

young socialist

Interview with
MUEY P. NEWTON

June 1968 15¢



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Table of Contents

Interview with Huey P. Newton	3
Background to Panthers' Case	8
Letters from Prison: A Book Review . .	11
France: 1968	12
Campaigning for Halstead-Boutelle . .	14
High School Students—April 26, 27 . .	20
Czechoslovakia: 1968	21
No Man, It Is Not Nihilism	22

Out Of The Mouths Of Babes: Rose Kennedy, mother of hopeful Bobbie, asserted in a recent Associated Press interview that her family has a right to spend so much money trying to get sonny into the Presidency. "It's our own money and we're free to spend it any way we please. It's part of this campaign business. If you have money, you spend it to win. And the more you can afford, the more you'll spend," she goes on. In a plea for more understanding of this hallowed American political tradition, Rose said, "Rockefellers are like us. We both have lots of money to spend in our campaigns." And in a burst of classical logic, she concludes, "It's something that is not regulated. Therefore, it's not unethical."

More than one million high school and college students from nearly every state in the country participated in the April 26 International Student Strike Against the War in Vietnam, Racial Oppression, and the Draft. The strike, sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, was the largest and most widespread student action ever to take place in the United States. In addition, the participation of hundreds of thousands of students around the world made this the first international student strike.

In spite of the success of the strike, and in spite of the fact that Vietnamese and GIs continue to die in the most unpopular war in U.S. history, a section of the New York leadership of the Student Mobilization Committee has raised questions as to the importance of continuing to mobilize the American people against the war. Already this group is attempting to bureaucratically impose deep going policy changes on SMC which threaten its very existence. At a recent working committee meeting a series of motions were pushed through which hit at the heart of a fundamental principle upon which the antiwar movement has based itself, and which SMC adopted for itself at its inception: the policy of political nonexclusion. These motions limit the participation of individuals in SMC on the basis of their political affiliations. As a result two leading SMC organizers, Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton, who are members of the Young Socialist Alliance, were fired.

These are among the basic questions which will be discussed and settled upon at an upcoming national meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee June 29-30. Time limitations make it impossible for us to comment on these crucial questions in detail here. Student antiwar activists concerned with the future of the antiwar movement and of SMC should plan to attend the June meeting, and should watch the **MILITANT** and the next issue of the **YOUNG SOCIALIST** for more information.

SPECIAL ISSUE ON FRANCE!

As we go to press revolutionary developments in France deepen. In order to give as full as possible coverage of these world-shaking events, the **YOUNG SOCIALIST** is now preparing a special issue featuring accounts of participants. Also included in this issue will be further reports of the debates occurring within the American antiwar movement which have come to a head in the Student Mobilization Committee.

Interview with Huey P. Newton

Derrick Morrison, National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, presently on national tour, speaking on the topic of Black Nationalism and the American Socialist Revolution, obtained an exclusive interview with Huey Newton in jail while in California. Newton is the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party. The interview has only been edited to make sense to the reader.

Question: The first question is when and why did you organize the Black Panther Party?

Answer: It was organized in October of 1966. Through analyzing the political structure of America, we found that black people are not represented by the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. The black community, or the black colony in gen-

eral, is unaware of the political plight that they are suffering. It's a very complex system as far as the politicians describe it. Most of the black people are illiterate or semiliterate and they don't understand the complexities that the politicians express. But the way that the Black Panther Party explains it is that it's not so complex after all because politics is made up of a matter of decent housing, food, clothing and security of the community. So we attempted to teach the community to raise their political consciousness and organize them into a political block.

As we see it, black people are a colonized people within the mother country. It's somewhat of a decentralized colony throughout America in many black communities. In the past, we haven't had political power simply because the definition we were operating under was a fallacious definition. To understand this you would have to understand the



Illegal search of Panther home by cops is depicted here by Panther Revolutionary Artist, Emory.

condition of blacks during Black Reconstruction where we had many black political representatives in the southern states. But the only problem is that they didn't represent a power block. Just having a representative government doesn't necessarily give a group of people political power.

Through further analysis, we say that behind the political representative there is always the potentiality of a power group dealing the power structure a political consequence—not only the colony versus the mother country, but within the mother country itself. For instance, big business sends its representatives to Washington and so do the farmers, and the cattle owners. All these people control a part of the wealth. They can inflict a political consequence to their adversaries if their candidates don't get what they want for the people.

Black people, because we weren't given the forty acres and a mule that was promised after the Emancipation Proclamation by the three-man bureau (all they gave us was political representatives who were quickly wiped out of office as soon as the white Southerners decided), they didn't control the land, nor did they have control of the military. As a matter of fact, as soon as the Civil War was over, Lincoln made very sure that he disarmed all blacks because he was afraid they would really go after freedom through organizing guerrilla bands. So power in the political area is roughly broken down into about three categories: industrial power, feudal power (the landowners) and the military power. The Black Panther Party realizes that we cannot

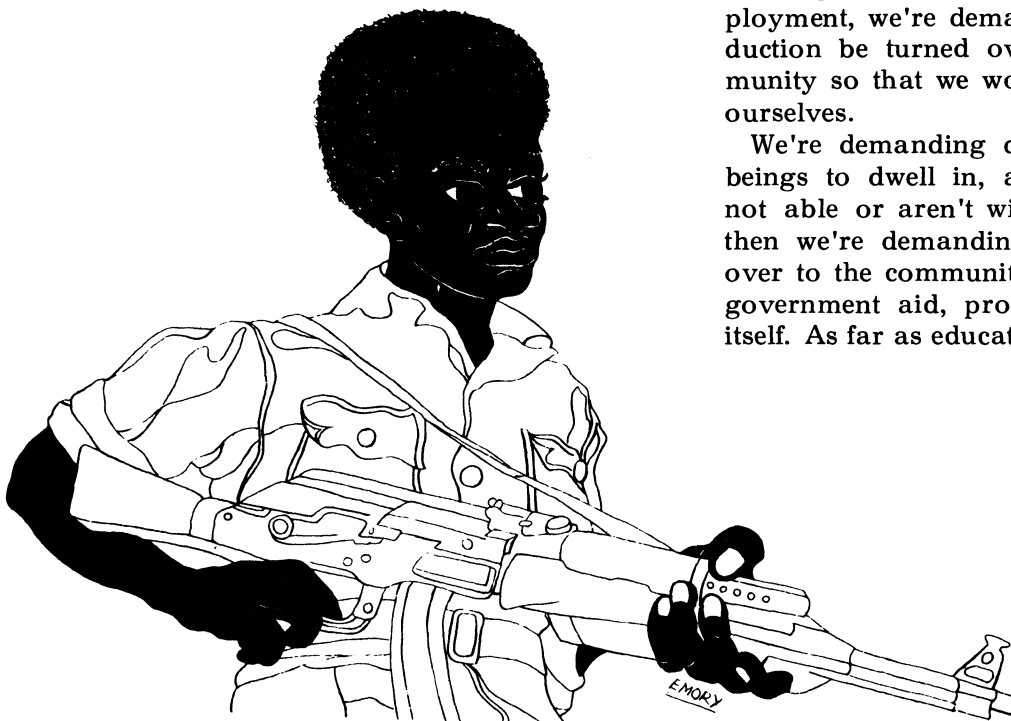
compete with the power structure economically because of our historical plight and our present exploitation. But since we are approximately 30 million strong, we do have the ability to deal a political consequence because we're potentially destructive to the power structure.

Q: What is essentially the program of the Black Panther Party?

A: We have a ten-ten program. We have ten points of what we want and what we believe. We demand freedom to determine the destiny of our black colony, the many black communities within the colony. That would make it necessary for us to control the institutions within our black communities—all institutions, including the courts and the police structure. We demand that if we're going to have policemen in our community that the policemen live in our community so that they will understand the conditions and the problems of the people in the community as well as have some respect for the community. The police occupy our black communities like a foreign troop occupies territory. We're demanding that they withdraw.

We also demand full employment for our people. We feel that if a man is born on the soil, he has a right to work and it has nothing to do with the matter of education. The government is obligated to provide work or else a high standard of living for those who cannot work because of some physical situation. We say that this is the purpose of putting administrators in government in the first place—to provide full employment for the people. If the government can't or won't provide full employment, we're demanding that the means of production be turned over to the people in the community so that we would provide employment for ourselves.

We're demanding decent housing fit for human beings to dwell in, and if the private owners are not able or aren't willing to give decent housing, then we're demanding that the housing be turned over to the community so the community can, with government aid, provide full, decent housing for itself. As far as education, we demand that we have



control of the educational institutions within the community so that we can teach our black children their true perspective in this decadent American society, and it goes on.

Q: What to you is the meaning of the King assassination and the subsequent events?

A: I agree with Stokely Carmichael that when King was killed all reason was killed with him. What has happened, using Eldridge Cleaver's terms, the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, is that time was sped up; we're speeding up time, because King was actually at a crucial stage. He seemed to be turning the corner and realizing the part that he was playing in the liberation struggle and that it was not a separate movement. There was never such a thing as a non-violent and then a violent movement. It was a matter of a complex whole where the power structure at the same time it designates or defines a black man as being responsible and will listen to him, they were also looking over his shoulder at that potentially destructive body.

The people that Stokely Carmichael talked about, the condition that Carmichael is relating to, King also related to, but simply was saying that perhaps we can change these conditions without the violence that will occur in the future if the conditions aren't changed. It was a matter of King articulating the conditions and being listened to and also negotiating with the power structure while the power structure refused to really negotiate with the people who were really suffering. The only reason they would give King a concession is because of Carmichael and the very people who were able to produce a destruction to property.

Q: What do you think of the election of Stokes as mayor of Cleveland and Hatcher in Gary, Indiana?

A: As far as I'm concerned, as far as the mother country politics are concerned, they don't even relate to the real problems of black people. As long as black people participate in the traditional political structure, it's a matter of stifling the liberation struggle. It is really diverting the real condition and then placing it upon a matter of a black man being elected or maybe a liberal being elected. That has nothing to do with it. The whole question is a matter of the people gaining power. And there are no people in the world with power that are unarmed. This includes the socialist countries as well as the capitalist countries.

Any time a country maintains a regular military, a regular police force, and the people are unarmed, those people are either slaves or potential slaves any moment that administration decides. This is

why one of the main parts of the Black Panther Party program is that we won't get political power until we have an armed people. Then the people will dictate to the administrators as they should. Some of the problems that you get in the socialist countries if the people become unarmed, are that the administrators who are in a prime position to scrape the cream off the economy with the protection of their military do whatever they want to do. Even with the socialist form. So I'm saying that the only way they can dictate to the administrators is to maintain their arms at all times.

Q: Robert F. Kennedy has been making a big pitch for minority group votes. How do you and the Black Panther Party interpret his candidacy?

A: Trickery. As we've been having in the past. That is, it's no different. As long as a candidate feels that the capitalistic structure is a functional structure, then he is an enemy to the people no matter how much he talks about certain small reforms. Reforms won't bring full liberation and the Black Panther Party demands full liberation for people.

Q: Do you agree with Malcolm X's position that capitalism and racism are so integrally related that you have to get rid of capitalism in order to get rid of racism?

A: I agree with that 100%. Just simply getting rid of capitalism does not necessarily mean that you will get rid of racism. But I think it's a prerequisite to getting rid of racism to first get rid of capitalism. I think that it's not only an economic condition here in America, but also it's a great psychological situation. It has to do with the twisted and psychotic personality of the Europeans here in America, stemming all the way from their mother country, Europe. I guess we don't have time to go into the first contact with Africa, where I could demonstrate this.

Newton's Lawyer: I want to interject something. You were talking about Stokes and so on and participating in mother country politics, but yet to some extent the Black Panther Party has been participating in mother country politics too. What distinction do you draw?

Huey Newton: The distinction is this: first, the motives of the Black Panther Party forming a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party, which on its face it would seem that we're attempting to participate in mother country politics, are different than say Stokes or some of the other people who agree or go along with the basic structure of the government. Our prime reason for participating in this

mother country politics is to mobilize the people. And we're mobilizing the people in a way where we're demanding change of the structure. If our candidates are elected, it would be the job of these candidates to denounce the basic structure and not to take a seat in the basic structure and then try to pass laws or get certain reforms. Our main purpose, if Black Panther Party candidates are elected, would be to notify the people that the only way to freedom is through the gun and through arming themselves in a political fashion.

Q: Then you see your campaign as primarily educating black people as to what society is all about and as to how to go about dismantling it?

A: Yes, ours will be chiefly mobilizing black people, getting them to participate in an activity and thereby teaching them the ways of liberation.

Q: What do you think of the antiwar movement, that is, the organized opposition to the war in Vietnam?

A: As far as the basic theme of the antiwar movement of withdrawing the troops from Vietnam, of course I would go along with this. The slogan of the Panthers is withdrawal of troops from the black community. We view the situation in Vietnam as very similar to the situation throughout the black colony in America. The racist American troops are occupying the territory of Vietnam, and they are foreign troops, as you know. They say there is no war going on in Vietnam, it is a peace action, where the policemen are peace officers who are there to protect the people, to insure the general welfare of the people. Instead they have napalmed and burned the people.

We see the same activity going on in our community where the police under the disguise of a peace officer disturb the peace and kill, murder, and maim the inhabitants of the black community. So we also say withdraw the troops from Vietnam and withdraw the troops from the black colony within America and also withdraw the troops from all the nations that the white racists are occupying. There is a general campaign of these American peace officers to see that peace prevails in all countries of color. Of course, they do this under the disguise of peace and all they do is kill our people. This is true all throughout Latin America led by the CIA as well as the disturbance they are causing in Southeast Asia and Africa.

Q: What do you feel the role of white radicals will be in fundamentally transforming the American structure?

A: I think the white revolutionaries will play a definite part. They are evolving now into liberation fighters. I noticed at the induction terminal here in Oakland the demonstration started off as a so-called non-violent or peaceful action. But as I saw it progress with the assault of the police upon the demonstrators, the demonstrators started wearing crash helmets, carrying shields, and some carrying baseball bats and other paraphernalia. So I see them evolving because these white radicals hadn't fully realized that the police were really just a part of the military, it's an arm of the military. And when the police can't handle a situation, they quickly call in the 82nd Airborne as they did in Detroit, and they quickly turn it over to the Pentagon. Now these white radicals see that the cry of police brutality within the black colony was a very real cry because of the conditions in the colony. They've been introduced to this and they're becoming more revolutionary because of the aggression of these troops.

Q: What can people do to help you to fight your case that has been thrown against you by the Oakland cops?

A: In the first place, the people can educate the community. This is one of the main things. Without the power of the community, there's no power at all. The Black Panther Party is basically an educational group. We believe that the only way the black masses are really educated is through activity because, as I said before, they're basically either semiliterate or illiterate people. The Black Panther Party seems to be an activist group, but the purpose of our activity is really to raise the consciousness of the community, to teach the community, because they're not taught through literature or through the newspapers, or through school because of drop-outs, although school is miseducating. I think that the community has to be mobilized to demand a change in this case and the whole court structure.

Our attorneys are challenging the constitutionality of the whole court structure. For instance, black men time and time again are being tried by all white juries, all white middle-class juries. We're demanding that we be tried by people from our black community or people from our peer group as defined by the Constitution. This has been violated again and again as America violates all of her agreements and all of her laws. The community should demand that there be a drastic change in the structure and also withdrawal of the troops from the community because the murders are continuing. As you know, Bobby Hutton, our treasurer, was murdered by the police not too long ago. And Eldridge

Cleaver, the Minister of Information, was jailed without court hearing and violated by the Adult Authority without having a hearing at all. We're saying that the community can aid us financially and also aid us by putting pressure on the court—sending letters to the court and the Adult Authority demanding freedom for Eldridge Cleaver and show an interest by turning out to the court hearing. The Black Panther Party realizes that the party alone can't change anything; all we can do is mobilize the community and the community will make the change. People will be the makers of world history as they always are.

Q: You feel then that mobilizing and educating the community should be done in all cases of repression on the part of the power structure against black militants—frame-ups as they had in Chicago after the rebellion there, here in the case of Cleaver and Hutton?

A: Yes, all black men. There are black men in local prisons and jails and state penitentiaries. One of the points on the Black Panther program is that we are demanding freedom for all black political prisoners because most black men are in prison without a fair trial and because of the political situation—the situation of being economically exploited and therefore retaliating against this structure and then being put in prison for it. We're demanding a release.

We realize that the owners of the means of production will not give up this ownership and this exploitation of their own accord. They're going to have to be forced by the people. We are working with the white mother country radicals and we see a definite place in the revolution for them. Part of our platform is that we're asking the UN to direct a plebiscite so they could supervise a vote and also stop the aggression of the troops against the black people—to supervise a vote to see if black people want to stay a part of this country or want to secede from the mother country. And we realize that even if we gain this freedom, even if black people decide that we want a separate country, that we still won't be free as long as this mother country's capitalistic structure exists. We see that some African countries are free from direct colonialism, but they suffer now from neo-colonialism and they suffer from the treacherous activities of the CIA, because of this monster in the West. So this monster in the West has to be destroyed before any people get their freedom. We know that we can't exist side by side in this country, on this land, with them exploiting every other colored people in the world. They will go on exploiting us, we're sure of this.



photo by Brian Shannon
Eldridge Cleaver speaking at Malcolm X memorial meeting, February 24, 1967, at the Militant Labor Forum, San Francisco.

Q: Then to organize the black colony totally, you envision the organization of, eventually, a national Black Panther Party?

A: We are spreading a philosophy. That philosophy has spread nationally so we consider ourselves a national party at this point. We're now organizing in other states. But organizing is one thing. We know that most black people won't join any group, that this never happens. With all revolutions, most people are not members of the cadre group or not direct members of even the guerrilla groups. But they identify and sympathize with the groups and when the time comes for fighting, they will fight for liberation only because of the activities and the teachings of the guerrilla band to start with. So we view ourselves at this point as a national and somewhat even an international group, because we identify with all liberation, revolutionary guerrilla struggles throughout the world.

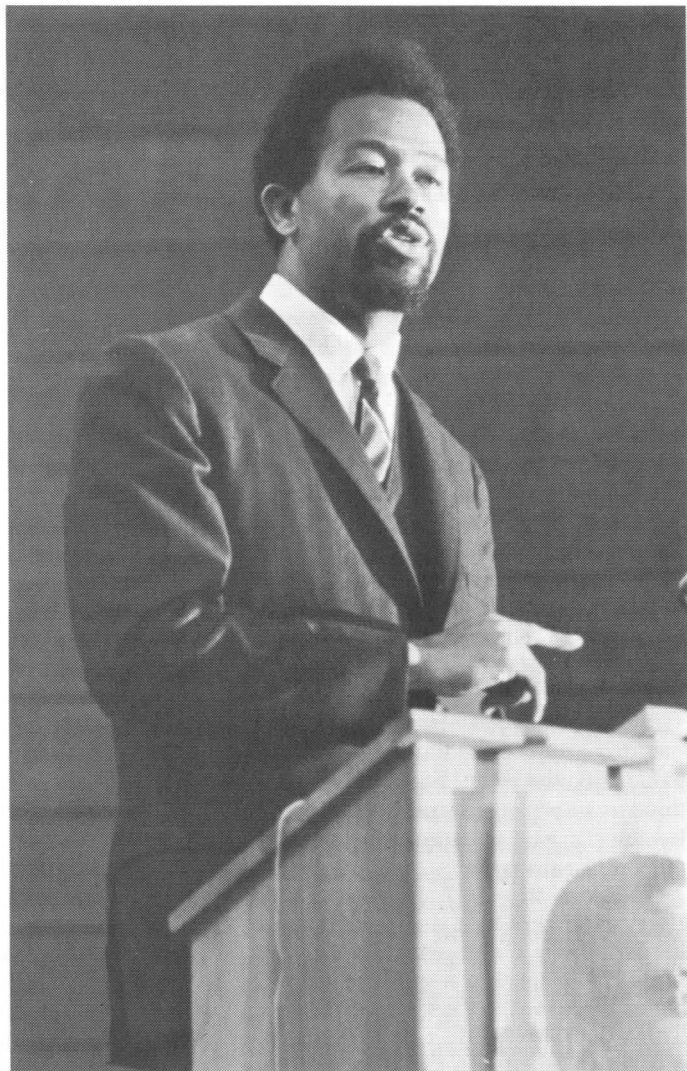


photo by Brian Shannon

Eldridge Cleaver speaking at Malcolm X memorial meeting, February 24, 1967, at the Militant Labor Forum, San Francisco.

Q: Then to organize the black colony totally, you envision the organization of, eventually, a national Black Panther Party?

Defend the Panthers

Free Huey Newton

Free Eldridge Cleaver

The events in the San Francisco-Berkeley Bay Area that have led to the shooting and frame-up of Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Minister of Defense; the jailing and shooting of Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Minister of Information; and the cold-blooded murder of 17-year-old Bobby Hutton have a long history. Ever since the formation of the Panthers in October 1966, the party has suffered continuous harassment and victimization by the city and state government and the California cops.

On May 2, 1967 Black Panther Party members held a demonstration in front of the California State Capitol building protesting a gun control bill being discussed in the state legislature. They demonstrated, carrying weapons which is legal in California, symbolizing the right of black people to bear arms in self-defense.

The demonstration had been partially inspired and preceded by the killing of 22-year-old Denzill Dowell from North Richmond by the Oakland cops. The police claim that Dowell was shot as he was running from a liquor store he allegedly burglarized. But Dowell's hip had been injured in an automobile accident in 1963 making it impossible for him to run. Dowell's body was found in an empty field riddled with six bullets. The coroner's verdict: justifiable homicide.

The Panthers immediately protested this action to the Oakland sheriff who summarily told the Panthers that they should take their complaints to the legislature—which they did. Among the demonstrators at the Capitol were members of the Dowell family. By the end of the demonstration twenty-three Panthers were arrested on a flimsy charge of "conspiring" to "disturb the legislature."

Arrested also included a few black bystanders who had taken no part in the protest. They were arrested because they were black.

On May 22, 1967, Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Panthers, went to the Oakland County Courthouse to bail Huey Newton out of jail. He was leaning against a retaining wall outside of the courthouse carrying a legal weapon. He was arrested the following day and charged with an obscure law, dating back to the Civil War, making it a crime to smuggle guns into a jail or *to possess a gun adjacent to a jail*. Seale was found guilty of the latter on April 11 in a brief court session. The lawyers appealed the case on the grounds that this was a violation of Seale's constitutional rights.

This intimidation of Seale was just one of countless police provocations in the Spring and Summer of 1967 where the Panthers were repeatedly stopped in cars and on the street; many were arrested and homes were entered illegally by the police.

On October 28, while Huey Newton and an associate were driving down an Oakland street, Newton was stopped by a cop for an alleged traffic violation. The cop demanded that Newton remove himself from the car. Newton refused. In an ensuing struggle a number of shots were fired—one cop dead, one wounded and Newton seriously wounded in the abdomen. The cops: absolved of any crime. Newton: charged with murder.

On November 13, 1967, the Alameda County Grand Jury after hearing the "evidence" went to lunch, reconvened at 1:43 P.M. and twenty-seven minutes later (at 2:10 P.M.) returned a three count indictment against Huey Newton of murder, as-



photo by Brian Shannon

Bobby Hutton, young Panther member, murdered by California cops.

sault with a deadly weapon on a police officer, and kidnapping. The action was taken with no deliberation or questions asked by the Grand Jury.

Pressed into the brief twenty-seven minutes was the movement of the fourteen members of the Grand Jury to the courtroom, roll call, two exits from the Grand Jury by the District Attorney and his staff, and indictment. No questions were asked and no weapon was in evidence, nor was the absence of such a weapon explained. Heanes, the police officer wounded in the incident, made the statement that he had never seen a gun in Newton's hand.

The defense claims that no evidence was presented to the Grand Jury that the defendant fired or even possessed a weapon at the time that the shots



photo by Brian Shannon

Bobby Hutton, young Panther member, murdered by California cops.

were fired. Newton's lawyer, Charles Garry, is requesting that the indictment be dismissed also on the ground that the Grand Jury which indicted him was illegitimate.

The Constitution states that a Grand Jury must be composed of one's own peers. Garry argued that the Grand Jury which indicted Newton was unlawful since its members were primarily upper class whites and not Newton's peers. The Grand Jury system there has systematically omitted black and poor people from the jury. Usual court channels were also denied Newton. After a preliminary hearing on a lower court level was denied him, he was brought directly to superior court before the Grand Jury.

With these events, the Black Panthers set out to free Huey Newton. While support for the Newton case was growing substantially, the Oakland police stepped in wherever possible to intimidate members and supporters of the Panthers.

On January 16, 1968, at 3:30 A.M., San Francisco policemen broke down the door of Eldridge Cleaver's apartment at 850 Oak Street in San Francisco and searched the apartment—without a warrant. Eldridge, his wife Kathleen and Panther Revolutionary Artist, Emory Douglas were present.

The early morning raid was described in the following manner by the *Berkeley Barb*: "We were just sitting around relaxing and the doorbell rang. It was two pigs in those special uniforms, dark blue, with jackets. They said our truck was blocking the driveway. It wasn't. . . . They said, let us in. We said, do you have a warrant? They said, no. We said, then you can't come in. They said, then we will have to kick the door down. And they did."

The door was held by a chain latch. The two cops entered with guns up front, lined up the Panthers and peered about. A few minutes later two more cops, regulars, came in displaying .45s in shoulder holsters and .38s in their belts. The new cops looked around fascinated, shinning their flashlights into lighted rooms, poking into closets.

"They kept saying, 'Too bad we didn't find a couple of carbines in here.'" Then some plainclothes men showed up, apparently to supply an explanation for the conduct of their

superiors. Why no warrant? Not needed because they had reasonable cause to believe they had stolen some furniture. What reasonable cause? The rented van, by the Peace and Freedom Party, fit the description of a vehicle in said theft.

How did you know which apartment bell to ring? (There were twelve apartments in the building, one labeled with a Panther's name and the truck did not contain said name.) "Well, er, uh . . ." said the cops. They left after a few more tries at looking for the furniture!

Then at 3:30 A.M. the following day, police broke down the door of Bobby Seale's home, where he and his wife Artie were in bed asleep. There was no warrant. Police said they were acting on a complaint implicating Seale in a vague "conspiracy to commit murder" charge, which was promptly dropped for lack of evidence. Wielding shotguns, police confiscated weapons and arrested Mr. and Mrs. Seale. Four other Panthers in a car nearby were also arrested a short time later and charged with misdemeanors. The Seales face charges of possessing illegal weapons, including possession of guns with serial numbers filed off. Bobby Seale contends that the police filed off the serial numbers after the arrest.

On the evening of April 6, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver was dictating an article concerning the murder of Martin Luther King for *Ramparts* magazine. He was interrupted by another phone call and left without finishing.

Although all the facts of the murder of Bobby Hutton are not fully known, Eldridge Cleaver held a revealing interview with *The San Francisco Chronicle* on April 29. The *Chronicle* reported that ". . . the trouble began about 9:30 P.M. when Cleaver said a squad car pulled up along side of three Panther cars parked on 28th Street. . . . He saw a policeman get out of a squad car which had suddenly pulled up, and 'heard some loud talk' from a policeman and then the shooting began.

"Cleaver said he and Bobby Hutton 'lit out' through an alley way and through a side door, into a basement of a house, which had no connection with the Panthers. 'We laid down on our backs and the cops started firing.'

Cleaver said, 'I could see their bullets coming in through a beaver board partition about a foot above my face.' Both hid below an 18-inch concrete foundation which, Cleaver said, probably prevented police bullets from hitting them immediately. A ricochet, Cleaver theorized, may have been what hit him later in the battle.

"I heard cops start firing while people upstairs asked to come down. If the cops ever said anything to us, I didn't hear it. All I heard was some cop tell the rest not to shoot unless they saw something. But they didn't. They had a Stoner gun [machine gun] I think, plus carbines, shotguns and tear gas.

"Cleaver said a tear gas canister possibly fired from a gas gun, hit him in the chest. 'The gas was thick by now and Bobby took off my clothes to see where I was hit. I was bleeding from my foot and coughing.' Finally either a burning tear gas cartridge or something else fired by police, started a fire in the basement, Cleaver said. 'We couldn't stand it any more,' Cleaver recalled, and 'I yelled, we're coming out.'

"With Hutton holding his arm, Cleaver said he limped out and into a narrow alley way. 'We both fell down when they [the police] told us to and the cops from the street [perhaps 15 yards away] approached us. They kicked and cursed us for about five minutes—while we were lying on the ground.' Cleaver said at the same time he was wearing only his socks—his clothing had been removed by Hutton in the search for wounds—and that Hutton was fully clothed.

"Then the cops told us to get up and start running for the squad car.' Cleaver said he tried to run but he fell, because of the wound in his foot. 'Bobby started running—he ran about ten yards and they started shooting him. I heard about twelve shots; it was hard to tell for sure. He had his hands high in the air until he died.'"

Huey Newton is still in jail. Eldridge Cleaver, the man most responsible for organizing wide support for freeing Huey Newton is now in jail also. Neither of these men can be released on bail. Cleaver, as well as being the Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, is author of the best selling book, *Soul On Ice*, is a staff

writer for *Ramparts* magazine, a member of the State Steering Committee of the Peace and Freedom Party. He is now a political prisoner at Vacaville State Prison hospital. Along with Eldridge Cleaver seven other Panther members, including the National Captain David Hillaird, were also arrested that evening.

Eldridge Cleaver, after serving ten years of a one to fourteen year sentence in California prisons was released on parole for four years. He had been consistently denied parole by the Adult Authority during his imprisonment as punishment for his political activities while in prison, and was only granted parole after tremendous political, legal and financial pressure was applied to the Adult Authority by many literary and political figures who became impressed with his writings.

After he was released on parole in December 1966, Cleaver was placed under intense surveillance by the Adult Authority. When Cleaver spoke at the Spring Mobilization Committee Against the War rally at Kezar Stadium last April, the Adult Authority forthwith prohibited him from making speeches in public without their censorship and even leaving the confines of San Francisco without their permission.

In order to revoke parole, at least two members of the Adult Authority must meet and bring charges against the individual on parole. In Eldridge Cleaver's case, however, his parole was revoked by 3:30 A.M., before any possible investigation could have been made. By the time he arrived at Vacaville Sunday morning there had been as yet no charges filed. The request for revocation came directly from the police department.

Defense efforts in support of the Panthers are underway and are gaining momentum as more facts of the police harassments and frame-ups are revealed. Marlon Brando attended the funeral of Bobby Hutton, and spoke to a rally of 3,000 people following the service. The San Francisco chapter of the Medical Committee for Human Rights has announced its support for "the Black Panther efforts to organize the black community into an effective economic and political unit." May 1, 1968, James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, Elizabeth Hardwick,

Leroi Jones, Oscar Lewis, Norman Mailer, Floyd McKissick and Susan Sontag stated in a letter to the editor published in the May 6 *New York Times* that ". . . we condemn the murder of Hutton as yet another act of racism against persons who take a militant stand on the rights of black people to determine the conditions of their lives; as yet another effort to destroy this nation's black leadership. We are demanding of the appropriate California authorities; reinstate Cleaver's previous parole status—arbitrarily revoked after his April 6 arrest—so that bail can be set; a full investigation of the Oakland police conduct. Eldridge Cleaver and his fellow prisoners must not become new victims of white racism."

San Jose Professor Harry Edwards, leader of the call for a black boycott of the 1968 Olympics, has joined the Black Panthers in solidarity with the victims of this frame-up.

The April 18 *Village Voice* published a full page ad condemning "the repressive actions against the Black Panther Party" and demanding that a ". . . full investigation of the Oakland Police be initiated by an independent group of citizens;" demanding a reinstatement of Cleaver's parole status and urging contributions for the defendant's legal expenses. The ad was signed by over 91 people—in-

cluding Maxwell Geismar, James Foreman, Donald Duncan, Jules Fieffer, Murray Kempton, Andrew Kopkind, Dwight McDonald, Connor Cruise O'Brien, Betty Shabazz, and others.

Every blow levied against the Black Panther Party is an attack on the black liberation struggle; every blow levied against the Black Panthers is an attack on the right of black people to organize independently of the capitalist system in this country; every blow levied against the Black Panther Party is an attack on the right of anyone to organize in this country for social change and an attack on the basic civil liberties of all.

Organize support for the Black Panthers in your area. Hold defense meetings where the real story of the attacks on the Panthers can be told and funds collected. Enlist support for the case from prominent individuals and organizations. Send a telegram to Harry H. Kerr, Chairman of the California Adult Authority, 413 State Office Building, No. 1, Sacramento, California, demanding that Eldridge Cleaver's parole be reinstated. For further information write to the International Committee to Release Eldridge Cleaver, P. O. Box 2967, Customs House, San Francisco, California.

—CAROL LIPMAN



Bobby Seale, Black Panther Chairman.

photo by Brian Shannon

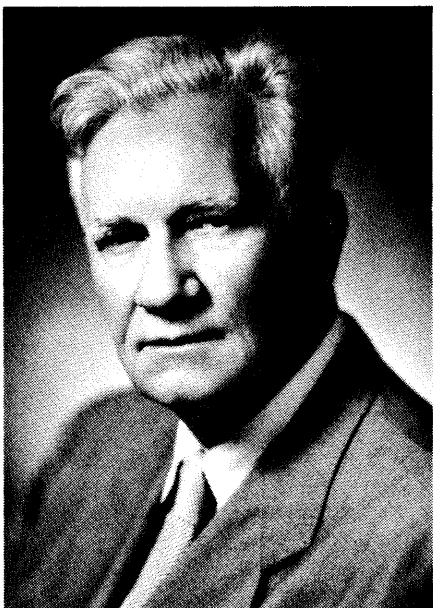


Bobby Seale, Black Panther Chairman.

photo by Brian Shannon

LETTERS FROM PRISON:

A Book Review



James P. Cannon

CANNON, James P. *Letters From Prison*, 355 pp., Merit Publishers, 1968. \$5.95.

When Willy Brandt, West Germany's Vice Chancellor, Foreign Minister, and Chairman of the Social Democratic Party tried to enter Marx's birthplace to participate in the 150th anniversary celebration of Marx's birth, hundreds of students barred his way shouting "Social Democrats are traitors!" and "Ho Chi Minh!" This incident expresses the mood of a new generation of radical youth from Vietnam to Warsaw, Columbia to the Sorbonne, who have been inspired by the Cuban revolution, the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people, and the black liberation struggle in the United States. It is a generation that wants to have nothing to do with reformist Social Democratic

and Communist parties, and that is searching for fresh ways to build a movement that can oust the capitalist rulers.

It is here, in the search for a political instrument untarnished by class collaboration and moral corruption, that *Letters from Prison* by James P. Cannon is a most valuable tool for socialist youth around the world.

James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, has actively participated in the revolutionary socialist struggles in the United States from the building of the pre-World War I Industrial Workers of the World and the founding of the American Communist Party in 1919. After his expulsion from that party in 1928 he became one of the principal founders of the American Trotskyist movement which later became the Socialist Workers Party.

As a result of their stand against the second imperialist world war, Cannon and seventeen of his comrades, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO, were sent to prison in January 1944,—the first victims of the ultra-reactionary Smith Act passed in 1940.

Letters from Prison is the collection of Cannon's letters written to his companion and comrade, Rose Karsner, while he was serving his thirteen-month prison term. The letters reflect his concern and invaluable leadership in building a revolutionary socialist party capable of winning the support of the majority of Americans in the struggle for a socialist America.

The Russian Revolution had convinced Cannon that a Leninist combat party of professional revolutionists was needed to lead the American socialist revolution. "The world will be changed by people who believe in the boundless power of the ideas of the party and who set no limits to the demands which the party may make upon them." (Letter 136. Sandstone, November 26, 1944).

In order to train and develop the young revolutionaries for their role in the party he proposed an extensive educational program. "The older generation must continue their studies, and continually deepen and broaden their knowledge. The cadres of the new generation must be *inspired* to study by the general atmosphere of the party; they must be *required* to study in order to qualify for recog-

nition in party work; they must be *aided and guided* in their studies in all stages of their development; . . ." (Letter 45. Sandstone, May 15, 1944).

"Poetry is out of style with the sophisticates, but the people have always loved it and always will. We aim to publish a paper for the people." (Letter 130. November 14, 1944). In such ways Cannon inspired the expansion of the publishing program, the wider circulation of the *Militant*, the weekly newspaper of the SWP, and the need for reaching out to new arenas of activity.

The letters were written just prior to a gigantic upsurge in the labor movement. Young workers and many black youth were radicalizing. The Harlem revolt of 1943, the enormous strike wave of 1945-46, and the successful Bring-The-Troops-Home movement at the end of World War II were all manifestations of this. The task of the revolutionary party in reaching and educating this new layer of radicals was of foremost concern to Cannon. "We must keep trying, by new and extraordinary measures, to expand and push out the boundaries of our active supporters . . . We must train ourselves to think in terms of ever bigger actions involving more thousands of people." (Letter 55. Sandstone, June 7, 1944). He was not concerned with building a party that could simply "hold its own," but with a party that continually grows, reaches out to more and more layers and takes advantage of every opportunity that it encounters.

Cannon himself gives the best reason why revolutionary youth today should read *Letters from Prison*. "In politics nothing is more stupid, more infantile than to retrace ground that has already been covered, to go back and start all over again as if nothing has been learned. Serious revolutionists must learn from every experience and apply what they have learned in new experiences. We insist on that. The new generation must not begin from the beginning. The fruit of the experience of the past, all that has been acquired and learned by others, is their heritage." (Letter 115. Sandstone, October 19, 1944). The experiences and lessons presented by Cannon in *Letters from Prison* form a part of our revolutionary heritage.

—Linda Wetter



James P. Cannon

FRANCE 1968

"students, teachers and workers all together"



Paris students man barricades in the tradition of their revolutionary forefathers. Police stormed the barricades with all the ferocity traditional to the counterrevolution; then the workers stirred and on May 13 staged a general strike and parade in solidarity with the students that turned into the biggest demonstration seen in France since the end of World War II.

... the workers then expressed their solidarity with the students by a general strike and a mass march May 13. In this mass demonstration, which topped off the battle on the barricades, around 1,000,000 workers marched from all parts of Paris to the Place Denfert Rochereau. And this was doubtless just the beginning. The

students succeeded in showing the workers of France that General De Gaulle's 'strong state' is vulnerable.

"The prefect of police said on May 11 that what the police had been faced with was no longer a student revolt. 'The students behaved like guerrillas,' he said. There is a kernel of truth in this;

the student movement is no longer a movement for university reform but the start of an assault on the capitalist order as such.

"On May 13, the red flag flew over the Sorbonne and the Place de la Republique."— excerpted from May 27, 1968 *Intercontinental Press*.



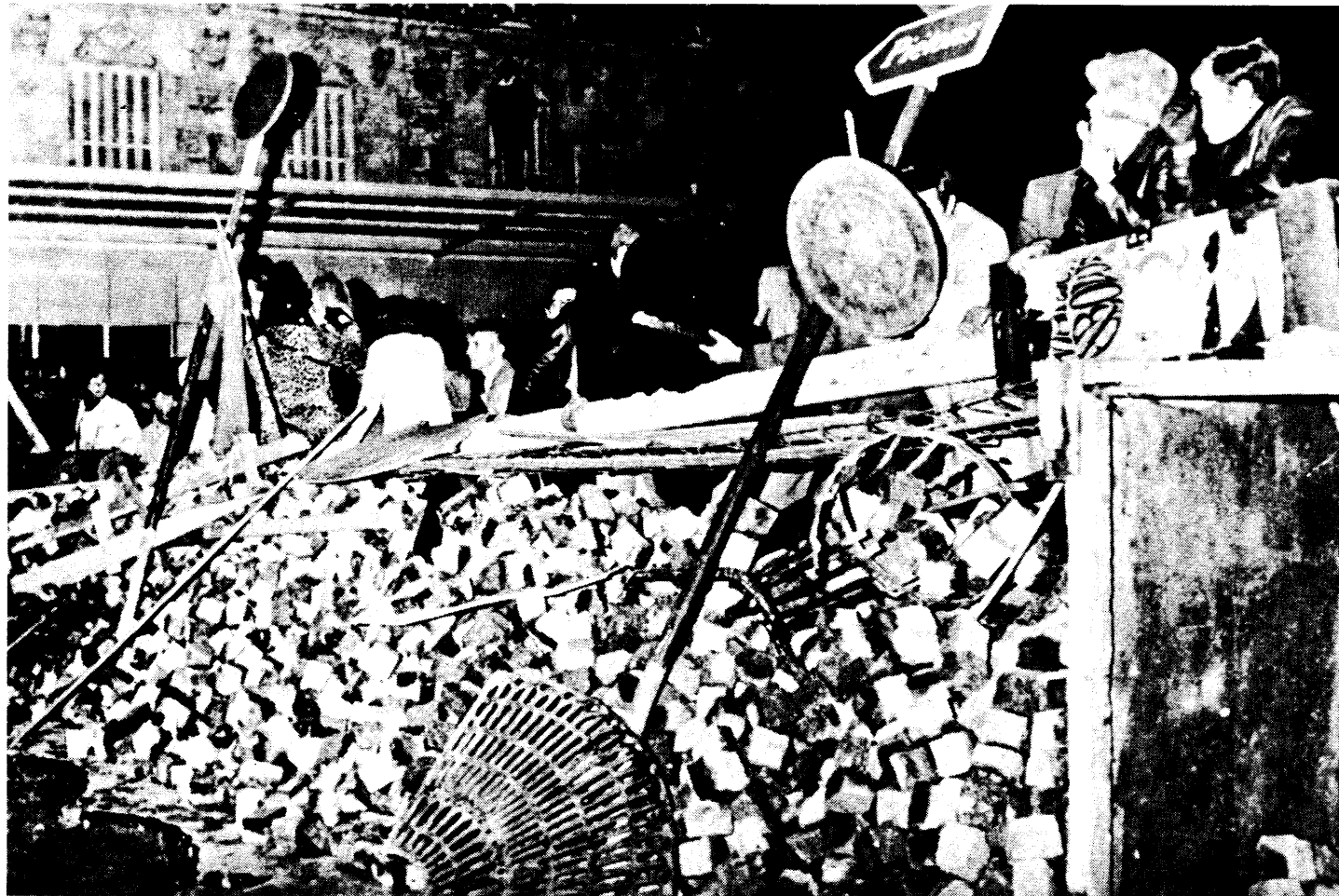
Thousands of demonstrators march through downtown Paris during the huge May 13 demonstration in support of the students. The banner in the foreground reads: "students, teachers and workers all together," after several workers' unions launched a general strike to support the students' protest.



Some of the forty thousand workers who struck and seized the huge state-owned Renault automobile factory in suburban Paris May 17 listen to union speakers inside the plant. The massive plant, straddling the Seine River, is considered the barometer of labor peace. By May 21 ten million French workers were on strike.

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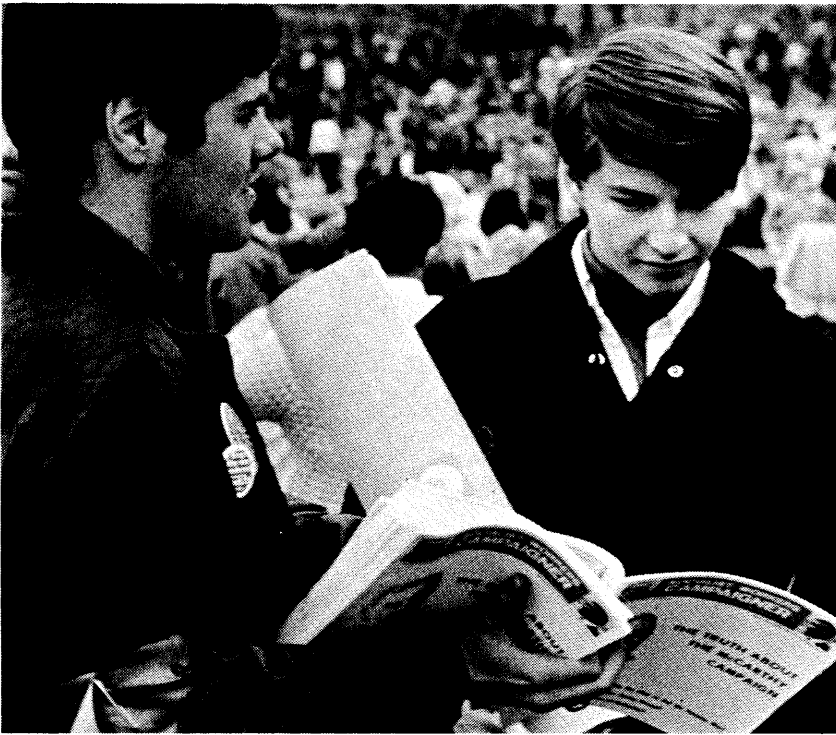


photo by Flax Hermes

Pamphlet exposing the McCarthy campaign sold on April 27 demonstration in New York.

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle (YSHB) are carrying out a special campaign across the country of reaching out to the thousands of students supporting the Eugene McCarthy campaign—to let them know what McCarthy's real record is, why he is running and who he really represents. In the process of exposing the McCarthy "peace" campaign, we hope to win over many of these students to support of the Socialist Workers campaign of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle.

According to field organizers who have been traveling from campus to campus building support for the socialist candidates, a broad new layer of young people have been drawn into supporting McCarthy's campaign because they want to do something to stop the war and think McCarthy may be an answer.

According to Dan Styron, Socialist Workers candidate for Senator from Illinois, "Most McCarthy supporters also want to build the antiwar movement and are very surprised to find that McCarthy doesn't support the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam or mass antiwar demonstrations. By and large they are a whole new layer of young people opposed to the war, many of whom consider the Halstead-Boutelle campaign as com-

plementary to the McCarthy campaign and say they will support the SWP campaign if McCarthy doesn't win the nomination. They support McCarthy not out of conviction but out of hope that they are doing the right thing.

"At several campuses where we stopped, McCarthy supporters also had on their walls Halstead-Boutelle campaign posters." This observation about McCarthy supporters was also made by Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle in Madison, Wisconsin. Wesley Weinhold, Wisconsin Socialist Workers campaign manager, reported: ". . . in March, at a debate between McCarthy supporters and Halstead supporters, our Halstead people so completely defeated the Young Democrats that they agreed that they would be voting for Halstead in November. And, after a discussion, the chairman of Students for McCarthy at St. Norbert's College in DePere, Wisconsin decided to endorse Halstead instead of McCarthy."

Many of the antiwar youth supporting McCarthy are doing it only because they think he wants to stop the war, and they are very interested in learning facts about his real position and record regarding the Vietnam war. Wesley Weinhold wrote to the

YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND THE McCARTHY CAMPAIGN

By Caroline Lund

Young Socialist about McCarthy's stand on the antiwar referendum held in Madison April 2:

"The Wisconsin primary and Choice 68 generated numerous conflicts between the socialist forces and the capitalist candidates masquerading as 'peace' candidates. Throughout the state were groups of McCarthy supporters convinced that their man was for bringing the GIs home. But the Madison antiwar referendum forced him to show his true colors. The Madison referendum called for 'an immediate ceasefire and the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can determine their own destiny.' Every active antiwar worker in the city supported it, from Republicans to socialists. But McCarthy would not, despite the repeated pleas of his own organization. Requested to endorse the referendum in a personal letter by Bob Wilkinson, chairman of the Madison CEWW and SWP candidate for Governor, he replied that he had his own proposals to make and 'cannot endorse your referendum.' The vote for immediate withdrawal in the referendum was 41%.

"At the large McCarthy rally held in Madison, we were very successful in handing out Bob Wilkinson's statement calling for a 'Yes' vote on the referendum and in distributing copies of the Socialist Workers Party platform. We also sold 50 copies of the *Young Socialist* and left shouting to

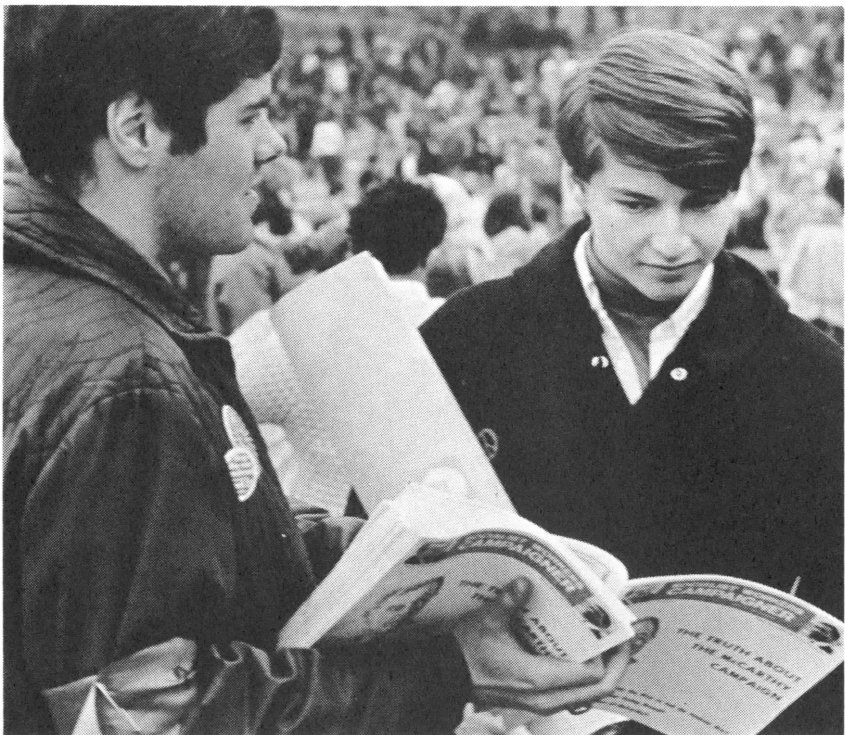


photo by Flax Hermes

*Pamphlet exposing the McCarthy campaign sold on April 27
demonstration in New York.*

the friendly crowd, 'Vote for a *real* antiwar candidate! Vote Socialist Workers!' and similar slogans."

At Indiana University in South Bend, Professor Kenneth Lus recently spoke on behalf of Halstead's candidacy in a debate with representatives of McCarthy, Kennedy and Nixon. About a fourth of the students present voted for Halstead in a poll taken at the meeting.

The Atlanta YSHB has also had success in approaching McCarthy supporters with the Halstead-Boutelle socialist campaign. Nelson Blackstock from Atlanta reported that ". . . in Atlanta we have begun exploring the possibilities of using the interest stirred up by the McCarthy campaign as a springboard from which we can introduce people to the Halstead-Boutelle campaign.

"A professor wrote an article in a newsletter published by students at Georgia State College advising antiwar students to work for the McCarthy campaign. We wrote a response explaining why opponents of the war should not support a McKennedy, but rather Halstead.

"The pamphlet *The Truth About the McCarthy Campaign* [available from Socialist Workers campaign office] sells very well among McCarthy people. On a recent trip to an outlying campus, we just marched into the local McCarthy headquarters and began selling this pamphlet. The reception was surprisingly friendly.

"The McCarthy campaign in our

area seems to be attracting some sincere opponents of the Vietnam war who do not know McCarthy's record and do not know about the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. We find them very interested in our ideas."

Will Reissner, from the Seattle YSHB described their experience with McCarthy supporters: "We had planned to debate the chairman of Students for McCarthy on the University of Washington campus, but after he heard Paul Boutelle speak here he became an endorser of the SWP campaign and dropped out of the McCarthy effort. On other campuses in the Northwest we have been more successful in debating representatives of the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns."

Young socialists from Antioch college in Ohio report: "We have chal-

lenged the Volunteers for McCarthy to a softball game this coming Wednesday and, with the new addition of some husky highschoolers on the YSHB team, we are confident of victory. We have so far been unable to engage the McCarthyites in public political debate, but we keep pushing for it. [The YSHB team defeated the McCarthyites 14-10.—ed.]

"When the Volunteers for McCarthy had a strawberry shortcake and ice cream party to raise funds, the YSHB went out and sold 31 copies of *The Truth About the McCarthy Campaign* in an afternoon.

"The Antioch Community Government business manager, a McCarthy supporter, promised to contribute one cent to the YSHB for every vote Halstead received in Choice 68, so we received three dollars from him."



Dan Styron, Illinois Socialist Workers Senatorial Candidate.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNS ACROSS THE COUNTRY

In many states the Socialist Workers campaign committees are also running candidates for Senator, Governor, and other state offices.

Ed Heisler the Illinois SWP campaign director, described the campaign of Dan Styron for Senator. "Dan Styron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Illinois is running against one of Johnson's strongest supporters in the Senate, Republican Everett Dirksen and the hand-picked 'alternative' of shoot-

to-kill Daley, Attorney General William G. Clark. Clark's major campaign slogan is 'Great in 68'!

"Styron kicked off his campaign with a state-wide tour of Illinois campuses outside of Chicago on April 8. He spoke before 750 students at twelve campuses in as many days. As a result of the tour students at nine of the campuses distributed thousands of pieces of SWP campaign literature prior to the Choice 68 presidential poll on April 24."

On April 20 Styron debated Sanford Gottlieb, National Director of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and a leading McCarthy supporter. The debate took place at Indiana University in Bloomington. "Even though Styron is too young to take office and even though, because of restrictive laws, his name won't appear on the ballot, no students brought up these considerations. Instead, the candidate was taken at face value as a serious contender. Even local news-



Dan Styron, Illinois Socialist Workers Senatorial Candidate.

papers and radio stations didn't think to ask about the age requirement.

"Before he became a candidate for the Senate Styron was a full-time staff member of the Chicago April 27 Parade Committee which organized the demonstration of 10,000 on that day of international demonstrations."

In Michigan the SWP is running a whole slate of candidates for Congress as well as county posts, State Board of Education, Wayne State University Board of Governors, University of Michigan Trustee, the Michigan State University Trustee.

At Wayne State University, SWP members who are also Wayne students are running for the Board of Governors on a program of abolishing all tuition, complete autonomy of the students in student affairs, an end to the University's connections with big business, the war industries, and the Pentagon, an Afro-American history curriculum supervised by Afro-American students and faculty, support to the black liberation struggle, and an immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam.



Richard "shoot-to-kill" Daley

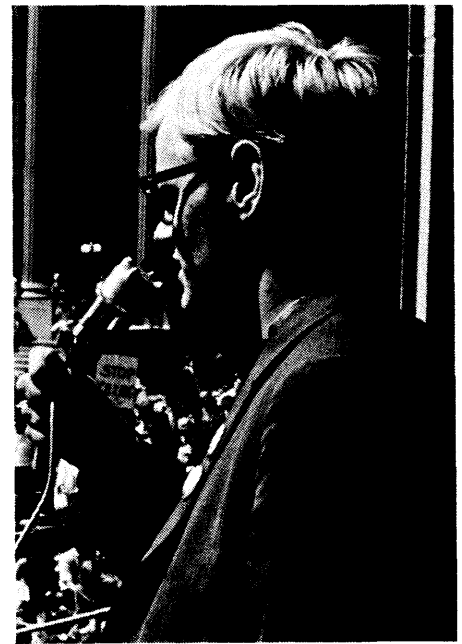
One candidate, Evelyn Kirsch, is a senior in history. She was the chief organizer of the Wayne State referendum on the Vietnam war which was held last April. The other SWP candidate for the Board of Governors is Joseph Sanders, a junior in Anthropology and former chairman of the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

At a meeting sponsored by Choice 68 at Wayne, Evelyn Kirsch debated the Coordinator of Students for McCarthy. A Detroit YSHBer wrote to the *Young Socialist*, "During the course of the two-hour debate many students were turned off from the McCarthy campaign and many became endorsers of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. The discussion turned into an analysis of the dynamics of revolution, and after being harangued by students, the McCarthy debater finally admitted at the end that it is the system that has to be changed and McCarthy represents the system. Afterwards, when Evelyn Kirsch commented to the McCarthy debater that he had done a good job, he replied, 'How can you say such a bold-faced lie?' To which she replied, 'Considering the candidate you had to defend!'"

Will Reissner from the Seattle YSHB reported to the *Young Socialist* on the campaign of Debbie Leonard for Senator: "Washington politics traditionally revolves around who can do the most for the Boeing Company. Senator Warren Magnuson (D.—Wash.) has shown himself to be the state's foremost expert in this arena. On the floor of the U. S. Senate he has been described as 'the Honorable Senator from Boeing.' And while many could doubt his characterization as honorable, none could doubt the truthfulness of his constituency.

"The major issue dividing Magnuson and his Republican opponent, to date, is the question of whether the Boeing Company has prospered because of Magnuson's efforts to get government contracts for it or because it makes 'good planes.'

"Into this battle of titans has stepped Debbie Leonard, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U. S. Senate. Debbie's only connection with Boeing is the fact that she has leafleted at Boeing's plant gates in connection with various antiwar actions. But that isn't Debbie's only difference



Dave Thorstad, Minnesota Socialist Workers congressional candidate, speaking at antiwar rally, April 26.

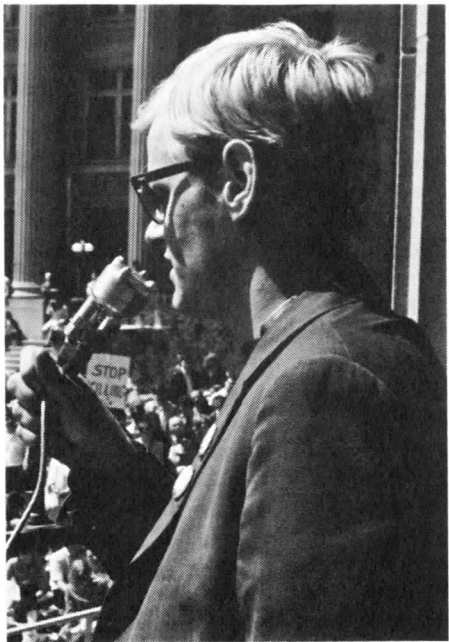
with her Democratic and Republican opponents. She is raising vital issues such as the war in Vietnam, and the black liberation struggle.

"Debbie Leonard is a veteran of the antiwar and socialist movements despite the fact that she is only 25. She joined the Young Socialist Alliance in Madison, Wisconsin in 1963, and the Socialist Workers Party in New York in 1964.

"The SWP's candidate was a founding member and first chairman of the University of Washington Vietnam Committee, was chairman of the Seattle Committee to Build the Spring Mobilization, which sent over 700 people to San Francisco last April 15. She has also been a leading spokesman for the Women's Boycott Movement which demonstrated against high food prices in 1967.

"Plans are now being made, in connection with the Seattle YSHB, to insure that Debbie gets to speak on every college campus and major city in the state of Washington by November."

Bob Wilkinson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Wisconsin, is a veteran of both the war in Vietnam and the antiwar movement. A native of Chicago, he attended Chicago City College and the University of New Mexico, and is currently



Dave Thorstad, Minnesota Socialist Workers congressional candidate, speaking at antiwar rally, April 26.

majoring in history at the University of Wisconsin. In 1962 he entered the U. S. Air Force for a four-year hitch, and spent 1965-66 in Vietnam.

His adamant opposition to the war in Vietnam developed out of first-hand observations while serving there. He spent off-duty hours working on the staff of the *Saigon Daily News*, a position that afforded an excellent opportunity to view the Ky dictatorship and to observe the Vietnamese people's reaction to U. S. presence in Vietnam. From personal experience Wilkinson found the claim that the U. S. was in Vietnam to de-

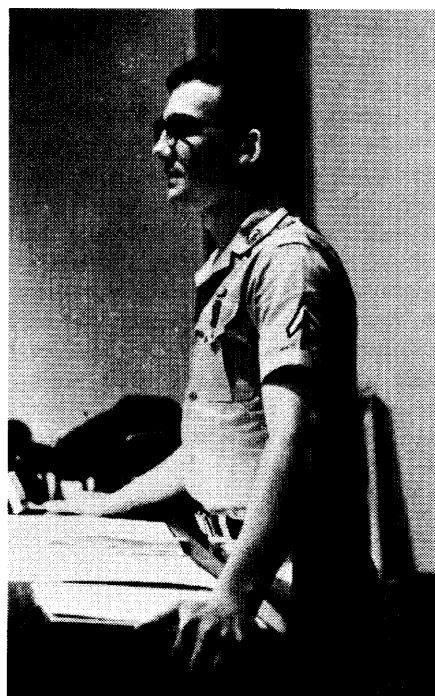
fend freedom and democracy to be absurd and that in actuality the U. S. was doing just the opposite.

Upon discharge, Wilkinson became active in the antiwar movement. He helped organize the Madison contingents for the April 15 and October 21, 1967 antiwar demonstrations. He is one of the founders of Madison Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, and is a former editor of the Madison antiwar newsletter *The Crisis*. Presently chairman of the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam, he was one of the featured speakers at this year's April 27 demonstration

against the war in Madison. He has also spoken at many demonstrations on the University of Wisconsin campus, appeared on local radio and TV stations, and addressed antiwar meetings in a number of Wisconsin cities, Illinois, and Canada.

In addition to active participation in Madison Vets for Peace, the Madison CEWV, he is currently chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Socialist Workers Party is also running candidates in other states, and the *Young Socialist* will be reporting on them in following issues.



Howard Petrick, antiwar GI victimized by Army brass because he spoke out against the war.

Reaching GIs With The Socialist Campaign

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle are planning a full summer of socialist campaign activity. As well as continuing to confront capitalist "peace" candidates wherever the opportunity permits, one of the major actions projected is to reach antiwar GIs with the facts about the war and the Socialist Workers campaign. Another will be the necessary petitioning in various states to assure the Social-

ist Workers candidates a place on the ballot.

On April 27, a contingent of fifty GIs led the demonstration of 35,000 in San Francisco, carrying a large sign, "GIs for Peace." This demonstration graphically showed the San Francisco antiwar movement that opposition to the Vietnam war among GIs was deepening. This historic phenomenon points to the importance of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle reaching as many GIs as possible with our campaign. One project that YSHBers can initiate is to distribute the brochure "An Open Letter to GIs on the 1968 Elections" by Fred Halstead to GIs wherever they congregate.

Will Reissner from Seattle YSHB wrote to the *Young Socialist* about their efforts to reach GIs: "A number of us accompanied Debbie Leonard, SWP candidate for Senator, to Fort Lewis, a major embarkation point for Vietnam, and distributed Halstead's 'Letter to GIs' in front of the PX on the base. Several hundred were distributed before the YSHBers were escorted off the base by the MPs. In view of the favorable response we got, we plan to make a formal application for permission to distribute at the base. If we don't receive this permission we will continue to distribute the letter at the airport and other places where GIs congregate."

The Boston YSHB will be coordinating regular leafletting of GIs around Fort Deven, a base in Ayer, Mass., and around the naval bases at Portsmouth, N. H. and Newport, R. I., as well as at the bus stations and other places in the Boston area where there are GIs.

The Madison YSHB plans to distribute the "Letter to GIs" to Army reserves who go to summer camp at Camp McCoy in western Wisconsin.

Another project of SWP campaign committees this summer will be the sending of Halstead-Boutelle campaign material to GIs who are absentee voters. Each state campaign committee can write to their state Board of Elections and request the addresses of all absentee voters in order to send them campaign literature. Since GIs will be voting, they have the right as citizens to consider

(Continued on page 19)

This summer the Socialist Workers Party will be petitioning to get the Halstead-Boutelle ticket on the ballot in: Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Connecticut, New York, and Washington.

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

I will help petition to get Halstead and Boutelle on the ballot in.

Name

Address

City

State Zip

Summer Address

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Clip and mail to Socialist Workers Campaign, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Howard Petrick, antiwar GI victimized by Army brass because he spoke out against the war.

Shake-up In Czechoslovakia

By Les Evans

The greatest political shakeup since the Hungarian Revolution is taking place in Eastern Europe today. The centers of the upheaval are Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia, which hardly registered a ripple when mass revolts broke out in Poland and Hungary in 1956, is now being turned upside down by the pressure of workers and students demanding socialist democracy. Since the beginning of the year practically the whole top leadership of the Communist Party, the government, the army, the intellectual organizations and the trade unions has been dumped and replaced by the followers of the new premier, Alexander Dubcek, who is riding the wave of liberalization.

In Poland, a hotbed of revolution in the 50s, the case-hardened Gomulka regime has met mass student demonstrations with police clubs, and has unleashed an anti-Semitic purge of "cosmopolitan" and Jewish members of the ruling party in order to keep the lid on.

On March 11, tens of thousands of Polish students, joined for the first time by large numbers of workers, battled police for more than eight hours in the center of Warsaw.

The demonstrations began March 8 when Warsaw University students met to demand the reinstatement of two students expelled in January for protesting the closing of a 19th century anti-Czarist play. During the demonstration in March a number of well-known dissident Communist intellec-

tuals were arrested by the regime. These included Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, both teaching assistants at Warsaw University. They had both been jailed in 1965 for their opposition to the repressive and conservative policies of the leadership of the Polish Communist Party, and had only recently been released.

Rather than originating among "reactionary" students or "Zionists" as the government has charged, the radical opposition centered at the University of Warsaw comes from the left, from inside the Communist Party itself. The students have called for socialist democracy, and the views of Kuron and Modzelewski closely parallel those of Trotskyism.

Thus far the Gomulka regime has succeeded in preventing the powder keg from exploding, but it is plain from the brutal government reaction that the bureaucrats know that their rule is potentially at stake. They are especially concerned with the deepening process of liberalization taking place in neighboring Czechoslovakia, which is serving as an example for the Polish students and intellectuals.

The Kremlin bureaucrats are no less concerned than their Polish counterparts. The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported May 5 that Gen. Aleksei A. Yepishev, head of the political administration of the Soviet armed forces, declared recently that should a group of "loyal Communists" in Czechoslovakia appeal for Soviet troops, "the Soviet army is ready to do its duty." Unscheduled Soviet military maneuvers were carried out on the Czech border May 9 as an additional threat to the liberalizers.

Czechoslovakia is becoming ripe for the creation of a real socialist democracy which could have a profound influence on all the noncapitalist countries and give a powerful impetus to the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggles in the West.

It would be illusory, however, to think that such a socialist democracy will be established automatically or that it will emerge from the struggle of the cliques within the present government bureaucracy.

Consolidating socialist democracy means preserving the positive achievements of 1948, that is, the abolishing of capitalism and the establishment of collective ownership of industry

and banking, economic planning, and governmental monopoly of foreign trade.

It also means allowing freedom of criticism and press, the right for all political tendencies that support the socialist constitution to organize and demonstrate. And, above all, socialist democracy means assuring direct exercise of power by the working people.

The Czechoslovakian workers have little sympathy for ousted President Antonin Novotny, an old-line Stalinist whose first loyalty is to Moscow. But at the same time they distrust the technocrats led by Dubcek who are preparing to take over the economy and introduce a series of "economic reforms" similar to those in Yugoslavia.

Within the Communist Party central committee the Novotny forces still hold 40 of the 110 seats, so that Dubcek has by no means assured his victory. But Dubcek has already carried out some unpopular moves. He approved the designation of Gen. Ludovik Swoboda as Czechoslovakia's new President. This was looked on as a sop to the Kremlin, where Swoboda is well regarded. On March 28, the day after Swoboda was nominated, thousands of students held rallies in the streets of Prague in support of their own candidate, Cestmir Cesar, a liberal intellectual.

In reality, the students and workers are attracted by neither Novotny nor Dubcek. Under Novotny they know they can expect a poor standard of living, scarce and shoddy consumer goods and few or no rights in the factories.

Under Dubcek, they correctly fear (as the example of Yugoslavia demonstrates) the return of unemployment, high prices, and increasing social inequality.

But a solution does not lie in a choice between these two evils. The bureaucratic system established in the Stalin era must be changed fundamentally. Real socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia lies rather in the direction of the creation of democratic institutions on the factory level, the election of workers councils.

A socialist government based on democratically centralized workers self-management could make great

...Campaign (Continued from p. 17)

the positions of all the candidates before they vote. This project will enable us to reach thousands of GIs, even in Vietnam, with the socialist, antiwar campaign.

Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for President, is planning to visit Saigon in August to speak with American GIs about the war in Vietnam and let them know that he is one candidate who is on their side and wants to bring them home from Vietnam now.

In addition to going to Saigon, Halstead will be stopping over in Japan to participate in the activities surrounding the anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. He has received an invitation from Beheiren, the Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee, to participate in a conference August 10-13. This conference will discuss the international coordination of the antiwar movement. The Beheiren is the organization which provided aid to the "Intrepid Four", four sailors who left

the U. S. ship, the Intrepid, last winter because of opposition to the Vietnam war.

The Halstead-Boutelle campaign committee does not have resources that George Romney and Richard

Nixon have to finance this trip to Vietnam. We need substantial help from all campaign supporters to make sure this trip takes place. A total of \$7,500 for Fred Halstead and two campaign staff members is our goal.

clip and mail to —————

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee
873 Broadway, 2nd floor
New York, N. Y. 10003

I want to contribute to send Fred Halstead miles to Vietnam at \$1.00 for three miles. (The trip to Saigon is 24,000 miles.)

Name

Address

City State Zip

Summer Address

.

...Czechoslovakia

(Continued from page 18)

strides in the economic sphere through the elimination of bureaucratic mismanagement. It would be characterized by freedom of organization, of the press, and of assembly for all tendencies in the workers movement. Internationally it would uphold soli-

arity with Polish and Soviet students and workers, and it would support socialist revolutions in other parts of the world, especially the Vietnamese Revolution.

Large numbers of students, intellectuals and workers support many of these aims but as yet have no independent organization. The situation is in great flux. Will Novotny play

the role of "loyal Communist" and appeal for Soviet intervention? Dubcek holds power, but for how long, and in which direction will he shift in trying to maintain his position? Czechoslovakia is at a crossroads. The path taken in the next few months will determine a great deal for the future of all of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as well.

IF YOU SUPPORT:

- The Cuban Revolution
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- Black Power
- Socialist Candidates
- A Socialist America

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IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN JOINING OR LEARNING ABOUT THE YSA WRITE TO YSA, P.O. BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N. Y., N. Y. 10003 OR

Meet Young Socialists in your Area

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- ATASCADERO: Bill Blau, P. O. Box 1061, Atascadero Calif., 93422, tel. (805) 466-9635
- BERKELEY: YSA, 2519a Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Calif., 94704, tel. (415) 849-1032
- U. of California: Carl Frank, tel. (415) 549-0308
- Oakland High School: Linda Richardson, 4055 Lakeshore, Oakland, Calif. 94610, tel. 452-4264
- Merrit City College: Jaimey Allen, 1934 Parker, Berkeley, California, tel. (415) 845-2149
- Laney College: Susan Montauk, 1130 E. 28th St., Oakland, Calif., tel. (415) 536-2865
- Mills College: Debbie Hinton, Box 9118, Ethel Moore Hall, Mills College, Oakland, Calif., tel. (514) 632-2700
- LOS ANGELES: YSA 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif., 90033, tel. (213) 269-4953

(continued)



High School contingent in mass antiwar action, New York, April 27.

photo by Flax Hermes

Dramatic Entry Of High School Students Into Antiwar Movement APRIL 26-27

"We don't usually let elementary school students vote at our meetings," the Berkeley Strike Committee wrote in a recent letter to the Student Mobilization Committee national office, "but one of them is really doing good work to build the strike at the school, so he is on our steering committee."

While few elementary school students actually participated in the International Student Strike on April 26, the strike was by far the youngest, as well as the largest, student antiwar action ever held in the United States. Throughout the country hundreds of thousands of high and junior high school students swelled the ranks of the million striking students who were demanding that the GIs be brought home from Vietnam now, the draft be ended, an end to racial oppression and the right of self-determination of black America.

The dramatic entry of hundreds of thousands of new high school students into the antiwar movement through the strike and the April 27 demonstrations was a national phenomenon. In cities across the country high school students risked penalties of having to stay after school, suspension, physical harassment, and in a few cases, arrest, to demonstrate their opposition to the war.

The actual response to the strike throughout the country was greater than even the most optimistic predicted. According to the *New York Post*, over 200,000 students boycotted school in New York City alone in protest of the war. Thousands of these students spent the day in educational and protest activities and carrying out last minute work to build the mass demonstration at Sheeps Meadow in Central Park

of 200,000.

More than three thousand students walked out of classes from eleven high schools in Detroit to march to a rally at Wayne State University. Thirty percent of the students at Berkeley High School stayed out of school and 800 held a demonstration demanding that Huey Newton, imprisoned leader of the Black Panther Party, be freed. Half of the student body at Scituate High School in Scituate, Mass., boycotted classes. Seven hundred students at Princeton High School in New Jersey participated in a teach-in, the school's first antiwar activity. This is only a sampling of the hundreds upon hundreds of high schools in the North, South, Midwest and West that participated in this historic action.

— Laurie Perkus
and Peter Gellert

No Man, It Is Not 'Nihilism!'



photo by Dan Rosenshine
Mark Rudd

Columbia University, one of the "finer" educational institutions in the United States, erupted far beyond the expectations that the university and city bourgeois administrators ever dreamed. The struggle on that campus is a symbol of an ever growing radicalization on an international scale from West Berlin to Japan, from London to Poland and from Rome to Paris.

In answer to the charge of "nihilism" that Columbia University President Grayson Kirk flung at the radical student movement; Mark Rudd, chairman of the Columbia Students for a Democratic Society and one of the leaders of the Columbia Student Strike Committee, challenged this cry. Although everyone involved in the strike may not agree fully with the sentiments expressed in this answer, it reflects the changing mood of our generation.

"Your cry of 'nihilism' represents your inability to understand our positive values. If you were ever to go to a freshman CC class

you would see that we are seeking a rational basis for society. We do have a vision of the way things should be: how tremendous resources of our economy could be used to eliminate want, how people in other countries could be free from your domination, how a university could produce knowledge for progress, not waste consumption and destruction, how men could be free to keep what they produce, to enjoy peaceful lives, to create. These are positive values—but since they mean the destruction of your order, you call them 'nihilism.' In the movement we are beginning to call this vision 'socialism.' It is a fine and honorable name, one which implies absolute opposition to your corporate capitalism and your government; it will soon be caught up by other young people who want to exert control over their own lives and their society.

"You are quite right in feeling that this situation is 'potentially dangerous.' For if we win, we will take control of your world, your corporation, your university, and attempt to mold a world in which we and other people can live as human beings. . . . You call for order and respect for authority; we call for justice, freedom and socialism . . ."

The student strike at Columbia against university complicity with the Vietnam war, against university complicity of the subjugation and oppression of the black people in this country, against police invasion of the campus, against the values and judgements of bourgeois administrators and systematic miseducation, against the way the university institution is run in capitalist America, is part of a broader struggle that will be fought on broader arenas against capitalism, that is deepening throughout the world as the clock ticks on.



Low Memorial Library, Columbia University, April 30, 1968.

By CAROL LIPMAN

...Notes

(continued from p. 2)

Attention All Investors: "If and When Peace Comes . . . Which Stocks Should You Own? 'Peace is bullish' is an old Wall Street adage that was proved accurate at the first 'peace' announcements early in April. While it may be a long time before a real accord is reached and therefore premature to buy 'peace' and sell 'war' stocks, you should know which are which. . . . In this new study of war and peace investments, we select the prime issues in each category and discuss the effect of peace on each. Don't miss this most timely study." (The financial publication which printed this ad also offers a money-back guarantee, presumably in the event "peace" doesn't come and the wary American investor has shed all his "war" stock.)

Support To Columbia: Following the brutal assault of the New York City police on Columbia demonstrators, YSA locals across the country sent telegrams to the Columbia Strike Committee expressing their support for the demands of the strike, condemning the action of the administration in calling the city police, as well as organizing solidarity demonstrations. Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidates, also telegraphed their 100% support of this militant strike against the University's complicity with the Vietnam war and its racist dealings with the Harlem community. Halstead and Boutelle remain the only presidential candidates who have given their support to the strike. Messrs. Kennedy and McCarthy have absented themselves from this issue, despite their electioneering claims that they represent the road to the fundamental changes American students are seeking.

Why We Strike: The Columbia Strike Committee has published a pamphlet entitled, "Why We Strike." It offers a thorough political explanation of the demands made by the striking students. The Strike Committee hopes that campus groups will make an effort to circulate this booklet so that the strike issues can be clarified on campuses nation-wide. Proceeds from its sale go to the Columbia Strike Committee. The pamphlet is available from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Turn, Turn, Turn: Apparently revolutionary socialists are not the only people who are able to see the twisting and turning of the Communist Parties of the world. A *New York Times* reporter wrote an article following the May 13th general strike in Paris in which workers paralyzed the city and

demonstrated with students in a march that swelled to 500,000 protesting the brutality of the police against the striking Sorbonne students. In the article, correspondent Henry Tanner says, "The Communists, predictably, made the most complete turn-about. They have long had trouble with their youth organizations and have always been afraid of being 'overtaken on their left' by young revolutionaries. So when the 'enrages' of Nanterre acted up, *L'Humanite*, the newspaper of the party, ridiculed them as misguided 'little bands of Trotskyites, Maoists, and anarchists led by papa's boys belonging to the upper middle class.' Now *L'Humanite* has become the most ardent defender of the students . . ." (*N. Y. Times*, May 14, 1968.)

Subscribe Now! The Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle special subscription campaign offer of six months of the *Young Socialist* and three months of the *Militant* for only one dollar has been the most successful subscription drive that the *Young Socialist* has ever participated in to date. Cities throughout the country that are participating in the effort will be vying this summer for a special prize. The area that sells the most subscriptions per capita for the months of May and June will be awarded a bound volume of 1967 *Intercontinental Press*, formerly *World Outlook*. The winner will be announced in the September issue of the YS. Take advantage of this special subscription offer and subscribe today!

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Seattle	80	43	53.8
Atlanta	60	27	45.0
Washington D. C.	20	9	45.0
Champaign	35	15	42.8
Twin Cities	135	51	37.8
Detroit	175	57	32.6
Cleveland	160	48	30.0
San Francisco	135	38	27.4
Philadelphia	135	36	26.7
Kent	50	13	26.0
Los Angeles	135	29	21.5
Boston	160	33	20.6
Berkeley	200	41	20.5
General	60	60	
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— JOANNA MISNIK

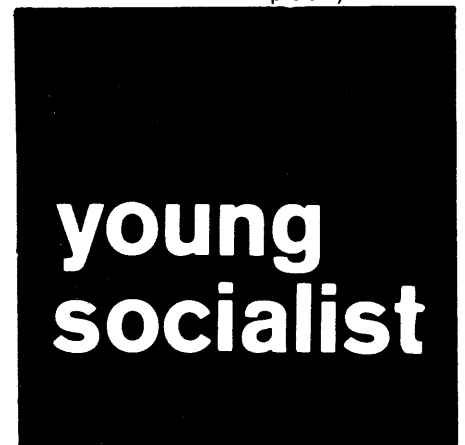


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