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Black Power in England

— Interview with Paul Boutelle

September 1968

25¢



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International Notes

By Joanna Misnik

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In this issue

MARY-ALICE WATERS is the National Chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance. She has been in France twice during the past year, in February and again for

SOFIAN SOLIDARITY VS SINCERITY: The Ninth International Youth Festival held July 28 to August 6 in Sofia, Bulgaria, opened right in the midst of the Czechoslovakia-Moscow dispute. Sponsored by the World Congress of Democratic Youth, the festival was billed by its initiators as a major event for world radicals of our generation. For young CPers, the World Congress serves to link up their common struggle for "peaceful coexistence" between capitalism and socialism.

The word "Democratic" notwithstanding, it soon became obvious that the festival was far from open. As was reported in *Le Monde*, a group of students dressed like hippies were turned away on the grounds that they might be the carriers of some contagious disease. Czech students were summarily denied entry. (It's obvious they have a contagious disease!) West German SDSers were accused of being Nazis by the Communist Party youth.

Since the theme of the festival was solidarity with the Vietnamese people, French CP youth entering with their slogan of "Peace in Vietnam" were warmly greeted. Strangely enough, when the JCR attempted to take part with their demand for withdrawal of US troops, they were banned. Adding to the prevailing spirit of hands across the border, Karl Deitrich Wolff, a leader of the German SDS, was beaten up.

In actuality, only those delegations of CP youth from countries whose governments supported Moscow's position on Czechoslovakia were welcomed.

Political forums sandwiched in between hefty servings of volleyball, folk dancing, children's choruses and cycling were geared around such statements as: "The struggle for democracy against reactionary, antipopular governments, against fascist dictatorships;" "General, total and controlled disarmament;" "The role of the UN and its special agencies in the development of international co-operation in relation to youth;" "Respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, small and big . . ."

The Stalinist organizers made no mention of what is the real

continued on p. 23

three weeks in May and June, during the height of the worker-student upsurge.

PAUL BOUTELLE is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President. He was in Europe during the summer, and is now on a national campaign tour with his running-mate, Fred Halstead. The interview in this issue was obtained by Susan LaMont, a leading member of the Young Socialist Alliance in New York City.

PETER CAMEJO is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from California and a leader of the Berkeley

student demonstrations. He has recently completed a tour reporting on the Berkeley events on college campuses across the country.

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*. He was formerly a leader of the antiwar movement in Minnesota.

NELSON BLACKSTOCK is a member of the National Committee of the YSA in Atlanta, Georgia, and the organizer of the Atlanta YSA local.

The politics of the international youth radicalization

ANTI-AUTHORITARIANISM

By Mary-Alice Waters

ANTI-REFORMISM

INTERNATIONALISM

Following are excerpts from a speech given by Mary-Alice Waters to a meeting of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance which was held in New York last July.

Mary-Alice Waters is the National Chairman of the YSA. Last spring she spent several weeks in France as a reporter for *THE MILITANT* and the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*.

The events that occurred in France during May and June of 1968 have provoked considerable discussion among revolutionaries throughout the world. This discussion is far from completed; rather, a process of learning from an analysis of this revolutionary upsurge will continue for some time. And this is as it should be. It is from the concrete experiences of struggle in the mass movement that the socialist movement strengthens itself in preparation for future actions.

What I want to do today is to take three or four basic questions of central importance in our work to build a revolutionary Marxist youth organization in the United States, and discuss these in the light of the recent events in France.

The international radicalization that has begun with the student youth is characterized by three features. First, it is anti-authoritarian; it rejects the authority of the older generations on the premise that we can't possibly do worse than the older generations have done, and we might very well be able to do better. The logic of this struggle against authoritarianism goes in an anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic direction.

The second important characteristic of this radicalization is that it tends to bypass the Social Democratic and Stalinist tendencies which, we can see, are much too closely associated with the state authorities we are combating. In France, during last May and June, the young radicals saw the role that the Communist Party was playing; the students were attacked



Latin American students join international youth revolt. Here Mexican students march behind Che's revolutionary slogan: "Create two, three, many Vietnams."

day after day by the Stalinist leadership for holding revolutionary views, and for trying to reach out to other sections of the population, being the object of slanderous attacks such as being agents of the OAS or the CIA, splitters of the working class, etc. To top it off they saw their own organizations and their leaders arrested without a single word of protest from the CP. Among the youth vanguard, there is no question that the influence of the Communist Party has been reduced to an all-time low as a result of their own actions. And this is a world-wide phenomenon. There is no country in the world where the CP is experiencing a significant rise in influence, relative to other tendencies.

At the same time it is important to keep in mind that this rejection of Stalinism is not a rejection of communism. This was symbolized clearly in France where thousands

of red flags flew from every citadel and the *Internationale* became a song so popular it was heard even in the subways of Paris.

Third, this radicalization is characterized by a genuine rebirth of the spirit of internationalism. This generation is extremely close-knit because of the instantaneous communication around the world. When the barricades go up in the streets of Paris, the students in New York and Berkeley know about it within a few hours. This internationalism is deepened by the fact that our generation of revolutionary youth unequivocally identifies the main enemy as capitalism on a world scale. The best expression of this internationalism in France was the response of the students to the attacks on Cohn-Bendit. The bourgeois press was calling him "The German Jew" and the Communist press was leaving off the "Jew" and just calling him "The German." Stu-

dents by the thousands in their demonstrations chanted, "We are all German Jews" and "We don't give a damn about frontiers!" These chants were taken up by thousands in Paris where students came from all over Europe to be on the scene and on the barricades with the French students. Thus the genuine spirit of internationalism that was smothered for so many years by the national chauvinism of Stalinism and Social Democracy is being reborn in a spontaneous but very deep fashion with our generation. This is one of the most revolutionary characteristics of the current radicalization.

The development of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) during the revolutionary upsurge in France last spring throws light on the ways in which relationships are going to develop between the different classes and different sections of the youth of our own generation. It was easier, though still not a simple job, for the CP to create suspicions and antagonisms towards the students among the older workers. But the tendency is for students and the younger workers, who have gone through the same historical experience together, to be more suspicious of the ruling class than they are of each other. The reservations held by the young workers, who took the initiative in the plants for solidarity with the student demonstrations and for strike action, tend to break down rapidly, and mutual confidence and cooperation can grow quickly.

The question of the role of the students in relation to the young workers is going to be discussed a lot for quite a period of time. However, some generalizations can be made at this point. The ideological radicalization developed first and furthest among the students. The developments among the student youth forecast trends in the working class, as the upsurge in France indicates. The students played the vanguard role of testing and trying out many of the political alternatives arising after the rejection of Stalinism and Social Democracy. They became the catalyst in a situation highly charged with contradictions. The example of the students struck a very responsive chord in the entire working class, and particularly among the young workers.



University of Paris students in antiwar demonstration.

I want to deal with the question of the role of spontaneity versus the role of organization. This is one of our chief disagreements with what we generally refer to as the anarchist tendencies among the French students, and some sections of SDS in this country.

SPONTANEITY AND ORGANIZATION

With regard to spontaneity, we can say that it is absolutely true that no revolution is exactly planned. We can forecast it and organize like hell for it, but when the masses begin to move it is the result of uncontrollable social contradictions that carry everyone and everything along like an irresistible tide. There is an element of spontaneous activity that is one of the most telling characteristics of a revolutionary upsurge. The masses themselves take over, and all of a sudden you look out into the streets and see hundreds of thousands of workers doing exactly what we have been saying for years that they were going to do. There is nothing comparable to this sight to give you a sense of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class.

I think that revolutionaries can appreciate this spontaneity more than anyone else. For instance, the developments in France, particularly in the opening stages, like the occupation of Nanterre University by the students, was not something that had been planned out months before. It was a spontaneous response of the

students to the arrest of one of their leaders. The first demonstration on Boulevard St. Michel is another example. Here the vanguard of the student demonstrators were locked up inside the Sorbonne. The students gathered by the thousands and started throwing rocks and anything else they could get their hands on at the police vans to prevent the arrest of the trapped students. Again, this wasn't anything that was organized before hand. Nobody went out and harangued people to start throwing rocks. It was a natural response to what they considered a tremendous outrage. The first barricades sprang up as the spontaneous response of the students to the threatened attacks by the police. It was a defensive reaction that was not pre-arranged. Nobody said, "Okay, everybody start building barricades." Yet the barricades went up.

The occupation of the first factory falls in this same category. It wasn't organized, planned, or even predicted beforehand. But it happened nonetheless.

However, spontaneity has its limits. And in a situation like that which existed in France during the months of May and June, these limits are reached very rapidly. Even the opening stages of the events would have been very different without the intervention and influence of the vanguard organizations—without the backbone, without the structure they were able to give to it.

The role of this revolutionary vanguard is to direct the colossal force of the revolutionary upsurge towards

the victory of the working class.

The longer the struggle continued, the more crucial the role of organization became. When 20 or 30 million people come out, they don't act "spontaneously" over a period of weeks. Some tendency is going to provide leadership and direction for the masses. And the basic question is which tendency is going to play that role. The answer to this question is of paramount importance not only for us, but for the entire future of mankind.

In France, among the working class, it is unquestionable that the CP had the control and the leadership. Though shaken by the events, the Communist Party maintained control over the mass of French workers. On the other hand, among the revolutionary youth vanguard, the JCR was the main leadership. They did not have hegemony, but they were the most prominent political tendency in this sphere, and this could very well lead to their ability to gain hegemony in the next period over the radicalizing youth.

Far from proving the omnipotence of spontaneity, the events in France confirm the limits of spontaneous action and reconfirm a thousand times over the validity of the lessons of Leninism. If ever there was a need for a revolutionary party, it was during the months of May and June, 1968, in France. In spite of the unprecedented mobilization of the working masses, in spite of the general

strike of five weeks duration, in spite of one of the most favorable opportunities in the history of mankind for the working class to take power, in the absence of a revolutionary party large enough to lead the working masses, the workers were not able to take power in France.

OUR SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

The scope and nature of the campaign that the YSA and SWP have waged in this country in defense of the French workers and students, and particularly in solidarity with the JCR and the PCI (Internationalist Communist Party), was of tremendous importance to our comrades in France. There were two sides to this activity. One was the solidarity actions we organized for them: the demonstrations, meetings, etc. The second was the way we utilized the French events and the role of our comrades in France to help build the revolutionary cadres in this country.

When our comrades in France began to receive copies of *The Militant*, the *Young Socialist*, *Intercontinental Press*, the YSA statements, buttons, posters, *l'Enrage*, etc., they got a living sense of the meaning of internationalism, and what an international movement can do. When we said to American youth: "Join the American counterpart of the JCR,"

this was an extremely important act of political solidarity with them.

In addition to our political solidarity, our material solidarity is equally important. Two important elements of this were the sales of *l'Enrage*, and the two posters we printed.

Meanwhile it is up to us to continue to translate this solidarity into action in this country, to translate it into a real internationalist consciousness. We have to make it clear that the main enemy is at home and our major responsibility is to carry forward the most effective fight here at home. We must bring the lessons of the French experience to the largest possible audience in this country, translating them into American terms that are going to be comprehensible to the people we're trying to reach.

The French events show the tremendous power of the working class in motion. If in France, with the degree of prosperity that exists, where the country is not involved in a costly colonial war of the proportions of the Vietnam war, where they don't have the additional contradictions such as the liberation struggle of the Afro-Americans—if basic social contradictions could come to the surface so rapidly and with such force—no one can continue to convincingly argue that no such event can erupt in the United States!

If a revolutionary situation can develop with such rapidity in France, despite the tremendous weight of the CP slowing it down and eventually bringing it to a halt, imagine what may happen in this country, and what tasks that imposes on us. We can be thankful that we have a little more time to prepare for an event of such magnitude.

One final lesson can be drawn from the experiences of our French comrades. Once we are plunged into a situation like that in France, there will be no time to make up for the political and organizational work that we didn't do before. There will be no time to lay the groundwork. There will be no time to go back and retrace our steps and take care of the things we just didn't get around to doing beforehand. If we didn't do it before, it will be too late to do it then. We will just have to go on from where we are.



Photo by Shannon

Red Flag, symbol of proletarian revolution, at Renault's Billancourt plant last spring.

FREE HUEY!



By Derrick Morrison

One of the most pressing tasks of revolutionary youth caught up in the belly of the Beast, i.e., U.S. imperialism, is to defend Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party. Newton is charged with killing one policeman (pig) and wounding another in October of 1967 after he was stopped by the two cops in the streets of black Oakland, California. This attack by the cops was the culmination of an effort by the Oakland Police Department to get Huey and other leaders of the Black Panther Party. Prominent members of the BPP had their pictures placed on police station walls. In addition to this, Oakland cops had a list of license numbers of the cars that the Panthers used to patrol the cops. The license plate of the car in which Newton was stopped was on this list. All of these police-state measures were taken by the OPD because the Panthers advocated one simple idea: the right of black people to defend themselves against racist police violence.

In response to the attacks by the OPD, the cry must be: Free Huey P. Newton! In raising this demand, it is not Huey P. Newton the individual

that we are essentially concerned about, although that is important; but it is what Huey P. Newton represents. Huey represents the most advanced instrument yet to be used by black people to strike at their 400 year-old chains of racial oppression and human degradation, i.e. the Black Panther Party.

The defense of the right of black people to organize independently of capitalist politics now hinges on the legal defense of Huey P. Newton. The needs of the defense effort are three-fold. First, the facts on the case, which prove beyond a doubt that it is a frameup charge, must be circulated throughout this country and abroad. Secondly, money is needed for legal fees and other expenses. Money can be sent to: Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California. Thirdly, protest actions must be continually organized to demonstrate the support that the defense has.

The trial of Huey Newton started in a gestapo-like atmosphere at the Alameda county courthouse in Oakland on July 15. Huey's relatives were fingerprinted and had their pictures

taken before they entered the courtroom. Only one elevator was used to get to the 7th floor courtroom. Cops stood at each entrance of the elevator. In light of these circumstances, Huey's defense attorney, Charles Garry, remarked that he was "outraged" at the treatment of Newton's relatives. "I can understand it in Nazi Germany, but not in the decorum of our courts," he said.

While the "pigs" fortified the building, over 3,000 blacks and whites controlled the streets outside of the courthouse. Several hundred Panthers, displaying their customary discipline, provided leadership and direction for the demonstration.

Other organizations that participated in the week-long demonstration were: the Brown Berets, the revolutionary nationalist organization of Mexican-American youth; Peace and Freedom Party; Young Socialist Alliance; and the Western Mobilization Against War.

On August 5, the beginning of the fourth week of the trial, the courtroom action began with a jury composed of 1 Afro-American, 1 Japanese-American, 1 Latin-American, and 9 whites. This is obviously not a jury of Newton's peers. The point of getting a jury of his peers was stressed by defense attorney Garry during the three week long process of selecting the jury. Garry produced a battery of sociologists to show how black people were systematically excluded from the jury selection process. Despite this, the trial went on.

Which ever way the trial comes out, a national and international defense effort must be built. In every nook and cranny across this country, people must be educated and agitated about the trial of Huey P. Newton. All eyes must be focused on Oakland. To understand the mentality of the Oakland "pig" and others of the same ilk, here is a quote from an article on the Alameda courthouse demonstrations in the *Berkeley Barb*: "One cop was talking with a photographer whom he didn't know was on assignment from the *Barb*. Their conversation ended when the cop asked, 'Say, how much could you get for a picture of the assassination of Huey Newton?' The photographer says he isn't sure it was a joke." We must let this cop know the consequences of such an action.

FREE HUEY!



By Derrick Morrison

Defend the French Students

By Helena Hermes, National Secretary of the Committee to Defend the French Students

As the revolutionary upsurge of May and June, 1968, in France subsides, if even for a short period of time, the Gaullist government is utilizing the opportunity to try and rid itself of some of its most conscious opponents. The vanguard of the student movement, which played such a crucial role in the events of May and June has come under increasing attack, and more than a dozen students are now being held in the Paris jails, awaiting trials that could result in two year prison terms for each.

While the American press provided substantial information about the activities of May and June in France, they have said little about the repression that has followed and the protest campaign that has been mounted against the repression.

On June 12 the de Gaulle government ordered the dissolution of seven left-wing student organizations, digging out of government archives for this purpose a law passed in 1936, which banned fascist organizations that set up private militias. The government implied that the monitor squads organized by left wing student groups to direct demonstrations during May and June, constituted a "private militia."

At the same time they banned all street demonstrations during the period of the general elections. This ban has subsequently been extended and is still in force.

The following day, on June 13, four additional adult organizations were added to the list of organizations which were officially dissolved. Headquarters and apartments of leading members of the various organizations were searched by the police, and many individuals were taken into custody and held for 3 to 10 days, incommunicado, and without being charged.

Parallel to this campaign of intimidation and repression against the French vanguard, dozens of foreign students and journalists were picked up and deported from the country. For students from countries like Iran, Spain, Portugal and many others, this often entailed immediate arrest by the political police of their own

countries as soon as they arrived.

On July 10 the next phase of the repression began. Paris police broke up a meeting of a Student Worker Commission in Paris; 41 were taken into custody; and five were held for charges. The police held that the meeting was really a meeting of the banned JCR, Revolutionary Communist Youth, since former members of the JCR were present. The five students held were charged with "reconstituting the JCR."

In the following few weeks, a total of 15 students were arrested in various parts of France, including Brest, Rouen and Strasbourg, and held on charges of "reconstituting the JCR." Among the 15 were Alain Krivine, one of the central leaders of the student movement and a leader of the JCR, and Pierre Rousset, also a JCR

leader and the son of a prominent left-Gaullist deputy.

The response from individuals and organizations concerned about civil liberties was immediate. Several defense committees were constituted; prominent intellectuals such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Laurent Schwartz, spoke out against the arrest of the former JCR members and helped initiate the defense efforts; defense leaflets were printed and distributed; and help was solicited from organizations and individuals around the world.

At the present time all 15 of the former JCR members are being held in Paris jails awaiting trials that have been scheduled for the beginning of September. They have been given the status of political prisoners, which means they are allowed to receive visitors more regularly and read daily newspapers and other "non-political" material.

They are to be tried in a special State Security Court set up after the Algerian War to try French army officers who led the OAS, the ultra-right wing terrorist organization op-

continued on p. 18

The Committee to Defend the French Students has been formed to publicize the repression throughout the United States and defend its victims. The committee asks support for its four demands:

1. Immediate lifting of the bans on all proscribed political organizations.
2. Immediate release of Alain Krivine and all other political prisoners.
3. Reaffirmation by the French government of the right of free access for all foreign journalists so that the rest of the world may know the truth about the situation in France.
4. An immediate end to the brutal police repression of demonstrations and other attacks on civil liberties of the French people.

clip and mail to

Committee to Defend the French Students
c/o Helena Hermes, National Secretary
148 W. 16th St., New York, N. Y. 10011

- I want to become a sponsor of the committee.
- Please send me more information about the committee.
- Enclosed is a donation of for its work.

Name

Address

City State Zip

Organization or School*

* For purposes of identification only.

Victory in Berkeley

On the following pages is an edited transcript of the discussion period of a forum by Peter Camejo, a principal leader of the battle in Berkeley of June 28-July 4, 1968. Camejo is the Senatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the State of California, and former National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. The speech was given at the New York Militant Labor Forum, July 19, 1968, Camejo's first stop on a national speaking tour to report on the events in Berkeley.

In the presentation which preceded the portion printed below, Camejo reviewed the chronology of events that led up to the giant victory celebration on July 4.

The events in Berkeley took place during the initial stages of the repressive measure of the de Gaulle regime in France against the revolutionary students and workers. (See page 7 for information on the de Gaulle witch hunt.)

On Friday, July 28, the Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance, with the support of a number of other groups in the Berkeley-San Francisco area, held a rally on Telegraph Avenue in solidarity with the workers and students of France and to protest the witch hunt of the French left.

Telegraph Avenue is the main street near the campus. A street rally called by the Vietnam Day Committee on April 12, 1966, to protest against the war in Vietnam, was attacked by police. The YSA did not want to let this happen again. It was decided to challenge the refusal of the City Council to grant the use of Telegraph Avenue for the demonstration, and to make a stand on the issue of free speech and free assembly.

At the initial open planning meetings it was decided to conduct the June 28 demonstration in such a way as to give the police no legal pretext whatsoever for attacking and breaking up the demonstration.

But the cops attacked the demonstration anyway, clearly revealing that their orders were not to allow *any* rally to take place, no matter how peaceful and legal. The police indiscriminately lobbed tear gas from speeding cars and beat up demonstrators and others who happened to be on the street. The demonstrators began to fight back. Barricades were built to defend against police attacks.

The following day, 600 people attended a mass meeting where further strategy was mapped out. They decided that rights are won only by fighting for them, and returned to Telegraph Ave. for another rally, 2,000 strong.

Again the police attacked, this time more viciously. The demonstrators, too, fought back harder. Sporadic fighting occurred throughout the city. Many citizens were beaten by the cops, who chased even passersby into their homes and brutalized them.

That night the demonstration was smaller, but it occurred and thus showed that the imposition of a curfew by the city administration would not stop the movement. The Sunday night rally was held at the City Hall—outside of the curfew zone. And the mayor responded by extending the curfew to cover the entire city.

In face of the curfew, the movement developed a new strategy. Instead of mustering demonstrations of the small size that would be possible every day, they decided to build for a massive demonstration on July 4, and to use the time before then to rally popular support.

There were no demonstrations on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday. Instead the movement went through all the legal avenues to get Telegraph closed to traffic on July 4.

On Tuesday, they went to the City Council, which began to crack under the overwhelming popular pressure. The City Council decided to lift the curfew. On a vote on whether to open Telegraph Avenue, four of the nine members of the Council were in favor, and five against.

Following the City Council meeting Tuesday, another mass meeting was held of 2,000. At this meeting Camejo urged that they go full steam ahead with planning a massive demonstration for July 4 on Telegraph Avenue, even if the Council refused to grant the permit. The meeting decided overwhelmingly in favor of this approach, and proceeded to organize the July 4 rally on that basis.

Following this decision by the movement to proceed with the demonstration with or without the permit, the City Council capitulated, and by a vote of five to three decided to grant the use of Telegraph Avenue.

On July 4, a mass victory rally of 5,000 was held on the Avenue.

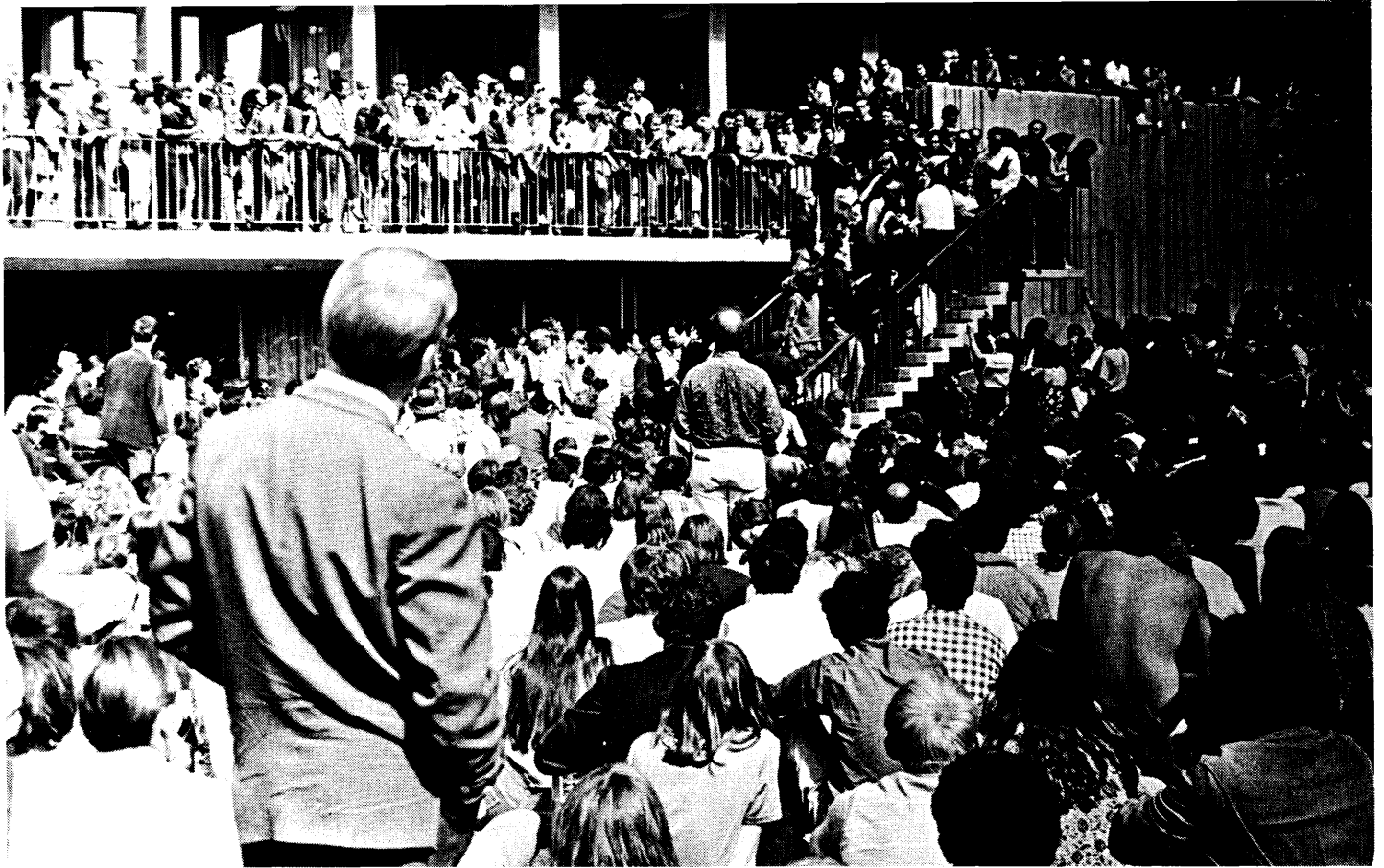


photo by Hermes

Open meeting outside student union, July 1, decided to confront City Council with demands to open Telegraph Ave.

How the Struggle Was Won

Interview with Pete Camejo

Q: Would you please explain the reaction in the black community and especially of the Black Panther Party to the Berkeley actions?

A: The Black Panther Party was a co-sponsor of the original rally in support of the French students and workers. Huey Newton, the leader of the Black Panther Party, now on trial, sent a special taped message to the rally, which expressed support for the French students and workers.

The Black Panther Party itself did not become organizationally involved in the ensuing struggle. This was because they had their hands full with the Newton defense effort, and they did not want to subject their membership to victimization. I think that this was a totally correct decision on their part.

However, during the nights when the fighting took place, young black militants started coming up from the Berkeley ghetto. There was ever in-

creasing support which took the form of these young people simply coming up and joining in the fighting.

Q: Could you explain how the movement was organized, what groups were involved and what attitude these groups had to the developments?

A: We contacted all the groups that we could reach. In addition we called everyone who had been generally active, including those individuals who may hold a certain view but don't belong to an organization, and we urged them to get involved, to come to the working committee meetings.

The largest group that participated was the Peace and Freedom Party and those associated with it. The next largest group was the Independent Socialist Club, which is in the Peace and Freedom Party and, next to the YSA, is the largest socialist group in Berkeley.

But mainly, those involved were independents, young people who don't belong to any group, who simply came and started working. I would say that the overwhelming majority of the attendance at the mass meetings were people who didn't belong to any organization.

The united committee that was formed to lead the struggle was made up of those individuals that were willing to work, and it was representative of just about every real group that exists in Berkeley. This kind of united committee is the most effective leadership that you can have in one of these actions. It must not be pegged as one or another organization's thing. It cannot be a YSA thing; it cannot be an SDS thing. By doing that you confuse people between agreement with the organization that's running it, and agreement with the issues over which you are fighting. And you can turn off a lot of young people who are just learning, beginning to



photo by Hermes

Open meeting outside student union, July 1, decided to confront City Council with demands to open Telegraph Ave.

think, and desiring to get involved in an action over some clear issue, but may not agree with the organization that is in the leadership of the action. In order to involve these people any sort of organizational fetishism or sectarianism must be avoided. That is extremely important. It is important for YSAers, for revolutionary socialists, to take the leadership in creating these united committees.

Q: Could you compare the events in Berkeley to those at Columbia with reference to the tactics involved?

A: Well, I really can't do that because I don't know exactly what happened at Columbia in terms of tactics. I can only say what happened at Berkeley and what was correct about it. People here in New York are much closer and are more aware of what happened at Columbia.

There are three things that I think are crucial in these types of struggles, apart from certain organizational aspects such as the use of mass meetings.

First, it is necessary to be very concise in your demands—not to make fifteen or twenty different demands simultaneously. For example, in Berkeley, SDS held a meeting which eight people attended, and this meeting drew up twenty-five demands. Then they came to the mass meeting and read the twenty-five demands. Everybody applauded for each demand because they were in agreement with them; but when they said we should adopt these things as our demands, everybody said no. Because if we had gone to the City Council with demands to legalize pot, to have flowers everywhere, to have a mall anywhere we want, not to have any cops in our neighborhood, and a lot of other demands, the public that we were trying to win over would have become totally confused about what we were fighting over. When you have so many different demands, people can't identify, can't sympathize with the fight, and as a result, the struggle for all those issues—no matter what merits they may have—is weakened, not strengthened.

It is necessary to make your demands very precise and very sharp. So when they say to you, "What exactly do you want?" you can spell it out: "We want Telegraph Avenue on July 4 for an assembly." And of

course, we make it clear that there are a lot of other things that we want to talk to the City Council about, and a lot of other things that we want. For example we want this right of assembly so that we can organize against racial oppression and against the war in Vietnam.

The second thing is the use of defensive formulations—that is, making very clear where the source of violence is in our society and not allowing the ruling class to place you in the position of appearing that you are the ones that create violence. It's easy to do that when you fall for some of their questions. The press came to me and tried so hard to get me to say that I was starting a revolution. They'd say, "Mr. Camejo, you belong to a revolutionary party and you want a revolution in America, don't you?" So I would answer, "At this moment, we're fighting over the right of free assembly. That's the issue involved here." And I would give them a big speech about free assembly and wind up by saying, "Yeah, I'm a socialist; next question." So we wouldn't give it to them. They tried so hard. They would say things like, "Now, if the cops attack again, are you going to let the cops have it?" They want you to say, "Yeah, when those cops come *we're going to plow right through them, they'll never know what hit 'em.*" I said, "No, we're not going to attack a single policeman. If the police attack us and throw tear gas, we will defend ourselves. That is our constitutional right."

It is the art of answering things correctly—because that is the truth! In our society, we are not oppressing anyone. Why are we interested in beating up anybody? We are only interested in defending our rights to organize the American people. When the majority wants a fundamental change in our society, we will defend that change if someone attempts to attack it. We have got to tell people the truth. What the ruling class wants to do is create the false concept that it is the people themselves who create violence. The fact is that it is the police and the oppression of black people by the ruling class that creates all the violence in the ghetto. When black people strike back and burn stores, they are striking back at centuries of violence against them.

But the rulers of this country want to turn it around and say that all the government is doing is trying to maintain peace, tranquility and happiness. They say that it is a bunch of troublemakers from out of town who are stirring up all the trouble. You are a fool if you fall for that, if you give them ammunition for that. This question of defensive formulations is crucial and something the movement must learn. I have seen so many people fall for it. The press asks, "Are you going to break laws?" And they say, "Oh yeah we are going to violate all the laws because we think the laws are no damned good." We should say, instead, we are not violating laws. It is the war in Vietnam that is illegal; it is the City Council that is breaking laws, the cops are violating the laws—they are the ones who are illegal! And since they don't obey laws we have the right to *defend ourselves and our rights.*

We said that the rally we held was a perfectly *legal* rally, which was very important, but not important because it was important to *us*. Ted Kennedy came to town and held a rally which violated the law. Do you think anybody cared? Did the City Council care? Did the city attorney care? Did the police care? They don't care anything about legality! All they care about is what is in the minds of the people in the area.

The only reason they are yelling and calling your rally illegal is to convince the people against you, to prejudice them. If you want to be a fool and help prejudice them, then you can walk around saying, "oh yeah, everything we do is illegal; we violate laws." Because the people live under the illusion that they have democratically elected a government that made the laws. They believe that. For those of you who still don't agree with this, or any friends of yours, go and ask them to explain to you why Lenin stayed up nights *reading the Czar's laws* in 1895 to find loopholes to tell the workers that their strikes were legal. The masses will move only when they feel utter justice on their side and anything that helps make that clear to them is the truth.

That is why fighting on these legalisms is simply trying to tell people the truth: "We are not the ones trying

to create trouble, we are not the ones creating violence. It is *their* laws which are designed to create problems for us. It is they who initiate the violence." That is all it is — telling the truth. It's very important.

The third thing is that you have to be willing to fight. You have to be combative. If when they escalate the struggle or pull a maneuver, such as offering a parking lot instead of Telegraph, and you accept it, they will not get more reasonable. They won't say, "You're nice. You took the parking lot, you're so kind and nice. Next time you ask for something we'll give you Telegraph Ave." No, if we had accepted the parking lot, they would have pushed us back as far as they could. They would have said, "Well, things are too tense, why don't you take it another day?" In other words, if you retreat, they clobber you. You have got to be ready to fight. But if you didn't make the issues concise and clear, and if you don't use defensive formulations, you can be as combative as you want, and they'll clobber you anyway because you won't have the mass support.

Q: There have been criticisms of the role that the YSA played in Berkeley that have appeared in the *Guardian* and the *Village Voice* and other places. Would you respond to the charges leveled against the YSA?

A: It is true that there are some people in Berkeley who thought that instead of fighting for Telegraph Avenue we should have fought, in effect, to make a revolution, which means to take state power. Now with about 5,000 people that we could count on, who didn't have any arms, with the population of the country being about two hundred million, the armed forces having three million and the local police forces and national guard alone outnumbering us about 20 to 1, we thought that it was, to say the least, insanity to even suggest such an absurd thing.

But unfortunately some people thought that it was a big sell-out because we had concentrated on a reform. They don't understand that a revolutionary movement has to fight for reforms because reforms are stepping-stones for the building of a revolutionary movement. And, as

Trotsky said, those who confuse the third month of pregnancy with the ninth month end up with an abortion. There were a lot of people proposing to us that we have an abortion, but we want to have a healthy revolution.

There is a certain hopelessness and cynicism among some layers in the movement. At our mass meeting of two thousand, one hundred walked out. They felt that the correct tactic was to break into little groups and engage in terroristic actions. But the power of the movement is precisely the involvement of masses; breaking down into small groups and engaging in "guerrilla actions" politically means giving up the struggle, and out of utter frustration and weakness striking out sporadically.

Q: You said that the YSA was relatively small in Berkeley, less than 100 people. How was it possible for an organization of that size to play the kind of role you described in the actions and in the leadership?

A: First of all, the YSA has a program — the program of revolutionary Marxism — that enables us to understand what these struggles mean, and what level they are on. We don't get confused about whether it's a struggle for reform or for revolution.

Secondly, the YSA is different from most other organizations. That is, the YSA membership is a real membership. You can go on the campus and

find an ADA chapter of 150, but when they call a meeting, there are only ten people who show up. The YSA is a cadre-type organization whose members are all serious and are in political agreement with the organization. They're not just in it because they happened to sign a petition. This means that you have large numbers of people who are active and are internally disciplined. That is, there is homogeneity, YSAers are willing to act together, and have trust and confidence in each other. In a situation like this when we had to act quickly, all YSAers immediately responded and were on the spot in all the street actions and in building the demonstrations. They were reliable.

What the YSA was and what it became in the struggle are two different things. There were all types of people, large numbers of people, who belonged to no group, who immediately integrated themselves into the work alongside the YSAers. At every barricade there would be five or six YSAers along with a group of thirty or forty others, but working right with them. So this ability of a small organization in action triples and quadruples its size and activity almost immediately. The YSA is an organization that organizes itself precisely for building a revolutionary movement and for struggling at all levels for social justice. That makes a huge difference.



photo by Hermes

Sunday, June 30, mass meeting called to discuss how to fight curfew.



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An Election Year

"PEACE" OFFENSIVE —Hocus-Pocus in Paris



Photo by Hermes

By Larry Seigle

The 1968 presidential election campaign is occurring at the tail end of a year that has been, to put it mildly, a painful one for the capitalist rulers in the United States. In Vietnam the military relationship of forces continues to shift in favor of the Vietnamese. US military presence is restricted to a dwindling number of cities and military bases, which, far from being secure, are more exposed than ever before to attack by the National Liberation Front. Saigon itself is constantly under threat of siege while the American high command is unable to regain the initiative. American imperialism is haunted by the prospect that its most massive military effort since the Second World War will be met with defeat.

The momentum of the Vietnamese revolution is paralleled in the United States by the continued deepening radicalization among students and Afro-Americans. The war in Vietnam and the issues directly related to it are thrusting wider and wider layers of the American population into direct action in the streets against the war. And a growing number of young people are taking the next logical step: they are beginning to see that the cause of war, racism and poverty is the capitalist system itself and are looking for ways and means to replace it.

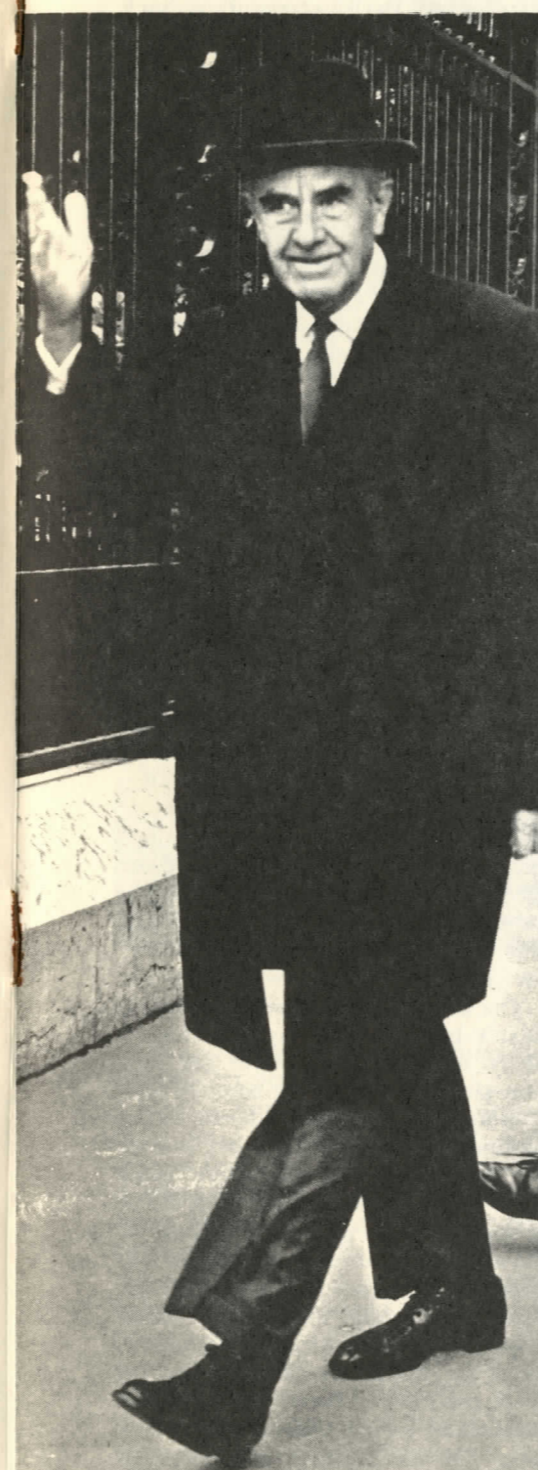
In response to what America's ruling class sees as a two-fold threat—the deepening disillusionment with the system at home and military setbacks in Vietnam—the political machinations of the ruling class have been escalated in an effort to halt the spread of antiwar sentiment and to take the

steam out of the antiwar movement. In an attempt to halt the disaffection from the Johnson administration before it becomes disaffection from capitalist politics in general, the race of the "peace" candidates in both the Democratic and Republican parties is set in high gear.

Simultaneously with this maneuver is Johnson's "peace offensive" highlighted by the so-called "negotiations" in Paris.

Neither of these maneuvers is an original one. Ever since LBJ's "peace" campaign in 1964, there have been numerous "peace" offensives by the administration. All that they have accomplished, and what they have been designed to accomplish, is to cover up for further escalation of the war.

The most recent "peace" offensive, highlighted by the talks between Washington and Hanoi, has precipitated a



Chief U.S. "negotiator"—Averell Harriman

dispute within the antiwar movement on the role that negotiations can play in ending the war, and has reopened the debate between those who demand U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and those who support negotiations. This debate, relatively dormant for a while, has a long history within the antiwar movement.

In 1965, only a small section of the antiwar movement supported the demand for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. The majority supported the call for negotiations, ceasefire, stop the bombing, supervised elections, etc. These demands, many argued, were the only realistic demands that could win over the masses of the American people. Withdrawal was "utopian" and to demand it would alienate the average American from the antiwar movement.

As the movement continued, two things happened. The favorable response that the antiwar movement received from the American people, as demonstrated by the size of mass actions, the opinion polls, the referendum on the war, and so forth, convinced many in the antiwar movement that they had no reason to worry about "alienating" the American people by demanding that the U.S. get out of Vietnam right away. Secondly, the left wing of the movement, spearheaded by the Young Socialist Alliance, waged a campaign to explain what self-determination meant, and why nothing less than the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam is consistent with self-determination for the Vietnamese.

As a result the concept of the right of Vietnam to self-determination, and the demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American troops, became the dominant theme of the antiwar movement, and only a few of the most conservative groups opposed it.

But the so-called negotiations in Paris and the 1968 elections have

produced a climate where these same questions are again being debated. It is important that antiwar activists review the lessons learned from the past and understand what self-determination means.

We are living in a time of war and revolution—and Vietnam is the center of this conflict. This tiny nation has been struggling for centuries for its independence and right to determine its own future, its right to self-determination.

SELF-DETERMINATION

Nothing short of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam is consistent with the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. No "formula" that includes the continued presence of American imperialism in Vietnam can possibly be compatible with the right of the Vietnamese people to decide for themselves what kind of government and social order they want.

Internationally "supervised" elections, a ceasefire without withdrawal of American forces, a "return" to the Geneva accords—all infringe on the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. The simple fact that must be repeated over and over again is that the United States has no right to negotiate anything in Vietnam. It has no right to demand that the Vietnamese accept *any* conditions before American troops will be withdrawn. Self-determination is not negotiable.

The demand to get US troops out of Vietnam is not only correct in principle, but coincides with the aspirations of the men fighting in Vietnam who, like their families at home, are opposed to or dissatisfied with the war. Negotiations mean little to the GIs as long as they must continue fighting.

During the Korean War, for example, negotiations continued for years, while heavy fighting continued, and thousands of lives were lost. The best way to support our men in Vietnam is to bring them home alive, NOW!

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continued

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continued

But the demand is not derived from the stance of the Vietnamese government. Nor should it be. Until now the Vietnamese have insisted on the withdrawal of American troops before a settlement can be conceived of. But if the Vietnamese were forced to negotiate out of weakness or if their position were to change under pressure as it did at the Geneva Conference in 1954, the correct demand for the American antiwar movement to make of the U. S. government would still be for immediate withdrawal.

Prior to the U. S. intervention in Vietnam, the Vietnamese people fought for many years against the brutal colonial occupation of Vietnam by the French government. In 1954 the French met with final defeat at Dien Bien Phu.

However under pressure from the Soviet Union and China, the Vietnamese accepted an agreement over the negotiations table in Geneva that was not in their interests. Half of their country was turned over to the control of the imperialists. Thus, through negotiations in 1954, the imperialists were able to turn a disaster on the battlefield into a partial victory at the negotiating table.

Therefore only the demand for withdrawal of U. S. troops is compatible with the struggle for self-determination in Vietnam and in the interests of the GIs fighting there. In our struggle to end U. S. intervention in Vietnam we will provide an example and understanding of how to fight against future aggression of U. S. imperialism around the globe. If we recognize the right of the U. S. to negotiate in Vietnam, we recognize the right of the U. S. to step in and negotiate the future of other countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Therefore, *no* negotiations, "real" or otherwise, should be supported.

NEGOTIATIONS VS. WITHDRAWAL

In recent months, some sections of the antiwar movement have retreated from the withdrawal position in order to be able to justify giving open or backhanded support to one or another "peace" candidate. Consequently, this has led many to go wrong on the perspective for the whole antiwar movement. Let us review the position of different opponents of the

Vietnam war.

The "doves" of the capitalist parties, of course, have never pretended to be for immediate withdrawal. Their opposition to the Vietnam war is derived from their position on how best to maintain capitalism and its dominance in the world.

Thus it is no surprise that they have supported the Paris "peace talks" hoping that "misunderstandings" and "stubbornness" between the two sides could be eliminated, paving the way for negotiations.

The case is different with those who have participated up to now in the antiwar movement. The Communist Party, for example, was one of the most vigorous opponents of the slogan of immediate withdrawal during the initial stages of the antiwar movement. They said it was an ultraleftist, unrealistic demand that would alienate the American people. However, under the pressure of thousands of young radicals who became active in the antiwar movement, they were forced to give lip service to the demand while continuing to support capitalist politicians who explicitly opposed withdrawal.

The CP juggled this contradiction for some time without much grace. But now, with the 1968 elections and the Paris talks, they have returned openly to their reformist position of an end to the bombing of North Vietnam "so that the negotiations can proceed." "PEACE SEEN IF BOMBING STOPPED" ran the banner headline of the July 27 issue of the *Daily World*. What peace could there possibly be with half a million troops occupying Vietnam, the CP fails to explain.

Others too have fallen victim to LBJ's manipulations, including a group of pacifists led by Dave Dellinger and Linda Morse.

Linda Morse recently conducted a walkout from the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam over these same issues. Following the walkout she signed a statement which said, "*As now conducted by the administration, the Paris talks may be a cruel and dangerous hoax.*" (Emphasis added.) The statement deals with withdrawal by saying, "The primary objective of the negotiations must be the complete and rapidly phased removal of the U. S. military presence in Vietnam according to a clearly stated timetable." What all this

blather means, of course, is that the demand for withdrawal has been submerging under support for the Paris talks.

Dave Dellinger, widely known for his role in the past in building mass actions against the war organized by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, recently traveled to Paris, commuting back and forth from the Vietnamese to the American delegations, attempting to "interpret" and "explain" the Vietnamese position. *The New York Times* reported the story as follows: ". . . Mr. Dellinger said that he had met extensively in Paris with Xuan Thuy, the chief North Vietnamese negotiator, and other Hanoi representatives, and held private conversations with the Chief of the United States delegation W. Averell Harriman, and his deputy, Cyrus Vance. . . . Mr. Dellinger quoted Hanoi's representatives as having said that when and if the United States halted all bombing, they would be prepared to talk about 'everything'. . . ."

The antiwar movement may well ask Dellinger what he had to say in private conversations with Johnson's henchmen that he couldn't say in public.

And at an August 1 meeting in New York, entitled "KEEP AMERICA INFORMED," Cora Weiss (Women Strike for Peace) who recently returned from Paris as well, "informed" the audience that the "Vietnamese are even willing to drop the demand for withdrawal and stick only with the stop to the bombing issue." Her point was to emphasize how "conciliatory" the Vietnamese were willing to be.

The antiwar movement as a whole hasn't been deceived by the trickery of the administration. Over one million students across the country participated in an international strike against the war on April 26, just as the initial plans of the "peace" talks were being made. But the effect of the actions of the right-wing section of the antiwar movement only lends credence to the peace talk gambit of the American ruling class. This move objectively weakens the antiwar movement at home and strengthens the U. S. position in Paris. The capitalist politicians would like nothing better than for the antiwar movement to "forget" about the demand for withdrawal and revert to a more "reasonable" position which can be utilized



The War Continues

to support them in their demagogic appeals for peace.

Placing confidence in the negotiations as a way of ending the war means that one is operating under a misconception of what these talks really represent. Simply because two sides sit down to negotiate does not mean that there is a common interest between them. Unions and bosses negotiate all the time and share no common interest, in spite of what the unions' reformist leadership may think. Washington and Hanoi have diametrically opposed interests at the negotiating table, just as they do on the battlefield in Vietnam. To understand what the negotiations represent,

and what the antiwar movement's attitude should be toward them, it is necessary to be aware of what each side is trying to accomplish in Paris.

The United States has a two-fold aim. First of all, Johnson is hoping to cut the ground out from under his critics, and to pull the wool over the eyes of the antiwar movement. And secondly, the administration is looking for a repeat of Geneva in 1954.

To repeat this sleight-of-hand that put half of Vietnam back under the control of imperialism, with the aid of the Soviet Union, is the coup the American rulers dream of.

On the other hand, the Vietnamese have taken the position with respect

to the Paris peace talks that they provide a valuable opportunity to take advantage of their victories on the battlefields, and the growing worldwide opposition to U.S. aggression, to further isolate and weaken the American position in the eyes of the world. So far, the Vietnamese have not relied on the discussions to produce anything other than embarrassment for the United States by exposing their shoddy tricks for all to see.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR CONTINUES

An end to the war in Vietnam will be brought about not by these talks in Paris, but by the combined efforts of the Vietnamese liberation fighters and the international opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

For American youth this means only one thing: to continue to build a massive movement against the war independent of the machinations of the ruling class; to reach the GIs and to convince them that their interests are with the antiwar movement and not with the politicians and generals who arrange for their slaughter; and to mobilize American youth to fight against a war that they have no reason to support and every reason to oppose.

The Morses, Dellingers, CPers and others, who have fallen victim to the pressures of "peace" candidates and "peace offensives" are dead wrong. The way to build an antiwar movement that can force an end to the war is not by calling for "real" negotiations, but by organizing mass actions in the streets independently of the politics of the ruling class, and demanding that the American troops be brought home now. The antiwar movement, organized on this basis, will continue to grow in size and power.

Already, international plans are being projected for the fall. In the United States it is our job to make crystal clear that the election of one or another capitalist politician will not bring an end to the war. Nor will the maneuvers in Paris achieve this goal. We will continue to mobilize in massive street actions, independently of the capitalist politicians, until all American soldiers are withdrawn from Vietnam and the Vietnamese are free to determine their own future.



The War Continues



Black Power in England

Advocates of black power are being heard all over England. Here, a speaker addresses a gathering in London's Hyde Park.

Paul Boutelle, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, returned in June from a two-week speaking tour of Britain. We thought readers of the Young Socialist would be interested in his observations on the struggle of black people in England, their organizations, and their thoughts on the black power movement in this country.

In the course of his tour Paul Boutelle spoke to about 1,000 black people in Hyde Park, London, appeared on national BBC TV, spoke at a trade union center in Glasgow, Scotland, and addressed students at several British universities. Before returning to the U.S. Boutelle stopped in France just after the height of the strikes and demonstrations. He spoke at a meeting of 6,000 young revolu-

tionaries in the Latin Quarter of Paris.

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Fred Halstead is also now on an international tour, and will be back Sept. 16 ready to begin a fall campaign tour of the U.S. Halstead attended several international antiwar conferences in Japan, where he stressed the need for coordinated international antiwar demonstrations in the fall and for a coordinated effort by antiwar forces all over the world to reach American GIs with the truth about the war and win them to the antiwar movement.

If you would like Fred Halstead or Paul Boutelle to speak at your school this fall, write to the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Q: What did you hope to accomplish with your trip to England and France this past summer?

A: The purpose of my trip was to spread the views of the Socialist Workers Party on the 1968 elections in America, to discuss how the U.S. elections are affecting people in other countries, and to inform myself about what is going on in England and France—about the racial and class struggles in England and about the class struggle specifically in France—and to relate to people in Europe my experiences and views about the racial and class and antiwar struggles in America.

Q: With the recent anti-immigration laws, the racist demonstrations in support of Enoch Powell, and the militant actions in favor of black power,

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many people learned for the first time that England is not only an imperialist power, but also oppresses the growing non-white population in England itself, and that there is a growing black power movement there. In what ways is the nationalist movement in England different from that in the U. S.?

A: The nationalist movement in England is not the same as the one in the United States for several reasons. First of all, the black population there is smaller in proportion to the entire population than is the case in America. So they are not able to present as many powerful demands or exert as great a threat to the system by themselves as the blacks in America. Also, the black population in England hasn't been settled as long as the black population here; some of the black militants in England are thinking of going back to their respective countries, such as Jamaica or the parts of Africa or Asia where they came from to help make a revolution there. They aren't thinking of becoming permanent fixtures in England.

Also, there is a division among the non-whites in England because they have a greater regional or tribal awareness of themselves because of the different parts of the world that they came from. For example, there are some non-whites who think of themselves as part of a tribe—possibly Ibos or Hausas or Yoruba—or they take their identity from a particular country such as Ghana or Kenya, Guyana, Jamaica, Ceylon, Pakistan, and so on. Having these strong ethnic or tribal identities has been a barrier in some cases to them getting together; whereas in America, the majority of the black people don't have these identities based on a particular region of Africa or a particular area of the world. Our divisions here, in general, are based on one black person being a Democrat, another a Republican, one a Catholic or one a Baptist. There aren't the same type of divisions.

However, there are similarities between the two struggles, in the sense that we are struggling against the same racial, economic, and political system. And there is a growing unity among non-whites in England from different parts of the world. They are

forgetting about the fact that they come from different areas of the world and they are developing political awareness to go along with their national and racial awareness. There are non-white groups in England that have worked with whites in the anti-war movement and also have contacts with some whites as far as thinking about working in broader areas of struggle that will encompass all peoples who are in opposition to the British capitalistic system.

Q: Could you describe some of the different non-white groups that exist in England? I am interested in what their politics are, who some of the main leaders are, and perhaps what groups they might correspond to in this country.

A: There is the Universal Colored Peoples Association. The president is Obi Egbuna. He's an Ibo from the Biafra section of Nigeria and he considers himself to be a nationalist and a Marxist.

Also there is Roy Sawh. He is an Indian from Guyana—not an Indian from South America, but an Indian descendant from the sub-continent in Asia. He was born in Guyana, but has been in England for many years. He has his own platform in Hyde Park where he speaks every Sunday against racism and for revolutionary change.

Also, there is the Committee Against Racial Discrimination which has been in existence, I believe, for at least ten years. For most of its history it could be compared to the NAACP, but recently some segments of it have started to take a more radical turn. Specifically, the Islington branch of the Committee Against Racial Discrimination (Islington is a section of London) is headed by a man named Oscar Abrams who has been trying to develop more militancy and a more grass-roots orientation for it. Abrams is from Guyana, South America.

Then there is the Indian Workers Association, which last summer staged two major strikes against companies that discriminated in hiring and promoting. There is also a group called the Racial Adjustment Action Society, which is headed by Michael Abdul Malik, or Michael X, as some people call him. He was sentenced to jail last fall for calling white people

"monkeys, savages and bastards" at a meeting, and he was convicted under the Race Relations Act of 1965 which makes it a crime to "foment racism." However, he was the first and only person convicted under the law which was supposedly passed to protect non-whites against verbal racist attacks by whites. He was due to be released from jail this past summer. His second in command is Frankie Dymon, whom I met and spoke with quite a bit while I was there. Frankie Dymon is from Jamaica and has been in London for 19 years. He was planning to come to America this fall and make a speaking tour.

Then there is Gideon Job, who is from the Fiji Islands in the Pacific. He heads a recently formed group called the Black United Action Front, which was formed as a result of my relating some of my experiences in America and talking about how we had started a Black United Action Front in Harlem a few years ago. The Black United Action Front organized a special meeting for me to speak on the problems in America. It was well-attended by many non-white leaders and people. Gideon Job took part in the British "counter-insurgency" war in Malaysia during the 1950s and as such he helped in defeating the revolutionary movement there. But since then he has awakened and found out that he was on the wrong side, and he is ready now to use his skills for the cause of freedom and in the cause of aiding non-whites throughout the world in overthrowing oppression. Gideon Job spent some time in this country; as a matter of fact he spent four years at Stanford, where he majored in economics.

Q: In what ways do you think the Afro-American struggle has influenced the black liberation struggle in England? How do the non-white leaders in England view the struggle in this country?

A: The struggle in America has influenced greatly the struggle in England. For example, the Universal Colored Peoples Association has a pamphlet which they published last fall called *Black Power in England* which gives an analysis of the necessity for black power and how they feel it should be utilized in England. They present some of the same demands

that black Americans present with regard to education of black people about our history, and black people getting together regardless of what area of the world they come from. They talk about police brutality and international politics and the worldwide struggle. The pamphlet has a picture of the black panther on the cover. So that tells you the black power movement in America has influenced them a great deal.

They are very interested in what all the groups in America are doing. During the time I was there they asked many questions about SNCC, LeRoi Jones, the Black Panther Party, the Revolutionary Action Movement, and the different civil rights and black student groups in America. They were interested in the views of various black people on the election campaign, why it is that so many black people cared for Kennedy, and what the views of black people in America are about what is going on in England and other parts of the world. They are seeking ideas from the black movement in America.

Q: You recently spoke at a demonstration in New York in solidarity with the French workers and students. Why do you think it is in the interest of black people to support these struggles?

A: Because the struggle of the French workers and students is against the same type of system that people throughout the world are struggling against. If there had been a revolution in France it would have had a great effect on the economic and political hold that France has on many of the black nations and peoples of Africa. The same way the first French Revolution in 1789 aided in bringing about freedom for Haiti. So this second revolution would have been able to bring about a great weakening, if not a total elimination, of French control over its former African colonies—which it now dominates through neocolonialism. Furthermore, the French revolution will be a revolution in a highly industrialized country and it will have great effect in facilitating upheavals in other parts of Europe, and I am sure it will have reverberations right back here in America. We can see why the American ruling class, which is hostile to black liberation movements,

expresses strong sympathies for the French ruling class and without doubt would have come to the aid of the French ruling class. So, why can't black militants and revolutionaries feel that they should be in sympathy with and in solidarity with those French workers and students who are struggling against their own ruling class—which is supported by the American ruling class.

Q: What effect, if any, do you think the events in France will have on the Afro-American struggle in this country?

A: I am sure that the events in France and the lessons learned from them will be utilized by some sections of the black population in this country. Black militants who are aware and who do keep abreast of events all over the world—not just in Africa but Europe, Asia, and Latin America as well—will learn from the example of the French workers and students. In particular I think that lessons can be learned from the concept of the Action Committees—the organizations that directed the struggle in some areas—the self-defense committees, the committees of workers in the factories calling for control of the factories, and the barricades and other methods of self-defense that the French workers and students used. I think that all black militants will realize that there are many parallels between that situation and ours. We can learn from many of the things that happened in France. Aspects of the French struggle will be used, and even improved upon, I'm sure, by black people.

Q: You spoke before of the effects of the recent French upsurge on France's colonies and former colonies; what do you think might be the future effects of this upsurge?

A: In Senegal, for example, during the French events, the government was forced to close down all schools following a strike by students at Dakar University. On May 31, there was a general strike in response to a plea by students for workers solidarity. There was "rioting and looting" in Dakar. Senghor, who rules that country by virtue of French patronage, ordered all offenders shot on sight. This is one example of the kind of

impact such an event in Europe can have on Africa.

Black militants and revolutionaries in the French controlled parts of Africa can now see that there is the possibility of allies in metropolitan France. I am sure they realize that if there is a revolutionary change in France it will greatly help the liberation movement in Africa. I'm sure that Houphet-Boigny, who is the black Frenchman who is president of the Ivory Coast will have many sleepless nights if the French workers and students once again take to the barricades.

... French Students

continued from p. 7

posed to independence for Algeria. The judges in this court, a large number of whom are military judges, are directly under the control of the de Gaulle cabinet, and can be removed or changed by the cabinet. There may be no opportunity of appeal.

Already the furor over these impending trials indicates that they may well be the most important political trials to take place in France in a decade. The walls of Paris already carry the message "Free Alain Krivine;" defense material is being distributed; and figures such as Sartre and Schwartz have indicated their willingness to testify on behalf of the defense at the trials.

Clearly, the political lines of the September trials are drawn. It is the de Gaulle government versus the vanguard of the French students, who are being held responsible for a social convulsion beyond the power of any organization or individual to "instigate" or "plot." If the de Gaulle government succeeds in victimizing these first 15 it will be prompted to extend and intensify the repression with renewed vigor.

A defense campaign of international scope is crucially important in the fight to protect the rights of the French students. De Gaulle's undemocratic and illegal actions against the left in France must not go unchallenged. De Gaulle is wrong if he thinks he can "ban" the movement for social change in France.

Time is short and help is needed to get the word out here in the United States. If you can help, contact the Committee to Defend the French Students.

tinues to the point that 45 percent of the wealth owned by the top 1 percent of the population is held by the upper 11 percent of that group. Since the top 1.6 percent owned 82.2 percent of all stocks and the value of stocks have on the average quadrupled since 1953, this tiny fraction of the population owns an even larger share of the wealth today.

The results of the Lampman study were found to largely coincide with a study made at the University of Michigan in 1960. The Michigan study, based on the country's spending units (households), showed that 11 percent of the spending units held 56 percent of the total assets and 60 percent of the net worth of all private holdings. A later Michigan study of stock ownership in 1963 found that 83 percent of all spending units owned no stock. Of the 17 percent of spending units owning stock, only 4 percent owned significant amounts (over \$10,000 worth). Even the majority of this 4 percent owned relatively little stock, since over 80 percent of all stock is owned by 1.6 percent of the population.

Drawing similar conclusions, Dr. Kolko found that in prosperous 1957, 44 percent of spending units lived below the maintenance level set by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Over 25 percent lived below the emergency level. From 1945 to 1955 the lowest 10 percent of the population received 1 percent of income after taxes; the upper tenth received 27 to 31 percent.

Finally, the Federal Reserve System in a report issued at the end of 1962, concluded that there were 200,000 households, making up 0.4 percent of all households in the country, worth \$500,000 or more. This 200,000 held 32 percent of all investment assets and 75 percent of miscellaneous assets. The 500,000 households (1.0 percent of population) worth \$200,000 to \$499,999 owned 22 percent of investment assets. Lundberg concludes, "It is my contention that general corporate control lies in the combined group of 200,000 very probably and almost certainly lies in the combined groups of 700,000 wealthiest households, slightly more than 1 percent, owning assets worth \$200,000 and more." We have here focused

upon the American ruling class.

Lundberg is careful to point out that the chief power of this concentrated economic ownership lies in its ability to *control*. As little as 5 percent ownership in a corporation is usually enough to give control, and 15 percent gives absolute control.

Even in such a company as AT&T, which is often pictured as being an almost public corporation, .02 percent of all stockholders own 7.8 percent of the total stock and .1 percent own 15.3 percent. The management of AT&T really works for a small group of very large stockholders.

The magnitude of these holdings is intensified by the fact that they are concentrated in the 200 largest corporations, which form the base of the economy. Most of the top wealth holders have inherited their wealth and are part of such large family groupings as the DuPonts, Mellons, Vanderbilts and Rockefellers. Except for the entrance of a few new corporations in expanding fields, the top 200 corporations are controlled by the same family groupings as in 1937. In contrast with small businesses, thousands of which go into bankruptcy each year, these holdings are like granite.

This financial oligarchy is coming to control even larger sections of the economy through the "conglomerate" movement. Instead of paying profits in dividends, which are taxable as personal income, those in control of the corporations withhold profits. They then buy up smaller corporations in other fields, avoiding anti-trust legislation. Some corporations are going in for the taking over of independent book publishers, thus putting the very rich in the position of being able to decide what books are (or are not) to be published.

A general outlook which has come to be accepted in recent years is what is often called the "managerial revolution". This theory says that in addition to being widely owned (not true), the corporations have fallen into the hands of a new breed of neutral managers, who run their enterprises in a spirit of wholesome public service. A corollary of this theory is that the managers consider making money to be old fashioned and are primarily concerned with the grati-

fication of their ego, which is inextricably tied to the needs of society as a whole. Lundberg effectively demolishes this nonsense.

One key factor accounting for the myth of a managerial takeover is the mistaken impression that executives are called upon to make numerous crucial decisions. Actually, most of their decisions are rather routine. The day-to-day functioning of the corporations on the management level is facilitated by skilled but relatively low-paid technicians. The top managers are paid salaries far beyond their worth in order to insure that they identify with the big stock holders and safeguard their interests within the corporation.

Ultimate control still lies in the hands of the large stockholders. When, from time to time, managers are called upon to make crucial decisions regarding the direction of the corporation, they are liable to make the wrong choice. In the event a real blunder is made, the control of the top interest group can be asserted. An example is the case of the Lever Brothers' President Charles Luckman, who some years ago failed to make the decisive switch from soap to detergents. Lever Brothers suffered from this error and Luckman was given the axe. A Luckman, unless he also happens to be a big stockholder, can always be fired. The big stockholders, by way of contrast, are never fired.

The tax structure comes in for a thorough treatment by Lundberg. In theory we have a graduated income tax. While often pictured as viciously whittling away at the bank accounts of the rich, taxes actually hit hardest those least able to pay.

Eighty-six percent of all income tax collected in 1960 came from the lower brackets. The tax structure is progressive only in the sense that there are progressively more loopholes as one moves up the income ladder. Tax payers in the lower brackets can only expect to claim exemptions for wives and children. As one moves beyond the \$10,000 a year level, a multitude of exemptions come into play. Income from dividends are greatly favored over salaried incomes. Thus, doctors, engineers and highly skilled technicians come in for relatively hard

blows. The tax laws are a tribute to special interest. Lundberg even finds a section of the tax laws which are written to apply to only one individual.

The greatest tax dodge of all, however, turns out to be the foundation. By placing his assets into a foundation, a wealthy individual insures their protection from taxes, including the steep inheritance tax. He appoints his family members as trustees of the foundation, thereby keeping control of the assets in family hands. The foundation's stock in a corporation can still be voted by his family. Then he is free to use the tax free foundation income for "philanthropic" purposes. (Although an average of 50 percent of foundation profits are retained for reinvestment).

Once there was a fairly extensive literature devoted to analyzing the more seamy facets of capitalist society and the doings of the big capitalists. Almost always couched in terms of the expose, this was the most characteristic literature of the progressive-populist era. *The Rich and the Super*

Rich demonstrates both the strength and weakness of this pure empirical approach.

As was often the case with the progressives, Lundberg has developed a rather healthy contempt for the big capitalists. Unfortunately, however, his opinion of nobody else is much higher. Lundberg does a good job of laying bare many aspects of the oligarchy's rule. Not satisfied to leave well enough alone, he feels compelled to dwell at length on the reactionary, religious, ethnocentric prejudices and superstitions of most of the population. The volume abounds with such terms as "boobs," "booboisie" and "hoi polloi." In reality, Lundberg has no understanding of what makes masses of people move. Writing in the year 1968, he equates black power (mentioned only once) with religious prejudices and white chauvinism. The historic struggles of the labor movement are dismissed. Back in the thirties poor Lundberg went to all the trouble to dig up the real dirt on the ruling class and put it in a book so that the exploited masses could read it.

And what did they do? Nothing. They didn't seem to pay a bit of attention. So, obviously they must be backward, ignorant, stupid and inherently worthless.

Socialism is rejected not so much because it is undesirable as because it is impractical or unattainable. Lundberg's rejection of the working people as a progressive agent for social change leaves him grasping at elitest solutions. At one point he proposes that votes be allotted to people on the basis of degree of education; PhD's getting the most votes, while illiterates get none. But Lundberg fails to explain why, if education is to be the ultimate criteria, the Walt Rostows are among the staunchest defenders of imperialism. Or why the professors stampeded over one another trying to hatch new theories to justify the status quo.

As of this writing, *The Rich and the Super Rich* has hit the best seller charts. Despite the book's shortcomings, this is a welcome development. Lundberg has lessons which deserve the widest audience possible.

Meet Young Socialists in your Area

continued from p. 19

INDIANA

BLOOMINGTON: Russell Block, 207 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind.

EVANSVILLE: Ronald Hicks, 1619 Franklin St., Evansville, Ind.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON: YSA c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass., tel. (617) 876-5930

GT. BARRINGTON: Alec Harper, Simon's Rock, Gt. Barrington, Mass. 01230

SPRINGFIELD: Stuart Wigam, Box 513, Springfield College, Springfield, Mass. 01109

MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR: Peter Signorelli, 2075 W. Stadium, Apt. 1939, Ann Arbor, Mich.

DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201, tel. (313) TE1-6135

EAST LANSING: Mike Maniscalco, 614 Michigan, Apt. 2, East Lansing, Mich.

MINNESOTA: TWIN CITIES: YSA, 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 240, Minneapolis, Minn., 55403, tel. (612) 332-7781

NEW YORK

ALBANY: Carol French, 194 Jay St., Albany, N.Y. 12210

NEW YORK CITY: YSA, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, tel. (212) 982-6051 or 982-6279

GREENVALE: YSA, c/o Elaine Feuerstein, Post Hall, C W Post College, Greenvale, N.Y. 11548

NEW JERSEY: NEWARK: YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brode, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 17104, tel. (201) 483-8513

NORTH CAROLINA: Adolph Reed, 108 Hillsborough St., Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

OHIO

CLEVELAND: YSA, E. V. Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106, tel. (216) 971-1669

KENT: YSA, c/o Carolyn Carson, 471 Silver Oaks Rd., #2, Kent, Ohio

YELLOW SPRINGS: YSA, c/o Alan Wald, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387, tel. 767-5511

OREGON: Tonie Porter, 5203 S. W. Pamona, Portland, Oregon 97219

PENNSYLVANIA: PHILADELPHIA: YSA, 686 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa., tel. (215) CE 6-6998

TEXAS

AUSTIN: Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin, Texas.

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UTAH: SALT LAKE CITY: Sherm Richards, 957 East 1st Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah, 84103

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, Terrill Brumback, 3416 17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010, tel. (202) 332-4635

WASHINGTON: SEATTLE: YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Washington 98105, tel. (206) 523-2555

WISCONSIN: MADISON: YSA, 202 Marion St., Madison, Wisc., tel. (608) 256-0857

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OTTAWA: Young Socialists, 238 Arlington Ave., Ottawa 4, Ontario

EDMONTON: Young Socialists, 11129-39th Ave., Edmonton, Alberta, tel. (403) 433-8791

VANCOUVER: Young Socialists, 511 Carral St., Vancouver 4, B.C., tel. (604) 681-3847

show of solidarity with the Vietnamese—the ever-growing international antiwar movement with its mass demonstrations of millions in the streets of the world against US imperialism in Vietnam. No discussions were scheduled dealing with student actions in Paris, Berlin, or Berkeley, let alone Warsaw, Belgrade, and Prague. No time was set aside to evaluate the mounting interest in socialist ideas among the world's student activists.

Having arranged for a giant fireworks display to end it, Conference planners got more than they bargained for. Despite attempts to limit participation to "friendly" democratic youth, the Yugoslav delegation held a press conference on the closing day, condemning what they called "the effort to impose upon the festival certain concepts of a narrow ideological and sectarian unity." The Yugoslavs charged "undemocratic procedure, limited freedom of speech and exertion of pressure."

At the same time, Western students staged an unofficial teach-in where they engaged CP participants in a tense debate aimed at changing the topic of discussion to "Students and the Working Class." Failing to gain control of the meeting, the Bulgarians simply brought it to an early close.

Those turned away can be consoled in the knowledge that the world revolutionary youth movement which they represent will continue to grow in spite of Sofia.

BRITISH BLACK NATIONALIST ARRESTED:

The *London Times* of July 26 reported the arrest of three men charged with threatening to kill a policeman. One of the three is Obi Egbuna, editor of *Black Power Speaks*. He is President of the Universal Coloured Peoples' Association (UCPA), British organ for the ideas of militant struggle for self-determination against the oppression of black people. The UCPA would find its counterpart in SNCC and the Black Panther Party here in this country. Mr. Egbuna, a native of Biafra and author of a pamphlet entitled "The Murder of Nigeria", is also well known as a poet and playwright.

PRODIGAL SON I: M. Edgar Faure, newly-appointed Minister of Education in France, generated a three-day debate in the National Assembly when his proposals for liberalizing reforms in the French educational system antagonized many Gaullists in whose memories the taste of the events of last May still lingered. The *New York Times* reports: "One of the most poignant moments in the debate came when David Rousset, a deputy belonging to the left-wing of the Gaullist movement, pleaded for greater understanding of the students. Mr.

Rousset's son, as everyone in the Assembly knew, is in jail awaiting judgment of charges of having attempted to reconstitute the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire . . . This is the other aspect of the Government's present policy toward the students. The French police, especially the riot police, have received strict orders, reported to have come from President de Gaulle personally, to be tough with anybody who threatens violence in the streets."

PRODIGAL SON II: Peter Brandt, 19 year-old son of West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, was recently sentenced to two weeks in a correctional institution for youth following his arrest during a Berlin student demonstration. In explaining this punishment, the judge observed that while Peter appeared to be a well brought up young man of proper intelligence for his age, he seemed to exhibit a peculiar lack of maturity in his attitude of rebellion against his father. A quiet rest in the conducive atmosphere of the institution, the judge felt, would give him time to think about this flaw in his psychological make-up.

HALSTEAD MEETS ZENGAKUREN: Fred Halstead, SWP Presidential candidate, and Barry Sheppard, editor of the *Militant* newspaper, visited Japan this August as part of a world tour that will include a stop in Saigon. While there, they were able to attend several antiwar conferences being held in Japan, including the Antiwar, Anti-imperialist International Conference called by the Zengakuren.

These are excerpts from Fred Halstead's letters written in Japan: "Tonight we will visit peasants engaged in a very militant battle against the takeover of their land for use by an airport. The airport will be in part military. These peasants have had ten clashes with cops this year trying to evict them, and they have fought back with sickles and spears. This is one of the developing struggles of an antiwar character in Japan.

"It turns out we happen to be in Japan during a nationwide student strike movement in which dozens of universities are now physically occupied by students. The latest count, according to police, of the number now occupied is 54. This present student strike movement has a long history. One of the contributing factors, we are told by students, was the April 26 Strike against the war in Vietnam called by the SMC in the US. Response to that call here was the strongest in any country in the world and 72 universities were shut down. That strike lasted only one day, but it raised the political level and revealed great student power. The situation has not been the same since. . ."

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