

# young socialist

October 1968

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## In this issue

**LARRY SEIGLE** is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, and a member of the Editorial board of the Young Socialist.

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# Young Socialist Notes

## MEXICO: Student Rebellion

In a massive reaction to a July 23 police invasion of Vocational School Five in Mexico City, high school and university students began a series of actions against police brutality with a July 26 demonstration at the Presidential Palace. As if to prove the students' point, police savagely attacked and beat the 8000 peaceful demonstrators; at least one student was killed, and scores of others beaten or arrested. Since then, cops and soldiers have charged into meetings at several schools, beating and arresting both students and teachers.

Public reaction against the government brutality led to the current widespread student strike and a series of demonstrations, each larger than the previous one. On August 1, detachments from the army, complete with tanks and other heavy equipment, blocked a protest march of more than 125,000 from entering the center of Mexico City. The continued use of brute force by the government brought about a march of more than 200,000 in support of the students on August 27.

Initially limited to the fight against police brutality, the demands of the students have grown to include: the release of all political prisoners (they have submitted a list of 85), abrogation of Article 145 of the Penal Code which sets punishment for acts of "subversion, treason and public disorder," dismissal of the Mexico City police chief, respect for university autonomy, compensation for those hurt or killed during police and army attacks, and a full investigation into the responsibility for the government attacks.

To date the Mexican government has responded with threats, force, and (in the face of worldwide attention brought on by the upcoming Olympics) public mourning for the "good old days" when, President Diaz says, "We had been provincially proud and ingenuously satisfied that, in a world of juvenile disturbances, Mexico was an untouched island."

## NORTH AMERICA:

### Gisela and Ernest Mandel

Two leading European revolutionaries are currently on national speaking tours of the U. S. and Canada. Ernest Mandel, noted European Marxist scholar who was hailed by Rudi Dutschke and lead-

## Dissent in the Armed Forces

# The American Soldier and the 1968 Elections

By Larry Seigle

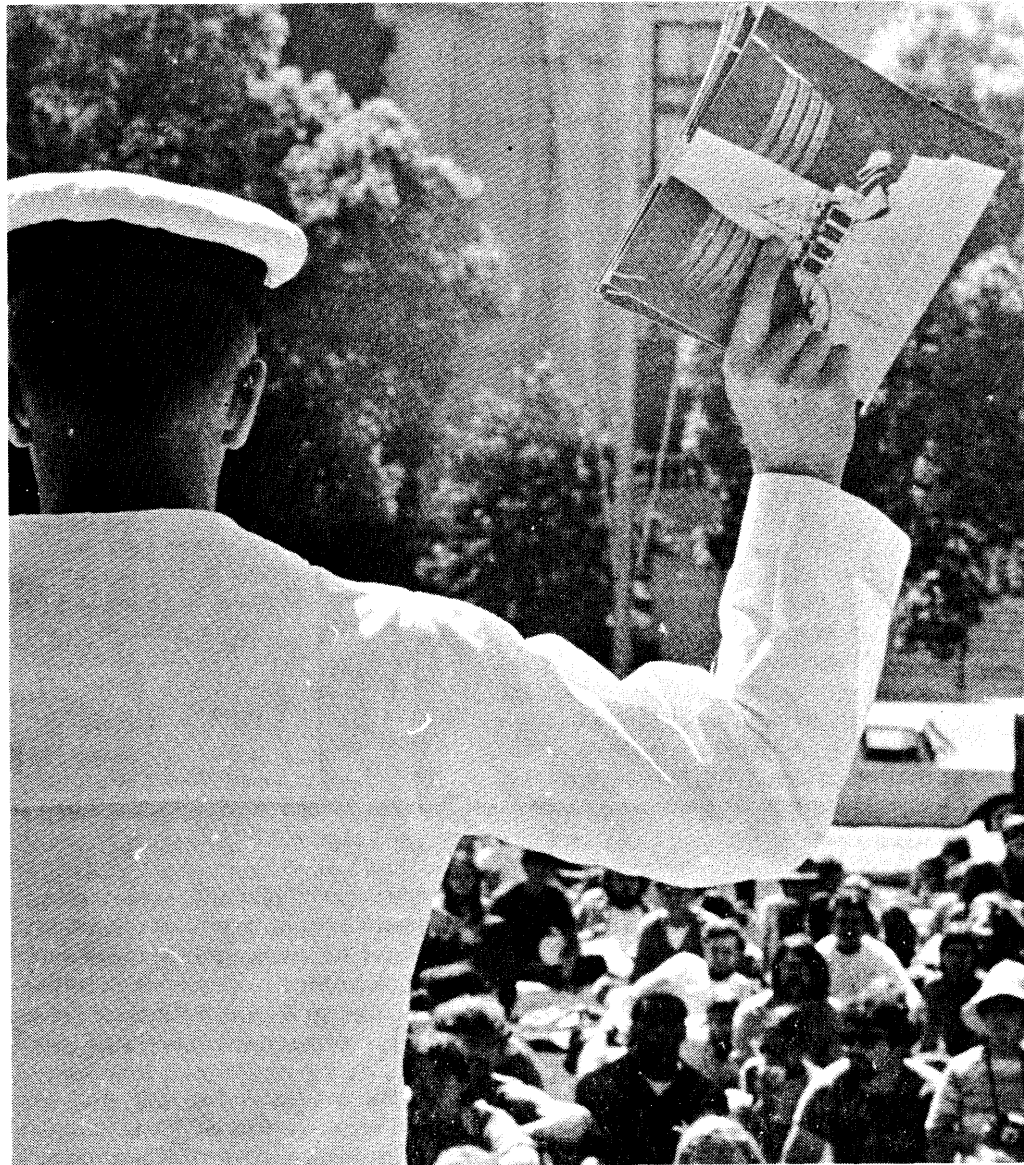
"War just isn't any fun anymore," one American two-star general confided to a reporter, a few weeks after the Tet offensive began last winter.

When the professional soldier loses his heart for war, you know things are in bad shape. But the real story in the armed forces is the increasingly determined and vocal opposition to the war among enlisted men themselves. War has never been "fun" for them, but for the first time in over 20 years, American soldiers in large numbers are speaking out and organizing politically against the war policies they are forced to carry out.

F. T. A. means "Fun, Travel and Adventure" to the army's advertising agency. To GIs it stands for "Fuck the army." And that, in a nutshell, is the prevailing sentiment among enlisted men towards the military authority. GIs have always hated military service, cursed officers under their breath, and griped about lousy food, long hours, and inhuman treatment by officers. But the current upsurge of dissent is not only gripes about conditions in the service, but an increasingly clear political protest against the Vietnam war.

GIs in the First and Second World Wars, and in Korea, griped and complained; but they were willing to accept things because, in the main, they believed in the goals they thought they were fighting for.

"I suppose all GIs in all wars have complaints like we have been telling you," one GI told *Militant* editor Barry Sheppard in Vietnam. "And they didn't



*Antiwar Coast Guardsman speaks to GI Teach-In, August 10, 1968 in Berkeley.*



*Antiwar Coast Guardsman speaks to GI Teach-In, August 10, 1968 in Berkeley.*

# PRAY-IN AT FORT JACKSON

By Stephen Kline

*Steve Kline is a medic in the U. S. Army, stationed at Ft. Jackson, South Carolina. He is 21 years old, and enlisted as a medic just before being drafted. He was not radical at all before entering the army, he says, but events since then have had a profound impact on him.*

*The Pray-In which is described in his article occurred in February, 1968. Steve states this had a major radicalizing effect on him. More recently, he told the Young Socialist, "I was convinced by the Democratic Party Convention that democracy as run by the major political parties is bankrupt."*

Things started with guys coming to a group of us asking how to avoid going to "Nam," or how to desert, go AWOL and things of that nature.

After seeing all the questions that other GIs had, we decided that there was a real need for a dialogue on the war. We came up with the idea of a meditation on the war that would be held on post. We contacted the Deputy Post Chaplain, Col. Oglesby, about having the meditation at a chapel here on post. He was very receptive to the idea and enthusiastically agreed. The date was set for the following Tuesday.

That weekend we circulated leaflets off post announcing the meeting. On Monday, without any prior indication from Col. Oglesby, we received notice that permission for the meeting was

withdrawn — that we no longer had official sanction. The excuse Col. Oglesby gave us was a real cop-out and no excuse at all. He said that the meeting could no longer be held because we had used the word "doubt" in the leaflet.

Of course, we decided to hold the meeting anyway. Chapels are open to servicemen and permission is never required for entrance during off-duty hours.

After we arrived at the chapel about 30-35 other GIs came, and one of us was required to read a statement the MPs had prepared announcing that the chapel was off-limits and that there would be no meditation.

Well the whole thing was insane! Why were all these MPs there to stop a simple discussion, to stop meditation, to stop thought?

Another GI, Bob Tatar, and I decided that we would just kneel down on the grass and pray since we weren't allowed in the chapel. Then, one MP, an officer, issued a direct order: "Stop praying and move on."

Since this was an illegal order, we refused and told him we couldn't obey his order because it was illegal. We were then taken aside and detained. After being detained for a while we were released, and we went back to the same spot to continue praying. This time we were taken to the MP station where charges were placed against us.

The charges were disorderly con-

duct, disobeying a direct order, and they threw in uniform violations for good measure. (Bob had the wrong color socks on, and I had a stripe sewn slightly off place.)

The first thing we did was retain Charles Morgan, who was Capt. Levy's chief counsel, for our attorney. I suppose the brass had seen enough of Morgan at the Levy trial because the next thing they did was drop all charges against us!

The reaction of other GIs was one of both support and amazement. They supported us for trying to have a discussion, but they didn't understand why we would stick our necks out like we did. When the brass backed down, they were even more amazed that we won.

But the main effect was that guys who were for the war or were undecided began to think, and many took a position against the war. For my own part, I was still somewhat undecided as to what my position was, but one minute after my arrest I knew I was against the war.

What started out as a discussion was turned into an antiwar demonstration by the actions of the brass, and we turned off to their war.

This all happened last February 28, and a lot of guys were for the war then, but now you'll find that the only people who are actually pro-war are the people who benefit from it — the brass and the lifer sergeants who get rank faster with a war going on.

want to go . . . but the difference here is that there is no *cause* worth fighting for. If the U.S. were under attack it would be different."

The American people have refused to put aside their demands for change because of the war. Black people have ignored those who advise them to slow down their fight for the right to control their own lives and their own communities, so as not to "disrupt the war effort."

Trade unionists have refused to

sacrifice their demands for higher wages to enable them to protect their standard of living against taxes and inflation. And American youth have not consented to put aside their fight against authoritarianism and for social justice.

On the contrary, the war and its domestic consequences have intensified the problems in the United States, and as a result, the struggle against them has increased in its militancy.

When no one else is willing to sac-

rifice for the war, and millions of Americans are actively opposing it in one way or another, it is no surprise that the GIs should begin to protest as well. After all, what justification can there be for asking GIs to risk their lives in a war which is not supported at home?

A soldier in Vietnam explained his feelings on this to Barry Sheppard: "Back home there are demonstrations, big people getting shot. We don't belong in this country. We should be



*Ft. Jackson, S. C. Stephen Kline and Bob Tatar outside darkened base chapel, Feb. 13, 1968.*

helping to build our own country."

For GIs who happen to be black, the contradictions of life in This Man's Army are even more acute. Black GIs make up 9.8% of the military forces in Vietnam (about 50,000 men), but they comprise almost 20% of combat troops, and account for 14.1% of all fatalities, by the Pentagon's own figures.

Many black soldiers find army life, rotten as it is, better than what they can look forward to in the ghetto. As a result, enlistment and re-enlistment rates are much higher for blacks than for whites. But support for the war in black communities, from which these soldiers come and to which they eventually return, is virtually nonexistent. The tension produced by this contradiction has reached an explosive level in some areas.

For example, at Fort Hood, Texas, 60 black soldiers staged a demonstration against their anticipated use as "riot control" troops in Chicago. Six thousand GIs had been given special training as part of "Operation Jackson Park." (Jackson Park is the park in Chicago where Fort Hood soldiers were camped last April, following the assassination of Martin Luther King.)

The demonstrators at Fort Hood met with the commander of the First Armored Division and members of his staff. When 43 men refused to leave after the meeting, they were taken into custody.

Col. Joseph Carroway, one of the officers who negotiated with the GIs, said the GIs felt they were "carrying the white man's burden . . . Most of their grievances were typical of the colored race. They discussed such things as unequal opportunity."

"It was all most unusual," the Colonel added.

While it may appear "unusual" to the army brass for black GIs to be doing and saying what black civilians have been doing and saying for some time, it is only logical to anticipate this type of action to be repeated frequently in the future.

Where do the presidential candidates stand in relation to the rising discontent within the army? The Democratic and Republican parties have made it abundantly clear by their nomination of Humphrey and Nixon that they intend to ignore the anti-war sentiment of the American voters and continue the slaughter of Vietnamese and Americans in Vietnam.

Neither Nixon nor Humphrey has the answers to the questions the GIs are asking. Humphrey's program for the soldiers who want to come home is: "I think we ought to withdraw our troops as *soon as the violence subsides.*" (Emphasis added.) For the GIs who know that the shooting in their direction will only stop when they leave the country, Humphrey's solution may sound a bit illogical. Nixon, likewise, says only that the GIs must continue to fight and die for an "honorable" peace. To those who understand that there is nothing honorable at all about the U.S. invasion and occupation of Vietnam, Nixon's position fails to get at the problem.

In contrast to Humphrey and Nixon, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, have made a central part of their campaign the effort to reach GIs with their campaign literature, and have spoken with them whenever and wherever possible.

A GI in Vietnam wrote to the SWP Campaign Committee: "I'm writing to thank you for your interest in the Americans over here . . . Many people back home probably don't realize it, but there is probably a larger percentage of war protesters in the army over here than there is in the civilian population in the States. After all, who has more valid right to protest war than the GIs in combat? . . . While Senators speak of the glories of American military conquest, 18-year old men (not "kids") are being killed and mutilated for a dubious cause in a wretched country. We here have no need for speeches; our 'job' as far as we are concerned is to get home alive and in one piece.

"I'm very glad you are not condemning the GIs themselves for the war. I think that Vietnam is an excellent example of the power of the 'establishment' to manipulate those with less power. It is quite understanding of you to realize where the true fault lies. . . ."

In response to this letter, and many others like it, Halstead wrote "A Letter to GIs on the '68 Elections" which has been printed in a brochure. More than 75,000 copies have been distributed already. Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle along with many independent antiwar activists have circulated the brochure to soldiers on military bases, and at bus



*Ft. Jackson, S. C. Stephen Kline and Bob Tatar outside darkened base chapel, Feb. 13, 1968.*



stations and airports. The Open Letter has been passed out to American soldiers stationed overseas by anti-war groups in Germany, Australia, England, and Denmark. It has also been one of the most popular pieces of campaign literature utilized by young socialists in the armed forces to win support for the Halstead-Boutelle ticket.

In the Open Letter, Halstead makes it clear that he stands on the side of the soldiers, and offers them some suggestions:

"... I quite agree with you that no one has a better right to oppose the war than a combat GI. And while I understand that GIs are in a tight spot, I also know that there is no law that says GIs have to be brainwashed, or that they do not have the right to think for themselves, or to read different points of view on the war, or to discuss the war.

"I also believe they ought to have the right to demonstrate against the war. Actually, this has happened before in the U.S. armed services. Just after the end of World War II, there were huge demonstrations of GIs overseas demanding to be brought home instead of being left in the Pacific area and involved in the Chinese civil war that was then developing. I know about these demonstrations, because I participated in them.

"These actions by the GIs, and the support for them at home, actually forced a demobilization.

"All this happened without any codes, orders or regulations being violated, or any serious legal trouble. The movement was just too widespread and popular for anyone to stop it.

"... I believe that GIs ought to have the right to let the people at home know how they feel about the war by writing to their families, hometown newspapers, congressmen, to the clubs or unions they belong to, and even by holding public demonstrations demanding to be brought home.

"GIs of voting age have the right to vote, and have the right to receive election literature, and to discuss the election among themselves. I would like them to know that there will be one candidate for President in 1968 that wants to bring them home immediately. . . ."

As part of his campaign, Fred Hal-



*Fred Halstead talks with GIs in Saigon USO.*

Photo by Sheppard

stead spent five days in mid-August talking to U.S. troops in Vietnam. While antiwar leaders have frequently visited Hanoi, Halstead's trip to Saigon was the first time an American antiwar figure has appealed directly to the troops stationed in Vietnam.

Halstead visited the U.S. Army stockade at Long Binh, near Saigon. The stockade is commonly referred to as "LBJ" (Long Binh Jail).

He spoke with a GI who wanted to describe the conditions in the stockade but was afraid that if he did so he would wind up there himself. The GI added, "the Constitution says all citizens have free speech, but we say something the colonel doesn't like—bang, we're in the stockade!"

Recently a prisoner in LBJ wrote to the *Ally*, a pacifist-oriented GI newspaper, describing life in the stockade: "The stockade over here is worse than all the jails in the U.S. combined. The mess hall and its foods are totally unsanitary. Rats and roaches running across the floor. Soot and insects falling from the loft into the food. Cups, trays and silverware thick with corrosion. During the time I've innocently been confined here,

I've seen four guys die from food poisoning and several others hospitalized. . . ."

"As far as legal advice is concerned, there is very little. Correspondence from the outside world of attorneys is prohibited completely. But if the chance arrives, which is infrequent, they censor your mail to extract any information (about the stockade) that displeases them. . . ."

It should be no surprise that shortly after this letter was written, and 10 days after Halstead visited the stockade, some of the prisoners took matters into their own hands and staged a protest. One inmate was killed and 59 others injured in the uprising. Four guards and the acting warden were also hurt. Ten buildings were burned, including the mess hall, which was totally destroyed.

The *New York Times* reported that "a key cause of the uproar was friction between Negro and white prisoners. There are also allegations and reports of anger at the guards for mistreatment, homosexuality, and poor conditions in the stockade."

A similar revolt had occurred at the Marine Corps brig near Da Nang

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# ANTIWAR ACTION

## OCT. 21-27

During October pro-war strategists and politicians will get a massive, militant, and international response to their perpetration of the slaughter of GIs and Vietnamese.

The international antiwar movement has set the week of Oct. 21-27 as the focal point in a fall campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese and GI victims of the war. Responding to calls by the major Japanese and British antiwar groups, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has named that period an International Week of Solidarity, and has initiated work to build actions across the country which will culminate in massive demonstrations on October 26. The decision was made at a conference in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend.

GIs on several bases in the San Francisco Bay Area are organizing for a big GI and veterans'

march against the war during October. They are out to show the world that the masses of GIs do not support the war; that they are not the ones who seek the fight with the Vietnamese. The march will be a high point in a campaign by GIs and their allies in the antiwar movement to bring the truth about Vietnam to soldiers on the bases, and to bring together as many GIs as possible in a show of strength against the war.

Sohyo, the major Japanese trade union federation, along with other unions in Japan have joined with the two large antiwar groups, Beheiren and Gensuikin, in a call for antiwar activity on October 21.

From England, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, a united group representing antiwar organizations throughout Britain, has issued a call for a demonstration in London on October 27.

The Canadian Student Association to End the War in Vietnam is scheduled to take up the call

for the Solidarity Week at an upcoming conference.

Expressions of support for the fall action have been coming in to the Student Mobilization Committee from groups around the world, including the Yugoslav Union of Students and antiwar groups in Australia.

The October events are seen by the Student Mobilization Committee as focal points in a fall period of continued action against the war and the politicians responsible for it. Among other actions set for the fall and already being carried out are an on-going campaign of solidarity with antiwar GIs, including helping with defense efforts for GIs whose rights are infringed upon by the army brass. The SMC laid plans to meet both Nixon and Humphrey on their campaign trails with militant manifestations of what American students think of their war. On-going educational and protest work around the issue of campus complicity will also be stepped up this fall.

SMC will organize its fall activity around four major slogans: Bring the GIs Home Now; End the Draft, Release All GIs; Self-Determination for Vietnam and Black America; and End High School and Campus Complicity with the War.

While Johnson bombs away the remainder of his term in office, and his cohorts campaign to replace him, Vietnamese, antiwar GIs and their allies here and around the world will demonstrate their joint resolve to end the U. S. war against Vietnam, bring the GIs home, and recognize the right of the Vietnamese to determine their own future.

For information on antiwar activities in your area, write to: Student Mobilization Committee, 9 S. Clinton St., Chicago, Illinois 60606, or to the Young Socialist Alliance, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



*FRATERNIZATION. Veterans appeal to troops at mass antiwar confrontation, Washington, D. C., Oct. 21, 1967.*



*FRATERNIZATION. Veterans appeal to troops at mass antiwar confrontation, Washington, D. C., Oct. 21, 1967.*



Allen Myers

*Allen Myers is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party who was drafted in 1966, after attending the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He was assigned to the base hospital at Ft. Dix, New Jersey. Since his induction into the army he has continued to be active in the antiwar movement, and has worked with the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee in leafletting GIs at Fort Dix about the war and antiwar demonstrations.*

*He now faces a summary court-martial for handing out antiwar leaflets to his fellow GIs.*

*The following interview was made by Pvt. Sherman Sitron, who is also stationed at Ft. Dix.*

**Q:** I understand that you're under attack now for exercising your right of free speech here on base. Would you tell us a little bit about that?

**A:** I expect to be court-martialed about the beginning of October. The charge is that I violated a post regulation which makes it illegal to hand out any written matter which is, I quote, "in bad taste, prejudicial to good order or discipline in this com-

mand, subversive, or otherwise contrary to the best interests of this command." The specific item I am accused of passing out was a leaflet printed by the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee which announced the solidarity of the antiwar movement with the GIs and which announced the SMC conference that took place in Chicago in September.

**Q:** Would you describe the events that led up to your arrest?

**A:** In August, the Philadelphia SMC began a project of regularly leafletting the theaters at Fort Dix. They started out with a leaflet that announced the August 10th demonstration in Philadelphia, and invited GIs to participate.

**Q:** How did the GIs react to these leaflets?

**A:** The response was a lot more enthusiastic than anyone expected. I know some of the people who came out expected to be attacked or something, but when the GIs saw what they were handing out, just the opposite happened. GIs came out of the barracks, asking for copies. The re-

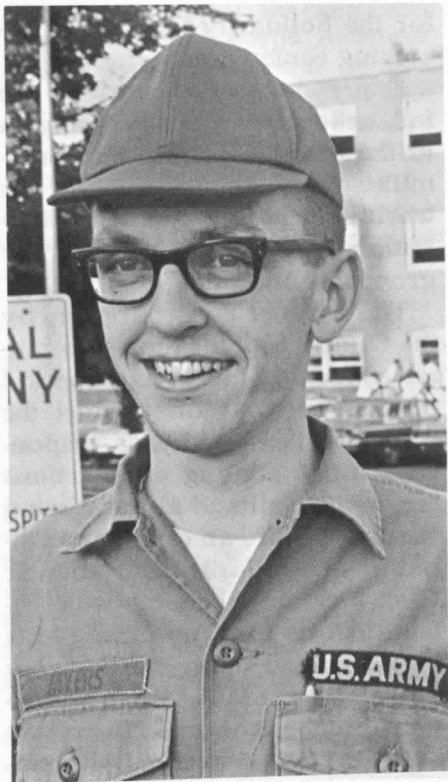
sponse was, all in all, tremendously enthusiastic. Undoubtedly the military police and the brass became aware of this, and they were very anxious to put a stop to it, whether it was being done by civilians or GIs. I was arrested and charged with having handed out this leaflet at one of the Fort Dix theaters.

**Q:** Was the leaflet able to draw any soldiers to the demonstration?

**A:** It's difficult to say how many people would have come if they had actually been free to do so. The distributors were told by GIs at the theater that they couldn't come that weekend because they had an inspection scheduled. And in other companies we heard that people had been specifically warned not to go to Philadelphia that weekend. Obviously, the brass was very much afraid that GIs were responding favorably to this invitation to attend the rally. I attended myself and was one of the speakers at the rally. I think that one of the results of this was that the following week there were even more people who came out from Philadelphia to leaflet at Fort Dix.

## INTERVIEW WITH ALLEN MYERS

# Fort Dix GI Fights Back



*Allen Myers*

**Q:** How did the army proceed after it arrested you?

**A:** The first thing that happened was that on that same evening an investigator from the Criminal Investigation Division followed by the company commander went into my room in the barracks, opened my lockers, and confiscated a large number of books and magazines, most of them antiwar and socialist literature. Then I was placed on restriction to the company area, (which I still am) but I was not formally charged with anything. A day or so later, I requested that I be released from restriction, since I still hadn't been charged with any offense. My company commander reacted to this by calling me in later in the day and reading the charges holding me for a general court-martial, which is the most severe type of court-martial. Had they gone through with their plans for this general court-martial, and had I been convicted, it could have brought a sentence of up to two years at hard labor. But, about two days later, and without any explanation, this was changed to a summary court-martial, which is the least severe type of court-martial. I expect to be court-martialled early in October. I am being defended by Mr. Michael Kennedy, who has been provided by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and I think we have a better than even chance of winning the case when it actually comes to trial.

**Q:** Has the army given you an opportunity to confer with Kennedy?

**A:** Ever since I was arrested, I have been restricted to the company area. Several weeks ago I sent in a written request from the hospital commander here requesting that I be released from the restriction since it wasn't necessary to prevent me from going AWOL, and since it hampered me in going to New York to confer with Mr. Kennedy. The request was turned down without any explanation.

**Q:** I attended the SMC conference in Chicago which decided to organize a week of solidarity actions with the GIs from the 21st to the 27th of October. In line with this, we also voted to give national support to your case and the case of the 43 GIs at Fort Hood. How do you feel about this?

**A:** I'm very pleased with it. I think it's terribly important that the antiwar movement do everything it can to support the cases of GIs who are speaking out against the war in greater numbers than ever before. The line of the brass has always been that the antiwar movement is against the GIs and the antiwar movement has the burden of disproving that. The defense of the civil liberties of GIs is one of the best ways the antiwar movement can disprove the slanders by the brass.

**Q:** How would you describe the attitude of the GIs towards the antiwar movement?

## Army brass didn't like this leaflet

**Support Our Men In Vietnam  
Not Those Who  
Send Them There  
Bring The GIs Home Now!**

Since the Paris peace talks began in May, over 5,000 American GIs and countless Vietnamese have died in Vietnam. We of the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam feel that these deaths are unnecessary—we support the GIs by demanding they be brought home now.

On Labor Day, the national Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is holding a conference in Chicago to organize an international week of solidarity with the American GIs—to bring them home from Vietnam now.

We would like to plan activities in Philadelphia for GIs, such as parties, open houses, demonstrations or even a coffee house—the main thing is that we want to do whatever you would like. We feel that the antiwar movement is the only real ally of the GIs—not those who send you to Vietnam. We want to provide services to you which express this fact. If you would like further information, contact:

*Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 2006 Walnut Street. EV6-7699.*

**A:** The attitude is very mixed. Of course, some people in the army have been active themselves in the antiwar movement. On the other end of the spectrum there are some, not very many, who believe what the brass tells them—that the antiwar movement is opposed to GIs, that it's made up of draft-dodgers and people who just don't want to go themselves and that is their only reason for opposing the war. I think probably the largest number are somewhere in between. They haven't really arrived at a final conclusion as to what the antiwar movement is and what it means to them.

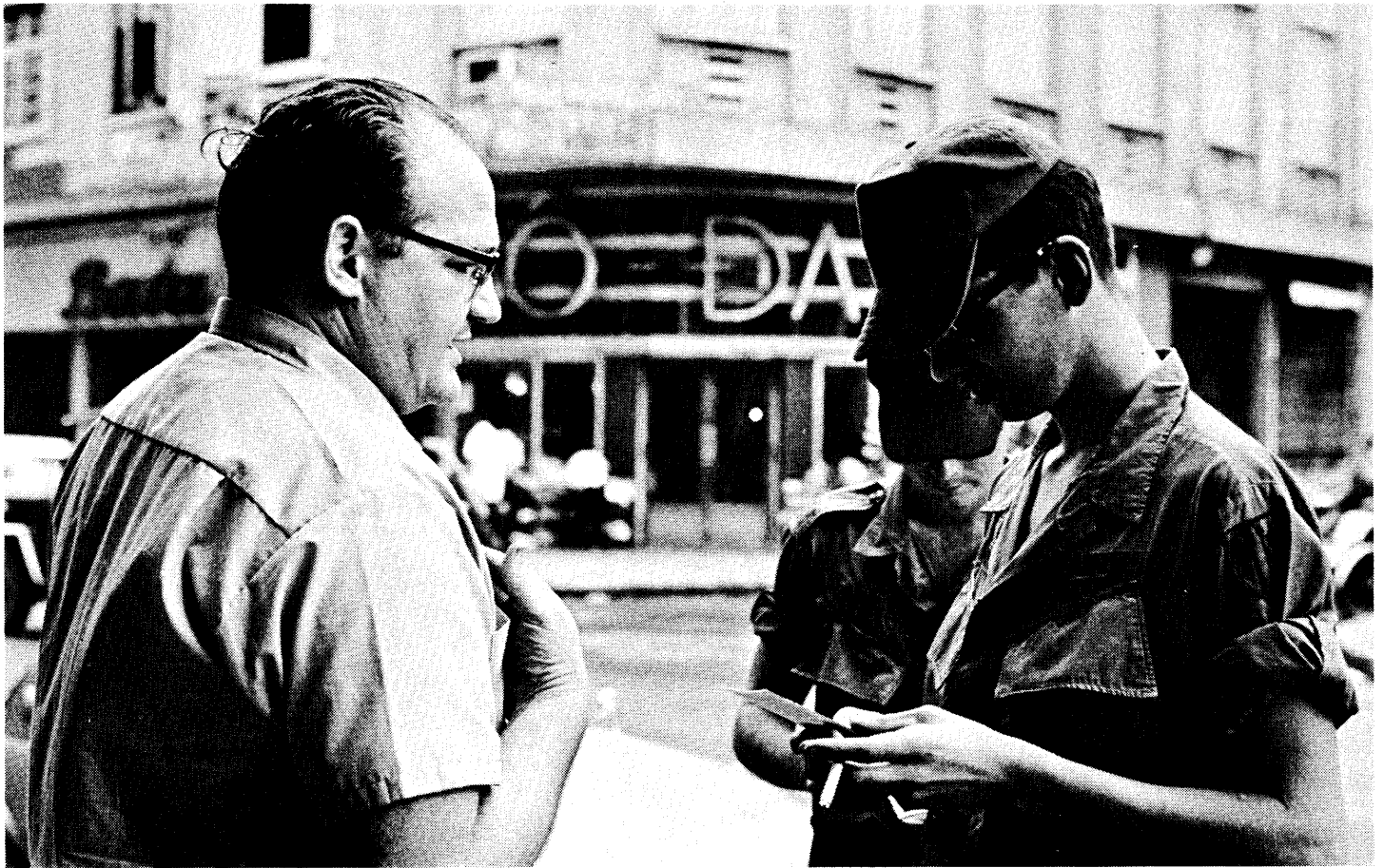
**Q:** How do you think the antiwar movement can best reach the GIs?

**A:** The type of activities that you mentioned were voted on by the SMC are exactly the right kind of thing: both the defense of GIs who are attacked by the army, and the holding of demonstrations in solidarity with the GIs. I don't say that just because I don't want to go to jail. I say it because the attitude I have run into among GIs is that the army will always get you in the end, and whatever the army decides to do with you, you just have to put up with it for two years, or three years or whatever it is. And I think if we can win cases like my case and the case of the Fort Hood soldiers, it will show GIs that they don't have to sit idly by while the brass trample on their constitutional rights.

I know that many GIs here at Fort Dix are interested in my case. It is certain that they will be encouraged if I succeed in upholding my rights against the attacks of the army. No body in the army likes the idea of having his rights trampled on, GIs don't like being told what they have to say and what they can't say or what they can't do. It's just that right now most of them don't think that there is anything they can do about it. They simply have to put up with it for two years. If we can win this case, I think that this attitude is going to change quite a bit.

**Q:** Are the GIs generally aware of the constitutional rights they have while in the service?

**A:** I think very few are. I have even



*Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, brings antiwar campaign to Vietnam.*

# The Revolutionary Choice in 1968

By Caroline Lund

Stephen Kline, an army medic from Ft. Jackson who was one of the organizers of a "pray-in" against the Vietnam war last year, said recently that the actions of the Democratic Party in Chicago made him see that democracy, as carried out by the two major parties, is bankrupt. Kline's reaction is typical of the response of many young people for whom the performance of Mayor Daley and Humphrey in Chicago was the last straw in a whole line of criminal deeds this past year, from the escalation of the Vietnam war to the murder of black people trying to defend their communities.

Many young people and Afro-Americans are turning away from the Democratic and Republican parties toward other alternatives. This development is shown in many ways: in the growth of the independent antiwar movement, in spite of the fact that McCarthy and other capitalist politicians have entreated young people to work within the two-party system rather than "dissipating" their efforts in the streets; in the growth of black nationalism and

the heroic resistance put up by the black community to the cops and white landlords and businessmen; and in the student struggles against university racist policies and complicity with the war.

This growing struggle which manifests itself in mass demonstrations, street actions, and revolts, is developing independently of, and in ever greater conflict with, the capitalist political parties. Radical youth are looking for the answer to the question: "What is a revolutionary approach to the 1968 elections?"

The hundreds of thousands of McCarthy supporters are asking themselves why McCarthy was defeated and what is the Democratic Party? Can it be changed?

This year people will have the opportunity of voting for the Socialist Workers Party candidates Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle. This is the only national party in the 1968 elections which embodies the concept of independent struggle against the Democrats and Republicans.

Halstead and Boutelle call for the formation of a national independent black political party based on and responsible to the black community. At the black power conferences he has attended, in Newark, Los Angeles, and most recently in Philadelphia, Paul Boutelle has urged the formation of such a black party which could unify the fight of the black people into a powerful weapon fighting in their own interests.

The SWP candidates also call for the formation of a party of the working class, based on the trade unions and under the control of the workers. Through building such a party the workers could throw out the conservative bureaucrats who now run those unions with an iron hand, and run candidates who would represent the workers, rather than being forced to support the "lesser evil" of the two capitalist parties.

The SWP candidates have wholeheartedly supported and built the antiwar movement and its huge demonstrations held over the past years. In fact, Fred Halstead was the project



*Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, brings antiwar campaign to Vietnam.*



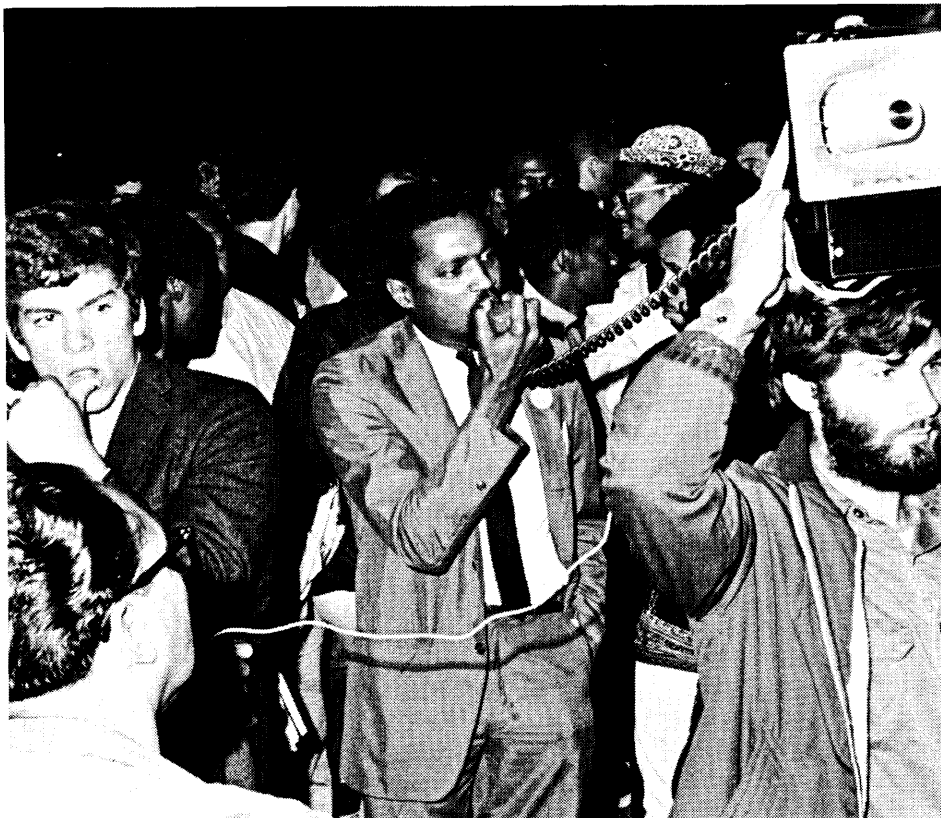


Photo by Shannon

*Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President, at Democratic Party Convention demonstration.*

director of the April 15, 1967 demonstration in New York, where almost 500,000 people poured out to express their disgust with the Vietnam war.

Unlike the Democratic and Republican politicians, the SWP has pressed for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam as the only demand consistent with the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. Fred Halstead has appealed to GIs for support because he supports their right to come home immediately before more of them get killed. Local SWP candidates have gone to army bases passing out information to GIs on the war and on the SWP program for ending it. Fred Halstead is the *only* presidential candidate who has spoken out for the interests of the GIs.

In order to understand what alternative is needed to the Democratic Party, one must analyze what is wrong with that party in the first place. Some people contend that what is wrong is that certain "bad" individuals like Humphrey, Johnson, and Mayor Daley, have control, but if they were thrown out and replaced with honest progressive individuals, the problems of this country could be solved.

But if one looks more closely at the Democratic Party it is clear that this theory is not correct.

First of all, the politicians in the Democratic Party do not disagree fundamentally on anything; they all support capitalism and will go along with whatever is necessary in their opinion to preserve it.

For instance, McCarthy did not support self-determination for Vietnam and unconditional withdrawal of U. S. troops.

At his press conference Nov. 30, 1967, McCarthy said, "I think there are many places where we could take a stand against communism. If we are really concerned about the expansion of Chinese communism, it seems to me that to waste our manpower and resources where we are doing it in Vietnam would be the worst of all possible choices. We still have the fleet, we still have Japan, we still have a position in South Korea, we have built up a strong base in Thailand . . ."

McCarthy and other liberals believe that the U. S. *has* a right to invade other countries when it is deemed necessary to do so to protect the "free enterprise" system. They have only tactical differences with Johnson and Humphrey. And, in turn, Johnson and Humphrey have only tactical differences with the Republicans and with Wallace.

Take another example: the attitude of various Democratic city administrations to the ghetto revolts. Even the most "liberal" of them, such as Mayor Stokes of Cleveland, sent in the National Guard when sanctified private property was being expropriated or destroyed.

These examples show that in the last ditch, all Democratic politicians are going to line up in defense of capitalism, that is, in defense of property rights, the right to exploit and make profits, the right to invest overseas, and the right to intervene with bases, missiles, and armies to protect these foreign investments.

Therefore it does not make sense to support the liberal wing of the Democratic Party in order to change its policies fundamentally.

A prime example of the character of Democratic Party liberals is Hubert H. Humphrey himself. In the 1940's and 50's HHH was the darling of the liberals. He was a founding member of Americans for Democratic Action, and was recognized as a prominent liberal when he led a floor fight for a civil rights plank in the Democratic platform in 1948.

It is quite clear from his subsequent reactionary record that Humphrey's differences within the Democratic Party were only tactical, and he was very flexible in switching his tactics to meet a new situation.

Secondly, the Democratic Party is not controlled by the people who vote for it but by the capitalist class through the machine politicians. Through the patronage system it is ensured that there is no democracy within the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party politicians are supported by an intertwining web of jobs, favors, and graft.

In his recently published book, *The Rich and the Super-Rich*, Ferdinand Lundberg documents the ties between the politicians and the big businessmen. He quotes Senator Russell Long from Louisiana, who said in 1967:

"Most campaign money comes from businessmen. Labor contributions have been greatly exaggerated. It would be my guess that about 95 percent of campaign funds at the congressional level are derived from businessmen. At least 80 percent of this comes from men who could sign a net worth statement exceeding a quarter of a million dollars."

Lundberg cites an interesting fact

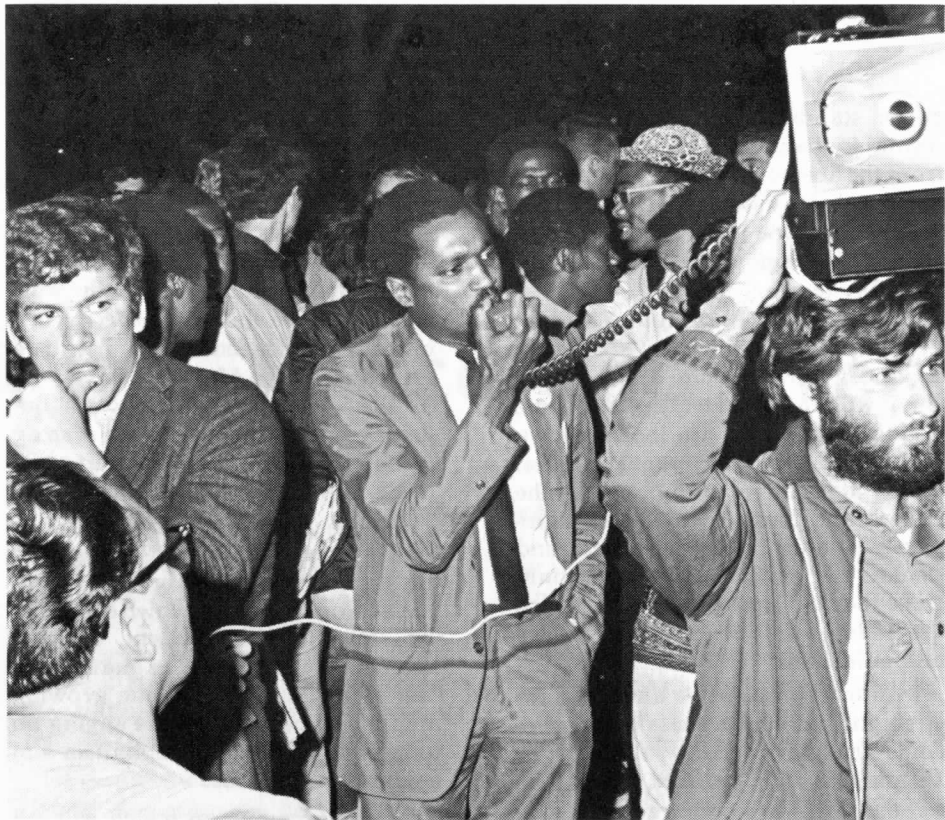


Photo by Shannon

*Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President, at Democratic Party Convention demonstration.*

that the Republican Party received more in contributions from the island of Manhattan, the financial capital of the country, than from all the states combined.

What is wrong with the capitalist parties is not only the policies of the few individuals who control them. What's wrong is that they are parties run by and for the capitalist class. Once the nature of the Democratic and Republican parties is understood, it follows that what is needed is to replace them with political organizations based on the exploited people, the working class, and the Afro-Americans.

This year there is another party, the Peace and Freedom Party, which is running formally independent from the Democratic and Republican parties. But this independence is only formal and not actual.

The Peace and Freedom Party does not explain that the Democratic Party is the party of the capitalist class. It does not say that what is wrong with this country is capitalism, and that what must be done is call for support to all struggles of the workers and Afro-Americans against the capitalists. It does not call for socialism in America, and it is not based on the working class or the Afro-Americans.

While the Peace and Freedom Party has won support from some young militants for its antiwar and pro-black

power stands, there is nothing fundamental to distinguish the P & F Party from the liberal wing of the Democratic Party—their basic program is for "peace," "freedom," and "power to the people,"—things which liberal Democrats say they are for.

Therefore the Peace and Freedom Party is not an effective answer to capitalist wars, racism, and poverty. But it will unfortunately mislead some young people who are looking for a real break with the capitalist parties.

The alternative to supporting the Democratic Party is to break completely with the rotten Republican and Democratic parties and support only those parties and movements which are independent of capitalist politics and politicians.

In our generation we have seen the strength and effectiveness of independent struggle in many arenas. The Vietnamese, for instance, have been fighting for years and are holding off the mightiest military power on the earth. We have seen the strength of guerrilla struggles in other parts of the world. The guerrillas have refused to support in any way the "liberal" sectors of the ruling capitalist puppets for U. S. imperialism, but rather have turned to the peasants and workers to wage an independent struggle, arms in hand.

The example of the French workers during the recent revolt and general

strike shows the overwhelming power of the masses of workers when they act independently and in their own interests.

In our own country the struggle of the black youth in the ghettos and on the campuses, as well as the white students, have shown the effectiveness of mass independent action. The struggle waged by the Afro-American youth in the ghetto revolts indicates that these youth are a powerhouse of struggle for change. They are not afraid to die in fighting for their rights.

We urge you to join Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle in supporting the election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, which embodies the idea of independent struggle against capitalism and capitalist politics. Add your voice to the growing number of people who are saying no to the whole system of capitalism and capitalist politicians.

Join this campaign which will tell the whole truth about the state of this country and how to change it.

Join this campaign to support the idea of an independent black party and a labor party.

Join this campaign which will publicize and build the coming international antiwar protests called for Oct. 21-27.

Join this campaign in the fight for a socialist America.

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# What's Wrong With the Peace and Freedom Party?

By Mary-Alice Waters

"Just because McCarthy didn't succeed doesn't mean you should abandon the political process. We want you to be the mayors of our cities, we want you to control the police and the National Guardsmen. Whatever you do, *stay in the political process.*"

So Endicott Peabody, former governor of Massachusetts, McCarthy supporter, and spokesman for a large liberal section of the capitalist class, pleaded with bloodied demonstrators following the Democratic Party convention in August. Stay with the twin parties and their electoral farces.

But today, in increasing numbers, American youth don't want to be the "mayors of our cities," don't want to "control the police and the National Guardsmen" for U. S. capitalism. From the massive antiwar struggles to the black power movement to the solidarity campaigns with revolutionary forces throughout the world, U. S. students, in constantly growing numbers, are taking their place in the international revolt of young people against capitalist society as a whole.

Some of these people are looking to the Peace and Freedom Party as a genuine break from capitalist politics and as a revolutionary alternative to the capitalist political parties. However, we as Young Socialists think that the PFP is not a real revolutionary alternative. Moreover, we feel it is an obstacle to building such a party. Why are we so critical of this formation?

The Peace and Freedom Party received its first real impetus last December when it re-registered more than 100,000 voters and won a place on the California ballot. This success inspired many antiwar activists and radicals all over the country who were

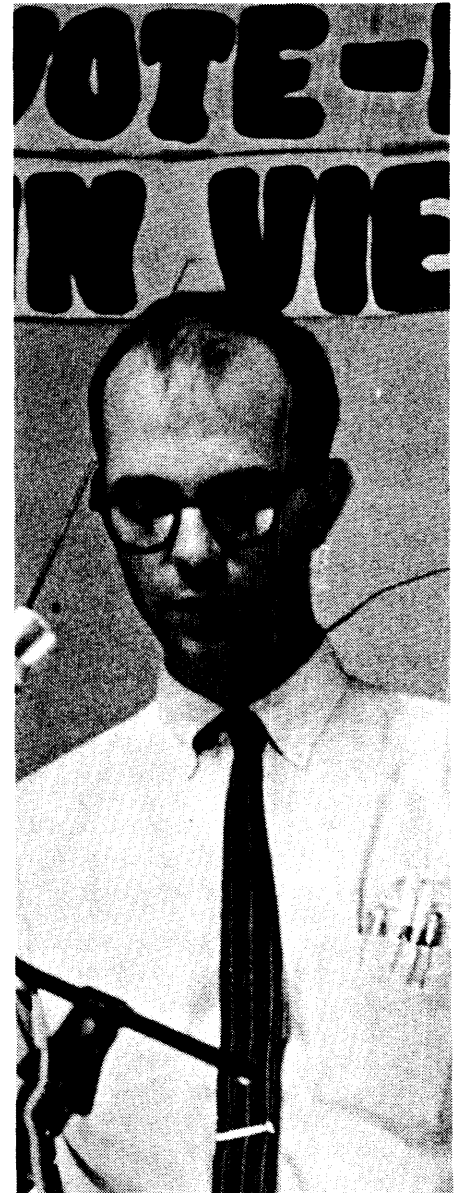
grappling with the problem of finding an alternative to the racist and war policies of the capitalist parties and led to the formation of Peace and Freedom parties in a number of states.

While the exact composition of the PFP varies from one area to another, it is made up of basically five disparate forces: the Communist Party (CP), the Independent Socialist Club (ISC), Progressive Labor (PL), liberal Democrats, and politically unaffiliated antiwar activists.

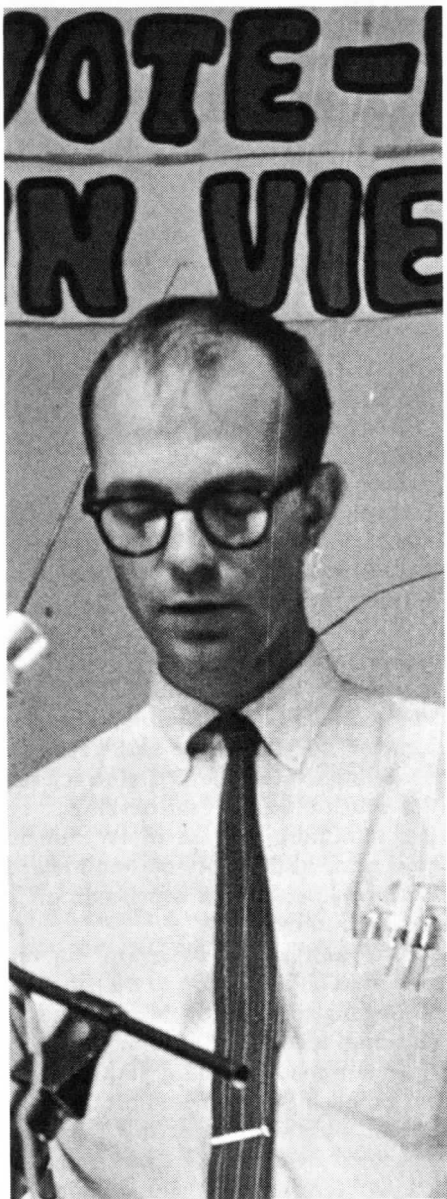
The first four groupings represent political tendencies with fundamentally conflicting world views. The Communist Party bases its program on support for the Soviet bureaucracy and its attempt to achieve "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism. The ISC considers American capitalism and all existing non-capitalist states to be equally bad, and vainly searches for some "third force" to counteract both. PL considers the Soviet Union to be counterrevolutionary, but thinks Mao Tse-Tung is the very incarnation of revolutionary virtue. And the liberal Democrats, on the other end of the spectrum, aren't even opposed to capitalism—they just want to get rid of its more blatantly disgusting aspects.

All these forces have joined together in one of the unholyest of unholy alliances to form an electoral bloc. If this bloc were formed in order to *win* political power it would at least make sense. However, it is primarily a *propaganda* campaign. That is, it is supposed to educate all those they reach with their ideas!

How can such an anomaly come to pass? The ISC tried to explain it in the June-July 1968 issue of their paper, the *Independent Socialist*. "In concept, Peace and Freedom is an *all in-*



*Dave McReynolds, Peace and Freedom Party candidate for Congress, supported McCarthy right up to the end. He is a pacifist and a member of the Socialist Party.*



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*Fred Halstead speaking to 30,000 people at April 27 antiwar rally in San Francisco. The Halstead-Boutelle campaign has helped build the independent antiwar movement, while at the same time winning many young people to socialism.*

clusive radical party, aspiring to be inclusive of a wide-ranging assortment of radicals with the most disparate and clashing ideologies, including the anti-ideology ideology."

To hold these divergent forces together is, as they put it, "a good trick if you can get away with it." The ISC goes on to say "the only possible 'cement' for the Peace and Freedom coalition lies in the two characteristics which it actually did develop, . . . the minimum nature of its radical program, and the orientation toward issue-oriented action which can unite people in movement."

The "minimum program" is designed to be a solution to the problem of keeping together the "disparate and clashing ideologies" within the PFP. It is supposed to be a statement of the points of agreement among these forces. But what does this mean in practice? Because the disagreements are so fundamental, the "minimum program" means that everyone accepts the least common denominator—i.e. the liberal Democrats' criticisms of "the system's" ugliest aspects. All can agree that racism is bad, war should be ended, poverty is evil, and

so forth. But even a discussion of how to eliminate these social ills brings immediate disagreement.

The result is a program that contains no basic solution and a formation in which the political differences, glossed over in the program, break out in other forms.

This has been graphically demonstrated in the failure of various Peace and Freedom groups to even come up with a common slate of candidates. In some instances they have nominated slates of candidates with conflicting views. At the national convention of the PFP, where Eldridge Cleaver was nominated as PFP candidate for President, various factions attempted to "balance" (i.e. water down) the ticket with their own choices for Vice President. The result was a bitter fight ending up in a failure to choose a common candidate for Vice President. The decision was left up to local groups. In some states like Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Dick Gregory's name was placed on the ballot as the Presidential candidate. Some groups like the New York Peace and Freedom Party have put Eldridge Cleaver's name on the ballot for Pres-

ident, while at the same time running Dave McReynolds for Congress. McReynolds, who is a member of the moderate Socialist Party, supported Johnson in 1964, and McCarthy in the Democratic Party primaries this spring.

In addition to the internal antagonisms which will inevitably lead to the crack-up of the PFP, the "minimum program" makes it impossible to promote a consistent revolutionary perspective for abolishing the capitalist system. The Peace and Freedom organizers claim that rather than win votes, they are attempting to build an on-going national movement of local organizations. But on what program are people being asked to join and build this organization? There is not a word about the necessity of abolishing capitalism, nor a word about the need for socialism, though many of the PFP supporters claim to be socialists. In a brochure distributed by the New York Peace and Freedom Party entitled "What is Wrong With the Democratic Party?" there are many accurate criticisms of the Democratic Party but not a word about the fact that it is a capitalist party and that a



*Fred Halstead speaking to 30,000 people at April 27 antiwar rally in San Francisco. The Halstead-Boutelle campaign has helped build the independent antiwar movement, while at the same time winning many young people to socialism.*

revolutionary movement must be based on a break from all forms of capitalist politics.

Militant planks in support of black liberation and immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam must be in the platform of all serious revolutionary groups, but they alone are not an adequate program for changing capitalist society.

Some people may feel that despite the problems and weaknesses of this "minimum program" approach, it is still a good thing to get everyone working together. After all, they do share a common opposition to the war in Vietnam and racial oppression in the U. S.

The goal of getting people together to cooperate on those issues about which they agree is totally correct. That is what the antiwar movement is all about. That is what legal defense committees are for. Unity in action is what has made the single-issue antiwar movement so effective. Groups like the Student Mobilization Committee have joined socialists, Democrats, anarchists, anti-ideologues, and many others together in united action around the one point they can all agree upon: opposition to the war in Vietnam. Such united action, too, is the way the radical movement can best defend itself. When the Black Panther Party is attacked, for example, those who support its right to exist and organize, regardless of what they think of the BPP program, should be called together to unite in action to defend the BPP against persecution.

But unity in action on a single issue does not constitute a revolutionary political party which must be based not only on common, specific immediate action, but on a common general political perspective as well. To confuse the one for the other means only that neither goal will be accomplished.

A case in point is precisely the defense of BPP leader Huey Newton. An alliance to defend Newton should be based on that question alone. It should draw together every organization and individual who agrees that Newton must be freed. Such a committee should ask for agreement on no other issue. On that basis the broadest possible unity can be obtained and the most effective defense mounted.

However, the PFP has not approached the Newton defense in this

way. The PFP, far from trying to promote such broad unity, has acted as if Huey Newton's defense were "their thing" and others should keep hands off—unless they are being led by and agree with PFP. For example, in Berkeley, rallies called for the defense of Huey are sometimes converted into PFP rallies instead.

The truth is that there are hundreds of thousands of people who are willing and anxious to defend Huey. But they do not all agree politically with PFP or the BPP. The attempt to turn a defense effort into a political party only narrows and undercuts the effectiveness of the defense.

By the same token, the attempt to build a political party on the basis of a series of immediate actions—with no underlying agreement on political perspectives—stands as a bloc to building a real revolutionary party in the United States, a party that can lead a successful socialist revolution.

Rather than the revolutionary alternative that the PFP pretends to be, it is an imposter. By pretending to be the real article, it disorients hundreds of militants who are looking for a clean break from capitalist politics. The PFP leaders create the false impression that by bringing radicals and antiwar activists together on the basis of a "minimal program" (i.e., a program of capitalist reform), it is possible to launch a mass movement overnight that can achieve something other than capitalist reform. Their campaign fails to educate young radicals about the class character of the Democratic and Republican parties, and about the need for independence from the politics of the capitalist class. It fosters illusions that something less than the overturn of capitalism can solve the problems of war and racism.

Many of the radicals who have been the main organizers of the PFP are socialists but feel that if they conducted a socialist educational campaign they would cut themselves off from building the mass movement they expected the PFP to become. However, the PFP has not proven to be a short cut to building a mass movement. Even the future existence of the organization remains in question.

If the Peace and Freedom Party is not the road to building a revolutionary party in this country, what alter-

native do young radicals have?

What is needed is to organize and build a revolutionary party that has a program which correctly analyzes the class character of our society and projects a course of struggle that will lead to the overturn of capitalism. This program must be based on the view that the struggle of Afro-Americans, students, and workers in the United States is part of an international struggle. An internationalist view recognizes that the May-June revolt in France, the sustained struggle of the Vietnamese, the struggle for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, and the example of the Cuban revolution inspire and encourage revolutionary forces in other parts of the world. Internationalism is not merely a set of theoretical ideas but means solidarity in action. It means, for example, building a world-wide movement against imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

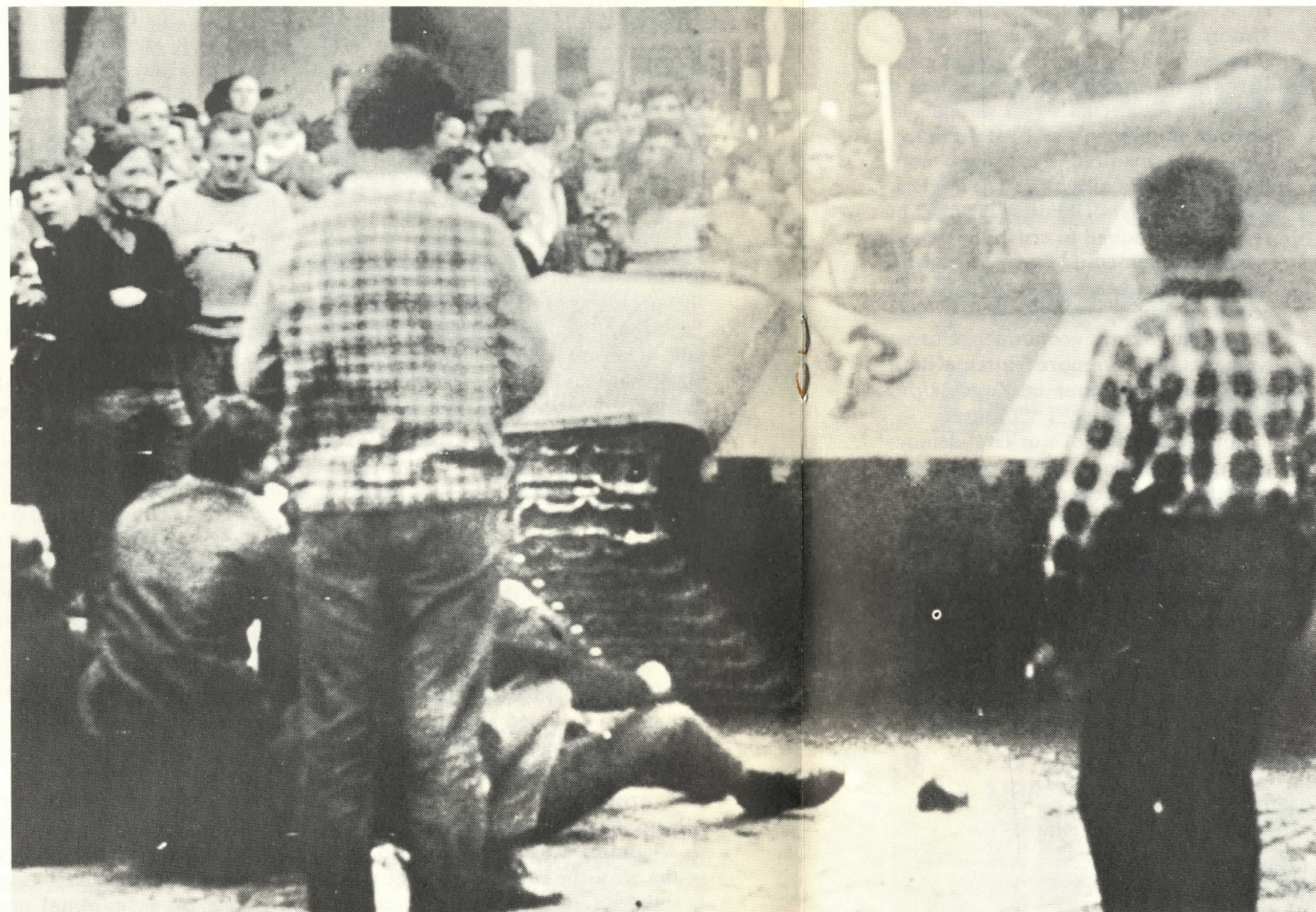
The program of a revolutionary party must be based on a total break with all forms of capitalist politics, both organizationally and programmatically. A mass revolutionary movement capable of fighting the capitalist rulers can only be built in irreconcilable opposition to and independence from the capitalist class. Revolutionaries must explain what is wrong with dependence on capitalist politics, and project the building of independent parties of the labor movement and the black community.

Socialists must also project actions and demands that lead masses of Americans into struggle against the policies of the capitalist rulers. For example, the antiwar movement organized around the demand to bring the troops home now is independent of the capitalist parties and their policies and its mass street actions are attempting to build a movement capable of ending the war policies of those rulers.

This is our alternative to the reformist policies of the Peace and Freedom Party. It is around this program that the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are building a revolutionary movement. It is these ideas that are being carried to tens of thousands of radical youth during the Socialist Workers Party election campaign and winning many to the young socialist movement.



# CZECHOSLOVAKS FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY



*Czechoslovakian youth block street in Prague, Aug. 21, 1968.*

*By Judy White*

At the height of the Soviet occupation, there were 650,000 troops in Czechoslovakia—more than the number of troops Washington has stationed in Vietnam. The troops were there to crush the trend towards socialist democracy on the part of the workers, students and intellectuals of that country.

The official Soviet explanation was that the troops were sent to prevent a "counterrevolution" from taking place. This statement couldn't be further from the truth. What the Soviet bureaucrats feared in Czechoslovakia was not the negligible danger of capitalist restoration, but the promise of the establishment of socialist democracy. The people of Czechoslovakia were not moving towards destroying the anticapitalist economic structure and its achievements, but towards changing the political structure in the direction of greater participation and

control over the society by the Czechoslovakian masses. It was this threat that constituted the mortal danger to the Soviet bureaucrats and their allies elsewhere.

What about this alleged threat of counterrevolution? The facts speak for themselves.

On January 5, 1968 the Czechoslovak press announced that Antonin Novotny had been deposed as the First Secretary of the Communist Party. This was an indication of the depth of the popular movement against the bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. Novotny, an old-line Stalinist, had been President since 1953. In 1957 he also became First Secretary of the CP.

Novotny had been in conflict with other members of the Presidium—the highest body of the CP—over two issues: the pace of economic "reform" for the country, and the policy towards the Slovaks, a national minority re-

siding in the undeveloped eastern region of Czechoslovakia.

At the heart of this conflict was the dispute between the Dubcek wing of the bureaucracy, representing the "technocrats," and the old-line Stalinists. The technocrats wanted to widen the decision-making authority to include themselves rather than just the party tops. They sought to solve the problems of the economy (inflation, unemployment, inefficiency, lack of consumer goods, and a slowdown in both investment and exports to the capitalist countries) through such steps as decentralization of management and greater use of "profitability" in each plant or industry to spur production.

The old-liners, represented by the Novotny group, wanted to prevent any changes in the old system of bureaucratic centralization.

The Kremlin got concerned, and

the fireworks really started, when the Dubcek wing of the bureaucracy made a pitch to win the support of the Czechoslovakian workers and students through promises of democratization.

Dubcek's economic reforms had nothing to attract the masses. But tremendous support was mobilized behind Dubcek based on the hope of greater political freedoms.

Last fall Novotny came into head-on confrontation with the students of Czechoslovakia. On Oct. 31, 1967, more than 1,000 students from Charles University in Strahov protested poor living conditions at the university. They were met by police violence, and although they won their demands on housing, many began to question the Novotny regime on more general grounds. One student leader reportedly remarked that even some of the most convinced Communists at the university were dismayed at the



*FRATERNIZATION. Czech student talks with Soviet soldier in occupied Prague.*

way the students were treated. "They wanted to know why, if it was so easy to fix the lights, we had to demonstrate to get it done," he explained. "But more importantly, they want to know how our socialist police can crack down on socialist students with a legitimate, non-political complaint."

Along with his problems with the Dubcek group and the Czechoslovakian students, Novotny was also having trouble with the intellectuals. At a Congress of the Writers' Union in June of 1967, a series of speeches by dissident writers was given. "The writers said that Novotny must finally come to terms with the mistakes, the excesses, and the crimes of Stalin," explained one participant.

The January 1968 ouster of Novotny as head of the Communist Party was a victory for the Dubcek group, and a concession to the dissident forces.

But that was only the beginning. The mass pressure on Dubcek for further democratization intensified. In May of 1968, the Central Committee of the CP announced its new "action program." By this time Dubcek had also installed new men at the top of the party apparatus, the government, the army, the cultural organizations and the trade unions.

The "action program" was a compromise between the programs of the reformers and the orthodox Stalinists, but it was clearly a victory for the Dubcek group. It had numerous measures directed against the police state which had existed in Czechoslovakia for almost twenty years.

The "action program" demanded guarantees of freedom of movement for all citizens and warned against the danger of "too great a concentration of decision-making in the party." It endorsed economic reforms involving

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decentralization measures, a greater reliance on market mechanisms, material incentives linked to the "profitability" of individual enterprises, and other measures aimed at making the economy more efficient.

It promised to work out a more equitable arrangement on the status of Slovaks within a federated republic. It welcomed the drafting of a new constitution which would give legal rights to other working-class political parties besides the ruling Communist Party, and more power to the parliament. It also called for more explicit safeguards for freedom of speech, radio, and television, and for the limitation of censorship.

In the sphere of foreign relations, the "action program" stressed the sovereignty and equality of Czechoslovakia while maintaining the "alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries."

The "action program" made concessions to the tremendous popular pressure that had been generated by the promise of reforms. It did not, however, get to the root of the problem. It was the reflection of the attempts of one section of the bureaucracy to deal with problems that can only be finally solved with the destruction of that bureaucracy.

The major obstacle to the fight for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, as well as in the Soviet Union, China, and the other Eastern European workers' states, is the existence of the bureaucracy that holds political power in these countries. This bureaucracy is concerned above all with its own material interests and privileges. It grew up first in the 1920s in the Soviet Union as a result of the economic backwardness and political isolation of the new Soviet state. This ruling group has given up a revolutionary perspective completely and works for constant accommodation rather than confrontation with imperialism.

Rather than "decentralization" and bonuses for managers (which can lead to considerable unemployment and inequality of income) what is needed in Czechoslovakia is the establishment of workers' control in industry and political life, combined with flexible centralized planning. This means putting the decision-making power directly in the hands of the working people by establishing a congress of workers' councils democratically elec-

ted in all work centers across the country. This requires guarantees of freedom of criticism, the press, and the right to organize politically, for all tendencies which are for socialism. To institute these measures will require a political revolution—the overthrow of the bureaucrats and the establishment of workers' democracy. This political revolution will preserve the gains made in 1948 when the country underwent a basic economic transformation that did away with capitalism and established the collective ownership of the main sources of wealth and production, and instituted nationwide economic planning and the state control of all foreign trade.

This was the direction in which the Czechoslovakian people's demands for democratization were headed. And it is for this reason, and no other, that the Soviet Union intervened.

The rule of the Soviet bureaucracy is incompatible with any form of workers' democracy. The events in Czechoslovakia were having a profound impact on all of Eastern Eu-

rope, even sweeping into the Soviet Union. The Czech events stirred demands from young Ukrainian intellectuals for similar democratization last July. Intellectuals and students in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany also were inspired by the developments in Czechoslovakia. The Soviets, with their own "Domino Theory" of revolution, moved to crush the threat.

The Soviets could have lived with the changes being proposed in the economy of Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovakian economic reforms were certainly no more "extreme" than what had been done in Yugoslavia, or even in the Soviet Union itself.

But the specter of workers' democracy, so terrible to the bureaucracy, was enough to provoke a military invasion. The Soviet bureaucrats were willing to accept the repudiation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the entire world, even of the Communist parties that generally follow their line, rather than allow the Czechoslovakian workers and students the right to decide for themselves the nature of their socialist society.



*Czechoslovakian students and workers climb turret of invading Soviet tank in Bratislava.*

# **Revolutionary Czechoslovak Youth Lead Mass Resistance**

**By Kipp Dawson**

Czechoslovak students and young workers have been in the forefront of the protest actions which were major factors in pressuring the Dubcek regime to continue its program of political reform, the program which so incensed the Soviet bureaucracy. Since the Soviet and other Eastern European countries invaded Czechoslovakia these same young people have been leading the resistance among Czechoslovaks.

In actions strikingly similar to American student fraternization with GIs and National Guardsmen sent to "control" demonstrations in the U. S., Czechoslovak youth led others in approaching the occupying soldiers as comrades who had been misinformed about the situation in Czechoslovakia. As the Polish Communist Party newspaper *Trybunu Ludu* reported, Russian-speaking Czechoslovaks had been holding a "permanent" dialogue with Soviet troops "almost in front of every Soviet tank or armored car, with various, mostly passionate,

intensity."

The young Czechoslovaks were attempting to explain to the troops that they had been lied to about what was happening in Czechoslovakia—that there was no counterrevolution there. (One of the many posters plastered on walls and statues throughout the country helped illustrate this message. It depicted a Russian soldier with a magnifying glass into which had been inscribed a question mark. A caption described the soldier as "searching for the counterrevolution.")

An Aug. 21 dispatch from *New York Times* Prague correspondent Clyde H. Farnsworth described one incident reflecting the lack of enthusiasm for their work displayed by some of the Soviet troops: "A young man went up to one of the tank crewmen and tried to hand him a leaflet demanding Czechoslovak liberty. The soldier angrily refused it, but another took the leaflet and waved the youth away. Some of the crowd tried to engage the soldiers in conversation. 'Why

are you here?' demanded one youth. 'There was no provocation.' The soldier, looking no older than 18, said he was a 'little man following orders.'"

While the *New York Times* correspondent may not have realized the far-reaching implications of scenes like these, it soon became clear that the Soviet bureaucrats did. Here these young Soviets were being given a chance to take a first-hand look at the popular movement toward socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, a situation bearing no resemblance to the stories they had been told as to why they were being sent there. The natural next steps for the troops would be to question their own role there, as well as the real motives of the Soviet bureaucrats who sent them. It would not be a big step from there for the troops to begin to think about the developments in Czechoslovakia in light of the lack of political freedom in the Soviet Union, and to begin to draw conclusions which would be unwelcomed by the Soviet bureaucrats.

The Soviet rulers moved quickly to prevent this. According to reports in the Aug. 27 press, the Soviet bureaucrats flew at least 200 secret police to Prague to deal "mainly with problems within the Soviet military."

Other activities in Czechoslovakia illustrate the deepgoing unity which was built up against the invasion. All sections of the population cooperated in efforts to keep the Czechoslovak Communist Party's political machinery running, and to keep the population informed about events in the country.

Among the most striking examples of this was the functioning of the underground press, television and radio during the occupation.

The occupying forces attempted to suspend publication of *Rude Pravo*, the organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and to publish their version of current news in a paper using the same name. A well-organized operation on the part of Czechoslovak workers and the staff of the real *Rude Pravo* reportedly prevented the occupiers from printing their paper in the country, and kept an underground *Rude Pravo* going. One of the editors of the clandestine paper described to a reporter how the operation was carried out:

"While the Russians were still seizing our government and before they

started occupying the newspapers, these three parts—which are very scarce—were taken out of every machine in every printing factory in the country. When the Russians came, the printers could honestly tell them that they didn't have the parts to print anything for them.

"But whenever the Russians aren't looking or when there's a printing plant they haven't found yet, everything is made ready, and one of several men like me goes there. The printers are waiting. The parts are slammed into the machines. The presses are run. And then the parts are removed and go back into my glove compartment. It takes under an hour, and I don't think they've caught any of us yet."

Another example of this collective resistance against the invasion was the emergency clandestine congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. It met Aug. 21-22 under the very guns of the occupation troops, to elect a new underground 160-man Central Committee which, in turn, elected a 24-member Presidium.

The 1200 delegates expressed complete solidarity against the invasion and in favor of socialist democracy.

The congress offered the strongest testimony as to the sentiments of the Czechoslovak working class. The delegates, wearing workers' clothes, entered with the workers on the midnight and 6 a.m. shifts. The people's militia protected the congress, their weapons ready. They even had an anti-tank gun in position in case the Soviet generals got wind of the congress and tried to break it up.

The perseverance of the Czechoslovak radio and television in the face of concerted Soviet efforts to block their broadcasting was another sign of unified resistance to the occupation.

A broadcast by several clandestine radio stations just after the invasion symbolized the message of the underground radio and television: "This is Czechoslovakia calling to the world while the tanks are crushing our cities and killing our children. We ask you to raise your voices, please, workers of the world. Protest against this illegal occupation. Call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops. There is no counterrevolution in our land. Our voice is now too weak. But we call to all who believe in socialism to support the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia." The message was broad-

cast in Czech, Slovak, Russian, Polish, German, Hungarian, French and English.

This appeal and the resistance of the Czechoslovaks evoked a response by revolutionaries in many parts of the world. Carrying signs reading "Victory to Czech Socialist Democracy," "Withdraw USSR Troops Now," and "Forward to Leninism, Not Back to Stalinism" 200 Canadians held a solidarity demonstration at the Czech embassy in Ottawa on Aug. 21. Czech officials greeted them and took photographs. Second Secretary Jaroslav Novak accepted a letter of solidarity and told Gary Porter, executive secretary of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (organizers of the demonstration), "We agree with your placards. This is a very inspiring demonstration for us."

Young socialists in Chicago met a different reception when they brought similar demands to the Polish consulate there. An official of the consulate told the 50 demonstrators that their demands had been taken inside and were "officially rejected." The demonstration, organized by the Young Socialist Alliance, ended with the singing of the "Internationale."

Young British revolutionaries organized two demonstrations in support of Czechoslovak socialism. The first, held hours after the first Soviet tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia, brought 1500 demonstrators to the Soviet embassy. The second had 10,000 participants. Slogans included "Russian Troops Out—Workers Control In," and "Stalinism—Out, Out, Out."

Former leaders of the banned Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire in France issued a statement upon leaving jail on a provisional release on Aug. 23. They indicated that they "fully support the heroic resistance of the people of Czechoslovakia" and pledged a continuation of the struggle for international socialism.

Young socialists also held demonstrations in Denmark, Rome, Tokyo, and other parts of the United States and Canada, and it was reported that young people in several Eastern European countries, including East Germany and Poland, held actions of solidarity with the Czechoslovak socialists.

In sharp contrast to the acquiescence or half-hearted protests of the pro-Moscow Communist parties, and the hypocritical "shock" of the imperialist rulers, young socialists in Czechoslovakia have sparked a united response to the invasion by their counterparts throughout the world, demonstrating once again the growth of an international revolutionary alternative to the "leadership" of the Soviet bureaucrats. As the former leaders of the JCR concluded as they left prison: "The May events (in France) and the crisis of Stalinism, today in its bloodiest phase, make more than ever necessary the creation of revolutionary Marxist organizations to fight for the victory of a socialist revolution in which workers power would not be an empty word. The youth by the tens of thousands have entered a struggle which continues today."

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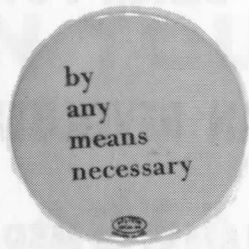
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# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



**By Derrick Morrison**

In the final analysis, the basis for the prestige and power of the North American capitalist class rests with the instruments of pure, premeditated violence. Stripped of its facade, this is what the capitalist government is: an instrument of calculated violence.

On the international level, the instrument which is unleashed, when all other efforts of maintaining the Pax Americana have failed, is the almighty Pentagon. In the history of mankind, there is nothing that rivals the organized violence of the Pentagon. The

most blatant example of its might and power is being displayed in Vietnam, where B 52s are dropping millions of tons of bombs in an area less than half the size of Texas; where helicopter gunships, each loaded with three General Electric manufactured miniguns, fire 18,000 indiscriminate bullets a minute, or 300 a second; where millions of pounds of napalm, white phosphorous, and pellet bombs are dropped daily; where crop-killing chemicals and biological germs are being tested as the new weapons of

warfare, and where other genocidal weapons are being tested with the imperialist eye scrutinizing Africa, Latin America, and even North America itself.

On the national level, that instrument used by the North American vultures to maintain capitalist law and order on a day to day basis is the police department — an occupation army that stalks the black community 24 hours a day. As a result of the black rebellions, the "liberal" Democratic and Republican party city administrations have escalated the armament of these mad-dog brutes in blue. Ultimately, the power of Lindsay, Cavanaugh, Daley, Yorty, and the rest of their ilk rests upon the number of armored cars, shotguns, 38s, machine guns, and helicopters wielded by their pig departments. In response to this escalation of organized violence, Afro-America has taken some initial steps. One of these steps has



# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

*By Derrick Morrison*

warfare, and where other genocidal weapons are being tested with the imperialist eye scrutinizing Africa, Latin America, and even North America itself.

On the national level, that instrument used by the North American vultures to maintain capitalist law and order on a day to day basis is the police department — an occupation army that stalks the black community

been the organization of the Black Panther Party.

In the words of one New York City pig, "They have shown that they mean business and we take them very seriously." This statement sums up the attitude of pigs all across the land toward the Black Panther Party.

The Panther Party was initiated by Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton two years ago in Oakland, California. They got their inspiration from the Lowndes County Freedom Party in Alabama which SNCC helped organize in the winter of 1965. In its initial phase, then known as the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, the Party's main activity was patrolling pig cars in the Oakland ghetto. To point out police violations of the law in respect to the treatment of black people, the Panther Party diligently studied the law and police regulations. The Panther Party also carried out education in the community on the rights that were guaranteed to black people as "citizens," and concentrated on the propagation of their ten-point program. The Party members carried loaded pistols and shotguns on patrols and at rallies to show Afro-America what would ultimately be needed to liberate the community. In California, unconcealed arms were within the law.

In May, 1967, in a protest over the murder of 22-year-old Denzil Dowell by Bay Area police, and against a gun control bill, between 25 and 30 armed Panthers walked into the California Legislature at Sacramento. After reading a statement, they walked out. When the pigs could find no law on which to arrest the Panthers, they charged them with "conspiring to disturb the Legislature."

But the real conspiracy was the police conspiracy to get the Panthers which culminated in the gunning down of Huey Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, in October of 1967. One pig was killed and another wounded in the incident. Newton was unarmed at the time. Even though the murder weapon was never found, and the wounded pig testified that he saw no gun in Newton's possession at any time, Newton has been convicted of manslaughter.

In an attempt to create a broader base of support for Huey Newton, the Black Panther Party made an alliance with the newly formed Peace and Free-

dom Party in December of 1967, which was then in the midst of a successful drive to get on the ballot in the state of California. The alliance has led to some problems for the Black Panther Party because the Peace and Freedom Party is not a revolutionary party, but a reformist electoral machine created through a coalition of the most diverse and antagonistic elements. (See p.13.) While the Panthers were motivated primarily by the desire to defend Huey Newton, they made the mistake of entering into an electoral alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party, which goes beyond mere agreement on the need to free Huey.

In March of 1968, at a press conference after the postponement of his trial, Newton announced that the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense had shortened its name to the Black Panther Party. This change indicated that the Party was not just a self-defense organization, but a political party which saw the police as one of the instruments of the white power structure of the exploiters.

Later that month, the Black Panther Party announced the local candidacies of Kathleen Cleaver, Bobby Seale, and Huey P. Newton, using the ballot status of Peace and Freedom, but based on the Ten-Point Panther program.

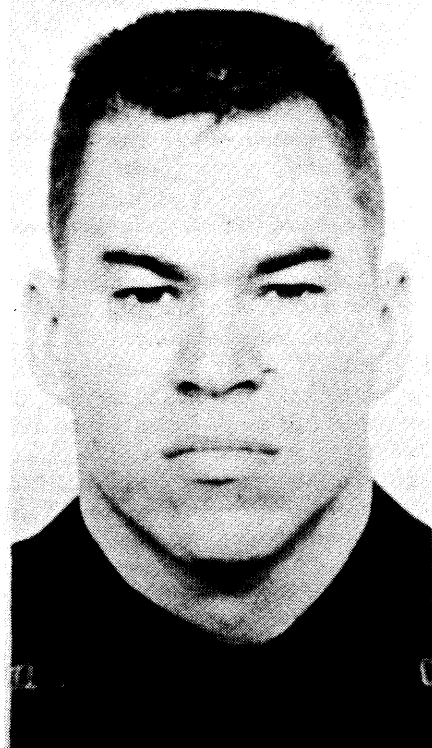
Feeling their tails up against the wall as a result of the growing support for Newton and the Panthers in the Bay Area, the Oakland pigs launched an attack against two cars carrying Panther members on the night of April 6. Eldridge Cleaver, author of *Soul on Ice* and Minister of Information of the Party, was wounded in the ensuing gun battle while Bobby Hutton, the 17-year-old treasurer of the Black Panther Party was brutally assassinated by the mad-dog brutes in blue as he walked towards them with his hands high in the air.

After a couple of months in jail, Cleaver was released. A few weeks before Cleaver got out, the Black Panther Party was organized in Seattle, Washington. At about the same time, an Oakland Panther was assigned to organize a Panther Party in New York.

By the end of July, the New York Black Panther Party had two offices — one in Brooklyn and one in Harlem. The New York Panthers are running

### What is a Pig?

A low natured beast that has no regard for law, justice or the rights of the people; a creature that bites the hand that feeds it; a foul depraved traducer; usually found masquerading as the victim of an unprovoked attack.



Oakland cop, Robert Farrell, suspended "pending investigation" for shooting up Panther headquarters, Sept. 10.

From *The Black Panther*, Sept. 7, 1968:

the smell of a pig

what should we get rid of?  
when i walk down the street  
what do i smell — pigs —  
when i mind my own business  
what do i smell — pigs —  
when i breathe to live  
what do i smell — pigs —  
what should we get rid of —  
the smell of pigs

aurelia bealum

David Brothers, Chairman of the Party, in Brooklyn's 12th Congressional District. This is being done through the use of the New York Peace and Freedom projected ballot status. Already, cops in uniform and out of uniform have attacked the Panthers. On Aug. 2, the cops broke up a Panther rally in front of the Brooklyn office, severely beating Darryl Baines, a 17-year-old Panther. Before and after this incident, on two separate occasions, plainclothes pigs shot two Black Panthers with a high powered BB gun. The pigs were riding in pig cars identifiable because of their use in surveillance of the Panther headquarters.

On Sept. 4, outside a courtroom hearing on bail reduction for three Panthers, 175 off-duty New York pigs, yelling slogans supporting George Wallace, attacked about 8 Panthers. David Brothers was kicked 25 times before on-duty pigs dispersed, but did not arrest, the attackers. If anything, this lynch-mob action should speed up the growth of the Black Panther Party. Contributions can be sent to: Black Panther Party, 708 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, New York.

On Aug. 5, Los Angeles pigs under Chief Tom Reddin, a much-celebrated cop in newspapers and magazines, attacked and murdered three members of the L.A. Panthers. Slain were Lt. Thomas M. Lewis, 18; Captain Stephen K. Bartholomew, 21; and section leader Robert Lawrence, 22. In response to this attack in particular, and pig atrocities against the black community in general, one Panther proposal, described by Panther area Captain Shermont Banks in an interview in *The Militant* newspaper, is to "decentralize the authority of the police department. We are circulating a petition directed at breaking up the black community into different sections, with each section having its own separate police district. Each district will elect a board which will have the power to deal with police brutality, hiring, and so forth. These boards will make the decisions, so that the power will be put into the hands of the people."

In Seattle, the Panther Party is attempting to get on the ballot in its own name. While running Eldridge Cleaver for President, Curtis Harris, co-captain of the Panther Party, and E.J. Brisker, Lt. of Education in the

# Panther 10-10 Program

1. *We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.*

*We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.*

2. *We want full employment for our people.*

*We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessman will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.*

3. *We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.*

Party, are being put forth as Panther Party candidates for the state legislature. They are running in the 37th District, which is 40 percent black.

In an interview with *The Militant* Harris stated, "We have our Ten-Point program, our national program, which we're going to be working on. But we also have ten points that we're going to work on that relate to the community. We are working on the police department — on such things as the bail-bond system and the structure of the police department.

"We're going to work on prices in stores within the community which have been exploiting people for some 50 years — as long as black people have been in Seattle. We're going to demand better meat, vegetables, and everything else. We're going to work on rents because the rents that black

*We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.*

4. *We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.*

*We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.*

5. *We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.*

*We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then*

people pay in the community now don't fit their wages. A two-bedroom apartment is \$165, and black people don't clear \$200 every two weeks. And we're going to work on a number of other things as well."

The Seattle Black Panther Party is also engaged in building a legal defense for Aaron Dixon, Panther Captain. He is charged with "grand larceny by possession" for an allegedly stolen typewriter in the Panther Party office. Curtis Harris was arrested on the same charge, but his case was dropped. Dixon's frame-up is in line with the constant harassment of the Party by the Seattle pigs. In a *Militant* interview Dixon stated, "They have busted into our office already. One Panther gets arrested on an average every week. We have found out that they have orders to shoot Panthers

he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. *We want all black men to be exempt from military service.*

*We believe* that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. *We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.*

*We believe* we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. *We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.*

*We believe* that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. *We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities as defined by the Constitution of the United States.*

*We believe* that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. *We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.*

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal sta-

tion to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. *That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.* Prudence, indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. *But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.*

on sight if any trouble breaks out."

At central headquarters in Oakland, the Black Panther Party, while pushing the Eldridge Cleaver for President campaign, is also coordinating the national defense of Huey P. Newton. The conviction of Newton for manslaughter makes his defense all the more important. The fact that Newton was not convicted of murder was a partial victory in itself, but the white power structure in Oakland must be given national and international exposure for its persecution of Newton. Such exposure will help Panther cases on a local level as well. The most pressing need right now is for funds to aid the appeal of this case to the higher courts. Contributions should be sent to: Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P. O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California.



*Bullet holes in window of Black Panther Party headquarters after police attack.*

GIs, Continued from p. 6

in August. On Friday night, August 16, prisoners seized control of the large living area of the compound, and held it for nearly 20 hours. A grievance committee of the prisoners listed complaints which included cold food, being required to say "Sir" to guards, overcrowding, and delays in getting trials. The following Sunday afternoon, another demonstration was held, this time broken up by 120 MPs with tear gas.

● As in any protest movement, the role of newspapers and other publications is an important one. There are several papers with international circulation among GIs. Two of the best are *Task Force*, published in California, and the *Vietnam GI*, which is published in Chicago. Other GI papers include *The Bond*, the *Ally*, and the *Veterans Stars and Stripes for Peace*.

In addition there are a number of local papers, published less regularly, and centered on one base.

GIs at Fort Polk publish a paper called *GI Voice. Strikeback*, from Ft. Bragg, has made it through three issues, but due to a full scale attack by Army brass, Military Intelligence, and the FBI, may not make number four. Ft. Knox GIs have published a paper called *Fun, Travel and Adventure*, which, according to the five GIs who put it out, is for "the guy who doesn't suck up all the garbage that the army puts out . . ." *The Pawn's Pawn*, put out at Fort Leonard Wood has as one of its slogans: "You Can Beat the System Through Unity." The first issue of the *Fatigue Press*, from Fort Hood, carried a full report on the GI Love-In at Killeen on the Fourth of July.

● One of the most successful projects carried out by the antiwar movement has been the coffee house project started by a group called Summer of Support. So far, coffeehouses have been established in Waynesville, Mo. near Ft. Leonard Wood; Killeen, Texas (Fort Hood); Tacoma, Washington (Fort Lewis); and Columbia, South Carolina (Fort Jackson). These coffeehouses are independently owned and operated, and are popular among GIs to the point of concern by army brass.

An article in the *New York Times* on August 12 reported on the "UFO" coffeehouse in Columbia, South Caro-

## ARMY BRASS UP TIGHT

(Opponents of the Vietnam war, including servicemen, are circulating this leaflet as part of the preparations for the Oct. 12 San Francisco GI march against the war. Gen. McConnell is Air Force chief of staff. Gen. Estes is Military Airlift Command chief.)

The following is a reprint of the original text, unclassified message, received 28 August, 1968, at headquarters, USAF Communications Center. All details of text are exactly as originally transmitted.

Personal for General McConnell from General Estes.

SUB. 2nd Lieutenant Hugh F. Smith FV3179560. I am informed that facts and circumstances of this matter have been discussed with you by General Manss and Capucci and that there is secretarial interest. Smith is organizing a 'Peace in Vietnam' demonstration for men in uniform to take place in San Francisco. He applied for and received a permit for a demonstration to be held on 21 September. Subsequently, permit changed to 12 October. Strongly believe this demonstration should be quashed if possible because of possible severe impact on military discipline throughout the services. There is no AFR specifically proscribing this type of activity. AFR35-78 is pointed solely to civil rights demonstrations. Since there are national policy considerations in such an order it should emanate from DOD [Department of Defense] or at least Air Force level. I recommend this be done at once so that Smith will realize that if he proceeds he subjects himself with certainty to criminal punitive action.

In the absence of a regulation or order specifically prohibiting such activity believe any criminal prosecution would be tenuous to say the least, particularly in view of the political climate of the day.

If the foregoing is unattainable, I reluctantly recommend that we be given authority to proceed with dispatch with the AFR36-3 action which has been recommended by the commander 349MAW and concurred in by General Sherrill, commander 22AF. I realize this would result in a discharge under honorable conditions, but the disposition of Smith is relatively unimportant as compared to the highly undesirable impact on military discipline if armed forces personnel are permitted to demonstrate in uniform against national defense policies with impunity.

BT

NNN#

The Pentagon, Washington D. C., 29 August, 1968

lina. *The Times* quoted GIs' opinions of the UFO as the "place where the action is" and "the UFO is an oasis." The article goes on to report that the army is interrogating patrons and Intelligence officers are telling GIs that the coffee house is "communist and subversive." Despite this harassment, GIs still fill the UFO with capacity crowds.

● GI's are now beginning to do what civilians have been doing a lot of lately — they are organizing demonstrations to get their point across. Antiwar GIs themselves have been able to convince many of their fellow soldiers that organized demonstrations against the war by GIs can have a powerful impact. At Hamilton AFB in California, servicemen



Photo by Dave Warren

*Airman First Class Michael Locks, Hamilton AFB, addresses GI Teach-In.*

have held meetings of between 60 and 125 men to discuss the best way to express opposition to the war. A call for GIs to participate in the April 27 antiwar demonstration last spring was issued by Servicemen Against the War at the U. S. Army Training Center, Infantry, at Ft. Ord, California. The call said, in part: "We feel that as servicemen and as citizens of the U. S. it is our responsibility to speak out against these actions which we find to be wrong and which violate our personal consciences . . . Consequently, we wish to announce that there will be a contingent of servicemen, who are now on active duty, participating in the non-violent demonstration against America's involvement in Vietnam. We ask those members of the Armed Forces who are in agreement with us to join us . . ." A sizeable contingent of servicemen marched on April 27 as a result of this appeal.

On August 10, a GI Teach-In in Berkeley turned out almost 100 GIs, and 16 soldiers took the microphone to oppose the war, while only one defended U. S. policy. A demonstration has been called for October by GIs and for GIs in San Francisco which promises to be the largest GI action yet.

The growth of the antiwar movement among GIs in the San Francisco

Bay Area is an indication of the type of actions that GIs throughout the country will carry out. Civilians in the antiwar movement are faced with a tremendous opportunity to link up with this struggle of the GIs themselves. The antiwar movement must counter the claim of the Army brass and the capitalist politicians that the antiwar movement is "against" the GIs. It must be made perfectly clear that it is those who send them to Vietnam who are really against the GIs, while the antiwar movement is fighting for them by demanding that they be brought home immediately.

The antiwar movement must take on the legal defense of GIs who are persecuted for their opposition to the war, like Allen Meyers at Ft. Dix (see p. 8), Howard Petrick, Andy Stapp, Dr. Howard Levy, the Fort Hood Three, and many others. Through a vigorous and energetic campaign to defend the right to free speech for soldiers, the antiwar movement can strengthen its ties of solidarity with the soldiers, and at the same time make it easier for GIs to speak their mind.

Through continued mass actions organized by the antiwar movement, the GIs will be encouraged to take a stand against the war, and to demonstrate their opposition.

In solidarity with the GIs and their demand to be brought home, support Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle!

Myers, Continued from p. 9

had people tell me that the Constitution is suspended while you're in the army. But this isn't a hard and fast opinion; it changes fairly easily. I know that people were surprised when I mentioned to them that I had spoken at an antiwar rally in Philadelphia. They were surprised that I hadn't been arrested for it.

But once people realize that they do have rights, they are going to be very jealous of them, and they are not going to be inclined to let the army trample on them illegally. GIs are going to feel a lot more at ease about expressing their ideas on the war if they don't think that doing so is going to lead them to spend a month on the rock pile. Just look at all the activity that is going on at army bases around the country. GIs putting out their own papers on base, and the California GIs organizing antiwar demonstrations. It is obvious that there are thousands upon thousands

of GIs who oppose the war and want to speak out about it. A successful defense of a case like mine is going to make them realize that they do have the legal right to do so.

**Q:** The Philadelphia SMC is planning a demonstration on October 5 supporting you. The action will take place in Wrightstown, just off base. How do you think the guys are going to react to this?

**A:** I think most GIs would be very pleased by something like this. Most of the people that I know in my company identify with my case to some extent. That is, they realize that it's a case that involves their rights as well as mine, and they are certainly going to be happy to see visible evidence of the support of the antiwar movement for those rights. Virtually everybody gets angry with what the army is trying to do to me. They're angry not only that I was arrested

for handing out a leaflet, but also at the way they came in to the barracks and walked off with my literature.

**A:** Is there much interest in your antiwar literature?

**A:** Well, I guess I don't have much left anymore. Any number of people have expressed their dissatisfaction with this condition. It's been a normal thing for GIs to come and ask to see a copy of *Vietnam GI* or some other piece of literature.

**Q:** Was there any interest in your socialist literature?

**A:** Yes. It's increased a lot since the Democratic Party Convention. A number of people who had been McCarthy supporters have now said, "Well, there doesn't seem to be much of a choice, can you tell me a little more about Fred Halstead?"

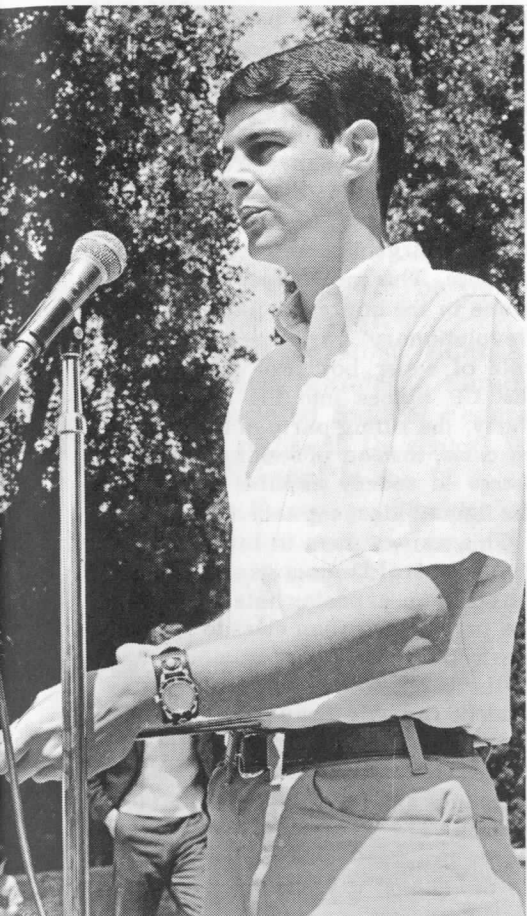


Photo by Dave Warren

*Airman First Class Michael Locks, Hamilton AFB, addresses GI Teach-In.*



# The Communist Party Campaign

## *A little something for everyone*

By Joanna Misnik

In the ballroom of New York's Diplomat Hotel on July 7, 1968, the American Communist Party made the record. It formally entered the 1968 presidential race by announcing the slate of Charlene Mitchell for President and Mike Zagarell for Vice-President, its first presidential campaign since 1940.

At that time, so late in the year, it would still have been theoretically possible to get on the ballot in about forty states. Thus far, efforts to achieve ballot status have not been reported on with any regularity. The CP's sporadic petitioning effort is noticeably lacking in energy.

This slow start is readily understandable when you consider how the Communist Party has stretched its forces thin in this eventful election year. CP members have been active supporters of the "Dump Johnson" movement and the McCarthy campaign within the Democratic Party; they participated in the National Conference for New Politics with its resultant Peace & Freedom or Freedom & Peace formations in several states; and now they've launched their own "campaign."

This finger-in-every-pie approach is given the name "three-pronged electoral strategy" by CP leader Henry Winston in an offering appearing in the August issue of *Political Affairs*, the CP theoretical organ. Translated, this means that the quiet life the CP has led inside the Democratic Party since it completely submerged in the 1940s has been rudely disrupted by the current radicalization in American society. Rooted in the groundswell of opposition to U. S. imperial-

ism in Vietnam and the growing militancy of the black community, this radicalization has had a shattering effect on the status quo of American politics, causing deep disaffection with the two capitalist war parties, especially on the part of Afro-Americans and students. The CP must now catch up.

Mitchell and Zagarell are undoubtedly the most non-combative entries in the presidential race. Their public statements have been declarations of unofficial support for the McCarthy crusade (i.e. "We are very critical of him but we do not take a negative position."—Zagarell). Apologetically they explain they are in no way competing with Peace & Freedom parties and urge a vote cast for other "progressive" candidates wherever possible rather than for their own ticket.

The CP campaign is a false face. It is an attempt to quiet discontent among youthful CP members who feel the pressures from the student radicalization. By establishing a public identity, they hope to gain influence with student militants who are disgusted by any complicity with the two-party ruse.

But in reality the CP still follows the inverted logic that led them to hysterical support for "peace" candidate Johnson over demon Goldwater in 1964—what Malcolm X called a choice between a wolf and a fox. It is this same logic that accounts for the recent role of the French CP in the May-June upsurge where they helped channel the revolutionary energy of the French students and workers back into the confines of the electoral wolf and fox no-choice game of the French bourgeoisie.

At the heart of this illogic is the

Moscow mandate of "peaceful coexistence"—that is, the objective of maintaining the equilibrium on a world scale between imperialism and the Soviet bloc as a substitute for engaging in revolutionary struggle. The main task of the CP is to tread carefully so as not to antagonize the world bourgeoisie and thus upset the balance. This means keeping the ball game in the bourgeois park, with the "revolutionary" party relegated to the role of water boy. For this reason, the CP tiptoes into the Democratic Party, the ruling party of the capitalist class, instead of seeking out those forces in society capable of leading the fight against capitalism.

This causes them to laud the election of liberal Democrats as "victories" rather than exposing this attempt on the part of the ruling class to take the steam out of the growing momentum in the black community and among student radicals away from capitalist politics.

Their involvement in Peace & Freedom type third parties falls into this pattern. The CP uses PFP as a threat to the progressive capitalists: "If you don't behave, if you don't give Gene a chance, we might do something you won't like and join another team." This type of pressure politics is the exact opposite of independent political action.

The Communist Party campaign is not a revolutionary alternative in 1968. It does not call for an independent political party for Afro-Americans in their struggle as an oppressed nation. It does not educate the anti-war movement to devices like the McCarthy campaign which the capitalist war-makers create to blunt the independence that gives the movement its strength.

CP campaigners are in for a grueling time. Trying to appear serious about offering a Communist alternative and, at the same time, making it clear that your ticket is the *last* thing you want people to vote for is a tricky exercise in speech-making. Added to that is the embarrassment of public support for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia to audiences of anti-war militants committed to the principle of self-determination.

The CP strategy of a little something for everybody boils down to nothing for you and me. Vote Socialist Workers!

## NOTES

Continued from p. 2

ers of the French students as having a major influence on revolutionary European youth, began his tour with the keynote address to the Socialist Scholars Conference at Rutgers University. Mandel is editor of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche*, and author of the two-volume "Treatise on Marxist Economics" which will be published by Monthly Review Press this year.

The Young Socialist Alliance is organizing the tour by Gisela Mandel, a founding member of the German Socialist Student Federation (SDS) and a co-worker of Rudi Dutschke. She is scheduled to speak in 26 cities in the U. S. and Canada on the topic: "The European Student Movement, East and West." For information on the tours contact the YSA in your area.

## Halstead and Boutelle on Tour

Meeting with (rather than dodging) antiwar and black student activists, Socialist Workers Party candidates Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle wind up their 14-month campaign with wide-ranging national speaking tours. Halstead has just returned from a world tour which gave him an opportunity to talk with GIs in Vietnam and around the world, as well as with revolutionary leaders and student and antiwar groups in Europe and Asia. Boutelle has just completed a series of appearances which included a well-received address to a meeting of the New Caucus at the national convention of the American Federation of Teachers, and chairing a workshop on The Black Nation, at the Philadelphia Black Power Conference.



Ernest Mandel speaking to International Assembly Sponsored by Columbia Strike Committee.

## Young Socialist Tours

"From Student Revolt to Socialist Revolution" is the title of the talk being given on campuses and high schools across the country by two national field secretaries of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Carol Lipman, editor of the *Young Socialist*, and Dan Rosenshine, New York State Chariman of the YSA, are currently touring the U. S., stopping in more than 50 cities in 26 states, and winding up at the National Young Socialist Convention in Chicago over Thanksgiving weekend (see back page).

## NIGERIA: Oil and Secession

An important article on the Nigerian Civil War appears in the September issue of *Ramparts*. Written by Robert Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer (the authors of *Ghana: End of an Illusion*, Monthly Review Press, 1966), the article sheds some light on the inter-imperialist rivalries that are at the base of the conflict. In 1953, Western petroleum companies struck oil in the Eastern region known as Biafra. Two British companies, Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum (BP) have the biggest stakes in this oil region.

When Biafra seceded in May of 1967, Shell-BP at first was willing to support Biafra if it could "maintain order." But as Biafra was defeated on the battlefield, losing key oil centers, Shell-BP came out in support of the federal government, which was willing to deal with the oil companies on their terms. This support by Shell-BP produced the spectacle of the British Labor Government backing and supplying the Nigerian federal government with arms and other supplies. Harold Wilson could very well have said, "What's good for Shell-BP is good for the country." Meanwhile, French imperialism is maneuvering and hoping for a break-up of the whole Nigerian federation.

As the international student revolt enters an accelerated pace this fall, the *Young Socialist* has joined forces with the weekly socialist newspaper *The Militant* to help participants and supporters of the revolutionary movement get first-hand coverage of this year's events. Young Socialists in more than 40 cities across the country have set a goal of 2500 new combination subscriptions to *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* by November 15. For only \$1 this special joint subscription gives four months of the *Young Socialist* and two months of *The Militant*. All those interested in helping in this campaign to spread the word can contact the YSA in their area or write to: YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Use the coupon on page 12 to subscribe.



*Ernest Mandel speaking to International Assembly Sponsored by Columbia Strike Committee.*

# ATTEND THE NATIONAL YOUNG SOCIALIST CONVENTION CHICAGO NOV. 29-DEC. 1, 1968

A National Convention of young socialists from throughout the United States will be convened in Chicago over the Thanksgiving weekend. It will meet in the midst of a year of unprecedented revolutionary activity—from Prague to Paris, from Vietnam to Bolivia, and from Columbia to Berkeley. The Convention will discuss: the international revolutionary youth movement; the Vietnamese revolution and how to defend it; the 1968 election campaign waged by the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and the Young Socialist Alliance; the Afro-American struggle for the right to self-determination; the perspectives for the revolutionary socialist youth movement in this country, and the fight for a socialist America.

Reports will be given at the Convention by representatives of revolutionary socialist youth abroad, by antiwar and socialist GIs, and by participants in the Afro-American struggle, the antiwar movement, and campus rebellions across the country.

If you are interested in attending the Convention, fill out the coupon below.



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... Please send me a set of the discussion bulletins prepared for the Convention, and bill me.

... Send me more information on the Convention.

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