

# WORKERS WORLD

Vol.10, No.13

June 20, 1968

Ten Cents

Yugoslavia .....p.3  
Assassination ....p.4  
French Struggle .p.5  
Gun Control .....p.6

## Ferguson and Harris Convicted In Gov't Planned Frame-Up

NEW YORK, June 15—A crude ruling class frame-up against two Black militants came to a climax today in a Queens courtroom when Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris were convicted of "conspiracy to murder" Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

The conviction came after the prosecutor, Asst. DA Thomas Demakos, and Judge Balsam conspired to prejudice the all white male jury and then force a guilty decision.

In a blatantly illegal move during the trial, the prosecution also brought in testimony just after Robert Kennedy was assassinated, that he too was on the defendants' list of victims. Kennedy's name was never mentioned in the original indictment but Judge Balsam allowed this testimony in order to further prejudice the jury against the defendants.

Despite the calculated attempt by the court to create hysterical prejudice against the defendants, the jury was hung for several hours. At about 11 p.m., when the jury sent out a note saying it was hung, Judge Balsam ordered them to reach a decision. Just before 2:00 a.m. they handed down the guilty verdict.

During the trial the prosecution called nine witnesses, seven of whom were paid police agents. The two alleged "plot" victims also testified. Roy Wilkins, when cross-examined by the defense attorney, Miss Gene Ann Condon, refused to expose the trial as a frame-up and did not deny that there was a plot to assassinate him.

To help give some credibility to the outrageous charge that Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Harris had plotted to kill Wilkins and Young because they are "moderates," the government provided body guards for Wilkins when he came to testify. Marshals also searched all spectators entering the court during Wilkins' testimony.

The prejudice of Judge Balsam and the total complicity of the judge and DA were evident throughout the trial. The defense attorney was consistently overruled and interrupted by the judge in her objections to the racist court



Herman Ferguson Arthur Harris

proceedings. The prejudice of the court was so blatant that at one point the judge helped the assistant DA to rephrase a poor question. Demakos had asked the main government witness, a police agent named Edward Lee Howlette, what his orders were if he was told to go out and murder Wilkins and Young. This was obviously a mistake since his

(Continued on page 8)

### French Prospects Bright

The revolutionary upsurge in France may be reaching a temporary ebb. This is inevitable after a general strike if the workers do not seize power. But no decisive battles have been fought between the workers and the bosses.

The rulers have maneuvered through the CP and CGT to get time to regain their balance by the old parliamentary tricks.

But the de Gaulle government is as discredited as ever, as evidenced by his having to lean on the most hated fascists in the country. Furthermore, the exploiters show no sign of being willing or able to abolish the oppressive conditions which led to the uprising.

The prospects for proletarian revolution are as good as ever. (See analysis, page 5.)

## Massive Show of Solidarity With Poor in Wash DC

### Poor People Show Determination Despite Government Obstruction

JUNE 19 — About 100,000 poor people and their supporters marched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington today — Solidarity Day — in a dramatic high point of the poor people's occupation of the town.

The Government of the rich has remained steadfast against the poor during the more than a month of agitation — although partially giving in on such points as cheaper food stamps, after round-the-clock demonstrations at the Department of Agriculture.

Secretary Orville Freeman still demands 50 cents for stamps from people who have no money at all, while his Department pays six Mississippi "far-

mers" a million dollars or more apiece not to raise a certain amount of crops!

During the march today, the Secretaries, Senators, Representatives and cops were on their good behavior and there were no incidents like yesterday's beating shown in the accompanying picture. But there have been no less than 30 bills introduced in Congress to restrict or abrogate the rights of the poor to be in Washington at all.

A large number of labor unionists and progressive youth made a special trip to the Capital for today's event and in spite of the Government's attempt to smother the whole thing with the hypo-

(Continued on page 2)

### What Washington Really Thinks of the Poor



Washington cops beat a Mexican-American member of the Poor People's Campaign.

## Racist U.S. Gov't Let Ray Slip Away, "Caught" Him to Divert Black People

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

On the same day that Robert Kennedy was buried amid widespread feeling, particularly in the Black communities, that he was the victim of a conspiracy, the news was dramatically flashed across the country that the suspected assassin of Dr. Martin Luther King had been arrested in London.

Remember how the ruling class denied any conspiracy in the King assassination and how the Attorney General of the United States immediately swore to it? Well the day after Ray was arrested in London, the New York Times buried the following piece of information in one article:

"A convict who had been in prison in Jefferson with Ray quoted Ray as saying that he had heard that a group

of Southern businessmen had put up a \$100,000 bounty for Dr. King's murder and that Ray was intent on claiming this."

To this explosive bit of information the Times countered with the fact that the FBI has given no motive for the murder and claims that no bounty has been discovered. Ramsey Clark, on the very day Ray was arrested, had already denied evidence of a conspiracy.

In addition, it was reported in the same article that a man who rode with Ray to New Orleans said Ray told him he was trying to contact "an important industrialist" there. (It has been noted, by observers that New Orleans is also the city in which the assassination of John F. Kennedy was plotted.)

Even the few snatches of information that get to the public through the bourgeois press about the circumstances of the assassination and Ray's escape point to a well-financed and expertly worked-out plot. The evidence further indicates that U.S. authorities, from the White House and Justice Department on down, have known all along where Ray was and made a policy decision to let him get away.

Had the ruling class allowed a conspiracy to be uncovered they would have had to prosecute all those involved, including high police authorities and wealthy businessmen, and expose to the masses the thoroughly racist and murderous nature of the ruling class and its servants. This they could not do.

However, the explosive political sit-

uation caused by the murder of Senator Kennedy made it necessary for the racist rulers of the U.S. to try to appease the Afro-American people by bringing in "the assassin" in order to wash their own hands clean and divert attention from the latest assassination.

Only after the Kennedy assassination did the Justice Department suddenly release detailed information on Ray and his activities over the past year, which they had all along!

The FBI knew that Ray used the names of several men in Canada and his picture was available. Why was he allowed to escape to Canada and then, weeks later, freely board a plane for London? His picture could have been in the hands of every immigration official and airline worker if the authorities were really intent on catching him. But they were not — until Kennedy was killed. At that time a high policy decision was again made to suddenly find the "lone assassin" and Scotland Yard was ordered to pick him up in London (where, again, his activities over several weeks

(Continued on page 7)

# 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. 13—June 20, 1968

PUBLISHED BI-WEEKLY



## Four Hundred Protest Against Fascist War-Film

NEW YORK, June 19 — Between three and four hundred militant demonstrators marched in the Times Square area tonight to protest the opening of a fascist movie which glorifies the war crimes of

the Green Berets against the Vietnamese people.

The picket line formed directly across the street from the Warner Theater on Broadway and stretched the entire block from 47th to 48th Street. Despite a massive showing of cops, mounted police and plainclothesmen, the determined protesters marched and chanted continuously.

In solidarity with the Vietnamese liberation struggle they shouted, "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, Vietnamese Are Going to Win," "John Wayne Gets Rich, GIs Die," and "Green Berets Are Paper Tigers." The demonstrators also carried signs attacking the government-financed propaganda film, "Green Berets — Johnson's Black Shirts," and "Green Berets, Wall Street's Cops of the World." Several protesters also carried the flag of the National Liberation Front.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam and co-sponsored by The Bond, an anti-war servicemen's newspaper. The Anti-Imperialist Coalition also participated.

The theater was swarming with plainclothes cops. Mounted cops were posted inside the theater exits. Unlike most premieres, the main "attraction" was not movie stars but a group of military brass who entered pompously.

16 demonstrators were later arrested by police as they were getting off a subway 20 blocks from the demonstration. Among those arrested was Bill Smith, Vietnam veteran and contributing editor of The Bond.

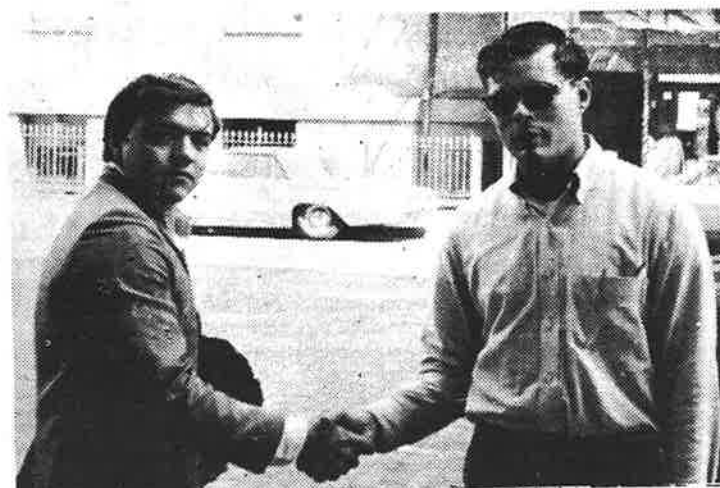
## Actors Leave Theater Dark Defy Bosses, Hit the Streets

NEW YORK, June 18 -- In the spirit of the times of student and worker revolt, American actors have gone on strike. This is the first full-fledged strike since the original one which forged the Union in 1919. The fifty-five year old union is fighting for its very existence.

On Monday the membership rejected the proposed settlement agreed to by the Union Negotiating Committee and the League of N.Y. Theaters (i.e. the producers).

The rejected settlement included such demands as \$50 over the Broadway minimum for road companies, a minimum of \$145 a week to \$165 (minimum is now \$130) for Broadway over a four-year period. (The previous contract was

## Anti-War Sailor Defies Brass Turns in Uniform; Refuses Orders



Sailor Fred Patrick (left) shakes hands with BOND editor and GI Union organizer Andy Stapp, just before turning himself in with a defiant refusal to be part of the war machine.

NEW YORK, June 6 — At 3:00 this afternoon, a young sailor hurled his uniform to the floor at an officer's feet, declaring "I told you I won't wear that thing anymore. It's tainted with the blood of Americans and Vietnamese." With this, Fred Patrick disassociated himself from the Navy and all other arms of U.S. aggression at home and abroad.

Patrick turned himself in as AWOL at the Third Naval District Headquarters at 90 Church St., nerve center for Naval activities for the northeastern U.S. Sixteen members of the Committee for G.I. Rights, Bond editor Andy Stapp, and Fred's lawyer, Michael Kennedy of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, were there to support Mr. Patrick in his fight against the military.

Mr. Patrick gave the commanding officer his identification and leave papers along with a signed statement, which read in part:

"To make my disaffection obvious I refuse to cooperate with this institution which is the arm of U.S. aggression in any degree, including wearing the uniform, saluting or sirring.... I adamantly refuse to obey another order as long as the U.S. continues to wage its vicious, unlawful and immoral war in Vietnam. This war is not my war, nor do I believe it is really the American people's war. I won't support or

give aid to a murderer in the streets here, and I won't support or give aid to an organization (no matter what it calls itself, army, navy, air force, etc.) that murders and destroys and tries to justify morally their immoral actions."

Mr. Patrick went AWOL from his base at El Centro, Calif., where he had served 10 months as an apprentice airman. While AWOL, he contacted the Bond, an anti-war newspaper for servicemen, to secure help in fighting the Brass who carry out U.S. imperialist wars.

Although Patrick was not against the war when he went into the service, the arrogant and ruthless way in which the Naval officers treated the enlisted men helped him to understand why the NLF is fighting to drive the U.S. aggressors from their land.

After Mr. Patrick surrendered today, the staff duty officer ordered him to pick up his uniform. He refused. The officer, after consulting with others, reluctantly picked up the uniform himself. After waiting several hours, Patrick was searched, handcuffed, and hustled out a basement entrance by MPs to avoid photographers at the Church St. entrance. He was taken to the Naval brig in Brooklyn.

The Committee for G.I. Rights and the Bond plan to hold demonstrations in support of Fred Patrick both before and during his court-martial.

runs. Unless the actor gets another show (very unlikely) or work in TV, films, etc. (which is also hard to get), the \$145 is next to nothing. The rest of the time he must live on unemployment insurance, part-time work, etc.

As far as touring companies are concerned, the \$50 added to the Broadway minimum adds up to enough to live at a real poverty, don't-make-waves level, in cheap hotels and on bad food.

Most people only see the show from out front. They see the tinsel, the glamour, and the big stars. They know nothing of backstage with the dressing rooms of peeling paint, etc. In the old days chorus members were forced to dress in the coal cellar. To this day there are theaters where actors dress in makeshift dressing rooms in basements of theaters.

Producer Merrick, who is the power in the American theater by virtue of the number of shows he puts on each year, has a classic capitalist contempt for his employees. He calls the artists he hires "children" and equates them to the "irresponsible children" who have "wrecked" Columbia. It is a most healthy thing to see the "children", whether in Columbia or the Sorbonne or Actors Equity rise up and kick their exploiting, racist, war-mongering "elders" in the teeth.

As the papers have already noted, Mayor Lindsay (of the infamous fascist emergency laws and anti-unionism) is under tremendous pressure by management and a widening section of

(Continued on page 5)

### 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.....



# A New Trend in East Europe: Yugoslav Leftist Students Cry "Down with the Red Bourgeoisie", "Abolish Privilege"

By SAM MARCY

The rebellions of the Yugoslav students which resulted in the takeover of the University of Belgrade and the movement of students in other cities such as Sarajevo, Ljubljana, Skopje, Mostar, Rijeka and Prilep, show that there is now a different trend in revisionist Yugoslavia -- a genuine leftist, truly progressive trend, a trend which until now appeared to be all but non-existent.

It wouldn't be right to exaggerate this trend or say that it's the dominant one. But it is very necessary to emphasize that it does exist -- especially since the bourgeois press has gone to great lengths to convey the impression that the massive student uprising this month was in all respects similar to those earlier ones in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. This is a deliberate attempt to gloss over what is really different about the Yugoslav development. There are unmistakable signs that the protest movement in Yugoslavia has a new, special characteristic which differentiates it from the reactionary developments in other Eastern European countries.

## Against Tito from Left

True, these signs are not yet numerous. The evidence is still sketchy. Nevertheless, one can say with a real degree of certainty that many of the students have taken a remarkable surge forward in the struggle against the Tito leadership, this time from the Left and not from the Right. This section of the students seeks to revive and put on a new revolutionary footing the basic tenets of the Marxist and Leninist conception of socialism and reconstruct Yugoslav life along these lines. This is what is really new and significant.

Of course, this doesn't mean that the student movement has as yet achieved a very definite, specific program or that they are united in a single organization, which, incidentally, would be illegal. The condition of illegality is not an inconsiderable element in the struggle against the regime of Tito & Co. The Western imperialist press has always championed the right of freedom of speech, press, and assembly for the Djilas, the Mihajloviches, and the Stepanoviches — spokesmen for the outright bourgeois restoration, and no doubt their rights have become enlarged. It is something else again when it comes to the rights of students and workers, who are striking out in a revolutionary direction. For them strict illegality is still the rule and any form of protest must still be in the framework of accepted norms.

While the students have been bold in their actions, such as in the case of the seizure of the Belgrade University, they have understandably been more cautious in their approach to political slogans. It is well understood that raising a really revolutionary slogan would court a far more dangerous confrontation with the revisionist authorities than would even the seizure of a university. It would in effect constitute an open challenge to the very existence of the revisionist regime.

## Back to Karl Marx; Down With the "Red Bourgeoisie"

When the students renamed the University of Belgrade, Karl Marx Red University, it was not only a bold act but a revolutionary proclamation. It carried a clear and unambiguous denunciation of the revisionists as falsifiers of Marx. It declared their intentions of reviving his revolutionary teachings. The bourgeois press could not hide the renaming of the University. This act terrified the Titoist authorities. This seemingly insignifi-

cant act of the students had more to do with Tito himself taking matters in his own hands and personally appealing to them than anything else.

Among the slogans and signs at the various demonstrations were many which pointedly hit at "bourgeois authorities," "the bourgeoisie," and "the bourgeoisie which calls itself red." Unquestionably, the students were striking at the very vitals of the regime, which in the eyes of the students is either sustaining, encouraging or itself composed of bourgeois elements. Whatever else may be said about student uprisings in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, and in Hungary earlier, they were not denouncing the bourgeoisie in any shape, form, or manner. To forget this is to forget one of the most important differences. Equally significant are such concrete demands made upon the government by the Yugoslav students as the one which relates to not

political trends in the student movement which is groping for its way out of the mire of the present situation which has brought the early socialist developments in the country to utter collapse and seen the revival of bourgeois elements on a frightening level. It is almost 20 years since Tito took a so-called new road to socialism which turned out to be an accommodation with imperialism and a dismantling of major socialist achievements won by the Yugoslav people as a result of the revolution.

Out of a population of only 20 million people, more than four hundred thousand have had to seek employment in the West precisely because Tito's road to socialism has led to impoverishment of the workers and unemployment.

In a country where more than 60 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, the Titoist road to socialism led to the decollectivization of

form of 1966 was the most drastic attempt to undermine what was left in Yugoslav socialist economic planning. Tito is the one who introduced it. Djilas applauded it. But he said it should have been done earlier and should have gone further.

There was a sharp rise in the cost of living during the fall of 1966 as a result of the "reform." It was so great that many of the work stoppages that occurred at that time were clearly the result of the phony liberal economic reform. Unemployment, which should be a rarity in a planned economy, took on truly alarming proportions, so that as late as last year, the spring of 1967 and early 1968, there were several hundred thousand unemployed. No wonder the phony liberal economists encouraged migration of Yugoslav workers to Western capitalist countries.

## Student Uprisings Tied To Suffering of Workers

The student uprisings cannot be divorced from the deteriorating economic situation, the growth of unemployment, the high cost of living, and the ravages of inflation. The student movement in Yugoslavia, as everywhere, in the final analysis reflects the conditions of society as a whole.

The mass of the workers have had many long years to take a look at what was promised to them in the form of so-called workers councils and individual material incentives. In two decades of experimentation with bourgeois economic theories under the mask of a "creative, independent, democratic" approach, the economy of Yugoslavia has reflected all the ills of a bankrupt political regime heading for collapse.

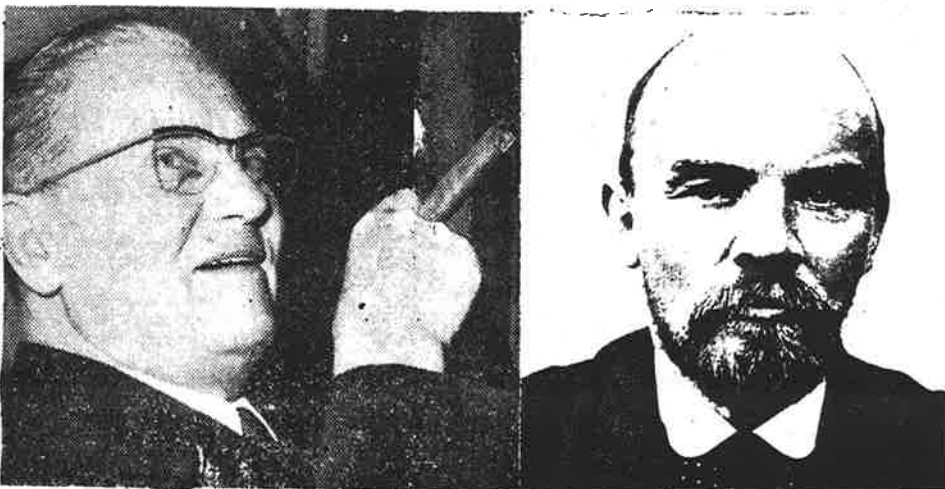
## A Symptom and a Harbinger in Eastern Europe

The student uprisings are both a symptom and harbinger of things to come. Political differentiations from the Titoist regime is developing. There are now several distinct political tendencies in the Yugoslav spectrum.

The dominant one, of course, is still the Titoist grouping which controls the state and whose ideology is that of unvarnished revisionism. Still further to the right is that of Milovan Djilas. While he proclaims his official doctrine to be merely to "reform" communism and make it "democratic," he openly says he is "for small businesses remaining private and the larger ones must be publicly owned (but) the latter must remain free to make their own and competitive deals with other countries and other firms just as they wish.... The present system of public ownership is old-fashioned." Since most of the "deals," as Djilas calls them, are really ties to the U.S., it is plain to see why Djilas' economics find such a ready welcome in Wall Street.

What then is the lesson of the Yugoslav student rebellion? It indicates the beginning of a reversal in historical trends in Eastern Europe, away from the bourgeois degeneration and a revival of the revolutionary, that is, proletarian regeneration for the ideals for which the revolution was made.

That does not at all mean back to the ill-conceived practices and mistakes of Stalin's policy, but back to the principles of Lenin, back to his revolutionary policy against social and economic privileges and for equality, back to a Paris Commune type of state, which is the only way to go forward to a proletarian democracy and to communism which means freedom for all.



His "New Road" Leads to U.S.....His is the Only Road

merely the granting of a minimum wage but also to setting a maximum or ceiling on the earnings of officials.

No such demands were made in any of the other Eastern European countries by the student movement. This kind of demand is calculated to strike down the privileged caste with its enormous salaries, inordinate privileges, and hidden social and economic advantages derived from holding government positions or high posts in industry.

## "Leftist Sects" Have Historic Significance

All this is not meant to say that the entire student protest movement in Yugoslavia is characterized by a revolutionary fervor for the revival of Marxism and Leninism and against revisionism. No, that may not yet be the dominant trend. However, the fact of its existence is what gives it a special and even historic significance. For until now, it seemed that what was developing as a result of the triumph of Titoist revisionism was an even further shift to the right in all sections of the population. But the student revolutionary trend not only in Belgrade but in the other cities shows that the thrust of the protest movement is directed towards revolutionary working class ends.

Even Djilas, now out of jail, a rabid exponent of bourgeois restoration, admits the existence in the student protest movement of so-called "leftist sects" who use "revolutionary phraseology." (Washington Post, June 10, 1968) These "leftist sects," according to Djilas, are to be distinguished from what he calls the "democratic" — actually bourgeois — trend in the movement.

## 20 Yrs. of Tito's "New Road"

There are undoubtedly a variety of

farms, most of which are now in the hands of private farmers, with the larger ones growing richer and the poor driven off the land, and daily joining the unemployed list in the large cities.

## "Liberal Reform" Opens Door to Imperialism

By abandoning the socialist monopoly on foreign trade, Tito opened up the country to the penetration of imperialist capital with the result that the country is suffering from a chronic deficit in the balance of payments, which the Tito government tries to remedy by indirectly taxing the workers and the rural poor.

Having made an accommodation with the imperialist powers, especially the U.S., and having become indebted to them as a result of massive foreign aid from the U.S., the bulk of Yugoslav economy is so geared to Western imperialist markets that it is almost impossible for the present government to do anything but continue on the same beaten road of opening-up the country to further capital investments by the imperialist powers. In truth, the country is in increasing danger of degenerating into a neo-colonialist outpost of Western finance-capital.

In his interview with C.L. Sulzberger in the June 9 issue of the New York Times Magazine, Milovan Djilas said: "I am pro-Europe. Yugoslavia's future is in Europe. But Europe alone cannot be a separate force; it must be tied in with America." Since he further stated: "The United States is infinitely the greatest economic power; and the second greatest power is the U.S.A.—in Europe," it follows naturally that Yugoslavia must be a satellite of U.S. imperialism.

The difference between Tito's policy and that of Djilas is that Tito lags just a little behind Djilas.

The so-called liberal economic re-

# Ruling Class Prime Suspect in Kennedy Assassination

The article below was written by the former Executive Secretary of the Citizens' Committee for Inquiry into the Kennedy Assassination, headed by Mark Lane. Mrs. Stapp, formerly Miss Griswold, collaborated with Lane in the inquiry and in the preparation of material for his book, *Rush to Judgment*.

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD STAPP

How does the world look at the latest American assassination? In foreign capitals, removed from the hysteria and the sentimental sugarcoating that is ladled on the American public, there is only disbelief in the once again repeated "lone assassin" story, and the deepest distrust and suspicion of U.S. ruling circles.

It is known and understood throughout the world that American agencies have subverted, assassinated and spied upon the major portion of their friends and enemies alike. From the U-2 affair to the poisoned Cuban sugar deal, enough information has leaked out to fill volumes of exposes on CIA machinations.

To some Americans, much of the intelligence conspiracy must seem like only a James Bond fantasy. But to the countries that are not subjected to the U.S. propaganda barrage day in and day out and which have actually had American operatives stalking their leaders and bugging their embassies, the reality of a U.S. ruling class plot is a clear and present danger.

And to the rest of the world, not only is there an understanding of how conspiracies are mechanically possible, but there is also an awareness of the deep and serious crisis that U.S. imperialism finds itself in — a crisis that is bringing the factional differences within the Establishment itself more and more into the open.

Therefore, the world is asking not, Who Killed Kennedy? as they did four and a half years ago, but, Why Was Kennedy Killed? Not whose finger was

on the trigger, but what were the forces that engineered this latest in a series of political assassinations?

The Kennedys are an extremely wealthy and far-flung family who lead a highly organized political faction in the ruling class. They have sought to capture control of the capitalist government in large part through liberal, demagogic appeals to the masses of people. With the left-wing upsurge all over the country, this appeal gave the Kennedy faction an unassailable advantage in the elections.

The two Kennedy assassinations made life a lot easier for large sections of big business and their political candidates. In their aftermaths, the bitter and explosive relationships of the Kennedys to their political enemies surfaced in revealing incidents.

## Yorty Not Welcome!

The jubilation that greeted the first Kennedy assassination in parts of Texas was matched recently by the bitter exchange that took place between the Kennedy group and Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles when Yorty insisted on coming to Senator Kennedy's funeral. In a public rebuff, Yorty was told he would not be welcome, after he was refused entry to the plane bearing the body back to New York.

This open clash with the ultra-right was noted by the press. But the press drew no attention to another even more unusual breach of etiquette. It occurred only a few hours later when the plane bearing the body, family and close friends of Senator Kennedy arrived in a remote corner of La Guardia field. This time the rebuff was by omission, but the missing persons were much more politically significant than Los Angeles' openly racist, right wing mayor.

## Johnson Excluded?

The plane was met by a group of dignitaries that did not include one high Administration official (except

for Arthur Goldberg, who has publicly broken with Johnson and is about to retire from his UN post). The greeters included two former cabinet members however, Robert McNamara and C. Douglas Dillon — both Kennedy appointees and both casualties of the Johnson Administration. Presumably the party of mourners had been organized by the Kennedys. Johnson, sensitive to the rumours and accusations that he is a suspect in the first assassination, would make every effort to be represented at so critical a moment when the body of his second fallen rival is returned East. But the Johnson faction was tightly shut out of the affair.

The hostility between Johnson and Mrs. John Kennedy on the plane returning from Dallas that William Manchester described in his book on the earlier assassination has now reached a pitch that makes contact between the two factions almost impossible.

## Did Kennedy Plan to Reopen Case?

It has been reported by Mark Lane, and confirmed by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, that Kennedy let Garrison know he would reopen the investigation into the death of his brother if he won the presidency. Sander Vanocur, an NBC correspondent and family friend who rode back on the funeral plane, said the next day that Edward Kennedy was angry about the "faceless men" who shot down not only the Kennedy brothers but Dr. Martin Luther King. "He's mad at what happens in this country. He does not know whether this is the act of a single person or if this is the act of a conspiracy."

This was the first public acknowledgment by anyone in the Kennedy group that they suspect a conspiracy. It is undoubtedly only the most cautious hint as to what they really know and think.

## Los Angeles and Dallas

Upon reviewing the evidence presented

## Syria Sees Plot

The following is a reprint from the Staten Island Advance of June 11, which describes the view taken by the Baath Party in Syria of the Kennedy assassination.

"In leftist Syria, the ruling Socialist Baath Party blamed the death of Sen. Kennedy on the same monopolistic forces of capitalism which murdered John F. Kennedy five years ago." The Baath newspaper said these forces "have purposely used a youth of Arab origin as their tool to camouflage the real motive for the murder and provide anti-Arab circles in the United States with ammunition to intensify their propaganda war against the Arabs."

ted the public by the Dallas police in 1963, it was made clear that the ultra-right organization twisted and suppressed the truth of what happened on November 22. The first stories released by the police — the fried chicken in the window, the fingerprints that disappeared, the assassination map — turned out later to be false or irrelevant. There is no reason to assume that the Los Angeles Police Department would be any less willing a tool of a ruling class plot than were the Dallas cops.

Until such time as an independent investigation is launched, the public will be dependent on these authorities for all its factual information on the shooting itself, and on the political motivation of the defendant.

Sirhan himself, of course, has not yet uttered one word giving a clue to his motive. All we know about him is being supplied by authorities out to prove that he is a crazed Arab nationalist. And this is odd. Because there is a strange inconsistency in a young man risking his life in order to make a political point, and then failing to take advantage of it.

But there are other even greater inconsistencies in the explanation being offered for the assassination. Foremost among them is the contention that Kennedy was the target because he supported Israel. What candidate, pray, did not support Israel? Just a few days before Kennedy was shot, in his televised debate with McCarthy, the two men agreed that bombers should be sold to Tel Aviv. McCarthy had said, even before his campaign for President began, that U.S. interests in the Middle East were much greater than in Vietnam. Kennedy was no different from any of the major politicians in this respect.

The New York Times had to report on June 9, with a note of surprise, that many Arabs regarded Kennedy as a "liberal" with more sympathies for the "coloured peoples."

## First King, Now Kennedy Masses Suspect Conspiracy

The reaction of the masses in this country to the assassination makes it clear that while they may not articulate it, they think that Kennedy was the victim of a right wing conspiracy.

Again and again people being interviewed repeat the belief that Kennedy was shot because he was trying to do something for the poor people, or because he was against racism. Sometimes the reaction is even less specific than that — "all the good people are getting killed," etc., lumping in the two Kennedys with Dr. King and Medgar Evers. It is certainly not the reaction you would expect if people really believed that the Kennedy brothers had been gunned down by crazed leftists.

In truth, the main hesitation in most

(Continued on page 5)

# Vital Questions on the Assassination

Who are the "faceless men" angrily described by Edward Kennedy as having shot down both his brothers and Martin Luther King? These remarks were uttered on the plane back to New York from Los Angeles.

What did he mean by "faceless"? Oswald's face is well known. Ray's face is well known. Sirhan's face is well known. Could the "faceless men" referred to by Kennedy be the men who planned the killings?

Why did the New York Post, which published the report of Kennedy's remarks, as related by Sander Vanocur, an NBC correspondent who was on the plane, pull the article after one edition?

The report by Vanocur clearly indicated that those aboard the plane carrying Robert Kennedy's body were thinking in terms of a conspiracy. Why did Frank Mankiewicz, Kennedy's press secretary, refuse to deny the report? He simply would not discuss "private" affairs aboard the plane.

What about the report by Jim Garrison, New Orleans District Attorney, as told by Mark Lane in the June 13 edition of the New York Free Press, that an emissary of Robert Kennedy declared flatly that if he were elected president he would reopen the inquiry into the assassination of his brother? Could this have had anything to do with the RFK assassination?

What about the remark by this emissary, explaining why RFK didn't say anything up to now, "He knows that there are guns between him and the White House."

What would it have meant to the credibility of the entire U.S. ruling class if the case of the assassination of John Kennedy were to have been brought out in the open?

## Can the Los Angeles Ruling Class be Trusted?

Can Mayor Yorty and the Los Angeles authorities be relied upon to tell the truth about something which hurt the Kennedys? The Yorty faction of the Democratic Party in California is the extreme, pro-fascist wing which was violently anti-Kennedy. Yorty and Kennedy practically came to blows on national television last year during Senate hearings on the urban crisis. The Yorty group is in complete control of the investigation of the assassination of his most formidable political enemy.

Why did the Los Angeles authorities choose Alan Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union to "protect the interests" of Sirhan and to virtually run his preliminary "defense"? Is it because Wirin was one of the staunchest defenders of the Warren Commission Report who was so devoted to upholding this whitewash that he debated Mark Lane in public?

Why did the Superior Court Judge "suggest" Joseph Ball to be Sirhan's attorney? Is it because Ball already participated in one cover-up as a member of the Warren Commission staff?

Why did the authorities rush through the grand jury hearing without taking time to investigate the possibility of a conspiracy? Why did they call 22 witnesses and make a big show of calling Sirhan the "suspect" and the "accused," etc., building up an "air-tight" case when there is no dispute whatsoever about Sirhan's act? The only dispute in this case is whether or not this act was part of a conspiracy — just the point which was deliberately omitted by the grand jury investigation. Why don't the authorities want this vitally important question investigated?

Why did Ramsey Clark, the Attorney General of the United States, the highest law enforcement official in the country, prejudice this case immediately by declaring, within hours of the Kennedy shooting, prior to even a cursory investigation, and on what authority, that there was no conspiracy?

## Inconsistency in the Behavior of Sirhan

Assuming that Sirhan was a revolutionary, why didn't he act like other revolutionary terrorists in history and boldly proclaim the purpose of the

(Continued on page 5)



# Decisive Class Battles Yet to Come in French Struggle

By SAM MARCY

Up until the present time, there has been no successful proletarian revolution in the Western capitalist countries. The apologists for Western imperialism seem never to forget to remind us of this fact.

The revolutions in Eastern Europe came during the Second World War and were to one degree or another aided by the strong intervention of the Red Army, even where the Communist Party was very strong and had large popular support among the workers and peasants. There were, of course, attempts at proletarian revolution immediately after the First World War in Germany and in Italy. There were also favorable opportunities for proletarian revolution in Germany during the period immediately preceding the Nazi take-over by Hitler and in France and Spain in the years immediately following Hitler's seizure of power.

In the view of many, there also existed favorable opportunities in Italy and France after the Second World War when large sections of the popular masses were armed and the capitalist state in both countries seemed on the verge of utter collapse.

At this writing, all of the imperialist publicists and commentators are busily writing obituaries to the French Revolution 1968. But as Mark Twain noted, in a different context, "Reports of my death are highly exaggerated." And, of course, the broad implication of their propaganda is that the Western proletariat is congenitally incapable of and uninterested in carrying out the proletarian revolution. As Sanche de Gramont in the Sunday, June 16 New York Times Magazine summed up their (wishful) thinking: "The French workers don't want to wreck the affluent (affluent for whom? — S.M.) society. They just want to participate in it."

Of course there is no question that the revolutionary situation in France as it has developed in the last four weeks has experienced a certain ebb tide. No revolutionary situation can continue consistently and steadily on the upgrade unless there is a seizure of power by the working class and its allies. Failing that, a recession is bound to set in. And that is what has happened.

## Workers Must Declare Themselves in Power

A general strike such as the one which engulfed France these last few stormy weeks cannot endure indefinitely. The leadership of the working class in general and the trade union leadership in particular must make a conscious bid for State Power. They must try to orient the working class toward a general seizure and maintenance of the plants, industry and economy with the revolutionary aim of declaring itself — we repeat, declaring itself — to be the legal, that is, the political authority in the country as against the police, the military, and the pro-fascist dictatorship of de Gaulle which has been repudiated by the popular, decisive masses in the streets and factories.

Unless this is done, the revolutionary tide cannot but begin to recede. In fact it has begun to recede. But it is only a recession. There has been no definitive, no decisive defeat for the working class and its allies among the city and rural poor. Conversely, there has not been a decisive victory for the bourgeoisie.

## De Gaulle Calls on Hated Fascists: As Shaky As Ever

The de Gaulle regime is as shaky as it ever has been. Its condition both economically and politically is as desperate as it has ever been. And as we have indicated in previous articles here, it is torn by a thousand inner class contradictions which it cannot resolve. Imagine the plight of de Gaulle. He has had to call upon his worst personal enemies for help. He has had to lean on none other than Bidault, Salan & Co., the outright fascist elements so bitterly hated by the

True, there have been some killings and brutal, savage beatings of students and workers. Measured by the scale of revolution, however, these can only be regarded as initial skirmishes. No major battle has yet been fought. All that the bourgeoisie has won is a psychological victory.

## The Lull Before the Storm

The workers have gone back to work, certainly. But their spirit has not been broken. Their class consciousness has not evaporated. On the contrary, it has been enhanced and enriched. This is the key factor in this great historical situation. This is pre-

## YAWF Leader Denounces Fascist Ban on French Leftists

NEW YORK, June 12 — The following is a telegram on behalf of Youth Against War & Fascism protesting the fascist ban placed on left wing organizations during the election campaign in France. YAWF is a participant in the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement, which, together with the Columbia Strike Coordinating Committee, carried out the first demonstration in this country in solidarity with French workers, students and peasants. The demonstration was held on June 1, in front of the French consulate in New York City.

To President Charles de Gaulle:

WE PROTEST the fascist ban which you have placed on left wing student and working class organizations. The fact that you have banned organizations which fight militantly for the exploited and oppressed proves that you are nothing but a hireling of the exploiters and oppressors of the French people.

WE PROTEST the prohibition of all left wing demonstrations during the election campaign which you have arranged in the interests of your capitalist benefactors. The fact that you have to take fascist measures to insure a so-called "democratic" election is a naked confession that parliamentary election is a naked confession that parliamentarism is nothing more than a maneuverist tactic — a smokescreen behind which the bankers, industria-

lists and landlords hope to keep their rights — i.e. keep the workers enslaved.

WE PROTEST the conspiracy which you carried out with the military, behind the backs of the masses, to bring the fascist scum, Salan, Bidault & Co. back to political life. These mad dogs tried to kill you in a faction fight once but you embrace them in a struggle against the workers. You haven't changed one bit since the day you were first hired by the imperialists in 1919 to overthrow Lenin's government.

The renovation of these despicable beasts, assassins of the Algerian and French people alike, only shows the hatred and contempt which you have for the mass of the people. It makes you and your decadent class superiors more deserving than ever of the revolutionary justice which we are sure you will soon receive from toilers of France whom you so despise.

WE CALL UPON all students, workers and progressives everywhere to organize to protest these fascist measures and to call demonstrations in solidarity with the revolutionary students and workers and peasants of France.

Long Live the French Revolution of 1968.

Key Martin, Chairman

In behalf of Youth Against War & Fascism

overwhelming majority of the French people. These elements only yesterday were plotting his assassination. Can he really have a stable united front with them?

De Gaulle's so-called reconciliation with the army generals is only of a pro-forma character. The various cliques in the military camarilla make it highly questionable whether they can act in unison in a showdown. The reliability of the army rank and file and of sections of the police once the revolution begins in earnest can only be tested in the crucible of the actual struggle itself.

## Decisive Battles Yet to Come

As of now, neither of the major social classes on the opposite sides of the class barricades has been vanquished. Whatever has been lost or won, whatever may have been won by the bourgeoisie and lost by the proletariat and its allies, has been strictly in the field of political maneuver. This has not resulted in major casualties.

cisely what the bourgeois press here and everywhere wants to hide. At any rate, most of the workers have gone back only because the CP-CGT leadership has urged them to. The CP-CGT leadership has accepted de Gaulle's edict to engage in a parliamentary contest with the ruling class for electoral seats rather than wage a revolutionary contest for proletarian state power.

This is where the situation rests at the present time. It is a lull before the next storm. It also affords an opportunity for all the revolutionary elements which side with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie to take stock of the situation, reassess their tactics and prepare for the next stage of the struggle.

## Objective Conditions, Class Relations Still Favorable for Revolution

The mass mood of the workers, students and rural poor may have changed. Some of the enthusiasm may have evaporated. Anger and disillusionment with the (Continued on page 8)

## — Questions

(Continued from page 4)

gave his life to carry out?

Why did Sirhan pick such an ambiguous target if he acted out of revolutionary political motives? After all, it was necessary for the ruling class media to make the point that he was probably an Arab nationalist and that he probably shot Kennedy because of his stand in favor of Israel and was probably "inflamed" by the TV debate between McCarthy and Kennedy which he probably saw. But all six of the candidates were solidly pro-Israel. Sirhan would not have had to look far in the galaxy of U.S. political personalities to find any one of several absolutely unambiguous, world known symbols of U.S. aggression against the Arabs.

Furthermore, if he refused to reveal his plans under police pressure, after the killing, why did he leave his alleged notebook where Yorty and Reddin could get it with a complete description of those alleged plans?

## Who Benefited from the Assassination

Who benefited from the assassina-

tion? Was it the Arab revolution? Or was it any one or any combination of the host of anti-Kennedy groupings in the ruling class?

Did the Arab masses move one step nearer to liberation? Or did ruling class elements move a giant step nearer the White House and the spoils of the Presidency?

Why did President Johnson and numerous other spokesmen for the ruling class call for "healing wounds," "ending divisions in the country," etc. if the assassination was carried out by a lone individual who is from a foreign country, with a supposedly alien cause, irrelevant to domestic politics? What divisions and wounds? The divisions in the ruling class, divided over how best to oppress the people? "Wounds" caused by internecine struggles in the highest echelons of a decadent imperialist class?

We do not know the concrete answers to these vital questions and many more which will arise. But they certainly cry out for an answer. And they certainly demonstrate that the burden lies entirely on the ruling class to prove that the assassination of Robert

## — Prime Suspect

(Continued from page 4)

people's minds to admit a conspiracy seems to hinge on the timidity of the average person to believe that political and class considerations would come before avenging a member of one's own family. But a few more hints like those leaked by Sander Vanocur and this one lingering doubt will be removed.

It is not merely the exhaustive debunking of the Warren Report that has produced this mood in the country. It is the general awakening produced by the war in Vietnam and the rising struggle of Black people. These two major processes have put the ruling oligarchy in a new light, and a general mood of

## — Actors Out on Strike

(Continued from page 2)

affected business interests to get a settlement.

In 1964 "friend of labor" Mayor Wagner was able to get the union

Kennedy did not arise from an inner clique fight as did the assassination of John Kennedy without a doubt.

suspicion and distrust of the government exists, called by intellectuals the "credibility gap."

It is all the more important, then, that a public inquiry into the series of assassinations begun with the murder of Malcolm X be undertaken. There is great interest and anticipation for what such an investigation would uncover. The time is more right than ever to conduct a struggle aimed at uncovering the well-hidden wheels within wheels that lie at the heart of this system.

An investigation of the assassinations will answer not only the question: Who killed the Kennedys and why?, but it will invade the private world of ruling class politics that has too long stood as an impenetrable fortress whose doors are opened only to the accepted few.

council to accept an agreement that was met with deep dissatisfaction by the membership. (The membership does not have the right of ratification of contract). It remains to be seen whether any deal at the expense of the rank and file membership can be made this time. The situation is much graver and the stand-off far more intransigent on both sides. In the meantime, Vive les performers!

Who Controls? Who is Controlled?

# Gun Control: A Ruling Class Ploy to Disarm the Masses

Newark....

...Oakland



## Bosses Pushing New Laws on Weapons As Gov't. Steps Up Repressive Violence

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

The current campaign being carried on in the capitalist establishment to enact gun control laws is devoted to objectives which are entirely harmful to the interests of the broad masses of the people in this country.

The immediate purpose of the debate being whipped up over how to stem the tide of "mounting violence" is to divert public attention from the host of suspicious events and circumstances surrounding one particular act of ruling-class violence — i.e. the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy.

More importantly the bosses are pressing their campaign to disarm the masses of the people and the Afro-American people in particular. The corporate rulers are taking advantage of mass sympathy for Robert Kennedy to press this long standing and thoroughly-reactionary objective.

The Kennedy assassination is being cited by all sources of bourgeois propaganda as another instance of the growing number of "crimes of violence" — outrageous of course, but nevertheless qualitatively undifferentiated from ordinary criminal violence.

According to the editorial hirelings of the ruling class, the crucial factor leading up to the assassination is that Kennedy was shot with an unregistered mail order gun which allegedly would not have been issued to the owner under the proper gun control laws.

### Debate a Phony Diversion

In this general debate over how to deprive "criminals" and "lunatics" of guns, the masses are supposed to assume that Sirhan Sirhan was either one or the other or both. And in the process they are supposed to forget suspicious facts such as that Kennedy was killed in the heartland of his political enemies among the ruling class; that Sirhan defied all customary behavior known to be characteristic of revolutionary assassins by refusing to reveal his motives afterwards; that despite his refusal to talk, this "calm, cool" revolutionary left an open note book on his desk telling all his plans (!); that Mayor Yorty and the fascist Los Angeles Police have custody of the prisoner who has said nothing which was made public: Sirhan just happened to be standing in the path of a short-cut which Kennedy happened to take at the last minute, etc., etc., etc. (See page 4)

The rulers hope that all these contra-

dictions will be buried and forgotten by the people under an avalanche of debating over gun control.

The bourgeoisie has thus sought to reorient the controversy to issues calculated to blind the masses to the political infighting of the ruling class and their struggles over state power and policy. By lumping the supremely political assassination into the general category of "crime" the bosses hope to hide the political instability of their crumbling system.

### Deeper Issue: Disarming the Masses

But the pressure for gun control, in addition to being part of a diversionary maneuver, is also much more — namely another step in a ruling class campaign to disarm the masses of people.

The fact that the champion of gun control is President Johnson, the architect of international and domestic violence against the oppressed, should (Continued on page 7)

## Violence: A Concrete Question It Flows from Enforcement of Slavery

The ruling class deliberately poses the question of violence in the abstract in order to confuse the masses and conceal its reactionary aims of disarming the poor and oppressed. Violence however, is very concrete and falls into very definite categories. There is the violence of the oppressing class to keep the oppressed enslaved — both the open massive violence of the type used to crush the Black rebellions and the selective, conspiratorial violence such as the assassination of Malcolm X engineered by the CIA.

Then there is the violence of the oppressed against the oppressor — both of self-defense and of revolutionary retaliation against the brutality of the oppressor such as occurred after the assassination of Martin Luther King.

There is the conspiratorial violence arising out of faction fights in the

ruling class — the assassination of one president and a leading presidential candidate being typical examples.

There is also ordinary criminal violence, engaged in mostly by the desperate poor and the hopeless, which occurs on an individual level.

The bosses call their violence against the masses the "maintenance of law and order" and every thing else they lump into the category of criminal violence in order to conceal the fact that most violence either arises from or is a direct struggle against class oppression.

In truth, the growth of all these forms of violence and others, is directly attributable to the mounting pressures against capitalist exploitation and all the attendant hardships and brutality which the mass of the people must suffer under the regime of the billionaires. The growth of violence is a symptom not of a sick society in general but a degenerate ruling class which thinks nothing of wiping out nations in pursuit of profit.

Both classes and individuals use violence as a last resort — i.e. when there is no other way to preserve their interests, or in the case of the exploited, when there is no other way to improve their desperate condition.

If there is an increase of violence among the poor it is because intensified oppression of the masses and the growth of ruling class violence to preserve class slavery has left the masses no other way to redress their grievances — everything else has failed.

The above holds true of individuals as well as classes. Much has been made in the bourgeois press of the so-called "frontier mentality" and the suggestive stimulus to violence in the cultural media. No one can deny the omnipresent image of fascist violence, both in real life and as a cultural theme.

But the suggestion of violence has always been present in a significant way under imperialist society which grew up and always lived by violence. Individual violence can only take on the proportions of a social disease when large numbers of people must resort to desperation measures in

(Continued on page 7)

## New Jersey Gun Control: Fascist Police in Charge

Thirty-four Afro-Americans were killed in Watts in August 1965. Twenty-four Black people were killed in Newark and forty-five in Detroit last summer. Over forty were killed in April after the assassination of Martin Luther King. Police recently killed Bobby Hutton of the Black Panthers in Oakland.

All these people were killed with guns! All these guns were wielded by a select, easily identifiable group!

What kind of gun-control will be meaningful to 22 million Black people? Pass gun-control laws against the cops. Take their pistols, rifles, shotguns, machine guns away! That is the only kind of gun-control which will benefit the masses of people.

But what kind of gun control does the ruling class have in mind? A law like the semi-fascist one passed in New Jersey has been singled out for particular praise in the big business press.

The "liberal" New York Times, praised the law highly in a June 9 editorial and quoted Senator Clifford Case as boasting, "The law is preventing the sale of guns to those who should not have them." And the Times con-

cluded "What is good for New Jersey in this respect is good for the United States."

What is this law that is "good for the United States?"

"The law," said an AP dispatch of Jan. 9, "requires a prospective gun buyer to secure an identification card issued by the police before he can purchase a weapon. The police may refuse to issue such a card to ex-convicts, narcotics addicts and others."

So it is not just "the law" which determines who gets a gun and who doesn't in New Jersey. It is the police! The same police who gunned down Black people in Newark, who broke into homes and terrorized unarmed people in Plainfield, who brutalize the Black people and who work hand in glove with the growing fascist movement in that state.

And this is the law to disarm the oppressed, which is falsely labelled "gun-control" and which the bosses want to put into effect across the country. What the Times really meant is that what is good for the ruling class in New Jersey is good for the ruling class in the United States.



# —Gov't Let Ray Slip Away

(Continued from page 1)  
were well known to the FBI).  
But the evidence of a conspiracy begins with the very day James Earl Ray escaped from the Missouri State Prison at Jefferson City on April 23, 1967. He was serving a 20-year sentence for robbery. Three days later he checked into a rooming house in Birmingham, Alabama under the name Eric Starvo Galt. Within the week he bought a car — for \$1,995 cash!

During the year after he escaped from prison, the FBI reports, (according to the New York Times of June 9), that he made several trips to the west coast and also spent several months in Montreal, Canada, still using the name Galt.

Where did the escaped convict get the thousands of dollars necessary for his living and travel expenses? And how did he travel openly without being captured? The ruling class refuses to even ask these questions in public let alone answer them.

Just four days after the assassination, April 8, Ray turned up in Toronto, Canada despite the fact that the FBI claimed to have organized a worldwide manhunt for his capture.

On June 11, the New York Times reported that the Canadian police thought that Ray had to have help in his escape. Three aliases which he used, Eric Starvo Galt, Paul Bridgman and Ramon George Sneyd, are the names of three men who live close to each other in Toronto and strongly resemble Ray in height, weight, age and appearance.

How did Ray get enough personal information on these three men to use their names and even choose men who

look like him? And, as was pointed out previously, Ray began using the alias of Galt three days after he escaped from prison!

All this indicates that Ray was hired in prison by the organization which was to plot the assassination of King. Whatever may have been Ray's actual role in the plot, and there is some evidence that he only acted as a decoy, he was a likely recruit for the conspirators. He was known to be a loud, vicious racist who had attempted escape several times and was facing 20 years in prison.

Ray's brother, who expressed surprise at Ray's capture June 8, said on that day:

"If my brother did kill King, he did it for a lot of money. He didn't do anything if it wasn't for a lot of money. And those who paid him won't want him sitting in a courtroom telling everything he knows." Three days later, Ray's brother said he thought Ray was being "used as a decoy" and that "some rich Southern man" contacted Ray after he escaped from prison.

Ray was arrested at a very opportune time for the ruling class. His capture was calculated to calm the Black people who were angry and suspicious at the assassin's escape and was also a convenient diversion for the masses now that another assassination and the possibility of another conspiracy was on everyone's mind.

The New York Times of June 9 heralded the event with front page headlines, "Harlem's Anguish Eased by Arrest, Word on Capture of Ray Spreads in Area Mourning both Kennedy and King." The mouthpiece of the ruling

## If You Are Young and Poor in NYC...

### You May Be Arrested for Vietnam

The "liberal" Lindsay city government and the U.S. Army are using one of the most insidious methods to force young "lawbreakers" into the U.S. war machine as cannonfodder in Vietnam. The Youth Counsel Bureau, an arm of the New York City government, virtually blackmails young people convicted of crimes, no matter how small, either to join the Army or face stiff sentences.

Last year, 3,000 of the Bureau's 4,300 youth under its jurisdiction "enlisted" into the U.S. military's forced labor. Already, many of these youth have been killed in Vietnam and many more have been wounded.

This "recruiting" operation was originally organized by the New York County District Attorney and the New York City Police over 27 years ago. But only in the last few years, since the buildup of the U.S. war in Vietnam, has the Bureau's conscription campaign taken on major proportions. And needless to say, it is the poor and the oppressed who are forced into this ruth-

less trap, while rich youth can bribe their way into suspended sentences or immediate paroles, and avoid the draft as well.

class hailed the arrest of Ray, openly admitting that it hoped this event would restore the confidence of the Afro-American people in racist U.S. justice.

Whitney Young chimed in and was quoted nationally as saying, "The Negro must have such visible evidence that the law will work for him as well as for others if his faith in the American system is to be sustained." (Young was recently appointed to the Rockefeller Foundation, alma mater of Dean Rusk.)

tation of U.S. big business, and its battalions which shot down the people in Detroit, Newark, which marched into Washington D.C. and Chicago, etc. — they will not be disarmed.

And what about the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils, the Minutemen, the Birch Society and all the other paramilitary fascist organizations which the ruling class is holding in the wings for an emergency? These organizations are already illegally constituted according to present laws against private armies, against subversive activities, against depriving persons of life and liberty, and hundreds of other laws already on the books which could be used any time the ruling class decided to.

These organizations have always been shielded by the billionaires (their representatives sit on every important Senatorial and Congressional committee) while Black people have been hounded and hunted down for even

less trap, while rich youth can bribe their way into suspended sentences or immediate paroles, and avoid the draft as well.

The present head of the Youth Counsel Bureau, Thomas Mariconda, bluntly told the N.Y. Times that the Bureau's function is to prevent these youth from ever rebelling against their oppressors:

"I think it is a wonderful thing when a boy can realize that the Army is not a suitable target for political protest and that it is only carrying out orders."

And just what "crime" have these youth committed to deserve to be slaughtered or wounded in the Vietnam war? One such youth, as reported by Richard Severo in the June 9 edition of the New York Times, was guilty of the "terrible" crime of stealing one whole jacket from Macy's.

As it has been often said in the anti-Vietnam war movement:

"The rich get richer and the poor get killed!"

But as evidenced in one report from Washington, D.C., the maneuver to suddenly produce the "lone assassin" of Dr. King didn't put the Black masses off the track one bit. One Black youth in Washington spoke the mind of millions when he told a Times reporter: "When are they going to get the guys that paid to kill King? That's what I want to know. They figured that if they didn't arrest that guy soon, we'd burn this place down again. But we might do that anyhow."

But as evidenced in one report from Washington, D.C., the maneuver to suddenly produce the "lone assassin" of Dr. King didn't put the Black masses off the track one bit. One Black youth in Washington spoke the mind of millions when he told a Times reporter: "When are they going to get the guys that paid to kill King? That's what I want to know. They figured that if they didn't arrest that guy soon, we'd burn this place down again. But we might do that anyhow."

It would be sheer folly to rely on the capitalist class to disarm the paramilitary forces of the counter-revolution at a time in history when they need them more than ever.

### Police in Charge of Disarmament!

In addition it must be understood that "gun control," as the rulers conceive of it in all their legislation, both enacted and proposed, is strictly a police function. The police would dispense or deny permits according to their records or at their discretion. Only the wealthy could afford to fight a police decision in court. Thus, not only will the armed force of the bankers and bosses keep themselves armed to the teeth, but they will also be in charge of disarming those whom they are paid to oppress! A truly ominous possibility.

## -Violence

(Continued from page 6)  
order to survive.

In fact the growth of individual crimes of violence, which President Johnson made so much of last week, is a sure-fire sign to the ruling class that their system is disintegrating. It is a mark of the kind of social decay of the profit system which precedes the growth of organized, revolutionary resistance to oppression.

By trying to institute gun-control the bosses are taking preventive measures against potential revolutionary resistance to their rule. They are not trying to eliminate violence, in general, but only strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist state on violence. They are trying to insure that when the violent enforcement of exploitation is necessary it will be one-sided in favor of the bosses. That is what the bosses mean by "putting a stop to violence" and that is the aim of the present so-called gun-control law.

# -Disarm the Masses

(Continued from page 6)  
should be enough to prove that such laws are harmful to the working class.  
But consider the question from the standpoint of the effect of gun control. Who will be disarmed by it? Who will do the disarming? And most important, who will not be disarmed?

First of all it is absolutely unthinkable that the rich and the powerful of this country would disarm themselves at a time when class oppression is growing more intense and antagonisms between the rich and the poor are growing sharper and sharper.

The police across the country are stockpiling weapons at a breakneck pace. New and improved weapons to use against the civilian population are being turned out by big business

specifically for the police. Armoured personnel carriers mounted with machine guns, new riot guns, anti-sniper rifles, MACE, electrified water guns, etc., are just some examples.

So the cops, who protect the rich, who prowl the Black communities to bring terror, who smash anti-war demonstrations, who break strikes, who deal in brutality and violence against the oppressed — they will not be disarmed.

Nor will gun control laws provide for the disarmament of the military machine of the banker-generals which was on the alert and ready to move into 50 cities to crush any uprising just after the Kennedy assassination last week. The Pentagon, whose reason for being is to guard the rights of exploi-

## Bosses' Gun Control

Since the assassination of Robert Kennedy, gun control has been touted as the solution for preventing "crimes of violence." In response to this ruling class campaign to disarm the masses, one midwestern discount store, J-Mart's in Columbus, Ohio, has discontinued the sale of guns.

J-Mart's entire inventory of small arms, hand guns, ammunition and "related items," worth over \$20,000, were donated to the Columbus police department, according to an AP dispatch of June 7.

Rather than sell guns to the mass of the people, particularly to the Black people who need them for self-defense, the bosses prefer to give them away to the cops, that is, to arm those who have already been proven to be the "criminal elements" and hired murderers for the ruling class.

That's "gun control"—ruling class style!

## THEY WANT TO MAKE THIS LEGAL



Cops searching homes of Afro-Americans in Baltimore.

## Supreme Court Acting True Role— Right-Wing Reactionaries

By PETER STORCH

Last week the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in the sale of housing was unconstitutional. They had the unmitigated nerve to cite a law from 1866. In other words, this body of judicial dictators has just admitted that the Congress, the Executive and the Supreme Court have been upholding legal racism for 102 years.

For this decision, which is one century late, liberals are rushing to declare them heroes and ignore a whole series of right wing rulings.

The latest and most reactionary decision was made last week as the Supreme Court ruled that the police had a right to stop and frisk "suspicious-looking persons" for weapons. In handing down this decision the Court trampled all over the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution which forbids policemen to detain and search persons without showing a probable cause. The reactionary ruling was even denounced by the conservative American Civil Liberties Union, who interpreted the decision as inviting extreme forms of harassment of the Black people and the other oppressed minorities. The lone dissenting judge, Justice Douglas, also had to admit that, ".....the court was responding to powerful hydraulic pressures..... to water down Constitutional guarantees and give the police the upper hand."

The decision paralled another Court ruling allowing policemen to use in court evidence obtained through frisks and seizures. Such a right-wing turn by the Supreme Court may yet signal an unprecedented campaign of terror by the police against the Black

and Puerto Rican peoples and lead to new racist frame-ups of Black liberation fighters.

Last month, the Court upheld Congress by ruling that burning a draft card is a federal crime, and thereby opening up numerous prosecutions of anti-draft fighters. The ruling overturned a lower court decision which stated that the right to burn draft cards was protected under the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech.

The Supreme Court also recently ruled against the fishing rights of Indians in the State of Washington.

The Court ruled on June 11 in favor of providing textbooks for religious schools, thus ratifying taxpayer financed government subsidies to clerical reaction. (By taking more money from the public schools and giving it to the private parochials, the Supreme Court is only paving the way for the further deterioration of the public schools.)

The Supreme Court first began to lose its undeserved image of "liberalism" when it recently upheld the convictions of Martin Luther King and seven other ministers involved in the desegregation fight in Birmingham, Ala. four years ago. Again working hand in hand with the racists, the Court ruled last year that the arch-racist Senator from Mississippi, James Eastland, was totally immune from a suit charging him of conspiring to stage illegal raids in New Orleans on the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Despite the aura surrounding the sanctified Supreme Court that it is "above politics", its decisions in the

## —Black Militants Convicted

(Continued from page 1)

question didn't include Ferguson and Harris. So the judge suggested that the DA meant what were Howlette's orders if he was told to go with Ferguson and Harris to kill Wilkins and Young.

Howlette replied that his orders were to arrest them and prevent the assassination. However earlier it had been established that Howlette never attended the police academy and was never given a gun until after the defendants' arrest last year. (He has since been rewarded for his work and is now Detective Howlette.)

Miss Condon pointed out that if the defendants were really dangerous and armed, it would have been "suicide" for Howlette, who didn't even find it necessary to have a gun, to try to arrest them.

There were many such contradictions throughout the case. For example, Howlette, who constantly had to refer to "notes" he claimed he took while infiltrating the three-man "terrorist cell," said that the plot called for the assassination of Wilkins and Young during 1966. He also stated at another time, however, that the defendants had said Wilkins and Young would be tried before a People's Court in Harlem in the Summer of 1967.

At another point the police agent testified that Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Harris had drawn up a leaflet calling for insurrection which was to be distributed in Black communities across the country. When Miss Condon asked how many leaflets had been made up Howlette replied, "eight." At this the courtroom spectators, mostly supporters, burst out laughing. Howlette

last year have not only shown the Court to be very political, but actually of the highest political order, sensitive to all the political trends in the ruling class which are moving steadily to the right with the Supreme Court sometimes following and sometimes leading.

then said that he meant there were eight different leaflets and that 100 leaflets calling for "insurrection" were printed (an equally preposterous number for "nationwide" distribution).

In her summation to the jury, Miss Condon charged that the police "planned and engineered the evidence" in the case by using Howlette. She pointed out that an "assassination note" introduced as evidence had been prepared by Howlette. She further reminded the jury that two \$5 maps which Howlette testified he bought to locate the homes of the alleged victims "were financed by the Police Department and not by any organization."

Miss Condon protested the "racial and political overtones" in the case. Earlier in the trial she had called for a mistrial when Robert Kennedy's name was introduced after his assassination to create a hysteria against the defendants.

Following the conviction today Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Harris were continued free on \$20,000 bail each. They face maximum sentences of seven years on the conspiracy-to-murder charge. However both are accused, along with 13 other Black militants, with conspiracy to commit arson and anarchy. In all, Ferguson and Harris could face up to 56 and 40 years respectively.

The frame-up trial of Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris marks the latest in a series of ruling class "conspiracy" trials of Black liberation fighters. The ruling class is now flooding the Black communities across the country with police stool pigeons who are sent in to specifically seek out the most militant fighters in the Black struggle and ensnare them in frame-ups.

Such is the case of Ferguson and Harris. And such a case must be protested and exposed until the government is defeated in its efforts.

## —Decisive Battles Yet to Come

(Continued from page 5)

official leadership of the working class and the trade unions may have led to temporary pessimism. But this again is only a mood. The objective relationship of the classes and the relationship of the political forces in the country remains the same.

The actual living conditions of the overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants and a large section of the middle class have not materially changed except perhaps for the worse. The bankers, industrialists and financiers in whose behalf de Gaulle is mounting his counterrevolutionary offensive are not about to grant such major economic and political concessions as would materially influence the conditions of the mass of poor and the exploited. Even if the rulers would, the question is still whether they could.

Therein lie the tremendous material advantages in favor of the further prosecution of the proletarian revolution.

But how? The problem revolves almost entirely around the question of bourgeois parliamentarism—a centuries-old deception carefully cultivated by the bourgeoisie to ensnare, dupe and frighten the masses in the same way in which priests during the feudal period used to frighten the peasants with dire consequences if they refused to purchase indulgences.

### "From Revolutionary Action to a Majority!"

Joseph Barry, former Paris correspondent for the New York Post, reporting in the June 13 Village Voice, writes:

"Two days ago a man handed me a leaflet saying de Gaulle's requested Civic Action Committee would have its first organizational meeting for my 6th arrondissement in the local government mairie. I had already a leaflet from the left wing Action Committee for the 6th arrondissement ending with the slogan: 'Not from an electoral majority to revolutionary action, but from revolutionary action to a majority!' (De Gaulle's dissolved parliament has a Gaullist majority, yet the action leading to its dissolution was in the street not in parliament.)"

Whatever was the political position of the writers of the slogan: 'Not from an electoral majority to revolutionary action, but from revolutionary action to a majority!', even though some-

what vague, they were correct in principle and it reflects the objective tasks of the proletariat.

The idea that the working class party must win a majority of the masses in a bourgeois parliamentary election supervised by a bourgeois government under a bourgeois system is one that is not easy to overcome. All the political parties of the left in France, as everywhere else in the West, have continually and uninterruptedly in one way or another sustained and strengthened this deception. Now the apologists say, "We are not a majority, we are one-fourth, maybe

### De Gaulle Conspires with Generals



one-third of the electorate, we need to win an electoral majority."

### The Revolution Can Not Wait

But what if the proletarian revolution is on the doorstep before a majority in an election can be won? What if a neo-fascist type of police dictatorship threatens the very political existence of the working class, its rights and liberties? What then? What if the revolution can't wait for a parliamentary majority? What if fascist dictatorship is on the doorstep of every workers' home? What then?

It took the bourgeoisie centuries to develop its parliamentary system and to "educate" the masses to accept it. The ruling class permitted universal

suffrage only after it was absolutely sure that its parliamentary system worked in its favor.

For centuries, the vote was only permitted to property owners. Only after the bourgeoisie felt that it had pacified the masses and "educated" them to its ways did it permit universal suffrage. To the bourgeoisie, universal suffrage and the parliamentary system in general has always been an ideological weapon for the domination and political subjugation of the proletariat, of the exploited, the poor and the oppressed.

### The Proletariat in Power Will Win All of Mankind

Marx and Engels took pains to explain that universal suffrage under a bourgeois system can at most, at best, be merely "an index of the maturity" of the working class for power. It can never be more. The truth of this generalization has been proven by the entire history of bourgeois parliamentarism throughout the West. However, the working class can and will win a majority of the people, and a great deal more than a majority, not under the system of bourgeois parliamentarism, but under a working class system where the proletariat has the power and the means to educate the population under its and not under the bourgeoisie's ideological tutelage.

Yes, working class leaders, students and their allies can say proudly, let us exercise power, real power, by taking the reins of society in our own hands. We will run society on a socialist basis, free from the parasitic, mercenary landlords, bankers, industrialists and other exploiters. We will win more popular support through our state, through our system (because it is a socialist system) than the bourgeoisie could ever win because we can rectify all the basic ills of society and the bourgeoisie cannot and will not. They can only aggravate them.

It is not too late even if de Gaulle and his pro-fascist coalition should win a majority in his rigged parliament, the parliament of the bourgeoisie. It will not end the acute class struggle which has been brought to the surface in recent weeks. It has only temporarily subsided. It will re-emerge with greater force, with greater vitality than ever. As against the rigged bourgeois parliament, the working class organizations, the students, the rural poor and the exploited and oppressed of the cities must strive to build a unified, parallel center, a center of proletarian power—the next phase of the struggle.

(Third in a series)