objective must will the means thereto." For a revolutionist that is the best answer. (end Part II)

Supporters Chant, Raise Clenched Fists, Clash with Police Outside Building

Demonstration Rocks Court as Ed Oquendo Starts 5-Yr. Term



Crowd tries to stop police attack on Joel Ulan (left, profile). He was finally dragged off with the crowd in pursuit (center). Cop charges with club swinging (right).

BROOKLYN, N.Y., May 27 — Ed Oquendo, 21-year-old Afro-American liberation fighter and draft resister, surrendered himself today, "in body only," to Federal authorities to the accompaniment of one of the most militant courtroom demonstrations in recent memory.

Following a courtroom scene and a 20 minute see-saw battle between demonstrators and Federal marshals in the doorway of the Federal Courthouse, the entire building was sealed off to keep out demonstrators.

RACIST RULING UPHOLD BY HARLAN

Mr. Oquendo was in court to begin a 5-year jail sentence for refusing to serve in the U.S. imperialist armed forces. His first appeal was summarily turned down by the Federal Appeals Courts, and he was remanded to prison pending an appeal to the Supreme Court. (The court ruling for the remand was appealed and upheld by Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court.)

SUPPORTS THE NLF AND HOME STRUGGLE

Before his sentencing on Dec. 16 of last year, Mr. Oquendo denounced U.S. imperialism and the "racist system of oppression" in the U.S. He told the court at the time:

"I want to make it clear that I support the National Liberation Front in their struggle against 500,000 troops armed with the most barbarous weapons the world has ever seen. Long live their struggle!"

In the same pre-sentencing speech, which was applauded several times by supporters in the courtroom, he also solidarized himself "with the liberation fighters in the Black communities" across the country fighting against "the racist ruling class."

"I support all the oppressed around the world," declared Mr. Oquendo at the time. "I feel with the oppressed people. A man who goes into the army, if he is Black, is asked to kill his mother, brother, sister, like in Detroit and Newark — I say, Hell No, I Won't Go!"

DEMONSTRATIONS AND WELL-WISHERS

Today's proceedings began with a demonstration of 150 of Mr. Oquendo's supporters, primarily members of Blacks Against Negative Dying and Youth Against War and Fascism. The pickets marched for about a half an hour outside the building at 225 Washington Street. They chanted "Eddie Won't Go, Nobody Goes!" and "We Won't Fight Wall Street's War!" They carried banners supporting Mr. Oquendo, the Black Rebellion and calling for the freedom of all Black political prisoners.

Most of the pickets had either taken off work or cut school to be there. While they were marching and chanting, Mr. Oquendo was kept busy by a steady

stream of friends and well-wishers shaking hands, hugging and posing for pictures.

COURTROOM OVERFLOWING

At 10 o'clock Mr. Oquendo yelled "Let's go," and the demonstrators followed as he led the procession up to the courtroom. Some pickets tried to bring their signs into the building but were stopped by the obviously nervous court guards.

The courtroom was filled to overflowing with people sitting on one another's laps, much to the chagrin of the marshals. (These were the same marshals who arrested Mr. Oquendo on a trumped-up assault charge when he was at court recently to support another defendant). At one point a marshal tried to hustle Tim Hobson, an Afro-American high school student, out of the room because he refused to take off a hat which was part of his nationalist attire. Demonstrators protested and crowded around the marshal. The youth sat down unmolested.

"FREE ED OQUENDO"

When Mr. Oquendo was called to the bench, a hush fell over the courtroom. He walked up calmly and deliberately wearing an African-style hat, a tunic, and dark glasses. The prisoner, who is six foot three inches tall, towered over his attorney Conrad Lynn.

On the bench was Federal District Judge Frank Zavatt, of the liberal-racist variety, who presided over the original frame-up of Mr. Oquendo and who imposed the 5-year sentence. When the youth inquired through his attorney whether he could have his saxophone sent into prison, Zavatt shot back, "He can't run the prisons." (Mr. Oquendo is a professional saxophone player, a fact well known to racist Zavatt.)

The prisoner was not permitted to speak, but as he was being led away he raised his arm straight over his head and made a clenched fist. This touched off a militant demonstration of emotion and solidarity in the courtroom filled with guards. (It was reported later in the day that Zavatt was heard complaining that "everything was okay until that raised his hand!")

The audience first began clapping in their seats. Then they stood up, raised their clenched fists and banged on their benches. They cheered and cried "Free Ed Oquendo." The marshals rushed from the back of the room to the front of the audience but were stymied (and heavily outnumbered). Judge Zavatt sat silent and stone faced throughout the entire demonstration which lasted until well

after the prisoner was out of sight. When it was over, he asked the marshals to clear the courtroom, but the audience was already leaving on its own. As they left some shouted at Zavatt "jail the racist judge" and "jail Judge Zavatt." He made no audible reply.



Ed Oquendo, center, before surrendering. With him are draft resister Joel Meyers (l.) and anti-war GI Andy Stapp (r.).

The demonstrators filed down the stairs into the wide, immaculate marble lobby with a two-story-high ceiling.

The huge room formed an echo chamber. The crowd resumed chanting "Free Ed Oquendo, Free Ed Oquendo," and the chant reverberated throughout the plush building. Marshals rushed to catch up with the crowd once the chanting started up again.

"LET HIM GO, LET HIM GO"

As the tail end of the procession reached the door, the marshals began shoving from behind and pushing people out the doors. Already angered over the entire frame-up of Mr. Oquendo, the crowd protested this obvious provocation. Suddenly the cops grabbed Joel Ulan and tried to pull him inside to arrest him. The crowd tried to rescue him and a tug of war started. One cop came running up, pulled a black-jack and tried to hit Mr. Ulan who was down at the time. The crowd stopped him. The cops were beating Mr. Ulan and battling with a knot of demonstrators to get him inside.

Finally, more marshals came, and they got him inside where they beat him some more. This, however, touched off a general melee as the demonstrators chanted "Let Him Go, Let Him Go!" Sandra Oquendo, Mr. Oquendo's sister, was arrested by marshals brandishing black-jacks when she joined in the protest against Mr. Ulan's arrest. Several demonstrators unsuccessfully tried to stop the arrest.

The enraged demonstrators tried to get back into the building, but the marshals blocked them and fighting went on for about 15 minutes at the doors. Someone inside rushed a supply of clubs to the marshals. They locked every entrance to the building, including the entrance to the adjoining Internal Revenue Building. Judge Zavatt by that time had issued an order barring all

3 Yrs. vs. 5 Yrs.

Many American youth are at this very moment serving 5-year sentences in federal penitentiaries for having refused to kill Vietnamese people in the U.S. war against the Vietnamese nation. Courageous young militants, like Eddie Oquendo, have vowed never to be taken into the Vietnam draft and be used as cannonfodder in a war already judged as criminal according to the post-World War II Nuremberg Laws.

But when Marine Cpl. Stanley Luczko murdered an elderly Vietnamese woman in cold blood in South Vietnam, the U.S. military brass found him guilty of manslaughter and let him off with a 3-year sentence! (He was tried, not by the Vietnamese people, but by a court-martial in Quantico, Virginia, of course.)

Three years for murder — five years for refusing to murder.

the demonstrators from the building. One door was left open, but it was heavily guarded by police and marshals. People going in had to pass through the crowd to be let in by the police for the rest of the day.

About 50 people stayed around for several hours waiting for Mr. Ulan and Miss Oquendo. Fears were raised when an ambulance pulled up in front of the court and the cops made a big show of taking out a marshal on a stretcher. He appeared to be unconscious. It was alleged by the police that he was injured in the fighting. It was also alleged that he had three broken ribs. But the demonstrators suspected that it was just police preparation for an assault-charge frame-up.



Sure enough, later in the afternoon the word came down that both of those arrested were being charged with assaulting a Federal marshal. Miss Oquendo was released on her own recognizance, and Mr. Ulan was released on \$2,500 bail. When the two were finally let out, the crowd clapped and cheered them, then dispersed.

Anti-Imperialist Coalition & Columbia Strike Committee Demonstrate to Say...

"Long Live the French Revolution — 1968!"

NEW YORK, June 1 — Chants of "Long Live the French Revolution!" shattered the customary calm of plush Fifth Avenue today as 300 people demonstrated outside the French consulate in a show of solidarity with French workers and students.

Ruling class types peered from the windows of luxury apartments and stood in the street staring in amazement as the red flag of the working class revolution clashed with the soft green and marble grays and whites of the tree-lined avenue of millionaires.

At 12 noon the demonstration, co-sponsored by the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement and the Columbia Strike Coordinating Committee began assembling across the street from the consulate at 75th Street. Red was the predominant color among the numerous banners which bore slogans such as "Down with Capitalism, Long Live the Solidarity of French Workers, Students and Rural Poor," "Arm the Workers and Students, Disarm the Ruling Class," and "Down with Fascist Emergency Laws: France, Germany, New York, Saigon."

There were numerous red flags along with the flag of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Iranian students sent a delegation. One banner read "Free Ed Oquendo, Black Draft Resister" (Mr. Oquendo just began a five-year jail term this week), and another read "France, Louisville, Same

Struggle."

Paddy wagons, blue-helmeted mounted police and police with clubs guarded the headquarters of Washington's imperialist rivals against possible attacks — monetary warfare notwithstanding.

The milling crowd formed a picket line and marched for about half an hour, chanting slogans of solidarity. Then a youth climbed on a bench with portable sound equipment and called for the pre-scheduled rally to begin.

There were several speakers including Michael Rockwell from Columbia, a member of the Iranian Students and a Dominican youth. Key Martin, Chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism and Tom Wilcox of the Columbia Strike Committee alternated in chairing the meeting.

Mrs. Deirdre Stapp, a leader of YAWF and representative of the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement, denounced French and U.S. imperialism and pointed out that the revolutionary situation in France had "forced the U.S. to rush to the aid of their enemy, de Gaulle, revealing the underlying class unity of the rival imperialist states."

LINDSAY-SOCIALISTS

She then launched into an attack on the SWP, YSA and their splinter groups who carried signs and gave out leaflets denouncing the French CP. "How audacious," she said, "for these groups to lecture the French workers and stu-

dents on how to run their revolutionary struggle and to warn against the danger of a popular front when they just had their own popular front with imperialist Mayor Lindsay by inviting him to the Sheep Meadow anti-war rally."

"We want to learn the lessons of the French struggle, but we can only understand those lessons if we apply them right here through struggle in the streets. Those who are afraid to struggle in the streets and want to criticize the struggle in France are nothing but armchair socialists!" Mrs. Stapp was interrupted numerous times by cheers and shouts of "to the wall with Lindsay" and "down with elections."

During a discussion with several youths after the demonstration Mrs. Stapp further explained, "We came here to show solidarity with the French workers and students. They (SWP-YSA) came here to turn this into an anti-communist tirade under the guise of 'left criticism.' We are opposed to conservatism and capitulationism in the leadership of the oppressed. That's precisely why we fought the SWP and CP in this city when they blocked together to have Lindsay, a murderer of the Black and Puerto Rican people, invited to the April 27 rally in Central Park."

"Anyway," she continued, "look at the example these so-called radicals set by teaching the young people to get off the streets and go into the parliam-

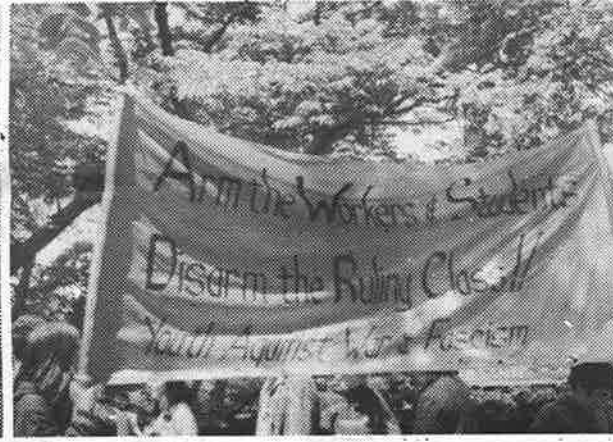
entary struggle. They have forfeited all right, if they ever had any, to criticize."

During the rally, a group of right-wingers began to sing the Marseillaise to disrupt the meeting. Several demonstrators from YAWF ran over to stop the right-wingers. Danny Rosenheim, a YSA leader, and several other YSAers unsuccessfully tried to prevent the demonstrators from telling the right-wingers to shut up.

When the rally ended, Key Martin announced that the German student organization SDS had requested that American youth demonstrate in solidarity with them against the fascist emergency laws recently passed in West Germany. The demonstrators then marched uptown to Goethe Haus, a German cultural center on 83rd Street and Fifth Avenue. (The SWP-YSA group refused to join the march uptown.)

Demonstrators marched to 83rd Street chanting "No More Fascist Emergency Laws" and "To the Wall, de Gaulle." After picketing for a short while in front of Goethe Haus, the demonstrators dispersed.

One demonstrator, Bob Hines, was arrested near the end of the demonstration when a cop tried to provoke a fight. Fearing the group would hold a militant demonstration at night court in his support, the cops gave him a summons at the precinct house for harassing a police officer and disorderly conduct.



—Supreme Court Crackdown

(Continued from page 1)

conflict with any rights. Aside from this false logic, there has yet to be a single case of draft card burning anywhere by anyone for any other reason than that of expressing opposition to the Vietnam war and the draft — and neither the prestigious "liberal" Warren or his colleagues could cite one.

To add insult to injury the Court continued with its shoddy justification for the pass laws in the following manner:

"The amendment (to the draft law) does not distinguish between public and private destruction and does not punish only destruction engaged in for the purpose of expressing views."

In other words, this fascist law not only applies to those expressing their views against the draft and the war, but to every other hypothetically possible case (none of which will ever occur). Therefore, since everyone is subject to the fascist law, it does not discriminate against the expression of anti-war views. And since it does specifically circumscribe free speech against the war, the fascist law is valid!

COURT'S INTENTION: STOP RESISTANCE

The fraudulence of the decision,

on constitutional grounds, was further underscored by the fact that there already are sufficiently repressive laws against non-possession of a draft card which are clearly applicable in the case of draft card burning (clearly applicable but nonetheless fascist) and which are available to the Government.

But these laws can only be applied after the draft card has been burned — i.e., after the public act of expression against the draft has taken place. It was to stop this public act from taking place that the Congress passed the law and the Executive is prosecuting under it.

And it is precisely because of its "expressive character," as a symbolic act of defiance, that the highest judicial body of the U.S. ruling class has outlawed draft card burning.

Burning a draft card, which is nothing more than a piece of paper containing information already known to the authorities, does not help the person who does it to evade or avoid the draft or to defy bourgeois law in any way.

On the contrary, it is an act of purely symbolic defiance which jeopardizes him legally under the already existing law. It does not harm the Selective Service System in any way — other than the harm of having opposition expressed against it publicly because

of the imperialist political ends which it serves.

In other words, draft card burning legally constitutes nothing more than the exercise of the right to freedom of expression, and one must take considerable risks under the present law to exercise that right.

Against all this the Supreme Court does a judicial about-face of 180 degrees from the libertarian approach to bourgeois law by venerating above everything the "governmental interest" in "preventing harm to the smooth and efficient functioning of the Selective Service System."

The Court really is saying that a young man should get five years in jail for, at most, causing an inconvenience to the clerical staff of the draft board, who might have to look up his record!

HEAVY HAND INTENTIONAL

The obvious question to ask after seeing this heavy-handed, slipshod and thoroughly reactionary ruling is — what's it all about? Has Earl Warren lost his legal finesse? Are they really worried about the "smooth functioning" of the draft boards? How could this prestigious body of ruling

class law openly issue such a crude attack on such a basic right?

The answer is that the decision was meant to be crude and heavy-handed. The justices have not lost their deftness in tampering with democratic rights. They can be surreptitious when they want to be. But this time they issued a menacing threat and a warning to the people.

As the New York Times of May 28 put it, with its traditional understatement:

"The near unanimous vote of the court today and its strong opinion in favor of the law could discourage some future protest activity by indicating that anti-war protesters might not find a sympathetic forum if they take their cause to the Supreme Court."

But they, like the ruling class to whom they are subordinate, are afraid of "expressive conduct" — i.e., when they know that public expression against going to fight and die in Vietnam reflects the private feeling of millions of youth which could be crystallized by such public acts of defiance as burning draft cards.

Then it would be more than just a question of "a harm to the smooth functioning" of the Selective Service System. It would be a question of protesting the very existence of the draft laws and the right of the ruling class to wage imperialist war.

The growing rebellions everywhere have frightened the bosses, and they intend to crack down on civil liberties all around. And they got their nine "justices" to swear that such a crack-down is legal.

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Ruling Class Desperate to Jail Black Militants

U.S. Stages Crude Frame-Up; Rap Brown Gets 5 Yrs.

The United States District Court in New Orleans carried out one of the crudest and most blatantly racist legal lynchings May 22, when Rap Brown was found guilty of violating an obscure federal firearms act, sentenced to the maximum of five years in prison and fined \$2,000.

H. Rap Brown, chairman of SNCC and the Minister of Justice of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, was arrested in New York Aug. 19 for carrying a gun across state lines while under indictment. (Mr. Brown

had made a trip from New York to New Orleans and back.) However, Mr. Brown was never informed by Maryland officials that he was under indictment for inciting to riot and arson in Cambridge, Md., until after he had been arrested Aug. 19. The Maryland indictment was handed down Aug. 14.

Despite this illegal attempt by the racist authorities to entrap the Black militant into breaking a law he was never told he was liable for, Judge Lansing Mitchell instructed the jury that Brown was guilty if they thought

that he had learned of the indictment from any sources whatever. To bolster this outrageous "legal" maneuver, the prosecution claimed that Brown must have known about the indictment because articles about it appeared in several newspapers, including a small item on page 42 of the New York Times.

Brown's attorney, William Kunstler, said that the defendant did carry a gun openly for self-defense, and federal agents knew this. "The government had a strategy already mapped out to get Brown at the earliest opportunity,"

he charged. "This was a plot to silence this man. The wheels were in motion long before he got on the plane."

The racist frame-up of the militant Black leader was carried out in what Kunstler called an "armed camp atmosphere." During the first several days of the trial, Brown's supporters were viciously harassed when they tried to attend the trial. All persons entering the court building were required to sign their names and state their business. Cops took pictures of Brown's supporters as they entered and left the building. City and state police were also stationed in and around the Federal Court building in New Orleans.

After the jury handed down the guilty verdict, Mr. Brown would not permit his lawyer to beg the racist judge for mercy. Howard Moore, an Afro-American lawyer also defending Mr. Brown, requested a suspended sentence, asking Judge Mitchell not to "engage in genocide of Black people."

But the judge was acting on orders from a panic-stricken ruling class which wants Rap Brown, and all other leaders in the struggle for Black liberation behind bars, no matter how obvious the frame-up.

The case is presently being appealed and Mr. Brown is free on \$15,000 bond. However, the fight to free Rap Brown and many other Black political prisoners, will be decided by the Black liberation struggle itself and not by the "justice" of the racist ruling class courts.

"Clearing the Streets" in Louisville — KKK Style

Right, National Guardsmen advance on Black people in the west end of Louisville, Kentucky, Tues. May 28. A rebellion broke out the day before when a white cop who beat up and arrested a Black man May 8, was reinstated to the police force. Hundreds of Kentucky National Guardsmen armed with bayonets invaded the Black community which fought back with stones and fire-bombs.



By May 30, 2,000 National Guardsmen had been called in. Over 350 Afro-Americans were arrested, dozens injured and two youths murdered. Sam Hawkins, leader of the Black Unity League of Kentucky was arrested by racist cops while he was driving in the east end of the city. The New York Times report gave no reason for his arrest.

The two murdered Black youths were James Groves, 14, who was shot to death by a cop and Matthias Browder, 19, who was killed by a liquor store owner, who will undoubtedly go scot-free for "protecting his property."

—Lindsay's War Budget

(Continued from page 1)

public places (except by cops, of course), and prohibit possession of a portable container holding any combustible liquid. Stiff penalties for curfew violators were set at a \$500 fine and up to one year in jail. In other words to legally deprive the Black people of all means of self-defense and pave the way for total police rule.

Not itemized in the budget is the cost of "detention centers" (more accurately called concentration camps) to be readied for use during rebellions in the Black communities. These camps, proposed in Lindsay's fascist "emergency laws," could handle over 10,000 arrests per day.

In addition to asking for 3,000 extra cops against the Black community, Lindsay has already increased the number of cops on the streets by 1,500 in the last 18 months by hiring civilians to relieve them of desk jobs. Eight hundred sixty more are to be freed for street prowling during the 1968-69 fiscal year.

Those who clamored to invite the "liberal" mayor to the peace fair at Central Park on April 27 may be interested to know that Lindsay's budget

also calls for a "Special Events Squad," according to the New York Times of May 26, to "handle crowds at parades and what Lindsay called 'mild demonstrations'" (like the one in Central Park). The Tactical Patrol Force, Lindsay assured his ruling class backers, is still reserved for "major operations," like the continual terrorizing of the Black community, the brutal attack on Columbia University Students, or the attempted smashing of the anti-imperialist march from Washington Square April 27.

The proposal for a 10 per cent increase in the New York City Police Department, already the largest single police force in any city in the world, was made on orders from the highest ruling class authorities in this city. The perspective of the bankers and capitalists who run New York is quite clear. With growing rebellion, the order of the day, reformism is good only for talking about. The ruling class is feverishly preparing for a confrontation with the Black masses.

The measures being passed to protect bourgeois property and order are fascist in nature, but with liberals like Lindsay around, the fascists hardly have to push their own program.

In the Capital of the "Free World"

At about the same time that Mayor Lindsay was beefing up the New York City police department, the ruling class authorities in Washington, D.C. were already outdoing him. District of Columbia authorities, it was revealed in the Washington Post of May 28, have asked for a 30 per cent increase in the police force there, which would increase the number of cops by 1,000.

Although the D.C. police force is much smaller than the one in New York City, the increase to 4,100 cops would give the police force "by far the largest number of policemen per citizen of any city in the nation," with about five cops for every 1,000 people, according to the Washington Post report.

The new program to put more troops on the streets of the capital of the "free world," would cost over \$10-million a year. But the racist Congress is expected to wholeheartedly go for the program and dig up the money to preserve "law and order" which they have been loudly clamoring for — especially since the Black people (who make up over 50 per cent of the population) nearly burned down the city after the assassination of Martin Luther King.

There's only one hitch in the program. Washington authorities have been having a hard time recruiting men to be the hired killers for the ruling class — especially since the risks are becoming so much greater. And the politicians and bosses who live in Washington and need so much protection naturally aren't going to do the job themselves.

So President Johnson announced that the starting salary for cops would be raised to \$8,000 per year, the third highest salary for cops in the country.

Recently fascist George Wallace suggested that Washington officials station a soldier — with a bayonet three feet long — every 30 feet to keep "law and order." It looks like Washington is on its way.

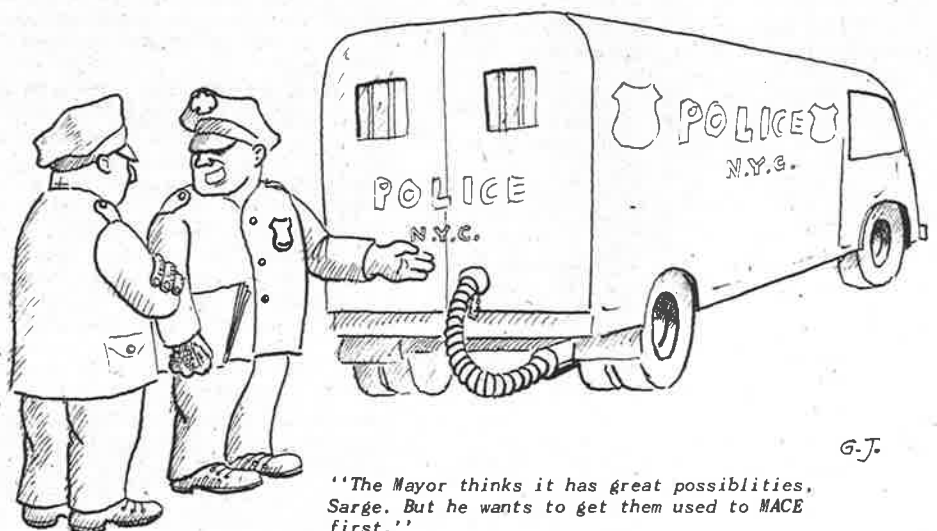
The Kennedy Assassination and Fascist Violence

(Continued from page 1)

Whatever the details of this latest assassination are, it is the proper moment for the masses to remind themselves of the fact that violence as a method of resolving political disputes has become endemic to U.S. imperialist society and its policy of plunder and exploitation at home and abroad.

As the financial oligarchies twist and turn trying to save their crumbling system, their internal contradictions mount, and they increasingly resort to fascist violence against the masses and military adventures. This, in turn, further ignites the revolution and the rulers engage in fratricidal violence in the struggle over how best to save the system of imperialist slavery. With each struggle, the system goes further to the right, further down the road towards fascism.

It is against this background that the assassination of Robert Kennedy must be viewed. And it is in that context that the masses must demand to hear the full story, to have their own investigation, independent of whitewash commissions appointed by the conspirators themselves. Until that time, there should be no confidence whatever given to the managed news currently flowing from all the sources of ruling class propaganda.



"The Mayor thinks it has great possibilities, Sarge. But he wants to get them used to MACE first."