

# THE MILITANT

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## Cultural Meeting Begins in Havana

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba, Jan. 1 — Scientists, writers, and artists from every part of the world are arriving here for the Cultural Congress of Havana, a week-long conference that will open Jan. 4. It promises to be the broadest international gathering of intellectuals concerned with social issues to be held in many years.

The central theme of the Congress will be the effect of colonialism and neocolonialism on cultural development, with specific reference to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The participants have been invited from every part of the world. There will be delegates from 84 countries.

In extending the invitation to the Congress, the Cuban initiators did not proceed on the basis of a narrow conception of the term "intellectual." In addition to artists, writers, and critics, there will be representatives from the physical and social sciences. Invitations were not made on the basis of political beliefs, and a diversity of views is expected to be heard at the Congress.

The principal work of the Congress will be initiated by five commissions. The general themes of their discussions will be: 1) Culture and national independence; 2) The full development of man; 3) The responsibility of the intellectual in relation to the problems of the underdeveloped world; 4) Culture and mass media; 5) The problems of artistic creation and scientific and technical work in the underdeveloped world.

The idea for such a gathering developed among Cuban intellectuals and was initiated through Cuba's National Council of Culture. Cuba will not have a large delegation at the Congress, but there has been extensive discussion among Cuban intellectuals around the central themes of the Congress.

A preparatory seminar for the conference was held here Oct. 25-Nov. 2. More than a thousand Cuban intellectuals participated. They

## Catholic Paper Denounces War

The editor and publisher of *The Critic*, a national Catholic bi-monthly published in Chicago, issued a statement on the Vietnam war in the December-January issue of their magazine. Dan Herr, publisher, and Joel Wells, editor, said:

"Whatever the situation has been, it is now clear that the war in Vietnam can no longer be considered merely a political issue of the sort that can be left to the judgment of our leaders. Rather, it is a moral question which American citizens as individuals must resolve for themselves, bearing the full consequence of commitment.

"Because we believe that the debate has now exhausted itself and because to us only one conclusion seems valid after all arguments have been heard, we feel bound to submit that: the United States should get the hell out of Vietnam, and fast."



Jean-Paul Sartre

generally agreed that there cannot be a significant cultural development under colonialism; that armed revolutionary struggle for socialist objectives is key to such development; and that intellectuals had the dual responsibility of developing their own work while at the same time contributing to the liberation struggle.

Such figures as Haydee Santamaria, of Casa de las Americas, advanced the idea that artists must experiment with new forms and styles to express the complexities of the underdeveloped world and should not be restricted by so-called artistic realism.

There will be a variety of views on such questions at the Congress, however, and the Cubans expect a vigorous debate. Some of those who are coming here have thought-out political ideas. Others, however, particularly among the scientists, do not have any particular political outlook.

Among those sent invitations, many international figures and groups have already accepted or arrived. A few among them are Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Daniel Guérin from France; nuclear physicist George Hutchinson, critic Robert Blackburn, and novelist Graham Greene from England; K. S. Karol, European political analyst; Rossana Rossanda, Italian novelist and member of parliament; Italian nuclear physicist Daniel Amati; Alain Geismar, French biochemist; Prince Ranariddh, son of the Cambodian head of state; Le Chan, subdirector of North Vietnam's press agency; Puerto Rican writer Emilio Diaz; and the economist Andre Gunder Frank, now teaching in Canada. A sizable delegation of Bulgarian artists, writers, and critics has recently arrived.

A number of prominent North Americans have indicated a desire to participate, but with the difficulties attendant upon getting here, none has actually arrived yet.

(Continued on Page 2)

**Militant reporter Harry Ring is now in Cuba, and will be writing a series of articles on his first-hand observations of the development of the revolution. To be sure of receiving the complete series, use coupon on page 7.**

# State Dept. Prepares Escalation in Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

JAN. 2 — There can be little question that last week's flare-up between Washington and Cambodian Prince Sihanouk portends a new escalation of the war. The question now is when and where.

The exchanges between Sihanouk and the State Department raise the possibility of a U.S. invasion of Cambodia. But Pentagon spokesman Hanson W. Baldwin revealed that the U.S. military also favors invading Laos and North Vietnam. Baldwin's revelations came in a series of three articles in the Dec. 26-28 *New York Times*.

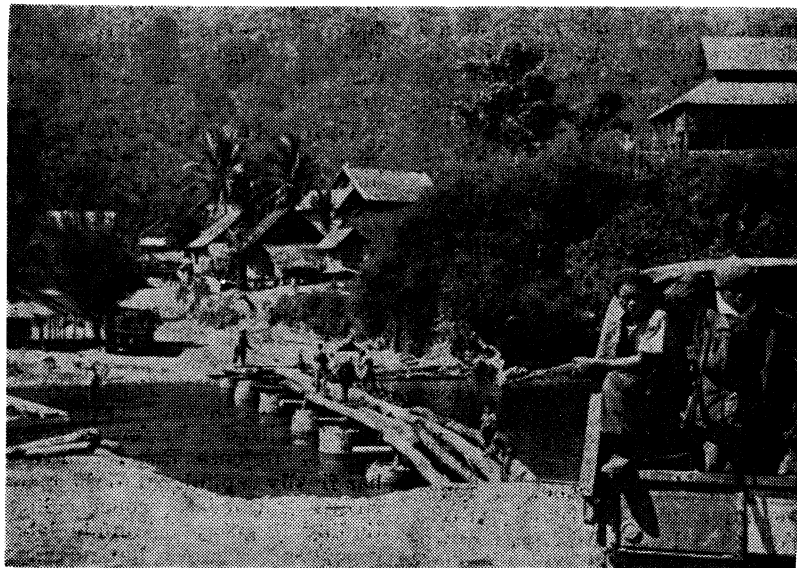
For a number of months Washington has charged Sihanouk with allowing "Vietcong-North Vietnamese" units to seek "sanctuary" in Cambodia after "committing aggression" against South Vietnam.

Sihanouk sharply attacked these charges in a letter to the State Department Dec. 24. He pointed out the fraudulence of the whole U.S. argument that North Vietnamese could be construed as "aggressors in their own country."

He denied that there were such units in Cambodia and stated that "no law or convention entitles the U.S. Government to call the Royal Government to account for this matter."

Sihanouk further implied that the Pentagon was preparing to attack Cambodia and he stated that Cambodia would "oppose with all the forces at its disposal the military operations which will be launched against its territory under whatever pretext."

The State Department withheld the text of Sihanouk's letter until Baldwin's series was finished. The text appeared Dec. 28. The follow-



LAOS. Here Royal Laotian troops repair bridge destroyed by Laotian revolutionaries. Washington threatens to intervene now in Laos.

ing day the *New York Times* declared:

"[State Department] officials acknowledged that the essence of the evidence [answering Sihanouk] was summarized by Hanson W. Baldwin, military correspondent of the *New York Times*."

Baldwin's articles do not deny that the U.S. is preparing an invasion of Cambodia. On the contrary Baldwin presents "evidence" to justify an attack on Cambodia, Laos and North Vietnam.

"Intelligence officers in Vietnam say that the enemy uses six base and sanctuary areas in Cambodia (with others under development), 10 in Laos and three just

across or astride the demilitarized zone."

"The problem of frontiers, and of the enemy's border sanctuaries . . . looms large in campaign plans and strategic considerations for 1968."

Baldwin also reveals that Washington plans to escalate the war in South Vietnam: "Major increases in United States and allied strength have commenced, and United States plans contemplate search-and-destroy sweeps — already starting — into the most important sanctuary and base areas in South Vietnam; the neutralization of 41 of the areas;

"Increased strength in the Me- (Continued on Page 3)

## Sentencing of LeRoi Jones

JAN. 13 — LeRoi Jones, the noted black poet and playwright, and two codefendants are scheduled to be sentenced Jan. 4 in a frame-up conviction on charges of "illegal possession of weapons" growing out of the outbreak in the Newark ghetto last summer. They face a possible three years in jail.

On Jan. 3 Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Vice President, sent the following telegram to Judge Louis Kapp, who will hand down the sentence: "Obvious miscarriage of justice in conviction of LeRoi Jones and codefendants should be reversed. Least you can do is suspend sentence."

LeRoi Jones explains the circumstances leading to his arrest: "After midnight on July 14, 1967, I and my companions were driving in my station wagon, talking and listening to the radio. As we reached the corner of South Orange Ave., which was on our direct route home, we were stopped by at least two carloads of white-helmeted police with shotguns, and several detectives. They advanced on our van; we thought that at most they would check us out, ask for identifications, etc., then let us go.

"We were told to come out of the car. When I opened the door and stepped down, one detective, whom I recognized as having once attended Barringer High School while I was there, reached up to me, screaming that we were 'the bastards' who'd been shooting at them. 'Yes,' he said, 'a blue panel truck.' (My station wagon is an olive-green camper bus.) I said that we had not been shooting at anyone. I told the officer that I thought I remembered him from high school — whereupon he hit me in the face and threw me up against the side of the truck. (The

others had also been taken from the truck.)

"The detective then began to jab me as hard as he could with his pistol in my stomach, asking, 'Where are the guns?' I told him there were no guns. Suddenly it seemed to me that five or six of the officers surrounded me and began to beat me. I was hit perhaps five times on top of my head by nightsticks, and when I fell, some of the officers went about methodically trying to break my hands, elbows and shoulders.

"One officer tried to kick me in the groin — and there were many

punches thrown. As they beat, they kept calling me 'animal,' and asking me, 'Where are the guns?' Inside the wagon, the beating continued. They took us from the wagon and as I was pushed up the stairs at police headquarters, an officer called out, 'Wait a minute,' and then punched me in the pit of my stomach. I fell to the ground clutching my stomach.

"Inside the station the police director was standing behind the desk. I asked him had he ordered me beaten. He replied, 'They got you, didn't they?' — smiling. An (Continued on Page 3)

## Antiwar Leader Gets Deadly Bomb in Mail

NEW YORK, Jan. 3 — An attempt was made on the life of Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, on Dec. 30. A bomb was mailed to his home in Hampton, N.J., disguised as a Christmas package.

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, denounced the attempted murder in a statement released here today. "The evidence clearly indicates that this was a serious, planned attempt to murder Dave Dellinger, one of the most prominent antiwar figures in this country. The atmosphere which led to this attack is the direct result of the administration's orgy of violence in Vietnam and its attempts to smear and slander the antiwar movement," Halstead said.

Dellinger, who is editor of the pacifist magazine *Liberation*, became suspicious of the lethal pack-

age when he noticed it had the return address of the New York Peace Parade Committee. As he began to open it gingerly, he noticed wires, and immediately took it outside.

Police who defused the bomb indicated that if Dellinger had opened the package a different way, it would have exploded. The bomb consisted of a deadly hand grenade, a bottle of gasoline, a detonation cap and an electrical triggering device.

"Such terrorist acts will not intimidate the antiwar movement, which is more determined than ever to stop the violence of Washington's war," Halstead said, "and to close ranks to oppose any witch-hunting and physical attacks."

Fred Halstead has worked closely with Dave Dellinger both in the National Mobilization and the New York Parade Committee.



Paul Boutelle Reports

# LBJ Tools Up Ghetto Cops

America's racist capitalist system, which was built and is being sustained on violence, has no recourse in handling the ghetto rebellions other than harsher laws and more police power.

Within the past month there have been a number of interesting items in the press regarding our law-making and law-enforcing bodies.

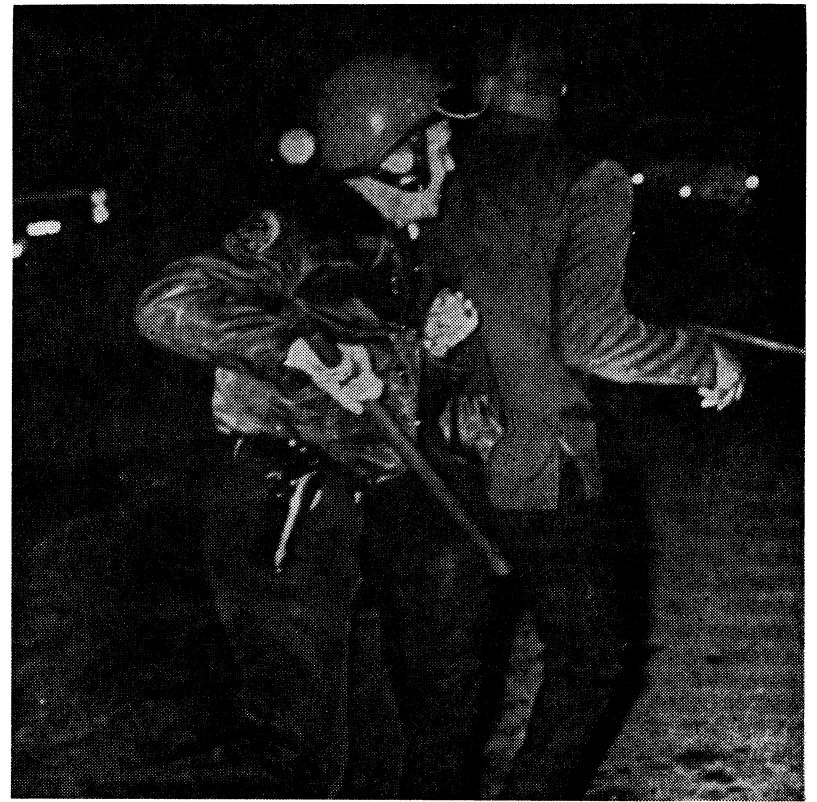
Secretary of Defense McNamara authorized the early discharge of certain servicemen who wish to accept an offer of a job with a civilian police department. Such men may be freed from the service up to 90 days earlier than otherwise.

It was announced that a program for recruiting up to 15,000 military men to fill police vacancies is being put into effect immediately. McNamara said this was being done at the request of President Johnson, and a test program along these lines is being set up with the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, D.C.

The *New York Times* of Dec. 28 reported that our "dear" President signed an "anti-crime" — read, "anti-black" — bill for the District of Columbia. He decided to approve rather than veto it and to accept whatever criticism might be forthcoming from the black community and civil rights supporters.

The bill has been attacked even by the Congressional liberals, so you know it must be pretty raw. The law authorizes the Washington police to question "suspects" for up to three hours before arraigning them. It provides penalties of up to 10 years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine for "rioting" or "inciting to riot." The liberals charge that the measure is aimed at the black community.

And then in Chicago on Dec. 27, Mayor Daley told the city council that the "violence and brutality" in the city must be ended. Daley would like Chicago to adopt a



**MORE REPRESSION.** Cop in Louisville, Ky., last year. More cops, more repressive laws are ruling-class answer to needs of black people.

"stop and frisk" ordinance to allow cops to stop and search anyone. Two days later, the *New York Times* reported that a year-long investigation had uncovered Ku Klux Klan activity in the Chicago Police Department.

Six patrolmen were involved and a raid on the home of one of them turned up a supply of weapons and 200,000 rounds of ammunition. What worries the black communities of America are the "law enforcers" who have Klan mentality without necessarily belonging to the Klan.

In Miami Police Chief Walter E. Headley told a news conference on Dec. 27 that shotguns, police

dogs and the city's new stop and frisk law would all be employed as part of a new get-tough policy aimed primarily at "young hoodlums" in the black community. "This is war," he said. "I mean it, every bit of it."

"We don't mind being accused of police brutality," he said, and added, "they haven't seen anything yet."

Headley explained, "We haven't had any serious problems with civil uprising and looting, because I've let the word filter down that when the looting starts, the shooting starts."

—Paul Boutelle

A threatened New York City transit strike was called off a few moments before the 7 a.m. Jan. 1 deadline when negotiators for the two unions and the Transit Authority reached a severely compromised settlement of the workers' original demands.

The two unions, the Transport Workers, representing the subway workers, and the Amalgamated Transit Union, the bus drivers, had the "assistance" of a representative of the office of AFL-CIO President George Meany, and Harry Van Arsdale, president of the city Central Labor Council and cochairman of a newly created 50-man Labor-Management Council of New York City. The Transit Authority had a three-man mediations panel, a representative of the Taylor (RAT) Act State Public Employees Board, a representative of the governor's office and several other "interested parties."

The unions' original demands included a 30 percent increase in pay. They got 5 percent for the first 18 months of the new two-year contract, 6 percent for the last six months.

They had asked for a reduction in work hours to 30. They got nothing on this demand.

They had asked for the right of workers to retire at half pension after 20 years of service. They got that right, only provided the worker had also reached 50 years of age.

Everyone, except many workers, seems very happy over the settlement. Matthew Guinan, TWU president and chief negotiator, went on the air New Year's morning to praise Mayor Lindsay with disgusting effusiveness—it couldn't have happened without the help of the mayor, etc., etc., etc.

I talked to a subway change-maker this morning about the set-

tlement. He had refused to sell me more than two tokens — because they were in short supply! When I suggested, "Until they raise the fare?" he assured me that this was not the case.

Then when I asked him how he liked the settlement (after I told him I was also a trade unionist and a writer), he said: "We didn't get a damn thing."

"Will it be ratified by the membership?" I asked.

His look spoke volumes. "You know damned well it will be ratified!"

\* \* \*

The J. P. Stevens Textile corporation, headed by former Secretary of Defense Robert Stevens, has finally capitulated to the many NLRB and federal court rulings finding it guilty of unfair labor practices. Last week the company's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court from a lower court ruling was turned down.

As a result 69 workers involved in one case and 18 in another will be reinstated on their jobs — some of them will receive as much as \$30,000 in back pay and reimbursement for any medical bills they incurred during their five years of unemployment. (While employed they had been covered with a paternalistic medical plan.)

The Textile Workers Union estimates that the Supreme Court action would cost the company a minimum of \$1 million. The workers had been fired for joining the union. Hundreds of others were intimidated from either joining or remaining in the union. The company used every known tactic of union-busting — labor spies, posting names of union members on bulletin boards with threats of dismissal unless the workers withdrew, the use of the press, the pulpit, wives of supervisory personnel calling on workers' wives, the cutting off of credit in local stores, evictions, and even, in one case, firing the father of a union member because he refused to force his son to leave town!

The average wage of textile workers in the south is \$73 a week. Most of the textile mills are owned either by the Stevens corporation or by Burlington Industries — both corporations run-aways from highly organized New England states. The mills are located all the way from Georgia through Texas, north to Tennessee and Kentucky.

The victory over Stevens opens the door for the Textile Workers to carry on a real organization drive to bring these several hundred thousand underpaid, over-worked men and women toward a better life.

\* \* \*

The seven-week bus strike that tied up the Twin Cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul) during the height of the Xmas shopping season has been settled. We have not as yet received word as to what the terms of the settlement are.

However, from a previous letter from our Minneapolis correspondent, we know that the union demands were for a 50 cent an hour increase for both drivers and mechanics. We also learned that Local 1005 of the Amalgamated Transit Union has an entirely new leadership, most of whom came directly out of the shops and buses. And apparently this new leadership dipped back into history to adopt some of the union democracy that Teamsters Local 574-544 taught those cities in the process of turning them from "White Cities" (open shop) into union towns. The negotiators in this bus strike are empowered to bargain only. They cannot accept or sign anything without full membership approval.

—Marvel Scholl

## Support Asked In Queens Case

NEW YORK — People are urged to come to the Kew Gardens Court House in Queens to support the "17 African-Americans Accused" during court proceedings at 9:30 a.m. on Jan. 17. All 17 defendants have been asked to be present during pretrial hearings when the judge will rule on various motions submitted by the defense.

The "Seventeen" were framed-up last June in connection with an alleged plot to kill Roy Wilkins. Only two of the defendants were charged with conspiracy to commit murder. The rest were indicted under the unconstitutional New York criminal anarchy law.

The 17 defendants have sent out a letter to supporters of the case thanking them for the "firm support" given during 1967 and asking people to come to the courthouse on Jan. 17. To get to the courthouse by subway, you take the "E" or "F" train to the Kew Gardens-Union Turnpike stop and walk one block.

Contributions for the defense should be sent to: The National Legal Defense Fund for the 17 African-Americans Accused, c/o Allied Federal Savings and Loan Association, 115-02 Merrick Blvd., Jamaica, New York.

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

## SOCIALIST FUND

# Over the Top!

By Evelyn Reed  
Fund Director

Herewith we jubilantly publish the windup scoreboard of the three-month Socialist Fund drive. The goal of \$20,000 has not only been met but exceeded by \$522.50.

From beginning to end this campaign has been conducted with enthusiastic confidence in all the regions from coast to coast, and each has come through with its quota or better. This generous response to our appeal makes possible the continuation and expansion of our activities for the cause of a socialist America in this important election year of 1968.

The voters will have an alternative to the Democratic and Republican war makers in the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Halstead and Boutelle. These candidates are already out in the field and on TV and radio, speaking on college campuses, before antiwar groups and black militants. They are presenting their revolutionary proposals for changing this country into a better place for the great majority of American people.

But there is also an international aspect to their campaign. The White House and Pentagon loom before the rest of the world as a menacing power for evil, propping up reactionary regimes and raining death upon the Vietnamese people. In our election campaign the people of other nations can only be heartened by the socialist opposition to the policies of the Johnson administration.

A great new year is before us — thanks to our contributors.

Most of these are young people who have recently been attracted to socialism. It is fitting, therefore, that the last word in this successful fund drive be given to a veteran couple from the West Coast who helped lift the "General" into first place. Here's part of their holiday message:

"The enthusiastic response to the campaign is very encouraging; it is an indication that socialist ideas are gaining new momentum among many young people who are absorbing them so rapidly. We believe that with your expanding movement in the year ahead of us, new things will be done that have never been done before."

## Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
General	\$ 600	\$ 825.50	138
New York	5,100	5,330	105
Boston	1,200	1,250	104
Newark	100	102	102
San Francisco	1,200	1,210	101
Allentown	125	125	100
Chicago	1,500	1,500	100
Cleveland	1,200	1,200	100
Denver	70	70	100
Detroit	1,200	1,200	100
Los Angeles	4,000	4,000	100
Oakland-Berkeley	1,400	1,400	100
Philadelphia	600	600	100
St. Louis	60	60	100
San Diego	150	150	100
Seattle	300	300	100
Twin Cities	1,200	1,200	100
	\$20,000	\$20,522.50	103

## ... Culture

(Continued from Page 1)

Julio Bidobia, the principal organizer of the Congress, emphasized that while Cuba saw great value in the Congress, it had no intention of making any proposal that the Congress establish any kind of international organization, or adopt any particular programmatic stand. "We want only an exchange of opinions and ideas," he said. "The important thing," he added, "is that this will be the first opportunity in many years for such an exchange of views."

Asked if Fidel would attend the Congress, or address it, Bidobia said there was not yet official word on this. However, he added, Fidel is very much interested in cultural problems, particularly in the development of a cultural program for Cubans who are not professional artists.

OUR MAN IN HAVANA

# Christmas Day in Cuba

HAVANA, Cuba (Free Territory of the Americas) Jan. 1 — After a week — spent in good part in getting settled down — it is possible to record first impressions only. Perhaps I can best do so by simply transcribing the notes I have taken since I arrived at the airport in Mexico City to board the Cubana Airlines plane for Havana.

It is something of an experience to leave for Cuba by way of Mexico, the only air departure point on the continent. Before you board the plane, Mexican immigration officials put you through an elaborate security check. They conclude the process by taking your photograph. A Latin diplomat commented, "Everyone takes it for granted it's for the CIA."

Arriving in Havana was much nicer than leaving Mexico. A Cuban-American, returning after a number of years, told me that security was very tight now, and we would probably be grilled by the police. If there were any police around when we landed, they weren't evident.

Baggage-checking was minimal. I had misplaced the key to my suitcase. The Cuban immigration official could have whacked it open, but he went to the trouble of hunting up a box of old keys and found one that fit.

When I was here in 1960, the U.S. economic blockade had just begun and its effects were not yet felt as they are today. There is not the same euphoria as there was in 1960, but morale is good — particularly so when you consider the harsh problems the U.S. has created for Cuba.

Despite the remarkable educational program, there is still a shortage of trained technical personnel.

Clothing and other commodities are available in only minimal quantities. Food is not abundant, but distribution is generally equitable and no one goes hungry.

Education, medical care, and many other things are now free, and with rents sharply reduced or eliminated, people are able to manage on their incomes. Cuba is not utopia, but it offers a solid demonstration of the worth of socialist methods, and is a wonderful place to be.

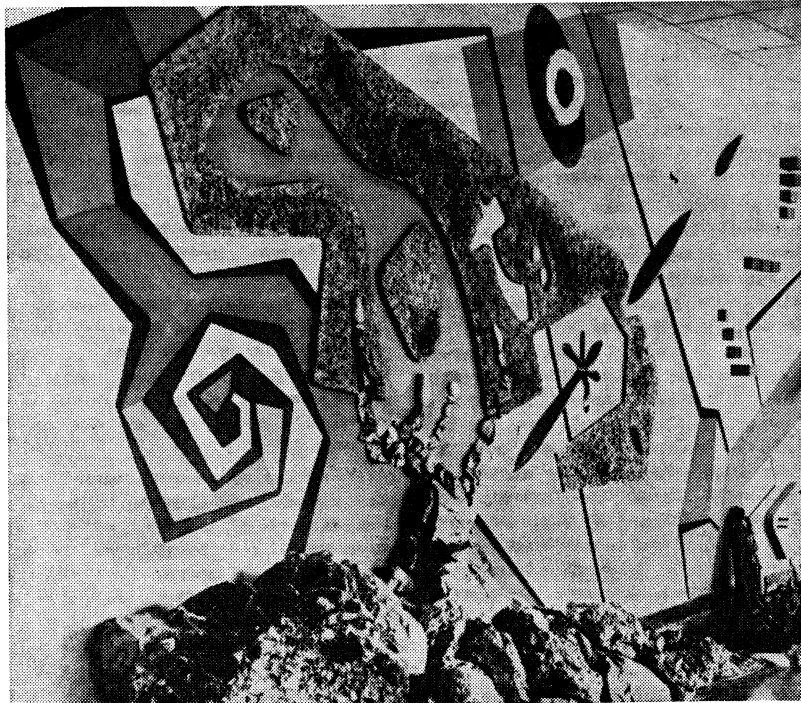
Arriving in Cuba during the holidays doesn't provide a rounded picture of everyday Cuban life, anymore than it would if you arrived in the U.S. during Christmas. The Christmas spirit is subdued here because of Che's death.

## ... LeRoi Jones

(Continued from Page 1) officer then grabbed me, asked me to take off my belt. He ran his hand in my pocket, pulling out my wallet — later I discovered that the officer had taken about \$65 and a checkbook out of the wallet.

"We were then taken to City Hospital; I was dragged in and handcuffed in a wheel chair. The 'doctors' put eight or nine stitches and one doctor shouted at me: 'You're a poet, huh? Well, you won't be writing any poems for a long time now.' (At no time were we allowed to make a phone call. At no time were we read our rights.)

"We were then taken to police headquarters on Franklin St., fingerprinted and brought into the courtroom and arraigned. The prosecutor asked for \$25,000 bail for me, which the judge allowed. I was taken to Essex County Jail and put into solitary confinement, where I remained until I was released. (All motions for lowering the bail were denied.)"



CUBAN MURAL. This is on wall of dormitory of "Liberty" school center. Cuban art has not been restricted by Stalinist dogma of "socialist realism."

But old friends and new ones are enjoying the holidays, and, of course, if you want to be a part of the scene, you go along. So a first report on Havana has a certain festive quality.

Christmas Eve away from home can be a lonely business, but I had the good fortune to be invited to have dinner with the family of a young Cuban doctor I had just met, who had just completed the two years of rural service Cuban doctors now undertake when they graduate from medical school.

He was just back from Oriente province, and had brought back a small pig (Cuba's Christmas turkey) which he had purchased from an Oriente farmer and which the local party had given him permission to take to Havana.

The dinner was at the home of his parents. Present were his father (a retired railroad worker), his mother, his sister, his girl friend, and a young lady "from the country" who is the most fatal *femme fatale* I have ever met. Her name is Moraima. She is four years old and a subject for a story by herself.

Their house is in the Miramar district, which used to be the wealthy section. The former owner went "90 miles." Through a fluke, the railroad worker was able to rent the house when rents were cut. Now his rent is minimal.

He had been fortunate in that he had worked the year round on the railroad for 45 years (he retired when his son graduated from medical school). His sister and brother-in-law had both worked for the Department of Public Health, and when Batista came to power, they had both lost their jobs. When the revolution triumphed, they got their jobs back and now both are also retired.

I had assumed Moraima was a grandchild, but she is not. In one period there was a not insignificant amount of CIA-organized counterrevolutionary activity in the Escambray mountains. Government forces moved in and stamped out the counterrevolution.

A number of farmers who had cooperated with the counterrevolutionaries were jailed. Then a process of rehabilitation was begun for them and their families. Their families were brought to Havana and installed in beautiful Miramar homes vacated by "90-milers." After a period of rehabilitation for them and their imprisoned husbands, they were relocated in other parts of the country. Homes were built for them and they were given jobs on state farms.

Moraima was from one of those families. Her five older brothers and sisters and her mother were

set up in the house across the street from the family I was visiting and they became fast friends. Now Moraima lives in Las Villas province, but several times a year, when someone is coming to Havana, Moraima's mother sends her to spend a month or so with her "family" here.

She is a healthy, active, altogether captivating child. After she listened with great interest to my English, she announced that I must be one of the Three Kings, because I spoke with a foreign tongue.

Christmas day was spent with a joyful reunion with a dear friend. During my visit here in 1960, I was adopted by "Pepe," a good revolutionary and wonderful human being. He had shown us many things that no mere tourist could hope to find alone. At that time Pepe worked for a private medical clinic, now a part of the Ministry of Public Health.

Pepe and his wife were celebrating their 19th wedding anniversary, and I was included in the celebration. I worked my way through another excellent meal, including some very good Bulgarian wine. We then toured Havana in Pepe's Rambler, which also was celebrating its 19th anniversary, but still going fairly strong despite the difficulty in finding substitutes for no-longer-available American parts.

We celebrated with cocktails at La Torre (The Tower) a very swank club. It sits atop the Edificio Fosca, Havana's tallest building, which offers a spectacular view of the city. Now it houses *becados*, scholarship students.

Dining out is now quite popular, for it helps to stretch the ration. Most foods are available in restaurants, including a number that aren't available on the ration. While the restaurants are somewhat expensive, a good number of people can afford them. Without rent-gougers on your back, with free education and medical care, etc., it is possible for Cubans to devote a larger part of their budget to going to a club or café.

Most of the old clubs are still open, but now they are patronized by Cubans. There are several big, popular sidewalk cafés.

Just a few days here gives the impression that the eradication of jim crow is deep-going. Black people are at formerly all-white places like the Havana Libre (the old Hilton) and the Hotel Nacional, and at whatever restaurants and clubs I've been too. At the very plush Torre, at least one-third of the people were black.

—Harry Ring

# THE MILITANT

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## ... Vietnam Escalation

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kong Delta; the maintenance of a mobile screen of troops along the Cambodia and Laotian frontiers; the completion of an obstacle, backed by marines and South Vietnamese south of the demilitarized zone, and continuous operations against the Vietcong."

Baldwin's articles give one an idea of the propaganda the Pentagon would like to see directed at the antiwar movement. "Victory on the battlefield has eluded the enemy," he says.

"The military command in Saigon and United States Embassy officials see hard fighting ahead, but are more worried about the reaction at home. They fear that the enemy may attempt to win at the negotiating table the victory he has been denied in the field."

At the same time, "The infliction of heavy casualties, particularly upon United States units, and the spectacular capture of district or provincial capitals . . . is intended to appeal to the opponents of the war in both Vietnam and in the United States and to impress world public opinion."

According to this warped line of reasoning, any offer of talks from Hanoi — and the fact is offers for cease-fires have been made since January 1966 — is really designed to allow the "enemy" to "reinforce" during the cease-fire period.

But if the "enemy" is not offering to negotiate and instead continues to battle the invading U.S. armies, what he is really trying to do is bolster world support for an end to the war. Only the Strangeloves in Washington could come up with such a perfectly self-contradicting argument.

The fact that Sihanouk backed down under U.S. pressure and now says he would permit the so-

called "hot pursuit" of guerrilla units across the Cambodian border in no way changes the character of aggression that would really be involved.

Cambodia is a neutral country which opposes the U.S. invasion of Vietnam. When U.S. troops cross the border it means the war has engulfed another nation.

It would only be a matter of time before Cambodia would find herself an occupied country like South Vietnam and Thailand with every probability Washington would attempt to set up a prowar, pro-U.S. military dictatorship.

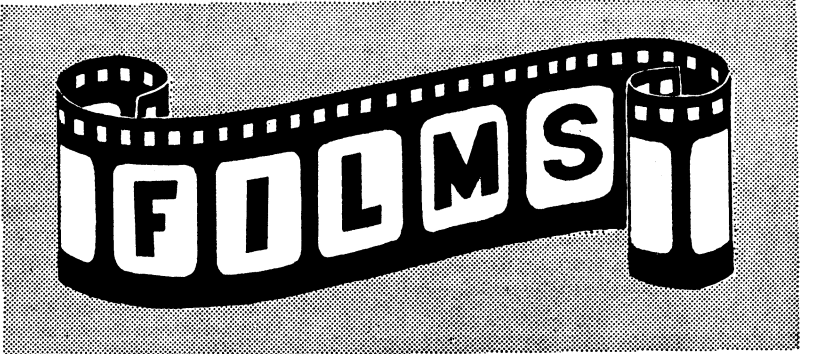
It is one more step toward turning the Vietnam aggression into a continental Southeast Asian war which could involve China, and ultimately bring on a third world war.

The truth about what is really happening in Vietnam is not going to be found in a series of articles emanating from the Pentagon. Official sources have lied about the war from the very beginning and the latest blast is no exception.

A hint of just how great the distortion in reporting about the war really is came in a dispatch from Saigon written by *New York Times* correspondent R. W. Apple, Jr., Jan. 1:

"American officials at almost all levels, both in Saigon and in the provinces, say they are under steadily increasing pressure from Washington to produce convincing evidence of progress, especially by the South Vietnamese, in the next few months . . .

"I was in a briefing the other day," a middle-level civilian said, "and the man briefing us came out and said it: An election year is about to begin. And the people we work for are in the business of re-electing President Johnson in November."



## THE PRESIDENT'S ANALYST

This is James Coburn's fourth big movie and no letdown. In fact it's his funniest so far and this time the targets go beyond other spy movies and westerns. Included for various levels of ridicule are the FBI and J. Edgar; the government's passion for security; depersonalized corporations—AT & T is the main villain; hippies; liberals; and the Oedipus complex.

For a theme, the President (who never appears on the screen) needs a psychiatrist. But anyone who learns the inner secrets of the chief executive is going to be bait for every spy in the world and eventually is going to know so much the FBI will have no alternative but to bump him off. It's a good take-off point and gets better.

For instance, the "liberals" are a New Jersey family whose father has collected an arsenal to prepare for the showdown with the "far

right"; the mother and her girl friends learn karate for games instead of bridge; and junior has an amateur spy kit with which he has tapped the telephone.

When government agents burst down the door of this happily armed typical American home to murder Coburn, junior exclaims, "Oh goodie!" and stations himself for the shooting match.

Godfrey Cambridge has the main supporting part as a black CIA agent. (It's possible author-director Theodore J. Flicer has a penchant for the more sophisticated intelligence agency.) At any rate, Cambridge's performing is reminiscent of "Purlie Victorious" and just as good.

Severn Darden is a sympathetic Communist Spy who really does hate his father; and Joan Delaney, an attractive newcomer, falls in love with Coburn in order to tape-record him if he talks in his sleep — for you know who.

—J.W.

# Halstead, Rubin Debate

[The following are excerpts from a debate on "What Policy for the Antiwar Movement?" The debate was held at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on Dec. 29, between Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and Jerry Rubin, an antiwar activist formerly of Berkeley, Calif.]

[About 250 people attended the debate. The audience was by and large representative of the various sections of the youth antiwar movement. The question and answer period was lively, and many stayed on to continue the discussion informally.]

[The debate was chaired by Linda Morse, executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee.]

[These excerpts were made by The Militant. They were taken from a tape recording and were not edited by the participants.]

[The following is from Jerry Rubin's initial presentation.]

... There is no such thing as the antiwar movement. That's a concept created by the mass media to fuck up our minds. What's happening is energy exploding in many different directions and people declaring themselves free. Free from property hangups, free from success fixations, free from positions, titles, names, hierarchies, responsibilities, schedules, rules, routines, regular habits ...

For the Socialist Workers Party to organize a debate called "What Policy for the Antiwar Movement?" is an obscenity. It shows once more the fact that ideology is a disease of the brain. It is hinged on the assumption that there is a specific movement which can be directed. It is hinged on the assumption that the movement needs leaders to figure out what's next.

But if there was one lesson to be learned at the Pentagon and at Whitehall it is that the young people who came didn't give a hang about the political theories, ideologies, plans, organizations, meetings, negotiations with the cops. The activists came out to do what was real to them. The only vanguard was the vanguard in action.

## Too Many Meetings

All those hundred hours of bullshit meetings were just that — bullshit; and we could have better spent the time listening to the Beatles. We had more reasons why not to do things and we held back the energy of the activists...

The new world: the people looting in Newark; the teenagers who spit at the Pentagon and redecorated it with slogans like "Che Lives"; the guerrillas carrying Che's actions throughout Asia, Latin America, and Africa; the thousands of young people in America beginning to ask why and finding out that their elders have no answers, they have only power and age.

That's not an antiwar movement. Those are movements for liberation and for freedom. All these movements for liberation add up to a massive energy force which weakens the ability of the United States to carry out the war and all her other decrepit policies. I support everything which puts people into motion, which creates disruption and controversy, which creates chaos and rebirth...

I approve of letters to the editor, peace candidates and peace referendums, peaceful marches, symbolic sit-ins, disruptive sit-ins, disruptive street demonstrations and sabotage. That's guerrilla war in America: everyone doing his own thing, a symphony of varied styles, rebellion for every member of the family — each to his own alienation...

What's needed is a new genera-

tion of nuisances. A new generation of people who are freaky, crazy, irrational, sexy, angry, irreligious and mad. People who burn draft cards. People who burn dollar bills. People who burn M.A. and doctoral degrees. People who say to hell with your goals. People who lure the youth with music, pot and LSD. People who proudly carry Vietcong flags. People who redefine reality. People who redefine the norm...

The war in Vietnam will be stopped when the embarrassment of carrying on the war becomes greater than the embarrassment of admitting defeat. A lot of things embarrass America. A lot of things embarrass a country so dependent on image: Youth alienation, campus demonstrations and disruptions, peace candidates, underground railroads of draft dodgers to Canada, trips to banned countries, thousands of people giving their middle finger to the Pentagon over national television...

Every so-called democracy for its own functional wholeness

within the electoral system, within the march and rally, mass demonstration syndrome, within the style of middle class America, and through the medium of the slogan and the speech and the small circulation newspaper...

Repression turns demonstration protests into wars. Actors into heroes. Masses of individuals into a community. Repression eliminates the bystander, the neutral observer, the theorist. It forces everyone to pick a side. A movement cannot grow without repression. The Left needs an attack from the Right and the Center. Life is theater, and we are the guerrillas attacking the shrines of authority, from the priests and the holy dollar to the two-party system. Zapping people's minds and putting them through changes in actions in which everyone is emotionally involved.

The street is the stage. You are the star of the show. And everything you were once taught is up for grabs.

The long-haired beasts, smoking

middle-classer, it may even win his mind or even win his vote, but how are you going to get him off his ass? Alienating people is a necessary process in getting them to move. Mr. America, the war is now at home, not on Huntley-Brinkley; it's right outside your window. Wait, now it's inside your living room, inside your child's head...

When we were simply marching and petitioning and making moral pleas to the government to end the war, the good, hard, common-sense soul of America knew we were only kids, that we were not serious...

When the movement moved into the streets and began to act in the dialect of power, when the movement got tough, we broke away all those barriers preventing us from reaching the average guy.

America understands Stokely Carmichael; and America understands peace demonstrators fighting in the streets. And that is why we are a lot more dangerous than a hundred Martin Luther Kings.

**Scenario 1:** The time: spring, 1968. The place: New York City. The city is thrown into a psychological paralysis by the plans of 50,000 peace demonstrators to close down Manhattan by disrupting the 50 most crowded traffic thoroughfares at peak working hours.

## Chicago Demonstration

**Scenario 2:** The time: August, 1968. The place: Chicago. Chicago is in panic. The American Youth Festival has brought 500,000 young people to Chicago to camp out, smoke pot, dance to wild music, burn draft cards and roar like wild bands throughout the streets, forcing the President to bring troops back from Vietnam to keep order in the city while he is nominated under the protection of tear gas and bayonets.

**Scenario 3:** The time: sometime in the future. The place: America. The government sends more troops to the spreading fires of guerrilla war throughout Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, while strikes and the march of guerrilla action continues to mount in India, Indonesia, The Congo and Brazil. At home Chicago, Watts, Oakland, and Harlem are burning and the people there have poured into the streets taking the goods that they claim are rightfully theirs and broadcasting that all white businesses and buildings now belong to the black community.

Law and order seems to have completely broken down. A hundred colleges have been hit by student strikes. Hundreds of thousands of young white people are jamming the downtown areas of many big cities paralyzing traffic.

Some young white and black teenagers broke into the studios of the major television networks and are now broadcasting to the nation. They are demanding the withdrawal of all American troops around the world, the immediate distribution of food and clothing free, the immediate conversion of all areas of the economy to serve people's needs free, and the replacement of police by a people's militia. The authority of the government of the United States is in grave danger.

[The following is from Fred Halstead's initial presentation.]

... Jerry defines ideology as a disease of the brain. Because I knew that he was going to say that, I looked it up in the dictionary, and they had two definitions. One was "a systematic scheme or coordinated body of ideas," and the other, which I daresay is the cold-war definition: "An extremist socio-political program or philosophy constructed wholly or in part on factitious or hypothetical ideational bases."

Well, obviously, if by ideology

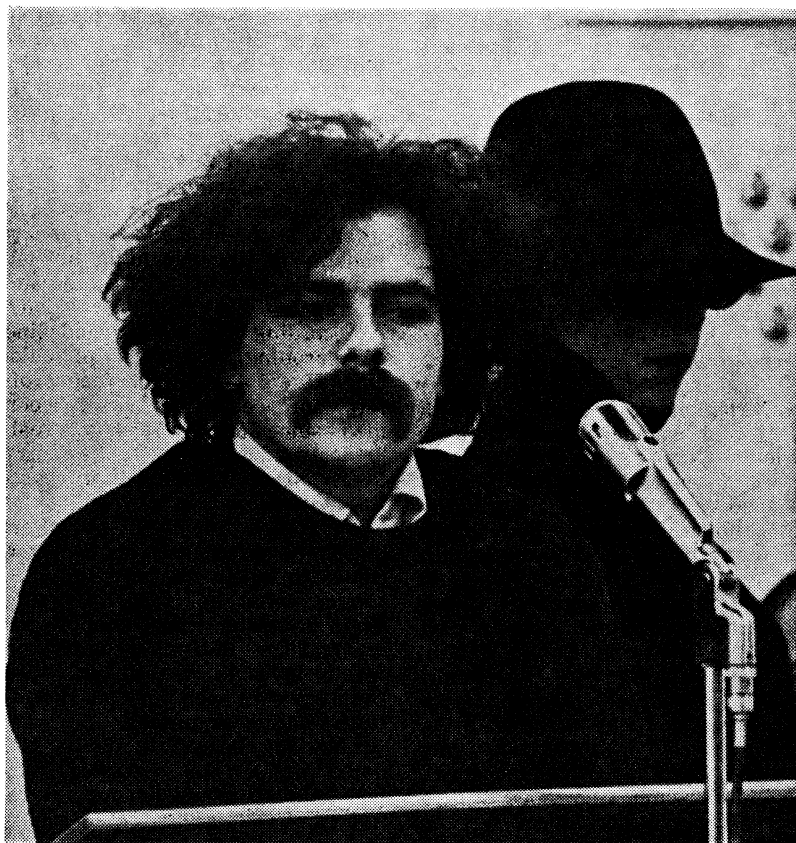


Photo by Shannon

**JERRY RUBIN.** Young lady behind him was described by Rubin as one of his "bodyguards."

needs the existence of a Marxist socialist party, like the Socialist Workers Party, to demonstrate free speech. Fred Halstead is LBJ's dream presidential opponent.

The overwhelming, overwhelming number of American people will never hear of Halstead, or the Socialist Workers Party. And in this electronic media age, when the world is indeed like a village, that says something about the Socialist Workers Party.

Even if they did hear him, they would never understand exactly what he's getting at. Too much word jargon. Fred deals in ideology and in words and slogans, which can be easily ignored, placed into a different context and misinterpreted, or just not understood...

The dead giveaway of the Trots is what happens at demonstrations. What are they doing? Selling *Militants*. That's where it's at. They go to demonstrations to sell newspapers! What more need be said, really...

The Trots are uninspiring, lack music, color, and their movement's a pale gray. They want to be secretaries for somebody else's revolution, not revolutionaries themselves. And while waiting for the working class to revolt they do all they can bureaucratically to see that the movement is contained

pot, evading the draft and stopping traffic during demonstrations is a hell of a more threat to the system than the so-called politico with leaflets of support for the Vietcong and the coming working-class revolution.

Politics is how you live your life, not who you vote for or who you support...

This generational movement cuts across class and race lines. The generational revolt in America is not explained by Freud or by Marx. It is a war between historical generations and the future belongs to us because America is defending institutions like ownership and nation, and these institutions no longer respond to human needs.

We did not build CBS, the Democratic Party, the Catholic Church, and we want no place in them. Vietnam is a case of the past trying to suppress the future. The American economy has rendered white middle-class youth and black working-class youth useless, because we are not needed to make the economy run.

Uselessness breeds revolution. The only exciting and meaningful thing to do in America today is to disrupt her institutions and build new ones...

Moral persuasion may work on the guilt feelings of the American

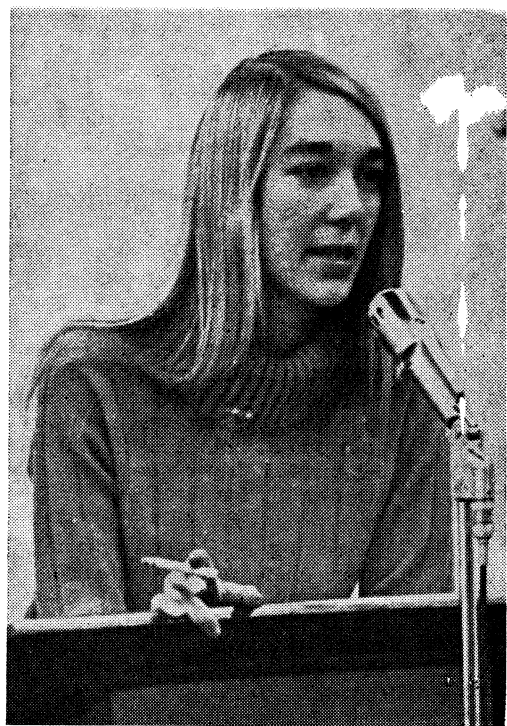


Photo by Shannon

**Linda Morse**

we mean the second, of course let's get rid of it. That's kind of like dogma. But if we mean the first, a systematic scheme or coordinated body of ideas, I have to plead guilty. I read books, and I try to learn from the past...

People who are particularly critical of the antiwar movement are fond of saying that it hasn't accomplished what it set out to do — which was to stop the war. Well it has accomplished a great deal; and I'd like to list a few of its accomplishments.

For one thing, it has established the principle of nonexclusion. It was built on the principle of nonexclusion, which has undermined the McCarthyism of the '50s — a different McCarthy — and dealt a considerable blow to the hysterical anticommunism which is one of the elements of the cold war. An element which has to be destroyed in order to really change the situation in this country...

Now that's one thing. It's established considerable inroads into anticommunism and it has improved the civil liberties condition of the country. It's also prevented a prowar hysteria and a full mobilization behind the war. That's also very important. But the movement hasn't stopped the war yet.

Well, who can stop the war? Can the war be stopped by the disenfranchised, alienated, middle-class youth? Or the students? Can they actually, themselves, form bands which can go out and literally, physically stop the war by disrupting the traffic and by getting in front of troop trains and so on? I'm not knocking these things. Sometimes they are good symbolism and sometimes they are less than good symbolism, but I don't knock them in and of themselves.

But do they actually stop the war? The answer is no. No. Not any more than a symbolic march down a street does. It's all symbolism. It's all theater in that sense.

Well, who can stop the war? Very obviously, those who produce and transport the war materiel and those who use it. The workers and the GIs. They can stop the war. They've got the physical raw power to do it. And they don't have to run in an election or go to jail either, necessarily, in order to stop it. They can stop it without that. They've got raw power.

As a matter of fact, we hear a lot about "from dissent to resistance." There has already begun to develop, partly as a result of the activities of the antiwar movement, a form of resistance in these

# te on Antiwar Strategy



by Shannon

categories of the population who do have the raw power to stop the war. A form of resistance. A low-level form, as yet.

For lack of a better phrase I'll call it the lead-in-the-bottom or foot-dragging form of resistance. You don't have masses of GIs doing what the four sailors did or subjecting themselves individually to five years in jail, or something like that. But you do have masses of them dragging their feet. They don't have their heart in this war. I'd like to quote a paragraph from a book called *The Air War in Vietnam*. It's published by Bantam books. This fellow is not writing from the point of view of an antiwar person, just from the point of view of a military technician.

He says, "There is, however, a rather serious thing going on in the Tactical Air Command as this is written." The Tactical Air Command is that wing of the U.S. armed forces which bombs North Vietnam.

"A squadron of pilots is being lost for various noncombat reasons every month. There can be little doubt that some of this is due to the fact that TAC pilots, rightly or wrongly, feel that the U.S. public couldn't care less if they go up over the Red" — that's the Red River — "and bust their butts. The public has more interesting things to think about apparently. At best they are just bored with TAC's little problems. At worst they regard them as bloodthirsty hawks. In either case it's not really an incentive to go up there around those SAM sites when you could, merely by signing your name to an airline contract be sitting up front in a Northwest Yellow Bird or one of those wild Braniff 707s with the stewardesses dressed like dancing girls and not a SAM within 10,000 miles."

## New Phenomenon

And as he says, a squadron of pilots make that decision every month.

That didn't happen in the second world war and it didn't even happen in the Korean war. It's happening now. One of the reasons it's happening is because of the visibility of the antiwar movement . . .

There are strikes taking place in this country — not against the war but for wages and so on. In the second world war they threatened to draft the miners for going on strike during the war. They had to set up their strike so they struck a couple of days and then went back to work for the war effort and then struck a couple of more days a week later and so on.

Now, if anybody wants a raise for whatever reason, they go out on strike and nobody bats an eye — right in the midst of the war. And don't kid yourself that doesn't have an effect on the war effort, and that continuation of that won't have an effect.

They just don't consider the war, even though the individual workers involved may not consider themselves antiwar, yet. They don't consider the war worth sacrificing for. That too is a kind of resistance, which this antiwar movement is in part responsible for . . .

Now the problem for the student militants is to reach those sections of the population and mount their resistance further. That's the problem of the antiwar movement. Anything that assists that helps to stop the war; and anything that interferes with that is really either irrelevant or worse.

The new militancy that has been burgeoning in the antiwar movement, partly reflected through these street actions, is good. I ran up the street during Stop the Draft Week and I was at the Pen-

tagon and so on. I'll tell you right now that if you hadn't had those hundred hours of boring meetings you never would have had that confrontation at the Pentagon.

If you hadn't had the 150- or 200,000 people attending the big demonstration there you never would have gotten 35,000 at the face of the Pentagon. We would have gotten murdered. We would never have even gotten close to it.

What gives the movement its power to transcend the limits of the system — police negotiations and the lies of the press and stuff like that—is its mass. And in order to get the masses you have to achieve unity of diverse forces and that takes some careful, detailed work, some boring, yes, some boring things!

Unfortunately life isn't set up so that the most important thing in it is not to be bored . . .

And I'll tell you right now, the NLF of South Vietnam does an awful lot of boring, dull things. Stands in line, and sits in places quietly for a long time, and makes very careful preparations, and probably has thousands of boring meetings, unfortunately. And I wish they didn't have to, and I wish we didn't have to. It's our cross to bear . . .

Another thing I'll tell you, you're not going to get the good confrontation — you'll just get overwhelmed by the cops — posing it that you're going to disrupt this or that or the next thing. People are just not going to come to it in as large numbers, and you're only handing it on a silver platter to the cops, who then say they have an excuse to justify tearing you apart.

Give that militancy a goal that's right to the point. Not something that's extraneous, but that's right

formulations. I quote Che Guevara:

"If a government has come to power through some form of popular vote, whether fraudulent or not, and if that government maintains at least the appearance of constitutional law, a guerrilla uprising cannot be brought about until all possible avenues of legal procedure have been exhausted." That's from Che Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare*.

That's not because the revolutionaries had any illusions in those electoral processes, it's because *the mass of the people do!* And you have to test them and proceed through them, in such a way that a confrontation takes place — when the people think they have a right to do what they are doing. Not when masses or a majority of them don't think they have that right. That's a very simple, elementary thing, as I say, and no revolution has ever been made and no major social struggle ever won without understanding that little point . . .

[After the initial presentation, there had been 10 minutes rebuttal time allotted. Jerry Rubin used his time to play records by the Beatles and Bob Dylan, and Fred Halstead passed.]

[The following are brief excerpts from the questions asked of both debaters by the members of the audience.]

**Question [To Rubin]:** In the election campaign you ran in Berkeley last spring you publicized an endorsement of you by the former Democratic candidate for mayor of Berkeley, and called upon students to join your campaign because there was no Democrat running and because you were running against a reactionary Republican. I want to know whether

against the war makers . . . And it's something which is already interfering on a certain level with the war in Vietnam . . .

There is a whole political process — political in the broad sense, not simply electoral — going on in this country of the development of forces which are outside of and independent of the war-making machine and the war makers' parties — and which are opposed to them and which are developing a certain amount of force and power.

The thing is to maintain that process in existence. That's relatively simple when the movement is confined to one issue and confined to the streets. It becomes much more complicated when it gets into elections of candidates . . . A referendum around the war can still be that way. But for candidates, you can't run a single-issue electoral campaign. You have to take a stand on a lot of different issues, and *in particular* on the nature of the system which is the war makers' system: capitalism . . .

The reason I'm running in this election campaign is to make sure that there is a direct confrontation with the war makers, an *anti-capitalist* candidate in the field, however small . . . Now there isn't another one . . .

**Rubin:** . . . I think the war in Vietnam can be ended before the Army or the working class comes over. I would be very depressed if I felt it couldn't happen that way. I think the war can be ended when the cost of carrying out the war becomes greater than the gain . . . when there is such widespread alienation and disruption in America . . . that it just becomes a losing proposition . . .

I think Fred's whole prescription is an excuse for inaction. It's an excuse for coming out once every spring or fall on a demonstration and spending the rest of your time writing leaflets and handing them to soldiers at air bases . . .

**Question [To Rubin]:** Can you give one example from history of any social change whatsoever made by a small group without the support of the masses of the population?

**Rubin:** The purpose of these demonstrations is to act as a catalyst . . . I think right now that what our job is is to build a mass movement of people who understand what it's about and whose lives are committed to action, and who are willing to take risks. And that's what these demonstrations are about. That's the first thing.

## Creating Crises

The second thing is that the only way we're going to reach the broad public is by creating crises in which they're forced to think about things . . .

We can create the kind of disruption in Chicago [at the Democratic Party convention] that they're going to have to deal with very seriously. And if Lyndon Johnson's biggest problem that whole two-week period is how to deal with demonstrations, then that's where the antiwar movement has had some effect.

And the only demonstrations they're concerned about are the demonstrations which disrupt law and order. Their whole hope is that people will come out and make speeches . . . But if we go to Chicago to tear that place up, and we have the numbers to do it — because we can bring a half million young people to Chicago to do it — that's the time when the antiwar movement's going to be talking to the soldiers and to the workers, because that's the language they understand.

**Halstead:** In my opinion, the main thing that was wrong with Stop the Draft Week was precisely that it was advertised as shutting

down Whitehall, and therefore instead of having 10,000 or 20,000 people you only had 5,000, which wasn't enough to do anything that you wanted to do. But if you had had 20,000, you could have done something.

Now the problem with Chicago will be similar. If we start advertising that we're going to shut down the Democratic national convention, we're not going to get very many people to do that. We're going to get the National Guard, we're going to get the Army, we're going to get all of Daley's cops, but we're not going to get very many people to do that. If we advertise it in a different way, and go about it in a way to unite *everybody* who is really against the war to be represented there, we'll have a half a million people there . . .

I personally take this movement very seriously . . . I don't want to get it in a position where a section of it, and a relatively small section of it, incidentally, can get drawn into an activity which can allow cops to chop it to pieces and to alienate it from the rest of the movement and from the broad support in the country which is against the war.

## Witch-hunt Possibility

That would be the most dangerous thing that could happen, because then the powers-that-be — and they're looking for this opportunity — would begin to roll the whole movement back, and your witch-hunt and your McCarthyism . . . would begin. The problem is to keep the masses of people involved, and you don't do that making way-out prognostications that you're not going to carry out.

Far better, in my opinion, to make the point that we're going to put half a million people in front of that convention than to say that you're going to go there and try to physically prevent it from taking place.

**Question [From a Vietnam veteran]:** I'm sort of a case study in support of Fred's argument. Scenario one: 1965, the South China Sea, on the aircraft carrier *Midway*. The Captain comes over and says, "Our planes were jumped by some Vietnamese MIGs. But the final score was two MIGs down." And I yelled, "Yay! We got those dirty bastards!"

Scenario number two: December, 1967. I was sitting in my living room about two nights ago. I watched North Vietnamese women and children putting ack-ack shells in anti-aircraft guns, and I saw a plane go down, and I yelled, "Yay! We got that son-of-a-bitch!"

I wish I hadn't said it either time, because I don't like to see people die. But I'll tell you another thing. Last July I was speaking here as a Vietnam veteran against the war, and somebody asked me, "Do you think there's a chance of ever creating dissent inside the service?" and I said, "No, forget it."

Right now I say don't forget it! Because my buddy's just come home on leave, and he's told me what a lot of the GIs think there.

**Rubin:** The thing is, I haven't said that it's wrong to work with soldiers. We're disagreeing about *how* to work with them. You see, my impression is that Socialist Workers Party people leaflet us, not soldiers. I have never seen them leaflet a soldier. I've been with them. They're always leafletting *me*. I get the opportunity to buy a hundred *Militants* at every demonstration . . .

**Question [To Rubin]:** You know damn well you have to unite everybody. When you have a million people in the UN Plaza there aren't any cops around. But when I see 700 people getting their heads cracked, that ain't action, baby, that's foolishness.



Photo by Shannon

FRED HALSTEAD. Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate.

to the point. Like talking to the draftees and GIs. That's one example. No policeman has an obligation to assist the draft board in brainwashing any draftee, although there are a lot of people who think that the cop has an obligation to keep the doors open.

It's very important the way you put it. If you say that we're going to be there in tens of thousands to talk to the draftees, you'll get 10,000 people there and you'll be able to do it! If you put it the other way you won't.

And a formulation that is reasonable — yes, reasonable! — and legal, as legal as possible. There has never been a revolution made yet that wasn't made with such

you reject that now?

**Rubin:** In my opening statement I didn't mean to imply that I'm against all election campaigns. I meant to say that I'm against election campaigns which don't reach people, election campaigns which don't come out of any community. To the extent to which my campaign was successful it came out of a specific community that existed in Berkeley . . .

Fred's campaign, unfortunately, just is not going to reach people. It's not related to any movement and it doesn't come out of any community . . .

**Halstead:** In this country today, in my opinion, you've already got a political confrontation going

## State of Trade-Union Movement

## Upsurge in Worker Militancy

By Farrell Dobbs

In a recent appraisal of labor trends the *Wall Street Journal* reported: "The growing consensus among the analysts is that the labor relations outlook for 1968 has the ingredients of a political nightmare for Lyndon Johnson and an economic trauma for the country . . . Barring unforeseen changes in the Vietnam war, Federal mediation chief William E. Simkin says he expects a 1968 continuation of this year's danger of strikes disrupting the war effort, with the industry-wide steel and aerospace talks looming as greater potential emergencies than the big strikes of 1967."

Work stoppages in 1967 ran some 50 percent above the 1964-66 level. There were more strikes during the year than in any of the last 14 years. With union demands being pressed militantly, especially by younger workers, and the rank and file generally showing greater readiness to walk off the job, 1968 may well bring new highs in strike statistics.

Collective bargaining clashes in 1968 will focus on major contract expirations involving almost three million workers and on wage reopeners in unexpired contracts for more than a million others. Stiff wage demands are anticipated in an effort to offset war-inflated prices. As usual it is predicted that the capitalist profit-hogs will stubbornly resist union demands. This in turn can be expected to generate increased pressures from the workers for more aggressive union tactics to defend their class interests.

The significance of this trend does not seem to be fully grasped by young people who have never seen the working class really in action. A tendency is shown to dismiss union struggles over "narrow, bread and butter" issues as of little political importance. As new events unfold, however, it will be seen that wage demands are not necessarily all that "narrow," especially under wartime conditions. In today's changing situation, conflicts that begin over economic issues will teach the workers important political lessons as the capitalist government brings increasing pressures to bear against them.

## Viet Referendum Filed in Madison

By Patrick Quinn

MADISON, Wis. — Petitions containing over 8,400 signatures were submitted to the assistant city clerk here on Dec. 22. The press, radio and TV were on hand to witness the culmination of the two-month drive to put the issue of the Vietnam war on the April 2 ballot.

The drive was organized by Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam, made up of individuals and groups opposed to the war, including the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

If it is not blocked by the city administration in some way, the referendum will read: "It is the policy of the City of Madison that there be an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people can determine their own destiny."

The campaign to place the referendum on the ballot represented a massive collective effort on the part of over 250 Madisonians, many of them new to the antiwar movement. Ward organizations were set up and the entire city was canvassed systematically.

In addition, signatures were collected at shopping centers and in the main business district. Black people on Madison's south side were especially receptive to the referendum effort.

The most significant feature of the present labor upsurge is that the workers are tending to put their own class interests ahead of imperialist needs in the Vietnam war. It follows that they will resist capitalist attempts to blunt the union power in the name of the war. Defense of their class interests will thus impel the workers toward a head-on collision with the capitalist government in its role as an antilabor agency. In the process many will begin to learn that any union official who supports the imperialist assault on the Vietnamese people is bound to wind up with a false line on all matters vitally affecting the working class in this country.

As a case in point consider the obscene spectacle at Bal Harbour, which Labor Secretary Wirtz called the "first joint convention of the AFL-CIO and the President's Cabinet." One after another of Johnson's agents took the rostrum to urge upon the assembled union bureaucrats a policy of wage restraint and what would amount to a no-strike pledge. Johnson himself appeared before the December gathering to push his war line. And in the name of the war, he threatened mandatory wage controls if the union bureaucrats failed to impose "self-restraint" upon the workers.

## Support War

George Meany and Co. responded by reaffirming their basic line of unconditional support to the imperialists in Vietnam and the tie-in which follows of unconditional surrender to the warlords in Washington. This means the union bureaucrats will continue their efforts to impose a no-strike policy where "war-essential" facilities are involved. They will also push their line of "voluntary" arbitration of contract disputes in general. As the record showed in the recent railway shopcrafts strike, they will go beyond that. The union brass are prepared to gang up with the corporations and the government to make arbitration compulsory for the workers.

AFL-CIO executive council assured Johnson at Bal Harbour that, if he determined there is a "national emergency" over Vietnam, they would support "stabilization" of wages, which in effect means government dictation of pay rates. To show their full measure of devotion, they announced a major campaign to seek re-election of warlord and enemy-of-labor Johnson to office.

## Trade-Union Dissent

The policies of the Meany regime, centered around slavish support of imperialist war, are so far out of line with working-class needs that some union bureaucrats have felt compelled to voice hesitant dissent. This has led to formation of a trade union division of SANE in which participating union officials express tactical criticisms of Vietnam policy similar to those raised by liberal capitalist politicians.

On the positive side, this gives a boost to the antiwar movement as a whole in campaigning for support within the union ranks. It serves to promote outright opposition to the war among workers who are becoming disenchanted with Johnson's policies generally. It helps as well to set in motion rank-and-file forces that will pass beyond the control of any wing of the union bureaucracy.

There are also negative aspects to the role of the dissident union bureaucrats. Their opposition to the war is timid and partial, a policy of half-steps away from Meany's blatant prowar line. In domestic matters they are far from having drawn the full implications of a genuine antiwar policy. They shy away from labor struggles that impinge on war production or in any way lead toward a clash with the ruling powers.

When the chips are down they veer toward a "statesmanlike" course, striving for class peace that can only benefit the capitalists at the workers' expense. Like all bureaucrats, their timidity in facing the ruling class is matched only by their arrogance toward the union rank and file.

Although still firmly in control over the unions in a large sense, many bureaucrats are becoming worried about rising militancy in the ranks. They find themselves less able to dictate contract settlements to the membership or to engage in open strikebreaking. If they hope to avoid a serious clash with the corporations, the bureaucrats find it wise to first identify themselves with rank-and-file aspirations and then begin to maneuver the union toward a compromise on corporation terms.

Wriggle and maneuver though they may in an effort to assuage membership dissatisfaction, the bureaucrats discover that one problem leads to another. Those who undertake to differentiate themselves to some degree from Meany's line develop fears of starting something in the ranks that will get out of hand. And there is a valid basis for such fears.

During a long period of relative economic prosperity, under conditions of cold war and witch-hunting, many union members showed little interest in their organizations and the bureaucrats were able to ride high. All that is changing under today's modified conditions. At critical moments, especially around the time for contract renewal, the membership now tends to show greater interest in union affairs. The change is significant, even though membership interest usually subsides after the given episode is over.

Experiences at these points of heightened membership involvement in union affairs are leading toward rank-and-file estrangement from the officials. Younger workers especially find themselves critical of policies followed by top bureaucrats, most of whom are both quite affluent and quite well along in years. These workers begin to realize that they will have



FOUGHT BUREAUCRATS. Minneapolis-Honeywell workers in Twin Cities opposed Teamsters union bureaucrats in strike last year.

to take on the bureaucrats if they are to make the unions responsive to their needs.

As a result new oppositions are starting to arise within the unions. So far these formations usually develop around some specific issue and often tend to be short-lived. Yet it is significant that such oppositions are beginning to appear and that, if temporarily dissolved, they tend to reappear later on, perhaps around a different issue.

The instability of these formations is not caused by lack of continuing membership needs. It is rather lack of program, lack of experience and lack of developed leadership that thrusts the new oppositions into a state of flux. They have yet to become stabilized around a basic programmatic orientation pointed toward a showdown with the present bureaucratic misleaders who dominate the unions.

As oppositional moods deepen under wartime conditions, the shortcoming can be corrected. Dissident caucuses will assume more permanent form, they will grow and they will broaden their program. This in turn will further weaken the bureaucratic grip over the unions, at which point the capitalist government will step up

its hostile acts against the workers. Evidence of government planning for such a contingency has already showed up in Washington. As Congress recessed for the holidays there were some 50 bills in the legislative hopper designed to weaken the union power in one or another way.

Harsh new experiences at the hands of a hostile government will enable workers to learn basic political lessons. Class-conscious militants will be helped by events in explaining why all forms of capitalist politics must of necessity be antilabor. Even though actual steps to take the indicated road of an independent labor party will not automatically follow in swift order, vanguard political consciousness can be extended among thinking workers.

New potential will accumulate for the growth of left-wing formations in the unions, based on a program attuned to the workers' needs. Support can be gained for class-struggle policies, as against the union bureaucrats' line of collaboration with the capitalist enemy. Step by step, under the impact of coming events, the workers can strive toward full control of their own organizations and begin to use them effectively in defense of working-class interests.

## Black Liberation Notes

Doll manufacturers are reporting a sharp rise in sales of black dolls as a result of increased black pride. The manager of the Colette Toy and Doll Company has said that sales of black dolls have gone up "40 percent in the last three years," and the president of Vogue Dolls, Inc., reports that the popularity of black baby dolls has fanned out from Northern metropolitan areas to Southern rural communities.

A Harlem department store reported that while white dolls used to be popular with black children, black dolls now outsell white dolls 5 to 1.

Harlem CORE chairman Roy Innis has become the associate national director of the Congress of Racial Equality. He replaces Lincoln Lynch, who has held the position since 1965. CORE National Director Floyd McKissick announced the change.

Prison conditions in Florida were characterized as "barbaric" in a recent Supreme Court ruling on the case of Bennie Brooks, a 23-year-old black man from Miami.

According to the Dec. 22 *Miami Times*, Brooks and 80 other prisoners staged a protest rebellion against prison conditions in 1965. They reportedly smashed cafeteria

equipment, destroyed a TV set, and attacked prison guards with mop and broom handles.

After the rebellion Brooks was stripped naked and thrown, along with two others, into a windowless cell which had no furnishings. The Supreme Court ruling stated, "For two weeks this man's home was a barren cage fitted only with a hole in one corner into which he and his cellmates could defecate."

Immediately after he was taken from the cell, Brooks "confessed" that he had participated in the prison rebellion, and as a result he received an additional prison sentence.

The Supreme Court ruled that Brooks' conviction for taking part in the rebellion should be reversed since his confession was "tainted by the 15 days he spent in such an oppressive hole."

Philadelphia police chief Rizzo has been temporarily stymied in his attempts to buy two armored "antiriot" tanks for use in the black community. Reaction against the proposed purchase of the huge 20-ton vehicles was so strong in Philadelphia that the mayor decided to block the police department's request.

The tanks are capable of emitting a high-frequency mind-

deranging noise called "the curdler," which the Dec. 5 *Philadelphia Tribune* says is designed to destroy the thought train. They are also outfitted with less bizarre fixtures such as machine gun emplacements and tear gas which can be sprayed with hundreds of pounds of pressure. The tanks are bulletproof, virtually fireproof, and can carry 15 cops in air-conditioned comfort.

—Elizabeth Barnes

## Myths About Malcolm X

TWO VIEWS: Rev. Albert Cleage and George Breitman

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# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## From a GI in Vietnam

Vietnam  
I'm writing to thank you for your interest in the Americans over here.

I can honestly say that seeing this war first-hand has solidified the opinions I held while in the States. Whoever said that there are no atheists in a foxhole surely was never in a foxhole himself; war, if anything, is certainly a negation of the concept of a Loving Father — whether this "Father" be in Heaven or Washington.

Mendel Rivers recently said that he wasn't afraid of Russia or Red China—ignorance typical of those who send the unwilling to do the absurd while they themselves hide in the confines of the Penta-

gon or Capitol building.

Many people back home probably don't realize it, but there is probably a larger percentage of legitimate war protesters in the Army over here than there is in the civilian population in the States. After all, who has a more valid right to protest war than the GIs in combat? Yet, we have no really good outlet for our frustration (due largely to the stiff penalty that the "protester" within the military establishment must pay). And Vietnam, for most of us, is an ordeal that must be endured.

Privates have no use for political scientists, generals, or other exponents of elaborate political theory; our "cause" is survival, not freedom for the Vietnamese or anyone else. While senators speak of the glories of American military conquest, 18-year-old men (not "kids") are being killed and mutilated for a dubious cause in a wretched country. We here have no need for speeches; our "job" as far as we are concerned is to get back home alive and in one piece.

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

The morality of the war is a major conversational topic, as you can well imagine.

A Soldier

## Writing to Congressmen

North Bergen, N.J.

From a feeling of helplessness about U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia, I have been writing many letters to congressmen, senators, justices, the President, and others in the government.

I receive replies stating their points of view. In reply to a letter to the President about Vietnam, I received a lot of propaganda from the State Department.

Does it really do any good to write such letters to these people?

Senator Fulbright's *The Arrogance of Power* says that writing letters of this sort does more good than demonstrating.

Do you know whether a tally is made in the Washington office of pro-and-con mail, and if so, if the official is influenced at will? Or is he influenced mainly by the representatives of huge corporations? For instance, in a *Ramparts* article in December, about a Texas construction company, I read that Wayne Morse said that Texas had one senator from Standard Oil and one senator from that construction company.

If every state has senators from Standard Oil and its equivalent, and so on, how much of a chance does a letter have that has been written by someone with no power-structure influence?

T. H.

## Visiposure?

Mexico City, Mexico

Seated in a park here, I mused over the researcher's finding that "visiposure" — being in a position to copy your superior and to be seen by him — is the key to success in the corporate world.

Pat Frank, the novelist, had a somewhat different view of the matter. In his book, *The Last Adam*, he commented on government functionaries, who are not too dissimilar from corporation executives. A government bureaucrat, Frank explained, has no equals — only inferiors and superiors. He stands with his feet planted firmly on the shoulders of his inferiors and his nose snuggled under the coattails of his superior.

Such a posture would seem to contradict the findings of the visiposure man. Unless the superior is double-jointed.

H. Anillo

## General Hershey

New York, N.Y.

General Hershey recently stated in public (WCBS News, N.Y., Dec. 28, 1967; and *New York Times*, Dec. 30, 1967, p. 2) that a total of 618 draft cards have been burned or returned to the federal government. This statement is untrue, and but another example of the General's reckless irresponsibility as a public official.

On October 16, approximately 1,200 draft cards were returned to government officials in 27 cities. On Dec. 4 approximately 525 cards were returned. On April 15, 175 cards were burned, and Oct. 21, approximately 100.

Thus approximately 2,000 young men, most of them previously holding safe deferments and exemptions, have renounced these

deferments, and burned their cards or returned them to federal officials. These same young men have declared their inability in conscience to cooperate with a system pursuing a war that violates the dictates of political wisdom, common humanity, and simple sanity.

Our act is public in nature. Our numbers have been reported in the press. We have placed our names in the hands of the Justice Department and our local draft boards. General Hershey is either very badly informed or attempting in a most dishonest way, to minimize the extent and seriousness of resistance to the system which he controls, and the war which this system sustains.

In recent months, the General has demonstrated little respect for the Constitution, and now, less respect for the truth.

New York Resistance

## Thought for the Week

"One [Saigon] national assemblyman has asked publicly why young Vietnamese should be asked to die for Americans." Raymond R. Coffey in the Jan. 2 *New York Post*, discussing new Saigon decree lowering draft age from 20 to 18 years.

## Weekly Calendar

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

### CLEVELAND

ART AND REVOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA. Speaker: Jan Carew, playwright and novelist from Guyana, former Minister of Culture in Cheddi Jagan's government. Friday, Jan. 12, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid. Ausp. Militant Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

CHE GUEVARA AND THE LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Charlie Bolduc, national executive committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Friday, Jan. 12, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM IN THE '68 ELECTIONS — A symposium. Participants: Carlos Russell, chairman, Black Caucus, and national board member, National Conference for New Politics; John Wilson, director, SNCC anti-war program; and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President. Friday, Jan. 12, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### TWIN CITIES

FRED HALSTEAD, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, will speak in Minneapolis: Saturday, Jan. 13, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**It Fills A Need** — Psychological explanations for the phenomenal success (6.3 million viewers, five afternoons a week) of TV's soap-opera horror show, *Dark Shadows*, range from the fact that the handsome leading vampire is a lonely figure and women yearn to mother him, to the theory that a lot of ladies "would like to be bitten."

**Paraguayan Cops Bear Watching** — The arrival in Asunción last month of a genial Frenchman with \$10 million stuffed in his baggage has reminded Paraguayans of the two young German bank clerks who arrived last year with \$400,000, allegedly belonging to a large Frankfurt banking house. Promised their freedom in exchange for the money, the two Germans were delivered to the police in Bolivia and returned to Frankfurt. The \$400,000 vanished, along with 10 high-ranking Paraguayan police officers. Now the four Interpol agents who followed the Frenchman to Asunción pay daily visits both to him and to the custodian of the impounded \$10 million.

**And So Do New York Detectives** — Three city detectives have been indicted for selling narcotics to peddlers. They were part of the Police Department's 30-man special investigating unit of the Narcotics Bureau — charged with the mission of arresting narcotics wholesalers.

**Underdeveloped Country?** — A New York State Health Department report charged that major deficiencies in the surgical facilities at Brooklyn's Greenpoint Hospital "preclude the possibility of even meeting minimal standards of sanitation." Deficiencies included unscreened open windows that allow pigeon excreta to enter directly into the operating rooms.

**What Does He Sell?** — Bishop Fulton J. Sheen of the Rochester Roman Catholic Diocese was named "Rochester Salesman of the Year." The citation was made by the Rochester Sales Executives Club.

**New Status Symbol** — Everybody who is anybody is buying a castle these days. They cost anywhere from \$30,000 to more than \$1 million. But, of course, that's only the beginning. You have to install electricity, heating, hot and cold running water, and firmer

floors and walls. "You can have great fun fixing them up," says a Mr. Nicholas, who spent \$85,000 last year for his castle in Spain, "and they're terrific for parties."

**New Name, Old Game** — It has taken a Michigan State researcher, aided by an electronic computer, to discover that "Visiposure," seeing and being seen by the guys at the top, is the way to corporate success. In our day, pre-computer of course, there was a less polite but more forthright name for this.

**God Is Stronger Than Dirt** — Pastors would do well to model their prayers on the style of advertising writers, advises the Rev. Stanley J. Menking in the *Christian Advocate*. We can see it now: "Our Father, which art in Madison Avenue, BBD & O be Thy name, give us this day Brand Y, which is so much better than Brand X..."

**Eking Out A Miserable Existence** — The Japanese government has earmarked \$359,000 for the 1968 household expenses of the royal family. Of course, this paltry sum has to provide for Emperor Hirohito's two brothers and widowed sister-in-law, as well as

for the immediate imperial family.

**Is Nothing Sacred?**—Rep. Wayne L. Hays has suggested that a mortar attack on Sen. Charles H. Percy in Vietnam had been arranged for publicity purposes.

**Modest Mormon** — We are happy to report that Romney campaign finances are in good shape, partly because the offices in Washington are small and simple in design. It seems that Mr. Romney likes it that way. Costs for the New Hampshire primary will run from \$300,000 to \$600,000, and campaign chairman Leonard W. Hall says he is not the least bit worried.

**Odds Against Us Reduced** — The Food and Drug Administration is dividing about 3,000 drugs, appearing under about 16,000 trade names and representing 90 percent of the drugs most commonly taken by the American people, into four categories: effective, probably effective, possibly effective, and ineffective. Those in the last category will be ordered off the market immediately. It is estimated that 10 percent of the drugs now in common use may be withdrawn.

—Ruth Porter

## The Case For an Independent Black Political Party

In the January-February issue of the *International Socialist Review*. The resolution of the 1967 convention of the Socialist Workers Party on independent black political action.

This issue also includes reports and resolutions on the 1968 presidential campaign, the international situation and the American antiwar movement.

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## New Readers

If you would like to be sure of receiving every issue containing Harry Ring's special on-the-spot series from Cuba, order an introductory four-month subscription now. In addition, you will receive FREE a copy of the November-December 1967 issue of the *International Socialist Review* containing Fidel Castro's speech at the OLAS conference held in Cuba last summer, and the general declaration issued by OLAS. Send this coupon and \$1 to

## THE MILITANT

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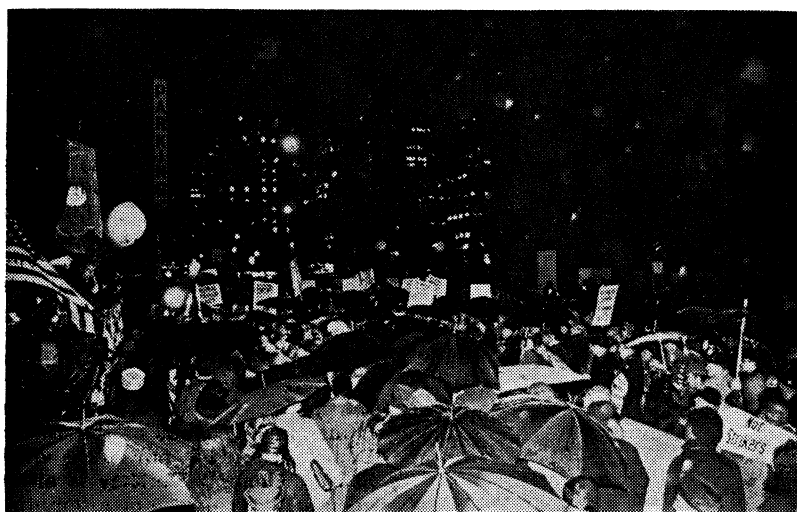


Photo by Shannon

**OPPOSE JAILING.** In spite of driving sleet, over 1,000 unionists demonstrated on Dec. 28 outside New York City jail where Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, is serving 15-day term under the Taylor (RAT) Law because of last September's teachers' strike. Demonstration was supported by many city unions, including the Central Labor Council.

## West Coast Students Map Defense Tactics

BERKELEY, Calif. — A statewide conference attended by some 75 student activists representing nine college campuses met here Dec. 22-23 to discuss attacks against political activity at their schools. The conference was called by the Movement Against Political Suspensions (MAPS) at the University of California campus in Berkeley.

The gathering opened with an introductory presentation by Peter Camejo, suspended Berkeley student and MAPS steering committee representative. Camejo explained that school administrations have begun a trend of taking back rights and policing students.

"In the last analysis," he said, "victory comes not through militancy alone but by building a militant mass movement. In actions to defend ourselves we must be careful not to engage in tactics or strategy that will isolate us." Camejo pointed to the recent MAPS victory in the Berkeley student elections as an example of

good tactics.

After hearing reports from campus delegates and holding a series of smaller meetings on specific topics, the conference met in plenary session on Saturday and adopted a number of proposals. The decisions included the following:

That a meeting be held in early February on the issues of the war and student power.

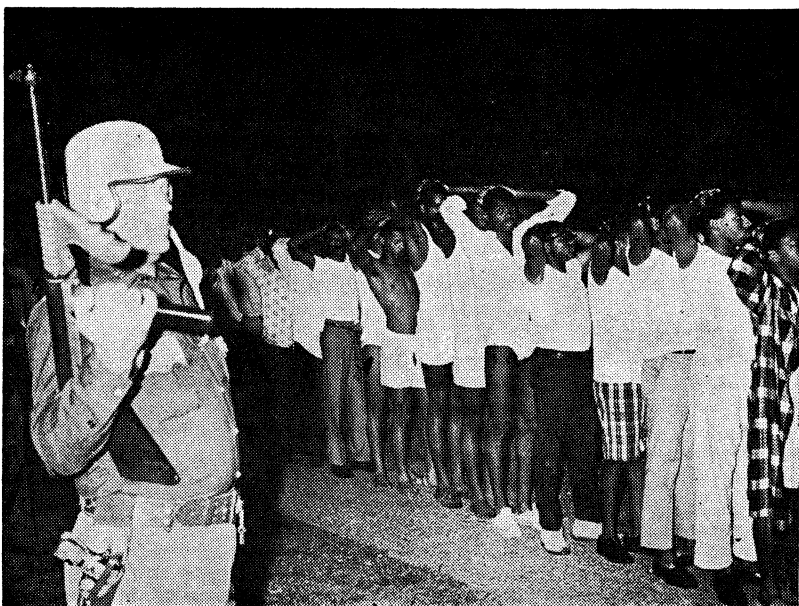
That correspondence committees be established on each campus and that all committees communicate with San Francisco State College, which will print and distribute a newsletter on statewide campus events.

That statewide demonstrations be held in February to protest new attacks on student rights. A coordinating committee was established to carry out the conference decisions.

A telegram was sent to the Student Mobilization Committee supporting the proposal for an international student strike this spring.

smashing personal property and beating students. All of the students, most in their nightclothes were arrested.

During the racist attack, eyewitnesses report that the police were shooting wildly, with bullets ricocheting off the dormitory building. One policeman went berserk and had to be carried away; another was shot to death, by what were most likely police bullets.



**AFTER POLICE ATTACK.** Texas Southern University students were lined up and arrested after cops rampaged in dormitory last May.

# What Auto Workers Lost In the Big Three Settlements

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Dec. 28—The United Auto Workers Union announced here today that a majority of its 375,000 members in General Motors plants across the country had ratified the new three-year UAW-GM contract.

This announcement was made in strict compliance with terms of the settlement reached Dec. 15 by UAW and GM negotiators, which stipulates: "The general wage increase of twenty cents (20¢) per hour and the additional Skilled Trades increase of thirty cents (30¢) per hour will be retroactive to October 16, 1967, provided the Corporation receives notice of ratification from the International Union on or before December 29, 1967; otherwise, said wage increases shall become effective at the beginning of the first pay period following receipt of notice of ratification by the Corporation from the International Union."

The amount of retroactive pay is approximately \$72 on straight-time hours that a line assembler will receive; for a toolmaker it will be about \$180. Thus union members in the GM plants were under compulsion of losing their retroactive pay if they failed to return an early ratification.

Ratification by GM workers was never in doubt because of other reasons. The wage pattern had been set when the 48-day Ford strike was settled last Oct. 22, and the controversial limitation on the "escalator" clause had already been inserted in both the Ford and Chrysler contracts. Workers in the GM plants were not prepared to strike for higher wages and better working conditions in order to break the industry-wide pattern being recommended by the International Union leadership.

Considerable opposition was expressed at the Dec. 18 meeting of the UAW National General Motors Council, where about one-third of the delegates from all



parts of the United States voted not to accept the proposed contract.

One member of the top negotiating committee, Joe Malotke, refused to recommend the settlement. Malotke gave as his reasons for refusing to sign the agreement the failure to resolve the job classification issue for engineering workers and the failure to protect their work jurisdiction. He was one of the leaders of the "dollar-an-hour-now" movement and is an officer of UAW Local 160 at the GM Technical Center in Warren, Mich.

Other officers of Local 160, including President Chris Manning, also opposed ratification of the new contract.

The shop committee of local 160, styling unit, urged the membership to vote "no" at the ratification meeting of the unit. Some of their reasons were stated in a leaflet, "Shop Committee Reports," as follows:

**"Back Pay** — GM raised its car prices before September 6, 1967,

and produced them at the low dollar until October 16, 1967. They could have easily afforded retroactive pay to September 6, 1967. RESULT: 6 weeks lost of retroactive pay — 43 to 144 dollars.

**"Improvement factor** — Agreement becomes effective November 25, 1968, and November 24, 1969. RESULT: Over 5 months lost of improvement factor monies.

**"C.O.L.** — Our cost of living now has a 16¢ cap on it. We will receive no C.O.L. adjustment until October, 1968. C.O.L. increased 11¢ in 1966 alone. The 4¢ from June of the old agreement and the new agreement, was dropped.

**"Benefits** — Many of the provisions of the new agreement do not start until 1968 and 1969. Such as: holidays, drug plan, parts of the Pension Program, etc. RESULT: 3 year contract with one and two year benefits."

When the membership of this particular UAW unit voted, the skilled workers turned the new agreement down 115 to 80. Unskilled voted for it 34 to 12.

The auto workers accepted the contract this time because the man on the line in an auto plant in most localities earns above the local pay rate for unskilled labor, and to the skilled tradesman in the auto shops the 50 cents an hour raise now looked better than 60 cents or possibly 75 cents that he *might* win if he went out on a long strike.

The emasculation of the cost-of-living "escalator" clause (which has served to keep wages in the auto industry above average) is what caused most opposition to the new contract. The auto workers have come to appreciate this protection and they balked on giving it up, or having it tampered with in any way.

It is the feeling that prices will surely continue to spiral that makes auto workers uneasy about the limits placed on their escalator clause. This uneasiness will give way to resentment and opposition to the union leadership during the life of this contract if the growing inflation steals the wage increase that now appears "substantial."

Those in the UAW who have opposed the present round of settlements with the auto corporations are calling for the formation of a nationwide opposition caucus to the Reuther leadership. They have many diverse, sometimes conflicting, reasons for opposing the Reuther machine.

But the two basic issues upon which they agree is the need of a strong escalator clause to protect their standard of living, and the terrible damage to the union wrought by the no-strike clause which nowadays is slipped into every contract as a matter of course and which always gives management a whip hand every time it chooses to provoke a dispute on the job.

## Shriver's Real War on Poverty

The following comment was made by Office of Economic Opportunity head Sargent Shriver on the Merv Griffin show, according to a November article in the Washington, D.C., *Examiner*: "The War on Poverty is doing a great job. We had hundreds of boys who couldn't even qualify for the army — now with the help of the anti-poverty program we have been able to send 600 of these boys to Vietnam and six have been killed already."

## TSU Five Issue Statement on Case

The TSU Five Defense Fund has recently been established to defend five victims of a racist frame-up.

Last May 17, police in Houston, Tex., staged an assault on a dormitory at Texas Southern University, a predominantly black school. Police fired thousands of rounds of ammunition at the dormitory, wounding several students, and then rampaged through the building with guns, dogs, and axes,

In the aftermath of the police riot, five students were framed up on charges of murdering the policeman, Louis Kuba. The five are: John Parker, Trazawell Franklin, Jr., Charles Freeman, Floyd Nichols and Douglas Wayne Waller.

A TSU Five Defense Fund has been established to aid these frame-up victims. The Defense Fund recently issued a statement, which said that a reorganization of the Houston chapter of SNCC had taken place on Dec. 8, 1967. "Floyd Nichols was elected the new chairman... Douglas Wayne Waller and Stanley W. Wright were elected secretary and treasurer, respectively.

### Defense Fund

"The primary goals at this time" of Houston SNCC will be "conducting an adequate defense for the TSU Five, all members of the Houston chapter of SNCC." To this end, the SNCC chapter "has formally established the TSU Five Defense Fund and secured the authority of the five young men to speak for and solicit contributions in their behalf."

"Floyd Nichols, also chairman of the Defense Fund, stated that under the terms of the Defense Fund Charter, no individual or group of individuals is authorized to speak in behalf of the TSU Five unless this is arranged, nor solicit funds for the TSU Five unless arranged through the TSU Five Defense Fund.

"Stanley Wright, treasurer of

the Defense Fund, states that attempts at establishing a responsible, well-organized defense have been marred by instances of persons allegedly acting in behalf of the defense receiving contributions which never reached the authorized personnel.

"Five young men's lives are at stake," Wright said, "and in order to save them from this outrageous racist frame-up, we must take the story of these trumped-up charges to every part of the country. We must raise funds to pay legal expenses for counsel. We must let people in black communities and the antiwar movement know that such frame-ups, if allowed to succeed in a single case, will engulf us all in a pattern of repression which will make the Age of Lynching and the persecution of the McCarthy era seem mild by comparison. You should understand that the charges could be placed upon others. You could be charged with murder. Your brother could be charged with murder. These men, in a sense, are your brothers. You and I have to try to save them."

The TSU Five Defense Fund welcomes opportunities for the young men to speak on the case. Contributions are urgently needed, payable to Stanley W. Wright, Treasurer, TSU Five Defense Fund. For more information and speakers, write the Defense Fund at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Box 21085, Houston, Texas 77026.