

THE MILITANT

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Halstead's Letter To American Soldiers

— See Page 4 —

Escalate War; Send in More Cops — LBJ's State of Union Message



MORE WAR. State of Union message outlined prospect of continued death and destruction for both Americans and Vietnamese.

Eartha Kitt Disturbs Lady Bird's Protocol

By Joseph Hansen

What Eartha Kitt, the singer and dancer, said to the Johnsons at a White House luncheon Jan. 18, expressed the feelings of tens of millions of ordinary Americans. Quite deservedly, the popular artist is getting the biggest round of applause she has ever received.

First about Eartha Kitt. In the notes written in 1956 for the jacket of her best-selling record, "That Bad Eartha," Duncan MacDougal Jr. said: "She started out life on a desperately poor sharecropper's farm in South Carolina and grew up in a miserable Harlem tenement house, helping to support herself and her aunt by working long hours as a seamstress in a uniform factory.

"In her early teens she discovered that she was endowed with an unusual talent for singing and dancing; and although, superficially, she seemed no different from the countless other poverty-stricken children in Harlem, she dreamed in the good old American tradition that she, Ear-

tha Kitt, the unknown waif, would show them — that some day she would be a dazzling entertainer and the toast of continents."

It really happened. Eartha Kitt did become a dazzling entertainer and the toast of continents. One of the reasons for her success was that she was not a mere "entertainer." She was intellectually alert, genuinely interested in the peoples of other lands. The languages at her command testify to this. "That Bad Eartha" includes selections in English, French, Spanish, Turkish and Swahili.

It is quite understandable why the White House would like to win over such a distinguished and popular artist, and why it was decided to include her name among the 50 invited from all over the country, "Women Doers," to be honored at a luncheon hosted by Lady Bird herself.

Now as to the setting. "There were 50 of us invited," reported Theo Wilson in the *New York* (Continued on Page 2)

By Dick Roberts

The longest and loudest applause Lyndon Johnson got from the gang of reactionaries on Capitol Hill during his State of the Union message Jan. 17 was when he declared: "There is no more urgent business before this Congress than to pass the safe streets acts." Every cheering racist present knew he was really talking about cracking down on black people.

The President spent more time on the subject of "law enforcement" than on any other domestic or foreign policy issue, including the war in Vietnam.

He promised:

"To develop state and local master plans to combat crime.

"To provide better training and better pay for police.

"To bring the most advanced technology to the war on crime in every city and every county in America."

Only Answer

For the second straight year, Johnson did not even pay lip service to the black struggle for human rights. His only answer to the demands expressed in last summer's ghetto uprisings was more guns, more cops, and even more FBI agents.

One paragraph devoted to reinforcing the FBI by 100 men took up more space in the State of the Union message than the plight of the nation's farmers, who have recently been hit by the sharpest drop in farm prices in postwar history.

Johnson reiterated his demand for higher taxes on the grounds that it would prevent "an accelerating spiral of price increases; a slump in home building; and a continued erosion of the American dollar."

He explained that "those of us in the Executive branch, and in Congress, and in the leaders of labor and business, must do everything we can to prevent that kind of misfortune."

But the one thing that would prevent "that kind of misfortune," namely withdrawing from Vietnam, could not have been further from the President's mind.

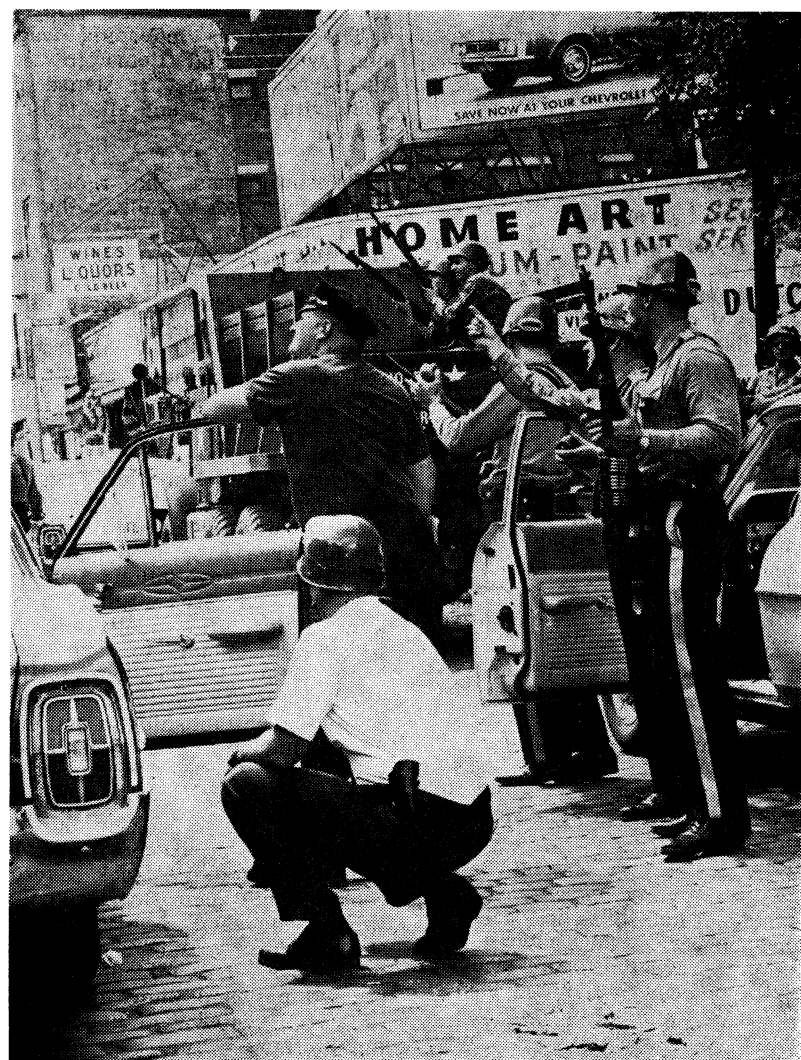
Hypocrisy

Responding to Hanoi's recent offers for negotiations, Johnson emphasized that North Vietnam would have to make concessions first: "The other side must not take advantage of our restraint as they have in the past," he declared.

That there are people in the world who can visibly tolerate such revolting hypocrisy — and they were well represented in Johnson's audience — is only believable when you realize that the same people actually clapped when Johnson asserted:

"Our patience and our perseverance will match our power. Aggression will never prevail."

The President turned his attention to what the *New York Times* has come to call the "malaise" that is afflicting our nation. "There is in the land a certain



MORE COPS. LBJ's major point was to call for more repressive measures, aimed at black community.

restlessness, a questioning," he asserted.

And this is so despite the fact that "more and more families own their own homes equipped with more than 70 million television sets . . ."

"Why, why, then," the president intoned, "this restlessness?"

"Because when a great ship cuts through the sea, the waters are always stirred and troubled."

Throughout the talk, Johnson

hinted that some new steps might be taken to advance the "war on poverty." But when he got down to the details of the proposed budget, he declared, "We're holding the fiscal 1969 budget to last year's level, outside of those mandatory and those required increases."

He meant that no budget increases would be proposed beyond those already legislated in 1967.

(Continued on Page 8)

Hands Off Korea!

The announcement that the People's Republic of Korea had seized a U.S. spy ship off its coast, and Washington's reaction to that announcement, both point to the danger created by U.S. imperialism in this section of the world.

A special correspondent of the *New York Times* in Washington said on Jan. 23 that there is "no doubt" that the U.S. ship was "trying to pinpoint the sites of key radio and radar stations in North Korea," to help American engineers "design jamming devices and other electronic countermeasures to cripple enemy radar in the event of combat."

Washington's arrogance was never more apparent in its reaction to this defensive move by the Koreans. Members of Congress said it was an "act of war" for the Koreans to do what they did — as if the U.S. has the right to send spy ships into the waters of any country any time it wishes.

Those opposed to the war in Vietnam should raise their voice against the threatening talk of "war" going on in Washington, and demand that the U.S. stop all provocative spy raids on North Korea and get its troops out of South Korea.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Pressure from the union rank and file is lighting a fire under the seats of the established bureaucracy and causing more than somewhat concern among industrial and political leaders. The *Wall Street Journal*, than which there is no more official spokesman for big business, reported last week on three situations that are causing the boss class much concern:

"Statesmanship by labor leaders has never been simple," says the Jan. 16 issue, in discussing the problems of I. W. Abel. "The more explosive suggestion by I. W. Abel, the United Steelworkers stocky, gruff president, was that the union consider a plan whereby it and the industry would voluntarily submit any unresolved issues in the 1968 contract bargaining to binding arbitration.

"... to side with the industry in this no-strike pledge attempt took considerable courage on Mr. Abel's part, because it involves an exercise in labor statesmanship which, when it occurs, often makes labor leaders the target of charges by their membership of being cozy with management . . .

"Too, the failure of the arbitration proposal and the bitterness of the negative reaction increase the chance of a steel strike this summer; inherent in the anti-arbitration reaction was the union's unwillingness to give up its strike weapon in bargaining.

"... the timing of the move was also difficult because of general rank and file reluctance to merely ratify contracts reached by their leadership. The top level bargaining has been upset on numerous occasions by a restless membership . . .

"After the plan was laid to rest by the union's executive board (and attacked by some locals) the Steelworkers' newspaper took pains to reveal that the idea was first advanced by industry leaders.

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.

BOSTON

ALIENATION UNDER MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. Friday, Feb. 2, 8:15 p.m. and ALIENATION IN POSTCAPITALIST COUNTRIES, Saturday, Feb. 3, 8:15 p.m.

Speaker: George Novack. Both meetings to be held at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

LATIN AMERICA — THE NEXT VIETNAM! Speaker: Richard Garza, assistant executive secretary, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Friday, Feb. 2, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75 cents. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

JOHN HENRIK CLARKE, assoc. editor, *Freedomways*, speaks on MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT PRECOLONIAL AFRICA. First in a series on African — Afro-American history. Friday, Feb. 2, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

LATIN AMERICA — THE NEXT VIETNAM! Speaker: Richard Garza, assistant executive secretary, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Saturday, Feb. 3, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Mpls. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Subsequently, Mr. Abel's aggressive attempt to find a 'better way' than a strike, rather than merely riding the strike threat weapon for all it's worth and whatever the consequences, has caused him some trouble."

* * *

Another article in the *Wall Street Journal* quotes Communications Workers president Joseph Beirne as follows: "Mr. Beirne said he expected some management recalcitrance and Administration opposition to big wage boosts but . . . restiveness in our own membership will be a countervailing pressure. I see trouble ahead. We know our people are in a rebellious mood."

The CWA is reopening wage and wage-related items in the three-year contract it signed in 1966 with A.T.&T. and all the Bell System.

* * *

Pressure from the ranks of railroad workers was also reflected in a statement last week (from the same source, the *Wall Street Journal*, which along with the daily *Congressional Record* and that other boss-oriented magazine, *Business Week*, are the best sources of labor news today) by G.E. Leighty, chairman of the Railway Labor Executives.

Last week the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks signed an agreement with the railway industry which the bosses predicted would serve as a model for all 1968 railway negotiations. Leighty asserted, "we are entitled to at least 6 percent annually plus a reasonable amount to take care of inequities . . . the Clerks settlement couldn't possibly be considered as establishing a pattern for the industry . . ." (See Picket Line, Jan. 21 for Clerks settlement.)

Mr. Leighty is talking out of the fear side of his mouth. He is remembering that it took several congressional acts to stop the threatened shop craft workers strike last year. And the operating workers are as anxious for increased pay and improved working conditions as their non-operating brothers were.

* * *

Business Week, in its Jan. 13 issue, reports, "Bargaining Brightens in Can Talks." This magazine, which keeps a close eye on the labor movement for its boss readership, bases its hopes on two factors:

A "pioneering concept that would set the industry's pay rates on a new basis of productivity."

And: "Hope — the USW, while it is committed to winning a good settlement, wants no strike."

According to this source, the main stress in the can industry bargaining this year will be on money-in-the-pocket pay boosts, adding up to 60 to 70 cents per hour over three years.

The "pioneering concept" mentioned above is reported as the result of three years of study by both the union and the industry to link productivity with take-home pay. The can industry has instituted a murderous speed-up, doubling jobs handled by one man, with no increase in wages. The new plan is supposed to correct this method — not to stop the speed-up but to toss the workers a few crumbs for it.

* * *

The American Federation of Teachers has won a victory over the Massapequa, Long Island (N.Y.) school board in a collective bargaining election. This puts at more than 3,000 the number of teachers now represented by the AFT on Long Island. The union won by a vote of 428 to 366.

— Marvel Scholl

... Eartha Kitt Disturbs

(Continued from Page 1)

Daily News, "and, after being greeted by Lady Bird in the Green Room, a marine band beating out happy music behind us, and after cocktails and small talk with each other, we went into the yellow-and-white family room for luncheon.

"There were five tables, 10 women at each, set with bowls of spring flowers, gold, green and ivory dinnerware, golden spoons, forks and knives, golden ashtrays, golden mint plates. . . ."

A further detail is important to proper appreciation of the setting. The night before, Johnson had delivered his "State of the Union Message." "Heavily made up" for the cameramen, according to columnist Mary McGrory, wearing a "thick coat of Man-Tan," he had received the strongest applause from the cheering congressmen when he bore down on "crime in the streets" (meaning restlessness and rebellion in the "inner cities" of the Great Society).

The theme of Lady Bird's luncheon the next day could not have coincided more happily with the key plank in Johnson's "State of the Union" speech if it had been deliberately planned that way. The theme was "What Citizens Can Do to Help Insure Safe Streets."

Mrs. Johnson introduced the first speaker, Mrs. Margaret Moore, leader of a crusade of women against crime in Indiana. But Mrs. Moore had barely opened her mouth when the scene was stolen from her by no one less than President Johnson himself. It was a surprise!

Mrs. Moore, the very epitome of graciousness, conceded the floor to this "more important speaker," and the great man favored the ladies with an exhibition of his memorable skill in the art of elocution.

"He called for better pay for police," said Theo Wilson, "explained that the federal government does not have the powers to prevent crimes of murder and theft on state and city levels, and said he knows that 'every time we really get in trouble' women, who are like bulldogs, will stick to a problem and correct it."

When he started to leave, "to his obvious surprise and everyone else's, Eartha Kitt, the singer, stood up and asked him: 'What do you do about delinquent parents, about children who have to be left alone?'"

[According to another, probably more reliable version, Eartha Kitt asked: "What do you do about delinquent parents? Those who have to work and are too busy to look after their children?"]

"President Johnson, leaning against the podium, told Miss Kitt that he thought the new social security bill would be of help, then said: 'That's a very good question, why don't you ask it yourself of the other women here?' and walked out of the room to applause."

That was a neat way of passing the buck to Mrs. Johnson and the 50 bulldogs which, stuffed with tidbits from the White House kitchen, were not likely to bite the hand that fed them.

The luncheon speakers droned on about the responsibility of women in combating all areas of crime and what leads to crime.

Eartha Kitt got up during the question-and-answer period. After indicating that her background and viewpoint were somewhat different from those of the other guests, she said: "Many things are burning this country."

An "anxious silence" fell over the White House dining room. Ralph Blumenfeld of the *New York Post* gave the following account of what happened next.

"Young people and their parents, said Eartha, 'are angry because they are being so highly taxed and there's a war going on,



"That Bad Eartha"

WITH HENRI RENE AND HIS ORCHESTRA

and Americans don't know why. The youth is not rebelling for no reason at all, they are rebelling against something and we can't camouflage what it is.

"Boys I know across the nation feel it doesn't pay to be a good guy. They figure that with a record they don't have to go off to Vietnam," she added.

"And then, pointing a finger at Mrs. Johnson: 'You are a mother too, although you have had daughters and not sons. I am a mother and I know the feeling of having a baby come out of my gut. I have a baby and then you send him off to war.'

"No wonder the kids rebel and take pot — and, Mrs. Johnson, if you don't understand the lingo, that's marijuana. . . ."

"Miss Kitt, mother of a six-year-old daughter, once lived in Harlem and told the ladies: 'I have slept in the gutter. I have to speak what is in my heart.'"

When Eartha Kitt finished, the guests and hostess sat appalled. What had this done to the idea of fighting crime in the streets?

Mrs. Richard J. Hughes, wife of the governor of New Jersey, came to Mrs. Johnson's rescue. "I feel morally obligated," she said. "May I speak in defense of the war?"

She said that her first husband had been killed in World War II and that she had eight sons, one an air force veteran, and she was still in favor of sending them to Vietnam. "None wants to go to Vietnam but all will go, they and their friends."

She claimed that none of her children smoked marijuana and that youth was not rebelling because of the war. The other guests, with the exception of one, applauded. The exception was Eartha Kitt, who sat unsmiling, her arms folded.

Mrs. Johnson tried to follow up the lead taken by Mrs. Hughes. The UPI reported that she spoke, "her voice trembling and tears welling in her eyes."

"Because there is a war on," said the President's wife, "—and I pray that there will be a just and honest peace — that still doesn't give us a free ticket not to try to work for better things such as against crime in the streets, better education and better health for our people."

She was also reported as saying to Eartha Kitt: "I'm sorry, I cannot understand the things that you do. I have not lived with the background that you have. I cannot speak as passionately or as well as you. But I think we have made advances in these things and we will do more."

Afterwards, Eartha Kitt told reporters her impression of Mrs. Johnson.

"I'm afraid she became a little flustered. She made a very nice

little speech. The fact that Mrs. Johnson wants to put flowers along the driveways and trees up and down the boulevards can make a very attractive city, but that is not going to do very much good when it comes to solving the problem of juvenile delinquency."

Elizabeth Carpenter, press secretary to Mrs. Johnson, referred to Eartha Kitt's remarks as "this outburst."

But Eartha Kitt herself said, "I see nothing wrong with the way I handled myself. I can only hope it will do some good."

Most Americans will agree that she handled herself very well and that what she said will do some good, although White House and Pentagon circles may think otherwise.

Cleveland Takes Petition Issue To Supreme Ct.

CLEVELAND — Supporters of an effort to place the Vietnam war issue on the ballot for Cleveland voters have taken their case to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Vietnam Resolution Committee, which sponsored the move, has announced that it hopes for a favorable decision by the court in time to have a vote by Cleveland residents at the November 1968 elections.

The Vietnam Committee collected 10,000 signatures during the summer of 1967 in support of a petition seeking to place the following resolution on the ballot:

"Be it resolved by the people of the City of Cleveland that: The President of the United States should bring all American troops home from Vietnam now so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own affairs."

When the petition was turned in to the City Council Clerk, he refused to count the signatures, contending that the Vietnam war was not the proper subject for an initiative petition under the Cleveland City Charter. This view was upheld by the Ohio Supreme Court.

The Vietnam Resolution Committee has countered this argument in their petition filed with the United States Supreme Court. The petition contends that because the City Council passes resolutions expressing its opinion on political issues outside its legislative jurisdiction, citizens have the right to initiate resolutions of the same kind under the initiative and referendum provisions of the constitution. A denial of this right would be a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

OUR MAN IN HAVANA

Scotch-Flavored Ice Cream

HAVANA, Cuba (Free Territory of the Americas) — So far I've goofed on one assignment. I still don't know how Cuba's Copelia chocolate ice cream is.

To explain: A while back Cuba initiated Copelia as a national enterprise to manufacture and distribute high quality ice cream. In Havana there is a big, modern Copelia ice cream parlor. Others are being built across the country.

In discussing plans for Copelia after distribution had begun, Fidel had vowed in a speech that Cuba would turn out more flavors than Howard Johnson and that it would be of better quality. At that point someone in the crowd shouted — as Cubans sometimes will when Fidel is speaking — "Fidel, the chocolate's no good!" Fidel seemed at loss for an answer. At any rate, this became one of my assignments, to find out how the chocolate is now. I've been to the Copelia twice so far and I still don't know.

The first time I ordered chocolate but then became engrossed in a political conversation and didn't really notice what it was like. Dutifully, I went back a second time. But this time a friend pointed out they have sesame ice cream on the menu and I couldn't resist. Having failed twice, I'll simply have to try again.

I can report this much. Copelia is definitely better than Howard Johnson's and they have many more flavors. Howard Johnson's say they have 48 flavors, but they

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 10.

never have more than a half dozen or so available at one time. At the Copelia they have 54 flavors and, with an occasional exception, all 54 are available. (Other places that serve Copelia usually have four or five flavors.) It's also distributed packaged in limited quantities.

For a North American, some of the more interesting-sounding flavors are: mango, apricot, scotch(!), plum pudding, tomato, date and nut, almond praline, guava, honey, and muscatel. I found the sesame, which is mixed with peanuts, outstanding.

A diplomat told me that Fidel began to look into the ice cream problem after someone pointed out to him that Cuba has good milk and good fruit, but lousy ice cream and therefore the problem must

Antiwar Capt. Still Faces USAF Trial

Capt. Dale E. Noyd was ordered Jan. 18 to stand trial before an Air Force court-martial. Noyd went to court last year asking to be exempted from duty because of his opposition to the Vietnam war. His appeal was denied.

Now the Air Force has charged Noyd with "willfully disobeying a lawful order" for allegedly refusing to train a student pilot who was to be sent to Vietnam. Capt. Noyd is stationed at Cannon Air Force Base in New Mexico.

He has declared that if he is found guilty he will carry the appeal as far as he can through military and civilian channel courts. No date has been set for the court-martial.



Photo by Harry Ring
SUGAR CANE. Cuba is mechanizing sugar harvest. Here worker uses tractor to move sugar near Cienfuegos in Las Villas province.

be technical. The diplomat said a number of Cuban embassies thought Fidel had flipped out when they got telegrams to fly home ice cream. The ice cream from abroad was used for taste tests and laboratory analyses. Copelia is a very popular revolutionary product.

Street maps of Havana are very scarce so a friend dug out an old Esso map of the city for me. Among the various obsolete listings on the map is the Esso Building itself. The building where Esso was housed is directly across from my hotel, so out of curiosity I wandered in to see what it now houses.

The lobby directory lists foreign trade offices of Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary, plus some offices of Cuba's Ministry of Public Health. Posted prominently on a bulletin board by the lobby directory is a list of militia guard duty assignments for Public Health workers. I guess that's just in case Esso gets any ideas about coming back.

The only major highway constructed in the 15-year period prior to the Revolution ran from Havana to Varadero Beach, Cuba's famed resort spot. It was built purely for the convenience of the Americans and wealthy Cubans. Now it comes in handy. A workers' rest center, with facilities for 10,000, has been developed in Varadero. Rates used to be about \$20 a day in the old hotels. For Cuban workers it's now \$3.50. Meanwhile, revolutionary Cuba is now building roads across the island at the rate of about 600 miles every three months.

Several years ago I went to the United Nations in New York where Cuba's foreign minister, Raúl Roa, was slated to deliver a major address. As I stood outside the UN building waiting for a friend, I watched the sleek limousines purr into the driveway with their cargoes of complacent-looking diplomats. Then someone called my attention to a First Avenue bus that had just stopped at the corner. Alighting from the bus and walking up the driveway, with a brown manila folder under his arm, was Dr. Roa on his way in to make the speech.

For me that small incident was an expression of the quality of the Cuban Revolution. Consequently I was pleased to learn that although in his sixties, Dr. Roa still goes out with cane-cutting brigades during the *zafra* (sugar cane harvest).

Members of the Foreign Ministry go to the *zafra* for two- and three-month periods. Roa cannot stay away that long, a member of the Ministry told me, but as he has the opportunity, he goes out for

four- and five-day periods. This man was once in the same place as Roa, he said, and he witnessed a scene where Roa became highly indignant because someone wanted to put him in private quarters rather than the dormitories where the other volunteers slept.

Scanning some back issues of *Casa de las Américas*, literary publication of the cultural institute of the same name, I noticed in the May-August 1966 issue the name of Malcolm X. Turning to the listed page I found: "Malcolm X — Speech at the Militant Labor Forum in New York." It was major extracts from his last speech at the forum, Jan. 7, 1965.

It's also good to be here as a reporter for a socialist paper in the U.S. For example, it was a pleasant feeling at a sugar mill near Cienfuegos to have a Foreign Ministry press attaché introduce me to the local Party spokesman not as a journalist from New York, but as a *compañero* from New York.

Sometimes you meet someone and, for some undefinable reason, you feel an immediate affinity and quickly become friends. It's a particularly nice thing when this happens despite a language barrier. It happened to me while on a bus trip with a group of journalists. Among the Foreign Ministry staff people was a soft-voiced, smiling young man with whom, as I've indicated, I became friends even though he speaks no English and my Spanish is on the most limited and primitive possible level.

He managed to convey to me that he had been in the July 26 underground movement in Havana and had been severely tortured by Batista's police, an experience from which he still bears scars.

On the bus, he read an interview I had had with *El Mundo*, and liked it. Flatteringly, he told me that what I had said was "muy revolucionario, muy profundo."

When we returned to Havana, he presented me with a gift, a small lapel emblem based on the Cuban flag, indicating it was a "particular" one. As I placed it in my lapel, I tried to convey to him that I hadn't worn a flag since I was a kid but that I was proud to wear this one. The lump in my throat didn't help any.

—Harry Ring

He Can Afford It — Retired seamen have to kick back up to \$100 a year for "administrative expenses" in order to collect their National Maritime Union pension of \$250 a month. There's one NMU member the kickback won't bother — President Joe Curran is reportedly slated to get severance pay of \$225,000 and \$430,000 in guaranteed pensions.

Police Murder of Youth Stirs Calif. Community

By Virginia Kaye

HAYWARD, Calif. — A police shooting here has touched off a wave of outrage in the Mexican-American community that led to an angry walkout of community organizations from a meeting of the city council Jan. 9.

The victim was Gilberto Garza, 20, who was shot to death by four Hayward police Nov. 10. According to people in the Mexican-American community, Garza had been drinking at a local bar, accompanied by a young woman. The two reportedly quarreled and she left to make a phone call. Garza followed her and banged on the outside of the phone booth. At this point, four policemen appeared on the scene.

Shot Three Times

The police ordered him to turn over any weapons. People in the community say that when he attempted to hand over a penknife, he was shot three times in the chest and once more after he lay on the ground dying.

The police claim that Garza was "molesting" the woman in the phone booth, and that he attacked them with his knife. The mysterious woman has never been seen again. The Alameda County District Attorney's office and the State Attorney General's office have ruled that the shooting was justifiable.

Mexican-Americans have refused to accept that ruling. A broad coalition of groups and individuals from Hayward and the San Francisco Bay Area have formed "United Latins for Justice," which has demanded that the case be reopened and the four cops be punished.

The group declared in a press release: "This injustice was perpetrated under the guise of the law. The four police officers, who acted as judge, jury, and executioners, are guilty of murder... Persons that were at the scene of the crime have volunteered information. This information indicates that the slaying of Gilberto Garza was unnecessary and brutal."

Demand Cops' Suspension

United Latins for Justice put forward five demands. In addition to reopening the Gilberto Garza case these included the immediate suspension of the four cops involved in Garza's slaying; the hiring of a Spanish-speaking interpreter by the police department; the creation of a course, planned by representatives of minority groups, "to be taught to culturally deprived police officers to educate them to the fact that the non-white minority poor are human and should be treated accordingly"; and the creation of a civilian police review board.

More than 250 Mexican-Americans jammed the Hayward City Council meeting Jan. 9 to fight for these proposals. City Manager

Raymond E. Doran told them that there was "no evidence that would warrant suspension or disciplinary action."

Manuel Gomez, a student at California State College at Hayward, declared in a moving speech, "I feel I must make one last effort, one last attempt, appealing to your sense of fair play and moral obligation to human justice — although all previous evidence demonstrates to me that you are not genuinely concerned, other than, perhaps, about what danger this case may present to your own personal political ambitions. . . . Not one of you had the moral guts to publicly denounce this brutal killing."

Another speaker said, "We'll have Mexican people run for every post in the city of Hayward," if there was no action taken.

Vic Martinez, of the Mexican American Student Confederation, demanded that Mayor Smith answer whether or not he was prejudiced. The Mayor refused to answer.

Lost Respect

Manuel Gomez took the floor again, saying, "If you gentlemen were planning on hiding behind your desks and waiting for this thing to blow over — you cannot be more sadly mistaken. . . . When you have lost all respect for a citizen's individual human life, then I have lost all respect for your authority!"

When it became evident that the city council and the Mayor were not going to agree to any of the demands, Frank Rivas of the Mexican American Student Confederation led a walkout. He was followed by a majority of the people in the council chamber.

Rivas, in an interview reported in the Jan. 12 *Berkeley Barb*, said that there is a rapid growth in the organization of Mexican-American youth. He described a statewide conference held by the United Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles Dec. 17-18:

"About 700 students attended and the meeting ended in a demonstration held at the L.A. Coliseum against the Vietnam war." The theme of the meeting, Rivas said, was the development of a "militant, revolutionary movement" on behalf of Mexican-Americans.

Black Community

A significant aspect to the growth of the Student Confederation is its attempt to create links with militant black activists. Rivas reported that representatives of the black community in Los Angeles attended the conference in December, and the Black Students Union at San Jose State College is supporting the demands in Hayward in the Gilberto Garza case.

Picketing at the Mayor's office and the police department in Hayward is planned.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Friday night at 8.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. TEmple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033 AN 9-4953. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls., Minn. 55403. FED-

eral 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

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A Letter to American Soldiers

[The following letter from a GI in Vietnam was printed in the Jan. 8, 1968, issue of *The Militant*.]

Vietnam

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

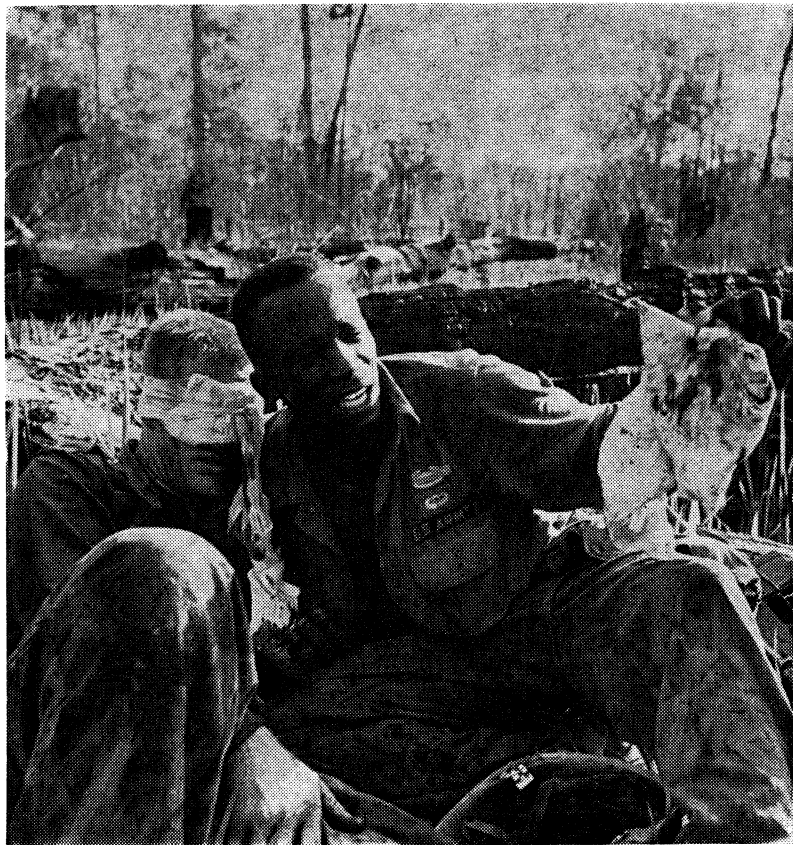
I can honestly say that seeing this war firsthand has solidified the opinions I held while in the States. Whoever said that there are no atheists in a foxhole surely was never in a foxhole himself; war, if anything, is certainly a negation of the concept of a Loving Father — whether this "Father" be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

[The following is an open letter to the GI who wrote the above, by Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President.]

I saw your letter in *The Militant* and I was moved to write you this reply.

As you may know, I am the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the United States. A central plank in my platform is to bring the GIs home from Vietnam now. I strongly believe that the U.S. government should announce an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam and proceed to bring the troops home as fast as transportation can be mobilized.

It is obvious that this is the only way to stop the fighting between Americans and Vietnamese. They are not going to stop shoot-

ing at us as long as we remain in their country any more than we would stop resisting if a foreign power tried to keep troops in California or Texas. But Vietnamese troops are not in the U.S., nor is there any threat whatsoever that they will be.

General David M. Shoup, former commander of the U.S. Marine Corps, himself said that Washington is just "trying to keep the people worried about the Communists crawling up the banks of Pearl Harbor, or crawling up the Palisades, or crawling up the beaches in Los Angeles, which, of course, is a bunch of pure, unadulterated poppycock."

Why, then, is the present administration sending our men to kill and be killed in Vietnam?

To be blunt about it, U.S. military forces are being used as the private protection agency for U.S. big business, which wants profitable investment opportunities kept open in Southeast Asia. To do this, Washington feels it has to

prop up the corrupt and decadent Saigon government against the revolution by poor peasants and workers being led by the National Liberation Front ("Vietcong").

As any GI who is there knows, the Saigon government is too busy exploiting its own people and taking graft to do any serious fighting in its own behalf. It is being propped up by hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops—and is being supported by fewer and fewer Vietnamese.

The argument that the U.S. must back up the Saigon generals because of an "invasion from North Vietnam" is also poppycock. Senator Mike Mansfield pointed out that when the massive U.S. troop buildup began in early 1965, it was estimated by the U.S. that only 400 North Vietnamese soldiers were in South Vietnam, and the U.S. already had 34,000 there at that time. Even now, U.S. figures don't claim more than 60,000 North Vietnamese as against 500,000 U.S. troops.

Support of NLF

If a North Vietnamese invasion is behind the trouble, why does it take a half-million U.S. troops to counteract 60,000 North Vietnamese? It is obvious that what is involved is that the majority of the South Vietnamese people don't support the Saigon government and are either supporters of the NLF or are indifferent.

When the present administration talks about fighting for "freedom" in Vietnam, they are really talking about fighting for dictators like Thieu and Ky, about sending U.S. GIs to die for somebody else's profit. When they talk about stopping Communism, they really mean sending U.S. GIs to put down a revolution. But it is not the business of the United States to be putting down a revolution in somebody else's country. For better or worse, Vietnam is for the Vietnamese, not for the United States.

So the use of American GIs in Vietnam cannot be justified. It is an abuse of the GIs. Some people say it is President Johnson's answer to the poverty problem—and that's too close to the truth to be funny.

It is common knowledge among U.S. newsmen that if you want to see some of the less affluent American people, go to Travis Air Force Base where many infantrymen are sent to Vietnam, and see the GIs and their families who come to see them off. These are the men who by and large didn't have a chance for a college education, or even to learn a skill that could keep them out of the infantry. And these are the Americans who suffer the most from the war.

A high proportion, compared to the population, of GIs who do the

fighting and dying in Vietnam are black men, who are asked to risk dying in an unjust war for the benefit of the same forces that deny them freedom, justice and equality at home.

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

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

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

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

Millions Oppose War

The Johnson administration and the warmakers in general expend a great deal of effort trying to stir up hostility between GIs and the antiwar movement at home. But the fact is that millions of ordinary Americans have demonstrated against this war, and probably very close to a majority are opposed to it.

These Americans don't want to see our men being hurt and killed in an unjustified war. It's these Americans who are opposed to the war who are really on the side of the GIs. They want to support the GIs by bringing them home.

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

GIs of voting age have the right to vote, and have the right to receive election literature, and to discuss the election among themselves. I would like them to know that there will be one candidate for President in 1968 that wants to bring them home immediately, and that a vote for me and my running mate, Paul Boutelle, will be a vote to do just that!

Sincerely,
Fred Halstead

Priests Suspended in Guatemala

A spokesman for Maryknoll, a Roman Catholic missionary order, announced the suspension Jan. 18 of two priests and a nun for allegedly aiding the guerrilla movement in Guatemala.

The two priests are brothers, Thomas Melville, 38, and Arthur Melville, 35. The nun is Sister Marian Peter, 39. The Melville brothers have been in Guatemala since their ordinations in 1957 and 1961. Sister Marian Peter has worked in Guatemala since 1954.

The two were denounced by their superior in Guatemala, the Rev. John M. Breen. The *New York Times* said Jan. 21 that "the three religious persons began last September to turn aside from their regular duties, talking increasingly about the impossibility of accomplishing any substantial progress in Guatemala within her present political and social structure."

This created a serious problem for the Catholic hierarchy. The *Times* continued:

"There was in fact sympathy for the general philosophical position of the two priests and the nun and a sharing of the belief that something like a social revolution would have to occur before anything effective could be done about the country's backwardness."

At this point, the *Times* reported, the U.S. government intervened:

"The anxiety of the United States Embassy is believed to have been made known to the Maryknoll organization."

The two Melvilles and Sister Marian Peter were suspended Dec. 23, but the Maryknoll headquarters at Ossining, N.Y., kept the action secret until Jan. 18, ordering the three to leave Guatemala.

When the announcement was made, it was claimed that the two priests and the nun had been cooperating with a group of about 25 university students in work that "evolved into guerrilla activity."

Met Rebel Leaders

By Jan. 20 this had escalated to the claim that the three "had met with Rebel Armed Forces leaders and had devised a plan of action that involved joining the guerrillas."

The three had reportedly "said they would not carry arms except as a last resort, but still thought that the guerrilla movement contained the best hope for Guatemala."

The Rev. Donald J. Casey, managing editor of *Maryknoll* magazine, was reported to have told the *New York Times* that "the 39-year-old nun was the dominant figure at a secret meeting early last month in Escuintla, Guatemala, at which five priests and four nuns met with a leader of the pro-Castro guerrilla armed

forces... they made plans to smuggle light arms into the country."

Casey revealed that seven members of the order, three priests and four sisters, were ordered to return to New York.

The Melville brothers and Sister Peter took a plane as far as Miami, then turned south and are now in Mexico, presumably attempting to return to Guatemala.

The third priest who was ordered to return to the U.S. is the Rev. Blase Bonpane, 38. Father Bonpane has revealed that he has been ordered by his superiors to report to Hawaii for a new assignment. He had planned to attend a major conference on Latin America that is scheduled to open in St. Louis Jan. 29. He has been informed that if he goes to the conference he will be suspended. The meeting is sponsored by the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program.

The *Times* reported Jan. 22 that Father Bonpane charges that United States foreign policy was causing revolution in Guatemala. The priest is quoted as saying:

"No one wants violence, but when you have American power thrown behind the 2 percent of the people who own 80 percent of the land, and supporting a right-wing army that shoots reformers on the spot as 'Communists,' violence is already institutionalized."

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Black Liberation Notes

Since the South African heart transplants first hit the news, people have been pointing out that although they may reflect a step forward in medical knowledge that does not change the fact that South Africa remains one of the most brutally repressive countries in the world.

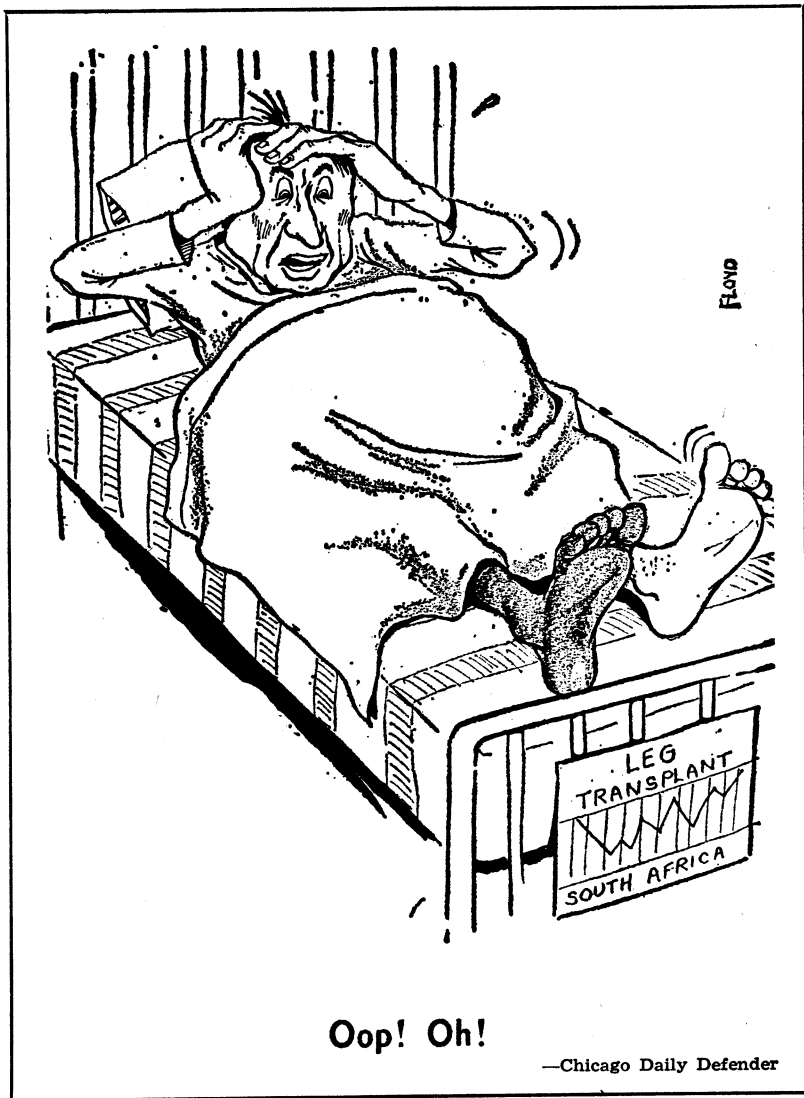
Muhammad Speaks has reported that in the very hospital where the heart of a "colored" man was placed in the body of a white dentist, black people work for slave wages. In addition, neither the black workers or the colored man whose heart was used would be allowed treatment in the ward where the operation took place.

Alvin Wolfe, a leading anthropologist at the University of Washington, has used the occasion of the heart operations to point out the extreme racist nature of South African medical care. He says that while there are 8,000 white doctors in South Africa, there are only 120 nonwhite doctors.

According to Wolfe, the government of South Africa only releases health data on what it delineates as colored, Asian or white people. "Black Africans are simply not mentioned in the *World Health Statistics Annual* or in the *United Nations Statistical Yearbook*," he said. This means that 12,200,000 people out of a total South African population of 17,800,000 do not even appear in the statistics.

In an article in the Jan. 18 *New York Review of Books*, a teacher describes how black students with severe reading problems learned to read in response to the publication of books like *Malcolm X Speaks* and the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*. In the article entitled, "How Teachers Fail," Herbert Kohl claims that the students were bad readers "because there was nothing meaningful for them to read."

Kohl lambastes what he calls "the ideology of some Headstart programs which imply that the 'disadvantaged' child has learned nothing before he arrives in school, and moreover has no motivation to learn." He claims that most children arrive on the first day of school excited and open to anything. "They are ready not only to be with other children and



Oop! Oh!

—Chicago Daily Defender

adults, but also to learn," he says. "They look happy and often come absurdly over-equipped with books and pencils and notebooks." But, "Somewhere in the first few weeks all this changes. The children arrive at school and hang around outside, reluctant to enter the building . . ."

The National Liberal Front is attempting to get antiwar leaflets into the hands of black GIs fighting in Vietnam, according to the Jan. 25 issue of *Jet* magazine. In one case, they attached some leaflets to a float and sailed them down the river near a Marine regiment base camp, about 20 percent of which is black.

The leaflet said, "Colored American servicemen: Twenty million fellow countrymen of yours in the U.S.A. are being abused, oppressed, exploited, manhandled, murdered by racist authorities."

In reporting on the increasing militancy among black high school students, the *African American News Service* listed nine cities where revolts have taken place among black students during the fall and winter, and their list is by no means exhaustive.

The protests have been kicked off by such varying things as acts of racism and violence against black students, discrimination in school activities, and gross inadequacies in the teaching of Afro-American history and culture.

A number of protests have been against the exclusion of black students from cheerleader and beauty contests. A rebellion at Hillhouse High in New Haven broke out after a white boy slapped a black girl in the face when she refused to stand for the pledge of allegiance to the flag.

In Washington, D.C., students at Eastern High School boycotted the school cafeteria in protest over a number of issues including the lack of Afro-American and African history in the curriculum, and the low reading level attained by students at the school.

"The Modern Strivers," the student organization which sponsored the boycott, has won from the administration the right to hold a student body referendum on a new student "bill of rights." The action at Eastern is one of a series of protests in Washington area high schools.

Rebellion News, a black community newspaper in Roxbury, Mass., reports that in the small town of Peekskill, N.Y., black people have formed their own political party called the "Black Unity Party." The party has already organized classes on African and Afro-American history, culture, and the meaning of black nationalism and liberation.

—Elizabeth Barnes

Sure looks like a long fight.

Los Angeles Strikers Demand Hearst Boycott

By Lee Stephens

LOS ANGELES — As strikers enter the second month of their battle with the Hearst-owned *Herald-Examiner* here, they know they are facing a fight to the finish with union-busting Hearst.

Union members are soberly shoring up their defenses and launching a nationwide offensive campaign. An attractive two-color leaflet has been sent to all Central Labor Councils and local unions, urging participation in massive cancellations of subscriptions to Hearst-owned publications. These include Avon pocket books and the following newspapers and magazines:

Newspapers: Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, San Francisco *Examiner*, Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, San Antonio, Tex., *Light*, Boston *Record and American*, Baltimore *News-American*, and the Albany, N.Y., *Times-Union* and *The Knickerbocker News*.

Magazines: *Cosmopolitan*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *House Beautiful*, *Popular Mechanics*, *Town and Country*, *Motor*, *Motor Boating*, and *Sports Afield*. The strikers are not alone, as

evidenced by the Jan. 12 march on city hall by 2,000 members of 60 AFL-CIO unions [See Jan. 22 *Militant*]. But neither is Hearst alone, as pointed out by International Typographical Union Vice President John Pilch, who is observing on the local scene.

Pilch noted that management has the benefit of new methods of production and hordes of professional scabs trained by other publishers and imported here.

No new negotiations are scheduled since Hearst's crew broke up last week's meeting with the the reiterated insult of "super-seniority" for scabs. Hearst went further this time, however: he noted that he will need less manpower due to computerization, and he is doubtful if many of the ousted employees will have jobs after his scabs are hired.

Obviously, Hearst knows no printer will return to work at the bottom of the board in a shop filled with super-seniority rats. And yet, this is the only basis on which he will negotiate.

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Japanese Hold Protests Against Enterprise Visit

The visit of the U.S. aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to the Japanese port of Sasebo sparked off a week of militant anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations. On Wednesday, Jan. 17, these included a clash between 800 students and thousands of cops using clubs, tear gas and water hoses. A total of 125 were injured.

The demonstrations against the *Enterprise* parallel the students' battle with Japanese police last Oct. 8 when Prime Minister Eisaku Sato departed for a tour including a visit to Saigon. Sato later visited Lyndon Johnson in Washington.

Undoubtedly forewarned by the Oct. 8 demonstration, Japanese police made elaborate prior preparations for the *Enterprise* protests. Nagasaki police chief Nobuatsu Kitaori, in charge of the Sasebo area, "has been concerned with the problem of how to maintain order since late last year," the *Asahi Evening News* reported Jan. 16.

Protests were staged for three days prior to the actual arrival of the giant carrier and a number of students were arrested. Then on the eve of arrival, a massive demonstration was staged by Socialists, Communists and labor unionists. The mass demonstration was peaceful.

The *Mainichi Daily News* gave the following account of the pitched student battle, Jan. 17: "Armed with clubs, helmets and stones, [the students] charged into the police barricade set up on

Hirase Bridge leading to the naval base.

"Using rope, they began pulling down the wooden barricade and threw rocks at the guarding police force. The police countered with tear gas shots and two streams of pressurized water from water wagons, which also contained liquefied tear gas.

"After several attempts to break through the barricade, the students, soaking wet and with smarting eyes, were forced back toward the eastern edge of Hirase Bridge, where they were surrounded by police forces coming from three directions and were clubbed and kicked into submission.

"It was the bloodiest demonstration this port city has ever witnessed . . . About 30 U.S. marines in full combat gear were on guard inside the base and were silently watching the students battle the police.

"The Sasebo City Hospital near the scene of the clash was filled beyond its normal capacity by injured students and policemen within a few minutes of the clash. The tear gas floated into the hospital, hurting the patients there.

"Many of the arrested students, handcuffed in the back, were dragged into police vans with blood streaming down their faces. The streets surrounding the bridge were littered with helmets, shoes and clubs. Some of the students, including coeds, fell or jumped into the canal . . . to escape the police truncheons."

III. College Students Defy War Recruiters

CHICAGO, Jan. 19 — A demonstration at the University of Illinois Circle Campus here Jan. 17 touched off a series of confrontations between students and university officials, who were backed up by cops.

The action began with a sit-in at a Marine recruiting booth in the Student Union lobby to protest campus complicity with the Vietnam war. It was organized by the Circle Committee to End the War in Vietnam. When the Marines arrived they found about 75 people milling around, discussing the war, making it impossible for them to reach their booth. Recruitment was canceled for the day.

Robert Lucas, chairman of Chicago CORE, addressed the crowd for two hours on black power. He left when threatened with arrest. The Circle CEWW called for a rally in the Student Union lobby for the next day, although the administration did not permit rallies there.

The rally began at noon, Jan. 18. Students for a Democratic Society joined with the Circle CEWW to explain the "mill-in" of the previous day to the student body.

More than 350 students had crowded into the lobby when the police arrived. Jake Morowitz, chairman of Circle Campus SDS,

was arrested for "disorderly conduct" when he informed a cameraman from NBC-TV that the campus police were carrying Mace, the tear-gas-like spray. The names of rally leaders were taken by the cops and they were threatened with arrest if they did not end the rally.

Several incidents of violence broke out when right-wingers attacked antiwar students. In one case, a black student was attacked by several whites and knocked down. The cops rushed in, dragged the black student to the side, and clubbed him in the head with a nightstick, while the attackers were not even detained. A large number of black students staged a protest sit-in late into the night in the administration building.

More than 100 students returned to the Student Union lobby Jan. 19 to protest the suppression of free speech the day before. There were no police in sight. Speakers demanded that the charges be dropped against the arrested SDS president (which was done, with apologies from the administration); that campus police not be allowed to carry Mace; that no off-campus police be allowed on campus; that a thorough investigation be made of the clubbing of the black student; and that a student-faculty police control board be established.

Antiwar Trends in U.S. Trade U

[The following is a condensation of a speech made by Farrell Dobbs at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on Jan. 19. Farrell Dobbs is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.]

For many of you present, I imagine that our topic tonight arouses memories of the assault made on you in the Whitehall district during the recent antidraft demonstrations. That vicious act was carried out by a gang parading under the banner of the International Longshoremens Association. It was contrived to give the impression of a spontaneous action on the part of rank-and-file members of the union who were rising up in patriotic wrath against the draft resisters.

In the first place, it flies in the face of the facts of life in the trade union movement to imagine a body of rank-and-file workers spontaneously grabbing the official union banner and rushing out to attack the protesters, or to do anything else. That's not the way things operate in the bureaucratized trade union setup.

You can make book that the whole thing was carefully organized from the top. If you got a real head count of the gang that was operating down there in the Whitehall district, you would find that the central core was made up of goons, who were on the payroll of the official machine in the union to carry out whatever kind of dirty deed that machine has in mind at the moment.

Other Components

A second component in that gang was made up of hangers-on who lurk in the fringes of the bureaucratic machine looking for a chance to do a chore here and there, to pick up a few bucks and maybe get directly on the bureaucratic gravy train.

It's a leadpipe cinch that some of those so-called longshoremens were Lindsay's fly cops, the very same characters you saw lurking among the demonstrators in plain clothes, to grab a demonstrator and hold him until a uniformed cop could come and arrest him, or when the uniformed cops charged a group of demonstrators, to whip blackjacks out of their pockets and swing them at the back of demonstrators' heads. They were also part of the "spontaneous rank and file" that was put together from the top under the banner of the International Longshoremens Association.

That was a shocking and revolting experience for the antiwar movement, and it's understandable that the first reaction would be to believe that the antiwar fighters haven't got a friend in that union. But the reality is that you experienced firsthand what the rebel workers in that union and other bureaucratized unions face on a daily basis.

That's the way these bureaucratic machines in the unions operate. There's no participatory democracy, let me tell you; there's

no freedom of expression, no freedom of discussion, no policy of nonexclusion. And when the bureaucrats can't intimidate opponents in the ranks one way, they try to do it in another and more vicious way.

That's something to draw a lesson from, because it helps to explain why the necessary task of overturning these bureaucracies in the unions and correcting the present false policies in the unions is no easy task. It's going to take time, and it's going to take some hard fighting.

Consider for example the sequel to the Whitehall situation. ILA President Gleason went down to Bal Harbour, Florida, to the AFL-CIO convention and he took the floor and bragged about the as-



Farrell Dobbs

sault he had organized against the antidraft demonstrators in New York. He was not challenged from within the convention for that heinous act and his boasting about it.

Does that mean that the rank and file of the AFL-CIO accepts the Gleason line and policy? No. It's merely a manifestation of the fact that the rank and file wasn't represented at that convention. That convention was composed almost entirely of bureaucrats, who are in the main cut from the same cloth as a Gleason.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, perpetrated another outrage right there at the convention.

A few weeks before the Bal Harbour gathering, a substantial group of union officials, some 500 of them, from several unions, met in Chicago to discuss the question of the Vietnam war. At the end of that session, they issued a statement differentiating themselves from Meany's policy on the war.

How did Meany meet that? He tried to dismiss the Chicago gathering with a smear attack. He branded it an anti-American maneuver planned in Hanoi, and said the statement adopted there had been printed in *The Worker*, the official organ of the Communist Party, in advance of the gathering. What lies! But that doesn't bother Meany — he's a skilled hand at that.

Meany then proceeded to whip up an atmosphere of intimidation at that convention. When the question was put before the convention whether to be for or against Meany's line in support of the war, he called for a standing vote. The consequence was that few of those present, no matter what they really felt about the war, had the guts to stand up and be counted against Meany's policy.

That was followed by the disgusting spectacle of the official invitation to Johnson to speak to the

convention. You saw on television that gang of fatheaded, unprincipled bureaucrats applauding and cheering to the echo, especially when Johnson called Meany "Mr. Labor." Oh, I tell you, the credibility gap is widening at super-sonic speed.

This whole business, all the way from Gleason's boast about the action here in New York to Meany's caper in Bal Harbour, was calculated to create the impression that all labor is solidly united in support of the American imperialist assault on the people of Vietnam.

But this is a gross distortion of the real situation in the unions. The meeting of the union officials in Chicago pointed out that there exists at all levels in the unions the same disquiet, frustration, and opposition to the war that characterizes the American people as a whole.

That statement was supported by a Gallup poll released on Jan. 2, which said that 43 percent of the trade unionists polled disapproved of Johnson's policy in Vietnam. That's almost identical with the 45 percent figure for the population as a whole reported in the same poll.

Welfare Workers

Just this week, there was a referendum in the welfare workers union here in New York on the question: Should the U.S. withdraw from Vietnam or should it not? And the report is, in that democratically conducted referendum, 68 percent of the union members voting said, "Yes, we should get the hell out of Vietnam right here and now."

This is another reflection of the broad impact the war is having on the population. People do not understand the war, they can't explain it. They are more and more horrified by what is going on and more and more convinced that everything is suspicious and rotten about the war; and they're right. That's why the opposition is growing, and it's affecting the rank and file in the trade unions just as it's affecting all other sections of the population.

I have here a letter I received from an auto worker in Detroit. He writes in part, "The question of the Vietnam war is another subject of serious discussion within the shops now. There is a very marked shift in opinion here in the shop where I work. Some who only a few weeks ago were waving the flag and whooping it up to send all the young antiwar demonstrators to Vietnam, are now talking about the hopelessness of it all, and of course they look around for moral justification of their new-found attitudes and that isn't hard to find. I think that it is the expense that is causing them to change their minds now, because they are getting their income tax returns now, and they're finding out just how much they must pay."

Inflation

That emphasizes how the impact of the war on the material situation of the working class is having an increasing bearing on the rising opposition to the war in the ranks of the unions. This is manifested in its most striking form in the stiffening demands for wage increases generated by wartime inflation.

The workers are not yet fully aware that their wage problem is linked directly with the war, but they're reacting militantly in self-defense against the erosion of their material position because of the war, and that's what the mounting strike figures reflect.

This wage issue is not as narrow as it might seem at first sight, because of the fundamental fact that the capitalist class must cut into the earnings of the working people of this country in order to

pay for the war. The reaction of the workers to the erosion of their purchasing power because of inflation, their readiness to strike in wartime, and their readiness to strike where war production is going on (it's not the workers, it's the bureaucrats who are queasy about having a strike where there's war production) — all this shows that the workers are putting their own class interests ahead of imperialist war needs.

The unrest that's developing in the union ranks implies a weakening of bureaucratic control at the top. Already the Meany's and the Reuthers are finding it harder to impose their fundamental line of class collaboration on the workers. And therefore the government is preparing harsher antilabor measures, and the main pretext for this governmental attack will be the needs of the war against the Vietnamese.

Trends

The workers are not going to accept the blunting of their union power in the name of the war, and using that war as a pretext for the government attack will only serve to intensify further the opposition to the war among workers. These developing trends foreshadow increasing support to the general antiwar movement from within the ranks of organized labor.

By its very harshness, war tends to expose the naked political truth about what is going on. Life itself is revealing to the rank and file that any union official who supports the war must wind up with a false line on all other matters that touch the vital interests of the working class. In short, the war is precipitating a crisis of leadership in the trade union movement in this country.

Some of the union bureaucrats are growing worried about the threat to their positions that is implicit in this trend, and they're seeking to differentiate themselves to some degree from Meany's policies, hoping to head off a rank-and-file revolt against the bureaucracy as a whole. The main example of this is the meeting of the union officials in Chicago I referred to that is now called the Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace.

Two Sides

Let's take a look at this development a little more closely. It has both positive and negative aspects. On the positive side, the assembly disagreed with Meany's all-out support of the war. It called for discussion of all factors of United States foreign policy within the unions. It's publishing a monthly called *Labor Voice for Peace* which prints material going some limited distance in presenting facts about the war that are contrary to the picture painted by the Johnson administration and its apologists within the union bureaucracy.

(I might say in passing, it's a good paper on the technical side. Shows they're got the dough. This is important for the antiwar movement to keep in mind — there's gold in them thar hills.)

Also, they are projecting the organization of local gatherings, what they call local assemblies for peace, around the country.

These actions have the positive effect of helping to promote wider opposition to the war in the union ranks. This in turn can set in motion forces that are capable of passing beyond control of any wing of the union bureaucracy, and offers considerable potential for strengthening the general antiwar fight.

There are also negative aspects to the steps taken by the bureaucrats who disagree with Meany. Their line on the war is adapted to the position of the liberal capitalist politicians. They confine themselves to demands to set in motion the necessary steps for a



PAINTERS MARCH. Banner of Local 4 of t April 15, harbinger of increased labor supp

negotiated settlement of the war. It is a fact, however, that to the imperialist rulers of this country, to negotiate means to force concessions from the Vietnamese. They want to keep their big feet in the country of another people, and run their affairs for them, and the ruling class intends to continue the war until that objective is accomplished to some given degree.

So when these union officials project that line, they fly in the face of the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese people. They also break ranks with the Vietnamese from the point of view of international working-class solidarity, which is just as vital to the people that labor with hand and brain in this country as it is in Vietnam or any other country in the world. They are putting capitalist aims ahead of the interests of those who toil in this country.

In other words, the bureaucrats who dissent from Meany's line on Vietnam are identifying themselves with growing criticism of the war in the ranks, to find a way to keep this protest movement within the framework of class-collaborationist politics.

War Production

In addition, they shy away from any strike action that touches war production—but labor can't fight against war by not doing anything that would get in the way of the prosecution of an unprincipled, despicable imperialist war.

Even as they take this stance, these bureaucrats are mortally afraid that they're going to start something in the union ranks that'll get out of control. And they're right to be afraid. But they're trying to take safeguards. That's why this new formation is named Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace. It's no accident that the word "leadership" is put in there.

The Chicago conference was mainly union officials, and the formation set up there is a typically tight bureaucratic setup, designed for operation with iron control from the top. Their hope is to confine the union members to reading the paper they are putting out, to listening to speeches by union bureaucrats and assorted capitalist politicians, and then have the workers decide between the

Leon Trotsky
on
Black Nationalism
and
Self-Determination

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... in U.S. Trade Union Movement

pay for the war. The reaction of the workers to the erosion of their purchasing power because of inflation, their readiness to strike in wartime, and their readiness to strike where war production is going on (it's not the workers, it's the bureaucrats who are queasy about having a strike where there's war production) — all this shows that the workers are putting their own class interests ahead of imperialist war needs.

The unrest that's developing in the union ranks implies a weakening of bureaucratic control at the top. Already the Meany and the Gleasons and the Reuthers are finding it harder to impose their fundamental line of class collaboration on the workers. And therefore the government is preparing harsher antilabor measures, and the main pretext for this governmental attack will be the needs of the war against the Vietnamese.

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dove and hawk positions within the bureaucracy, as a sort of replay within the unions of the shell game that is going on in capitalist politics today.

How should the antiwar movement approach the unions? Should it be indifferent, or should it welcome this development of a rift in the bureaucracy—and if so, what should it do?

Clearly, the development is very significant, and should be welcomed, but it is equally clear that the antiwar movement has some tactical problems to consider.

The antiwar movement should consciously differentiate between the membership of the unions and the bureaucrats at the top, and see the labor movement not as one homogeneous group of people like Meany, Gleason and company. It should recognize that there are many, many workers in the unions today who are against the war and more are becoming against the war every day. The antiwar movement should extend a fraternal hand to them. Welcome their support, and help them to develop opposition to the war as best as they can.

Their Own Organizations

Opponents of the war within the unions will tend to act along usual working-class channels. That is to say, in general, they will want to proceed through their own unions, and not through some other organization.

It is true that a few union officials and members have worked in antiwar organizations, but that was because antiwar sentiment was at an incipient stage in the unions, and there was little they could do inside the unions. But as opposition to the war intensifies inside the unions, the workers are going to want to act through their own organizations, and as a matter of fact, it is tactically correct that they should.

At the outset, workers becoming opposed to the war will be influenced largely by the policy lines set at the moment by those union officials who are following one or another form of opposition to the Meany line. And it will take time, it will take education and it will take experience for the union ranks to develop their own views about the program needed in the fight against the war, and for them to begin their search for the

kind of leadership that will be required to carry out necessary antiwar programs.

As of now, the antiwar movement should adjust its tactics to the present stage of developments within the unions. The antiwar movement should take advantage of the rift within the union bureaucracy. Cooperate with the local assemblies of labor that are being called by the Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace. Suggest ideas about the program and methods necessary in the fight against the war. Help in these ways to influence the thinking of the union ranks on the question of the war and the fight against it.

Need Facts

In a broad sense, I think you can say that the unions right now are in what might be called a teach-in stage, somewhat comparable to that earlier phase in the development of the student antiwar movement. The thing the workers need first and foremost is an explanation of all the facts of the war, and an exposure of the awful untruths that are being published about the war. They need clarification about the principle of self-determination and how it relates to the principles of international working-class solidarity.

Another thing the antiwar movement can help in is to expose yet another of Meany's many lies about the war. He gave as one of his arguments justifying his support of the war the contention that it's necessary to protect what he calls the free and democratic trade union movement in South Vietnam. You saw the report the other day how the military dictatorship broke a strike of the electrical workers in Saigon, and they did it at gunpoint in the most brutal fashion. These truths about the real labor situation in South Vietnam should be brought home in every way to the ranks of the trade union movement.

The relationship of the war to labor's specific problems should be analyzed in detail. Show them the direct relationship between the war and the problems that are plaguing them more and more. With truth will come comprehension; with comprehension will come deeper anger and action in the fight against the war.

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litical action, the line of coalition with the Democrats is not faring so well these days. Meany, Reuther and the other bureaucrats in the main are lined up with the Democrats. Those who oppose Meany's line on the war are against Johnson's policy out of one side of their mouth, and out of the other they say we've got to re-elect Johnson.

The line of the bureaucrats is to try to divert attention from the crimes of the Democratic Party, to keep the workers tied to it by setting in motion a scare campaign to the effect that if the Republicans get into office, there's going to be new antilabor laws. The task here is to explain over and over again why there's going to be intensified government attacks on the unions no matter who is elected, Republicans or Democrats, and the war is going to be used as a lame excuse for these attacks.

SWP Campaign

We can do quite a bit in that connection during the Socialist Workers Party election campaign. There will be unusual propaganda avenues open, including TV appearances of the socialist candidates, which can reach large numbers in the union ranks. The task here will be to show the falsity of the bureaucrat's policies, and to drive home to the workers that this is not their war, it is the bosses' war. They're going to gain nothing from it, and they are going to pay for it through death on the battlefield, through taxes, through higher prices. If the workers sacrifice their struggles in the name of the war, they will be cutting their own throats from ear to ear, and anybody who tells them to do that is a traitor and misleader and should be thrown out of union office.

That's the message that's got to be communicated to the rank and file of the working class, and to the extent that this is done, it's going to help set in motion forces on the road toward a break with the capitalist parties and the organization of an independent labor party.

Higher Plane

And once that is accomplished—it isn't going to come overnight—then a qualitatively new stage opens. The struggle against the war and the capitalist misrulers of this country will be on a new and higher plane. We will finally find ourselves on the road to joining the United States of America with people throughout the world who are looking for a way to build a better way of life, instead of mowing one another down with machine guns and bombs and napalm in order to pile up profits for a gang of capitalist blood-suckers.

Support the Aframerican News Service

Since the Los Angeles Youth Conference decision to establish a new communications service for the black liberation movement, the *Aframerican News Service* has come into being and is sending out regular reports and releases.

Anyone who would like to aid this important venture should send the *News Service* any information they have on the black struggle in their area that might be of use to people in other areas of the country.

More important, the *News Service* needs subscribers and financial support. For details on how to become a subscriber, write to The *Aframerican News Service*, 360 Nelson St., S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30313.

Importance of SMC Conference

By the Editors

The national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee scheduled for the Jan. 27-29 weekend promises to be the largest and most representative gathering of student antiwar activists yet held. It marks an important step forward not only for the student antiwar movement but for the antiwar movement as a whole.

The antiwar students have been the spearhead of the antiwar movement since its beginning in 1965. They have provided its most militant wing, and have been its organizational backbone. What the students decide, therefore, is of particular importance to the future of the struggle against the war in Vietnam.

The most important job facing the Student Mobilization Committee is to further consolidate and organize the student antiwar movement itself. This means affirming and expanding the coalition of student political organizations opposed to the war, and also making plans to consolidate and expand the many antiwar committees on campuses across the nation who look to the Student Mobilization Committee for national organization and assistance.

The Student Mobilization Committee was built through the organization of actions, especially the student participation in the massive April 15 and October 21 actions and the student activities connected with them, such as last April's Vietnam Week. The best way to expand the Student Mobilization Committee is through the organization of the proposed spring campus actions, including a student strike against the war.

The student movement has led the broader antiwar coalition in proposing massive actions of the whole movement. It was the Student Mobilization Committee which first proposed the October 21 demonstration in Washington. It also helped to make that demonstration truly international in character, which gave the biggest boost thus far to the antiwar movement in many countries. This was so successful that antiwar activists around the world now look to the U.S. movement to set the next major international action against the war. The Student Mobilization Committee can take the lead again, by proposing massive demonstrations this spring in every city in the world, to give voice to the rising outcry against this war developing among the peoples of the world. These actions should be tied into the nationwide campus actions Student Mobilization has proposed.

There are indications that confusion, doubt and opposition to the war is developing among unionists, among Afro-Americans, among all sections of the population, including the GIs themselves. To reach them the antiwar movement must itself be as well organized as possible, and should now take the lead in giving visible shape to the developing opposition through the organization of more widespread and representative mass actions than have yet been seen, as well as intensification of regular educational antiwar work aimed at getting the facts about the war into the hands of the millions now receptive to antiwar views.

N.Y. Meeting Scheduled On Indictment of Spock

NEW YORK — A large turnout is expected for the rally, scheduled here for Jan. 29, to defend Dr. Benjamin Spock and the four others indicted for antiwar activity. The meeting will be held at Manhattan Center, 8th Ave. and 34th St., beginning at 8 p.m. Dr. Spock and Michael Ferber, the Harvard graduate student who is among those indicted, will address the meeting, which is being sponsored by a broad range of antiwar organizations.

Ferber is facing new harassment from the government in addition to his indictment. He received a notice Jan. 21 to report for induction into the Army.

Ferber has protested that the induction order was a violation of U.S. Army Regulation 601-270, which reads, "Men who have criminal charges filed and pending against them alleging a violation of a state, federal or territorial statute are unacceptable."

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PAINTERS MARCH. Banner of Local 4 of the Painters Union in San Francisco antiwar demonstration last April 15, harbinger of increased labor support to the antiwar movement in the future.

New Campus Interest in Socialism Seen on SWP Campaign Trailblazes

Campaigners for Halstead and Boutelle are finding deep-going changes on campuses across the country. Trailblazers traveling from campus to campus, organizing meetings and signing up new supporters for the Socialist Workers Party ticket, find that students are interested in socialism and will defend the right of socialists to present their ideas, even on the most conservative campuses.

For example, young socialists from Berkeley, Calif., visited Yuba College in Marysville, Calif., recently. This is a junior college in a very conservative community. When the young socialists set up a literature table on campus, a few students began picketing them, across from the table. The trailblazers reported: "The pickets seemed to bring us even more students. At least one girl who was definitely for the war brought a friend of hers over to look at the literature."

"Most of the students who talked to us emphasized the conservative nature of the campus, and looked upon us as being very brave to come. We were busy talking the entire time we were there."

Mills College in Oakland, Calif., is a conservative, upper-class, all-girls school. Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle received permission from the Dean to set up a socialist literature table in front of the post office. They reported that "after about 15 minutes of hesitation, several girls approached the table to ask questions about the campaign and socialism in general. Although the students were hesitant about signing the mailing list, we found ourselves involved in several interesting discussions."

"Several girls stayed for over three hours, and later invited us into the dorms to continue the discussion. We were asked to send speakers for informal discussion groups, and also arranged for one of our speakers to talk about the campaign at a special meeting."

At Foothill Junior College in Los Altos Hills, Calif., socialist trailblazers were asked to teach a regular class in Marxism at an experimental college. Also the editor of the school newspaper and the underground newspaper, *Avanti*, promised to print a story about the Halstead-Boutelle campaign and a column on the class on Marxism.

At the University of the Pacific



Paul Boutelle
For Vice President

in Stockton, Calif., a member of the Student Mobilization Committee invited Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle to speak to a class on "Christianity and Communism."

The young socialists wrote: "After the class one girl invited us to her sorority to speak that evening. We talked about the need for socialism and about our campaign to some 15 students at the sorority house. On our way home we contrasted our reception at the sorority with what it would have been two years ago. Even on a campus like this, a private school with a Christian orientation, students are interested in discussing radical ideas."

"The student government receives *Granma*, the newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, and the president of the student body and others read it regularly. In the student government office a picture of Che, from *Granma*, and a picture of Lenin hang on the wall."

Trailblazing for the socialist candidates is also going on in the South. A Young Socialist for Halstead and Boutelle from Atlanta describes his trip to Athens, Ga., for a meeting at which Julian Bond spoke: "The Baptist Student Union sponsored the meeting. We were prevented from setting up a campaign table by the Baptist campus minister, who felt that he was taking a risk sponsoring Bond's talk and that our Halstead-Boutelle material would be just too radical."

"However, after the meeting we discussed the campaign with some members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and they suggested we come to an SDS party where we could talk to people interested in the campaign and sell literature."

"At the party we found about 35 people, including SDS members, non-SDS members, and a couple of black activists. We sold a fair amount of literature and posters and got into several lively discussions with people about socialism. Some SDSers are interested in setting up a meeting for Fred Halstead when he comes to Georgia."

"Senator McCarthy is scheduled to be in Athens next Tuesday and we intend to go there to push the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. There is a chance that McCarthy will come to Atlanta and speak at Georgia State under the sponsorship of the Committee on Social Issues (COSI). If he does, his talk will be billed as part of a forum on the '68 elections, including Fred Halstead's visit here in March."

The trailblazer from Atlanta goes on to report: "You should be interested to know that there

is a soldier at Ft. Benning, Ga., who is a supporter of the campaign. He is a socialist and has been in the army for a year and a half, including a year in Vietnam. He is now raising money for the Halstead-Boutelle ticket and has set a \$50 quota to raise from his barracks."

The list of endorsers of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign continues to grow rapidly, especially as a result of the national speaking tours the candidates have recently begun. Paul Boutelle's talks on New York City campuses recently brought in 70 new endorsers of the campaign, a large number of whom are Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle. For example, groups of Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle now exist at Bronx Community College, Manhattan Community College, Queens College, and the City College of New York. Many of these Afro-American endorsers are members of black organizations on their campuses, such as the Queens College Black People's Union and the Bronx Community College Simba organization.

At a Michigan conference of the Student Mobilization Committee, 25 antiwar activists signed up as endorsers of the Halstead-Boutelle ticket. There were about 120 in attendance.

Supporters of Halstead and Boutelle attended a national conference of the University Christian Movement held in Cleveland the weekend of Dec. 29. Fifteen of the participants became endorsers of the campaign, and about a dozen more asked for one of the candidates to speak on their campuses.

During the nine days Fred Halstead was touring in Minnesota, he traveled 1,180 miles for various speaking engagements. He spoke to 120 St. Olaf College students, 60 students at Carleton College, 100 at Winona State College, as well as to meetings at the University of Minnesota and Macalester College. Seventy people came to hear his talk at the Twin Cities Socialist Forum. In addition to these meetings, Halstead was on the radio in Minneapolis for a total of two hours and 15 minutes.

—Doug Jenness

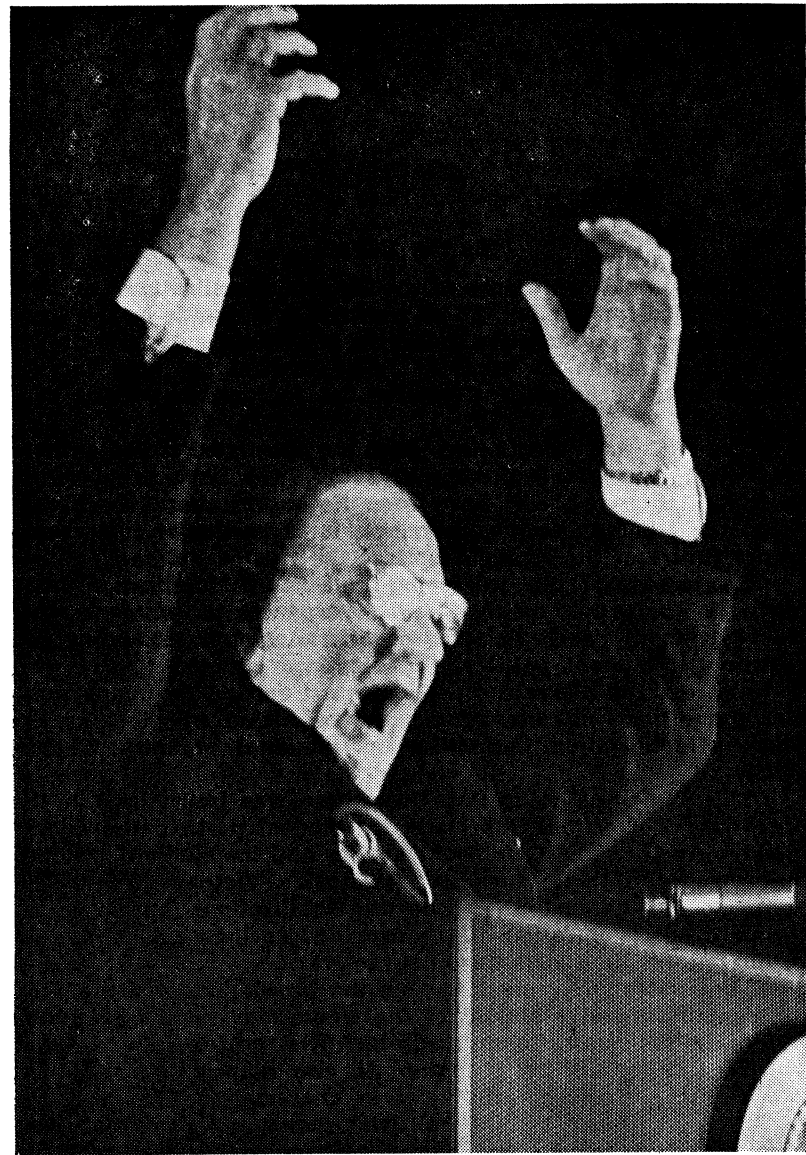
Minn. Protest Against HHH

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Well over 300 sign-carrying, song-singing, slogan-shouting pickets against the Vietnam war faced Hubert Humphrey when he arrived here Jan. 19. Humphrey was in town to speak at an AFL-CIO-sponsored rally at the Lowry Hotel in downtown St. Paul.

The demonstration, which began at 8 p.m. in front of the hotel, was organized by the Minnesota Mobilization Committee, which succeeded in bringing together a broad coalition of forces opposed to the war. Representation at the demonstration included the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, Trade Union Assembly for Peace and the Young Socialist Alliance.

One big advance over previous actions was the presence of union members with signs identifying themselves as trade unionists against the war in Vietnam. Some of their signs read, "Hubert Humphrey Doesn't Represent All of the Trade Union Movement."

Humphrey didn't look very happy when he went into the meeting, which was sponsored by the Minnesota labor skates bowing in obeisance to Meany and Co.



... State of the Union

(Continued from Page 1)

In the same issue in which it carried Johnson's address, the *New York Times* printed an article by David Burnham entitled "Nation's Police Arming for Riots."

Burnham explained that "police agencies in the United States are purchasing armored cars and stockpiling such equipment as tear gas grenades, other nonlethal weapons, and shotguns . . ." And he cited a number of examples.

"Richard McGlaughlin, sales manager for Smith and Wesson, Inc., Springfield, Mass., said the company's sale to law enforcement agencies of guns, handcuffs and and tear gas 'are at an all time high.'"

"According to the manufacturer, more than 3,000 local, state and Federal agencies have purchased the Mace spray gun, which squirts a chemical intended to temporarily disable a person."

"The Chicago Police department

has allocated \$168,000 for three helicopters . . ."

Burnham's report puts flesh and blood on Johnson's State of the Union message. Armored cars, tear gas grenades, and helicopters for the bigger cities — that is the number-one priority legislation in Johnson's proposals for 1968.

Escalation of the war will be matched by escalation of the attack on black people. It is not a coincidence. The war hits the black population hardest, both directly in the form of discriminatory drafting of black youths and discriminatory deployment of black soldiers on the front lines, and indirectly, in draining away funds for even token improvements in black education, housing and job opportunities.

As this is more and more reflected in the rising mood of opposition among Afro-Americans, the capitalist government is responding by increasing the oppression. Johnson's "safe streets" bill gives the green light to local city and state cops to unleash their forces against the black communities.

Organize Support for Halstead and Boutelle On Your Campus or High School

() Please send me more literature
 () Please add my name to the mailing list
 () I want to help organize a meeting for the candidates
 () Enclosed is a donation.

Name

Address

City..... State..... Zip.....

Telephone.....

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle
 873 Broadway, 2nd Floor South
 New York, New York 10003



Fred Halstead
For President

Writers and the Cuban Revolution

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba — Some six or eight months ago, New American Library (Signet and Mentor books) published in hard cover an English translation of a current Cuban novel, *Inconsolable Memories*, by Edmundo Desnoes, an editor in Cuba's government-sponsored National Institute of Books. An introduction to the U.S. edition by playwright Jack Gelber explained he had met Desnoes and discovered *Inconsolable Memories* while attending a theater festival here in Havana.

I was interested in reading the book. My interest was further stimulated by a rather incomprehensible review in the *New York Times* Sunday book supplement. The reviewer suggested that what was newsworthy about the book was not that it had been published in the U.S., but that it had been published in Cuba. It was, he said, very critical of the Revolution.

Theme of Alienation

This struck me as a bit odd and I wasn't particularly surprised, on reading the book, to find that this simply wasn't so. I found *Inconsolable Memories* a well-written, very readable book on a key contemporary theme—the alienation of the artist. As I understood it, Desnoes painted a sympathetic portrait of an artist so completely alienated that, even though he wished to, he could not relate to something as positive as the Cuban Revolution. I'm told that both the *Times* and *The Nation* selected *Inconsolable Memories* as the outstanding foreign novel published in the U.S. in 1967. I don't know what the competition was, but I certainly found the book to be of genuine merit. Consequently, on my arrival here, one of the people I asked to interview was Edmundo Desnoes.

He agreed to an interview and took time out from a round of hectic meetings on the eve of the Cultural Congress to answer my questions.

Political Person

Almost inevitably, interviews tend to begin with more or less pat questions. And often they tend to elicit pat answers. My questions may have been pat but the answers were not. Desnoes is a serious political person deeply involved in the problems of Cuba and the Third World. In charge of the publication of literary and art books at the Institute of Books, he is equally concerned with the development of Cuba cultural life. And, at the same time, he is immersed in the problems and esthetic needs of the artist as an individual. He struck me as a solid, clear-eyed supporter of the Revolution.

Reviewers often tend to assume that where there is some coincidence of biographical facts between an author and his central character, the author is, in fact, portraying himself. The *Sunday Times* reviewer seemed to assume that. At the time, it struck me as rather stupid since the central



Edmundo Desnoes

Photo by Harry Ring

character of *Inconsolable Memories* was isolated from society to the point of being a near-hermit, while Desnoes is obviously very much involved in Cuban society.

But Desnoes did not fully share my very poor opinion of the review. "It has two or three things that are perceptive," he said. "Like what?" I inquired with some astonishment.

"Like when he mentions that it seems to be a book to exorcise certain 'demons,'" Desnoes replied. "I think that in a way it is. It's a part of myself, of my middle-class upbringing."

Two Forces

"I try to confront this character with the Revolution. The Revolution is the other character—which reviewers usually fail to see. But actually the two forces which are at work in the book are this middle-class intellectual trying to rise to the occasion of the Revolution—and the Revolution, which he faces with all he has, his understanding, his upbringing, his intelligence."

"It's a challenge, the Revolution," Desnoes continued, "which for the first time forces him to give the best he has. And at the same time, faced with the Revolution, it's not enough. At the end he recognizes he's always been fighting underdevelopment. But yet he doesn't have the strength to face the sacrifices involved in changing the situation in an underdeveloped country."

Did then Desnoes take a dim view of his own situation in relation to the Revolution? Pursuing the question further, I found he believes significant cultural progress is taking place in Cuba and that his own situation as an artist is far better than it was during the period, under Batista, when he had migrated to the U.S., where he worked as a journalist.

Before the Revolution, he said, there was literally not a single publisher in Cuba for literary works. The only thing published on the island was textbooks.

"Today," he said, "you can see the gigantic step forward. There's a National Theater. A movie institute has been established and for the first time we're producing films here. We're publishing books. There's the Ministry of Culture, which didn't exist before."

And himself?

A Journalist

He shrugged. "Before the Revolution I was only a journalist, I had only published a slim book of three or four short stories and a few poems. Since the Revolution, I've published four books and a large number of essays for magazines. Today I function as an intellectual; before I was a sort of madman pretending to be a writer, with no one believing in the importance of literature in our country, beginning with my family. Today I have been completed by the Revolution: I write and people read what I write—the other half of a real cultural life."

"But," he added, "mainly I would say that the difference is in the fact that before the Revolution I felt something like what Beckett had said: 'You're alive, there's no cure for that.' There was no future. The man was trapped in a vicious circle. And I always felt incomplete. I think that with the Revolution you feel that there's something beyond you—that you're building toward the future, a sense of destiny. I think that man cannot exist unless he's working for something beyond himself."

Does Desnoes then think that the Revolution has solved the problem of alienation? I asked him if he agreed with the late Fritz Pappenheim who had said that Cuba offered Latin America

the example of how to cope with alienation.

"Yes, I think it does," Desnoes said. "But I think though that at this stage the Revolution is a tragic situation in which people are torn in the process of creating a new system, a new world."

It's an intensification of the problem of the artist, he continued, to find a synthesis of his creative function and his political commitment.

"In the underdeveloped country, unless you've reached communism," he said, "there has to continue to be alienation. The Cuban cane cutter who cuts cane with a machete—he has to be alienated by his work. Fidel himself has said that as long as he has to cut cane with a machete, this man would not be fully human."

Create New Man

It's a problem, he said, of gaining a necessary degree of control over nature, of humanizing man's environment and his work. "But the main thing," he added, "is to create a new man with a moral attitude toward life and work."

"At this stage," he explained, "we have to create a man with a different type of conscience. If it were so that mechanically our conscience is a reflection of our environment, of our economic and political situation, our conscience would be very underdeveloped. But we have in Cuba a highly developed conscience. This is very important."

I asked his view on the concern of some artists that state-sponsored artistic and cultural activity invited curbs on creativity and free expression.

"I think that's a risk," he replied. "But it has been more of a problem in other socialist countries. I feel that it's not happening in Cuba. We already have the precedent of books being published with freedom within the Revolution. We're not going to publish anything that's counter-revolutionary. But there is no definite line, for example, like socialist realism in other countries."

Different Forms

"We experiment with different art forms," he continued, "and, within the Revolution, everything is possible. And even, eventually when the country is developed, we believe, as a principle, that even a book that's against the Revolution should be published and discussed. People should be able to read and understand these things."

Now—at this stage—I don't think that's possible."

The really big problem though, he said, is to break the world cultural monopoly of the imperialists. "I think we have to fight to create our own image in the world, our own voice. This is more important than the discussion about freedom."

At the same time he rejects the concept of socialist realism. "It's only a word," he said. "But if you look, just pragmatically, at the way it's been carried out in the socialist countries, by simply looking at the books it has produced and the type of control, you see the results."

Act As Conscience

"Artists should experiment and should not act as the propagandists of a system but as the conscience of a system. It's their responsibility to bring out the problems and contradictions of a system, not how it should develop."

"Socialist realism, in practice, has tried to present only the positive sides of reality and what should be. I think art should not present what should be, but should be the conscience of a society, with all its conflicts and contradictions. And the form should be that which the artist finds adequate. There should be absolute freedom to use whatever form he wants."

In Cuba, he said, you can see this in practice in painting, in fiction and in poetry.

What of the situation of the artist in the United States?

Art in the U.S.

"I think the possibilities of the artist in the United States are very limited, as far as his possibility of changing the social structure with his work," he said. "But within that limited possibility, they have to express what they feel. But I think also, with their own work they have to be very serious. I think the main responsibility of the artist is to do his own work and be as cruel and merciless as he can."

Reflecting on what he might further say on the artist in the U.S., he added: "Actually it's two different situations, that of the artist in the United States and an artist in an underdeveloped country. For us, we're defending ourselves. For us, war is important. In the United States you have to be the opposite. You have to teach peace and understanding."

We shook hands on that and he returned to the work of the Cultural Congress.

Minn. City Rulers Reject Job for Black Militant

By David Thorstad

MINNEAPOLIS — On Jan. 12 the Minneapolis City Council rejected Mayor Arthur Naftalin's appointment of Ronald Edwards, a black militant from Minneapolis' North Side, to the new Commission on Human Relations. Although three aldermen spoke on Edwards' behalf, they did not wish to be recorded as dissenting, and the vote against Edwards was unanimous.

Of the 15 people appointed to the commission, Edwards was the only one to be rejected. The excuse used by the council to justify its action was his record of conviction on four misdemeanors.

In response to this racist decision, virtually the entire black community, including the NAACP and the Urban League has come to Edwards' defense. On Jan. 16 a meeting of 125 people was held on the North Side to protest the city council action. The *Minneapolis Spokesman*, an Afro-American

newspaper, criticized the council in an editorial. An ad hoc committee representing the entire black community is urging blacks to boycott the Commission until the demand for Edwards' confirmation is met.

Two other black people besides Edwards were appointed to the Commission. They, and one Indian member of the Commission, have indicated they will resign if Edwards' appointment is not approved. Two white members said they might also resign.

"Now Charlie has shown his true color," said Edwards. "He has said, 'No matter how faithful you have been to us, black leadership, the answer is no. No matter how much advice you've given us, it's no.'"

Edwards asserted that black people will respond in one of two ways: "We'll either sit down across the table and negotiate or go up on the rooftops."

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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.]

Postal Workers

San Francisco

I would like to correct any mistaken impression that might have been fostered by your Dec. 25 "Thought for the Week." LBJ made the reference to the "extra little present" while talking about the pay raise for postal employees, not the rate raise, although he would like to confuse the two. Here's the background:

Postal unions have been struggling for some time now to achieve comparability to other industry. It's well known that postal clerks, many of whom are minority group people, don't receive anywhere near the kind of money they should for the kind of training required (postal clerks are required to memorize an incredible number of streets and business addresses to pass regular Scheme examinations, on their own time). Since postal unions, and all government employe associations, are denied the right to strike, the postal unions lobby for pay increases through the Congress. Naturally, Johnson was against it and threatened time and time again to veto it.

Finally, some "friends" of the postal unions in Congress came up with the idea of attaching the major provisions of the pay raise to the rate increase bill which was pending at that time. Johnson agreed, but the postal unions took a terrific beating in the public's eyes because it looked like the pay raise caused the rate increase. Of course, nothing could be further from the truth. The rate increase would have occurred whether or not the pay increase went through; the real reason that Johnson was against the pay increase was not that he wanted to save the public from the rate increase, but because of the war, which eats up all the money.

Members of government employe unions, such as I am, can help the antiwar movement by pointing out that the government worker is always the first hit in wartime—it becomes "unpatriotic" to ask for more pork chops dur-

ing war. And if present events are any indication, U.S. military leaders apparently would like to get us involved in any number of small wars which could last decades — which would mean a very lean time indeed for government workers.

U.S. Expansionism

New York

The political maneuver in Southeast Asia is not new. The old imperial power pressure—an open and shut case—of divide and rule. Be on our side today; tomorrow we will crush you. Thailand is under U.S. control; get Cambodia under control, while crushing the Vietnamese; tomorrow turn on Laos, Cambodia, then Indochina is a province of the United States instead of the French.

Anyone who believes the United States' expanded military power will withdraw from Southeast Asia has the mind of an infant. The U.S. moves in to stay. They will not withdraw any more than they have from the Pacific possessions.

The main purpose is to maintain capitalist control of the economic markets and to eliminate possible competition of socialist tendency—strictly for Coca Cola, chewing gum, gambling and brothel houses.

The move into Laos-Cambodia can be comparatively easy: accuse the brown-skinned people of trading with the Communists, and then of being Communists, and there's the excuse for a military expedition.

The genocide of the Vietnamese people is hard to believe in this day and age, but of course this is the death throes of capitalism. Only socialism can bring sanity to the world.

Witness the vast slaughter of a defenseless people — the boast of thousands in a week slaughtered by the most powerful military organization, that expends unlimited sums of money to accomplish the subjugation of primitive defenseless farmers who wish to live in peace and freedom and till their patch of rice.

For this, vast military machines are brought into operation: aircraft, naval craft and land machines that cost billions. It reads like a page out of the history of primitive man where all oppo-

nents were slaughtered and the land burnt to waste.

Stop the war. Stop the killing and build a socialist society where the ownership of the means of production is in the hands of the working people.

Otto Thomas

For a Better Future

Romulus, Mich.

I will for the rest of my life subscribe to *The Militant* and support the Socialist Workers Party at the polls. I am getting old but I hope my children and grandchildren will reap the harvest of the good seeds you are sowing now.

T. H.

"La Guerre . . ."

New York

J.W. says in the Jan. 15 *Militant* that "La Guerre Est Finie" is either a fuzzy exposure of Stalinist misleadership or (more likely) a counterrevolutionary lesson on the impossibility of changing anything.

The movie is actually something altogether different. The hero is a member of a revolutionary organization whose exiled leadership has lost its perspective on reality after long years of waiting for the revolution in Spain to happen. They are calling a general strike out of context with the real situation in Spain. The hero understands that the strike call will fail to meet with a response among the masses.

Later, he runs across another group of revolutionaries. They are as aware of the real situation among the Spanish masses as is the hero, but these young men

Thought for the Week

"How can truth be construed as rudeness?" — Eartha Kitt, as reported in the Jan. 23 *New York Times*.

want to galvanize the people into action by terrorism aimed at the tourist trade. The hero is aware that this is another case of wishful thinking.

The same pressures which have distorted the perspectives of both his organization's leadership and that of the other group, affect the hero also. He is tempted to give up. But he manages to maintain his perspective as a realist and a revolutionary by internalizing his motto of "patience and irony." Patience with the real situation among the masses. Irony about his personal situation in the world.

In the end, revolutionary optimism triumphs. All told, this is an excellent portrayal of one of the main problems of revolutionaries in the industrially advanced countries—how to keep one's revolutionary perspective in proper focus when the revolution is not immediately on the agenda.

Arthur Maglin

Antiwar Mood Grows

Minneapolis, Minn.

The growth and development of the antiwar movement which liberals seem sometimes to be relatively blind to, is now showing signs of majority support that even they may become aware of.

Jan. 14, as part of the opening sequence of a national TV show,

the Smothers Brothers came out on the stage; one brother reminded the other that they must remind the U.S. people that they cannot travel overseas in order to "help the country." "Yes," said the other, "Then all the troops have to be brought home."

Mutual Radio Network airs some of the most morbidly conservative programs there are; yet locally here the host of a "talk" show from 7 to 10 p.m. has stated admiration for draft resisters and has come out in support of bringing our troops home now. Besides that, the host, Alex Bennett, is vociferous in defending his views against the few who disagree. This was one of the three radio shows that Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for President, appeared on recently.

Finally, while opposition to the war is not total and complete among fellow workers, there are indications that it is more widespread than many of us may have thought. One good example was how a woman in a neighboring shop called LBJ a worldwide George Wallace, a description which evoked no opposition. And, though opposition to the war has not ended it yet, that is a reasonable perspective if the antiwar movement continues its valuable work.

Jim Krahn

The Great Society

Scientific Breakthrough — Chinese pilots have discovered a new navigation aid, better than compasses and radar, that has enabled them to discard Soviet training manuals and considerably reduce training time. "With Mao Tse-tung's thoughts in our minds," they reportedly said, "we can tell exactly where we are heading, even in clouds or dense fog."

Mixed Up — Two jet-setters, when queried about their reaction to LBJ's directive to restrict travel to the Western Hemisphere, told *Women's Wear Daily* that if they couldn't go to Europe they might go to the Orient. Too many champagne flights?

Tough, Isn't It? — In the same department, an art-collecting jet-setter, who has been spending about four months a year on "spur-of-the-moment trips" abroad, complained: "What will we do if some simply marvelous picture comes on the market at Christie's in London?"

LBJ Country — Of course, tourists can always go to Johnson City, Tex. There they can see the post office plaque commemorating the very spot on which He mailed his very first letter at the age of four. And there's a reasonably priced souvenir for everybody in Lyndon Land: for the art collector, a statue of LBJ's dog; for mother, the LBJ Barbecue Cookbook; for the kiddies, LBJ combs, pencil sharpeners, stereo slides; and for the man who has everything, a jar of water from the Pedernales River.

Consumer Fraud Countdown — We admire the dogged determination of the Stanford, Calif., man who wrote to *Consumer Reports*: "My wife purchased a tin of nuts labeled 'Mixed Nuts,' which listed as the contents the following: Virginia peanuts, cashews, Brazil nuts, almonds, and pecans. The picture on the tin depicted a rather even mixture of all of these. I was somewhat amazed to find,

however, upon opening it, that it seemed to consist almost solely of peanuts. I decided then to make a count. . . . The results were: peanuts, 435; cashews, 12; Brazil nuts, 3; pecans, 2; almonds, 1/2."

The War at Home — Manufacturers of helicopters, armored cars, and lighter-weight "riot" control equipment such as guns, handcuffs, tear gas, helmets, Mace spray guns — report a big boom in sales. At least one police department, according to a major helicopter manufacturer, wanted to buy an armed helicopter like the ones the Army uses in Vietnam.

Conspicuous Consumption? — The president of the Manila Electric Co., who is also director of his family's vast sugar, cement, insurance, newspaper and broadcast interests, is throwing an anniversary party at his estate overlooking Manila Bay. Plans for the celebration include: a fountain

that will shoot champagne, in alternating colors, 25 feet high; a 14-foot-tall cake; a soprano from the Metropolitan Opera, three dance bands, a ballet troupe, and a jazz singing group; 1,500 guests, including pretenders to the thrones of France and Spain; a small army of waiters who will serve hot and cold hors d'oeuvres, duckling, beef, lamb and fish, wines, five salads, ice cream, and a selection of cheeses. Only eight bars, though.

Clinical Note — The Navy pilot who led the first bombing strike into North Vietnam in August 1964 told a *New York Times* interviewer that he would like to hit the docks at Haiphong. "There are also a lot of nice buildings in Haiphong," added Comdr. Henry Urban Jr. "What their contributions are to the war effort I don't know, but the desire to bomb a virgin building is terrific. . . ."

—Ruth Porter

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

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Works to Reform Capitalism

Wilson's Anti-Labor Program

By Barry Sheppard

Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Britain's ruling Labor Party recently announced a slashing attack on the standard of living of British workers.

In an effort to bail British capitalism out of its balance-of-payments problem, Wilson is attempting to raise exports and lower imports through a drive against "home consumption, public and private," and a "progressive and massive shift of resources" to the "requirements of exports" and the needs of "productive investments" by British capitalists.

Wilson spelled out what this will mean for British workers: higher taxes, reduced social security, higher medical costs, less low-cost public housing, pressure to keep wages down while prices soar, cutbacks in education and reduced public services.

The *New York Times* was particularly pleased with these measures and gave Wilson an editorial pat on the head for demonstrating "a willingness to sacrifice cherished Labor objectives" in the interests of the "economy" — that is, in the interests of British capitalism.

"Particular Courage"

"It took particular courage," the *Times* said fondly, "for this Labor Prime Minister to end free medicine under the sacrosanct National Health Service and to impose a prescription charge even higher than the one set by Tory Governments and repealed by Mr. Wilson."

In addition to raising medical costs, Wilson said "some reductions in the planned growth of local health and welfare capital expenditures are being made," which means a cutback in new medical facilities.

Schoolchildren in secondary schools will no longer get free milk. "Some capital projects in the universities" and other schools, Wilson said, would be cut back. Student allowances will increase enough to cover "only half the rise of the cost of living."

The Prime Minister said there will be "fewer council houses" [low cost public houses] built, and there will be a delay in improving roads.

Welfare programs and free medical aid would be "confined to families most in need," which means introducing a "means test" of some kind.

Workers will pay 12 cents a week more for health services, social security and jobless benefits — and the bosses will pay an additional 6 cents, only half as much.

Asserting that Britain "cannot have a roaring consumer boom" (meaning workers buying things

they need), Wilson said "there can be no automatic increase in wages . . . to compensate for price increases." Wilson fully expects prices to rise and is determined to hold down wages, calling for "restraint at the shopfloor level as well as national trade union level."

Wilson made his speech in the afternoon, and that evening Roy Jenkins, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said he would pile on more taxes if wages rose. "The faster incomes rise," he said, "the more I would have to tax."

The next day Jenkins announced he would soon raise taxes, proving that the aim is to drive pur-

to run it better and more equitably.

But when the interests of the system — the basic interests of the capitalists — come into conflict with the interests of the workers, the reformists have always taken sides with the system and proceeded to defend it by attacking the workers, just as Wilson is now doing. When the interests of the system come into open conflict with the reform measures in the Labor Party's own platform, Wilson finds he must summon the "courage" to "sacrifice cherished Labor objectives" and launch an attack on the workers, doing the dirty work for the Tories.

The problems British capitalism faces are deep-going. They flow from the fact that Britain is no longer a leading imperialist power. British capitalists no longer have the strong competitive position they once had, and as their profit opportunities shrink, they turn more and more on their own working class in an effort to salvage their profits and system.

The only way out of this for the British workers is to get rid of the capitalist system itself. Instead of attempting to reform it — and in the last analysis protect it — they will have to fundamentally transform it from an economy based on private profit and the private ownership of the means of production to a planned socialist economy, which has no need of imperialist holdings or capitalists' profits to keep it developing.

To carry out that kind of necessary revolution requires not only a mass party of the workers, a Labor Party, but a Labor Party with a socialist objective and the will to carry it out.



Harold Wilson

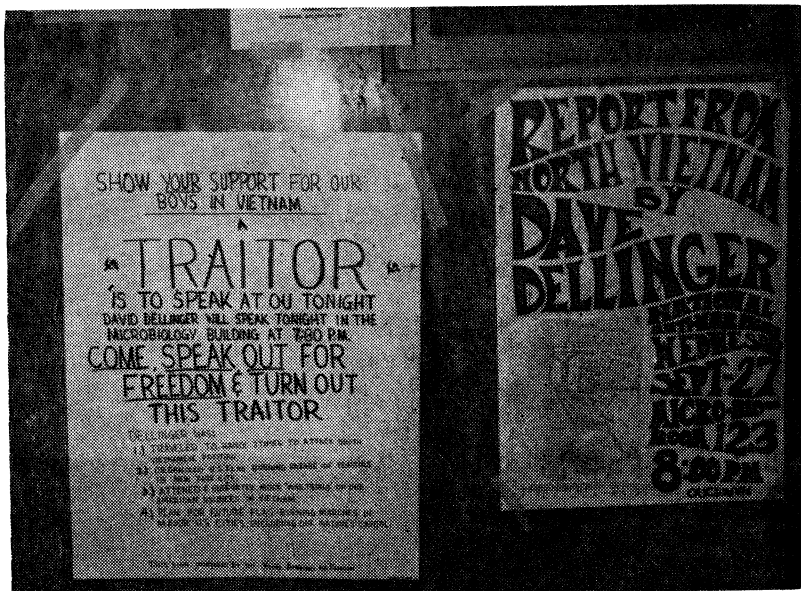
chasing power down. London observers, reports the *New York Times*, said that the Government "might move again toward something like the compulsory wage freeze it imposed for the last half of 1966."

What is involved in all these measures is to make the British workers pay for the difficulties British capitalism finds itself in, with Wilson and the Labor Party leadership playing the role of guardians of the system. Wilson is forced to "sacrifice cherished Labor objectives," as the *Times* put it, because of his basic commitment to defend the capitalist system — in spite of his leadership of a party based on the trade unions.

For British workers the central problem is one of political leadership. Despite Wilson's treachery, they retain their own class party in opposition to the capitalist parties. Once the crisis of leadership is resolved, they will already have the political instrument through which to drive forward in defense of their class interests.

In that respect the British workers are farther ahead politically than the labor movement in this country. The U.S. labor movement still supports one or another of the capitalist parties, and there is no means whatever for independent labor political action. This situation American labor finds itself in flows from attempts by union officials to make capitalism work here, just as Wilson is trying to do in Britain. In this country, both an independent labor party and a competent leadership are needed. The British workers have their own party, which helps them come to grips with the problem of leadership.

Wilson's treachery to the British workers flows from his basic commitment to reformism — the program of gradual and piecemeal reforms under capitalism, while preserving the capitalist system itself. This boils down to the idea that the problems of capitalism can be solved and the lot of the workers improved if the workers, through the Labor Party, take over the direction of the government from the capitalist parties, not to fundamentally change the system but



POISON. When Oklahoma U. antiwar committee invited Dave Dellinger to speak last September, right-wing group called for people to "turn out this traitor."

Antiwar Leader Eludes Attempted Fire Bombing

NORMAN, Okla. — An antiwar leader at Oklahoma University in Norman luckily escaped injury from a smoke and incendiary bomb of a military type thrown into her home early in the morning of Jan. 14. Sudie Trippet, former chairman of the OU Committee to End the War in Vietnam and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, said she had run outside her house but had not been able to identify the bomb-thrower.

"While I was outside, the bomb exploded," she told newsmen, "and filled the house with smoke." She was able to extinguish the fire caused by the bomb.

The OU Students for a Democratic Society joined with the antiwar committee to call for an immediate investigation of the terrorist attempt. "Such acts," they declared, "are the natural outgrowth of a society that supports wars of aggression and justifies violence on an international scale."

Calling upon OU President Dr. George Cross to lead the investigation, the organizations declared, "We would like to make perfectly clear that such acts of terrorism will in no way intimidate or deter us from our opposition to and action against American involvement in Vietnam."

New Indictment of '17 Accused' Increases Threat to Free Speech

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK — The true motives of those who are prosecuting the "17 African-Americans Accused" were exposed more clearly than ever before at a hearing in the Queens Supreme Court Jan. 17. The "Seventeen" were framed up last June in connection with an alleged plot to kill NAACP leader Roy Wilkins. Only two of the defendants were charged with conspiracy to commit murder. The others were indicted under the New York criminal anarchy law.

At the Jan. 17 hearing the courtroom was crowded with supporters of the "Seventeen" when the judge announced important and revealing changes in the case. First, he dismissed the original indictment for criminal anarchy and announced a new indictment under the same law, which included several changes:

Whereas the first indictment did not list specifically in what way the defendants were supposedly conspiring to commit criminal anarchy, the second "revised" indictment lists concrete actions that are deemed part of the conspiracy. These included, "issuing, discussing and circulating a book called 'Community Self-Defense,'" and "advocating reading" a pamphlet called "The Struggle for Black Power in the United States."

By stating that it is illegal to discuss, circulate, issue or even to "advocate reading" certain types of literature, the authorities prosecuting the case thus make it clear that they plan to challenge the right to free speech on the most basic level.

In addition, the judge made another change in the indictment which underlines the political nature of the case and the absurdity of the charges being made.

It seems that those who made the indictment could not even decide what "government" they were going to claim the defendants were conspiring against. In the original indictment they were listed as conspiring against "organized government," which would include the national government and thus take jurisdiction of the case out of the hands of the state courts. The new indictment states specifically that it is the government of the state of New York which is involved.

Moreover, while the first indictment implied that the defendants were conspiring as members of RAM (Revolutionary Action Movement), the second indictment doesn't even mention RAM. In addition, two of the original defendants were not reindicted.

Several days after the Jan. 17 hearing in Queens, the Supreme Court made an important decision which has a direct bearing on the case of the "17 African-Americans Accused," and which represents a setback for free speech in general. The court decided not to hear the appeal of William Epton, Progressive Labor Party leader who was convicted for encouraging black people to "riot" in 1964.

The Epton case has direct application to that of the "Seventeen" because Epton was indicted under the New York criminal anarchy law, and convicted not for anything he did, but for statements he made.

In a dissenting opinion Supreme Court Justice Douglas pointed out the important questions raised by the Epton case, questions which apply equally to the Queens case. Douglas said that one of the key undecided points posed by the Epton case concerned whether a person can be convicted of conspiracy without proof that he took

some overt act other than making speeches, issuing pamphlets or other forms of expression. "If so," Douglas warned, "the use of constitutionally protected activities to provide the overt acts for conspiracy convictions might well stifle dissent and cool the fervor of those with whom society does not agree at the moment."

Justice Douglas also brought up the important question of whether the New York criminal anarchy law itself violates the first amendment of the Constitution.

The case of the "17 African-Americans Accused" deserves the support of all who favor free speech, regardless of agreement or disagreement with the political views of the defendants. In addition to the criminal anarchy charge, two defendants, Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris, still face serious charges in the frame-up against them for supposedly conspiring to murder Roy Wilkins.

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

Prepublication Offer

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SWP Launches Senate Campaigns In New York State and California

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 24 — Berkeley antiwar leader Peter Camejo announced today that he will run as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from California.

Camejo was suspended from the University of California at Berkeley last fall for participating in the Stop the Draft Week rallies. Following the suspension, thousands of students disrupted the administration buildings, protesting the suspensions of Camejo and Reese Erlich.

Subsequently, Camejo led a radical antiwar slate in the UC student elections, winning first place. Camejo ran as the socialist candidate for Mayor in Berkeley in 1967.

"The war in Vietnam," Camejo declared, "is nothing but a brazen attempt by the United States to prevent the Vietnamese people from achieving their independence, land and other social reforms. This war has awakened an ever larger number of American youth to the inhuman values of our society."

Human Rights

"The Democrats and Republicans answer the demands of the Afro-American community for their human rights only with more police. Whenever politicians call for stopping violence in our cities, they are actually calling for an increase in the number of cops in Afro-American neighborhoods.

"The average black family," Camejo said, "receives 52 percent of the income of the average white family. If whites had their income cut by 48 percent there would be more violence here than there is in Vietnam."

On the subject of university students, Camejo noted that they are about to face new tuition hikes from the state administration. "At the same time, student demonstrations against the war have been



PETER CAMEJO. Socialist Workers Party candidate speaking to Berkeley city council, demanding that Vietnam referendum be placed on ballot.

under increasingly sharp attack by police and by administration politicians. I'm running partially to make sure the student point of view is heard.

"I will use my campaign to win support for the Socialist Workers presidential ticket of Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President, and to support the socialist program of uncompromising opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties."

Last July, Camejo was deported from Mexico for attempting to aid

his brother, who is imprisoned in Mexico City. The Mexican secret police arrested Daniel Camejo Guanache, Peter's brother, and held him incommunicado for several days. He is still in jail.

After beating him and threatening him with a gun, they forced him to sign a confession that he was a "guerrilla" who advocated "the violent overthrow" of the Mexican government. Upon hearing of his brother's arrest, Peter Camejo went to Mexico City to seek legal aid. He was kidnapped by the police and deported.

NEW YORK, Jan. 24 — The Socialist Workers Party announced here today that it is running Hedda Garza for U.S. Senator from New York in the fall elections. Mrs. Garza will oppose incumbent Republican Senator Jacob Javits.

Hedda Garza was the SWP's candidate for comptroller of New York City in 1965, and she ran on the party's ticket for Congress from New York's 17th congressional district in 1966. An editorial worker, she is the mother of four children — she has two sons near draft age.

Mrs. Garza was born and raised in New York, and was educated in the city's public school system, including Queens College. She was chairman of the East Side Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and is an activist in the antiwar movement. Her children are enrolled in the public school system.

Main Issue

In accepting the party's nomination, Mrs. Garza declared, "The war in Vietnam bothers me more than any other issue in this campaign, and I think it's the thing people are most concerned about. It isn't only two of my own children who face the draft in the near future but I'm angry about the thousands of other young men who are being used for the purpose of killing and getting killed in a war that is totally contrary to their real interests. The United States should get out of Vietnam and bring the GIs home now."

In discussing local issues, Mrs. Garza pointed to "the steadily deteriorating school system" as a big question in the coming election. She said that "genuine control of local schools by the black and Puerto Rican communities would be a big step toward solving the problem."

The senatorial candidate said there are "many other things on



Hedda Garza

people's minds — largely because our problems seem to be growing instead of diminishing — the housing situation worsening despite big plans and promises, prices jumping constantly upward despite Johnson's 'guns and butter' promises, and attacks on black people by the police.

"These are some of the things," Mrs. Garza declared, "with which I intend to confront the Democratic and Republican candidates and which I intend to discuss with the voters of this state. I think my opponents will give the same tired answers they have always given, and I know that the working people are ready for some new ones."

Mrs. Garza said she would campaign for the repeal of New York's Taylor Law because it "outlaws the elementary right to strike" for public employees. Her campaign will also build support for the Socialist Workers Party national ticket of Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President.

Solidarity in S.F. Newspaper Strike

By Mary Kraft

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 21 — The effects of the strongest display of labor solidarity in recent San Francisco history are spreading as this city goes into its third week minus its daily newspapers.

The newspapers are the Hearst-owned *Examiner*, published by Charles Gould, and the morning *Chronicle*, published by Charles de Young Thieriot. Both papers have been hit by a massive strike that was a long time coming. The offices, composing rooms and pressrooms are silent. Three thousand unionists are out, waging a battle to survive the concentration and monopolization of the daily press.

As the two surviving papers in a city that once had many, the *Examiner* and the *Chronicle* moved into the same building at Fifth and Mission Streets. Both publishers had set up their printing operations in the same plant, and having an area-wide monopoly, began to use the blind of the printing company in a concerted drive against the newspaper craft unions.

For the past 11 months, for example, the Mailers Union has been working without a contract, conducting fruitless talks with the dummy management of the printing company. The union has re-

peatedly called for talks with the real bosses: publishers Gould and Thieriot. But they won't talk. They insist that the Mailers don't work for the papers, but for the printing company. A strike bulletin sums it up: "If you get sour milk, take it up with the cow, not the dairy owner. If you disagree with the war in Vietnam, blame the drafted GI and not the Administration."

So the tiny Mailers Union went on strike three weeks ago, in a move precipitated when informational pickets from the Los Angeles paper strike came here to let the newspaper unions know that Hearst was using scabs to break the back of the unions in L.A.

Other Unions Join

Eleven other unions immediately refused to cross the Mailers picket lines. A Join Union Strike-Lockout Headquarters was set up at 433 Natoma Street. The other unions are the Newspaper Guild, the Pressmen, the International Typographers Union, the Paper Handlers, the Stereotypers, the Engravers, the Vendors, and the Teamsters (newstruck drivers and helpers), the Building Service Employees, and the Machinists. Three thousand strong, the unionists are walking the lines at Fifth and Mission, manning a 24-hour

strike commissary, and publishing a daily strike bulletin seven days a week.

The bulletin alone shows what can be achieved when labor is astirring — it's a lively printed sheet, not a bureaucratic informational memo, which keeps the strikers up-to-date and keeps spirits on the picket lines warm with anecdotes brought in from life "on the line." And in marked contrast to the daily papers, proofread and composed under speed-up conditions, with stories garbled in the editing to suit the boss, the strike bulletin really looks sharp, sounds sharp, and is free of misspellings.

Everyone goes out on the line, celebrity columnists and newsboys alike. (The bulletin reports that food from the best restaurants is being donated to the commissary — the restaurants don't want to be forgotten by those celebrity columnists.)

The battle will be a tough one. The radio and TV stations all predict a long strike — from a month to three months. Even discounting the obvious self-interest in such predictions, the strike promises to be bitter. The newspaper monopoly here has the backing of the Hearst empire.

The city's Central Labor Coun-

cil has threatened to call a general strike if scabs are used. To win, the unions may have to take out the Oakland and San Jose papers, whose workers have been giving financial aid to the strikers. The Oakland *Tribune* is being scalped on the streets by amateur scab vendors who scoop up armfuls from coin-operated racks and rush the papers across the Bay. The San Jose *Mercury News* arrives the same way.

Even the *Stanford Daily* is raking it in. And *Ramparts* magazine is equally public-spirited, getting out a "typewriter daily" which is nevertheless printed without a union label, whose editorials whine "I don't care if it's the fault of labor or management, I just want my paper."

Problem

Maybe the segment of public opinion that will tip the scales for the unions is the one revealed by columnist Frances Moffat in the *Ramparts* "Daily Scab": she laments, amid all the misery, the unkindest cut of all — no society pages. One poor heiress actually had to disclose the news of her latest marriage by telephone.

This "let your fingers do the walking" method of communication doesn't appeal to the pickets at Fifth and Mission. They've walked 500,000 miles so far.

SWP Runs John Gray

LOS ANGELES — John Gray, a coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee here, has announced that he will run for Congress from the 29th Congressional District on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Gray will oppose incumbent George Brown Jr., a well-known Democratic "dove." Gray has charged that it is "impossible to be an effective opponent of the unjust war in Vietnam while belonging to the party that is carrying on that war or supporting the system that created the war in the first place." Gray said that the effectiveness and future potential of the antiwar movement lay "precisely in its independence from the Democratic Party and its remaining in the streets where it is visible to the mass of the American people."

The socialist candidate said he saw his campaign as providing a positive antiwar alternative to the Democrats, complementing antiwar demonstrations — which he hoped to see continue and grow.